



## Custom and Syarak as the Theme in *Tambo Minangkabau* (*Adat dan Syarak sebagai Motif Tema dalam Tambo Minangkabau*)

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### ABSTRACT

*The aim of the research to describe (1) Sembilan Pucuk laws in Tambo Minangkabau; (2) custom and syarak as the guidelines in Tambo Minangkabau; (3) the command to obey Penghulu based on the custom and syarak. This study concludes that the three theme motifs in Tambo Minangkabau strengthen the role of adat and religion. In Minangkabau, both are present in the history of creating the Minangkabau country, which began with the Nan Nine Pucuk Law as legitimacy. Further, Balai adat (customary hall) and mosques are symbols of harmony between customs and religion in determining the provisions. Indeed, the community leaders, in this case, Penghulu, need to be obeyed because the customs have appointed them based on Qur'an and Hadith (religion).*

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mendeskripsikan (1) Undang-Undang Nan sembilan pucuk dalam Tambo Minangkabau; (2) adat dan agama sebagai pedoman dalam Tambo Minangkabau; (3) perintah menaati penghulu berdasarkan adat dan agama. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa ketiga motif tema dalam *Tambo Minangkabau* memberikan penguatan peran adat dan agama. Di Minangkabau, keduanya hadir dalam sejarah penciptaan negeri Minangkabau yang diawali dengan adanya Undang-Undang Nan Sembilan Pucuk sebagai legitimasi. Selanjutnya, balai adat dan masjid adalah simbol keharmonisan adat dan agama yang saling berkaitan dalam menentukan keputusan dan ketentuan. Bahkan pemimpin kaum, dalam hal ini penghulu, perlu ditaati perintahnya karena penghulu merupakan pemimpin yang ditetapkan oleh adat dan ditentukan oleh al Quran dan hadis atau agama.

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### INTRODUCTION

Minangkabau is an ethnic group in Indonesia located on the coast of West Sumatera province. Minangkabau people have three distinctive characteristics: a strong belief in Islam, practices of wandering away (migration), and a matrilineal system. According to the *Tambo* manuscript (traditional Minangkabau historiography), areas under the Minangkabau influence are known as the Real of Minangkabau, the World of Minangkabau. Besides, it also consists of two areas:



*darek* (inner highland) and shoreline (outer region or border along the coast of central Sumatera (Kato, 1980).

Another interesting point of Minangkabau culture is the kinship and inheritance systems that go hand in hand with Islam. Besides, it is necessary to investigate the strength to maintain and regulate the kinship system contributing to the Minangkabau culture (Stark, 2013) along with the natural philosophy (Attubani, 2017). Indeed, the conception and philosophy of life of the Minangkabau people can be identified through the *petatah petitih* (proverbs) used in communication (Mustansyir & Munir, 2009). The powerful custom with all the applicable rules in Minangkabau is clearly illustrated in the *tambo* script (Firdaus et al., 2018).

*Tambo Minangkabau* is a literary work revealing the historical events of Minangkabau tribal society, depicting the origin of the *nagari* and the customs. *Tambo* manuscripts are found in libraries in Indonesia and abroad. Based on the data reported by Edwar Djamaris, there are 47 manuscripts of *Tambo*. Nevertheless, the reference for the adaptation versions of *Tambo Minangkabau* commonly read by the people is unknown. Further, *Tambo Minangkabau* is one significant work similar to those in other areas in the archipelago as the document serves as the community reference. The work usually includes the king's lineage, origins of customary provisions, king's advice, and others. Besides, literary work refers to the people's beliefs inherited from generation to generation.

Djamaris stated that the theme of *Tambo Minangkabau* was established to adjust the customs to the Islamic teachings. Three motives underlie the theme. The first is the equal position between custom and *syarak*/religion. Second, Minangkabau society uses custom and *syarak*/religion as the way of life created by Allah. It confirms that the proverb "*adat yang kawi, syarak yang dilazimkan*" as the laws applied to the whole universe. The third is the obligation to follow the commands and instruction of the *Penghulu* (headmen), as regulated in customs and *syarak*/religion (Djamaris, 1991). In another version, Navis stated that *Tambo* is an important part of the cultural heritage of the Minangkabau tribal people. *Tambo* is a story told orally by *tukang kaba* (storyteller). The speaker also utters it in customary ceremonies. In general, *Tambo* is divided into two: natural *Tambo* and customary *Tambo*. Natural *Tambo* is a story about the origins of ancestors and the Minangkabau kingdom. Meanwhile, customary *tambo* refers to the customary events or rules of the Minangkabau government in the past (Navis, 1984).

In addition, Navis claimed that *Tambo* stories are not bound to space and time. It begins with the departure of Maharaja Diraja to Minangkabau. The character is related to Datuk Ketumanggungan and Parpatih nan Sabatang, the founder of Minangkabau governmental system accompanied by Cati Bilang Pandai. *Tambo* also tells the readers about Bundo Kandung as a king residing in Pagaruyang, instead of other kings. Besides, *Tambo* also lets the readers know about the emergence of a foreign king aiming at conquering Minangkabau. However, the character is told using an animal name as a satire (Navis, 1984).

For the Minangkabau people, the custom is a way of life serving to regulate the relations among humans. Indeed, people's perceptions influence the behavior in managing the environment (Munir et al., 2019). Minangkabau customs are based on *syarak* (religion), which regulates the relationship between humans and God. In establishing the customs, several core guidelines are employed. (1)



Economy, an absolute requirement as a nation; (2) *kato-kato* for safety, *kato pusako*, *kato mufakat*, *kato dahulu ditapati*, and *kato kamudian kato dicari*; (3) Culture, a cultural-historical heritage needs to be preserved by each Penghulu of each nigari; (4) customary custom; (5) laws or regulation (*undang-undang dua belas* and *undang-undang delapan*) (Hakimy, 1970).

Much research has been carried out since it is necessary to investigate further Minangkabau construction in *Tambo Minangkabau*. Elfira studies the roles of Bundo Kanduang of Kaba Cindua Mato (Saga of Nan Muda Tuanku Pagaruyuang). She shows that women in Minangkabau have several privileges in public spaces, especially in politics. The image of a Bundo Kanduang is presented as a strong mother. Further, a woman also has significant roles in a particular community (Elfira, 2007). Another, Arifin studied the marriage practices in Minangkabau. Arifin confirmed that custom could be explained on two sides, preventing misinterpretation. Duality appears in Minangkabau marriage represents the duality of the custom, which are customs as guidelines and legitimation for social actors (Arifin, 2012).

Other study, by Asri, investigated the ideology of Minangkabau women in the novel entitled *Negeri Perempuan* (NP) by Wisran Hadi. Asri found two forms of ideology in the novel: social and political (Asri, 2013). The research presents the construction of Minangkabau women ideology preserved according to the customs and influenced ideology. Further, Munir shows the necessity to understand the kinship system in Minangkabau culture. Referring to the Levi-Strauss Structuralism concept shows the kinship in Minangkabau, in that male, is the communication media among clans or tribes (Munir, 2015).

Muqtafi, et al. discussed the Minangkabau culture contained in the novel entitled *Memang Jodoh* by Marah Rusli. The results showed that cultural elements became the main topic of the novel, especially marriage. It is assumed that *Memang Jodoh* is a manifestation of rejection by the author towards the ambiguity and bias of Minangkabau culture (Muqtafi, M., Mariati, S., dan Sundari, 2015). Another study in 2019 about the matrilineal/kinship system in Minangkabau was conducted by Satya Gayatri, Ida Rochani Adi, and Wening Udasmoro. The research found that the matrilineal system in Minangkabau is changed in the children's stories due to a shift from a communal family model into a nuclear family. The changes are depicted in the characterization and the characters' attitudes and behavior (Gayatri et al., 2019).

Arbain and Ronidin, in 2019, wrote about the Minangkabau people's ideology as a medium to shape the children's characters. The study concluded several ideologies: wandering, self-defense, social-cultural life, harmony intertwining with character-building (Arbain & Ronidin, 2019). Meanwhile, Mahkota et al. discussed the portrait of the matrilineal family in Minangkabau. The research revealed the differences and similarities between the concept of the Minangkabau matrilineal system in two novels written by the Minangkabau people. Both represented two models of family in Minangkabau: matrilineal-matrilineal in the novel *Aku tidak Membeli Cintamu* by Desi Intan Suri and patriarchal-matrilineal in *Negeri Perempuan* by Wisran Hadi (Mahkota et al., 2019).

It can be concluded that most of the previous studies about literary works are limited to the culture, social condition, marriage, women roles, and kinship system of Minangkabau. Besides, the previous findings also discussed the



manuscript of Tambo found in Kaba Cindua Mato as one of the adaptation versions read by Minangkabau people. Therefore, the present study described three ideas: (1) Laws of *Nan Sembilan Pucuk* in *Tambo Minangkabau*; (2) Customs and *syarak* as the guidelines in *Tambo Minangkabau*; (3) Commands to obey the Penghulu based on custom and *syarak*.

The approach employed is discourse analysis. Samsuri suggested that discourse is a tool to store complete linguistic information relevant to a communication event (Juliantari, 2017). In the linguistic analysis process, discourse analysis provides opportunities for researchers to study languages as an abstract concepts. Besides, it covers the meaning of wholeness in the context (Noverino, 2016). In particular, it used semiotics paradigmatic-social pioneered by Halliday 1993. Social semiotics discourse analysis has a theoretical concept stating that a text/manuscript has three main components: field of discourse, creating a space for an event, tenor (matters existing in the discourse, and mode, the process of creating the discourse using the language to represent an event (Hamad, 2007).

## METHOD

The research subject is the “Edited version of *Tambo Minangkabau*” in the Book *Tambo Minangkabau* written by Edwar Djamaris in 1991. Meanwhile, the object is the laws of *Sembilan Pucuk*, the emergence of customs and *syarak* as guidance, and the existence of Penghulu, along with his duties represented in *Tambo Minangkabau*.

The researchers became the main instrument of the present study, aided with a series of data cards. The data were collected through reading and note-taking, continued by categorizing them according to the research object. The triangulation technique employed in the research is source triangulation. It is a way to check the data through various sources (Augina, 2020).

The data were analyzed based on the approach, which was semiotic-sociology discourse analysis. The process includes observing a manuscript to find the discourse field, tenor, and mode. The next stage is interpreting the data according to the perspective used in the study (Hamad, 2007).

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Laws of *Sembilan Pucuk* in *Tambo Minangkabau*

In the edited text of *Tambo Minangkabau*, the parts of *Sembilan Pucuk* laws is in Chapter I: the main episode after the introduction. The beginning is in line with the concept of semiotics-sociology discourse analysis explained as follows.

Table 1. Discourse Field in *Sembilan Pucuk* Laws

No.	Field of Discourse of <i>Sembilan Pucuk</i>
1	Laws of ta'alluq to any kings
2	Laws of ta'alluq to any penghulu
3	Laws of ta'alluq to the nature
4	Laws of ta'alluq to the attire
5	Laws of ta'alluq to plays
6	Laws of ta'alluq to sounds
7	Laws of ta'alluq to festivity
8	Laws of ta'alluq to laws of the nature
9	Laws of ta'alluq to the nature greatness



The table shows the nine discourses mentioned in the laws of *Sembilan Pucuk*. The discourses were in a systematic sequence based on the level of interest. Each regulates the customs and laws in Minangkabau. They are based on customs and Islamic religion/syarak. The field of discourse can be observed in the following quotation, which also reveals the tenor and mode.

*“Amma bakdu, adapun kemudian dari pada itu maka inilah kebanyakan dan kenyataan undang-undang dan lembaga alam dan cupak gantang nan dipakai pada alam dan segala perkara dan hukum yang sebenarnya dan adat yang kawi dan syarak yang dilazimkan therefore, the common and the fact of the laws and nature and cupak gantang (fair leadership) applicable to the nature and all matters and laws and the virtuous and powerful custom and syarak that is made customary”.*

*‘Amma Bakdu, adapun kemudian daripada itu, maka inilah Undang-Undnag nan Sembilan Pucuk, Nan sepucuk lima ratus anaknya: suatu \*undang-undang ta’alluq kepada segala raja-raja, kedua undang-undang ta’alluq kepada segala penghulu, ketiga undang-undang tacalluq kepada segala alam, keempat undang-undang tacalluq kepada pakaian, kelima undang-undang tacalluq kepada permainan, keenam undang-undang tacalluq kepada bunyi-bunyian, ketujuh undang-undang tacalluq kepada ramai-ramaian, kasalapan undang-undang tacalluq kepada hukum yang terpakai pada alam, kesembilan undang-undang tacalluq kepada kebesyaran alam. Maka sebab itulah dinamai undang-undang [nan Sembilan Pucuk] therefore, it is the laws of Sembilan Pucuk, with five hundreds branches: laws of ta’alluq to any kings, second is laws of ta’alluq to any penghulu, third is laws of ta’alluq to nature, fourth is ta’alluq to attire, fifth is laws of ta’alluq to plays, sixth is laws of ta’alluq to laws, to sounds, seventh is ta’alluq to festivity, eighth to nature laws, ninth to nature greatness*

*Adapun undang-undang terlalu banyak namanya maka dipilih oleh orang ahlul aqli lagi laut bicara dengan arif bijaksana pada budi, yaitu ahlu l-isqi pada negeri Arab dan Ajam belumlah turun ke Minangkabau ini. Inilah kenyataannya Henceforth the laws with many categories were selected by an ahlul aqli, whose speech is wise to the mind, an ahlul-isai to the Arabia and Ajam before it is descended to the people in Minangkabau. It is the truth .” (Djamaris, 1991)*

The three paragraphs appeared at the beginning of the text, revealing that the laws are used as the foundation to establish customary laws and common syarak used by the Minangkabau people. The involved parties include all people with good virtue. In this case, the kings of Minangkabau and the leaders were trusted to preserve the nature of Minangkabau.

The process of laws of *Sembilan Pucuk* is evidence of harmony between customs and religion applied in Minangkabau society. *Sembilan Pucuk* laws can be categorized into laws for the leaders, laws for nature, and laws for the arts. (1) Laws for the leaders are meant for the kings who lead Minangkabau and the





Penghulu who lead the community. (2) Laws for nature are divided into regulations about attire, nature, all laws regarding nature, and nature's greatness. (3) Laws for the art include the rules about plays, sounds, and festivity.

*Sembilan Pucuk* is the underlying cause of other laws that became the way of life of the Minangkabau people. It is clarified in the explanation of the last paragraph, "...before it is descended to Minangkabau; that is the truth." Other facts also appear in the text in relation to laws applicable in Minangkabau society. They are arranged with distinctive names: nan ampek (four laws). It includes (1) laws of luhak (confederation area) and rantau (shoreline), (2) laws of nagari (village), (3) laws inside a nagari, and (4) laws of nan duopuluah (twenty laws) (Dirajo, 2017). Other quotations in chapter two of the *Sembilan Pucuk* laws mentioned,

*"Adapun undang-undang nan Sembilan Pucuk dibahagi atas tiga bahagi: sebahagi turun ke (tanah) Aceh, sebahagi tinggal di negeri Rum, ialah nan dipakai orang Mekah dan Medinah serta (sekalian) orang pulau di tengah laut. Dan anaknya tiap-tiap suatu pucuk nan Sembilan Pucuk itu, suatu undang-undang lima ratus anaknya basyarikaik antara kita memakai dia: lima ratus jatuh kepada negeri Keling dan lima ratus jatuh kepada negeri Jambi dan lima ratus jatuh kepada negeri Manggala, itulah nan dipakai Inggris dan Perancis (dan Ulanda); dan lima ratus jatuh kepada negeri Habsyi; dan lima ratus jatuh kepada negeri masyrik; dan lima ratus jatuh pada negeri magrib; dan lima ratus jatuh kepada selatan; dan lima ratus jatuh kepada utara; dan lima ratus jatuh kepada tiap-tiap pulau di tengah laut Sailan. Itulah banyak undang-undang di dalam alam Nan Sembilan Pucuk is divided into three: one part goes to the land of Aceh, one part to Rum (areas occupied by people in Mecca and Medinah and all people in the sea. Parts of each pucuk from nan Sembilan Pucuk, as many as five hundreds basyarikaik: five hundreds fell to Keling and five hundreds to Jambi and five hundreds to Manggala. Those are nan applied by the British and French (and Ulanda); and five hundreds fall to Habsyi; and five hundreds to the masyrik (eastern people); and five hundreds to the magrib (western people); and five hundreds to the south; and five hundreds to the north; and five hundreds to each island in the sea of silan. Those are the laws in the nature (Djamaris, 1991).*

It is explained that customs and syarak are equally upheld, saying, "adat yang kawi dan syarak yang dilazimkan. *Adat yang kawi* means strong and firm customs, while syarak yang lazim means religious teachings commonly applied in daily life. The position of customary laws in Minangkabau is stated as having high value because it is used in many parts of the world, from Mecca and Madinah to the west coast of Aceh. *Sembilan Pucuk* in the second chapter of the edited manuscript of *Tambo Minangkabau*, also confirms that the laws are divided into three: those used in Rum, Aceh, and Minangkabau. In other words, it can be inferred that the division has caused the areas with teachings and ways of life referring to *Sembilan Pucuk* to have a similar foundation in establishing the laws. Besides, it clarifies that the laws applicable in Minangkabau have distinctive names, different from those written in the manuscript of tambo.



Similarly, Pahlevi explained that the applicable laws in Jambi were strongly influenced by *Sembilan Pucuk* (Pahlefi, 2018). Therefore, as revealed in the manuscript of *Tambo Minangkabau*, *Sembilan Pucuk*, with too many points, need to be rearranged; thereby, it can be used as the legal basis and provisions in society. In addition, Yulianti added that customary laws in Minangkabau regulate various matters in life. Indeed, the laws in Minangkabau or the Laws of West Sumatera have been effective since 1837 (Yulianti et al., 2020). In other studies, it was mentioned that strong customary laws had created dualism of regulations in Minangkabau, yet they are effective (Hidayat et al., 2017). Other basic matters mentioned in the manuscript of *Tambo Minangkabau* include the following.

*Bermula segala yang tersebut itu sebahagian pun tiada tersurat, melainkan dengan dikiaskan pada kata orang-orang tuha-tuha kita ganti-berganti turun-menurun datang sekarang kini tiada berubah segala kata ini, laranglah orang nan menaruh dia pada segala laras mahal seorang nan memakai dia. Itulah nan dipakai oleh segala alam, lalu ke tanah Mekah dan Medinah, lalu kepada negeri Aceh pesisir barat Since some parts of the aforementioned are not made explicit, instead they have been alluded to the sayings of the old people from generation to generation, all the words have not changed. Prohibit people from being in a position in a government. Those are applicable in nature, hence to the land of Mecca and Madinah, and to the west coast of Aceh.*

*Dan lagi pula, apabila ta'aluuq kepada kerbau jan jawi bajak pasangan namanya; apabila ta'aluuq kepada hayam itiak dan segala burung jinak permainan alam akan namanya; apabila ta'aluuq kepada kuda itulah penaklik segala pakaian di atas dunia ganti pelana akan namanya Moreover, ta'alluq for the buffalo means jan jawi bajak pasangan; ta'alluq to the chicken, duck, and all poultries means natural plays; ta'alluq to the horse means the conqueror of all attire in the world, upon the saddle..*

*Adapun kata ini terlalu sukar lagi gaib, sebab itulah larang nan menaruh, barang siapa menaruh dia lebih daripada menaruh intan/dan/pudi. Itulah nan sebenar-benar pusyaka di dalam alam. Jikalau kanak-kanak sekalipun menaruh dia ini (niscaya) jadi penghulu pada segala alam dan luak dan laras The words are too difficult, and magical. Hence it is prohibited to bet. Whoever bet for him is more than betting for diamonds and pudi. Those are the inheritance of the nature. If children trust him, he is the penghulu of any nature and luak and laras. .*

*Adapun akal tiada sekali tiba, pendapat tiada sekali dapat. Adapun undang-undang akal tiga perkara: suatu memelihara nyawa pada tubuh, kedua memelihara tubuh daripada minum dan makan, ketiga memelihara segala arato didapat aniaya oleh Islam dan orang kafir. Meanwhile, the mind shall not think, opinion shall be uttered. Laws of the mind have three matters: maintaining the life of the body; second, maintaining the body by drinking and eating;*



*third, maintaining the wealth shall trigger ill-treatment from Islam and the unfaithful.*

*Itulah undang-undang akal namanya. Those are the laws of the mind.*

*Adapun jenjang akal itu tujuh perkara: pertama, mengati berat dan ringan, kedua mengati tinggi dan rendah, ketiga mengati laba dan rugi, keempat mengati buruk dan baik, kelima mengati hina dan mulia, keenam mengati kerja sehari-hari datang rugi dan laba, ketujuh mengati salah dan benar, Wallahualam. Meanwhile, the mind rules seven matters: first, about light and weight, second about high and low, third about loss and profit, fourth about good and bad, fifth about despise and nobility, sixth about loss and profits at work, seventh about right and wrong. Wallahualam.*

*Itulah jenjang akal namanya. Those are the laws of the mind.*

(Djamaris, 1991)

The quotation shows various considerations or crucial references for the knowledgeable in leading and speaking. In other words, a community leader needs to consider several things. The first paragraph shows that all teachings from the ancestors inherited from generation to generation need to be preserved and considered. The second paragraph confirms that what exists in nature are interrelated; there is always a lesson from nature. The third paragraph indicates the importance of a penghulu to hold his tongue when speaking. The fourth and fifth revealed how the mind has rules and a powerful level if studied and further explored. Besides, the rules show that Minangkabau customs are about the norms as the distinctive characteristics of Minangkabau society and the preserved local wisdom (Ulya et al., 2018). The data also showed the genius of Minangkabau customs as explored by Munir and Moses. They found five essential matters thought about by the ancestors: (1) Quran as the source of value; (2) thought as value determiner; (3) the value of life as the reflection of cultural and personal values; (4) actual and potential openness for improvement; (5) truthfulness revealed in the customs (Munir & Pandin, 2018).

Therefore, the discourse presented in the manuscript of *Tambo* as part of *Sembilan Pucuk* clarifies its role as the reference for the Minangkabau people's way of life. It indicates that customs and syarak are equally upheld by the people. *Sembilan Pucuk* is elaborated in detail, and all of them are interrelated. Indeed, they are applicable in many areas, and each community in Minangkabau has developed different names for the law as the customary legal basis in life.

#### **Custom and Syarak as the guidelines in *Tambo Minangkabau***

In the manuscript of *Tambo Minangkabau*, the theme shows the harmony between customs and syarak as essential in Minangkabau. It is presented in the main episode of chapter V about the customary halls and mosque as symbols of the effective customs and syarak in Minangkabau.

The field of the discourse of the part can be illustrated in table 2.





**Table 2. Field of Discourse of Custom and Syarak in Minangkabau**

No.	Field of Discourse of <i>Sembilan Pucuk</i>
1	Balairung Panjang as the place to refer to customary laws ( <i>adat nan kawu</i> )
2	Mosques in Pariangan as the place to refer to Allah's laws

Minangkabau people hold on to two important matters. The discourses have been arranged systematically based on the level of interest in regulating the customs and laws in Minangkabau. All matters are in accordance with customs and Islam/*syarak*. It is in line with the study by Winstar, mentioning that customs and Islam are not against each other in Minangkabau culture because Islam serves to complete the custom (Winstar, 2017); (Prawiro, 2015). In other words, custom and Islam are in harmony (Tono et al., 2019); (Abdullah, 1966); (Bukhari, 2009); (Elfira, 2019). In another study, the discourses also revealed the roles of Tuan in custom, religion, and nation, which resulted in a harmonious relationship (Wimra, 2020). Besides, the relation between custom and Islam is also evident in the law of inheritance and the decision-making process (Benda-Beckmann, 2012).

The field of discourse can be observed in the following. It indirectly revealed the tenor and mode. The tenors are the Kings and Penghulu. They serve as leaders who set all customary laws. They also learn about Islamic laws that become the reference in establishing the customary laws.

*Maka mufakatliah isi negeri semuhanya akan berbuat (balai) \*Balairung Panjang akan tempat Daulat yang Dipertuan duduk. Maka menitahliah Raja kepada Cati Bilang Pandai akan berbuat balai Balairung Panjang: tiangnya taras jilatang, parannya akar lundang, bendurnya taras bayam dan tataran sgar jintan, nan batabuah pulut-pulut nan panggarang jangek tumo, nan bergendang seliguri dan nan bercanang sati jajin jan perbuatan si raja jihin nan diam di rimba lawang. Maka dikeluarkanlah calempung cati, iyolah perbuatan si Gulambai Tunggal. Maka sukaiah hati Raja jan penghulu. Maka dihiasi pula balai itu lapiak hilang Thus it is agreed by the people of the nation on the deeds \*Balairung Panjang is supposed to be the place for Daulat yang Dipertuan. And then the King command the Cati Bilang Pandai in the hall of Balairung anjang: the pillars are taras jilatang (kind of stone), the ridgepoles lundang root, (literally: the hall of Balairung Panjang is the place for Cati Bilang Pandai. The pillars, ridgepoles and all parts are made strong using firm materials.\**

*Maka tatkala sumur akan dikali negeri akan dicacak medan akan dihiasi akan tempat perhimpunan orang kaya-kaya dan orang besyar-besyar dan orang mulia-mulia dan raja yang mahaadil, itulah kebesaran raja dan penghulu. \*Kemudian dari itu, maka didirikan mesjid di Pariangan akan tempat mamintak hukum kitab Allah. Sebab didirikan balai balairung Panjang akan tempat mamintak hukum adat nan kawu dan syarak yang dilazimkan dan hukum yang dipakaikan kepada masa dahulu When wells are dug, pillars are ready to planted, field decorated, and the wealth and great people gather in such place, people with noble values and*



*fairness. Those are the greatness of kings and penghulu. \*Hence, a mosque in Pariangan was built to ask for Allah's justice. Balairung Panjang is for customary laws, adat nan kawi, syarak yang dilazimkan; laws applied in the past.*

*Tatkala akan mendirikan penghulu daripada mufakat isi negeri iyolah nan diterima pusyaka daripada Nabi Allah Adam alaihisalam karena Nabi Adam itu jadi khalifah Allah, artinya akan ganti Allah di atas dunia, yakni akan meluaskan/ku/hukum di atas dunia. Maka firman Allah Taala akan dalilnya, \*Inni Jacilun fi l-ardi Khalifah.\* Bahwa sesungguhnya raja dalam dunia akan ganti-Ku, yakni Nabi Allah Adam alaihisalam, akan meluaskan hukum-Ku pada segala hamba-Ku When the penghulu would build the mosque and hall, the benefits are welcomed as a heritage, similar to that from Allah's Prophet, Adam alaihisalam. Adam is Allah's khalifah (leader). It means that he works on behalf of Allah in the world, spreading the laws of Allah. And Allah said, \*Inni Jacilun fi'l ardi, Khalifah.\*, meaning that the king of the world to replace Me, shall be Adam alaihisalam, spreading the laws to all my people. (Djamaris, 1991)*

The emergence of “adat nan kawi, syarak nan lazim” as the essential guideline in Minangkabau is marked with the building of customary halls and mosques. Both places were built together in order to study both rules. The existence of the halls and mosques is expected to be harmonious and complete each other. Hence, all matters about life shall be based on customs and religion. The rules as the way of life of Minangkabau people also indicate that they love their culture. Indeed, they develop a strong relationship with it and apply it in their life (Franzia et al., 2015); (Jong, 1982). Bahkan, kehadiran balai adat dan masjid menunjukkan pola sistem musyawarah yang ada di Besides, customary halls and mosques signify the discussion system in Minangkabau (Sairin, 1995).

The second paragraph of the quotations also shows that customary halls and mosques are significant. They add to a nation's greatness and splendor. Similarly, Izmi revealed the harmonious relation between custom and *syarak*. Customs are based on religion, and vice versa is the foundation underlying social, cultural life. It generates a group of people with characters and excellence. Indeed, the relation is equal to a shared place for praying, a place to foster the children and educate them for the community's sake.

### **The Command to Obey the Penghulu based on Customs and Syarak**

The third motive in the theme of *Tambo Minangkabau* is the intertwine with the laws and the rules to obey the Penghulu, which is based on the requirements of customs and Islam. The story is presented in the main episode of chapter VIII, mentioning the obligation to follow the Penghulu and any kind of Penghulu. The Field of Discourse in the story is presented in table 3.



Table 3. Field of Discourse of the Obligation to obey the Penghulu

No.	Field of Discourse of <i>Sembilan Pucuk</i>
1	Penghulu is appointed by a <i>Cati Bilang Pandai</i>
2	<i>Niniak Mamak</i> /penghulu is a leader of a community
3	Penghulu consists of four types: <i>penghulu, pengalah, pengaluh, pengalih</i>
4	The true penghulu is called penghulu

The table presents four basic discourses of obeying the order of a penghulu, which are based on customs and religion. The four matters underlie a penghulu in leading the community. As mentioned below, he is a *niniak mamak* leading a tribe or clan, and the position is based on religious teachings.

*“Maka mufakatliah isi negeri serta Datuak Katamanggungan jan Datuak Parpatih Sabatang dan Datuak Sri Maharjo Nego serta Cati Bilang Pandai di atas Daulat yang Dipertuan akan memohonkan kebesyaran dan kerajaan dan kemuliaan dalam negeri cupak nan dipakai, gantang nan dibelah, limbago nan dituang, pakaian nan ka dipakai tiap-tiap negeri, luak atau laras. Maka diperbuat penghulu oleh Cati Bilang Pandai pada tiap-tiap negeri, luak atau laras akan jadi khalifah oleh raja nan berempat sakoto, nan berlima sakoto, nan berenam sakoto, nan batujuan sakoto, nan salapan sakoto. (Akan) mendirikan kerajaan penghulu mufakat isi negeri semuhanya laki-laki dan perempuan. Maka didirikan lembaga kepada isi negeri. Barang siapa akan jadi khalifah oleh raja maka maisi limbago kepada nan banyak laki-laki dan perempuan dan kanak-kanak, (karena laki-laki dan perempuan) itulah orang nan punya kerjaan And thus it is agreed by all people in the nation and Datuak Katamanggungan jan Datuak Parpatih Sabatang and Datuak Sri Maharjo Nego and Cati Bilang Pandai upon the Daulat yang Dipertuan for the greatness and the kingdom and nobility in the fair governance, gantang nan dibelah, limbago nan dituang, pakaian nan ka dipakai tiap-tiap negeri, luak or laras. And thus Cati Bilang Pandai in each negeri, luak, and laras appoints a penghulu to be the khalifah, by the approval of the king with berempat sakoto, berlima sakoto, berenam sakoto, batujuan sakoto, salapan sakoto. And thus the kingdom is built with the agreement of all males and females in the nation. And thus boards are created. Whoever be the khalifah as appointed by the king to be filled with males and females and children (since male and female) are those with occupation.*

*Maka dinaikkan pula penghulu, maka tiap-tiap penghulu negeri hanya maisi kepada negeri, jikalau raja maisi kepada sekalian alam, karena demikianlah kata firman Allah Taala dalam Quran \*Ati’u ‘l-Laha wa ati’ur-rasula wa uli ‘l-amri minkum\* Artinya, ikutlah olehmu, hai segala mahanusia akan Allah dan ikut olehmu akan Rasulullah dan yang mempunyai pekerjaan daripada kamu ikut pula, yakni segala penghulu dan segala (orang yang mempunyai bicara dan segala) sultan kamu, maka wajinlah kamu mengikuti (dia), jikalau kanak-kanak sekalipun And thus appointed a pengulu,*



*each penghulu of a nagari for a nagari. Meanwhile the king is for the universe, as mentioned by Allah in the Qura'an, "Ati'ul-Laha wa ati'ur-rasula wa uli 'l-amri minkum\*", meaning that you have to obey Allah and the Rasulullah and those who have the duties should also be followed, those are the penghulu and your sultan (whoever have the power to speak and do). You shall oblige him, even if it is a child.*

(Djamaris, 1991)

The discourse presented in the quotation underlies the people appointing the Penghulu. They are the leaders who have agreed on the appointment. In appointing the Penghulu, the leaders consider the interest and rules of the customs. While the first paragraph is about the custom, the second paragraph shows the importance of obeying the Penghulu. It is in accordance with Allah's words in the Qur'an, instructing humans to obey Rasulullah and those who have given the duties. In this context, a penghulu is a person who has the power to speak within a custom. Hence, the law or foundation to obey the Penghulu is in line with custom and Islamic teachings.

The discourse also represents gender equality in Minangkabau customs, which is based on the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of men and women according to their functions in the family, society, custom, and customary government (Zakia, 2011). Besides, the existence of a penghulu also indicates that a woman's role symbolized by Bundo Kanduang is not the only thing to obey. Women have distinctive roles and positions, including inheritance, the decision-making process in a family, decision-making regarding children, and matters in society (Irawaty & Darojat, 2019)

Therefore, the discourse about Penghulu is common in Minangkabau customs. Obeying the Penghulu is continued by understanding the essence of a penghulu and the types of Penghulu. Understanding the meaning of Penghulu is one requirement for a person, allowing him to be obeyed by the community and appointed by the community. The provisions are based on religious teachings, particularly how the Prophet loved his people, as presented in the quotation below.

*Adapun nan bernama penghulu, yaitu seperti kata Nabi [Muhammad] salallahu alaihi wasalam pada segala umatnya, \*Man sada qaumahu fa huwa sayyid\* Artinya, barang siapa memelintahkan segala kaumnya, maka yaitu penghulu namanya, seperti nabi kasih pada umatnya. Adapun penghulu empat perkara: pertama penghulu namanya, kedua pengalah namanya, ketiga pengaluh namanya, keempat pengalih namanya (Penghulu – as noted by the Prophet [Muhammad] pbuh, \*Man sada qaumahu fa huwa sayyid\*, meaning that whoever order that people, leader as it is called, is like the love of the prophet to the people. Meanwhile, the penghulu of four matters; the first is penghulu, the second is pengalah, the third is pengaluh, and the fourth is pengalih).*

*Arti penghulu melintahkan segala kaumnya seperti nabi kasih kepada segala umatnya; artinya pengalah, jikalau kata benar*





*sekali pun disalahinya juga (tidak dia takut akan janji sama Islam); artinya pengaluh, kuat menyuruh orang berbuat jahat; artinya pengalih, kuat menyuruh orang berbuat maksiyat dalam negeri (The penghulu orders his people like the prophet loves his; pengalah means seeing anything as wrong even if it is true (the person is not afraid of the promises in Islam); pengaluh means commanding people to do evil; pengalih means commanding people to commit immorality).*

*Maka sebenar-benar penghulu (menurut hadis [Nabi Muhammad] salallahu alaihi wasalam, 'Al-amru bi 'l-ma'rufi wa 'n-nahyu 'ani 'il-munkar,' hakni) kuat menyuruh orang berbuat baik dan kuat menegakkan orang berbuat jahat, wajib atas segala penghulu. Maka diperbuat gantang kurang dua lima puluh tahlil dengan bungkal dan cupak dua belas tahlil, maka tegakkan sebuah sakoto diperbuat lembaga alam ialah tertib tiap-tiap negeri. Itulah nan dipakai alam seisinya lalu ke tanah Aceh lalu ke luak Minangkabau tiada bersalahan sedikit jua pun, tiada lebih (sedikit pun tiada) kurang nan dipakai alam (As virtuous as penghulu (according to the hadith is 'Al-amru bi'l ma'rufi wa 'n-nahyu 'ani 'il munkar', meaning that to order people to do good and prohibit people from doing evil. Those are obligatory for all penghulu. Hence, diperbuat gantang kurang dua lima puluh tahlil dengan bungkal and cupak dua belas tahlil, uphold a sakoto, maintain the orderliness in each region. Those are the nan used by nature, spread to Aceh and to Minangkabau. Not single thing is wrong, nothing is too much or too little by the nature. (Djamaris, 1991)*

The quotation explained that Penghulu referred to the customary teachings as a community leader as prescribed by the Prophet. The person should have a loving character. The penghulu in the quotation is described in four kinds: penghulu, pengalah, pengaluh, and pengalih. The real penghulu is not pengalah, pengaluh, or pengalih. They are not the characters of a penghulu. A penghulu should do good and prohibit others from doing evil. Besides, Penghulu is expected to develop a fair attitude.

The role of a penghulu has become a significant part of the customs and *syarak*. Penghulu also represents the characteristics of Minangkabau as a nagari developing a patterned culture. Dr. Rajo Penghulu, in his writing, explained that the roles of a Niniak Makak or Penghulu have been established in the community. Niniak Mamak is the male sibling of a mother, either older or younger. Minangkabau people also recognize the Penghulu as the tribe leader, commonly known as a clan (Anjela & Razif, 2014).

## CONCLUSION

The discussion of the three motives underlying the theme of *Tambo Minangkabau* in the edited manuscript concluded several points. First, the laws of *Sembilan Pucuk* are the core of the legitimation of customs and religion in Minangkabau. The nine aspects of the law can be developed; thereby, the



application of laws is known as undang-undang nan empat. Besides, the laws of *Sembilan Pucuk* have spread to Rum, Aceh, and Minangkabau, and other relevant areas. Hence, the foundation to establish the customary laws in the areas is based on nan *Sembilan Pucuk*. Second, the customary halls and mosques are the symbols or fundaments representing harmonious relations between custom and religion. It also shows that Minangkabau people see the customs and religion as the guidance in establishing various regulations. Third, the penghulu/niniak Mamak is a leader of a tribal community of which the roles have been set in the Quran and Hadith. Therefore, the Penghulu must have a loving character, as exemplified by the Prophet. Penghulu, in this context, is the leader of the universe.

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