

## **Dynamics Encounter of Tradition and Religion in the Wedding Parade (*Baarak Bako*) in Solok City West Sumatra**

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### **Abstract**

Islamic Sharia stipulates that marriages must be announced to the public. One method of the announcement is through *walimat al-‘urs*, translated differently in different Muslim communities. In the city of Solok, West Sumatra, one of the forms of *walimat al-‘urs* is the *baarak bako* tradition (a wedding parade around the village). *Baarak bako*'s implementation frequently clashes with obligatory prayer times in Islam, causing many participants to leave the prayer. This research aims to examine the background of the *baarak bako* tradition, the reasons for deciding the time to perform *baarak bako*, and the effects of *baarak bako* on prayer services. Using a qualitative method, this article revealed that the origin of *baarak bako* was the desire of the bako (father's female family) to show their presence by enlivening *anak pisang*'s (the children of a brother) wedding. According to the custom, the best time to announce a marriage is in the afternoon because people are already at home and have finished their activities outside the home; the implementation of *baarak bako* resulted in some participants failing to perform the obligatory prayers. The neglected prayers are carried out in *jama'* (merging two prayers). Others, on the other hand, leave the prayer without *jama'*. The people of Solok City are very rigorous about following customary rules. When religious law and customary law rules conflict, some people prefer customary rules over religious rules and vice versa. These findings show the dynamic relationship between religion and customs in the Minangkabau ethnic group, West Sumatra. These two norms can coexist and adapt to each other in practice.

**Keywords:** Islamic law, prayers, marriage, tradition

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## Introduction

Islamic Sharia teaches that marriage must be announced to the broader community. Based on the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad: “Announce this wedding, set the venue in the mosque, and entertain the guests with the beating of drums (tambourines)” (Hadith narrated by Tirmizi).<sup>1</sup> It is intended for the general public to be aware that the marriage is legal and officially registered.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, in some Muslim communities, the engagement ceremony must be announced so that other men do not make the same proposal to married women.<sup>3</sup> Announcement of the marriage contract is realized with a wedding party known as *walīmat al-‘urs*. In simple terms, *walīmat al-‘urs* refers to celebrating the wedding ceremony following the marriage solemnization by entertaining guests with food and drink. In Arabic literature, *walīmat al-‘urs* is a wedding banquet or dish consisting of food and drink.

Meanwhile, Indonesian Muslim tradition usually interprets it as a ceremonial feast or wedding party following *the ijab* and *qabul*.<sup>4</sup> The *walīmat al-‘urs* order is based on a hadith of the Prophet Muhammad when 'Al bin

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<sup>1</sup> At-Tirmizi, *Sunan At-Tirmizi* (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab, n.d.).

<sup>2</sup> Fatum Abubakar, “Islamic Family Law Reform: Early Marriage and Criminalization (A Comparative Study of Legal Law in Indonesia and Pakistan),” *Al-Ahkam Jurnal Ilmu Syari’ah Dan Hukum* 4, no. 2 (December 31, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.22515/alahkam.v4i2.1667>.

<sup>3</sup> Salma Salma, Kharisma Aliya, and Masna Yunita, “TRADISI PEMBERIAN PITI BALANJO PADA PEREMPUAN DALAM MASA PINANGAN DI NAGARI MANGGILANG,” *PALASTREN Jurnal Studi Gender* 11, no. 2 (December 11, 2018): 259, <https://doi.org/10.21043/palastren.v11i2.3750>.

<sup>4</sup> Liza Debevec, “The Meaning of African and ‘White Man’s’ Food at Muslim and Civil Wedding Celebrations in Urban Burkina Faso,” *Anthropology of Food*, no. S3 (March 21, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.2572>.

Ab Thalib married Fatima bint Muhammad, he said; in fact, holding a *walimah* is obligatory for anyone who is married.<sup>5</sup> In another hadith, the Prophet Muhammad told a companion named Abdurrahman bin 'Auf during his marriage, "May Allah bless you. Hold a *walimah* even if you only slaughter a goat".<sup>6</sup> Based on these arguments, scholars differ on the law of holding *walimat al-'urs*; some believe it is *sunnah mu'akkadah*, while others believe it is obligatory. However, the most popular and widely accepted viewpoint is *sunnah mu'akkadah*, or confirmed sunna.<sup>7</sup> Regardless of these scholars' differences of opinion, one thing is sure: *Walimat al-'urs* is a *shari'a* that originated with the Prophet Muhammad, and following it means following the sunna.

*Walimat al-'urs* is frequently celebrated with various processions based on customs and cultures.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, advances in information technology today have an impact on it.<sup>9</sup> Such as live broadcasts of the implementation of *walimat al-'urs* on various social media so that it can be witnessed by other people, both on a national and international scale. The Minangkabau region of Indonesia has several *Walimat al-'urs* traditional ceremonies called *baralek* (wedding party).

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<sup>5</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan Al-Nasā'ī*, Jilid 2, No. 10016, (Beirūt: Muassasah al-Risālah, 2001), p. 394 .

<sup>6</sup> Al-Bukhāri, *Shahīh Al-Bukhāri*, No. 4852, Jilid VII, (Damascus: Dār Thuruq al-Najāh, 2022, p. 110).

<sup>7</sup> Sayyid Sābiq, *Fiqhu Al-Sunnah* (Beirūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1983).

<sup>8</sup> Helzi Ramanta and Samsuri Samsuri, "The Values of Local Wisdom of Minangkabau Culture in a Baralek Gadang Traditional Wedding," *Humaniora* 11, no. 3 (November 30, 2020): 193–201, <https://doi.org/10.21512/humaniora.v11i3.6625>.

<sup>9</sup> Sayed Sikandar Shah Haneef and Mohd Abbas Bin Abdul Razak, "Stabilizing Muslim Marriages: Some Reflections on Ethical Dimension of Family Law Reform," *Mazahib* 16, no. 1 (June 30, 2017): 33, <https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v16i1.816>.

The matrilineal principle causes children to be more closely related to their mother than their father.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, several traditional ceremonies can foster father-children bonding, for example, one of the Minangkabau wedding ceremonies known as *baarak bako* or a wedding parade.

The tradition of the procession to accompany the bride and groom in the *walimat al-'urs* procession is found in the Muslim community of Solok and other areas of West Sumatra. *Baarak bako* is performed in Kuranji, Padang, using *bendi* (horse-drawn vehicle) and *odong-odong* (decorated old cars).<sup>11</sup> The purpose of the *baarak bako* tradition is to notify the public that A and B have married.<sup>12</sup> In Padang, the procession of *baarak bako* is commonly accompanied by several traditional musical instruments and Islamic songs such as *Qasidah*,<sup>13</sup> *talempong pacik*,<sup>14</sup> and

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<sup>10</sup> Eliana La Ferrara and Annamaria Milazzo, "Customary Norms, Inheritance, and Human Capital: Evidence from a Reform of the Matrilineal System in Ghana," *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 9, no. 4 (October 1, 2017): 166–85, <https://doi.org/10.1257/app.20150342>.

<sup>11</sup> Meri Evriyanti, "Fungsi Ba Arak Bako Menggunakan Bendi Dalam Upacara Perkawinan (Studi Kasus: Kecamatan Kuranji Kota Padang)" (STKIP PGRI Padang, 2017).

<sup>12</sup> Linda Resti dan Agusti Efi Rama, "The Existence of Music in the Ba Arak Program in the Traditional Culture of Marriage of the Koto Tengah Community," *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research* 2 (2019), <https://doi.org/https://dx.doi.org/10.2991/icla-18.2019.20>.

<sup>13</sup> Y Nurrahmi dan Marzan M Nurrahmi, "Fungsi Temong-Temong Dalam Acara Baarak Bako Di Kelurahan Binuang Kampung Dalam Kecamatan Pauh Padang," *Jurnal Sendratasik* 3 (2013), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24036/jsu.v2i1.2251>.

<sup>14</sup> Gema Umanda, "Bentuk Penyajian Talempong Pacik Dalam Acara Babako Di Kota Painan Kabupaten Pesisir Selatan," *Jurnal Sendratasik* 2 (2018), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24036/jsu.v7i2.102843>.

*gandang sarunai*.<sup>15</sup> In Muaro Paneh, Solok Regency, *baarak bako* is also enlivened by the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan dance in addition to using traditional musical instruments.<sup>16</sup>

In Pakan Raba'a (a region in West Sumatra), the *baarak bako* tradition is carried out by bringing eleven types of food, which must be complete, and nothing can be missing. This is intended to strengthen the bonds between the two parties (the bride and groom's families).<sup>17</sup> In Sijunjung, *baarak bako* is known as "*manjapuik anak*," which means that the *bako* picks up the *anak pisang* after the marriage ceremony and parades it around the village to let everyone know about it.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, in Pesisir Selatan, *baarak bako* is held before the marriage ceremony. It intends to inform the public that a marriage will be held shortly.<sup>19</sup> The procession tradition in the *walimat al-'urs* is also found in other tribes in Indonesia; in Central Mamuju, there is a tradition of the Sasak tribe known as *nyongkolan*, which is a bridal procession carried out from the groom's house to the bride's house with a festive

<sup>15</sup> Mutia Padila and Marzam, "Bentuk Penyajian Gandang Sarunai Pada Upacara Adat Turun Bako Di Koto Panjang Surantih Pesisir Selatan," *Jurnal Sendratasik* 10, no. 4 (2021), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24036/js.v10i4.113986>.

<sup>16</sup> Marfi Netri Elyadi, "Ari Tigo Tungku Sajarangan Dalam Arak-Arakan Penganten Di Muaro Paneh Kabupaten Solok," *Jurnal Laga-Laga* 1, no. 2 (2017), <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.26887/lg.v1i2.258>.

<sup>17</sup> Erlina R dan Baidar R, "Tinjaun Tentang Makanan Adat Yang Dibawa Pada Saat Acara Baarak Bako Di Nagari Pakan Rabaa," *Jurnal Of Home Economic* 1 (2015), <https://doi.org/http://ejournal.unp.ac.id/index.php/jhet/article/view/5482>.

<sup>18</sup> Deby Indrawati and Marzam, "Penggunaan Dan Fungsi Musik Talempong Unggan Pada Acara Baarak Di Nagari Unggan Kecamatan Sumpur Kudus Kabupaten Sijunjung," *Jurnal Sendratasik* 11, no. 2 (2022), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24036/js.v11i2.114152>.

<sup>19</sup> Mami Nofrianti and Melia Afdayani, "Barelek Sebelum Akad Nikah Di Kampung: Akad Nagari Kambang Utara Kecamatan Lenggayang Kabupaten Pesisir Selatan (Tinjauan Historis Antropologis)," *ALFUAD Jurnal* 2, no. 2 (2018), <https://doi.org/https://ojs.iainbatuangsangkar.ac.id/ojs/index.php/alfuad/article/view/1435>.

atmosphere. This tradition must be performed at every wedding ceremony.<sup>20</sup> According to Nikmatullah's research, *nyongkolan* serves as a notification to the community that marriage has occurred and establishes the friendship between the Sasak tribe.<sup>21</sup> Habibi and Kusdarini discovered that the Papaduan people of Lampung also have a procession during their traditional wedding ceremonies.<sup>22</sup>

The Minangkabau people adhere to a philosophy of *adat basandi Shara'* (custom based on religion) and *Syara' basandi Kitabullah* (religion based on the Quran).<sup>23</sup> This customary philosophy states that all Minangkabau society customs must follow Islamic teachings. Some religious rituals governed by Islamic law cannot be separated from the local traditions and customs.<sup>24</sup> Like tradition, *malam bainai* (the tradition of coloring the bride's nails using

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<sup>20</sup> Lili Hernawati, Mahmudin, and Dewi Anggraini, "Pergeseran Tradisi Nyongkolan Pada Proses Perkawinan Adat Suku Sasak Di Kabupaten Mamuju Tengah," *Sosioireligius* 5, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24252/sosioireligius.v5i1.23491>.

<sup>21</sup> Nikmatullah, "Kontekstualisasi Hadis Pernikahan Dalam Tradisi Islam Lokal Nyongkolan Di Lombok," *Hikmah* 14, no. 2 (2018), <https://doi.org/journal.alhikmahjkt.ac.id>.

<sup>22</sup> Roy Kembar Habibi and Eny Kusdarini, "Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Dalam Melestarikan Trdisi Pernikahan Pepaduan Di Lampung Utara," *JANTRO: Jurnal Antropologi* 22, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.25077/jantro.v22.n1.p60-69.2020>.

<sup>23</sup> Yohanis Yohanis, "PEMBINAAN NILAI - NILAI ADAT BASANDI SYARAK, SYARAK BASANDI KITABULLAH OLEH NINIK MAMAK TERHADAP ANAK KEMENAKAN DI KENAGARIAN SITUJUAH GADANG KEC LIMO NAGARI KAB.LIMA PULUH KOTA," *Ensiklopedia of Jurnal* 2, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.33559/eoj.v2i2.389>.

<sup>24</sup> Salma, "The Study of Islamic Law About The Deceased Muslim and Its Cultural Symbols in Sumpur Kudus, West Sumatera, Indonesia," *Samarah* 5, no. 1 (2021): 402–25, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v5i1.9037>.

crushed henna leaves) is part of the wedding procession in Minangkabau. However, the *baarak bako* tradition in Solok violates Islamic teachings in part. Implementing traditions *baarak bako* starts at Asr prayer time, but the participants did not perform the Asr prayer first. Participants have to walk two to three kilometers to the bride's house, which takes quite a long time. As a result, many participants *baarak bako* who are forced to abandon prayers, both Asr and Maghrib. In addition, the dishes taken at banquets are in traditional *baarak bako* and should not be finished even if they have been placed on each other's plates. Part of the dish must be left behind. As a result, a significant quantity of leftover food is wasted because eating it is no longer possible.<sup>25</sup>

### **The Background of *Baarak Bako* in Solok City**

The *baarak bako* tradition is unique in requiring participants to walk as far as possible, even up to five kilometers. This is done with the assumption that the farther the *baarak bako* is, the more people will know that the family of the bride's and groom's father has performed *baarak bako* for their brother's children. The offerings that must be brought during *baarak bako*, based on an interview with Bundo Kanduang Ira Wati, are *siriah* (the betel) complete with *carano* (a special place for betel leaves and all its accessories such as areca nut and others), yellow rice as traditional food, clothing items can be in the form of clothes and usually in the form of blankets, gold jewelry, essential food ingredients to be cooked for party preparations, such as rice, coconut, and the like or cooked food in the form of sponge cakes, bananas, *pinyaram* (typical Minangkabau food), *rendang*, beef jerky, *singgang ayam* (a type of half-finished chicken *rendang*) and various

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<sup>25</sup> Endi Nora Dt. Tanjambi, "interview", (Solok, 2022).

other dishes. Some bring gifts in gold jewelry, such as rings, necklaces, or bracelets. The participants carry all the contents of the offering over the head to the *anak pisang* family, who will hold the wedding party. The costs related to the handover are borne jointly by the parties' families and *guests* by donating according to their abilities. The gift value amount varies according to the family's differences in economic level. However, the average value ranges from eight to ten million rupiah. If shared equally among the Bako family, they will contribute Rp. 1.000,000- (assuming the number of Bako's core family is ten people). These costs are very burdensome when compared to the income of those who are primarily farmers. All the gifts were used by the bride and groom and their families, and the gifts immensely helped them.<sup>26</sup>

Implementing the *baarak bako* tradition indicates the significance of the position of *bako* in kinship with *anak pisang* in Minangkabau, particularly for the people of Solok City. One of the most important meanings of this tradition is to express gratitude and happiness for their *anak pisang's* marriage. They took good care of their *anak pisang*, and now he or she is an adult and has found love. The *baarak bako* tradition is a medium for the *bako* to "show their existence" to their *anak pisang* family. Aside from that, *baarak bako* manifests *bako's* love for their *anak pisang*, a demonstration of *bako's* ability to carry out the event, and as a special pride for *anak pisang* if *bako* carries out the event.<sup>27</sup>

The *baarak bako* tradition has been passed down from generation to generation. This tradition is a must in the wedding procession for the people of Solok City. In other words, if *baarak bako* is not performed, the

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<sup>26</sup> Endi Nora Dt. Tanjambi, "interview", (Solok, 2023).

<sup>27</sup> Oktavianus Dt. Rajo Alam, "interview", 2022.



community will assume that the father's family does not agree upon the marriage.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, both sides of the family (the bride's and paternal family) will face condemnation and humiliation from the community. As a result, almost no wedding party is held without traditional *baarak bako*. However, carrying it out *baarak bako* requires relatively high costs. As a result, some people are forced to do it.<sup>29</sup> That is, they cannot hold *baarak bako*, but they must comply because it is a customary rule that must be followed. Hendra Mulyadi Dt. Malintang Sutan, Solok City's traditional leadertold the history of the *baarak bako* procession. He said that *baarak bako* could not be separated from the close relationship between female relatives from the father's side (*bako*) and a brother's child (*anak pisang*). The *bako* consider *anak pisang* their child, and it is an honor to accompany them to the wedding ceremony. The parade is carried out almost entirely around the village so that the community is aware of and witnesses the excitement of the wedding party. As a result, the background of *baarak bako* is the *bako's* desire to demonstrate their existence by enlivening the *anak pisang* wedding party to the broader community.<sup>30</sup>

Adlis Dt. Rajo Dilangik, another traditional leader, offered a similar explanation that the background for *baarak bako* is the desire of the *bako* to show their existence in society. The tradition of *baarak bako* stems from the *bako's* desire to liven up the *anak pisang* wedding party. They will feel proud if they can hold the procession in groups. They will do their best to uphold this tradition. Apart from that, the *bako* will be even prouder if the *bako* takes a longer path. They believe that the longer the

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<sup>28</sup> Adlis Dt. Rajo Dilangik, "interview", 2022.

<sup>29</sup> Ira Wati, "interview", 2022.

<sup>30</sup> Mulyadi Dt. Malintang Sutan, "interview", 2022.

procession, the more people will see it. As a result, the *bako* that organizes it will receive more and more praise from those who witness it.

Similarly, the completeness of *baarak bako*, such as musical instruments and offerings, is essential. The louder the musical instruments accompanying the procession, the merrier the parade; the more participants with various offerings, the more praise the *bako* receives. This means that the existence of *bako* is becoming more celebrated in society.<sup>31</sup>

### **Reasons for the Selection of the Time for *Baarak Bako***

Implementation of traditions *baarak bako* in several places in Solok, such as the Tanah Garam sub-district and Lubuk Sikarah sub-district, it is unique compared to other West Sumatra areas. The uniqueness includes the implementation time *baarak bako* must start at the beginning of the Asr prayer time. When it was time for prayer, and the call to prayer sounded, the participants immediately started the tradition by walking around the village without performing the Asr prayer. Typically, the *baarak bako* ends during *Maghrib* prayer, sometimes even until Isha prayer time.<sup>32</sup>

Meanwhile, in other places in West Sumatra, it is generally held after the Asr prayer. That is, the participant's *baarak bako* performs the Asr prayer before carrying it out *baarak bako*. For example, the tradition of *baarak bako* in Koto Tengah District and Pauh District is held after the Asr prayer. Like wise in Surantih Pesisir Selatan District.<sup>33</sup> According to Umak Kasian, a *bundo*

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<sup>31</sup> Adlis Dt. Rajo Dilangik, "Interview," 2022.

<sup>32</sup> Endi Nora Dt. Tanjung, "interview", (Solok 2023).

<sup>33</sup> Mutia Padila and Marzam Marzam, "Bentuk Penyajian Gandang Sarunai Pada Upacara Adat Turun Bako Di Koto Panjang Surantih

*kanduang* (a traditional leader among women), the community chooses *Asr* time for *baarak bako* because they believe it is the most appropriate time. This assumption is based on several factors, including the fact that most people are already at home at that time. People usually work from morning to noon, such as on the farm or garden. Similarly, residents who work as traders and Civil Servants (PNS) have generally returned to work at *Asr* time. This timing also makes it easier for the *baarak bako* participants. Fewer people will witness it if the parade is held in the morning or during the day. One of the purposes of the event is to inform the public about the recent marriage.<sup>34</sup> Other *bundo kanduang* also made similar statements; Sisri Wulandari,<sup>35</sup> Ira Wati,<sup>36</sup> and Desniati.<sup>37</sup>

The same information was obtained from another traditional leader, Oktavianus Dt. Raja Alam. He stated that the choice of *Asr* time as the time for *baarak bako* results from an agreement between community leaders and residents. The agreement refers to several considerations, including the weather conditions no longer scorching in the afternoon (*Asr* time) because the sun is leaning to the West and almost setting. These circumstances strongly favor the implementation of *baarak bako*. Based on the results of interviews with several participants, they do not feel hot even though they walk for two or three kilometers while carrying some traditional offerings.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, as the weather begins to cool, the participants' makeup will remain durable and not fade because they will not sweat

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Pesisir Selatan,” *Jurnal Sendratasik* 10, no. 4 (December 20, 2021): 104, <https://doi.org/10.24036/js.v10i4.113986>.

<sup>34</sup> Umak Kasian, “Interview,” 2022.

<sup>35</sup> Sisri Wulandari, “Interview,” 2022.

<sup>36</sup> Wati, “interview”,

<sup>37</sup> Desniati, “interview”, 2022.

<sup>38</sup> Rosmiati, “interview”, 2022.

as much as in hot weather. As a result, this timing has at least two advantages: the participants are not overheated, and their makeup does not fade, given that all *baarak bako* participants are women.<sup>39</sup>

In addition, Rudianto Dt. Rajo Nan Sati added that one of the reasons for holding *baarak bako* in the afternoon is that the community believes that holding it at other times (morning and during the day) will disrupt the activities of participants and other residents. Their daily activities take place in the morning and during the day. Similarly, if it is held at night, the *baarak bako* will be less lively than if it is held in the afternoon because most people have rested and are unwilling to leave their homes to witness it. Many residents sleep early in the morning due to exhaustion after working. Furthermore, the light at night is not as bright as the sun during the day. This impacts the implementation of *baarak bako* because the traversed roads are sometimes quiet areas with no street lights.<sup>40</sup>

According to the results of the above interviews, the reason for holding the *baarak bako* in the afternoon (*Asr* prayer time) is that it is customary to announce a marriage in the afternoon. This is based on several factors, including that most people have returned to their homes and completed their activities outside the home. Furthermore, the heat from the sun has begun to diminish, and the weather is cooler to walk outside the house, especially for women with quickly faded makeup. If it is carried out in the morning or during the day, however, it will interfere with the daily activities of residents, including the *baarak bako* participants.

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<sup>39</sup> Oktavianus Dt. Rajo Alam, "interview",

<sup>40</sup> Rudianto Dt. Rajo Nan Sati, "interview", 2022.

### **The Impact of *Baarak Bako* on Prayer**

As previously stated, the time for performing *baarak bako* is during the *Asr* prayer. One issue is that the start of the *baarak bako* event coincides with the start of prayer time. As soon as the call to prayer is made, the *baarak bako* participants begin the parade to the bride's house without first performing the prayer. The walk usually finishes around sunset. It sometimes ends at the 'Isha prayer time. One of the *baarak bako* participants said that the *baarak bako* event generally lasted at sunset.<sup>41</sup> Rosmiati and Nurbaiti conveyed similar points.<sup>42</sup>

As previously stated, the implementation of *baarak bako* has a direct impact on prayer services, precisely the neglect of obligatory prayers. Some of the participants leave the prayer for various reasons. Yuliarni, one of the participants, stated that she did not do the *Asr* prayer because she was afraid the group would leave her. When the call to prayer resounds, the *baarak bako* group will immediately start their *baarak bako* parade<sup>43</sup>. Juwita claimed that *baarak bako* participants generally do not perform the *Asr* or *Maghrib* prayers. Most of them do not want their makeup to fade because of ablution. The majority of *baarak bako* participants are adult women. They get their hair and makeup done at the salon. The participants go to the salon around 2 p.m. and do not want the makeup ruined before the event ends.<sup>44</sup> Kornalia also uttered this reason in the interview.

Nonetheless, some *baarak bako* participants perform their prayers on time. They attempt to establish prayers first before the procession. They pray as soon as

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<sup>41</sup> Masidan, "interview", 2022.

<sup>42</sup> Nurbaiti, "interview", 2022.

<sup>43</sup> Yuliarni, "interview", 2022.

<sup>44</sup> Juwita, "interview", 2022.

the call to prayer is heard. They perform ablution before putting on makeup or going to the salon to prevent their makeup from being washed off by the ablution water. They are also not worried about being left behind by their entourage when praying because the prayer does not take long. Even if the group has left, the distance will not be too far to catch up by walking quickly, as explained by Muslihah<sup>45</sup> and Indah.<sup>46</sup> This means that not all participants left prayer because of this *baarak bako* but rather because of personal factors. Without *baarak bako*, some of them still do not pray.

In response to the missed prayers during the implementation of *baarak bako*, some participants performed *jama'* (merging two prayers at once). That is, performing the 'Asr prayer at *Zuhr* time, also known as *jama' taqdīm*. If the missed prayer includes the *Maghrib* prayer, it is performed in a *jama' ta'khīr* (carrying out the *Maghrib* prayer at 'Isha praying time. This information was obtained from interviews with some of the participants of *baarak bako*, including Juwita,<sup>47</sup> Kornelia,<sup>48</sup> and Masidan.<sup>49</sup> They believed that participating in *baarak bako* relieved them of the need to pray in a congregation. Others, however, let the neglected prayer pass without *jama'*.

In response, religious leaders have stated that *baarak bako* participants must engage in self-introspection. Using *baarak bako* is inappropriate to sidestep religious obligations, particularly obligatory prayers. Leaving prayer because of the *baarak bako* tradition is a practice that cannot be justified. As a result,

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<sup>45</sup> Muslihah, "interview", 2022.

<sup>46</sup> Indah, "interview", 2022.

<sup>47</sup> Juwita, "interview", 2022.

<sup>48</sup> Kornalia, "interview", 2022.

<sup>49</sup> Masidan, "interview", 2022.

it must be revised for this tradition to survive and be consistent with religious teachings.<sup>50</sup> The traditional leaders also explained that *baarak bako* is a beneficial tradition. However, in some societies, the implementation is flawed, causing people to abandon prayer. As a result, one method of overcoming this is to change the time of the event. This activity should not be performed while *adhan* is being recited, as is customary in the community. They also argued that the mistakes in implementing *baarak bako* were not caused by the tradition but by the participants. Some participants choose not to perform their prayers even though they can. There are even some of them who do not pray daily. In other words, some participants do not pray even though they do not follow the *baarak bako* tradition. As a result, the role of community leaders, particularly religious leaders, must be expanded to provide a better understanding of religious teachings (obligation to pray and the consequences of leaving it). Furthermore, confirmation that *baarak bako* must begin after the *Asr* prayer in congregation at the mosque is required.<sup>51</sup> Desniati, a *bundo kanduang* in Solok, shared the same viewpoint.<sup>52</sup>

Based on the study of fiqh of worship, scholars have agreed that establishing the five prayers is mandatory (*fardhu 'ain*), an obligation imposed on Muslim individuals already known as *mukallaf* (religiously accountable). If the person performs the prayer following the pillars and requirements, Allah will reward him. If you leave it, however, the person is sinful and subject to punishment. It is regarded as having committed a grave sin.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Malin Sati, "Interview", 2022.

<sup>51</sup> Rusdianto, "Interview," 2022.

<sup>52</sup> Desniati, "Interview", 2022.

<sup>53</sup> Sayyid Sâbiq, *Fiqhu Al-Sunnah* (Beirût: Dâr al-Fikr, 1983), p. 80.

The obligation to perform the five daily prayers is based on several Qur'anic verses, including surah *An-Nisa'* verse 103: Indeed, prayer has been decreed upon the believers a decree of specified times; surah *Al-'Ankabūt* verse 45: And establish prayer; indeed, 'genuine' prayer should deter 'one' from indecency and wickedness, as well as; surah *Al-Baqarah* verse 3-5: People who believe in the unseen, establish prayer, and donate from what We have provided for them, and who believe in what has been revealed to you 'O Prophet' and what was revealed before you, and have sure faith in the Hereafter. It is they who are truly guided by their God, and it is they who will be successful. Among the hadith that becomes the basis of the obligation of prayer is the hadith narrated by Bukhari and Muslims. The Prophet Muhammad said Islam is built on five foundations, namely testifying that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger, establishing prayer, fasting in the month of Ramadan, paying zakat, and performing Hajj if able to.<sup>54</sup>

Islamic Shari'ah provides ease in the implementation of prayer services. This is known as *rukhsah*. In simple terms, *rukhsah* is the relief Allah gives in carrying out His commands.<sup>55</sup> Referring to al-Âmidî (d. 631 H), it is permissible to do something forbidden or to refrain from doing something obligatory for the reason of *syara'*.<sup>56</sup> The conveniences and ease prescribed in implementing prayer services include *jama'* (merging two prayers at once) and *qashar* (shortening the number of *rakaat*, mainly from four

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<sup>54</sup> Muhyiddin An-Nawawi, *Syarah Hadits Arba'in, Alih Bahasa: Salafuddin Abu Sayyid* (Solo: Pustaka Arafah, 2006).

<sup>55</sup> Fachru al-Dîn Al-Râzi, *Al-Mahshûl Fî 'Ilmi Al-Ushûl* (Beirût: Muassasah al-Risâlah, n.d.), p. 120.

<sup>56</sup> Saif al-Dîn Al-Âmidî, *Al-Ihkâm Fî Ushûl Al-Ahkâm* (Beirût: Dâr al-Fikr, 2003), p. 94.



to two).<sup>57</sup> Syarifuddin emphasized that *rukhsah* in the form of *jama'* and *qashar* only applies to people on their way (travelers) by a specific distance.<sup>58</sup> Muhammad bin Qasim (a Syafi'i scholar) explained that someone on a journey is allowed to perform *jama'* or *qashar* prayers with five conditions: the journey is not in the context of immorality, the minimum travel distance is 16 *farsakh* (48 miles or 85 km), the prayer performed in *qashar* is a four *rakaat* prayer, the intention to do *jama'* or *qashar*, and perform the four *rakaat* prayers into two *rakaats*.<sup>59</sup> The fiqh scholars agree that the *illat* of *qashar* and *jama'* prayer is due to long journeys (*safar*).<sup>60</sup>

It is possible to argue that the actions of some participants who perform congregational prayers due to *baarak bako* are not following the fiqh rules of worship. This is because it does not meet the criteria for *jama'* permissibility. Some people believe that walking in the *baarak bako* as an *illat* for *jama'* is permissible, but this does not meet the scholars' agreed-upon criteria for *safar*, which is 85 kilometers, and the distance traveled in the *baarak bako* event is only two to three kilometers. As a result, those actions do not fulfill the shari'a provisions in worship, particularly the provisions for *jama'* prayers.

There is an Islamic term for custom in Arab society called '*urf*'. Referring to Zahrah (d. 1973 A.D.), '*urf*' is defined as something well known and accustomed to by a group of people, both in words and deeds.<sup>61</sup> Az-Zuhaili

<sup>57</sup> Sâbiq, *Fiḡhu Al-Sunnah*, p. 239-240.

<sup>58</sup> Amir Syarifuddin, *Garis-Garis Besar Fiḡh* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2003), p. 35.

<sup>59</sup> Muhammad bin Qâsim, *Syarh Fath Al-Qarîb* (Surabaya: Nûr al-Hudâ, n.d.), p. 17.

<sup>60</sup> Alî Al-Sâis, *Tafsîr Âyât Al-Ahkâm* (Kairo: Muassasah al-Mukhtâr, 2001), p. 314.

<sup>61</sup> Abd al-Wahhâb Khallâf, *Mashâdir Al-Tasyrî' Al-Islâmi Fîmâ Lâ Nassha Fîh* (Kuwait: Dâr al-Qalam, 1972), p. 145.

emphasized that the terms 'urf and custom' are interchangeable among Arabs. *Urf* is divided into two categories: 'urf *shahīh* (good customs) and 'urf *fāsid* (bad/corrupt customs).<sup>62</sup> Custom or 'urf can be used as a legal argument if it meets several requirements; 'urf brings goodness (*maslahat*) and is accepted by common sense; it is widely accepted in the local community; it is already applied and practiced by the community long before the stipulation of law; there is no specific text regarding its law; and it does not conflict with the principles of the texts of the Quran and Hadith.<sup>63</sup> Syarifuddin argued that the custom or 'urf practiced among the people indicates that it has been well received for a long time. If all the scholars have practiced it, they have indirectly become *ijmā'*, even in the form of *sukūti*. Many people follow and accept the custom because it provides benefits. Rejecting custom means ignoring benefit, whereas all parties have agreed to take something worth benefiting from, although no text directly supports it.<sup>64</sup>

The *baarak bako* tradition in Solok City contains several elements: 'urf *shahīh*. First, this tradition contains good values (benefits) for the people of Solok City through family values and cooperation. Family values are seen in traditions such as *baarak bako*, where the father's family (*bako*) plays a role in enlivening the marriage of their sibling's children. All paternal family members are willing to make material and non-material sacrifices to increase

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<sup>62</sup> Wahbah al-Zuhaili, *Ushul Al-Fiqh Al-Islami* (Damascus: Dar al-Fikri, 1986), p. 830.

<sup>63</sup> Fitra Rizal, "Penerapan 'Urf Sebagai Metode Dan Sumber Hukum Ekonomi Islam," *AL-MANHAJ: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial Islam* 1, no. 2 (December 16, 2019): 155–76, <https://doi.org/10.37680/almanhaj.v1i2.167>.

<sup>64</sup> Amir Syarifuddin, *Ushul Fiqh* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2001), p. 378.

the bride and groom's happiness and their extended family. This will further strengthen the family relationship between the two parties, namely the bako family and the anak pisang (sons of male relatives). The value of cooperation is evident in the *baarak bako* tradition when all members of the father's family (bako) contribute in the form of offerings given to the bride and groom and their extended family. This gift aims to lighten the burden on the bride and groom's family, especially during the wedding ceremony. Through tradition *baarak bako*, these values are implemented in people's lives.<sup>65</sup> Second, tradition *baarak bako*; the community has carried it out for generations. However, it is not known exactly when this tradition started because no historical records have been found.

For the people of Solok City, *baarak bako* has meaning and significance in the wedding procession. Tradition *baarak bako* is an event to show the existence and social status of the father's extended family (bako) to many people. Nevertheless, traditional *baarak bako* also contains several elements *'urf fāsīd*, namely, some of the participants violated religious rules by neglecting obligatory prayers and committing wasteful acts by deliberately leaving food behind at the banquet. In other words, traditional *baarak bako* clashed between custom and religion. On the one hand, the people of the city of Solok, who are all Muslim, want to maintain religious teachings, especially establishing prayer services in daily life. However, on the other hand, sometimes they cannot abandon customary rules that have been carried out for generations even though these customary rules conflict with sharia rules in several aspects.

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<sup>65</sup> Amri, "interview", 2022.

However, for the people of the city of Solok, the existence of several aspects in the implementation of *baarak bako* that are contrary to religion should not be exaggerated, and the tradition of *baarak bako* is still considered an ancestral heritage that should be maintained by changing aspects that are contrary to religious rules. This means that what is happening is actually a complementarity between custom and religion. Fuadi Nawawi, a religious figure in Solok, emphasized that all forms of *baarak bako* processions that align with Sharia rules have been corrected recently. The implementation time, which started at the time of the Ashr prayer, is now shifted to after the prayer. Likewise, concerning dishes that were previously not allowed to be finished, they are no longer allowed to be left over and wasted.<sup>66</sup> Information was also put forward by Adri Novian (Solok city cleric).<sup>67</sup>

Since the time of their forefathers, the Minangkabau ethnic community has been assimilating and absorbing customary rules and values into Islamic law. This is stated in the philosophy of *Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah, Syara' Mangato, Adat mamakai* (Custom is based on religion, religion is based on Quran, religion communicates, custom practices).<sup>68</sup> This philosophy indicates that the Minangkabau ethnic community's customs passed down from generation to generation follow the rules of the religion to which they adhere, namely Islam. The community generally believes there is no conflict between customary rules and religion. However,

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<sup>66</sup> Fuadi Nawawi, "interview", (Solok, 2023).

<sup>67</sup> Adri Novian, "interview", (Solok, 2023).

<sup>68</sup> Erwati Aziz, Mohammad Dzofir, and Aris Widodo, "The Acculturation of Islam and Customary Law: An Experience of Minangkabau, Indonesia," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, no. 1 (2020): 131–60, <https://doi.org/10.21043/QIJIS.V8I1.7197>.

some people sometimes prioritize customary demands over religion for various reasons.

### **Conclusion**

Based on the preceding discussion, it is concluded that the background of *baarak bako* in Solok City, West Sumatra is the desire of the *bako* (female family from the father's side) to demonstrate their existence by enlivening the *anak pisang* (children of brother) wedding party; The best time to announce a marriage, according to custom, is in the afternoon, when people have returned to their homes and have finished their activities. Furthermore, the sun's scorching heat has begun to fade, and the weather is cooler to walk outside the house, especially for women with makeup that quickly wears off; the implementation of *baarak bako* resulted in missed prayers for most participants. For some participants, the prayers missed during *baarak bako* are carried out in a *jama'* (*Maghrib* prayer is held at 'Isha time, or *Zuhr* is performed at *Asr* time). Meanwhile, some others ignore the prayer without doing *jama'*. Solok people, and the ethnic Minangkabau generally, are very strict about following customary rules. When religious and customary rules conflict, some people prefer customary rules over religious rules.

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