

Conference Paper

The Tradition of *Manjapuik Marapulai* in *Minangkabau* Culture

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Abstract

Minangkabau custom regulates the social order in a region and the interaction between one tribe to another in the region adapted in the culture of their respective regions. The *Minangkabau* community is a matrilineal. The matrilineal system for *Minangkabau* society is manifested in the *Minangkabau* ceremonial procession. One of these traditions is the "*manjapuik marapulai*". This tradition is not held in all areas of West Sumatra, but only a few areas still doing this '*bajapuik*' tradition, one of them is in Pariaman Regency. The tradition of "*manjapuik marapulai*" is one of the marriage ritual processions, where after the marriage ceremony, the groom will be picked up by the family of the bride. *Minangkabau* people still hold firmly *manjapuik* tradition marapulai in the implementation of marriage. Besides as a form of local wisdom, it is also as a tradition that must be maintained by people from generation to the next generation so that *Minangkabau* culture will be maintained and not eroded by era development. The findings show that marriage ceremonies in Pariaman consist of: *manyilau*, *maminang*, *batimbang tando*, *akad nikah*, *manjapuik marapulai*, *baralek* and *manjalang*.

Keywords: *Manjapuik marapulai*, culture, *Minangkabau*.

1. Introduction

Minangkabau is distinguished for its strong customs from ancient times until now with the customary motto "*Adaik Basandi Syara 'Syara' Basandi Kitabullah*". *Minangkabau* meaning custom regulating the social order in a Nagari (region) and the interaction between one tribe to another is adapted to the culture in their respective region. This custom is made by an agreement among the *panghulu* (headman), *ninik mamak*, *alim ulama*, *cerdik pandai*, *bundo kanduang* and *pemuda* (youth) in a *nagari* in *Minangkabau*, which is adapted to the development of the age by using the basic ethics of *Minang* custom but it still based on the guidance of Islam. To perform the *Adaik Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah*, *Minang* society emphasizes it in phrase "*Syara 'mangato Adaik*

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mamakai” meaning that Islam teaches, commands, argues while the custom performs it. In the point fact, Islam in *Minangkabau* is practiced by *Minang* and *Minang* custom is practiced according to doctrine of Islam with foundation and guidance from Qur’an and *Sunnah* of Prophet Muhammad SAW, and it can be said that “ *Minangkabau* custom is islamic”. This motto is in line with the implementation of marriage in west sumatera, and the majority of people is called *Minangkabau* community. The *Minangkabau* community is one of the largest matrilineal societies in the world besides India. The *Minangkabau* community, especially the Pariaman community, still maintains the tradition right in the middle of community compared to other *Minang* sub-ethnic. Pariaman society still maintains the customs of marriage, especially *manjapuik marapulai*. It assumes that this custom can control the society from time to time. The matriloc system for *Minangkabau* society means *marapulai* or husband staying around the wife’s residence so that the husband is still regarded as a visitor or honored guest. Automatically, it can be said that the husband should be able to get familiar with wife’s relatives.

Manjapuik tradition in *Minangkabau* custom is transformed from time to time. In this case the adaptability of cultural tradition or oral tradition is a dynamism of the tradition. Norms and values are contained in the “*manjapuik marapulai*” tradition which is reflected in its performance and as reflection of the process of the tradition. The oral tradition used in traditional of *manjapuik marapulai* has a local wisdom. Most of the enforcement of oral tradition in traditional of *manjapuik marapulai* in wedding ceremonies in Pariaman is performed by using language; therefore, the oral traditions are always present in the whole series of wedding ceremony. In addition, the traditional of *manjapuik marapulai* begins to regulate the system of marriage life which is formed from the agreement of *penghulu*, *ninik mamak*, *alim ulama*, *cadiak pandai*, *bundo kanduang* and *youth* so that the rule products can be created by that situation, namely custom rule and custom law accumulated in the customary order. Traditional marriage ceremonies in Pariaman consist of: *manyilau*, *maminang*, *batimbang tando*, *akad nikah*, *manjapuik marapulai*, *baralek* and *manjalang*

2. Literature Review

2.1. Culture

Culture is a way of life that is developed and shared by a group of people and transmitted from generation to generation. Grammatically, the notion of culture is derived from a cultural word that tends to refer to the human mindset. Culture itself is defined as all

things related to human sense or mind, so that it can show to the mindset, behavior and physical work of a group of humans. Culture is also defined as something that will affect the level of knowledge and include the system of ideas or ideas contained in the human mind, so that in everyday life, the culture is abstract. Because it deals to everyday life, culture is closely related to society. Culture in general is a way of life that regulates that every human being understands and understands how they should act, behave, commit and determine attitudes when dealing with others. All these things are related to the way communication or language, customs and habits that occur in the environment.

Taylor (1987) defines culture as the whole behavior that includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, as well as other abilities and habits that humans gain as members of society. Meanwhile, Robert states that "culture is anything that individuals acquire from society including beliefs, customs, artistic norms, eating habits, skills acquired not from their own creativity but rather the inheritance of the past gained through formal or informal education.

Minangkabau is a tribe that populate in West Sumatera, Indonesia. The name of *Minangkabau* derives from two words, *Minang* and *kabau*. The name is associated with a typical *Minang* legend known in the *tambo*. *Minangkabau* or commonly called as *Minang* is an ethnic group who speak and respect to the *Minangkabau* custom and all that is applied in all aspects of life. *Minangkabau* culture is a culture owned by the *Minangkabau* community and thrives throughout the region along the *Minangkabau* overseas territory. *Minangkabau* culture can also be said as anything that affects the system of ideas and mindset of ethnic communities who respect to the *Minangkabau* custom, and relate to the daily life of the community. All activities of tradition in *Minangkabau* society is a cultural heritage that should be preserved. Cultures and customs provide guidance and rules in the form of the arrangement of an action and the work of human that produces action carried out from generation to generation. One of the traditions is the tradition of *majapuik marapulai*. The tradition of *manjapuik marapulai* is one of the processes in which the families of *anak daro* (bride) will come to *marapulai* (groom) house to carry out the *marapulai* to execute the next process, namely *baralek* (wedding party)

2.2. The philosophy of Minangkabau society

Custom in *Minangkabau* society has an important role in regulating the pattern, the behavior that becomes their daily habit. Custom is a guidance or standard in behaving, acting, talking, socializing and dressing in *Minangkabau* society. *Minangkabau* dynamic

put *raso* (heart) and *pareso* (reason, logic) as a result of philosophy, nature is can be a teacher (*alam takambang jadi guru*). The source of the values and worldview of *Minangkabau* society underlie the living order how interact among others, and between society and the natural environment. *Minangkabau* is distinguished for its strong customs from ancient times until now with the customary motto "*Adaik Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah*". *Adaik* which means custom, Culture / culture, *Sandi* means principle, *Syara'* means Islamic, and *Kitabullah* means Al-Quran and Sunna of Prophet Muhammad SAW. This dynamic rule of custom and creative custom are arised so that it can get the signals containing Islam. *Adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah, syara' mangato, adat mamakai, alam takambang manjadi guru* are three important elements in solving world problems and eternity problems. When these three benchmarks serve as a measure, they can be said as a complete philosophy.

According to Amir (2011: 189-190), *Minangkabau* custom is divided into 4 parts called as "*Adaik nan ampek*" (the four customs), *Adaik nan sabana* *Adaik*, *Adaik nan diadaikkan* (*adat in adat*), *Adaik nan Taradaik teradat*, *Adaik Istiadaik*. These first two customs mentioned above are called *adaik nan babuhua mati* "(Adat that is bound strongly) and this is called as "*Adat*" (custom), which has become a decision and provision based on the assesment and deliberation mutual agreement among clergy, custom leaders and *cadiak pandai* (intellectual) *diranah Minang*. This custom should not be changed again by anyone, until it is called *nan indak lakang dek paneh nan indak lapuak dek ujan, dibubuik indak nyo layua diinjak indaknyo mati* (Which is not cracked by heat and not weathered due to rain, moved not withered, revoked and not dead). These two customs are the same throughout the territory within the *Minangkabau*. They have no difference because they are the underlying *Minangkabau* customs. These two last customs are called "*Adaik nan babuhasintak*" (customs that are not tied strongly) and this is also called as "*Istiadat*", because it is not tied strongly so it can be changed whenever necessary through agreement *panghulu, ninik mamak, alim ulama, bundo kanduang and pemudo* which is adapted to the times but it is still referred as long as it does not violate the custom guidance and the islam guidance.

2.3. Minangkabau marriage customs

Marriage is a social institution within the community environment which is generally regarded as the only institution that justifies the alliance between men and women, sexual relationships, and with the aim of obtaining offspring. Therefore, marriage is governed by customary law and state law. Basically, *Pariaman* custom marriage procession consists of several stages. Generally it can be seen as: *manyilau* (*observing*),

maMinang (wooing), *batimbangtando* (engagement), *akad nikah* (Marriage), *manjapuik* (picking up), *baralek* (wedding party) and *manjalang* (visiting).

2.3.1. Manyilau (observing)

Manyilau is the first observation as the beginning of a series of wedding ceremonies. In accordance with the kinship system in *Minangkabau*, the female family comes to the male family. Normally the family who comes to visit the male family bring the parcel in a form of cakes and in accordance to the manners of eastern culture. It starts from the experienced women sent to find out whether the intended youth want to marry and match with the girl. This procession can take place several times for negotiations until an agreement is reached from both sides of the family. This negotiation also discusses the money that will be given to the groom (*uang japuik*).

2.3.2. Maminang (proposal)

The bride's family goes to the groom's family asking about the marriage. The messenger is chaired by the girl's family. However, before the proposal ceremony is delivered, some messengers have gone back and forth to the men's house for negotiating about the time and the proposed ways. *Mamak* (uncle) that comes for the marriage is accompanied by some men and women. Meanwhile, the party awaits for the proposal, and in this case the men who have been preparing to do the proposal is accompanied by *mamak*. The certainty of the results in this proposal cannot be taken yet. The men have to renegotiate with all the relatives. In the next few days the women will send more envoys to ask when the bride to be party accepts the proposal.

2.3.3. Batimbang tando

When the proposal has been received, the next step is to decide the time for engagement to be held. The engagement day is usually called the *batimbang tando*, which is a sign to exchange that both sides have promised to pair their nephew and niece and it cannot be unilaterally decided. This event involves parents and *mamak* from both parties. The bride to be family comes with a complete betel nut prepared in *carano*.

2.3.4. Manjapuik Marapulai (picking up the groom)

The *manjapuik* begins to be held after the marriage agreement. It means that after the marriage the groom does not settle in the wife's house but he must be returned to his parents' house and will go to the wife's house after a *bajapuik* is held. *Bajapuik* is occasionally done at night and sometimes during the day before the event *baralek* (wedding party). There are no special rules governing the pick-up time. This depends on the agreement of both parties.

Manjapuik is done by the family from the wife's *urang sumando* with a traditional gift as a *panjapuik marapulai* (*groom picker*). Traditional gifts that are brought to pick up the *marapulai* are generally different in every Nagari. For the area of Pariaman the parcel is carried: betel in *carano*, complete wedding dress from head to foot, and some food and cakes. Meanwhile, at groom's house it begins to do preparations for waiting the messengers who will pick up the *marapulai*.

Upon the arrival, the delegates of the housemates begin to make a brief dialogue about the purpose of their arrival. However, the *marapulai* party has not extended the next phase of the conversation before the guests eat the meal. Then the dish is served in the middle of the event.

After eating the meal, officially the messengers of the *anak daro* (bride) convey the meaning with the *pasambahan* (speech) whose contents are with *petitih* (proverb). This *pasambahan* is implemented in stages. Beginning with the passage of declaring themselves to be messengers carrying the mail and requesting that the mail should be received. Furthermore, the *pasambahan* is about the intentions concerning to the arrival of the messenger.

Manjapuik marapulai event actually takes time because the *pasambahan* is done in reply from both sides. In this case, both parties shall perform that the party is the prestige people which is indicated through high quality *pasambahan*. The essence of the passage is that the intention of the coming messenger is to pick up the *marapulai* to be brought to the house of the *anak daro* (bride) on that day to be juxtaposed in the bridalbed.

2.3.5. Baralek (wedding party)

Baralek is the highlight of the entire series of marriage ceremonies. This *baralek* can be held or not, because in the presence of *batimbangtando*, custom is already recognised and religiously finished with the marriage contract. But in general, *baralek* still implemented even with a simple way. *Baralek* is considered as a formal notice to the public

where people are invited to attend the *alek*. The community will be entertained with food and drink and entertained with both traditional and modern music. *Marapulai* and *anakdaro* are juxtaposed or seated in *pelaminan* or bridal bed that has been decorated in such a way.

2.3.6. Manjalang (visiting)

Manjalang means visiting. *Manjalang* is done by *anak daro* and *marapulai* together with their entourage completely bring some food. The family begin to wait at home. At the time of saying goodbye to back home, *anak daro* will receive various gifts from the family party of her husband, in the form of jewelry, clothing, and so on. After the gift-giving ceremony is over, the *anak daro*, *marapulai* and their entourage return to their house.

From the whole series of *Minangkabau* custom marriage procession, the *manjapuik* tradition begins to be the most important process and becomes the characteristics of *Minangkabau* tribe which can be distinguished from other tribal marriage traditions. This study examines the Indigenous marriage *manjapuik marapulai* which is one of the most important parts in the whole series of *Minangkabau* traditional wedding ceremony in Pariaman. *Manjapuik* begins after the marriage ceremony. It is generally held in mosque. The *manjapuik* begins to be held after the marriage agreement. It means that after the marriage contract, he does not immediately settle in the wife's house but he must return to his parents' house and will go to the wife's house after a *bajapuik* event is held.

Customary marriage of *manjapuik marapulai* is a custom in which bride's family usually must bring a custom parcel that signifies that their coming is densely. After the procession of *sambah manyambah* (speech) has been performed, the parcels then are handed over, *marapulai* and entourage are paraded towards the residence of *anak daro*. In the procession of *sambah manyambah*, the interactive communication among the both parties can be clearly seen. Generally, *Minangkabau* people tend to express their intentions indirectly. In communication, expressions are used, and the meanings of those expression are equally understood by both the speakers and the recipients.

Communication as proposed is an indirect example containing elements of expression with the intentions of not disparaging others. This situation is in line with the foundation of *Minangkabau* language that has four variations of speech, called *kato nan ampek* (four words), namely: *kato mandaki*, *kato manurun*, *kato mandata* and *kato malereang*. The use of speech based on *kato nan ampek* is similar with politeness. Speakers who are able to use the language in accordance with existing conditions are

categorized as people who understand the speech and are considered as a polite person. Conversely, people who cannot afford to use *kato nan ampek* correctly according to the condition of the ideally language at *Minangkabau* are considered as impolite persons.

3. Research Method

The approach used in this research is descriptive qualitative approach. In this research, the data were taken from the natural activity in oral tradition of *manjapuik* in traditional wedding ceremony in Pariaman. Therefore, the data can be obtained from the description of *manjapuik* in traditional wedding ceremony in Pariaman. This research will be conducted in West Sumatera Province, precisely in District of *Sungai Geringging* Regency of Padang Pariaman. This research will be carried out through the community *Sungai Geringging*, which consists of 4 (four) nagari (region), namely: *nagari sungai sirah kuranji hulu*, *nagari batu gadang kuranji hulu*, *nagari kuranji hulu*, and *nagari malai III koto*.

The sources of data used in this study are primary data and secondary data. This is consistent with those mentioned by Lofland and Lofland (1984) in Moleong (2005: 157) who states that the main data in qualitative research are the words, and the remaining action is additional data such as documents, etc. The primary data of this study are obtained directly when the customary marriage ceremony is performed so that the oral *manjapuik* tradition begins at the traditional marriage ceremony of Pariaman as a venue for the ceremony of the traditional ceremony of the marriage. Primary data are also obtained by taking data from key informants, namely customary actors such as: *panghulu*, *ninik mamak*, and *bundo kanduang* who understand the custom of *manjapuik marapulai* on traditional marriage ceremony in Pariaman. The secondary data are the results of structured and unstructured interviews, and the use of passive participatory observation techniques.

The method used in this study, firstly, is to do the survey in which the information is collected in accordance with the title that has been established in the tradition using the ceremony of marriage customs in Pariaman. Secondly, to conduct structured and unstructured interviews (depth interviews) with the key informants to extract information related to traditional Pariaman marriage ceremonies. Thirdly, to collect data used in the oral tradition of traditional marriage ceremony Pariaman, and fourth, to check the validity of the results of research conducted, and to discuss it with the key informants. Next, the data and the answers from each key informant and respondent are tabulated based on the classification on the sequence of traditional Pariaman marriage ceremonies and analysed.

4. Discussion

The *manjapuik* begins after the ceremony of the marriage ceremony is held. This wedding ceremony is generally held in mosques and it led by *penghulu*. This *penghulu* imported from the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA). In this case the marriage contract is implemented. It means that *marapulai* and *anak daro* are legally as husband and wife in the government law. After the wedding ceremony is held in front of the *penghulu*, the parents, the big family and the witnesses who are the parts of the ceremony in *ijab Kabul* (marriage contract) process, the *marapulai* who is having a new status as a husband will be only able to visit his wife's house after the *marapulai* is picked up by the wife's family in accordance with the customary provisions which apply in *di Minangkabau* especially in Pariaman regency.

4.1. The messenger of Manjapuik Marapulai

This *Minangkabau* traditional wedding requires the *marapulai* or husbands to settle in the wife's house, therefore this *manjapuik* process is a moving process for the family *marapulai* so that *marapulai* is not allowed to move away but must be picked up customarily. This is done in order that the family as well as the *marapulai* does not feel sad due to the separation with his family. On the contrary, there will be a sense of joy because their families will have a new family.

In the implementation of the *manjapuik marapulai*, the parents of *anak daro* are not allowed to fetch *marapulai*. This is only done by the family messenger itself, the *urang sumando*, or the same person who is a new comer in the family of the wife. With the transfer of authority, then the custom parcels will be brought by *urang sumando* as a picker of *marapulai*.

4.2. Parcel of Panjapuik

The customary parcels are brought to pick up the *marapulai* who presents the messages from the family of *anak daro*. Messages and advices are illustrated from various kinds of parcels brought. Each of them represents the person who sends the message, namely: *seperinduan* and *sepesukuan* (the same kinship), *urang ampek jinih* (leaders), *urang rumah mamak sumando*, parent of *anak daro*, and *anak daro*.

Upon the arrival, the customary parcel is given by customary procedure for the waiting family, namely: *mamak adat*, *urang sumando*, and relatives.

The pickup parcel consists of:

1. Betel *langkok* (Complete betel), consist of betel leaf, whiting, *gambier*, areca nut, and tobacco
2. Betel *sakapur*, is betel that has been mixed and ready to eat
3. Cigarettes
4. Rice in peat, it is placed in a small container with a cover. This container is webbed from *pandan* leaf.
5. Money in accordance to previous agreement
6. *Sapatagak* clothes

4.3. The meaning of the gift

All the parcels are brought along to pick up the *marapulai*, each has a meaning.

1. *Sirih langkok* (complete betel)

- source and purpose

Complete betel is a post containing messages from the family of *anak daro* aimed to the family *marapulai* as a meaningful opening word to reduce the tensity between the messengers of the *anak daro* and the *marapulai's* family. This is revealed in the proverb: *sabalun kato dimulai, sabalun karajo dikakok, adat duduak sirih manyirih, adat carano bapalegakan*. That is, before the negotiations begins, and before work to be faced, all the relatives sit *sirih menyirih*, and the custom done.

- Messages and advice

Complete betel is also symbolized as a means of communication as a means to interact. This basic communication is addressed to the *marapulai's* family, by processing to prefer their own betel ready to be eaten as their tastes.

2. *Sekapur sirih* (betel lime)

- source and purpose

Betel lime with four pieces of fruit derived from *urang ampek jinih* in the family of *anak daro*, namely: *panghulu, alim ulama, manti (cadiakpandai) and dubalang (urangmudo)*. *Urang ampek jinih* is a leader community in that kinship or tribe.

- Messages and advice

The relatives treat *urang ampek jinih* containing the message that the betel is edible and ready to be eaten.

3. Cigarettes

- source and purpose

Cigarettes or *paisok* originated from urang sumando in the family of *anak daro* and addressed to *urang ampek jinih* in *marapulai's* family.

- Messages and advices

Likewise with complete betel, cigarettes are also symbolized as a communication tool for small addressed to the family.

4. Rice in peat

- source and purpose

Rice put into the peat is an offering from the parents of the *anak daro* directed to the *marapulai*.

- Messages and advices

Rice in peat is a symbol of *lumbuang nan panuah*. This is the embodiment of the message and advice to *marapulai*, that the *anak daro* who becomes his wife and raised and fed by her parents with food stuffed in the granary that is always full, and this means that the parents always fulfill the needs of their daughter. Then *marapulai* is expected to be able to continue and ensure all the needs of his wife and children later on.

5. Money

- source and purpose

The money comes from the families of *anak daro* and addressed to *marapulai*.

- Messages and advice

The money given to *marapulai* is in recognition that the man who becomes *marapulai* has been accepted to be *urang sumando* in *anak daro* family and placed in a respectable place in accordance with its function as *urang sumando*.

6. Clothes sapatagak

- Source and purpose

Sapatagak clothes are brought from the family of *anak daro* and addressed to *marapulai*.

- Messages and advices

A *sapatagak* clothes is a set of clothing that will be worn by *marapulai* at a wedding party. This sapatagak dress consists of: *peci* (hat), suit, shirt, tie, underwear, belt, handkerchief, trousers, socks, and shoes.

5. Conclusion

Minangkabau society is one of the largest ethnics that still apply matrilineal system in its life aspect. As a society of adherents of matrilineal understanding, the role and position of women are also determined in the aspects of life and social. This is illustrated not only in terms of lineage, but also related to other social aspects; one of them is in the case of marriage. Marriage is the first process for someone to release himself from his own family group environment and start forming his own small group but does not completely remove the influence of his previous group. It means, marriage is the starting point of group in division process. *Minangkabau* society still apply the tradition *manjapuik marapulai* in the process of marriage. *Manjapuik marapulai* is one of the processes in which the family of *anak daro* will go to the family of *marapulai* to pick him to do the next process together, that is *baralek* (wedding party). *Manjapuik marapulai* is done customarily because it involves a large family from both parties; i.e. *anak daro* and *marapulai*.

This tradition is in line with the philosophy of the *Minangkabau* community, since the custom in *Minangkabau* society has an important role in regulating the patterns, the behavior becomes their daily habit. Custom in a sense is a guide or standard in behaving, acting, talking, socializing and dressing way in *Minangkabau* society. The dynamic custom of *Minangkabau* is *raso* (heart) and *pareso* (reason, logic) as a result of philosophy, and nature is not a teacher. The source of the values and outlook of *Minangkabau* society underlies the living order interaction among others, and between society and the natural environment.

Minangkabau custom is divided into 4 parts called "*Adaik nan ampek*" (the four customs); *Adaik nan sabana Adaik*, *Adaik nan diadaikkan* (custom in adat), both customs are eternal and never be changed, and they have become an absolute determination and will never change. Then, *Adaik nan taradaik* (*adat teradat*), *Adaik Istiadaik* (*adat istidat*), these two customs can still be changed by the *ninik mamak*, *alim ulama*, *cadiak pandai*, *bundo kanduang* and youth adapted to the times as the reference as long as it does not violate the customs guidance and Islam guidance.

In relation to the philosophy of the *Minangkabau* society, all activities of tradition in *Minangkabau* society are cultural heritages that deserve to be preserved, because culture and customs provide guidance and rules in the form of arrangement of actions and works of human which produce actions carried out from one generation to next generation.

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