

# RAMADHAN STAY: COLLABORATION BETWEEN TRADITION, TOURISM, AND SPIRITUALISM

## An Exploration of The Local Wisdom in Minangkabau

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**Abstract:** This research concluded that in the Minangkabau rural areas acculturation between Islam and local tradition is implemented although the tradition is in some cases contradictory to Islam. However, Islam and local tradition do not dominate one another as can be seen in the tradition of Ramadhan Stay which is performed by rural people in Malalo, West Sumatra. Looking at the sequences of the tradition, there are three cultural elements which mutually strengthen one another, i.e., local tradition, spiritualism, and tourism. The local tradition can be seen from the religious practices such as expression of prayers done to strengthen one's body, mental, and purity of the heart. These are the prerequisites the Ramadhan Stay which is performed at the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh. The intensity of religious worship can be implied from the saying: "the months outside Ramadhan are the months for doing job, while Ramadhan is the month for worship". The tourism aspect is seen from taking rest of daily activities and intensely enjoying all Ramadhan rituals.

**Abstrak :** Penelitian ini menyimpulkan, pada masyarakat pedesaan seperti di Minangkabau, akulturasi Islam dan tradisi lokal terimplementasi meskipun tradisi lokal tersebut bertentangan dengan Islam—Islam dan tradisi lokal tidak saling mendominasi satu sama lain sebagaimana bisa dilihat dalam Mukim Ramadhan yang diperlihatkan oleh Islam pedesaan seperti di Malalo, Sumatera Barat. Dalam rentetan prosesi Mukim Ramadhan ada tiga elemen budaya yang saling menguatkan yakni: tradisilokal, spritualisme, dan wisata. Tradisi lokal bisa dipahami dari sikap-sikap beragama seperti berdo'a untuk mendapatkan kekuatan fisik, mental, dan kebersihan jiwa sebagai syarat pelaksanaan Mukim Ramadhan yang dilaksanakan di kuburan Tuanku Lima Puluh. Tingginya etos ibadah bisa dipahami dari ungkapan, "bulan di luar ramadhan adalah bulan untuk bekerja, bulan puasa bulan ibadah". Sementara makna wisata bisa dilihat dari istirahat dari pekerjaan dan menikmati ibadah Ramadhan.

**Key Word:** Ramadhan, stay, collaboration, accommodation, tourism, Minangkabau

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Set foot in the village of Malalo 8<sup>th</sup> September 2013, my memory return to the period of childhood thirty five years ago, where almost every end of the Sa'ban month visit to a sacred place, it is the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh—an Islamic Scholar who has the deep of Islamic knowledge, and the visitor sacred him. Tuanku Lima Puluh was buried in the hillside of Malalo, the hill toward the Singkarak lake which has beautiful scenery.

Visitors have many motivation visit to that tomb, such as: to realize “nazar”(vow), health from diseased, successful on the economic enterprises, to purified the soul from the bad characters as a preparation to receive the Ramadhan month and others. Hundreds of visitor to do the visiting to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh. The area of the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh was arranged like the building of mosque. Inside of the mosque, there is a room in front of the tomb which is used by the visitors to pray. Visitor is usually pray through guidance of a local prayer leaders which is prepared by the local religious authority. They are usually graduated from the traditional boarding school which is exist until now. These school have existed before Indonesia independence. Tuanku Lima puluh itself is a freedom fighter. In his struggle, he fought against Dutch armies related to the tax obligation for local resident (Malalo peoples). The prayer leader are usually called by “tuanku” or “labai”. Tuanku and “labia”. Tuanku is the religious title graduation from traditional boarding school in Minangkabau. Labai is the religious title in the custom structure of Minangkabau.

Prayer which is delivered by a prayer leader is usually adapted to the demand of visitor and prayer leaders are usually ready for it. After eating some special side dishes and some special pudding which is brought by visitor, after buried “menyan” (incence), visitors intent their purpose visit to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh to prayer leader and after that prayer leader deliver the prayer.

Visit to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh for the rural community in Malalo and around are one of the sequences of ritual procession in the performing Ramadhan stay. The next procession is “Sembayang Empat Puluh” (praying which is performed by guidance a leader of prayer for fourty days at “Surau” (a place for worship, teaching, and bed for little boy in Minangkabau) (Silvia Hanani. 2012.:

481), musholla (small building or room set aside in a public place for performance of ritual duties), and mosque. The Ramadhan stay is performed by stay in “surau” or home resident near the mosque, and muhsalla to perform the congregation of prayer and others religious guidance. The Ramadhan stay has become a tradition in rural community in Minangkabau. This tradition can be seen as the local wisdom of Minangkabau.

At the end of the Sa’ban month, dozens of cars parked in the parking lot which is provided in “jorong Duo Koto for visitor. Visitor not only came from the West Sumatera Province like Pariaman, Tanah Datar, Solok, Payakumbuh, and Bukittinggi. But also from others province like Jambi, Riau, and even the neighboring countries like Malaysia and Singapura.

Visit to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh is performed to obtain the purity of soul and mental strong as the main requirement to follow the Ramadhan worship has been the domestic regulation (PERNAG) (Arjalis, *interviewed on* September 8, 2013). Beside visit to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh, visiting is also performed to the tomb of Syekh Burhanuddin in Ulakan village in Padang Pariaman, Syekh Koto Tuo in Bukittinggi and others area in West Sumatera Province. (Ibnu Hajar. 2000 : 14)

For Malalo people and around, visit to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh is the part of the procession of worship in Ramadhan month. One of the processinon is stay in surau for forty days for shalat berjamaah (pray which carry out together with guidance of an imam—a leader of prayer) perfectly. Perfect in the case is makmum (followers of shalat berjamaah) has get “takbiratul ihram” for forty days. Ramadhan stay, beside is the way to increase faith, strengthen tradition and the nuance of tour. Article was adopted from this result of research will describe the collaboration between religion, tradition, and tourism in performing Ramadhan stay.

## **ISLAM AND MINANGKABAU CULTURE**

Contact Islam and Mingkabau culture, at least had created two form of culture: first, acculturation—Islam and Minangkabau culture accommodate each other; second, assimilation—Islam and Minangkabau culture did not accommodate one another. For the first,

there is a mutually dialectic between Islam and Minangkabau culture. For the second, there is a domination Islam to Minangkabau culture. Both of contact depend on the agent and kind of Islamic culture which do the contact with Minangkabau culture.

Based on the problem above, contact Islam and Minangkabau Culture have created two unique of Islamic culture in Minangkabau. Those culture are Islam with the construction of tasawuf. For the next in this article which is called Islamic Sufism and Islam with the construction of Wahabism. For the next in this article is called with Islamic Scripturalism or puritanism. In its contact, Islamic Sufism was considered more accommodated with Minangkabau culture rather than Islamic Scripturalism. Historically, Islamic Scripturalism has done abolition to the Islamic culture of Minangkabau which is disagree with their Islamic Understanding. Through their jargon; “tahayul”, “bid’an”, and “khurafat”, many of the “tareqa” archeological site were abolished.

In this article, writer will describe the dialectic between Islamic Sufism or tareqa and tradition that exist in Minangkabau. This studying also related to tourism or Islamic tourism. Because, there is the nuance of tour in the sequences of the procession of the Ramadhan stay.

## **MINANGKABAU IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ISLAMIC SUFISM**

Without avoid the scientific discourse about the specific date and year the exist of Islam in Minangkabau, caused of lack of the history fact. The significant role of Syekh Burhanuddin can be ignored. After graduated his studying with a foomus ulama (scholar of Islam), Abdurraug al-Sinkili, Syekh Burhanuddin returned to his birth place, Ulakan, Padang Pariman. In this place, he preach Tareqa Syattariyah up to seventeen century. Other calling of Syeikh Burhanuddin is Tuanku Ulakan. He is also trusted by Aburrauf al-Singkili as the Callip of Tareqa Syatariyyah in Minangkabau. Related to this position, Stenbring said, “Syekh Burhanuddin is considered as the leader of the world and the hereafter (dunia akherat) for all Minangkabau people, although, Syekh Burhanuddin is not the first ulama who preach Islam in Minangkabau. But there is no protest related to this title. Syeikh Burhanuddin is the first ulama

was built surau as the centre of Islamic education in Minangkabau (Stenbring. dalam Azra, 2003.: 14).

Based on the above text, can be understood that the first conversion of Minangkabau people to Islam can be separated from the Islamic Sufism or tareqa. Tareqa is more accommodation with Minangkabau culture which is more influenced by the local tradition. Tareqa in many cases most tolerant to local tradition which is contradiction with Islamic puritanism. Reasonably, many writer considered the first Islam in Minangkabu is Islam with the nuance of syncretism and mystic. In this phase, absorbed Islam to social system of Mianangkabau didn't replace Minangkabau custom its self, but more enrich it.

Islam absorbed to the custom and political structure of Minangkabau are represented in the structure of the tree of king of Minangkabau—the King of the Nature, the King of Custom, and the King of worship. All of them are always called by “Rajo Tigo Selo”. Two of the last king are considered as the king that have the highest authority on its jurisdiction. On the nagari (village) level, religious function, concretely the Islamic function included in the hierarchy of Minangkabau culture. Example, malin as the the religious or Islamic title is one of the four official of Minangkabau.

Malin is the representation of custom in the field of religion related to custom in the moment of marriage, devorce, and others. But, malin authority is most of the duty of legacy or inheritance rather than the region achievement. It differen from “tuanku” that get the authority of Islamic teaching. The acculturation can be seen deeply through the aphorism bellow: the first aphorism is “adat bersendi alur dan patut”. After Islam was known by Minangkabau people, the aphorism is replaced by the new formulation—that is “adat bersendi alur, syara' bersendi dalil”. This aphorism indicated that custom and religion can life together. The next step of acculturation can be seen through the new aphorism, “adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi adat”. In one side, this aphorism indicated interdependence between custom and Islam, and other side indicated the parallel relation which is not bind each other.

The last was formulated in the Padri War (1821-1838)—the aphorism is “adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah/Al-

Qur'an (ABS-SBK)". The last aphorism which is accepted officially by the elements of Minangkabau. This aphorism state the Islamic supremacy on custom. However, the patterns of relation between custom and Islam above was achieved after the long process and the sequences of the bitter wrestle, conflict, even war. Thus, after Padri War, the strange relation, but can't be separated between the matriarchy custom with Islam which has patriarchy orientation are created truly. In the new understanding about that relation is "a good muslim also a good Minangkabau (people obey to the custom values of Minangkabau) (Azymardi Azra. 2003 : 4)

Collaboration between Islam and Minangkabau custom in the construction of Sufism was carry out with culture approach or through the pacify culture penetration. In this step, Islam absorbed to the social structure of Minangkabau don't replace the Minangkabau custom but enrich the custom its self. In the paradigm of social construction, collaboration Islamic Sufism and Minangkabau custom through Sufism elite and custom elite was carried out through the cultural approach in which the two elements of culture don't eliminate one another but enrich it. Appreciation to the local tradition is the expression of the collaboration.

## **MINANGKABAU IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SCRIPTURALISM**

The term of scriptural refer to the religious attitude which is considered the literal understanding of the holy book as the highest of truth. This group always often called "nakli extreme" which most stress the source of religious attitude only al-Qur'an and Sunnah. (*Skripturalis*, dalam <http://adzilla.wordpress.com> dan <http://pesantren-salaf.blogspot.com>). William Lidle called the scriptural as the Islamic group which is obey to al-Qur'an and Sunnah literally (Wiliam Lidle. dalam *Ulumul Qur'an*, 1996, Vol. 5). Gellner said scripturalism, puritanism, fundamentalism have the same meaning. (Azymardi Azra. 2003 : 4). All these religious ideology stress the implementation of Islam strictly. This group usually opposite with the Islamic substantialism group which is more stress the dialectic Islam and the culture progress.

Based on the above statement, writer called the Paderi (purists from West Sumatera in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century) movement with Wahabism as scripturalism group. The construction of Islam

and Minangkabau culture on the second level is the result of the collaboration between Minangkabau elite and the Wahabism elite. The last collaboration created ABS-SBK. The media which is more accommodated in this collaboration is the political compromise between custom elite which is threatened by the Dutch colonial and Wahabi elite which is threatened fail in their islamization movement to the Minangkabau custom.

Paderi movement is the Islamic movement which is used the radical approach to implement their religious understanding. The radical approach that is used by Paderi figures (Haji Miskin, Sumanik, and Piobang) in their movement most probably influenced the ways which is used by Wahabi group when they conquer the city of Mecca. The conquest the city of Mecca was occurred when the tree of haji stayed in Mecca.

The radical approach which is used by Paderi figures in their movement can be seen from the ways which used by haji Miskin to show his unlike to the custom group in Pandaisikat. Haji Miskin burned “balai adat”. Tuanku Nan Renceh killed his aunt (etek) because of his aunt wear “sugi” (toothpick) and tobacco. Tuanku Nan Renceh in his movement instructed to fine for whom do fighting cock (adu ayam), gambling (judi), smoke, opium, chew betel, wine, women is not wear jilbab (female headgear), wear the gold and silk. For who don’t extend their beard is fined as well.

Paderi group made fortune with gathered Tuanku Imam Bonjol, so they able to conquer some countries in the upland of Minangkabau. They, specially attack and burned many “surau” of Syatariyah and the other of centers of tareqa. One of the center of tareqa is a surau of tareqa Syatariyah in Paninjauan veltage. This countries is the residence of father of Tuanku Mensiangan.

This movement was stopped when Dutch do the intervention on the request of the last king of Minangkabau who run from abattoir of Paderi group in Koto Tengah and live in Padang on the protection of Tuanku Saruaso. On February 1812, Sultan Alam Bagagar Syah from Pagaruyung and Residen Belanda, James Du Puy signed a promise in Padang. The promise state that the Dutch armies will be placed in Simawang. As repayment, the main region of empire which is the inheritance of Aditiawarman, that is Pagaruyung, Saruaso,

Sungai Tarab, was surrendered to Dutch. The existing of Dutch armies in Simawang caused war between Paderi group and the Dutch armies. Because of dissension in Minangkabau people itself, Paderi group defeated in the war, and on 15<sup>th</sup> November 1825, a peace of promise was signed Padang.

On Oktober 1823, Dutch conquered the last fortress of Padri, Tuanku Nan Renceh was killed. Up to 1838, Paderi group wasn't able to repaired their power. Early 1840, the Paderi war was finished, even though the influence of Padri can be felt. Up to the finishing war, the Padri group didn't success yet to move the main of social and political structure of Minangkabau. Nevertheless, the Paderi Movement able to strengthen Islamic inclination which is the syari'ah orientation for Minangkabau peoples successfully (Azymardi Azra. 2003 : 79).

After the defeat of Paderi group, Dutch dominated Minangkabau. Dutch starts to move the social structure of Mianangkabau. They promote "penghulu bersurat" (besluit) for the sake of administration and the tax collecting. They made the autonomy of countries of Minangkabau part of the area of Dutch administration. Minangkabau people are afraid Dutch changes the social structure and the religious values that Minangkabau people has, because Dutch is infidel. Anticipation for those, it's necessary to strengthen the unity of the figures of Minangkabau custom and the figures of Islamic scholar. To realize this unity, the figures of Minangkabau custom and Islamic scholar signed a charter which is known by "Sumpah Sati Bukik Marapalam". A charter which make effort to unite Islam and Mianangkabau cistom. At that time, Islam was represented by Whabi Group/Islamic scripturalism group. Finally, from this consensus was created an ideology which is held by Minangkabau people until now. That ideology is "Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah (ABS-SBK)" (*Piagam Sumpah Satie Bukik Marapalam*. (dalam <http://batubulek.lintau.info>. diakses 27 Mai 2012).

The description of the ideology can be seen in the constitution of the sultanate of Minangkabau Darul Qourar. In paragraph 1 and 2 are mentioned '*Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basabdi Kitabullah. Syara' Mangato, Adat Mamakai, Syara' Nan Kawi, Adat Nan Ladzim*. In paragraph 3, verse 1 and 4 are mentioned the source of law in Minangkabau is Al-Qur'an, Hadist, Qias, and

Ima'. Qias is toke from the era of Khalifah Rasyidin. Ijma' is the result consensus of the institution of Rajo Nan Tigo Selo. Ijmak in the countries level is the result consensus of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan. In paragraph 4 verse 1 more clearly is mentioned: Minangkabau government consist of Rajo Nan Tigo Selo, Basa IV Balai, and Tuan Gadang. In paragraph 14 verse 2 most clearly—for whom hesitant or opposition will be accursed and will be eaten “Sumpah Biso Kawi”-- that is “ ka ateh indak Bapucuak, ka bawah indak baurek, di tangah digiriak kumbang” and will get disaster from Allah (H.R.M. Rajo Malano. :maklah).

In the second construction, ABS-SBK as ideology of Minangkabau people is formed by political collaboration rather than cultural collaboration as in the first construction (Sufism construction). The Approach which is used to implement the collaboration more use the violence approach rather than the pacify approach. Therefore, enrichment between custom and religion mutually was not accommodated but abolish one another. Political compromise between Wahabi elite and custom elite related to this problem necessary to be investigated deeply.

Collaboration between Islam and the social and political structure of Minangkabau get strengthening when the region autonomy is implemented. Region autonomy motivated the creation of local regulation (perda syariah) which try to ma nage its peoples based on religion (Islam). (*Religiositas Masyarakat Minangkabau dan Kebebasan Beragama/HAM Pasca Otonomi Daerah Nomor 22 tahun 1999* (dalam <http://agama.kompasiana.com>. diakses 26 Mai 2012)

## **RAMADHAN STAY AND STRENGTHENING SPIRITUALISM**

Ramadhan stay is live in “surau” near mosque or “mushalla” for forty days, star in the end of Sa’ban month to the end of Ramdhan month is the tradition which is performed by most of rural Muslim in West Sumatera. Regions in West Sumatera which is commons the Ramadhan stay is Padang Pariaman, Tanah Datar, Payakumbuh, Bukittinggi, and Sijunjung.

Ramadhan stay is performed for make concentration in the performing of the sequences of Ramadhan worship without disturbing the problem of family. Muslim which is performed the Ramadhan stay rest from their self from working for forty days, and

concentrate to worship either pray or others worship like “zikir” (repeatedly chant part of the confession of faith), follow religious preaching, Sufism practice like “suluk”(mysticism). For Muslim which is performed the Ramadhan stay, the Ramadhan month is the month has abound of reward. Arrival the Ramadhan month is the signal for stopping the profane activities and start to concentrate for worship. For most of rural community in West Sumatera, the Ramadhan month is the effective month for worship, cause of most of rural community are farmer, farming work need much energy which is impossible to fulfill while fasting. Therefore, for farmer, Ramadhan month is the proper time to worship.

Farmers have worked hard for eleven month to fulfill the profane need—sometime in working, they neglected worship. Always late to perform pray—mean performing pray is not in the proper time—Zhuhur prayer is performed nearly on the Asyar payer, and Asyar prayer is performed nearly on the Magrib prayer. All of this is caused of working to fulfill the profane need. The arrival of the Ramadhan month is signal to leave the profane affair, prepare to the hereafter affair, concentrate to worship to Allah for spiritual force. There is the cultural theme which is said by informant related to the above problem, that is “Bulan carai (the months out of Ramadhan month) is the month for working, Bulan puaso (the fasting month) bulan baibadaik (the month for worship). (Rajuddin, *interviewed on September 8, 2013*)

For them which perform the Ramadhan stay, the main worship which they follow is Shalat berjamaah (congregational prayer) for forty days, start the end of Sa’ban month, and lasted in the last Ramadhan or the early Syawal month. For them which is performed the congregational prayer for forty days will get two benefit: first, avoid from hypocrite; second, freed from the torment of hell. This is based on the hadist: for Muslim which is performed the congregation prayer for forty days and get the Takbiratul Ihram (a follower of the congregation prayer hand his hand up simultaneously with imam), Allah will write two benefit for him namely: freed his self from hypocrite and from hell (al-Hadist).

Al-Hadist prohibited “makmum” (follower of the congregation prayer) “Masbuk” in his prayer. “Masbuk” will reduce the perfect of reward of congregation prayer. If the reward of congregation

prayer twenty seven times than the usually prayer, the reward will be divided depend on the level of “masbuk” that the follower do. (Zulmas, *interviewed on September 8, 2013*). Congregation prayer which is performed for forty days is the same as the performing of congregation of prayer in forty times that a pilgrim do in the sequence of pilgrimage. The prayer is usually called “the arbain prayer”.

Beside, congregation of prayer for forty days able to strengthen spiritualism, the strengthening spiritualism can be gotten by religious preaching. Preaching is more related to the rule of prayer, how to perform the good prayer, the benefit of congregation prayer, especially in the Ramdhan month. In the Ramdhan stay, jemaah (congregator) can get other religious knowledge especially “tareqa” either Syatariah or Naqsabandiyah to strengthen their spiritualism. The knowledge such as the possible characteristics for Allah, the obligation characteristics for Allah, and the impossible for Allah. these knowledge, congregator get in “surau” don’t in the mosque or mushalla, because these knowledge are not the consumption all congregator, while mosque or mushalla are the place for all without consider the ages or social status which congregator have. (Arjalis, *interviewed on September 8, 2013*). “Surau” in the Minangkabau tradition is “tonggak tuo” (the prominent pillar) for the Islamic religious preaching, included mysticism. Syekh Burhanuddin as a Syathariyah figure introduce surau as the effective place for Islamic preaching in Minangkabau. (Duski Smad. 2002.: 117)

“Suluk”/ mysticism practices with the guidance of religious teacher is also gotten by congregator which is performed the Ramdhan Stay, although isn’t all congregator follow it. Suluk practices are usually performed in “suarau”. Suluk practices is performed by arrangement the pattern of eating and “zikir” with the certain rule. Food such as meat must be avoided because meat tend to make desire difficult to be controlled. “zikir” is performed with certain amount such as thousand times “zikir”. Zikir have to suitable with the amount of the “tasbeh” granule. Controlling desire through arrangement food and perform “zikir” with certain amount are the way to near to Allah in “Suluk”. (Aminah, *interviewed on September 9, 2013*)

Suluk is one of method to near Allah which is performed by self-purifying /soul from bad-characteristics and fill it with good characteristics. (Sy.Dt. Perpatih. 2010.: 70). The term of Suluk indicate the quasi-magic and the ritual of spiritual with the nuance of the locality of Indonesia. In the ritual of suluk, salik (a follower of suluk) effort to achieve the power of soul and magic through the efforts to maintain self from the attack of the spirit world for one night, in which someone is died symbolically. (Cyril Glasse. 1999.:379).

## **RAMADHAN STAY AND THE STRENGTHENING OF TRADITION**

Collaboration between religion and tradition in the sequences of the Ramadhan stay are strongly. The procession of the Ramadhan stay its self is begun by the strengthening of tradition. The collaboration can be seen from the sequences of the procession which is performed, namely: first, the collaboration in the performing of visiting to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh. Visiting to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh is performed to get the strong of physical and mental as a provision to perform the Ramadhan stay. Visiting is performed to the tomb of religious figures which is considered have the “qoramah” (possessing supernatural qualities). Qoramah in the term of Minangkabau is called “kiramaik”. Among of the tombs which is visited by visitor are the tomb of Syekh Burhanuddin in Padang Pariaman, the tomb of Tuanku Koto Tuo in Bukittinggi, the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh in Guguak Malalo Tanah Datar and others.

Visit to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh is performed with follow some of the sequences of procession, namely: pray in the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh which is led by a prayer. In Java, a leader of pray is called “modin”, while in the Minangkabau custom a leader of pray is called “tuanku” or “labia”. Tuanku is the title for someone graduated from traditional boarding school in West Sumatera. Visitor can pay “tuanku” or “labai” to deliver prayer suitable with the “niat” (wish) of visitor. Pray deliver after eat some dish which is provided by visitor. The dish such as rice with seven variety of side dish, namely: Rendang (meat simmered in spices and coconut milk), dendeng balado (jerked meat fried with red peppers), kerupuk kulit (crackled water-buffalo rinds), fried egg, pangek (the curry of river fish which is used turmeric and sour), the curry of free-

range chicken, fried river fish, meat curry. After eating the dish, continued by eat some pudding, such as lemang daun (glutinous rice roasted in the leaf of banana), fried banana, penyiaran (mix of pulverize rice and caramel which is fried), ambon banana, nasi lemak (boiled rice with assorted side dishes), and sweet tea. After this, tuanku burn menyau (incense) while ask visitors described their wish visit to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh. After that, Tuanku deliver prayer which visitor wish.

Second, deliver member of family to perform Ramadhan stay. After the procession of visiting to the tomb Tuanku Lima Puluh was finished, family deliver their family who will the Ramadhan stay to Suarau. At Suarau, they hand over their family to religious teacher which lead them to guide them for performing Ramadhan stay. Deliver member of family who perform Ramadhan stay with the equipment of stay such as the equipment of sleep (mattress, pillow, and blanket). They usually don't bring bed, because most of the floor of Surau is made from wood so they avoid from the cold of masonry wall. They (peoples who perform Ramadhan stay) also bring the equipment of cooking (caldron, iron wok, stove, rice, and a variety of side dish). When their stock of consumption finished, their family deliver it through the visiting family. It's not necessary to forget is the equipment of prayer such as prayer mat, cap, sarong, mukena and other and other equipment.

Third, the procession of closing of sholat empat puluh (the performing of congregation prayer for forty days). The closing procession of the praying of congregation for forty days is performed by performing pray which is followed by congregator, the leader of congregation of praying, and their family. In the term of Minangkabau is called "Mandoa". The closing of Ramadhan stay is performed by simplicity and luxury. The simplicity closing is performed through eating together with the simple dish which is prepared by congregator. The luxury closing is performed through eating together with luxury dish—eating with the dish of goat or cow curry. Goat or cow are prepared by congregator with chip in. Cause of Ramadhan stay is performed in Ramadhan month, gives the zakat (tithe), zakat fitrah (tithe in rice or money paid on the last day of fasting month), and sedeqah (alms) to imam (a leader of congregation of pray) are commonly. These giving are the expression

of thank to imam on his guidance for performing Ramdhan stay. This is performed by the one of opinion that imam or religious teacher is a person which has “baroqah” (blessing). Murid hope getting the baroqah from teacher (Syafri, *interviewed* on September 6, 2013). The closing of Ramdhan stay is also the medium forgive one another on mistake which is done for forty days performing Ramdhan stay (Arjalis, *interview* on September 8, 2013).

## **RAMDHAN STAY AND RELIGIOUS TOURISM**

The meaning of tour in the performing of Ramdhan stay can be seen in two moment: first, the moment of tour in the performing of visiting to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh. In visiting, beside the tongue of visitor and tuanku (leader of pray) spoiled by the taste of special dish which is prepared by visitor. The tongue of visitor is also spoiled by the taste of variety of food which is hawked by local resident. For visitor, books of the ways to visit to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh are available. The crowd of visitors which visit to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh have raised the economy of local resident.

Consumption which is brought by visitors is the special consumption which is only made for visiting to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh. Poverty is not prohibited for them to prepare it. Visitor can sell their valuable property to prepare this dish. To prepare this consumption either rice and variety of side dish or some pudding as have been described above need the special budged out of the budget of visitor a day. If in the months out of Ramadhan month, they seldom eat meat, in the end of Sa’ban month for visiting to the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh, they eat meat with variety of forms such as “rendang”, “dendeng” curry. These dish is added by other dish such as fried river fish, “pangek”, kerupuk kulit, chicken curry and other.

After visit the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh, visitor can sell the special food of local resident such as fried “ikan bilih” (special fish of Singkarak lake). Because part of local residents (Guguak Malalo) are lake fisherman. Guguak Malao country is a country which stretch along the side of Singkarak lake as others countries as well. Those of countries are Padang Laweh, Muaro Ambius, Sumani, Sandiang Baka, Singkarak, Kacang, Ombilin, Batu Tebal, and

Sumpur. Those countries also get the God blessing through Singkarak lake. (Guguak Malalo, *Observasi* on September 7, 2013).

Beside, can fell the taste of fried Bilih fish, the tongue of visitors are also spoiled by the taste of Pangek Sasau (Sasau is the special fish from Singkarak lake). The taste of this food is perpetuated in the pies of Minangkabau song, namely: “Urang Sumpu jalan Barampek, di Singkarak singgah dahulu, bareh baru makan jo pangek, indak Nampak ondeh mak mintuo lalu” (Sumpu people walk four person, the first stop in Singkarak, the new and good rice eat with pangek dish, it’s doesn’t see parent-in-law step over). This song expresses the taste of pangek dish, caused of its most taste, they are eating does not see their parent-in-low step over them.

“Penyiaram” is also special food which is considered as a gift for member of family or relative which doesn’t do visiting. In principle, this food not only the special food of Guguak Malalo peoples, but Minangkabau food. “Penyiaram” is prominent element in Minangkabau custom. “Penyiaram” is food which is available in every the custom dishes of Minangkabau. If stand in the hillside of Malalo, place for the tomb of Tuanku Lima Puluh, we can see the beautiful of world panorama of Malalo. When Muhammad Hatta visited to Malalo 1946, he said the beautiful of world panorama of Malalo didn’t defeat from Dardanela straits in the Mediterranean Sea. (Ibnu Hajar. 2002 : 2)

Second, the nuance of tour is also seen in performing of Ramadhan stay it self. For performing of Ramdhan stay, congregator which is performed Ramadhan stay freed from working affair and family affair. For eleven month, they work hard to fulfill the need of family, the arrival of Ramadhan month is the times to leave all activities except worship with pleasure atmosphere, enjoy worship in Ramadhan month. Avoid selves from the routine activities to perform worship is the form of recreation. That is on the certain step able to get satisfaction and happy. So worship which is performed for performing the Ramadhan stay is pleasure. This is related to informant statement bellow: “bulan carai, bulan bakarajo, bulan puaso bulan baibadaik ( months out of Ramadhan month is the month for working, Ramdhan month is the month for worship) (Rajudin, *interviewed* on September 9, 2013).

For Ramadhan stay, congregator doesn't think about consumption that they consume for performing Ramadhan stay. Because all of need which is prepared for eleven month previously. If their consumption finished, their family will deliver it in visiting family one a week. Their consumption for Ramadhan stay most taste and nutritious rather than their consumption out of Ramadhan month, except for they follow 'Suluk' in which they necessity manage their eating suitable with the rule of Suluk. Not all of them perform Suluk (Aminah, *interviewed* on September 10, 2013).

## **CLOSING**

Contact Islam and local tradition as a knowledge system of local community will create the practices of Islam with the nuance of locality---Islam and local tradition accommodate one another. This attitude is implemented through the role of local elite included local the elite of Muslim and local community. The accommodation between two cultures with different background (Islam and local tradition) are implemented through social attitudes such as mutual respect, mutual understanding, and take and give mutually. Nursyam said, this pattern of Islam is Islamic collaboration—Islam and local tradition acculturate one another, although limited to the local tradition which is not opposite with Islam. (Nursyam., makalah) Different from Nursyam's conclusion above, this research concluded, on the other rural community in West Sumatera contact Islam and local tradition are implemented through the social attitude such as mutual respect, mutual understanding, and take and give mutually, although the tradition opposite with Islam—Islam and local tradition did not dominate one another. The social attitude can be seen in the Ramadhan stay which is performed by Islamic rural community in West Sumatera.

In the sequence of Ramadhan stay can be seen the acculturation of tree elements of culture which is strengthening mutually, namely: strengthening local tradition, spiritualism, and tourism. Pray to get the strong of physical, mental, and purification of soul as requisite to perform of Ramadhan Stay in the tomb of Tuanku Liam Puluh with guidance of the local of Islamic elite such as tuanku one of form of accommodation. Beside this, constructed the emotional relation between tuanku as Islamic local elite and

congregator (people who perform Ramadhan Stay). The emotional relation expressed in the social attitudes such as: giving zakat (tithe), zakat fitrah (tithe in rice or money paid on the last day of fasting month), and alms.

The high of worship ethos also can be seen for performing Ramadhan Stay. Poverty isn't prohibited them to follow all sequence of Ramadhan Stay, start from fulfillment the visiting need, fulfillment the Ramadhan stay need, and fulfillment of need of the closing of Ramadhan stay. The problem above probably can be understood by the way of life which is possessed by congregator (follower of Ramadhan stay), namely: "bulan carai, bulan mencari, bulan puas bulan baibadaik" (the month out of Ramadhan month is the month for working or looking for money, the pasting month is the month for worship and to pay money for worship need). While the meaning of tour can be seen the attitude of congregator such as take rest from working and family problem, enjoy with ramadhan worship, prepared menu for food which different from the daily need, and visiting to the tomb Tuanku Lima Puluh with all its procession.

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