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The Perspective of *'Urf* on the Implementation of the Ba Iyeh Tradition in Marriage Customs in Padang Pariaman Regency

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Abstract

Local marriage traditions continue to shape the relationship between customary practice, religious belief, and community identity in Minangkabau society. However, research specifically examining the *Ba Iyeh* tradition in Nagari Tapakih from the perspective of *'urf* remains limited. This study aims to analyze the implementation of *Ba Iyeh* in marriage customs and examine its position within Islamic legal reasoning through the concept of *'urf*. An empirical qualitative approach with field research was employed, involving religious leaders, customary leaders, and community members selected through purposive sampling. Data were collected through interviews and documentation and analyzed using descriptive qualitative analysis based on the concept of *'urf*. The findings indicate that *Ba Iyeh* begins with *mandi balimau* or *mandi kembang*, followed by incense smoke, the application of *pauweah*, mantra recitation, symbolic hair cutting near the crown of the head, and *doa paga diri* before the bride or groom wears wedding attire. From the perspective of *'urf*, this tradition is categorized as *'urf al-'amalī* and *'urf al-khāṣ*. However, it may become *'urf fāsid* when it contains superstition, mystical claims, or elements contrary to sharia. The study concludes that *Ba Iyeh* reflects the dynamic interaction between Minangkabau customary practice and Islamic legal norms.

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These findings contribute to the study of Islamic customary law and provide practical implications for customary and religious leaders to reconstruct the tradition by preserving its cultural values while eliminating elements that conflict with Islamic teachings.

Keywords: *Ba Iyeh* Tradition; Marriage Customs; *'Urf*; Islamic Law; Minangkabau Society

INTRODUCTION

Marriage customs are not only ceremonial events, but also cultural spaces where social identity, religious values, kinship systems, and local beliefs meet (Narah, 2023; Pallathadka et al., 2022). In many Muslim societies, the relationship between Islamic law and local tradition has always been dynamic because community practices often continue to live alongside formal religious norms (Waheeda et al., 2025). Islamic legal thought recognizes that custom may be considered in law as long as it does not contradict the principles of sharia, especially when the custom brings benefit, is accepted by the community, and does not violate explicit religious texts (Hallaq, 2009; Kamali, 2008). This issue becomes important because several local traditions contain symbolic acts, ritual instruments, and inherited beliefs that need to be understood carefully, not simply rejected or accepted without proper analysis.

Indonesia provides a rich context for discussing the relationship between religion, national law, and customary law (Buana & Mamonto, 2023; Hariri & Babussalam, 2024; Setiawan et al., 2024). Marriage in Indonesia is regulated not only as a legal bond between a man and a woman, but also as a sacred institution based on religious values and social responsibility. Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage states that marriage is a physical and spiritual bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the purpose of forming a happy and lasting family based on belief in God Almighty. The Compilation of Islamic Law also explains that the validity of marriage requires the presence of a prospective husband, prospective wife, marriage guardian, two witnesses, and ijab qabul. These legal provisions show that marriage has clear religious and legal foundations, although its social implementation in many regions is still strongly influenced by local customs.

Minangkabau society is one of the ethnic communities in Indonesia that places marriage within a broad customary and kinship framework (Hariri & Babussalam, 2024; Pangulu et al., 2022; Sebastian, 2026). Marriage is not merely a private agreement between two individuals, but also a collective matter involving family, clan, community leaders, and customary institutions. This condition is closely related to the Minangkabau matrilineal kinship system, which positions family lineage and social responsibility through the maternal line (Asmaniar, 2018).The well-known Minangkabau philosophy, *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah*, also reflects the expectation that custom and Islam should not be separated from one another. Therefore, every marriage tradition in Minangkabau needs to be understood through both cultural and religious perspectives.

The marriage ceremony in Minangkabau is commonly known as *baralek*. In many communities, *baralek* is understood as a customary celebration that completes the social recognition of marriage. Navis (1984) explains that marriage in Minangkabau is closely related to customary procedures because the event concerns not only the bride and groom, but also their families and surrounding community. Similar views are found in studies showing that customary marriage ceremonies contain social, cultural, and moral meanings that remain alive among their supporting communities (Julian, 2023). This indicates that a marriage ceremony is not simply a festive event, but also a medium for transmitting inherited values from one generation to the next.

Nagari Tapakih, located in Ulakan Tapakis District, Padang Pariaman Regency, is one of the areas where marriage customs are still strongly maintained. The *baralek* tradition in this nagari consists of several ceremonial stages, such as *maanta asok*, *ba undi*, *maanta kampia*, *ba iyeh*, *malam bainai*, *malewakan gala*, *tamaik kaji*, *manjalang*, *basandiang di pelaminan*, *badantam*, and other customary practices. Among these traditions, *Ba Iyeh* has a distinctive position because it is not merely related to the physical appearance of the bride and groom, but also to spiritual protection and symbolic purification. Unlike *mahiyeh*, which focuses on beautifying the bride and groom, *Ba Iyeh* is believed to contain deeper spiritual meaning in the customary marriage procession.

Based on local accounts, *Ba Iyeh* is performed by cutting a small part of the hair near the crown of the bride or groom, accompanied by prayers or special recitations by the person known as *tukang iyeh*. The ritual is believed to open the aura of the bride and groom, provide spiritual protection, and strengthen them during the wedding celebration. Some

community members also believe that this ritual can reveal certain moral or personal conditions of the bride, although such belief needs to be examined carefully from the perspective of Islamic law. The actors involved in this tradition usually include *ninik mamak*, *cadiak pandai*, *alim ulama*, and *bundo kanduang*, showing that *Ba Iyeh* is supported by customary, religious, intellectual, and female community figures (Khaira et al., 2024).

The continuation of *Ba Iyeh* in Nagari Tapakih also reflects the strength of social bonds in customary society. People who do not perform certain customary obligations during *baralek* may face social consequences, such as reduced community participation or informal criticism from neighbors. This situation shows that tradition functions as a social norm that shapes collective behavior. At the same time, several ritual elements used in *Ba Iyeh*, such as specific leaves, young coconut, lime, incense smoke, rice, money, ceremonial trays, betel leaves, yellow cloth, and other symbolic objects, raise questions about their meaning and legal position in Islam. Some of these elements are believed to contain traces of older cultural influences, including pre-Islamic practices, which makes the tradition important to study through the concept of *'urf*.

Previous studies have discussed Minangkabau marriage customs, the communal nature of marriage, and the relationship between adat and Islam. Asmaniar (2018) emphasizes that marriage in Minangkabau is strongly connected to kinship and communal responsibility. AD and Alhkarni & Yuriska (2024) explain that Minangkabau customs and Islamic teachings should be practiced in harmony, especially in social and family life. Ismail et al. (2024) also show that violations of customary and religious norms in marriage may create serious social consequences for individuals and their families. However, these studies have not specifically examined the *Ba Iyeh* tradition in Nagari Tapakih from the perspective of *'urf* in Islamic legal theory. This gap is important because the tradition continues to be practiced, yet its legal and religious status has not been clearly explained in academic discussion.

The novelty of this study lies in its effort to analyze *Ba Iyeh* not only as a cultural inheritance, but also as a customary practice that needs to be examined through the framework of *'urf*. In Islamic jurisprudence, *'urf* refers to a custom or practice that is widely known, accepted, and repeatedly practiced by a community. Scholars of Islamic legal theory explain that *'urf* may be considered valid when it is classified as *'urf ṣaḥiḥ*, namely a custom that does not contradict the Qur'an, hadith, and basic principles of sharia. Conversely, a

custom may be rejected when it falls into *'urf fasid*, namely a practice that contains elements contrary to Islamic teachings (Fazli & Safi, 2025; Hassan & Batool, 2024). Through this framework, the study seeks to provide a balanced understanding of whether *Ba Iyeh* can be accepted as a legitimate custom or whether certain elements require reinterpretation.

This study focuses on the implementation of the *Ba Iyeh* tradition in marriage customs in Nagari Tapakih, Ulakan Tapakis District, Padang Pariaman Regency, and examines it from the perspective of *'urf*. The main purpose of this research is to describe the process, actors, symbolic meanings, and social function of *Ba Iyeh*, while also analyzing its compatibility with Islamic legal principles. This research is expected to contribute to the study of Islamic family law, customary law, and Minangkabau cultural traditions by offering a more careful understanding of how local customs may be preserved without neglecting religious values. It also provides practical insight for religious leaders, customary leaders, and local communities in maintaining tradition with a clearer and more responsible legal awareness.

METHODS

This study employed an empirical legal research approach with a qualitative descriptive design. Empirical research, or field research, was selected because the object of this study concerns social symptoms, customary practices, religious views, and cultural phenomena that live within the community of Nagari Tapakih, Ulakan Tapakis District, Padang Pariaman Regency (Nasution, 2008). This approach is appropriate because the study does not only examine written legal norms, but also observes how the *Ba Iyeh* tradition is understood, practiced, and maintained by the local community. In line with Creswell (2014), qualitative research is suitable for exploring meanings, experiences, and social practices in their natural setting. The research design used in this study was a field-based case study, focusing specifically on the implementation of the *Ba Iyeh* tradition in marriage customs and its analysis from the perspective of *'urf*. The population of this study included the people of Nagari Tapakih who have knowledge of or involvement in the practice of *Ba Iyeh*. The informants were selected purposively, consisting of religious leaders, customary leaders, *bundo kanduang*, *ninik mamak*, and community members who understand the procession and meaning of the tradition. Purposive sampling was used because the study required informants who had direct knowledge and experience related to the research focus, as suggested by (Sugiyono, 2015).

The data sources consisted of primary, secondary, and tertiary data. Primary data were obtained through direct interviews with religious leaders, customary leaders, and community members in Nagari Tapakih who were involved in or understood the implementation of *Ba Iyeh*. Secondary data were collected from books, laws and regulations, journal articles, theses, and other academic sources related to marriage customs, Minangkabau traditions, Islamic family law, and the concept of *'urf*. Tertiary data were obtained from legal dictionaries, Minangkabau language dictionaries, encyclopedias, and relevant online sources. Data were collected through interviews and documentation. Interviews were conducted using interview guidelines to obtain deeper information about the procession, actors, purposes, community beliefs, and religious views related to *Ba Iyeh*. Documentation was carried out by examining written documents, photographs, images, and other materials relevant to the tradition, as documentation can strengthen field findings and provide a more complete description of the studied phenomenon (Muhaimin, 2020). The data were analyzed using descriptive qualitative analysis. The analysis process began with collecting interview and documentation data, classifying the data based on the research focus, presenting the findings in narrative form, and interpreting them through the concept of *'urf*. Following Miles et al. (2014), qualitative analysis involves data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing. The final stage of analysis was carried out by examining whether the *Ba Iyeh* tradition can be categorized as *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* or whether certain elements need to be reconsidered because they may conflict with Islamic legal principles.

RESULTS

1. The Implementation of the *Ba Iyeh* Tradition in Marriage Customs

The findings show that *Ba Iyeh* is one of the customary rituals performed in the marriage ceremony, or *baralek*, in Nagari Tapakih, Ulakan Tapakis District, Padang Pariaman Regency. This tradition is different from *mahiyeh*, which refers to beautifying the bride and groom through make-up, clothing, and accessories. *Ba Iyeh* has a more spiritual and symbolic meaning because it is performed before the bride or groom wears traditional wedding attire. The ritual is understood by the local community as a form of purification, spiritual protection, and customary inheritance that has been practiced from generation to generation.

The implementation of *Ba Iyeh* is specifically associated with marriage ceremonies between unmarried men and women. Based on interviews with local customary figures, this tradition is believed to have existed after the arrival of Syekh Burhanuddin in the region. The community relates *Ba Iyeh* to the human life cycle, beginning with the hair-cutting ritual after birth, followed by the symbolic hair-cutting ritual before marriage, and ending with purification practices after death. This finding indicates that *Ba Iyeh* is not merely a wedding ritual, but also part of a broader cultural understanding of purity, transition, and protection in human life.

The purpose of *Ba Iyeh* is interpreted in several ways by the community. First, it is believed to open the aura of the bride or groom so that they appear more radiant during the wedding ceremony. Second, it is believed to function as *mamaga diri*, or spiritual protection, so that the bride and groom are protected from evil intentions, negative energy, and harmful magic during the wedding procession. Third, in older customary belief, *Ba Iyeh* was also considered a way to identify whether the bride was still a virgin. This belief was explained by Nasruddin, a customary figure and *tukang iyeh*, who stated that in the past, people who understood the tradition could identify the bride's condition through the texture and smell of the hair cut during the ritual (Nasruddin, personal communication, November 20, 2024). However, this belief is no longer strongly accepted by younger generations and is now mostly viewed as part of inherited tradition.

2. Tools and Materials Used in the *Ba Iyeh* Ritual

The findings also show that the implementation of *Ba Iyeh* requires several tools and materials prepared by the host family. These materials are not placed randomly, but arranged according to customary rules. The host family is responsible for preparing the necessary items, usually with guidance from customary leaders or people who understand the procession. If one of the required materials is incomplete, the family is expected to complete it before the ritual is performed.

Table 1. Tools and Materials Used in the Ba Iyeh Tradition

No.	Tools/Materials	Local Term	Function in the Ritual
1	Ceremonial tray	Carano	Used to place betel leaves and customary objects
2	High tray	Dulang tinggi	Main place for arranging ritual materials
3	Yellow rice surrounded by wajik cake	Nasi kunyik paga wajik	Symbol of customary completeness and ceremonial offering

No.	Tools/Materials	Local Term	Function in the Ritual
4	Roasted rice and roasted paddy	Bareh gandang and batiah padi	Symbolic customary materials
5	Leaves used for ritual application	Pauweah	Applied to the head of the bride or groom
6	Green young coconut	Karambia mudo hijau	Container for ritual leaves and cut hair
7	Incense smoke	Pasopanan	Used as fragrance during the ritual
8	Layered mat	Lapiak lambak	Base for placing ritual objects
9	White cloth	Kain putih jajakan	Covering or base cloth for ritual arrangement
10	Complete betel set	Siriah langkok	Customary symbol placed in the carano

The presence of these tools and materials shows that *Ba Iyeh* has a structured customary system. Nasruddin explained that the *pauweah* leaves are tied together, cut into small pieces, and placed inside a green young coconut. A small part of the tied leaves is left for rubbing on the crown of the bride or groom's head. Other ritual materials are placed on the *dulang tinggi*, while the *carano* containing complete betel leaves is placed beside it. This arrangement reflects the symbolic order and cultural discipline that guide the performance of the tradition.

This finding is also supported by Alfa, a bride who had experienced the *Ba Iyeh* ritual. She stated that the tools and materials for the ritual were prepared by the host family, while the process of finding and arranging the materials was assisted by relatives and local customary figures (Alfa, personal communication, February 27, 2025). This indicates that *Ba Iyeh* is not performed individually, but through collective participation involving family members and community leaders.

3. Stages of the *Ba Iyeh* Procession

The *Ba Iyeh* procession begins with *mandi balimau* or *mandi kembang*, a ceremonial bath using water mixed with lime, flowers, and fragrant leaves. According to Habibullah, a customary figure and ritual practitioner, the bath is not considered an ordinary bath because the water is first recited with prayers or mantras. The ingredients usually include kaffir lime, red roses, white roses, cempaka flowers, ylang-ylang flowers, flower mixtures, and pandan leaves (Habibullah, personal communication, November 16, 2024). This stage is believed to cleanse and prepare the bride or groom before entering the main ritual.

After the ceremonial bath, the bride or groom wears simple home clothing because the wedding attire has not yet been put on. The next stage is the incense-smoke ritual. The *tukang iyeh* burns incense and directs the smoke above the head of the bride or groom while reciting *shalawat* to the Prophet Muhammad three times. After that, the *pauweah* leaves that have been placed in the young coconut are rubbed on the crown of the bride or groom's head three times. This act becomes one of the central symbols of *Ba Iyeh* because it connects the ritual materials, the body of the bride or groom, and the recited prayers.

The ritual continues with the recitation of the *Ba Iyeh* mantra or prayer. The text of the mantra contains a mixture of local expressions, Islamic terms, references to Prophet Muhammad, and invocations for light, beauty, protection, and blessings. After the recitation, a small part of the hair near the crown of the head is cut. The cut hair is then placed inside the green young coconut. In older customary belief, this hair was used as a sign to determine the personal condition of the bride, especially her virginity. However, this belief now functions more as a remnant of customary understanding rather than a practice that is fully believed by all members of the community.

The final stage is the recitation of *doa paga diri*, or a prayer for self-protection. This prayer is believed to protect the bride or groom from evil spirits, harmful intentions, and unseen disturbances during the wedding ceremony. Syamsinar, a customary figure, explained that the community believes protection is necessary because human life contains both visible and invisible threats. After the prayer is completed, the bride or groom is allowed to wear make-up, put on traditional wedding attire, and sit on the wedding stage (*pelaminan*) (Syamsinar, personal communication, November 20, 2024).

Table 2. Sequence of the Ba Iyeh Ritual Procession

No.	Stage of Procession	Description	Main Meaning
1	Mandi balimau / mandi kembang	The bride or groom bathes using water mixed with lime, flowers, and fragrant leaves	Physical and symbolic purification
2	Preparation of ritual materials	The family prepares carano, dulang tinggi, pauweah, young coconut, incense, and other materials	Customary completeness
3	Incense-smoke ritual	Incense smoke is directed above the head while shalawat is recited	Fragrance and spiritual atmosphere
4	Application of pauweah	Leaves are rubbed on the crown of the head three times	Symbol of protection and aura opening
5	Recitation of Ba Iyeh mantra	The tukang iyeh recites the customary prayer or mantra	Request for beauty, light, and blessing

No.	Stage of Procession	Description	Main Meaning
6	Hair cutting	A small part of the hair near the crown is cut	Symbolic purification and customary sign
7	Placement of cut hair	The hair is placed inside a green young coconut	Completion of the core ritual
8	Recitation of doa paga diri	A protection prayer is recited	Spiritual protection
9	Wearing wedding attire	The bride or groom is dressed in traditional wedding clothes	Readiness to enter the public wedding ceremony

The sequence above shows that *Ba Iyeh* is carried out through an organized ritual pattern. Each stage has a particular symbolic meaning and cannot be separated from the belief system of the local community. The procession also confirms that *Ba Iyeh* is performed before the bride or groom appears in full wedding attire, which shows that the ritual is considered a preparatory stage before entering the public phase of the wedding ceremony.

4. Community Views on the Continuity of *Ba Iyeh*

The findings reveal that the meaning and social position of *Ba Iyeh* have changed over time. In the past, the tradition was considered a customary obligation. People who did not perform the ritual could receive social sanctions, such as reduced community participation in the wedding celebration or becoming the subject of public discussion. This shows that *Ba Iyeh* once functioned as a strong social norm in Nagari Tapakih.

However, current community views are more flexible. The tradition is still practiced, but it is no longer considered compulsory by all families. Some younger people regard *Ba Iyeh* as an old tradition that is no longer fully relevant to modern life. As a result, the decision to perform or not perform *Ba Iyeh* now depends on the host family. If the family chooses not to perform the ritual, there is generally no longer a strong social sanction from the community. This indicates a shift from obligatory customary practice to optional cultural preservation.

The religious view of the tradition is also diverse but tends to be moderate. Marjali Tuangku Nan Basa, a religious figure in Nagari Tapakih, stated that *Ba Iyeh* may be performed or left out because it is not an essential religious obligation. He explained that some mantras used in the ritual existed before Islam entered the area. Therefore, the tradition does not have to be completely removed, but its content can be adjusted by

inserting Islamic expressions and strengthening the value of tawhid. Regarding the use of incense, he stated that it is not intended for worship or associating partners with Allah, but is used as fragrance (Marjali, personal communication, November 20, 2024).

This finding shows that local religious leaders tend to take a selective and adaptive approach. The tradition is not rejected as a whole, but certain parts that may lead to superstition or incorrect belief need to be corrected. This view is important because it allows the community to preserve cultural identity while maintaining religious awareness.

5. The *Ba Iyeh* Tradition from the Perspective of *'Urf*

The results of the analysis show that *Ba Iyeh* can be classified into several categories of *'urf*. From the perspective of its object, *Ba Iyeh* is included in *al-'urf al-'amalī* because it is a customary practice in the form of action. The tradition is not only spoken about, but physically performed through bathing, preparing ritual materials, applying *pauweah*, reciting prayers or mantras, cutting hair, and reading protection prayers. It is repeatedly practiced and recognized by the people of Nagari Tapakih.

From the perspective of its scope, *Ba Iyeh* is included in *al-'urf al-khāṣ*, namely a specific custom that applies to a particular community or region. This tradition is not a universal Islamic practice and is not practiced by all Minangkabau communities in the same way. It belongs specifically to the local customary system of Nagari Tapakih and surrounding areas in Padang Pariaman. Although similar traditions may exist elsewhere, the structure, materials, meanings, and local beliefs attached to *Ba Iyeh* have distinctive characteristics.

From the perspective of its validity according to Islamic law, the findings indicate that *Ba Iyeh* contains two possible legal tendencies. If the tradition is understood only as a cultural symbol, a form of family preparation, and a customary expression without belief in supernatural power outside Allah, it may be maintained as part of local culture. However, if the tradition is believed to determine virginity, protect absolutely from unseen harm through mantra power, beautify the bride through mystical means, or contain elements of superstition and shirk, then it falls into *al-'urf al-fāsid*. This means that the custom becomes problematic because it conflicts with Islamic legal principles.

Table 3. Classification of the Ba Iyeh Tradition Based on ʻUrf

Aspect of Classification	Category	Explanation
Based on object	Al-ʻurf al-ʻamalī	The tradition is practiced through concrete actions and ritual stages
Based on scope	Al-ʻurf al-khāṣ	The tradition applies specifically to the people of Nagari Tapakih and certain surrounding communities
Based on continuity	Living custom	The tradition still exists, although its obligatory nature has weakened
Based on social acceptance	Communal custom	The tradition is known and accepted by customary figures, religious figures, and local families
Based on sharia validity	Potentially al-ʻurf al-fāsid	Certain beliefs related to superstition, mystical protection, and virginity testing may contradict Islamic principles
Possibility of preservation	Conditional	The tradition may be preserved if elements that contradict sharia are removed or reinterpreted

The analysis of the requirements of valid *ʻurf* shows that *Ba Iyeh* fulfills several conditions but does not fully meet all requirements. First, the tradition is generally known by the people of Nagari Tapakih and has been practiced for generations. Second, it still exists in society, although its implementation is no longer as strict as in the past. Third, the use of materials in the ritual does not create serious hardship because the tools and materials are easily found in the local environment and do not require high cost.

However, the main issue lies in the first condition of valid *ʻurf*, namely that a custom must not contradict sharia and religious texts. The belief that *Ba Iyeh* can determine virginity, provide mystical protection, or beautify the bride through supernatural power may lead to superstition and incorrect belief. Therefore, the findings indicate that *Ba Iyeh* cannot be fully categorized as *ʻurf ṣaḥiḥ* in its complete traditional form. It can only be accepted if the problematic elements are removed, especially beliefs and practices that may lead to superstition, shirk, or humiliation of women.

Overall, the results show that *Ba Iyeh* is a meaningful local tradition that reflects the cultural identity of Nagari Tapakih. The tradition contains values of togetherness, respect for ancestors, preparation before marriage, and symbolic purification. At the same time, several elements require critical evaluation from the perspective of Islamic law. The tradition does not need to be eliminated entirely, but its implementation should be reconstructed so that it remains a cultural heritage without contradicting Islamic teachings.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study show that the *Ba Iyeh* tradition is not merely a complementary ritual in the wedding ceremony, but a cultural practice that contains spiritual, social, and symbolic meanings for the people of Nagari Tapakih. The tradition is performed before the bride or groom wears wedding attire, which indicates that *Ba Iyeh* is understood as a preparatory ritual before entering the public stage of marriage. This position distinguishes *Ba Iyeh* from *mahiyeh* or bridal beautification, because *mahiyeh* emphasizes physical appearance, while *Ba Iyeh* is more closely related to symbolic purification, spiritual protection, and customary identity. The field data show that the community still recognizes *Ba Iyeh* as part of inherited local wisdom, although its level of obligation has weakened in contemporary practice.

The ritual stages of *Ba Iyeh* reflect the community's belief that marriage is not only a legal and social contract, but also a sacred transition in the life cycle. The procession begins with *mandi balimau* or *mandi kembang*, followed by the preparation of customary tools, the use of incense smoke, the application of *pauweah*, the recitation of mantras or prayers, the cutting of hair near the crown of the head, and the reading of *doa paga diri*. These stages show that the body of the bride or groom is symbolically prepared before entering the wedding celebration. In this sense, *Ba Iyeh* works as a cultural language through which the community expresses hope for safety, beauty, dignity, and protection.

The meaning of protection in *Ba Iyeh* is one of the strongest findings in this study. Several informants explained that the ritual is believed to function as *mamaga diri*, or self-protection, so that the bride and groom are protected from harmful intentions, unseen disturbances, and negative energy during the wedding celebration. This belief reflects the worldview of local communities that social life contains both visible and invisible dimensions. However, this meaning also becomes the most sensitive point when examined from the perspective of Islamic law. When protection is understood as a prayer to Allah, the tradition can still be interpreted positively. Conversely, when protection is believed to come from mantras, ritual objects, or mystical power independent of Allah, the practice becomes problematic from the perspective of tawhid.

Another important finding concerns the belief that *Ba Iyeh* can determine the virginity of the bride through the hair that is cut during the ritual. This belief was remembered by customary figures as part of older social practices, especially in a period

when arranged marriage was more common and virginity was considered to influence the early status of marriage. From a contemporary ethical and Islamic legal perspective, this aspect requires critical reconsideration. Such a belief may lead to stigma, suspicion, and symbolic pressure on women. It also risks reducing the dignity of the bride by placing moral judgment on a ritual sign that has no reliable legal or scientific basis. Therefore, this part of the tradition should not be maintained as a truth claim, even if the broader cultural form of *Ba Iyeh* is preserved.

The findings are consistent with the character of Minangkabau society, where marriage is commonly understood as a collective matter involving the family, clan, customary leaders, religious figures, and the wider community. Asmaniar (2018) explains that in Minangkabau's matrilineal system, marriage is not only the personal affair of two individuals, but also a matter of kinship and communal responsibility. Navis (1984) also emphasizes that Minangkabau marriage customs are closely connected to social recognition through *baralek*. The findings of this study support these views because *Ba Iyeh* is not performed privately by the bride and groom alone, but involves the host family, *tukang iyeh*, customary leaders, and community members.

The results also strengthen previous discussions about the relationship between adat and Islam in Minangkabau. The philosophy *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* shows that adat should be aligned with Islamic teachings, not separated from them. AD and Afdhalia & SW (2025) argue that Minangkabau customs and Islamic values must be practiced harmoniously in social life. This study shows that harmony between adat and Islam is not always automatic, but needs continuous interpretation. *Ba Iyeh* contains cultural values that may be preserved, yet it also contains certain beliefs and ritual elements that must be reviewed so that the tradition does not contradict Islamic principles.

From the perspective of *'urf*, *Ba Iyeh* can be classified as *al-'urf al-'amalī* because it is a custom expressed through repeated actions and ceremonial practices. It can also be categorized as *al-'urf al-khāṣ* because it is specific to Nagari Tapakih and certain communities in Padang Pariaman. However, its validity from the perspective of sharia depends on the meaning attached to the ritual. Islamic legal theory allows custom to be considered as a source of legal reasoning when it is widely accepted, brings benefit, and does not contradict explicit religious texts (Ahmed, 2025). Based on this principle, *Ba Iyeh* may be accepted as *'urf ṣaḥiḥ* only when it is understood as cultural symbolism, prayer, and

social preparation. It becomes *'urf fasid* when it contains superstition, mystical dependence, claims of supernatural protection, or the belief that ritual signs can determine a woman's virginity.

The implication of this finding is that the preservation of local tradition should not be carried out by accepting all inherited practices without criticism. Cultural preservation needs ethical and religious refinement. The *Ba Iyeh* tradition can still be maintained as part of the cultural identity of Nagari Tapakih, but several elements should be reconstructed. The recitation should be directed toward prayers that strengthen tawhid, the use of incense should be understood only as fragrance rather than a sacred medium, and the belief related to virginity testing should be removed. Through this approach, the community can preserve adat while avoiding practices that may lead to superstition, gender bias, or conflict with Islamic teachings.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the discussion of Islamic family law, customary law, and Minangkabau cultural studies by showing that *'urf* is not only a legal concept, but also an analytical tool for reading living traditions in society. The study demonstrates that a tradition may contain both acceptable and problematic elements at the same time. Therefore, the legal assessment of tradition should not be overly simplistic. A custom does not have to be rejected entirely when only certain elements contradict religious principles. Instead, Islamic legal analysis can guide the community to distinguish between cultural symbols that may be preserved and theological beliefs that need correction.

Practically, the findings provide guidance for religious leaders, customary leaders, and local families in Nagari Tapakih. Religious leaders can play an important role in explaining which elements of *Ba Iyeh* are acceptable and which need to be changed. Customary leaders can help preserve the cultural structure of the ritual without maintaining beliefs that may harm religious understanding or social dignity. Families who still wish to perform *Ba Iyeh* can do so by emphasizing prayer, togetherness, and cultural respect, rather than mystical claims. This balanced approach is important because rejecting tradition harshly may create cultural resistance, while accepting it without evaluation may preserve practices that are not aligned with Islamic values.

This study also has several limitations. First, the research focuses only on Nagari Tapakih, so the findings cannot be generalized to all Minangkabau communities or all areas

of Padang Pariaman. Second, the data rely mainly on interviews with selected customary figures, religious figures, and community members, so the interpretation may still be influenced by the informants' personal experiences and social positions. Third, this study has not deeply compared *Ba Iyeh* with similar traditions in other regions. Future research may examine *Ba Iyeh* across several nagari, compare generational views toward the tradition, or analyze how young Minangkabau Muslims negotiate between adat, religion, and modern social values.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the *Ba Iyeh* tradition in marriage customs in Nagari Tapakih, Ulakan Tapakis District, Padang Pariaman Regency, is a customary ritual that has been practiced from generation to generation and is still recognized as part of local cultural identity. The implementation of this tradition begins with *mandi balimau* or *mandi kembang*, in which the water is recited with mantras or prayers. After that, the crown of the bride or groom's head is exposed to incense smoke and rubbed with *pauweah*. The procession continues with the recitation of *pamanih* mantra, the symbolic cutting of a small part of the hair near the crown of the head, and the reading of *doa paga diri* as a form of self-protection. After all stages are completed, the bride or groom may then be made up and dressed in traditional wedding attire. These stages show that *Ba Iyeh* is not only understood as a ceremonial practice, but also as a symbolic process related to purification, protection, beauty, and customary readiness before entering the wedding celebration.

From the perspective of Islamic law through the concept of *'urf*, the *Ba Iyeh* tradition can be classified as *'urf al-'amali* because it is a custom expressed through concrete actions, and as *'urf al-khāṣ* because it applies specifically to the community of Nagari Tapakih and certain surrounding areas. However, based on its validity according to sharia, the tradition tends to fall into *'urf fāsid* when it contains elements of superstition, mystical belief, or claims that the ritual can beautify the bride, provide absolute spiritual protection, or determine whether the bride is still a virgin. These elements conflict with the principles of Islamic belief and may lead to misleading assumptions within society. Nevertheless, if the elements of superstition and shirk are removed, and the tradition is reinterpreted as a cultural symbol, prayer, and expression of local identity, *Ba Iyeh* may be preserved as *'urf ṣaḥīḥ*. Therefore, this study recommends that customary and religious leaders work

together to reconstruct the implementation of *Ba Iyeh* so that the tradition remains culturally meaningful while staying in harmony with Islamic teachings.

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