



**Philosophy “*Habis Adat Karena Mufakat*”: Consensus of Diversion of
Pusako Tinggi in Minangkabau**

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Abstract: Inheritance distribution is a crucial issue in Islamic family law, deeply rooted in custom and culture. The Minangkabau community recognizes inheritance, known as *pusako tinggi*, which cannot be transferred. Selling it means the loss of community wealth, resulting in the loss of Sako and Pusako. This study aims to explore the philosophy of *pusako tinggi* in Minangkabau and the context of its relevance. This study uses empirical legal methods with a philosophical and customary law approach. The study was conducted at the Syekh Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi Foundation in the village of Koto Tuo Balai Gurah. The selection of Koto Tuo was based on Minangkabau customs, namely *salingka nagari* (customs limited to one place). Data were collected through interviews and documentation. Interviews were conducted with representatives of parties who contributed to *pusako tinggi*. The documents described are books, articles, research reports, and all documents related to the discussion. This research applies empirical legal methods with a philosophical and customary law approach. The research was conducted at the Syekh Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi Foundation in the Koto Tuo Balai Gurah village. The research was conducted at the Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi Foundation in Koto Tuo kenagarian Balai Gurah. The selection of Koto Tuo is based on the custom in Minangkabau of *salingka nagari* (customs are limited to one place). This study found that the land is not a mere symbol but represents the existence and dignity of the civilised Minangkabau society. *Pusako tinggi* in Minangkabau community consensus can be transferred when dealing with crucial customary and religious interests. This also does not contradict the principle of the relationship between Islamic law and custom, but this reality shows that the Minangkabau people adhere to custom and religion.

Keywords: Customs, Minangkabau, *Pusako tinggi*, Inheritance, Islamic law

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Abstrak: Pembagian warisan merupakan salah satu masalah dalam hukum keluarga Islam yang kental dengan adat dan budaya. Masyarakat Minangkabau mengenal harta warisan yang dikenal dengan pusako tinggi yang tidak dapat dipindahtangankan. Menjualnya berarti hilangnya kekayaan masyarakat, yang mengakibatkan hilangnya Sako dan Pusako. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi filosofi pusako tinggi di Minangkabau dan konsensus mengenai pengalihannya. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode hukum empiris dengan pendekatan filosofis dan hukum adat. Penelitian dilakukan di Yayasan Syekh Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi di desa Koto Tuo Balai Gurah. Penelitian dilakukan di Yayasan Syekh Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi di kenagarian Balai Gurah Koto Tuo. Pemilihan Koto Tuo didasarkan pada adat istiadat di Minangkabau yaitu salingka nagari (adat istiadat terbatas pada satu tempat). Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara dan dokumentasi. Wawancara dilakukan dengan perwakilan dari pihak-pihak yang menyumbangkan pusako tinggi. Dokumen yang dianalisis adalah buku, artikel, laporan penelitian dan seluruh dokumen yang terkait dengan pembahasan. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa tanah bukan sekadar simbol, melainkan merepresentasikan eksistensi dan martabat masyarakat Minangkabau yang beradab. Pusako tinggi dalam konsensus masyarakat Minangkabau dapat dipindahtangankan ketika berkaitan dengan kepentingan adat dan agama yang krusial. Hal ini juga tidak bertentangan dengan prinsip relasi antara hukum Islam dan adat, namun realitas tersebut menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat Minangkabau beradat kareh, baugamo kuaik (berpegang teguh pada adat dan agama).

Kata Kunci: Adat, Minangkabau, pusako tinggi, hukum waris, hukum Islam,

Introduction

The Minangkabau people are one of Indonesia's ethnic groups with a strong connection between Islam and culture. This is evident in their life principles, namely the adat "*basandi syara', syara' basandi kibullah*" (customs based on sharia and sharia based on the book of Allah).¹ Therefore, almost all aspects of Minangkabau life reflect Islamic values, including Islamic family law, namely inheritance, better known as pusako. Minangkabau society accommodates two types of property, namely Sako and Pusako. Sako is an immaterial property in the form of titles passed down from ancestors as a supremacy sign and kinship ties. Sako is imparted to men as in the customary phrase *ketek banamo, gadang bagala* (A boy has a name, a man has a title). Meanwhile, the material pusako of generations includes land, rice fields, forests, rivers, jewelry, and others. Pusako

¹ Subhan MA. Rahman, Fuad Rahman, "The Dynamic of Malay Islamic Law: The Rise and Practices of Adat Bersendi Syarak, Syarak Bersendi Kitabullah in Jambi," *Journal of Indonesia Islam* 11, No. 2 (2017). Zulfan Taufik and Muhammad Taufik, "Nagari Madani: Islamic Favoritism and Religious Freedom in Regional Development in West Sumatera, Indonesia," *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 27, No. 2 (2023).

is a common eternal property and serves as a pillar of the existence and sustainability of the community. Every Minangkabau person must maintain and develop *pusako*.²

Explains *pusako* as any property of the deceased, the property belongs to the heirs. The succession of *pusako* covers the transfer of functions and use responsibilities, management, and supervision from the deceased generation to the living descendants. Inheritance of *pusako* should not be divided into individual rights, but forever be hereditary-communal. Inheritance of *pusako* is matrilineal in nature, meaning the heirs of property of *pusako* are only for the mother's offspring or *female* offspring only. This type of *pusako* is better known by *pusako tinggi* (high inheritance).

Pusako tinggi in Minangkabau is a property that should not be traded nor mortgaged as it is a common property to protect *kaum* (clan). *Kaum* is a group of maternal lineages in the matrilineal system of Minangkabau who will be the owners of *pusako*. This communal property should only be used in emergency conditions, namely to renovate the heavily damaged *rumah gadang*, to hold the marriage, to hold the funeral, and the chief's (*penghulu*) title-giving ceremony. Protecting *kaum*, especially women, is the core of the Minangkabau matrilineal kinship system. Hamka opines that in Minangkabau, property is divided into two categories, namely *pusako tinggi* (high inheritance) and *pusako randah* (low inheritance). The concept of *pusako randah* exists as a result of Minangkabau's interaction with Islam. *Pusako randah* is the property of the husband and wife during their marriage that is passed down to the child, not to *kaum*. If either spouse dies, then the property is passed on to heirs following Islamic inheritance law. However, this is not the case with *pusako tinggi*. *Pusako tinggi* is imparted and operated by *kaum*; however, it is not privately owned.³

Currently, *pusako tinggi* shifts its functions into private ownership through trading transactions. This violates customary law in Minangkabau and raises conflict. It states that buying and selling land through the registration of *pusako* land prompts conflict in matrilineal families, resulting in the loss of *adat* (customs) and *syara'* (Islamic law) in Minangkabau.⁴ *Pusako tinggi* land is abundant and is not effectively exploited. *Pusako tinggi* is mortgaged; however, there are no written

² Ibrahim Dt. Sanggoeno Diradjo, *TAMBO Alam Minangkabau, Tatanan Adat Warisan Nenek Moyang Orang Minang*. (Bukit Tinggi: Kristal Multi Media, 2009).

³ Hamka, *Ayahku* (Jakarta: Umminda, 1982). Nofiardi Nofiardi, “Adat Rantau as a Solution for Multi-Ethnic Marriage in Pasaman, West Sumatera,” *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 20, No. 2 (2020).

⁴ Hermayulis, *Penguasaan Dan Pengelolaan Tanah Di Kawasan Kuasa Pertambangan Di Daerah Kota Sawahlunto (Proposal Kajian)* (Pusat Kajian dan Konsultasi Hukum Agraria, Fakultas Hukum Universitas Andalas, 2003).

rules in the event of a dispute over the case.⁵ This study focuses on the phenomenon of the Minangkabau community, which is currently utilizing *pusako tinggi* through waqf (endowment). The donated *pusako tinggi* consists of land. The Head of Islamic Information and Empowerment of Zakat and Waqf in West Sumatra Province (2023) explains that West Sumatra has a predominant waqf potential. In 2023, waqf lands totalled 5,881.⁶ This practice is driven by the Minangkabau community's adherence to the philosophy of *Adat basandi Syara', Syara' basandi Kitabullah*.⁷ The definition of *pusako tinggi* is undergoing change. Mestika Zed explains that the concept of old customs arose due to a certain situation. The old custom concept was a construction of an agrarian society. The significance of this study explains the reality of Minangkabau customary philosophy in the face of change. This study answers the question of the meaning of *pusako tinggi* in Minangkabau, the social function as a consensus diversion of *pusako tinggi* in Minangkabau, and the status change of *pusako tinggi* to waqf.⁸

This research applies empirical legal methods with a philosophical and customary law approach. The research was conducted at the Syekh Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi Foundation in the Koto Tuo Balai Gurah village. The research was conducted at the Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi Foundation in Koto Tuo kenagarian Balai Gurah. The selection of Koto Tuo is based on the custom in Minangkabau of *salingka nagari* (customs are limited to one place). The source of the data is representatives of those donated lands. Representatives of the tribe consist of *mamak*, *bundo kanduang* or the tribe who donated land. Data were obtained through interviews. The question of this study is: how is the customary consensus in the diversion of *pusako tinggi*? Furthermore, the data are presented in a descriptive and interpretive manner to obtain meaning with a holistic and heuristic approach. Data were analysed through data display, data reduction, and verification techniques.

***Pusako Tinggi* in Minangkabau Society**

Some literature describes communal lands in some countries. Karigawa studies customary land ownership in the Papua New Guinea community.

⁵ I. F. Sari, *Pelaksanaan Pagang Gadai Tanah Pusako tinggi Pada Masyarakat Minangkabau (Studi Di Kecamatan Nan Sabaris Kabupaten Padang Pariaman Provinsi Sumatera Barat) (Tesis)*. Universitas Sumatera Utara (Medan, 2017).

⁶ Interview with Yufrizal, Head of Islamic Information and Zakat and Waqf Empowerment Division of West Sumatra Province, October 2023.

⁷ Fatahuddin Aziz Siregar, et.al., “Merantau in The Ethnic Tradition of Minangkabau: Local Custom Without Sharia Basis?” *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 6, No. 1 (2022).

⁸ M Zed, *Islam Dan Budaya Lokal Minangkabau Modern. Presented at the Seminar Internasional Bertema “Akar Sejarah Dan Perkembangan Fundamentalisme Islam Di Nusantara,” Bukittinggi* (Pusat Kajian Sosial-Budaya & Ekonomi (PKSBE) STAIN Djamil Djambek, 2010).

Individual rights to *ulayat* (customary land) are indistinguishable from the rights of communal communities (clans). The poor land administration system and mechanisms resulted in the breaking of ties between members and fellow clans and the loss of communal land ownership. The laws on communal lands are enormous and incompatible with each other, causing many problems. The land law in Papua New Guinea recognises that customary land ownership rests with clans, but in practice, customary land is in the hands of families, sub-clans, and individuals. Large clans have only a sign of ownership. This condition leads to disharmony among the people. Land ownership through communal arrangements aims to keep clans in Papua New Guinea intact, although modern economic concepts consider this to be an obstacle to economic development. This study recommends the importance of conducting a review of land laws to improve the governance of land administration in the area ⁹.

Srinivas & Bell probed indigenous land issues in East Timor. The long conflict in East Timor resulted in a chaotic administration. This created injustice for the community's right to land and access to natural resources. The review highlights the uncertainty of communal lands through new laws, regulations, and policies to reduce conflict. This review recommends the importance of effective land governance. Protecting and recognising communal land rights and indigenous practices is a future challenge in the East, along with promoting sustainable economic development through schemes such as Community Protection Zones.¹⁰

Shackleton et al. examined the existence of communal land and natural resources in several South African countries. Communal land and natural resources in South Africa are of great benefit to the community, especially the underprivileged ¹¹ Recent developments show that land and natural resources using a communal system with an integrated and community-centred approach plays an important role in improving the community's economy. This understanding is only in a limited community and has not yet reached policymakers. Rural Development and land reform focus solely on money-oriented activities, thereby underestimating the value of communal land. Similar to Nghitevelekwa, the loss of communal land in Sub-Saharan Africa has an impact on the economies of rural communities. In Namibia, land loss has occurred since the colonial period, resulting in unequal land distribution and multiple

⁹ Mr. Lepani Karigawa, 'Eroding Fabrics of Communal Land Ownership in Papua New Guinea', *International Journal of Environment, Agriculture and Biotechnology*, 3.4 (2018), p. 1353–64.

¹⁰ Shivakumar Srinivas, et.al., 'A Review of Indonesian Land-Based Sectors with Particular Reference to Land Governance and Political Economy', *Annual World Bank Conference on Land and Poverty 2015*, 2015, p. 1–22

¹¹ Sheona Shackleton, et.al., 'Re-Valuing the Communal Lands of Southern Africa: New Understandings of Rural Livelihoods', *Natural Resource Perspectives*, no. 62 (2000), p. 1–4

landownerships. Indigenous people live on communal land, whereas white people utilise communal land to form a market economy. Communal land must be protected from continued dispossession; therefore, its use should be exploited.¹²

Anas, et. al., elaborate that the conflict over communal land grabbing occurred in the Kerinci Regency for quite a long time. Conflicts were motivated by dissatisfaction with resolving issues, resulting in material losses on either side.¹³ The inadequacy of customary institutions and the egos of each side caused the problem of customary land conflict unresolved. In Maluku Sitorus the existence of communal land known as Patuanan can still be found in every region. Today, the development of communal land turns into private property. This enfeebled communal character of the land is due to a modernised society.¹⁴

In addition to the community's economic interests, customary land is also used for waqf. One utilisation of waqf for common interests is the construction of mosques. Mosques in Malabar were built with the support of the entire community, especially local rulers. The King of Calicut supported the construction and maintenance of the mosque by granting land and property as waqf. The existence of mosques in Malabar is historical evidence of the emergence of Islam and the driving force of social activities. Mosques in Malabar are the best model for the integration of Muslims into the structure of local society. This study will append literature on the use of customary land (*pusako tinggi*) for waqf in Minangkabau society. Hanani asserts that customary land in Minangkabau falls into four categories, namely *ulayat rajo*, *ulayat nagari*, *ulayat suku* and *ulayat kaum*.¹⁵ *Pusako tinggi* belongs to *ulayat suku* and *ulayat kaum*.¹⁶

The Minangkabau custom has a matrilineal kinship system. The kinship system, which is arranged based on the maternal lineage or female lineage, has been sustained since then. To maintain the system, the Minangkabau community established the *pusako tinggi* on the principle of communal ownership passed on to the descendants of women.¹⁷

¹² Romie Vonkie Nghitevelekw, 'The Future of Communal Lands in Africa: Experiences from Namibia', in *African Futures* (BRILL, 2022), p. 155–64.

¹³ Syamsuddin Anas, et.al., "Faktor Penyebab Konflik Tanah Ulayat Antara Peladang Pendatang Vs Masyarakat Adat Di Desa Tamiai Kabupaten Kerinci", *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 14.1 (2019), p. 131–50,

¹⁴ Oloan Sitorus, "Kondisi Aktual Penguasaan Tanah Ulayat Di Maluku: Telaah Terhadap Gagasan Pendaftaran Tanahnya", *BHUMI: Jurnal Agraria Dan Pertanahan*, 5.2 (2019), p. 222–29,

¹⁵ Silvia Hanani, 'Tanah Ulayat Dan Kemiskinan Perempuan', *Kafa'ah: Journal of Gender Studies* 3, No. 1 (2013), p. 27. Wahyu Abdul Jafar, et.al., "Philosophical Foundations and Human Rights in the Bajapuk Tradition: Bridging Local Wisdom and Islamic Law in Minangkabau Marriage Practices," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syariah* 16, No. 1 (2024).

¹⁶ A. Navis, *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau* (Grafiti Pers, 1986).

¹⁷ Eficandra Eficandra, 'The Reconstruction of High-Inherited Wealth in Minangkabau through Cash Waqf Movement', *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 21, No. 1 (2022), p. 121.

Aziz et al. describe the acculturation of Islam to the Minangkabau region set back around the eighteenth century.¹⁸ However, previously, the Minangkabau customs were based on nature as a customary expression *alam takambang jadikan guru* (nature can serve as a teacher). Diradjo affirms that the property of *pusako tinggi* is more widely used by women as a common property of a community as written in *Tambo Minangkabau*. Men can make use of *pusako tinggi* while managing the property.¹⁹ Hayani argues that *sako* and *pusako* are inseparable, citing the saying *hak bapunyo, ganggam bauntuko*, which means the right to own property. *Pusako tinggi* is prohibited from being privately owned, yet it can be mortgaged if it is in a dire situation to help the members of the clan, with the agreement to be redeemed within the specified period.²⁰

The principle of *pusako tinggi* should not be transferred to another party but can be mortgaged. Navis explains *pusako tinggi* of a clan can be mortgaged under the consent of all members of the clan based on common interests. *Pusako tinggi* cannot be traded, as the saying goes (*dijua tidak dimakan bali, digadai tidak dimakan sando*), which means it can neither be traded nor mortgaged²¹. Amelia, et al. suggest that if there is a conflict over *pusako tinggi*, settlement is sought between both parties, such as consensus deliberation, negotiation, and mediation in Kerapatan Adat Nagari/KAN (an organisation for the Minangkabau community) so that problems can be resolved amicably. In the process of resolving land disputes, especially *pusako tinggi*, customary law is first applied, i.e., settlement using customary processes to maintain and implement customary laws in force²². Panuh evaluates KAN as the highest customary institution in charge of solving adat and customary law cases in a Nagari (Minangkabau Land). Disputes resolved by KAN include those regarding the title or *sako* and regarding *pusako tinggi*.²³

Franz and Keebet Beckman explain *pusako tinggi* of Minangkabau continues to face challenges and undergo changes when dealing with the economic system, politics, colonial law, post-colonial law, and Islamic law. Both

¹⁸ Erwati Aziz, et.al., "The Acculturation of Islam and Customary Law: An Experience of Minangkabau, Indonesia," *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 8, No. 1 (2020), p. 131.

¹⁹ Diradjo, *TAMBO Alam Minangkabau, Tatanan Adat Warisan Nenek Moyang Orang Minang*.

²⁰ N. Hayani, *Perempuan Dalam Kewarisan Pusako Adat Minangkabau (Studi Kasus Di Kabupaten Padang Pariaman) (Skripsi)*. Jakarta. (Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, 2018).

²¹ Navis, *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau*.

²² Amelia Kurniawarman and Zefrizal Nurdin, 'Dispute Resolution of High Pusako Land Sold Without The Consent of The Heir (Study of Article 107/PDT. G /2017/PN. PDG)', *International Journal of Research Culture Society* 4, No. 6 (2020).

²³ H. Panuh, *Peranan Kerapatan Adat Nagari Dalam Proses Pendaftaran Tanah Adat Di Sumatera Barat* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2012).

prove the resilience of the Minangkabau matrilineal system, which is predicted to disappear but has until now survived through communal property (*pusako tinggi*). This study is a concrete example of the dynamics of material resilience in Minangkabau.

The Meaning of *Pusako Tinggi* for the Minangkabau Community

Nashroen explains Minangkabau people have a unique system of society. The structure of society is characterised by its form and philosophy. The basic philosophy of Minangkabau customs includes a communal (common) society as well as an individual and private society. The basic principle in the Minangkabau community system is the individual in group, group in individual. Minangkabau philosophy teaches that the way, foundation, and purpose of society are one, that is, *sehina dan semalu* (harmonious). This principle of life is the principle of all actions of the Minangkabau people, including in terms of property, economy, politics, and others ²⁴.

Latief reposes one of the treasures in Minangkabau is *pusako tinggi*. *Pusako tinggi* is a common property that is passed down from generation to generation according to maternal lineage. The common property is in the form of rice fields, land, forests, jewelry, and many others. Traditional Minangkabau is an agrarian society where rice fields and land are essential economic objects. In managing business, Minangkabau society uses a collective work system and a profit-sharing system ²⁵. A collective work system and profit-sharing system imply that the business is carried out jointly whose results are distributed to all members fairly according to the agreements. Minangkabau philosophy holds that humans are equal. Minangkabau people do not acknowledge the labour system and salary systems because this system places people in positions of status. The cooperation includes working jointly in rice fields. The yields will be shared equally. If the profit exceeds, it should not be traded. Surplus agricultural produce should be used as reserves to help others in distress.

Another type of *pusako tinggi* is land. The land is an achievement and a symbol of prestige that reflects the dignity of the Minangkabau people. Navis elucidates the land has an important philosophy that symbolises the dignity of life for the Minangkabau people. Landless kaum (clan) is called those without origin ²⁶. A land is a place of birth, a place of life, and a place of death. The land as a place of birth denotes that every person has a house to be born in. Land as a place of life means that every community has fields and plots that ensure the continuity of life. Land as a place of death implies that each clan has a *pandam pusara* (burial

²⁴ M. Nashroen, *Dasar Falsafah Adat Minangkabau (2nd Ed.)* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1971).

²⁵ Ch. N. Latief, *Etnis Dan Adat Minangkabau Permasalahan Dan Masa Depan* (Bandung: Angkasa, 2002).

²⁶ Navis, *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau*.

ground) so that the bodies are not displaced. In its use, *Pusako tinggi* always implements the principles of justice, togetherness, and welfare.

Damsar and Indriyani broaden that land has various meanings based on social, cultural, economic, and political constructions in Minangkabau society. First, land as a cultural identity.²⁷ The identity of the Minangkabau people other than those related to the tribe and Nagari also concerns the land. The old saying goes *batapian tampek mandi, basasok bajarami, bapandam pakuburan* (own spring, own agriculture land, own burial ground) Water and land ensure the survival of the Minangkabau people, while the burial ground designates the identity of the origin of a one's predecessors. Second, land as a social status. In Minangkabau, every land is owned. Nagari-owned land, tribal-owned land, and clan-owned land. The amount of land owned by nagari, tribes, and clans represents social status. A large quantity of land also illustrates whether one is a native or non-native mingling (*malakok*) with the natives. The natives live in the centre of nagari, while the people who blend live on the outskirts of nagari. The high or low social status of a person depends on the distance or proximity of their residence from the centre of Nagari. Third, land as an economic resource. The Minangkabau people believe that land is an economic resource. Thus, any type, shape, or place of land has economic benefits for the Minangkabau community. These three elements are prerequisites for the existence of the Minangkabau people.

Land is the glue for the establishment and development of Minangkabau community organisations. Land becomes an economic source for the welfare of the people, tribes, and development of the nagari. *Pusako tinggi* will ensure the sustainability of Minangkabau customary organisations.²⁸ The similar opinion is explained by Chaidir that the property of *pusako tinggi* has the purpose of: First, unifying the Minangkabau community so that people can maintain their sustainability²⁹. Second, investigating the descendants according to the customary approach so that the kinship system and relationship ties are maintained among the people and tribes in Minangkabau. Third, property of *pusako* as a reserve asset for a clan, if anyone is living in a difficult situation, the property can be used. Therefore, *pusako tinggi* is a form of existence and continuity for ethnic Minangkabau. This is the basic principle of *pusako* as a social fund, which cannot be sold. *Pusako* must be kept, maintained, and developed. Also, it becomes the responsibility of every Minangkabau individual. If *pusako tinggi* is not preserved, the Minangkabau Indigenous are feared to be

²⁷ Damsar and Indrayani, ‘Konstruksi Sosial Budaya Minangkabau Atas Pasar’, *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, 18.1 (2016), p. 29–38.

²⁸ I. Kamal, *Beberapa Aspek Hukum Kewarisan Matrilineal Ke Bilateral Di Minangkabau* (Center For Minangkabau Studies, 1968).

²⁹ A. Chaidir, *Hukum Adat Indonesia: Meninjau Hukum Adat Minangkabau* (Rhineka Cipta, 1997).

displaced and then disappear over time in the face of various challenges and changes.

Social Functions of *Pusako tinggi* Land in Minangkabau

Pusako tinggi socially functions as a fundamental principle in the face of various changes over time. *Pusako tinggi* can be used in an emergency to maintain the dignity of its people. Before using *pusako tinggi*, the Minangkabau community should find alternatives to earn money so that *pusako tinggi* is not used deliberately. Pagang gadai is one of the acceptable ways, according to the concept of custom, to overcome the urgent need of people to earn money. Pagang gadai (pawn) means that the loan agreement is contingent upon providing collateral to the borrower; as long as the debt has not been paid, the collateral will remain in the hands of the borrower. The main requirement for pagang gadai is the agreement of all members. The social function of *pusako tinggi* can be seen from both internal and external.

The social function of *pusako tinggi* from the internal side is the conception of traditional customs prevailing in the Minangkabau community itself. The traditional conception justifies *pusako tinggi* to be pawned under four conditions only. Emergencies that cause *pusako tinggi* are:

Mayiek tabujua di tengah rumah (to hold the funeral of the people in the house). Minangkabau society adheres to the philosophy Adat basandi Syara', Syara' basandi Kitabullah. Syara' mangato, Adat mamakai (Custom built upon sharia, sharia built upon Qur'an. Sharia explains, Custom implements). Tradition has always been based on Islam. Islam as a religion requires four actions carried out to the body, namely bathing, shrouding, salatul jenazah, and burial. The duty of every Muslim, especially heirs and brothers, and sisters, is to carry out this obligation in a good and perfect manner. Diradjo explains that the process of funeral management will cost money.³⁰ When a clan has no money, in an emergency as aforementioned, it is permissible to pawn a portion of *pusako tinggi*. The religious view adopted by traditional society after the death of family members is that it is necessary to hold a pengajian (mass recitation of Qur'an) to honor and pray for the deceased to be forgiven and blessed with Allah's forgiveness. The recitation event requires a certain amount of money for its implementation. If the heirs lack of finances, then it is allowed to pawn *pusako tinggi*. This is to maintain the dignity, standards, and values of the tribe. If the sequences are not performed, it will cause humiliation for the family and the tribe.³¹

Gadih gadang tak balaki (To arrange the marriage of adult woman in the house). Hamka explains Minangkabau society adheres to the matrilineal system

³⁰ Diradjo, *TAMBO Alam Minangkabau, Tatanan Adat Warisan Nenek Moyang Orang Minang*.

³¹ Navis, *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau*.

of the mother side. The leader in *Rumah Gadang* is the woman called *Bundo Kanduang*.³² According to customs, the status of *bundo kanduang* entails honor and virtue. *Bundo kanduang* as the recipient of the mother lineage, the successor of *rumah gadang* as the residence, the recipient of the provisions of property and economic resources, the recipient, and the one who reserves the yield of economic and holds special voting rights in deliberation. Women hold a special position in the Minangkabau tradition. If an adult daughter is unmarried, it becomes the concern of the family and clan. Unmarried women will raise uneasiness in the family and the tribe, especially *mamak* (brother of mother) and his relatives. Diradjo explains that oftentimes the woman behaves inappropriately so as to embarrass her relatives. *Mamak*, in this case, is obliged to find a partner for his niece. Effort in finding a prospective partner requires money, and then *mamak* is allowed to use the property of *pusako tinggi*. When an adult woman has found a partner, it is necessary to marry immediately. The wedding is a symbol of the dignity of the family and the people because it must be carried out properly. A wedding will cost a fortune. All members of the clan will try to acquire as much money as possible to support the wedding. If the members of the family do not have enough money after the efforts they do, it is permissible to pawn *pusako tinggi*.³³

Rumah gadang katirisan (to renovate the heavily damaged *rumah gadang*). *Rumah gadang* is a symbol of a clan. *Rumah gadang* is a residence of an origin, a place of deliberation and consensus, and a place of various customary ceremonies. *Rumah gadang* is not only big in size however it also has great functionality. *Rumah gadang*, as a place of residence, has its own rules. The newly married bride's room is located at the end corner. Every married woman owns a room. If one is married, then the previously married one will have her room moved to the middle. The older women's and children's rooms are located at the rear, near the kitchen.³⁴ *Rumah gadang* as a place of deliberation and consensus denotes that it is the place for discussion if there is a problem among the people. *Rumah gadang* is a place to hold the ceremony of the appointment of *penghulu* (the chief) and other important banquet ceremonies. *Rumah gadang* is a unifying tool and the place to return for every Minangkabau person.³⁵ If *rumah gadang* is damaged, it shall be repaired immediately. The restoration of *rumah gadang* is essential; a large sum needs to be sought from many sources to repair *rumah gadang*. When all attempts to find money are unsuccessful, it is allowed to pawn *pusako tinggi* to maintain the dignity of the people and the tribe.

³² Hamka, *Ayahku*.

³³ Diradjo, *TAMBO Alam Minangkabau, Tatanan Adat Warisan Nenek Moyang Orang Minang*.

³⁴ M. S. Amir, *Adat Minangkabau Pola Dan Tujuan Hidup Orang Minangkabau* (PT Mutiara Sumber Widya, 1996).

³⁵ Latief, *Etnis Dan Adat Minangkabau Permasalahan Dan Masa Depannya*.

Membangkit batang tarandam (Appointment of the Chief). *Penghulu* is a leader among a people, that is, a leader who regulates the functioning of customary law among the people. *Penghulu* holds a very important position in the community, such as solving the problems of loans, *penghulu* is a representative of the community in the deliberation of nagari and so forth. *Penghulu* in the community plays a significant role and has deep meaning. Currently, there has been a degradation of the function of *penghulu* in the community; however, the position of *penghulu* remains essential for the Minangkabau community. If there is an important leader to be assigned in the community, then appointing *penghulu* is deemed to be one. Appointing *penghulu* requires large funds. Because of the importance of *penghulu*, it is permissible to use the property of *pusako tinggi* as necessary.

External social functions of *pusako tinggi* can be categorised into two forms, namely the relationship between adat and the state horizontally and the relationship between adat and religion vertically. Customary relations with the state horizontally can be found in Article 6 of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 5 of 1960 on Basic Agrarian Principles (hereinafter referred to as the Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria/UUPA), which states “All rights to land have a social function”.³⁶ This utilisation in the concept of Minangkabau custom is called *ganggam bauntuak*. *Ganggam bauntuak* means that it is the right of Land Management of *pusako tinggi*. This right of management in custom is recognised as a right of use. Utilisation of *pusako tinggi* by the community is also for public use, including road infrastructure, residential areas, public cemeteries, sports fields, and protected forests. The reality of *pusako tinggi* utilisation for the public interest is that the indigenous people often lose to the government (state). Mirwati suggests that the government has renounced customary land rights under the pretext of public interest, but in reality, there is pressure on the rights of Indigenous Peoples, if necessary, revocation of land rights is carried out under Article 18 of the UUPA³⁷. The process of acquisition of tanah ulayat is up to mamak kepala waris (leaders of the clan), so members of the people often do not get compensation³⁸. Such an action from the government causes conflict among Indigenous communities due to the act of renunciation of customary land rights. Wirabrata and Surya explains the main constraint of infrastructure in Indonesia is land. Other obstacles are a lack of funds, human resource capabilities, and poor

³⁶ Yuliana Yuli Wahyuningsih, "Sosialisasi Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 1960 Tentang Peraturan Dasar Pokok-Pokok Agraria Di Desa Baros, Kecamatan Baros, Kabupaten Serang", *Jurnal Pengabdian Nasional* 1, No. 1 (2020), p. 26–35.

³⁷ Y. Mirwati, *Konflik Tanah Ulayat. Padang* (Andalas University Press, 2015).

³⁸ H. T. Wijaya, *Tinjauan Hukum Pelepasan Tanah Ulayat*, 2020.

governance³⁹. Infrastructure development is indeed beneficial to the state and society; however, there is a reluctance among landowners to give up their land due to inappropriate compensation. According To Herningtyas, there are four types of land conflicts and compensation issues: conflicts regarding land acquisition and the right to cultivate; conflicts regarding plantation development and land compensation; conflicts due to the violation of promises and disbursements of CSR funds; and conflicts in management by cooperatives and companies.⁴⁰

The concept of customary law explains that the use of *pusako tinggi* does not result in the transfer of ownership rights to the land, but occurs in the form of a profit-sharing agreement based on pagang gadai as well as hibah baaleh (grants for a certain period). Hibah baaleh is a grant given with a time limit to make use of it⁴¹. Minangkabau traditional proverb explained “kabau tagak kubangan tinggi, bangau tabang kubangan tinggi” (Buffalo leaves mud when it goes, stork leaves water when it flies). This saying implies that the management of cooperation takes into account the interests of both parties. The results of land management of *pusako tinggi* are according to the profit-sharing system. It is also regulated in Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2008 on Customary Land and Its Utilisation, Article 3, Section 2. The Regional Regulation states that the use of customary land by other parties who are non-natives of the customary law concerned is carried out with the principle of mutual benefit and risk sharing through consensus⁴².

Pagang gadai of *pusako tinggi* land in Minangkabau is different from pawn principles according to the UUPA. The collateral according to the UUPA is land, while the object of pagang gadai according to customary law is not land, but the right to manage or the right to use the profits. This view argues, based on a separate principle in the use of *pusako tinggi*, that the land is divided into plots of agriculture and buildings above them. In the pawn of tanah *pusako tinggi*, the transferable right is the right to manage the land, while the right of ownership over the land remains with the initial owner. This is also enforced in the General Provisions of the Regional Regulation on Customary Land, No. 16 of 2008, in Article 1, which states: “Land collateral is a pledge according to Minangkabau

³⁹Achmad Wirabrata and Ade Surya, "Masalah Kebijakan Dalam Pengadaan Tanah Untuk Pembangunan Infrastruktur," *Jurnal Ekonomi & Kebijakan Publik* 2, No. 2 (2011), p. 729–52.

⁴⁰Wieke Herningtyas, "Conflict of Palm Oil Companies with Indigenous People and Forest Surrounding Society," *BHUMI: Jurnal Agraria Dan Pertanahan* 7, No. 2 (2021), p. 199–209.

⁴¹Indra Rahmat, "Pengelolaan Harta Pusaka Tinggi Dalam Masyarakat Adat Minangkabau (Studi Di Kecamatan Batipuh Kabupaten Tanah Datar)," *Bakaba: Jurnal Sejarah Kebudayaan Dan Kependidikan* 8, No. 1 (2019), p. 15–24.

⁴²Dian Cahyaningrum, ‘Hak Pengelolaan Tanah Ulayat Masyarakat Hukum Adat Untuk Kepentingan Investasi’, *Negara Hukum: Membangun Hukum Untuk Keadilan Dan Kesejahteraan*, 12.1 (2022), p. 21–39.

customary law as a form of transfer of customary land management rights”. The use of *pusako tinggi* based on hibah baaleh is carried out with the agreement of all members of the clan. Concept of pagang gadai and hibah baaleh is according to the philosophy of the use of *pusako tinggi*.⁴³

External social functions of the *pusako tinggi* are vertical. The use of *pusako tinggi* land has a social dimension other than having a horizontal relationship that reflects the relationship between the state and Indigenous Peoples, which is the utilisation of *pusako tinggi* with a vertical value. The use of *pusako tinggi* for the vertical dimension in practice is used for waqf. The current trend in society to donate *pusako tinggi* is based on faith and devotion to Allah. Initially, *pusako tinggi* is the common property of the people and it becomes waqf property. The principle in the waqf property is similar to the principle *pusako tinggi*, in which neither can be traded. The object must be maintained in either *pusako tinggi* or waqf; however, the utilisation principle of either is continuously improved productively. It is more accessible for people to donate *pusako tinggi* as a vertical relationship with God, instead of giving away land for the sake of the state. Minangkabau people adhere to strong traditional rules, but when dealing with religious beliefs, people are more willing to donate *pusako tinggi*.

Diversification Status of *Pusako Tinggi*: from Customary Land to the Waqf

This research was conducted at Yayasan Syekh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, Agam Regency, West Sumatera Province, Indonesia. Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi was the imam of the Grand Mosque as well as teachers for renowned national ulama, such as Dr. Karim Amrullah (Inyiah Dr), KH. Ahmad Dahlan, founder of Muhammadiyah, KH. Wahid Hashim, founder of Nahdhatul Ulama, and others.⁴⁴ This foundation was pioneered by the descendants of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, the Koto Mudiak Balai tribe. The foundation grew and developed from donations and community waqf.⁴⁵

In Nagari Koto Tuo Balai Gurah, there are five tribes that donated *pusako tinggi* to the Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation. First, Koto Mudiak Balai tribe. D acts as a representative of the tribe. Sheikh Ahmad Khatib's descendants include dr. Alimar Amran (deceased), Muhammad Dafi Saqib, buya Nazir Nurdin, and finally Kasman who formed the Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation to create an Islamic educational institution. The land that will be used for the educational

⁴³ Tesya Veronika and Atik Winanti, ‘Humani (Hukum Dan Masyarakat Madani) Keberadaan Hak Atas Tanah Ulayat Masyarakat Hukum Adat Ditinjau Dari Konsep Hak Menguasai Oleh Negara’, *Humani (Hukum Dan Masyarakat Madani)* 11, No. 2 (2021), p. 305–17.

⁴⁴ A. Fadli, *Otobiografi: Syekh Ahmad Chatib Al Minangkabawi Putra Minang Untuk Dunia Islam* (Al Mawardi Prima, 2019).

⁴⁵ Interview with D, A traditional figure from the Koto tribe, Minangkabau, September, 2022.

institution was agreed to be purchased by the family.⁴⁶ The deal was eventually called off by the landowner for no apparent reason. Dr. Alimar Amran suggested some *pusako tinggi* from the Koto Mudiak Balai tribe to be donated to the Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation. All members of the tribe, especially women, accepted and agreed to the proposal of Dr. Alimar Amran. The agreement was signed by four people, Bundo Kanduang, namely the mothers of the Koto Mudiak Balai tribe, consisting of Dr. Alimar Amran, etek (younger sister of the mother), daughter, and a daughter who is saparuik (one maternal lineage). After receiving approval from Bundo Kanduang Koto Mudiak Balai with signed stamp duty, finally, the *pusako tinggi* land of approximately 5000 square metres was donated to the Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation.⁴⁷

Pusako tinggi was previously used in rotation by the four Bundo Kanduang. The 5,000-square-metre land comprises three parcels whose results are used together. There are several reasons for the Koto Mudiak Balai tribe to donate the land to the foundation. First, the hope of the society that the land can be used by educational institutions. Second, the vast majority of the members of the tribe have migrated. Third, the yield obtained from the land is rather small. Families who have migrated for a long time and are economically well-off also do not expect results from the land. After receiving consensus from all members of the tribe, the land was finally donated. The transfer of rights to the land was then officially registered at the Office of Religious Affairs (Kantor Urusan Agama/KUA) IV Angkek. The recipient of the 5000-square-metre land is the chairman of the Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation, Nashran Nazir.

Second, waqf land of the Koto Talang tribe. The donated parcel is *pusako tinggi* land. N is the representative of the Koto Talang tribe. N's parents are an extinct family in the view of Minangkabau customs because there is only son. N's family argued that the status of *pusako tinggi* is shubhat (doubtful deeds or matters). This is because the *pusako tinggi* land is used by clan members who did not contribute to its acquisition. According to Al-Ghazali, Shubhat means an unclear problem that entails two opposing beliefs. The *pusako tinggi* donated by the Koto Talang tribe is three parcels of rice fields, or approximately 3500 square metres. *Pusako tinggi* was endowed to the foundation to be used for the benefit of the community. Before the donation of *pusako tinggi*, it had been approved and signed on stamp duty by all N's sisters.⁴⁸

The land donated has been recorded in the Office of Religious Affairs. Acting as nazir (administrator) of waqf is the chairman of the Sheikh Ahmad

⁴⁶ Interview with S, A traditional figure from the Koto tribe, Minangkabau, September, 2022.

⁴⁷ Interview with D, A traditional figure from the Koto tribe, Minangkabau, September, 2022.

⁴⁸ Interview with N, A traditional figure from the Koto tribe, Minangkabau, September, 2022.

Khatib Foundation, namely Nashran Nazir, M.Pd. Third, waqf land of the Koto Hilia family is represented by R. The area covered is 1800 square metres. The endowed land is *pusako tinggi* which had been written by R's parents. R migrates and does not live in the area. All members of the Koto Hilia tribe agreed to donate part of *pusako tinggi*. R narrated that the reason for the donation is that the issue of *pusako tinggi* has the potential to provoke conflict, thus donation is the best answer. R and members of the Koto Hilia tribe do not necessarily use the *pusako tinggi*. *Pusako tinggi* will be useful when donated to Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation.⁴⁹ Fourth, waqf land of the Koto Tengah tribe represented by Mrs. D. Total of the donated pusako is nearly 3500 square metres. The status of *pusako tinggi* was as collateral. The land was redeemed by the Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation. D then donated land for the foundation on the grounds that *pusako tinggi* would potentially lead to conflict within the tribe or family.

Fifth, Waqf land of the Koto tribe. Mrs. S is Bundo Kanduang from her tribe. S is a doctor who has been successful in her region and rarely returns home. S intended to donate portion of *pusako tinggi* to the foundation. Syeikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation planned to develop an educational institution. The development plan information was heard by S. C endowed a portion of the property of *pusako tinggi* from her ancestors for the development of Islamic educational institutions. S and the majority of her tribal members have migrated, especially to Java Island. In general, members of the tribe have a well-established economic life in their respective areas. Members of the S addressed considerably the development of religion. This prompted them to move some of the *pusako tinggi* to the Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation. The endowment of *pusako tinggi* has been unanimously agreed upon by the rightful family members. Land donated by S's family is approximately 8000-square-metre land that has been allowed by Bundo Kanduang of the tribe. On 11 March 2022, the transfer of waqf assets was carried out from the family represented by Ari, son of S, to the foundation represented by the chairman of the foundation, Nashran Nazir, before the head of KUA Ampek Angkek.⁵⁰

In Islamic law, waqf is a type of socially-oriented worship. Waqf depicts the withholding of property for its use without having to spend or damage it for good causes. Reserving property is to donate possession for its use continually for a non-specified time. Law No. 41 of 2004 on Waqf defines it as the legal act of handing over and/or splitting up part of his or her property to be used for a non-specified time or for a specified time according to his or her interests for the

⁴⁹Interview with D, A traditional figure from the Koto tribe, Minangkabau, September, 2022.

⁵⁰Interview with S, A traditional figure from the Koto tribe, Minangkabau, September, 2022.

purposes of worship and/or general welfare according to Sharia.⁵¹ Waqf is a potential source of funds and is eternal. Waqf is one of the Islamic philanthropies in addition to zakat, infaq, and sadaqah. These four Islamic philanthropic deeds aim to increase faith, overcome poverty, and empower economically weak communities. In general, Waqf is in the form of land, and the land is used for constructing mosques, educational institutions, burial grounds, and others. Based on data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, waqf land in Indonesia is fairly large, reaching 57,263.69 ha located in 440,512 sites. Details of the use of waqf land include 43.51 % for mosques, 27.59% for musalla, 10.77 % for schools, 9.37 % for other social functions, 4.35 % for public cemeteries, and 4.10% for Islamic boarding school.⁵² Currently, waqf in Indonesia has been developed in a new form such as money donation as described in Law No. 41 of 2004 on Waqf. Sulistiani, et al explain that waqf in form of money is needed by the community, especially when the Indonesian economy is concerned⁵³. To this day, money donation still entails obstacles, such as low public understanding of money donation. Waqf land is still the main choice for some people given its fixed and immovable nature, which is further developed to be more productive. In this study, the form of waqf is the land donated to the foundation for educational institutions.

There are several reasons why *pusako tinggi* is endowed. First, any tribe that donates *pusako tinggi* to the Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation is motivated by faith in Allah with the expectation of a reward that will continue until the hereafter. This is the reason that the donation of *pusako tinggi* to the administrator of the foundation is a more favorable option. Imari and Syamsuri state the waqf agreement, which is *tabarru'*. This means the target for the development of waqf is not the profit of the waqif (donor), but it is emphasised by the elements of Virtue and goodness for the public interest.⁵⁴ Waqf property should not be reduced, left unmanaged, or traded, but professionally and productively managed. The Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Foundation as *nazir waqf* (donation administrator) utilises the waqf for the development of the school as has been developed by successful schools, such as Gontor, Tazakka, Wali Songo, and many more. The experience of several pesantren that have successfully managed and developed waqf

⁵¹ Ghina Hani Imania Arofah and Eva Fauziyah, ‘Analisis Fikih Wakaf Dan UU Wakaf No. 41 Tahun 2004 Terhadap Pengelolaan Wakaf Produktif’, *Jurnal Riset Hukum Keluarga Islam*, 2022, p. 13–20.

⁵² Siti Achiria and Unggul Priyadi, ‘Pengembangan Aset Tanah Wakaf Melalui Budidaya Ikan Lele Berbasis Bioflok Di Desa Argodadi Kabupaten Bantul DIY’, *Jurnal Pengabdian UNDIKMA*, 4.2 (2023), p. 316.

⁵³ Diah Sulistyani and others, ‘Pelaksanaan Dan Pengembangan Wakaf Uang Di Indonesia’, *Jurnal Usm Law Review*, 3.2 (2020), p. 328–43.

⁵⁴ Iqbal Imari and Syamsuri Syamsuri, “Pemberdayaan Waqf Produktif Sebagai Media Pembangunan Ekonomi Pesantren: Satu Analisa Mekanisme Pelaksanaanya Di Pesantren Wali Songo Ngabar,” *Islamic Economics Journal* 3, No. 1 (2017).

productively has had a tremendous impact. With productive waqf, the school is able to conduct all programs and is able to facilitate the members of the school, including students, scholars, teachers, lecturers, and the community surrounding the school.⁵⁵

Second, *Pusako tinggi* also causes conflicts between members of the clan. Conflicts are triggered over the desire to privately receive benefits from the property of *pusako tinggi* so that the common property becomes privately owned and can be sold. Members of the public are encouraged to donate their *pusako tinggi* as the best way to avoid conflict between members. The donation of *pusako tinggi* will provide nothing but benefits for the deceased and the living members.

Conclusion

Based on the above explanation, it can be inferred that the land in Minangkabau indigenous philosophy is not only a symbol but also a proof of the existence and dignity of the Minangkabau people as a civilised society. The land is one of *pusako tinggi* which is preserved and maintained to this day. *Pusako tinggi* in the Minangkabau community consensus is deemed urgent when dealing with customary and religious interests; thus, *pusako tinggi* can be diverted. One form that has become a tradition in Minangkabau society is waqf. Waqf in Minangkabau custom corresponds to the principles of *pusako tinggi*. The principle of waqf is similar to *pusako tinggi*. It can be proven from the existence of waqf assets that cannot be traded and can only be taken advantage of. Waqf symbolises the motto of “preserve the object and take the benefits”. This fact proves that philosophy *Adat basandi Syara’*, *Syara’ basandi Kitabullah* is present in the community. Islam and Minangkabau customs are two different entities that always run dynamically in the face of change. In the context of *pusako tinggi* land, regardless of the shift in function in Minangkabau, it is still tied to the framework of customs and religion. The matrilineal system in Minangkabau now is able to thrive and adapt with various challenges and changes that occur. The reality sums up the Minangkabau community conforms to the philosophy encapsulated in the phrase *baradat kareh*, *baugamo kuaik* (strongly adhere to customs and religion).

⁵⁵ Awwaluddin Marza, et.al., “The Role of The Indonesian Waqf Agency in The Implementation of Nazir Supervision of Land Waqf (Study at Badan Wakaf Indonesia of Lhokseumawe City),” *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum dan Pemikiran* 22, No. 2 (2022).

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Interviews

- Interview with D, A traditional figure from the Koto tribe, Minangkabau, September 2022.
- Interview with S, A traditional figure from the Koto tribe, Minangkabau, September 2022.
- Interview with N, A traditional figure from the Koto tribe, Minangkabau, September 2022.
- Interview with Yufrizal, Head of Islamic Information and Zakat and Waqf Empowerment Division of West Sumatra Province, October 2023.