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THE TURUN MANI TRADITION IN GAYO: AN ANALYSIS OF HADITH ON AQIQAH IN CENTRAL ACEH

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Received:
2024-10-31

Received in revised form:
2024-12-09

Accepted:
2024-12-14

Available online:
2024-12-18

Abstract: *This study explores the integration of local traditions within Islam through an examination of the Turun Mani tradition among the Gayo community in Central Aceh. This tradition represents a unique implementation of the Aqiqah ritual, incorporating local cultural elements and reflecting harmony between Islamic teachings and local customs. The research aims to examine the practice of the Turun Mani tradition, understand the Gayo community's perception of hadiths related to Aqiqah, and analyze the quality of the referenced hadiths. Employing a qualitative method with a living hadith approach, this study involves in-depth interviews with selected informants, including religious leaders, cultural figures, and practitioners of the tradition, as well as literature reviews of hadiths and primary texts. The findings reveal that the Turun Mani tradition adapts local cultural elements—such as the Begenap ritual, bathing the newborn with coconut water and kaffir lime, and protective prayers—while preserving the essence of Aqiqah. The Gayo community's understanding of the hadiths underlying this tradition is largely inherited and lacks critical examination of the hadiths' authenticity. The Turun Mani tradition not only reinforces local wisdom but also supports the primary objectives of Maqāṣid al-Syarī'ah, such as protecting faith, life, lineage, and intellect. Despite challenges posed by modernization, the tradition endures as a manifestation of harmony between religion and culture. This research contributes to the study of living hadith and the relationship between Islam and local traditions in Indonesia.*

Keywords: *Turun mani tradition; living hadith; integration of Islam and local culture; gayo customs.*

INTRODUCTION

The integration of Islam with local culture is a phenomenon that has consistently accompanied the spread of Islam as a religion. Islam, as a universal teaching, does not emerge in a cultural vacuum but always interacts with the traditions and values of local communities. According to Azyumardi Azra, the spread of Islam in Indonesia, particularly during the 8th to 9th centuries, was carried out by Sufi scholars who introduced Islamic teachings through an inclusive and accommodative approach to local cultures. This process created a unique face of *Islam Nusantara*, which not only blends religious teachings with local traditions but also enriches both (Azyumardi Azra, 2014).

The inclusive and accommodative approach taken by the Sufis aligns with Clifford Geertz's theory of "religion as a cultural system" (Joevorian, 2012), which posits that religion cannot be separated from the cultural context in which it develops. In his research on Javanese society, Geertz highlights that the process of Islamization in the Nusantara region occurred through the adaptation of local cultural symbols (Maulana, 2020), enabling Islam to be embraced without significant resistance (Ridlo, 2021). Another study by Martin van Bruinessen (Wain, 2021) supports this view, emphasizing the role of Sufis and *tarekat* in spreading Islam through spiritual paths aligned with the traditional values of local communities ("Sufism and the 'modern' in Islam," 2008), such as *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) and social harmony. This combination has shaped Islam in the Nusantara as a unique form, rich in tolerance and local wisdom.

One example of the integration of Islam with local culture can be seen in the practice of the *Aqiqah* ritual, an Islamic tradition recommended in hadith (Sucipto & Sihombing, 2022). Generally, *Aqiqah* (Erfino Johari et al., 2023) is an expression of gratitude for the birth of a child (Sulfinadia et al., 2023), involving the slaughter of animals and the distribution of their meat to the community. However, in Indonesia, *Aqiqah* is often combined with local cultural elements, resulting in variations in practice across regions. Among the Gayo community in Central Aceh, the *Aqiqah* ritual is known as the *Turun Mani* tradition (Setia Bakti & Anismar, 2022). This tradition features distinct characteristics that reflect the dialogue between Islamic teachings and the local culture of the Gayo people (Zahra & Khairuddin, 2023)(Santoso et al., 2022).

The *Turun Mani* tradition in the Gayo community not only preserves the core Islamic teaching of animal slaughter as part of *Aqiqah* but also incorporates local elements that make it unique (Bowen John R. - *Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society.Pdf*, n.d.). The process includes specific rituals deeply connected to Gayo cultural values. For instance, the tradition often involves various customary activities such as *Begenap* (Santoso et al., 2022), *Amal Tidur Mimpi Jeje* (Auni et al., 2022), *Belah Keramil* (Bowen John R. - *Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society.Pdf*, n.d.), *Seraben Ku Reje*, *Seraben Ku Imem*, special prayers, and forms of respect for ancestors (Setia Bakti & Anismar, 2022), which are absent in standard *Aqiqah* practices. This illustrates how local traditions can enrich Islamic practices without compromising the essence of religious teachings.

This study aims to examine the *Turun Mani* tradition within the Gayo community from three main aspects: first, the implementation of the *Turun Mani* tradition; second, the Gayo community's understanding of the hadiths related to *Aqiqah*; and third, the quality of the hadiths used as references for this tradition. Thus, this research provides a new contribution to the literature on *Aqiqah* and local culture, as well as to the study of the authenticity of hadiths used as a basis for religious practices. Although this tradition has become an integral part of Gayo community life, academic studies on *Turun Mani* remain very limited. A literature search on Google Scholar as of mid-September 2024 revealed only three works specifically discussing this tradition: studies by Rahmayani & Rohani (2024), Sania Zahra & A. Khairuddin (2023), and Setia Bakti & Anismar (2022).

This study is expected to enrich the understanding of the relationship between Islamic teachings and local traditions, particularly in the context of *Aqiqah*. Furthermore, it aims to provide new perspectives on how Islamic communities in the Nusantara, especially the Gayo community, practice their religion in a unique and contextual manner, in line with their local cultural values.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs a qualitative field-based approach using the *living hadith* framework as proposed by Iffah (2021) and Muhammad (2019). This approach is used to understand how hadith messages live within communities, spread, and form traditions that are routinely practiced, particularly in the context of the *Turun Mani* tradition in the Gayo community, Central Aceh. The research was conducted from early September to late November 2024. Informants were selected purposively (Lenaini, 2021) based on specific criteria to ensure the reliability and representation of the data. The informants consisted of: *Imam kampung*, religious leaders assigned to each village to handle activities related to religion; *Petue kampung*, traditional figures who possess knowledge about Gayo customs and traditions; practitioners of the *Turun Mani* tradition, individuals or groups directly involved in performing the ritual; and Gayo community members who participated in or witnessed the *Turun Mani* ritual. The number of informants was determined based on the principle of saturation point (Maria Andani & Oktaviani, 2018), meaning data collection continued until no new information emerged.

Data were collected through two methods: First, in-depth interviews (Mayssara A. Abo Supervised, 2019) with selected informants to gain direct insights into the *Turun Mani* tradition. The interviews were conducted semi-structurally to deeply explore the informants' views while maintaining a focus on the research topic. Second, literature review (Hadi & Afandi, 2021) to trace hadiths related to *Aqiqah* by referring to primary hadith books such as *Shahih Bukhari*, *Shahih Muslim*, and other supporting literature, including books, journals, and scientific articles. To maintain the validity and reliability of the data, the researcher applied several measures: data triangulation (Ascarya Academia, 2022), which involved comparing information from various sources (different informants and literature reviews) to ensure consistency; member checking (Mckim, 2023), which involved

confirming interview results with the informants to ensure accurate data interpretation; and cross-referencing by comparing interview data with literature sources to ensure conformity and credibility (Syamsur et al., 2023).

Data analysis was conducted using a descriptive-analytical approach through the following steps: transcription of interviews (Sazali, 2021), in which raw data from interviews were transcribed to ensure accuracy and completeness; thematic coding (Sinambela & Sinaga, 2023), identifying main themes from interview results related to aspects of the *Turun Mani* tradition, such as cultural elements and the understanding of hadiths; and analysis of hadith quality (Muzakky & Mundzir, 2022), which was carried out using methods of *sanad* and *matan* criticism to assess the validity of the hadiths referenced in the *Turun Mani* tradition.

The focus and objectives of this research are: first, the implementation of the *Turun Mani* tradition in the Gayo community; second, the Gayo community's understanding of hadiths related to *Aqiqah*; and third, the quality of the hadiths used as a basis in the practice of the tradition. Through this approach, this study is expected to contribute new findings to *living hadith* studies and enrich the understanding of the relationship between Islamic teachings and local culture in Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The *Turun Mani* Tradition in the Gayo Tribe of Central Aceh

The Gayo culture encompasses a variety of traditions rich in meaning (Khaironi, 2016). One of these is the "begenap" ritual (Santoso et al., 2022), performed not only during wedding ceremonies but also in other significant events, including *turun mani*. The *turun mani* tradition is a customary ritual conducted on the seventh day after a baby's birth (Bowen John R. - *Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society.Pdf*, n.d.). This ritual symbolizes cleanliness and blessings while reflecting values of togetherness, respect for family, and acknowledgment of the baby as part of the family and community.

On the evening before the *turun mani* ritual, a *begenap* or deliberation is held, involving the *Tengku* or *Imem Kampung*, family members, and community leaders. During this meeting, not only are the technical aspects of the *turun mani* ritual discussed, but the baby's name is also chosen. The chosen name is then tested through the tradition of *amal tidur mimpi jege* (Pandapotan, 2017) (Auni et al., 2022), which observes the baby's reaction during the night. If the baby appears restless, the name is considered unsuitable; however, if the baby remains calm, the name is deemed appropriate and officially adopted. This tradition underscores the importance of harmony in decision-making, both spiritually and socially.

The following day, the *turun mani* ritual continues. The baby's mother washes the hands of the midwife with lime and soap as a gesture of gratitude and apology for the midwife's sacrifices during childbirth (Bowen John R. - *Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society.Pdf*, n.d.). The midwife then places a turmeric necklace around the baby's neck and a turmeric bracelet on the baby's wrist. Before the baby leaves the house, the baby is carried by the mother's

younger sister. The ritual involves traditional items such as an umbrella, coconut, machete, and *kelati* (*kacip*), accompanied by prayers for the baby's protection.

Upon arrival at the bathing site, the ritual begins with the baby held by the mother's younger sister while a thin cloth (*kain tudung*) is draped over the baby. A coconut is cracked open over the cloth, allowing the coconut water to flow onto the baby's body as part of the ritual (Bowen John R. - *Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society.Pdf*, n.d.). The baby is then bathed using rice water, lime water, and warm water. The coconut water symbolizes the hope that the baby will not be easily startled, while the lime water represents freshness and cleanliness. Afterward, the baby is returned to the mother at the entrance of the house, accompanied by prayers and hopes that the baby will grow into a virtuous and beneficial individual for the family and community.

Once the bathing process is complete, the baby is brought back into the house and handed to the mother, who waits at the door. This part of the ritual includes offering gifts, such as rice, turmeric, and *petawaran*, to the midwife as a sign of respect and gratitude for her assistance during childbirth. Next, the mother hands the baby over to the *reje* (village chief) with the hope that the child will grow up to be a good member of society. While handing over the baby, the mother says, "Reje, ini anak ni kami, mulei lo si serlo ni nge mutamah rakyat ni reje, ken salah bertegah benar berpapah he kami serahen ku reje."

The *reje* accepts the baby, holds it, and responds to the mother's words by saying, "Sudere-sudere si nge berhadir, lo si serlo ni rakyat ni kampung ni nge mutamah semenjak lo si serlo ni. Ni anak ni salah bertegah benar berpapah he nge I pumu kite. Enti kahe gere I tegahi ike we salah, enti kahe gere I papahi ike we benar." The ritual continues with the naming ceremony, *petawaran*, *tabnik*, and a prayer reading by the *Imem Kampung*. After the baby is held, the *Imem Kampung* announces the baby's name, saying, "Buge-buge genel si tos urang tuemu ni mujadi berkah dan diridhai oleh Allah dan pas orom rembegemu," while cutting a small lock of the baby's hair.

Then, the *Imem Kampung* performs the *petawaran* using *celala*, *bebesi*, *dedingin*, and *batang teguh* (Bowen John R. - *Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society*, n.d.), which were prepared earlier by the family. During this part of the ritual, the *Imem Kampung* recites a prayer, "Buge porak-besejuk, bise-betawar, si mugah-magih, si rusak-pulih, pulih lagu sedia kala." After the *petawaran* is completed, the *Imem Kampung* performs the *tabnik* by dipping his finger into salt, coconut milk, and honey, then placing it into the baby's mouth. While applying the salt, he says, "Betake ni masen ni poa ni beta le masen delah ni." While applying the coconut milk, he says, "Betake ni lemak ni santan ni beta le ko lang gelah becerak lemak." Finally, when applying the honey, he says, "Betake ni lungi madu ni betami cerak mu puren."

On the same day, the family, if financially able, will usually perform the *aqiqah* by slaughtering an animal, in accordance with the Prophet's sunnah. The *aqiqah* is performed as a form of redemption for the baby (Ainur Rofiq, 2022), as the Prophet stated that a baby is in debt until the *aqiqah* is performed. This slaughtering also serves as an expression of gratitude for the child's birth (Zaini, 2017). The baby is also *adzaned* (Sujono Ar, 2022) and

iqamah is recited to remind the child that, when they grow up, they should always be called to prayer whenever they hear the call to *azan*.

The *turun mani* tradition in the Gayo community shares some similarities with the *aqiqah* practice in other Muslim communities. In several regions of Indonesia, this tradition is called *turun mandi*, including in Solok (Khatimah & Rivauzi, 2022). Both traditions emphasize gratitude for the birth of the baby, social recognition of the new family member, and the importance of prayers for the safety and future of the child. However, the *turun mani* tradition is richer in local symbolism, such as the use of *jeruk purut* (kaffir lime), coconut water, and the naming ceremony through deliberation.

In general Muslim society, *aqiqah* is performed by slaughtering a goat (Kardiana et al., 2017) as an act of worship to Allah and charity to the surrounding community. In contrast, while *aqiqah* is also practiced in *turun mani*, this tradition is complemented by various customary rituals reflecting the cultural identity of the Gayo people. Additionally, the *turun mani* tradition emphasizes social harmony through the roles of community leaders like the *Tengku*, *Imem Kampung*, and *reje*, who play active roles in the process. Thus, the *turun mani* tradition is not only a religious reflection but also a manifestation of cultural wealth that reinforces the values of local wisdom. This tradition teaches the importance of togetherness, respect, and gratitude, which are expressed through beautiful and meaningful rituals.

The *turun mani* tradition aligns with the core values of *maqāṣid al-shari‘ah* (Saende et al., 2023), which aims to protect five essential aspects: religion (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*), life (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*), intellect (*ḥifẓ al-‘aql*), lineage (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*), and wealth (*ḥifẓ al-māl*).

1. Protection of Religion (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*): The *tabnik*, *adhan*, and prayers are forms of instilling religious values from an early age. The prayers recited remind that life should always be oriented toward obedience to Allah.
2. Protection of Intellect (*ḥifẓ al-‘aql*): The careful selection of names reflects the hope that the child will grow up with a sound mind and good character. Names are considered prayers that influence behavior and character.
3. Protection of Life and Health (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*): The ritual of bathing the baby with coconut water, kaffir lime, and warm water carries a symbolic meaning of both physical and spiritual purification. This process demonstrates concern for the baby's health, which is a crucial part of protecting life.
4. Protection of Lineage (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*): The handover of the baby to the *reje* (village chief) and the prayer by the *Imem Kampung* reflect the acknowledgment of the baby as part of a larger community. This highlights the importance of maintaining generational continuity and the family's honor.

In the era of modernization, urbanization, and changing values, the *turun mani* tradition faces significant challenges. The influence of foreign cultures, increasing societal mobility, and the diminishing role of traditional communities often shift traditional values. However,

the Gayo people continue to strive to preserve the essence of this tradition, even with certain adjustments. For instance, the baby naming process, which was once entirely based on the traditional practice of *amal tidur mimpi jege* (dream-based naming), is now often combined with modern preferences, such as choosing Islamic names or names with global meanings. The ritual bathing of the baby, which involves traditional symbols like coconut water and kaffir lime, remains intact, although modern tools are now used to ease the process.

Furthermore, amid modernization, the value of togetherness at the core of this tradition is still preserved. The involvement of extended family members and community leaders in this ceremony becomes an important moment to maintain social bonds in an increasingly individualistic lifestyle. The *turun mani* tradition also serves as a medium for intergenerational education, where cultural values are passed down from parents to children.

The Gayo Community's Understanding of the *Turun Mani* Hadith

Based on interviews with several community leaders from the Gayo ethnic group, including the *Imem Kampung*, they explained that the *turun mani* tradition practiced in Gayo society is based on a hadith from Prophet Muhammad. The hadith encourages parents to give a good name, shave the baby's hair, and perform the *aqiqah* by slaughtering a goat if they are able, especially on the seventh day after the birth of a child. However, the *Imem Kampung* admitted that they do not remember the exact text of the hadith upon which this tradition is based. They also do not know the exact authenticity or status of the hadith, although they believe the tradition aligns with the teachings of Islam as taught by Prophet Muhammad SAW.

When the *Petue Kampung* (village elders) were asked about the religious basis for this tradition, they gave hesitant responses, saying, "It seems there is a hadith," but they could not recall its exact wording. This uncertainty reflects a lack of deep knowledge and understanding regarding the religious sources underlying the *turun mani* tradition. On the other hand, Gayo cultural practitioners provided more detailed information, stating that every tradition within Gayo society, including *turun mani*, has a religious foundation. They referred to two hadiths as the basis for the practice. The first hadith states, "Every child is in debt until they are *aqiqah'd*," and the second hadith mentions, "When a male child is born, sacrifice two goats, and when a female child is born, sacrifice one goat." However, when asked further about the source of the book where these hadiths are found and their authenticity, they also admitted not knowing for sure.

According to the cultural practitioners, the *turun mani* tradition is a form of realization of the understanding of the *tengku-tengku* (religious leaders) and *petue* (village elders) of the religious texts, adjusted to the customs passed down by ancestors from the past. They emphasized that the practice of this tradition is based on religious teachings. However, when specifically asked about the religious texts and their authenticity, they also admitted their lack of knowledge.

This study found that one of the reasons for the community's limited understanding of the hadith in the implementation of Gayo customs, such as the *turun mani* tradition, is the lack of training or education for the *Imem Kampung*, *Petue Kampung*, and other cultural practitioners regarding the religious basis underlying the *turun mani* tradition, including the hadiths. Additionally, there is limited access to religious literature. Most of the Gayo community, especially in rural areas, does not have direct access to hadith books or Islamic literature that provide detailed explanations about the traditions they practice (Muttaqin, 2022).

The lack of awareness in the community to seek knowledge about the religious basis of their traditions is also a contributing factor. People tend to accept traditions as they are passed down through generations (Asdiana, 2020), without seeking further understanding about the religious foundations behind them. On the other hand, the *turun mani* tradition has been passed down through generations as an integral part of Gayo culture. The practice of this tradition is often based on the practices taught by ancestors, without in-depth study of the religious sources that underlie its implementation. This indicates that the tradition is mainly maintained as a cultural identity, even though it is still considered to be connected to the teachings of Islam.

The Quality of the Hadith on *Turun Mani*

Based on information gathered from the Gayo community in Central Aceh, the *turun mani* or *aqiqah* tradition is believed to be based on the hadith of Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. After verification through a hadith encyclopedia application, the following is an analysis of several related hadiths and an explanation of their quality:

1. Hadith on *Aqiqah*: Naming, Shaving the Hair, and Sacrificing an Animal

This hadith is narrated from Samurah bin Jundub and appears in several hadith collections, such as Abu Dawood, Ahmad, Ibn Majah, An-Nasa'i, and others (Al-Kasyairi, 2015). The hadith mentions that every child is in debt until they are *aqiqah'd*, which involves slaughtering an animal on the seventh day, shaving the baby's hair, and giving the baby a name. This hadith has been declared *shahih* (authentic) by scholars such as Muhammad Nashiruddin Al-Albani and Syu'aib Al-Arna'uth. The consistency of the *sanad* (chain of narration) indicates that this hadith has a strong foundation in Islamic law, and thus can be used as a reference in the implementation of the *turun mani* tradition.

2. Hadith on *Tabnik*

The hadith on *tabnik* is narrated from Abu Musa and Aisha. In this hadith, Prophet Muhammad ﷺ performed *tabnik* on a baby with dates, gave the baby a name, and prayed for blessings for the child (Siregar, 2022). This hadith is found in the books of *Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*, and it is agreed upon as *shahih* by the consensus of scholars. This hadith reflects a sunnah practice in welcoming a newborn, which includes naming the child and offering prayers for blessings. Details can be found in the following tables and graphs:

Table 1. Results of Search and Quality Analysis of Hadith on *Turun Mani*

No	Hadith	Hadith Number	Al-Almiyah Version	Other Versions	Book	Chapter	Sahih According to
1	Abu Daud	2455	2455	Baitul Afkar Ad Dauliah 2838	Sacrifice	Aqiqah	Muhammad Nashiruddin Al Albani
2	Ahmad	19280	19280	N/A	Hadiths from the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ	From the hadith of Samurah bin Jundub from the Prophet ﷺ	Syu'aib Al-Arna'uth
3	Ibnu Majah	3156	3156	Maktabatu Al Ma'arif Riyadh 3165	Sacrifice	Aqiqah	Muhammad Nashiruddin Al Albani
4	Nasa'i	4149	4149	Maktabatu Al Ma'arif Riyadh 4220, 4221	Aqiqah	When is Aqiqah performed?	Muhammad Nashiruddin Al Albani
5	Ahmad	17196	17196	N/A	Musnad of the Ansar Companions	Hadith of Salman bin 'Amir RA	Syu'aib Al-Arna'uth
6	Bukhari	5730	5730	Fathul Bari 6198	Etiquette	Naming with the name of a Prophet	Ijma' Ulama
7	Abu Daud	4442	4442	Baitul Afkar Ad Dauliah 5106	Etiquette of Sleeping	Adhan in the baby's ear	Shahih
8	Muslim	430	430	Syarh Shahih Muslim 286	Tharah	The ruling on the urine of a breastfeeding baby	Shahih

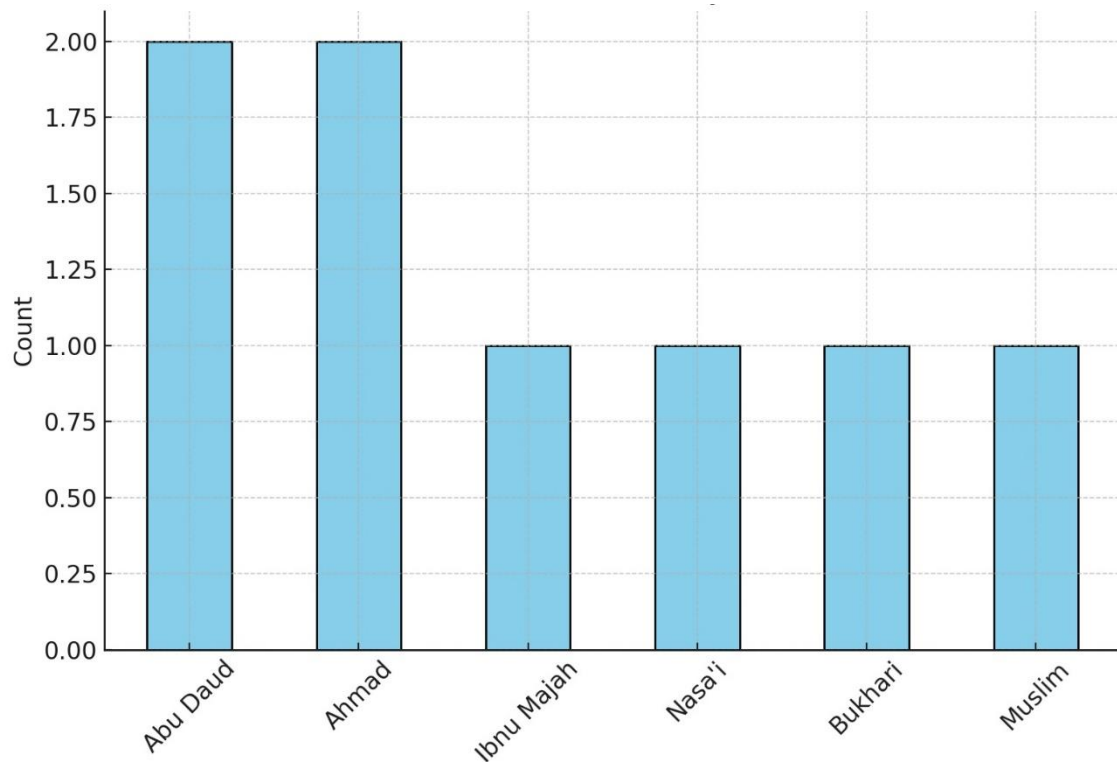


Figure 1. Hadith Chart on Turun Mani Based on Narrators

Based on the research on the referenced hadiths: The majority of the hadiths supporting the tradition of turun mani are classified as sahih, making them valid references. However, the Gayo community tends to be unaware of the quality or status of the hadiths they use as a basis. This indicates a limited understanding and a lack of guidance regarding the religious foundations in the implementation of the customs.

CONCLUSION

The tradition of turun mani in the Gayo community is a cultural ritual rich in meaning, reflecting a harmonious blend of religious values and local wisdom. This ritual not only symbolizes cleanliness and prayers for blessings for the newborn but also strengthens values of togetherness, respect for family, and social recognition for the new member of the community. From the perspective of maqāṣid al-syarī'ah, this tradition aligns with the protection of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property, even though its practice is infused with distinct Gayo cultural symbolism. However, the research findings indicate a limitation in the community's understanding of religious proofs, especially hadiths, that underpin this tradition. The majority of the community practices the tradition of turun mani as a cultural heritage without in-depth study of the quality of the hadiths used as its foundation. In fact, most of the hadiths supporting this tradition, such as those related to aqiqah, hair shaving, and tahnik, are classified as sahih, making them valid religious references.

This tradition has practical implications, particularly in promoting the preservation of religion-based culture through the enhancement of Islamic literacy for community leaders and the general public, as well as providing access to relevant religious literature. This also opens the opportunity to make the tradition of turun mani a medium for cross-generational education, where local wisdom and religious teachings can be comprehensively passed down. Academically, this tradition offers a space for interdisciplinary study, such as anthropology, sociology, and Islamic studies, to explore how the interaction between culture and religion can generate social harmony. This study is also crucial for documenting and integrating the tradition of turun mani into local education so that the noble values of Gayo culture can continue to be preserved without losing their relevance amid modernization.

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