

Kenduri Sko : Women As Leadership Heritages In The Tradition Of The Pengasi Lama Village Bukit Kerman District, Kerinci Regency

Martias

Postgraduate Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University

Martiasputra64@gmail.com

Abstract

The focus of the problem in this article is how traditional rituals in *Kenduri Sko* can make women take the highest throne to become heirs to the traditional leadership of Pengasi Lama Village, This research uses a qualitative approach, with data collection techniques in the form of writing, or field observations. and various other data that are transformed or made in text form. The results showed that in the custom of Pengasi Lama Village, women who have been given the trust by the customary institution, women are very firm in maintaining the heirlooms that have been given, so this tradition is still preserved and sustainable until now. Historically, women can hold the highest throne in holding heirlooms, this is the result of the agreement of the previous ancestors. So that based on the analysis of local wisdom, the tradition of the transition of customary leadership in Pengasi Lama Village can be said to be a form of tradition from culture, which was left by the ancestors.

Keywords: *Sko Festival*, Women, Leadership, Adat

Abstrak

Fokus permasalahan dalam artikel ini adalah bagaimana ritual adat dalam Kenduri Sko yang dapat menjadikan perempuan mengambil tahta tertinggi menjadi pewaris kepemimpinan adat Desa Pengasi Lama, Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, dengan teknik pengumpulan data berupa tulisan, atau pengamatan

lapangan. dan berbagai data lainnya yang ditransformasikan atau dibuat dalam bentuk teks. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dalam adat Desa Pengasi Lama, perempuan yang telah diberi kepercayaan oleh lembaga adat maka perempuan sangat tegas menjaga dan merawat pusaka yang telah diberikan, Maka tradisi ini tetap dilestarikan dan berkelanjutan hingga sekarang. Secara historis perempuan dapat memegang tahta tertinggi dalam memegang benda pusaka hal ini hasil dari kesepakatan para leluhur. Berdasarkan analisis kearifan lokal tradisi peralihan kepemimpinan adat Desa Pengasi Lama dapat dikatakan sebagai bentuk tradisi dari kebudayaan, yang ditinggalkan oleh para leluhur.

Kata Kunci: *Kenduri Sko, Perempuan, Kepemimpinan, Adat*

A. Introduction

In a long history, from time to time, the involvement of women in leading a group was considered impossible by women. Women in Greek times were only to be traded. In Chinese and Hindu civilizations, the fate of women is more tragic, a woman's right to life is exhausted when her husband dies, so the woman is burned alive with her husband's corpse. This situation lasted until the 17th century.¹ So that the existence of women is not really needed, but only as a bringer of calamity in life, thus making social and religious conditions more dominant by men.

Women's leadership is one of the themes of concern for gender activists, so that it becomes a *big issue* in the discussion of gender activists, both local and non-local. Hegemony, both at the level of large leadership, and leadership on a small scale certainly has an impact on a certain group, neoliberalism with feminism has an attempt to produce a hegemonic female subject.²

Local Wisdom, is a culture left by the ancestors to be preserved and maintained as a unique heritage for certain communities. This view of life is reflected in local wisdom which keeps their lives stable and exists within the framework of their symbiotic relationship with their harmonious natural environment.³ Leadership also has a strong

¹ Nabila Ashriyanti, *Female And Feminist M E*, (Bandung : Ham Dan Media Of The People, 2019), P. 52.

² Tasha Dubriwny, *Postfeminist News: Political Women In Media Culture*, By Mary Douglas Vavrus(Routledge 11 Nov 2010), P. 297.

³ Danggur Konradus , *Local Wisdom Embraced By Globalization: Study On The Existence Of Indigenous Law Communities* , January 1, 2018, P. 82 .

contribution to make the community grow and develop, so that it is able to equalize life like a community that has developed earlier, the existence of a harmonious life makes life more comfortable and peaceful. In social life, they are *role models* in developing a harmonious, just and peaceful life together, they have norms in building a life together. ⁴The existence of shared life makes life closer and they are able to understand each other's circumstances, in the decision-making process they still use the elements of togetherness carried out by traditional officials, so that they have their own characteristics which become a value that is still maintained by the community, and also become a culture that is still maintained today.

Women as heirs of leadership are the focus of the study, especially in Pengasi Lama Village. Because in their culture they have different things in gender equality, where women have a very strong role to be able to inherit leadership, until now that culture is still preserved. feelings, actions and works produced by humans that are learned in social life and manifested in real terms. ⁵ Along with the above statement, that preserving a classical culture is certainly not easy to do in this modern era, because in modern times humans have developed a more critical mindset towards the phenomena that occur.

Because people's lives are still obedient in implementing customary norms, so that at the leadership level women are still trusted to inherit the traditional leadership. in another study it is called local genius, or *cultural identity* , which refers to a subject, in which the local customary law community still maintains the values of their ancestors or ancestors, this was first introduced. ⁶

Referring to the objective conditions studied, namely, *First*, what is the urgency for indigenous peoples to still be able to maintain their local wisdom in the current era of globalization? *Second*, what are the concrete efforts of indigenous people in integrating customary values so that local wisdom can be maintained in the future?

The relevant studies that became previous studies in this study

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Riris Tiani , *Local Wisdom As A Form Of Social Control For The Sukolilo Community*, 1 February 2018, P. 138.

⁶ Danggur Konradus , *Local Wisdom Embraced By Globalization: Study On The Existence Of Indigenous Law Communities* , January 1, 2018, P. 84.

as written by Pretty Eristia Arinda in her thesis entitled: Changes in the Institutional System in the Ngangkat Tuo Teganai Umah Tradition of Kerinci Indigenous People (Case Study in Hiang Tinggi Village, Sitinjau Laut District, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province). This paper shows that the presence of betino children or outsiders in the traditional leadership of Kerinci Indigenous Peoples who adhere to a matrilineal kinship system. This study aims to answer research questions related to changes in the institutional system that occur in the tradition of ngangkat tuo teganie umah of Kerinci Indigenous Peoples (Case Study in Hiang Tinggi Village, Sitinjau Laut District, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province). The findings of this study; first, the implementation of the Ngangkat Tuo Teganai Umah tradition of the Kerinci indigenous people is a legacy of ancestors, one of which aims to fill the vacancy of the position of customary leader. Second, the changes that occur in the appointment of tuo teganai umah basically aim to create balance. When male children in matrilineal families are considered ineligible to become tuo teganai, some customary rules that can be changed are then adjusted so that they still have tuo teganai in accordance with the tuo teganai criteria of the Kerinci Indigenous People. One of them is like appointing a betino child to be tuo teganai.

This research is an approach with a qualitative method. Qualitative research is a data collection technique in the form of writing, recording, or field observations. and various other data that are transformed or made in the form of text. This research was obtained in a series of traditional events in the village of Pengsai Lama. The data collection techniques used in this research are: literature study, observation, and in-depth interviews from the community in the research location, namely in the village of Pengasi Lama which obtained secondary data in this study. The analysis carried out in this study is a qualitative analysis to describe the data in descriptive form, then an oral analysis for the relationship between the existing data in adat. Contextual analysis of the writings written by researchers in general about kerinci.

B. Discussion

People's Traditional Rights To Cultural Values

Indigenous people (*the old axisting native*) were born naturally.⁷ In culture, of course, it is not uncommon for us to find and hear the word traditional ritual, or teachings developed by a particular culture, so that the legitimacy of traditional rights to customary norms is still being carried out today, in the village of Pengasi Lama. With the diversity of cultures produced by people's habits so that there is a primitive view that is still maintained. because various people are identified with doing good, namely maintaining and using the "five senses" for good things in the frame of four basic attitudes (honest, firm, patient and resigned).⁸ However, there is another way that is still applied by the old loving society, namely believing in objects that are still considered sacred, even though religious norms are still strong among the people, so this can be called *syncretism*.

Although there are different views on the rights of traditional teachings, the views of the indigenous peoples of this tradition must still be implemented and preserved, this is more precisely if these differences or views are only input and become material for scientific discussion by scholars at the academic level. With the follow-up discussion, it will open up more information and *history* of the phenomenon of a culture. Reported from the statements of traditional leaders and the community, that there is very little written text in traditional narratives. However, this continuously can be preserved and carried out through oral information or through spoken language, if I borrow the term hadith science, that is *sanad* , which is the text conveyed continuously from the first person to the last person in receiving the hadith, but the hadith is still written down as text by the the companions of the prophet. It is different from the traditional narrative, where the information obtained is also continuous from the first person to the last, but it's just that the information obtained cannot be textualized into written form.

Sko Kenduri Ritual

The people of Kerinci mention the term *Kenduri sko* (Kenduri Pusaka), which is a ritual in the appointment of a depati, in Uli Kozok's book, the oldest Malay script, it is stated that, at the ceremony of the appointment of a depati, all heirlooms stored in the attic of the house

are taken down, cleaned and displayed.⁹ Therefore the ceremony is also known as *Kenduri Sko* (kenduri heirloom) a ceremony that usually takes days. In this context, there are two *rituals* carried out by traditional officials, the *first* is the ritual once a year, the *second* is the ritual every two years. Let's look at the differences between the two rituals that are carried out as a distinctive culture in the Kerinci community in the village of Pengasi Lama, as for the differences between the first and second rituals, namely:

In my interview on 23-July-2021 with depati biang sari Pengasi Lama he stated that the ritual in question is a ritual within a period of once a year called by customary institutions and the community the ritual of *mersih pusako* (cleaning heirlooms).¹⁰ in which all relics from ancestors are cleaned by traditional officials, with strong customs so that they still use spells in cleaning heirlooms to protect them. Roasting ancestral spirits, such as swords, jugs, cloth, and glasses. Belief in the occult world and the practice of magic seems to be found in many areas in Indonesia such as Java. In this regard, argues that belief in magic is not only found in the stone age and in primitive societies, but can also be found in almost every era.¹¹ In this cleaning, the material used is oil, which the oil is handed over to the traditional leader, it's just that this ritual is not involved by the community in general, because this ritual is considered very sacred in adat. *The two* rituals in question are rituals within a period of two years named by traditional institutions and the ritual community as a substitute for leadership in traditional institutions. In this ritual all traditional institutions that have served as traditional stakeholders stop until their leadership is inherited by the *luhah* (lane) of each existing depati. However, in the customary rules left by the *lulus*, that in inheriting the leadership in traditional institutions to the depati, the right to bear the *sko* (heirloom) and take over from the leadership from the daughter, so that the inheritance inherited by the ancestors also moved from the new friend of the depati's house. chosen. That is the form of culture that is produced and also develops, and is sustainable until now still preserved by traditional institutions

⁹ Uli Kozok, *The Oldest Malay Manuscript Cape Of Law*, (Jakarta: Nusantra Naskah Foundation, 2006), Page 31.

¹⁰ Personal Communication With Mudar, Depati Biang Sari, Pengasi Lama Village, Direct Interview At The Traditional Council Building.

¹¹ Ayatullah Huaeni, *Rituals, Local Beliefs And Cultural Identity Of The Banten Ciomas Community*, No.2 Of 2015, P.163.

and the community in the old Pengasi village. And also this has become *local wisdom* that was born from a distinctive culture by the old Pengasi village community, so it is a must to be maintained and preserved.

Relics That Are Considered Sacred By The Community

The traditional ceremony in Pengasi Lama Village, Kerinci Regency, is a form of traditional ceremony that is still held today. The traditional ceremony of cleaning heirlooms in the village of Pengasi Lama is an annual cultural agenda that is held to show the heirlooms left by the ancestors to the community. The remains that are still physically intact are swords, shawls, glasses and jugs. Of these relics, the most sacred by the community is the sword, so that the sword is cleaned and cared for quite intensely by traditional institutions.

According to Fahmi in an article, the community believes that this event is held to honor their ancestors who spread Islam in the area.¹² However, if religion is clearly spread and fully understood by the community as the spread of religion in the regions, in my simple question isn't that part of the clouding of religious values? In the case of Pengasi Lama village, the community, especially the young people, are really looking forward to the cleaning of heirlooms, in the cleaning process there is a public belief that the oil that is rubbed with the sword is considered as body oil against sharp objects. Because the oil obtained from the spread of the sword is considered sacred, meaning that there is a given power that is present when one uses the oil.

In the legacy that I mentioned earlier, there is something unique if we use logic to understand the phenomena that occur in the cleaning of heirlooms. In a series of activities carried out by traditional leaders, our logic consciously rejects the phenomenon, such as a jug, in knowledge It is common that to put water in a jug, we have to face the hole in the jug towards the flowing water, but this happens in a jug which is considered a sacred object.

As time goes by, the forms of traditional rituals that are acculturated as an abandoned culture, become things that need to be

¹² Muhammad Krisnawan Et Al, *Sacred Ritual Of Purification Of Heirlooms* , Nyangku, No. 1, 2022, P. 114.

asked. In the academic realm, so that the younger generation does not direct this phenomenon as a sacred thing in living the values of life, so as not to deviate from religious norms.

Women's Leadership In Adat

In social and cultural constructs, in general, Indonesian society is still strong in its tradition of preserving existing customs, in the habits carried out there are customary norms that can be applied as a binder of togetherness in a habit. in this case, the habit in question is the Customs of the Customary Institution in the Leadership of women in Pengasi Lama village. The Position and Role of Women in Tribes (Indigenous Peoples) Initially, men and women will actually complement each other in living life, so it is appropriate for men and women to coexist. Traditional Malay people, view this gender aspect as beyond the reach of human will, because how the number of men versus women will occur, will not be designed by humans. men and women are indeed a creation that must exist, as one of the manifestations of God's power itself.

In the tradition of women's leadership in traditional institutions, the community is still together building consensus in customary law, so that it remains harmonious in social life. According to Soerjono Soekanto, customary law is usually considered a law that arises from society, because it is based on custom, apart from that, customary law is also considered a living law. There is a series of events that are carried out when women are in leadership, in accordance with the traditions in Pengasi Lama village, as for the traditions carried out by traditional institutions and the community are. First, before the new leadership takes over from the old leadership, according to the prevailing tradition in the customary law, which was produced by consensus by the customary ancestors, one buffalo must be cut as a tribute to the old leadership. Secondly, all people in the old Pengasi village who are in the village must contribute in the form of rice or money, which is used for thanksgiving in the transition of power.

According to Soerjono Soekanto However, if the reality is examined in a careful way, from the point of view of the science of customary law, it is known: first, the living customary law which can be observed from the daily behavior of the community, second, the recorded customary law, namely the customary law recorded by

scientists who have conducted research, the recorded customary law may be a living law at the time it was recorded, it is possible that there is an accident between the recorded customary law and the living customary law (recorded customary law beschreven adatrechl).¹³

With the leadership election that is carried out, and occurs until now in Pengasi Lama village, it makes the intimacy of the community and also this tradition is still maintained in maintaining the heritage of the culture that was left behind. So that it can create warmth and harmony.

Characteristics Of Women In Custom

Every society has its own identity and cultural characteristics . The difference can be seen from the language used, the inherited tradition, as well as from the culture that forms the association and interaction between community members. To understand the culture of an ethnic group correctly, we must understand the intricacies of its society, and vice versa to get a broad insight into society, we must understand the nature of the culture of that society.¹⁴ An interview on 27-July-2021 with Ramli depati pengasai, stated that in the kedepatian custom there is a tambo that we must make a reference to see how the principles of women in custom, so that we will see the long history of kedepatian and obtain accurate information about custom.¹⁵ So women take the highest throne to be the heir to leadership in the customs of Pengasi Lama Village, in the customs of women who have been given trust by customary institutions so that women are very firm in maintaining and caring for the heirlooms that have been given, so this tradition is still preserved and continues until now. Historically, women can hold the highest throne in holding heirlooms, this is the result of the agreement of Pengasi Lama village by the previous ancestors.

We can see and analyze the characteristics of women in adat, that women in adat in the Pengasi Lama village remain firm on the principles of adat. However, at home, women continue to carry out as their wives should, but in women's customs who have

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ayatullah Humaeni , Rituals, Local Beliefs And Cultural Identity Of The Banten Ciomas Community , No.2 Of 2015, P.168.

¹⁵ Personal Communication With Ramli, Depati Pangasai Of Pengasi Lama Village, Direct Interview At Depati Pangasai's Residence.

been trusted by traditional institutions, women are very firm in this regard. So this tradition is still preserved and sustainable until now. This tradition usually applies from generation to generation either through oral in the form of stories, or information through writing in the form of ancient books or there are also through inscriptions.¹⁶ In the argument presented by Muhamiman regarding the principle of women holding leadership in adat, it is true that in general the status of women basically carries out the principles of their womanhood like women in general, such as maintaining obedience in the household. However, in the realm of adat, there are rules that must be maintained so that adat can be passed on by their children and grandchildren later. Affection is a feeling of affection, a feeling of love, or a feeling of liking for someone. with a character that is in accordance with the nature of women in general. It can be seen from the monologue and dialogue of her behavior in realizing her affection for her husband. This is expressed in the following quote:

“Tuan tak bulih bajalan, tuan denai punyo body already belongs to ambo bakato sadang galak, galak pulo kaduonyo, sasudah inyo galak, antahlah what nan tajadi”

So that the identity of women in the community's view has seriousness in customary institutions, in Peter Ludwig Berger's view, no individual is free from social processes or internalization processes to find identity in social structures.¹⁷ that the relationship of the individual to society is something that is culturally so dependent where the relationship between the community and the individual is a revolving process. So that women always have changes in themselves, which is when she is an ordinary woman but when she is entrusted with being an influential person in customs, the changes that occur, either occur by herself or occur which are produced by the community or traditional institutions.

But what is clear is that character can be formed by the individual himself, but he can also be produced by social constructs, so that in this separation, of course, women themselves will also feel the differences that are produced by individuals as well as

¹⁶ Muhaimin AG, *Islam In The Frame Of Local Culture: Portraits From Cerebon*, Terj Suganda (Ciputat: PT Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2001), P. 11.

¹⁷ Sukidin Pudjo Suharso, *Contemporary Sociological Thought*, (Jember University 2015), P. 23.

through communities or by traditional institutions. So that women's life orientation is to achieve an ideal concept, namely, freedom to determine their own life choices and how to get to and obtain a life in the future that is better than the previous one. Women in the context of culture and customs in Indonesia, includes the ancestral culture of the Indonesian people rooted in the traditions and culture of the tribal heritage of the archipelago culture spread throughout the provinces of Indonesia. In general, the culture of people in the world places men at the top of the hierarchy, while women are secondary. Edward B. Taylor revealed that culture is a complex whole, which contains knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs and other abilities acquired by a person as a member of society.

Women In Lead

The Kerinci people are one of the indigenous people in Indonesia who inhabit the Kerinci Regency of Jambi Province. Based on historical records, the Kerinci tribe originated from several immigrants in several waves of arrival, but generally, the Kerinci people are migrants from Southeast Asia and Mongolia, their arrival at the same time as the spread of other tribes throughout Indonesia in 600 AD.¹⁸ That the representation of matrilineal culture in Kerinci in *Kenduri Sko* ceremony. Kerinci, in this case referring to the Kerinci tribe, adheres to a matriarchal culture. Unlike most countries in Southeast Asia in general, which adhere to a patriarchal culture as well as communities with adherents of Islam and areas with a majority Muslim population, Kerinci is thick with matriarchal culture. Kerinci is also different from the majority of regions and tribes in Indonesia that embrace a patriarchal culture, and it is undeniable that this culture still survives in various orders of community life today.¹⁹ Almost all Kerinci people are familiar with this tradition. *Sko* in Kerinci language means *Pusaka*, *kenduri* means banquet, asking for blessings, or salvation. *Kenduri Sko* can be interpreted as a ritual of salvation for what has been inherited by the ancestors, such as heirlooms in the form of land. In addition to land heirlooms, heirlooms are also inherited in the form of objects such as kris, spears, shields, swords, long hair, and so on. Heirlooms that can be used in the form of traditional titles are the basis for *Kenduri Sko*,

¹⁸ Saadah, Maratun, *The Role Of Women In The Kenduri Sko Ceremony In Kerinci Society*, No.2 (2021), P. 1-1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

which is the appointment of traditional titles to people who have been determined by custom. Interview on 28 juli-2021 with depati parbo Pengasi Lama village in kerinci custom in Pengasi Lama village there are women leading and then holding heirlooms left by grandmother moyong, indeed sko is basically held by daughters this has been the result of an agreement by our predecessors.²⁰

Departing from the general observation, that men and women are the same creatures in their creation, but naturally we cannot change them in their creation. Like the shape of the sensitive parts that exist between male and female, it cannot be changed naturally, although it is usually changed with the current sophistication of development, but it is not the same in its original creation. Women play an important role in the sko kenduri ceremony in Kerinci. This is because women are the only inheritors of the sko owned by each village in Kerinci. Therefore, the kenduri sko is organized by the batino child or the daughter of the sko heir. However, batino children are assisted by male children who hold positions in adat, namely the Depati. However, all control of the event remains under the direction of the batino's daughter as the heir. Without women, the ceremony would almost never take place. This is because it is the women who can open the event, close it and determine when the event will be held in the future. The determination is also discussed through a meeting in the traditional house. Women are also the only heirs to the traditional house in Kerinci's family structure. Men are not entitled to the traditional house. It also indicates that women are heirs to a number of heirlooms that have been owned for generations. Men are not entitled to the heirlooms but may manage them. Women, according to Kerinci's customs, not only play a role in building themselves and their families, but also in building their communities and their country. This is reflected in the role of women as the main actors in the Kenduri Sko traditional ceremony. Women are the driving force of life in Kerinci society as well as the guardians of the heritage that marks and distinguishes it from other places. For this reason, the task of women in Kerinci society must be able to maintain the traditions that have been inherited. However, the implementation still involves many parties.²¹ Differences between men and women can be caused by cultural factors created in society so that women

²⁰ Personal Communication With Marhum, Depati Parbo Sari, Pengasi Lama Village Direct Interview At Depati Parbo's Residence.

²¹ *Ibid.*

are dominated by men. Men are considered to have a strong, smart and reliable physique compared to women who are considered to have a weak, soft, and smooth physique. The differences between men and women led to the development of the term gender.²²

However, in Pengasi Lama village, the influence of women in leading there are several things that I have observed from the social activities of the community. *First*, women in the village of Pengasi Lama are able to do a job that in general terms only men do, such as women being able to work in the fields, fields, just like men, so women have a double burden other than being housekeepers, such as cooking, washing, cleaning the house, she is also able to work like men, so that women are seen as strong in their influence on leading. *The two* women in the Pengasi Lama village were able to survive with their families, even though their husbands wandered for years to earn a living but were able to survive in maintaining a harmonious household, in a phenomenon of one newly married couple, within 2 weeks her husband went abroad to leave his wife of 3 years,

From the phenomena captured that women also have an influence in leading, for example, from the phenomenon we see that women are able to do multiple jobs, so that in adat women are seen as strong to continue the traditions left by their ancestors. Even though from this phenomenon, we can see that women are able to take care of and inherit the leadership that has been entrusted to them by traditional leaders.

C. Conclusion

Based on the description that has been explained in the previous chapter, in this section several conclusions are presented. The position and role of women in inheriting traditional leadership in the old Pengasi village are: The position and role of women in inheriting traditional leadership in the old Pengasi village is seen as very important, because women's leadership is one of the legacies that must be carried out until now. Traditional traditions carried out on leadership, namely women in the village of Pengasi Lama, have an important role in maintaining sacred objects left by the ancestors to be guarded. In the traditional tradition, the old Pengasi village

²² Ni Putu Sonia Asih, *The Position And Role Of Women In The Economy Of Ancient Bali In The IX-XII Century AD*, February 1 2018, Pg, 13.

community is still obedient in implementing customary norms, so that at the leadership level women are still trusted to inherit the traditional leadership, until now. The existence of women in the adat village of Pengasi Lama is very much needed, because the highest center of traditional leadership can only be inherited by girls, so women must continue to develop so that the existence of relics from their ancestors can be properly maintained and cared for by women.

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