

Mandailing And Angkola Semarga Marriage; Comparative Study Of Polemic Custom Law And Positive Law In Indonesia

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Abstract: Marriage is part of realizing maqashid sharia, namely maintaining the continuity of offspring. Traditional marriages in the Mandailing and Angkola communities have special values and rules. Customary violations can result in sanctions and fines from customary leaders. This article examines the polemic of semarga marriage among the Mandailing and Angkola tribes in the review of customary law and positive law in Indonesia. This research is qualitative research with a type of field research. Primary data collection is done through observation, interviews, and documentation. Meanwhile, secondary data is collected by tracing many references from books, articles, and other scientific works that are related to the research theme. Furthermore, the data were analyzed descriptively with a legal or normative approach. The results of the study explain that the same clan marriage in the Mandailing and Angkola ethnic communities has significant differences. Semarga marriages in the Angkola community are not subject to customary sanctions and fines. Meanwhile, semarga marriages in the Mandailing community are subject to customary sanctions and fines. Meanwhile, the review of the Compilation of Islamic Law or positive law states that marriages are prohibited if marriages are carried out with mahrams or people who are prohibited from marrying.

Keywords : mandailing-angkola; customary marriage; semarga marriage; customary sanctions.

Abstrak: Perkawinan merupakan bagian dari mewujudkan maqashid syariah, yaitu menjaga keberlangsungan keturunan. Perkawinan adat pada masyarakat Mandailing dan Angkola mempunyai nilai dan aturan khusus. Pelanggaran adat dapat menyebabkan sanksi dan denda dari pemangku adat. Artikel ini mengkaji terkait polemik perkawinan semarga pada suku Mandailing dan Angkola dalam tinjauan hukum adat dan hukum positif di Indonesia. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan jenis penelitian lapangan. Pengumpulan data-data primer dilakukan melalui observasi, wawancara dan dokumentasi. Sedangkan data-data sekunder dikumpulkan melalui penelusuran sejumlah referensi dari buku, artikel dan karya ilmiah lainnya yang mempunyai keterkaitan dengan tema penelitian. Selanjutnya data-data dianalisis secara deskriptif dengan pendekatan hukum atau normative. Adapun hasil penelitian menjelaskan bahwa perkawinan semarga pada masyarakat suku Mandailing dan Angkola mempunyai perbedaan yang signifikan. Perkawinan semarga pada masyarakat Angkola tidak diberikan sanksi dan denda adat. Sedangkan perkawinan semarga pada masyarakat Mandailing mendapatkan sanksi dan denda adat. Sementara itu, tinjauan Kompilasi Hukum Islam atau hukum positif bahwa perkawinan yang dilarang adalah apabila perkawinan dilakukan dengan mahram atau orang-orang yang dilarang dinikahi.

Kata Kunci : mandailing-angkola; perkawinan adat; perkawinan semarga; sanksi adat

Introduction

The Mandailing and Angkola are part of the tribes in North Sumatra that have clans (Ermanto 2022). Both of these tribes have a patrilineal system of descent, that is, the lineage is taken through the male line (Jamaludin 2016). Therefore a child will have the main kinship relationship according to the male line only or unilaterally (Anon 2023). Thus, sons and daughters will inherit the clan from their father's line (Pamungkas 2021).

The existence of a clan becomes a person's identity in society (Alfathoni 2018). Marga can be a medium to tie kinship relations, in Mandailing-Angkola terms it is called partuturon (Naibaho 2019). The Mandailing-Angkola people are used to using traditional greetings to people they just meet, such as my mora, my bad child, and my kahanggi (Lubis 2019). The term customary calling has been regulated in the concept of living in the Mandailing-Angkola community, they use the term dalihan na tolu or Dalian natolu. In the Dalihan Na Tolu network, a person's position can be identified, and the use of greetings.

The Mandailing-Angkola people are still upholding the traditional principles of Dalihan Natolu. That is the motto of living in a community, three elements that must be owned by someone when living in a community (Harahap 2019). First, mora, namely the extended family of daughter-in-law or parents and brothers from the wife's side or men who share the same surname as the wife. Second, kahanggi, namely a brother or someone who is in the same clan as someone. Third, the boru child, namely the son-in-law or the son-in-law's extended family, and those who are in the same clan as the son-in-law's extended family (Hilda 2016).

Then, kahanggi are people of the same surname who are closest to someone. Because the bloodlines of the clans still meet if it is stretched to the generations above. Therefore, people with the same surname in the Angkola community are understood to be close relatives and blood relatives, termed dongan ocean. When someone has a celebration that requires a large number of people to carry it out, this kahanggi or dongan samudar is the first person to be invited to have a deliberation. So, people from the same clan are close relatives who are considered their own family.

The concept of Dalihan Na Tolu can maintain harmonization between these three elements. Mainly the element of kahanggi which animates the meaning of dongan samudar or dongan sabutuha. However, around the 1960s the practice of partuturon began to fade, along with the emergence of the younger generation who did not understand the meaning of dongan samudar. So the views of the Mandailing-Angkola people began to shift about the meaning of

dongan samudar or clan. This change has made marriages of the same clan commonplace in some areas, especially Mandailing. Meanwhile, in some areas of Angkola, marriage to the same clan is very taboo. So that customary sanctions are still applied to those who carry out semarga marriages (Ritonga 2020).

Some people in Angkola view that men and women of the same clan are not allowed to marry. Because if the marriage continues, the traditional leaders will not hold the traditional ceremony as appropriate. Because of that, the Angkola people try to protect their families so they don't do semarga marriages. In addition, semarga marriage can also damage partuturon and change the concept of dalihan na tolu (Dini Suryani 2022; Muslim Pohan 2018).

In Islamic family law, marriage is a sacred contract between a man and a woman (mitsaaqan ghalizha) (Wahyu Wibisana 2016). When someone wants to get married, then several conditions and pillars must be fulfilled by that person. Because marriage is a physical and spiritual bond between a man and a woman to build a sakinah, mawaddah, and warohmah family. Then all marriage rules are governed by religious values and applicable laws and regulations (Jarbi 2019).

For the Mandailing-Angkola people, marriage is a sacred ceremony that must be held according to religion and customs. So everyone who is going to get married must comply with religious and customary rules that have been upheld from time to time. The state and religion must be able to coexist between the customs that exist in the Mandailing-Angkola community. Meanwhile, positive law in Indonesia also generally adopts Islamic laws in the implementation of marriage. So, the rules related to semarga marriage tend to only be based on customary perceptions (Amrar Mahfuzh Faza, Dedisyah Putra 2021; Khoirunnisa, Sembiring, and Apriliana 2018).

Under the description above, this article will examine more deeply related to semarga marriage in the Mandailing-Angkola community more. Furthermore, it will be compared to the perception of positive law and Islamic law in Indonesia. The goal is that the practice of semarga marriage can be understood from various angles, not only from the perspective of customary law. However, beyond that, different views can unravel the tangled threads of public perception in terms of semarga marriage.

Method

This research is qualitative research with a type of field research. The research objects chosen were the Mandailing and Angkola tribes in the southern part of Tapanuli. In collecting

the required primary data, the researcher carried out many measurable steps. Starting from observation activities by going down to the field, namely the Mandailing and Angkola people. Furthermore, the researchers conducted interviews with many informants who were considered able to provide the information needed, starting from traditional, and religious leaders and many community members. In addition, researchers also conducted a study of documentation found in the field. While secondary data collection is done through many references that are relevant to the research theme.

Research Results and Discussion

The Marriage Value of the Mandailing and Angkola Tribes

In general, the values found in Batak marriages are the same, both the Mandailing and the Angkola. In the process, there are hagabeon values, hamoraon values, religious values, kinship values, and hasangapon values. These cultural values have a major influence on the early life of the newlyweds and also the progress of society. These five cultural values are used as a reference for acting in the life of the Batak people in general(Firmando 2021).

The hagabeon value is interpreted as a hope to be given a long life, to have offspring or grandchildren. In the traditions of the Mandailing and Angkola tribes, a person is said to be gabe if someone already has a son and a daughter. Apart from that, it will be considered better if you already have grandchildren and great-grandchildren. So in the culture of Mandailing and Angkola people who get married are expected to immediately get offspring, both male and female. However, people who have many sons in the Mandailing and Angkola traditions will be said to have received the hagabeon, because many sons will be able to inherit the clan from their families(Harahap 2021).

The value of hamoraon can be interpreted as having wealth. In the perception of the majority of the Mandailing and Angkola people, a person is said to be rich if he has an established job, has rice fields, gardens, fields, and many children. The principle of the Mandailing and Angkola people is that many children will bring a lot of fortune. Therefore, at this value, a newlywed from the Mandailing and Angkola people is expected to soon get many offspring and have wealth in the form of rice fields, fields, gardens, and livestock. So, the value of this hamoraon is one of the most essential areas in Mandailing and Angkola(Harahap 2021).

Furthermore, religious values in the marriages of the Mandailing and Angkola people are always raised. Because of the public perception that marriage is a very sacred thing and must be

sacred. Religious or religious values must be practiced at every stage. Starting from proposing or proposing contract and walimah activities. All of them contain religious values that are adhered to by each. In the marriage process, the concept and teachings of religion are always used by the community. Many basic questions are always asked of the bride and groom who will get married. Therefore, the bride and groom are guided and guided to make their religion sacred. Furthermore, traditional elders and religious leaders provide religious guidance and advice in all marriage processes(Harahap 2021).

Then, the value of kinship is one of the important points when going to get married. The value of kinship in the Mandailing and Angkola people has a very urgent role in social life. Someone who has many relatives will certainly find it easy to hold a custom event. But on the other hand, people who have few relatives will certainly find many difficulties even though the traditional event can still run smoothly. The philosophy of *dalihan natolu* in the Mandailing and Angkola communities explains a person's role based on his position. This means that kinship is classified into at least three groups, namely *mora*, *kahanggi*, and *anak boru*. Each has a role and function in traditional events. Therefore, at the wedding momentum of the Mandailing and Angkola people, the bride and groom are reminded to see the services and assistance that have been provided by all relatives(Harahap 2021).

While the last is the value of *hasangapon*, namely honor. *Hasangapon* is the perception of the Mandailing and Angkola people when someone has a position or advantage compared to other people. So, someone is said to have *hasangapon* or honor if he has a position that makes him respected by others. In this *hasangapon* value, the bride and groom who will get married are expected to have advantages over other people, be it wealth, position, and offspring(Harahap 2021).

Semarga Marriage in the Perspective of the Customary Law of the Mandailing and Angkola Tribes

The Mandailing and Angkola tribes are native tribes in North Sumatra and have various other sub-tribes. In general, every sub-tribe in North Sumatra certainly has many customs that are the same as the others. However, all sub-tribes have always upheld their clans until now. Every time two Mandailing-Angkola people meet, the first thing they do is ask what clan they come from(Nainggolan 2011).

Furthermore, the surname is a name that indicates where a person comes from so that people who are still in the same clan can be considered to have a close kinship. Although the Mandailing-Angkola people have a clan, not a few of them do not know why they inherited this clan and what the real purpose of giving it was. Therefore, the impact that arises is the emergence of a perspective in addressing the functions of clans in society(Lubis 2015).

Then, for the Mandailing-Angkola tribe, matchmaking is not always associated with a choice of heart or consensual. However, this is also associated with the suitability of the clan that is permissible for marriage. So, in choosing a partner, we don't only look at the suitability of each individual, but the Mandailing-Angkola people will also see which clan their partner comes from. Because in their tradition, it is not allowed to marry people who have the same surname.

The term clan marriage is generally interpreted as a marriage carried out by a pair of men and women who are still of the same clan. For example, a man with the siregar surname marries a woman with the siregar surname, and a man with the harahap surname marries a woman with the harahap surname. So, marriages performed by two people belonging to the same clan are categorized as clan marriages in the Mandailing-Angkola community(Pohan 2015).

Furthermore, that semarga marriages that occur in the Mandailing community have become commonplace and are considered normal. For example, a man with the Nasution surname marries a woman with the Nasution surname, and a man with the Lubis surname marries a woman with the Lubis surname. This was not disputed by the traditional elders and no customary sanctions were imposed. Marriage with the same clan and not the same clan is considered normal for the Mandailing people(Wulandari 2022).

Meanwhile, the tradition of the Angkola people, is that marriage with the same clan is still a polemic in society. Because people from the same clan are still understood as close relatives or blood relatives. Therefore, semarga marriages are still attempted to be avoided by someone who is going to do the marriage. People who carry out semarga marriages will be given customary sanctions or customary fines which are decided by the local adat leaders. In the view of the Angkola people, the clan is an identity and proof of one's lineage. So, a person's kinship can be known from the clan they have. In addition, the philosophy of *dalihan natolu* that has been in effect in the midst of society will be damaged due to marriage with the same clan(MUHAMMAD 2022).

Semarga Marriage in the Perspective of Compilation of Islamic Law

The substance of the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) is the result of sensations from Islamic law. Because of this, the KHI stipulates that people who are prohibited from marrying use mahram language. Namely people who are forbidden to marry or be married to. Furthermore, it was explained that some of these prohibitions are permanent and some are only temporary. Women who are prohibited from marrying forever are referred to as mahram mu'abbad. Meanwhile, women who are prohibited from marrying for a certain period are called mahram ghairu mu'abbad (Amir Syarifuddin 1994).

There are no verses in the Qur'an that discuss semarga marriage. It's just that the prohibition in the Qur'an focuses more on lineage relationships, mushoharoh relationships, and breastfeeding relationships. In addition, the Qur'an also outlines the prohibition of marrying a woman due to certain factors. Such as because they are still in the status of someone's wife or there is a brotherly relationship with the wife (Basri 2016).

In Q.S 4:23 it is very detailed that people are forbidden to marry someone.

"Forbidden to you (to marry) your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your father's sisters, your mother's sisters, the daughters of your brothers, your nursing mothers, breast-feeding sisters, your wife's mothers (in-laws), children who your wife has in your household from the wife you have mixed up with, but if you have not interfered with your wife (and you have divorced her), then it is not a sin for you to marry her, (and forbidden to you) the wives of your biological children (in-law), and bringing together (in marriage) two women who are sisters, except what has happened in the past. Surely Allah is Forgiving, Most Merciful." (Indonesia 2014)

In the verse above, of course, it is very clear that it is forbidden to marry someone because of a relationship or affinity. However, clan relations which are indicated as a sign of closeness between a person and another person do not become an obstacle in marriage.

The prohibition against marrying someone has been regulated in such a way in Islamic teachings. Some are banned forever and some are banned temporarily. For the prohibition of marrying someone during their lifetime due to one of three things. Namely because of the kinship relationship, because of the sexual relationship, and because of the breastfeeding relationship.

While the reasons for prohibiting marrying someone for a certain time are as follows: a) marrying two women who are sisters at the same time; b) a wife who has been divorced three

times; c) marrying a slave; d) marrying more than four women; e) marry someone else's legal wife; and f) women who are waiting for their iddah to expire.

Then, the Compilation of Islamic Law in chapter IV chapter 39 has regulated in detail the prohibition of marriage between a man and a woman. The cause of the prohibition is due to a bloodline relationship with the criteria, a relationship between the relatives of Samanda and the criteria, and an incestuous relationship with each of the criteria.

Furthermore, the Marriage Law has also agreed on temporary marriages in the Qur'an. Namely, gathering two people who are brothers. This is in line with article 8 paragraph e5. Meanwhile, its relation to other relationships has also been described in RI Law number 1 of 1974 concerning the prohibition of marriage in chapter 8 and chapter 9.

The prohibitions in chapter 8 and 9 describe and detail a person's relationship with another person. Whether it's a blood relationship that is drawn straight up and down, a blood relationship in a sideways line, semenda relationship, and a breastfeeding relationship. Apart from that, there is also a description regarding someone married to more than four people as well as the existence of other factors that prohibit such as religious differences.

When we examine the sound of marriage regulations and laws in Indonesia, as well as the explanation of article by article in the Compilation of Islamic Law, there is no prohibition against semarga marriages. In addition, explanations that lead to the prohibition of semarga marriages are also not found in the Angkola Batak custom.

The reality that has happened to the Angkola people until now has always heeded three rules in society. Namely, government rules, religious rules, and local customary rules. In the marriage procession, the three rules or the three laws are carried out together. The procession of the contract is carried out according to religious law, the process of recording is carried out by state law by involving the local KUA and the procession of marriage trials is held according to custom.

From the elaboration above, it can be drawn a red thread in the process of same-sex marriage in the Angkola community, KHI's perspective that there are no verses from the Qur'an and Hadith of Rasulullah SAW that lead to the prohibition of semarga marriages. However, the Angkola people, with their customs and local traditions, do not necessarily allow semarga marriages.

The Compilation of Islamic Law does not explain the halal and haram related to semarga marriage. Therefore marriage is permissible. However, the majority of people give an unfavorable perception of the perpetrators of marriage with the same clan. Because it destroys the kinship order in the Angkola community.

In Indonesian positive law, especially Law no. 1/1974 which regulates the rules of marriage that prohibit marriage regulated in chapter 8, 9, and 10. In chapter 8, marriage is prohibited if there is a blood relationship or there is a family relationship between the two people who are getting married. As for chapter 9 that a person is prohibited from marrying if there is still a valid marriage bond or cannot remarry because of certain things. Meanwhile, chapter 10 states that a person is prohibited from marrying if a husband and wife divorce and then remarry to another person and then divorce again for the second time, then the first husband and wife may no longer remarry.

In KHI, the prohibition to marry consists of 2 types, first, it is prohibited to marry for a certain time or temporarily regulated in chapter 40 to 44 and second, it is prohibited to marry forever regulated in chapter 39. In this case, the researcher will not explain at length chapter 39 to 44 because in chapter 39 a person is prohibited from marrying a woman because she has a kinship relationship, a relationship of kinship and breastfeeding. Where none of these articles are written provisions prohibiting marriage because of the same clan. This means that as long as the clan is separated from the three attachment relationships (affinity) above, the marriage is valid.

Whereas in chapter 40 to 44, there is also no regulation regarding the prohibition of semarga marriage or for other reasons such as: because of a valid marriage bond, marrying two "muhrim" women as well as wives, the number of wives, doing li'an, the number of divorce, differences in belief/religion, people of the book, breastfeeding, period of 'iddah, and in a state of ihram. This means that it is permissible to carry out semarga marriages on conditions regardless of the things that the researchers mentioned above.

Therefore, from the description that the researcher describes, it can be understood both in Law no. 1/1974 concerning marriage rules and the formulation of KHI it is observed that there is no prohibition on semarga marriages as long as the limits set by Law no. 1/1974 Concerning Marriage and KHI are not violated, especially in terms of lineage.

Conclusion

Marga is one of the identities of the Mandailing and Angkola people. Semarga marriage is a marriage performed by a man and a woman of the same clan. Among the reasons for semarga marriages carried out by the Mandailing and Angkola people is a lack of understanding regarding the urgency and role of the clans in social life.

Semarga marriages in the Mandailing and Angkola communities have differences in terms of customary law. In the Mandailing community, semarga marriage is commonplace in society. There were no sanctions or fines given by the local adat leaders. Meanwhile, semarga marriages carried out by the Angkola people are subject to customary sanctions or fines that have been in effect in the community. Even so, semarga marriages that are given customary sanctions are still valid according to Islamic law. While the review of the Compilation of Islamic Law states that marriage is prohibited if one marries a muhrim or one of those prohibited from being married, and the marriage is considered invalid.

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