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To cite this article: Roswita Sitompul, Marzuki Lubis, Elvira Fitriyani Pakpahan, Zaini Munawir & Muhammad Ridwan (2021): The effect of marriage culture in Batak Toba to the children, Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, DOI: [10.1080/10911359.2021.1924915](https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2021.1924915)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2021.1924915>



Published online: 02 Jun 2021.



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The effect of marriage culture in Batak Toba to the children

Roswita Sitompul^a, Marzuki Lubis^b, Elvira Fitriyani Pakpahan^a, Zaini Munawir^c,
and Muhammad Ridwan^b

^aLaw Faculty, Universitas Prima Indonesia, Medan, Indonesia; ^bUniversitas Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara (UINSU), Medan, Indonesia; ^cUniversitas Medan Area, Medan, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Marriage is a very sacred thing in human life, therefore everyone strives to carry out the marriage ritual with the hope of securing happiness and producing offspring that would be useful to family, society and the State. This would make them live in harmony with the help of Almighty God. This study is a descriptive normative study whose data was collected by interview method. The study also made use of observation, the data for which were collected from primary and secondary data sources. Purposive sampling was used to select the participants of the study. The results of the study showed that in marriages of the indigenous Batak Toba people, the purpose of marriage is to obtain offspring and obtain happiness by carrying out marriage traditions based on religious and customary procedures. This does not include marriages carried out in the Civil Registry. Children born to the marriage are considered to be legitimate children and get positions as biological children and as heirs, descendants and successors. Although positive legal regulations require registration of the marriage and if there is a policy from the government, Batak Toba indigenous people remain loyal and obedient to fulfill it especially for the future of the child, because *anakkoki do hamoraon in au* (my child is my wealth).

KEYWORDS

Marriage; culture; Batak Toba

Introduction

In the Batak community, there are known forms of marriage which are commonly called honest marriages (*sinamot*), where the man hands over a generous amount of money to the woman, this submission is usually carried out before the woman is brought into the male family environment or there is a possibility that Honest payment is made after the woman is brought into the man's family.

The Toba Batak community consists of two types of people, namely the Toba Batak people who are Muslim, and non-Muslim; in the Muslim Batak Toba community there is a form of marriage which is popularly called *kawin sirri*. *Kawin sirri* is legally valid in religion, but has no legal force and is therefore considered "not existing" in state records. In other words, unregistered marriages are not recognized by the state.

As a result of this lack of legality, there are other legal implications regarding the status of children from *kawin sirri*. Based on the article, according to Article 43 paragraph (1) of the Marriage Law jo. Constitutional Court Decision No. 46/PUU-VIII/2010 dated 17 February 2012

concerning Article 43 paragraph (1) of the Marriage Law, children born from unregistered marriages have the same status as children born outside of marriage (Vergouwen, 2004).

As a result, children born out of wedlock only have a civil relationship with their mother and their mother's family. The child can only get a civil relationship with the man who becomes the father if it can be proven based on science and technology and/or other evidence that according to the law they are related by blood, including a civil relationship with the father's family (Sitompul, 2018).

While with non-Muslim Batak Toba people, nearly 80% of the marriages are not registered in the Civil Registry but none of Batak Toba people question the position of the child, because all children born of marriage based on culture and religion are legal, children born are considered legitimate children as heirs and descendants, this is because the Batak Toba people feel they are sufficient and very adequate and there is no more meaning to marriage than that based on religion and culture. The non-Muslim Batak Toba community is very sociable; in whatever circumstances, they always choose the best especially in terms of fighting for the existence of one household because the Batak Toba people are very attached to *natolu* (Siahaan, 1982).

The introduction of Marriage Law No. 1 in 1974 required marriages to be registered. Citizens flocked to the urban village office to remarry in the Civil Registry. They were open to this new concept: the *kawin sirri*. Even though there is an Islamic law, the parties themselves also want to fulfil their place with the government. Presently, 10% of the Batak Toba people no longer hold marriages based on culture. They give the reason that it is too time-consuming and wasteful, but the marriage is legal according to religion. The researchers observed that there is almost no harmonious ceremony that bring kins together in the presence of *Sisolhot* in any event from a group that did the customary marriage. They had put aside the customs and the transfer of *Natolu*. *No one* plays this role anymore, all events and ceremony are carried out while being surrounded only by the closest relations of those getting married (Kusuma, 1983).

Based on the explanations above, this research focused on the procedure for the traditional marriage of Batak Toba in Medan City in order to find out information about the effect to the children in Batak Toba Community.

Research methods

This research is a descriptive study that describes the phenomena that occur in the Batak Toba community, it is exploratory of how the future looks so that it can change people's life order. The goal of this is to create attachment, togetherness with others, according to the role of *Natolu* in each customary event. The priority of people in the society have changed from "communal" to only caring about their closest relatives. The society now glorifies and prioritize the faithful community that has emerged lately (Soendari, 2013).

The population in this study were all Batak Toba people in Medan, but because it was too broad, the respondents chosen included 10 people who were *Parsinabung*, 10 people who came from the community and 10 people were chosen based on religion and culture, and also 2 from the church leaders. Following this, the data collected was analyzed so as to describe the marriage of Batak Toba people and their development in the city of Medan. This was done to find out why the Medan people abandoned customary law in every event

carried out in the rites crisis process, everything is only based on religion, even the process of marriage is only done with a mere reception party.

Marriage registration that must be carried out in civil records in accordance with the positive law contained in the Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 carried out by the parties is separate and are carried out within the days of the marriage ceremony (Sitompul, 2005).

Literature review

Marriage

Marriage, which includes the coupling of two people possessing different interests, desires and needs, is a special occasion given shape by social rules and laws and significantly affects individuals' development and self-realization (Ersanlı & Kalkan in Ozyigit, 2017). Functions such as meeting the need for love and being loved, meeting both individuals' biological, social, psychological and motivational needs, bringing new generations to the world, gaining a place in society, the feelings of being safe and protected, the sense of cooperation, being confident about the future, feeling proud of each other and healthy functioning of sexual life (Canel in Ozyigit, 2017) make marriage universal and significant for societies. Although its dimensions and contents have changed during human history, the institutions of family and marriage have maintained their universality and are still the core unit of societies (Özgüven in Ozyigit, 2017). In many societies, marriage is acknowledged as the institution in which intimacy and fellowship exists and also children are raised in safety and that allows individuals to have sexual intercourse and provides an emotional development opportunity (Yavuzer in Ozyigit, 2017).

The marriage process in every culture is different. Many people conduct marriages according to their tradition and religion. Even though in different tribes, the purpose of marriage for every single person is almost same, that is, to build a household and have children as the successors of their generation.

Batak Toba culture

Batak Toba is a cultural unity. Batak Toba do not have to live in the geographical area of Toba, even though their origins are Toba. Like other ethnic groups, the Toba Batak ethnic groups also migrated to areas that promised better livelihoods. For example, the majority of the indigenous people of Silindung are from the Hutabarat, Panggabean, Simorangkir, Hutagalung, Hutapea and Lumbantobing clans. In fact, the six clans are descendants of Guru Mangaloksa, who was one of the sons of King Hasibuan in the Toba region. Likewise, the Nasution clan, which mostly lives in the Padangsidempuan area, are relatives of the Siahaan clan in Balige, of course, these two clans are descendants of the same ancestors. Batak Toba as a cultural entity can certainly spread across the geographical boundaries of its ancestral origins, the Raja Batak is the Toba area which is specifically Sianjur Mulamula Village located on the slopes of Mount Pusuk Buhit, about 45 minutes drive from Pangururan, the capital city, now Samosir Regency.

However, many of the Toba Batak tribes have ventured into the metropolitan city of Medan, North Sumatra, as seen today, the city of Medan is dominated by the Batak tribe,

especially the Toba Batak. The existing language and culture are also still attached, as they stay in the city of Medan (Harahap & Siahaan, 1987).

Children

Referring to the Indonesian General Dictionary, children are etymologically defined as humans who are still small or immature humans. However, children can also be interpreted as a baby born from the marriage of two partners. Children are very valuable assets for every parent. Children will become the successor to the second generation of their parents. In the Toba Batak custom, the child becomes the heir to the clan from his father, thus the child will have the same clan as the father.

In Batak Toba, the position of boys and girls are different. Boys have a higher position because boys become the successor of their father's surname and will pass the surname to their children again and so on. While girls only get surname from their father, they cannot pass the surname to their children (Lister, 2000).

Result and discussion

If someone was willing to do a marriage based on Batak Toba customs, there are many customary processes that must be passed, this process is also an added value that Batak people recognize, as one wrong factor may mean the possibility of a divorce in marriage. The existence of these stages results in the family mingling with each other and working together to achieve the aim of both parties—to unite one relative with another by carrying out a marriage. There is a nature of mutual respect for one another and working together to achieve the same goal in order to achieve happiness for children, families and relatives (Nainggolan, 2010).

Marriage process according to Christian religion

Mangarisik

Mangalehon tanda (Giving a Sign): This happens when the man has found a girl as his future wife; as well, the wife is willing that the man becomes her husband. To tie their relationship, the man gives a sum of money to the woman, while the woman gives the sarong or *ulos situluntoho* to the man. If the woman's parents agree, then they send an intermediary (*domu-domu*) to the parents of the man. Soon after, when there is an agreement between the girl and the boy, the parents of the two parties immediately hold a *silaturahmi* meeting and if there is a match, the talks will continue (Marbun and Hutapea, 1987).

Marhori-hori dinding (Marhusip)

This means a conversation that cannot be listened to by others, it is strictly between the families of the male and female, this is important because it avoids disagreement or quarrels if the deal fall over. What is discussed here is the amount of the *sinamot* for the bride and groom. Usually, the one who comes to the bride is the biological parents of the prospective groom, along with his uncle. The conversation here is still closed. Nowadays, the *marhusip* has been held directly between people—old women with men without any intermediaries.

The amount of *sinamots* that should be provided by the male relatives is discussed and here the male side discloses his limits with the intention that both parties will be able to understand each other's circumstances later. This *marhusip* is done in a woman's house, this is usually done by *parnakok mataniari* (it may not get past 10 a.m.) because every time there is a customary ceremony, it is done in the morning in the hope that there would be good blessings and good days which constitutes hopes and ideals that both parties will do well. Here, if the economic conditions of the groom's family are already established, then they bring their extended family, along with them, they bring traditional food. The prospective bride's family prepares carp in return for what the prospective *besan* presents. If the family of the groom is however moderate in means, then it is settled that such event remains basic. It is decided if the talks will be continued again, this determines whether the groom will come again to fulfill his promise.

Marhata sinamot

Called *parnakok mataniari* in accordance with what has been promised by male and female relatives to pray and bring the bride and groom to the Church to make an agreement before God and the congregation that they will hold a holy marriage. According to the custom, the time between *martuppol* and the wedding day should not be set at a date that is too close, a minimum of one week and a maximum of two weeks, this provides an opportunity for the Church to announce two times (weekly) with the intention of providing opportunities for third parties who object because of certain unresolved relationships about the plan of both parties to conduct a marriage. Based on the results of interviews with Church leaders, Mr. W. Siregar, that if the time between *partumpolon* and *pasu pasu* (marriage inauguration) was only a one-week grace period, the church reporter announced it by notification in the church news and it was carried out twice (*ting ting parjolo dohot paduahon*).

At this *Martupol* event, men bring traditional food and bear the cost of a joint food party.

As for adat, the conversation will only be held when the parties finish eating the food brought by the men. After the meal, the *Marhata Sinamot* event is held (the amount of *sinamot* must be paid by the prospective groom). Usually, here, there is a bargain but eventually it falls on the amount that was discussed earlier during *marhusip*. After an agreement from the two relatives, because there is already a *Natolu* present from both sides, close relatives and *dongan sahuta* discuss where the party will be held whether it will be in the place of the men (*dialap jual*) or at the place of the bride (*ditaruhon jual*). If the wedding ceremony takes place at the house of the groom, the family of the groom prepares everything and carries out the king's wedding, but if the party is held at the place of the bride, then the female relatives do the *martonggo raja*.

When *marhata sinamot* is discussed, the implementation of marriage and how it is formed is also discussed, this includes: when is the wedding party held, where it is done, whether in the house of the male or female, what must be slaughtered, whether it is the *duhut* (buffalo), how many invitees, and how much *ulos* should be provided on the women's side.

It is thus firm and sacred according to the meaning of marriage in Christianity.

Partumpulon (martumpol)

When the time agreed upon by the bride and groom arrives, the male and his relatives come to the house of the bride in full with traditional food. Relatives and the bride are ready to look forward to the arrival of the bridegroom. When the groom's relatives arrive at the house of the bride they say: "*Horas madi hita sude nunga no hami rajanami pasauthon janji nami i*", then these words are said again and the female relatives respond: "*Gabe mesh Horas sai* was taken by *Tuhanta ma sude the sangkap ni rohanta* be number "meaning best wishes to all of us, we have come to the king to fulfill our promises, then greeted by the female relatives by letting them enter and saying good wishes to everyone, may God grant us what we want.

After holding this gathering, the protocol stands and the *paranak* (groom) says *raja nami* has arrived (it was time for our King). Then they go and get the bride.

The relatives of the bride and the groom gather and pray that Almighty God intervene in all their plans. Departing with the relatives to the Church along with the bride and groom by hand, the gathering goes to the church through the streets by foot. However, this is no longer possible due to the distance between the Church and the residences of the members of the congregation. Arriving at the Church, the *paraladoes* and pastors are ready in wait, so a short service is held, here the pastor asks the bride and groom in front of the congregation who are present and especially "before your Lord who made you, whether you have chosen this polan as your future husband". The answer to which must be, "yes" by the bride, so the groom is asked "whether you have sincerely chosen the polan as your wife". The answer is "yes". Expressly, if there is any doubt, and one of the candidates answers otherwise, the pastor will not continue the *Partumpolan*.

But if the parties really are with a pure heart to settle down with their own choices, first, the bride and groom will put down their signature which is an agreement that they have been bound in the engagement, then followed by the witnesses from male relatives and female relatives and this would also be witnessed by the leaders of the Church itself.

The signing made by the parties as witnesses here is that at any time he will be able to prove that there has been an engagement bond between the man and the *polan*.

After the Church ceremony is finished, the parties return to the house of the bride's relatives. This part of the assembly (the promise of marriage) will be announced twice in a row at the Church service (*dua ininggu*) at the church of the prospective bride and groom, this actually provides an opportunity for parties who object to the engagement between bride and groom.

The objection would be immediately conveyed to the pastor who is in charge of the ceremony.

After returning home from the engagement in the Church, the *suhut*, relatives and invitees move to the house of the bride and groom, the event is held here, they eat together with side dishes provided by relatives of the prospective bride, but rice is borne by the *parboru* (the bride and groom).

At the get-together meal, the groom conveys the *gulu-tudu sipanganon to Hula Hula (parboru)* traditional food and the bride and groom deliver the traditional food in the form of carp (Dekke simudur udur).

After completing the meal, *Marhata Sinamot* begins. At the time of the *synamot*, a mutual bargaining takes place between the men and women, the men give generously. If agreement between the parties, for example, *sinamot*, was Rp 50,000,000, after all *handan*

tolan has been paid, the new *boru* from the male side had to be assigned to surrender a portion of *sinamot* for example, 25,000,000 in a plate containing rice, betel leaves and the remaining would be paid at the traditional Pesta nagok loloan (inauguration). The person who is entitled to receive the *sinamot* is the bride's parents and it is accepted with all the contents on the plate and put in the shawl that she wears at that time and then carried as if she were holding her daughter first. The location of the party and everything related to the party is determined at this *partumpolan*. At this time, the men must humbly inform the hula, in the beginning, what should be slaughtered according to the will of the man, whether it is *stout duhut* (a buffalo).

There are times when the prospective groom cannot afford to cut the buffalo at the wedding inauguration party of her child while the woman still demands that the slaughtering *duhut* (buffalo) be cut because it is based on the customs that have been done by female relatives so far, for example: *nunga ni adat* (a female relative) has held a traditional party several times while still cutting a buffalo, then the woman has objections because according to the principle, unbelievably the *toru* (don't go back down again) if you go upstairs, upwards. If something happens then the women usually add to the loss of the charred money (this depends on the agreement of both parties).

It is at this time that it is discussed whether the party is held in the yard of the groom's house, which is usually called *Taruhon Jual*, or the bride's yard which is called *Dialap Jual*, even though the party could be held in the meeting house.

For the discussion and preparation of the party, the man does *martonggo raja*, he gathers his family, especially those concerning *Dalihan Natolu*, here, the division of labor is discussed, the unit responsible for the party is also discussed. If the wedding inauguration is held at the bride's house, the female relatives who hold *Martonggo Raja* divide the tasks. Here, it is decided who is in charge of receiving guests to provide food, and cooking food for the party, who is fully responsible for the above tasks, and so on.

The inauguration ceremony for the Batak tribe includes:

- a. The inauguration of the marriage which is carried out based on religion
- b. Followed by the traditional *Nagok* event

After everything that is considered important has been resolved, the male relatives return home with chopsticks which are used for the traditional food and the side dishes which were eaten at the *martupolan* event, namely: rice, carp and lappet provided by the female relatives known as *tandok ulemas*.

The prospective bride holds the chopsticks and hands them to relatives of her prospective in-laws when they are about to return home to her house which is usually received by *boru* (daughter) from the relatives of the groom, this could be the daughter of *suhut* (the male sibling who are married men) or *namboru* from the bridegroom (younger sister of the male-in-law) if none is present at the party then the *boru* party represents the prospective male-in-law and should be one who is married.

As soon as the prospective bridegroom arrives, the traditional food provided by the bride's family as a response to the traditional food filler brought by the prospective bride is presented and seen by all relatives present, usually the group holds a meal together, if not, the traditional food is shared with relatives.

This invitation is usually not extended, the invitation is only for the closest family when the wedding party takes place in the same city as the bride's. However, if the party is held outside the city in the house of the bridegroom, the party is widely spread because it is

assumed as a party for the bride because it is not possible to go out of town, so all the customary obligations of the female guest are handled.

In the custom of Batak, the *boru* can play the main role during any customary event, whether it is marriage, birth, a naming ceremony or death. The *boru* is one who is married and understands the custom of the Batak people.

Pudun Saut (Tarpasu-pasu)

At the agreed time decided by the two parties, all customary events begin at the *parnangkok ni mata ni* (at the time the sun will start to rise). It is then that the men return to the house of the bride and groom with their relatives, here they do not join the hula hula by bringing traditional food that would be brought together later to the bride's home.

Before leaving for the bride's house, the prospective groom at his house holds a prostration ceremony and asks for blessings from his parents that he wants to start a new life with his chosen lover and closes with a prayer, then the bridegroom leaves for the home of the bride.

Traditional food is usually picked up by a younger sister and a married bride who is usually called *Sihutti Appang* that all costs incurred for the contents of the *Appang* are borne by those who respect it, with the consequence that the *hutti appang* must receive the *ulos* later.

Relatives of both women and men who are close are considered to have attended a joint meal in the house of the bride and groom after first praying to God to always bless all intents of both parties.

During this program, the prayers are offered by the upstream (the bride's relatives). This is called *manganese bro sibuha-buhai*. There is a difference between eating together during *partumpolan* which is a division of gifts *jambar* (gifts in the form of meat) while at the time of eating with *sibuha-buhai* there is no sharing of gifts *jambar*.

The bride is fed her mother's meal with the meaning that it is the last meal her biological mother would feed her from the time she was born until she grew up in the hope that the bride and groom would remain happy in his household, get along peacefully with the child called in the song "*songon dangka ni arirang na so tupa sirang anggo Sinirang Ni Hamatean* (may not be divorced, only death may separate you).

Here, the man has brought his lap flower, which will be given to the bride as a symbol that the man is giving the child to be taken by his wife, so the future wife also surrenders a flower to her future husband as a sign that only in her husband will she give up her purity. So this is where the bride and groom ask for blessing from both sides of their parents so that their marriage will last until they have children and grandchildren.

Eventually, the event finishes with prayers that are offered to bring the bride and groom to the Church to get blessings and to the Almighty God so that the newly formed household would always be protected by Him.

Arriving at the Church, of course, there would be many guests waiting for the bride and groom to attend the bride and groom's blessing event, the spiritual event starts with the Church leaders and the Pastor reading a scripture which contains a guide for those who are married and emphasizes that the household newly formed is as a household of Christ that is full of peace and prosperity, and what is joined by God cannot be divorced by anyone. After the sermon is finished, the most sacred time in the wedding is: when the pastor asks the bride and groom to come closer and ask the bride and groom alternately about the

continuity of their domestic life in the future also regarding responsibility and telling them they must have a strong commitment toward each other so that each party will maintain the sanctity of the marriage.

If indeed you both accept the blessing of the Merciful God who proves your marriage both blessed and accompanied by your Lord in forming this new household to the end of your life, then what has been united by God cannot be divorced by humans except separation through death, Amen.

The bride and groom greet the pastor with a thank you. After the spiritual program, the protocol of the *paranak* stood asking the invitees, together with a sense of joy to jointly eat hot rice by drinking *æk sitio-tio* on our yard which means that the marriage is the *Taruhon Sell*.

Then the protocol stood and the bride tells the audience to eat together at the *paranak* house. But if the stand is the protocol, then the bride says “*Rap udur ma hita tu jabunta* which means that their marriage is in the Sale”.

Still in the atmosphere of the Church, the bride and groom stand up, the atmosphere is even more amorous, when the bride’s parents come to greet the new family by congratulating them and then the parents of the bride and groom stand on the altar to receive congratulations from the audience and the invitees sing the song “Blessed are those who are married in the name of God and so on”.

Ulaon unjuk (traditional party)

The Church event is followed by a get-together meal and the implementation of the *nagok* culture. Usually, the wedding party is held in the yard of the house but when this is not possible, it is held at the meeting hall, this place would accommodate the invitees of the parties of both the *paranak* and *parboru*.

The bride and groom stand in front of the meeting house with their relatives and close family consisting of brothers/sisters from the bride, to welcome the invitees (receiving *hula-hula*) because the group of all *hula-hula* will be called and they join the gathering from time to time. After finishing the event, they welcome the new hula, hold a joint meal, which is preceded by praying to God to bless the perfunctory food even more so that the new bride would continue to receive protection of the Almighty God and that her newly formed family be a replica of society and bare humans.

At the meeting hall, the invitees of the groom (*paranak*) and invitees of the bride (*parboru*) usually sit separately.

When the guests (invitees) eat the perfunctory meal, the relatives of both parties give traditional foods to their parents-in-law (the parents of the bride), which is usually called *Tudu-tudu sipanganon*, then the parents and bride hand over the *mudur-udur* which is accompanied by *umpasa-umpasa* whose purpose is a prayer so that the bride and groom are given success and both parties have extended family life and are quick to get offspring.

For a moment, at the time the invitees begin to eat the perfunctory food, the parents of the groom say to the invitees: “*gogoihamu mangan inang/amang do allang na tupa ma hita*” (many mothers/fathers eat a lot, eat to the fullness of the heart) while the parents of the bride also come to the relatives who are invited and say the same sentence.

After the meal has finished, the invitees, *mangalehon tumpak* (give a sum of money as a sign of their participation in overcoming the costs of the party), they also greet the bride

and groom who are accompanied by their closest family, not all of the invitees have the obligation to give *turnpak*, only the guests invited by the groom.

However, for those invited by the bride, they bring rice with *tandok* (chopsticks) which has been collected when the invitees enter the meeting hall building. Each *tandok* contains rice from the guardian *ni tondi* according to the custom of putting money as *ulakni tandok*.

According to Batak custom, if there is a marriage party, for the guests invited by the bride's relatives, the food he brings are rice and *ulos*, and the bride's invitation must be *mangalehon tuppak*. If the marriage is in the selling place, then all *tuppak*, rice and *ulos* that are needed will be brought by the groom's family.

However, if the wedding party is *Dialap Jual* (a party on the bride's yard), all the rice that is eaten becomes the responsibility of the bride's relatives and all the piles become the rights of the relatives of the bridegroom, except on the agreement that all expenses for the wedding party is borne by the groom so that both rice and side dishes are the rights of the bridegroom.

After finishing the meal, a *jambar* division is held which would be presented by each party to their relatives, in the form of meat, in accordance with the provisions.

However, for the bride and groom, besides distributing the pieces of meat for the jurors of *boru*, they must be given to all the invitees of the bride present at the *mangulosi* event, usually in the amount of IDR 5,000/person. Men will distribute *jambar juhut* and *degke* (carp that are shredded) to their relatives (Panjaitan, 2010).

After completing the get-together meal, the opportunity for all *paranak* invitations to *mangalehon tuppak* except hula hula will be given because the hula hula will promulgate the bride later, and the opportunity is to give the bride the *manjoput tuppak* presented by the invitees, usually a lot of money will fall when putting the money into the pockets of her husband's suit, when the wife leaves the money for her in-laws it is considered that she is not a greedy wife (Granal, 2001).

In this customary event, everyone present pray for the bride and groom to be happy and not to separate, apart from being separated by death. It becomes heart-warming scene when the bride and groom are accompanied by the bride's parents while singing the *Borhat ma dainang* song, meaning their parents are willingly dispatching their daughter for a new life with her husband.

Jambar pasahaton

Jambar and *tudu-tudu ni sipanganon* applies to the saying *Marsolup Ni Hundulan* which means that there is a small difference in the tradition of *jambar juhut*, but what still applies is the event that take place in the ceremony.

Each of those who have received the enumeration must shout "*On ma jambarta*" meaning: "This is our image" so that the group that is equally entitled to the *jambar* is heard. Besides, there are more pieces of meat in the form of money in an envelope.

According to tradition, the division is carried out by both parties. *Paranak* gave the guests food and *parboru* dishes, on the other hand the *parboru* gives *ulos-ulos* to the guests and the party. And the practical aspect that the researcher sees is: what is called *pinudun* signs which means "the *paranak* gives *ulos-ulos* to his guests in the name of *parboru*, and vice versa, *parboru* gives food to the guests on behalf of the father.

Besides the existence of *jambar* in the form of meat, money is called *jambar hata* (right of speech) based on communal feelings, because we know that the one who marries the child is the clan not the *parboru* and the party which form the clan are not only *marhusip*. *Marhata sinamot* at a wedding party is an official dialogue between *Natolu* from the party and *parboru* which is essentially a seal in the marriage.

The discussion and *jambar* are made when a buffalo is cut so that certain parts which are not chopped up are set aside, namely: ribs, head, tail and neck.

- (a) The back, starting and tipping load are suitable to be bold for *dongan sabutuha* (*dongan tubu*), which means a mate, who supports the tasks as a person in charge of traditional parties.
- (b) The back along with the 5 ribs are *panamboli* (portion for the animal slaughterers).
- (c) The head of the hula (the bride's family) must be accorded respect.
- (d) Between, the head and neck of the buffalo neck is given as *jambar* and *boru* because *boru* (the daughter of a family to be married to a groom) is a means of connecting between the *dongan tubu* and *hula-hula*.
- (e) Buffalo tail for *suhut* (the groom's family). This is what is usually given in part or in full in return for the carp given by his in-laws.

The *Jambar* mentioned above is the primary image where the division of *jambar* can change according to the custom in which the party was held.

The *marhata sinamot* program will, in fact, follow the *Sinamot* Sculpture (deliver a portion and dowry that has not been paid at the time of *martumpol*). After the time the king of *makatai* (spokesperson) also prays, accompanied by words of blessing and proverbs which are usually spoken in the local language. The *sinamot* is not directly given to the bride's parents but through *parsinabung* and *boru* from the bridegroom to the parents. After that, they surrender the *nagok* custom to the *natolu* who carries out the *parboru* and carries of the following ceremony:

(1) *Upa Pamarai*

- *Pariban* Ceremony:

This is given to the sister of the bride who is born of the father as well as the grandmother or if the bride has a younger brother, also the younger brother, if there are 25 *pariban*, 25 relatives will be given the gift by the groom, no one can be exempted as this would create a space for hurt. For the Batak tribe, this is very important even though the number is small, it has a great meaning, it means that the grandmother still accepts the custom of the Batak people.

Bone Upa:

This is given to the brother and mother of the bride, as well as uncle of the bride. If there are 20 people, all 20 people must be given the envelope. This makes the bridegroom familiar with the closest members of the bride's family.

After all the above has been done, the event continues with the *manjalo titin marakup* who is entitled to receive the daughter-in-law as a head male figure in his family, because according to the custom of Batak each male married his *boru* (his uncle's son). So whenever

a woman is taken by a man as his wife from any tribe, then it is assumed that he has taken his bones, therefore there is an event specifically done to give a sum of money put together from the side of the *parboru* (the bride) and *paranak* (the groom) in the envelope which legalizes that his wife is *boru tulang*, so if there are problems in the family the wife does not complain to her parents but to the bones first.

It is only after the *suhut* and the *paranak/parboru* hand over the money in the envelope to the bones of the groom, while saying that from the day on, my *boru* has become the bride or in other words the bride was made *boru* from the bride's bones man, is the conjugation is believed to have taken place.

Giving *Ulos*

Following these, all invitees at the *mangulosi* throw *ulos herbang* (ulos cloth) onto the body of the husband and wife who are sitting side by side. A prayer request to God Almighty to bless the bride and groom in forming a new household is then said.

What must be fulfilled by the party are:

- (1) The bridegroom's parents are panned by the *suhut parboru* called *Ulos Pansamot*, which means *ulos* for giving dowry.
- (2) The bride is promulgated, which is called *ulos Hela*, which means *ulos* for the groom, meaning that he and his wife become joined together.
- (3) One of the brothers of the bridegroom's father protects the bride. *Ulos* is usually called *ulos Paraman*, meaning *ulos* for the younger brother of the father of the groom.
- (4) Boru who donated *sibuha-buhai* food in the morning, commonly called *ulos*, closes the *appang*.

This is what is called *ulos suhi appang naopat* which must be presented and must be fulfilled in every traditional event of the Batak marriage. The number of requests for *ulos* is determined by the *paranak* (the groom), there are 7 strands, 11 strands or 17 strands, but the amount must be odd, all of this depends on the amount of *sinamot* which is carried by the *paranak*.

If there is still a grandfather, the party must be accompanied by the grandfather and usually the *ulos* must be good, after completion of giving of the *ulos*, then the *holos ulos* return to all the relatives of the bride and the lastly, gives *ulos* to the bone *paranak*. At the *mangulosi* event, it is determined whether the parents of the bride are *parsaor* or not or are people who are diligent in planting *adat* or the term "*Paradat*".

The *ulos* is closed by the *hula hula* from the bridegroom (the family of the mother of the groom), usually the last ones are brothers from the parents, the bridegroom binds them to one *ulos* and takes this home, by carrying the *ulos* given by bride and groom and running away in an attractive fashion from the meeting room.

Ulaon sadari

It depends on consensus by the men and women, whether the event will be held on that day at the same time, if there is an agreement then after the event the *mangulosi* will be continued with the *Paulak Une* program.

The bride and her relatives come to the house of the bride's parents by bringing cooked *lomok-lomok* traditional food, and giving advice to the bride, so that she may be smart to

win her father-in-law's heart, also so that she is kind and her parents are honored in the family of her husband.

Maningkir Tangga

After the completion of the *Paulak Une* event, the *Maningkir Tangga* event is held in which the two brides come along with his relatives to carry the traditional food called *Dengke Sitio-tio*. Both of these events are carried out on that day after the wedding ceremony is finished, and visitation is carried out at the meeting hall as well. It is done with the sole purpose of shortening the time. After that, an elder says a prayer of thanks to the Almighty God for having everything go smoothly, then the shout of *Horas Horas* reverberates in the air. This is given by the attendees.

After completing the traditional party in the meeting house, the bride is brought home by her husband, the bride is still accompanied by her bridesmaid (her girlfriend who accompanied her at the wedding ceremony) after the reception at the *paranak* house, then *pandongani* returns to the *parboru* house with perfunctory food to the *paranak* house. At the groom's house, the *Mangupa Parumaen* event is held again.

When the bride enters the house, usually it is done with the right foot first step, the groom's parents come to sprinkle rice on his head which is usually called the rice of the *pir ni tondi* above the heads of the bride and groom along with hopes that they remain happy, *gabe*, with longevity and *horas*, then the bride and groom sit on the mat and eat a perfunctory meal, after it's finished, the parties usually give advice to both parties so that they become happy and united couples.

The meaning of this event is to emphasize that since entering her in-law's house, the daughter-in-law should have realized that she is no longer a member of her parent's house but has become a member of her in-law's house.

Currently, the non-Muslim Batak Toba community does not follow the customary provisions above anymore. Once the blessing in the Church is finished, a joint meal is held in the form of a reception. The customary practices bringing together relatives has long been abandoned. This has been put down to modern ways of doing things and advancing scientific knowledge. The young generation argue that marriage based on culture is time-consuming and wasteful.

If viewed from the aspect of customary law of marriage, it is valid if it is carried out according to the provisions and customary law while if the marriage is only carried out based on religious law, children born from marriage cannot be recognized because the marriage does not meet the provisions and customary law, here children follow the mother's lineage, even though we know that among Batak people children are born following the lineage of the father.

This is the result of the law and a marriage that is not based on *adat*, but with the development of people's thinking, this is no longer valid for children born are heirs and successors of their fathers.

But the consequence is that a person who does not practise the tradition cannot receive *ulos* and gives herbal *ulos* even if he wants to give it, for example, the sister of a wife who is married according to culture, here he has an obligation to give *ulos* but he cannot give it directly to the younger sibling of the bride but has to fold it like an ordinary gift and hand it over as he cannot speak on culture matters even in his own family environment.

In the form of marriage something like this can only be restored as it should be by being carried out in customary wedding events (by respecting culture) or having to be obedient, implementing what is required based on the provisions of customary law means that the parties are free to carry out their rights in the cultural events.

There is a difference between traditional payments in ordinary marriages and customary payments in *Pangadation (Mangadati)*. In *mangadati*, there are no more *acara martandang, mangalehon tanda, marhusip*, but there are *sinamot* and *martonggo raja marhata*. So this event is an event to pay for tradition, especially the matter of *sinamot*, after the cultural program has been completed, it is legitimate that the parties become husband and wife, and they return to the actual traditional position of the children born to the descendants of his father.

Marriage process according to Muslim religion

The engagement

After a person has gained stability in determining the woman of his choice, then he should immediately propose to her. The man must go to the parent/guardian of the woman of his choice to convey his will, namely to ask that he be approved to marry the guardian's child. As for women, they can be married if they meet the following two conditions, namely:

At the time of the marriage, there are no obstacles in the Shari'a that cause men to be prohibited from confirming it at that time. Like for some reason, the woman is haram forever (he is her mahram) or temporarily (during iddah of widowhood/iddah of being divorced by her husband);

Has not been proposed by another person legally, because Islam forbids a person to propose to one whom his brother has proposed to.

Seeing the woman who was asked

In the Hanif section of Islam, suitors are required to see the woman who is being proposed, it also require women who are proposed to see the man who is proposing to her, so that each party can really get clarity when choosing a life partner.

Aqad Nikah

Aqad Nikah is an agreement between the guardian of the bride and the groom with at least two witnesses who meet the requirements according to the religious sharia. Through *akad nikah*, the relationship between two people who agree to have a household is formalized in the presence of man and God.

In *aqad*, there are several conditions and obligations that must be fulfilled:

- 1). There is mutual consensus from the prospective bride and groom.
- 2). There is a consent *qabul*.

Ijab means to express or state a word. *Qabul* means to accept. So *Ijab qabul* means that someone declares something to the other person, and then the other person accepts. In marriage, what is meant by "consent *qabul*" is a guardian or representative of the bride telling the prospective husband of his daughter/woman who is under his guardianship he is ready to marry her to the man who then takes the woman as his wife. Then the father of the bride states that he accepts the marriage.

- 3). The existence of dowry (dowry)

Islam glorifies women by obliging men who wish to marry them to hand over the dowry to them. Islam does not set a certain value limit in this dowry, but on the agreement of both parties and according to the level of ability. Islam also prefers a dowry that is easy and simple and is not extravagant.

4). There is a guardian

The guardian who has the first priority among all the existing guardians is the father of the bride. If the father is late, then the grandfather (father’s father), then the brother of the mother or father, then the son of the brother. Only then can other closest relatives or the judge be considered.

5). There are Witnesses

The Messenger of Allah -peace and blessings of Allah be upon him- said:

“It is illegal to have a marriage without a guardian and two fair witnesses.” (Narrated by Al-Baihaqi from Imran and from Aisyah, sahih, see Sahih Al-Jamius Shaghir by Shaykh Al-Albani no. 7557).

According to the sunnah of the Prophet sallallaahu alaihi wa sallam, before *aqad nikah* a first sermon is held which is called *khutbatun nikah* or *khutbatul-hajat*.

Reception

After the marriage contract is carried out, the bride and groom are legally declared husband and wife. Thus the next event is a wedding reception which is usually carried out by the extended family of the bride and groom by inviting relatives and friends. Some of the Batak Toba people who are Muslim carry out a series of traditions which are not extravagant. However, most of the Toba Batak people are married to couples of different ethnicities, so the custom is simplified, in other words, it is still carried out but only as a *manortor* of the families of the bride and groom.

From the [table 1](#), it can be seen that the majority of Muslim Batak Toba people who are married do not follow the customary provisions, this includes 276 marriages, marriages conducted in the hall (Office of Religious Affairs) are as many as 157 marriages and outside are 119 marriages. These marriages were conducted in halls in 2017 which indicates that the Medan Kota Sub district community still holds a balanced position in a society with a middle economy with an economy that is above average, this can be seen from the

Table 1. The number of Muslim Batak Toba people who perform marriages that are not based on traditional procedures.

No	Month	Marriage			Month	Marriage		
		2017	Indoor	Outdoor		2018	Indoor	Outdoor
1	January	24	20	4	January	25	10	15
2	February	26	23	3	February	32	19	13
3	March	25	10	15	March	30	13	17
4	April	25	11	14	April	48	29	19
5	Mei	21	11	10	Mei	8	7	1
6	June	5	5	-	June	15	3	12
7	July	32	12	20	July	45	11	34
8	Augustus	25	12	13	Augustus	23	5	18
9	September	28	16	12	September	32	15	17
10	October	23	11	12	October	24	8	16
11	November	21	12	9	November	28	20	8
12	December	21	14	7	December	21	9	12
	Total	276	157	119	Total	331	149	182

Source of data: Office of Religious Affairs in Medan City 2017–20018.

number of marriages conducted outside the hall which are as many as 119 marriages, of which the actual marriage contract is carried out in the mosque or at home.

Also in 2018, the number of marriages conducted by the Batak Toba Muslims who carried out marriages that were not based on culture rose to 331 marriages, and marriages which were carried out outside the hall were as many as 182 marriages. Based on observation, of these, 149 marriages were covered by an alignment from a government program that carried out mass marriages, hence the increase.

Muslim Batak Toba communities in the Medan city of Medan are very aware that marriage is worship and is harmonious and it is better to conduct a marriage as soon as decisions are made rather than cause mischief. In the Toba Batak custom, every time a wedding takes place, both Batak Toba faithfuls, and Muslims are obliged to acknowledge custom, otherwise this will have an ongoing impact on the offspring. Even if a husband and wife have not paid the custom until their child grows up and is about to get married, then the parents are required to pay *adat* first before their child gets married. This is what is stipulated in the Toba Batak custom, although being able to pay for the customs when their children grow up is not a problem.

In addition, the Toba Batak customary law also recognizes the principle of monogamous marriage which says that what has been brought together by the Almighty cannot be divorced by humans, this is in accordance with what is stated in Article 3 paragraph 1 of the Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974. In principle, a man may only have one wife. At the end of the traditional Batak Toba wedding ceremony, a person gets to know whether he is a *hulahula* or *boru* in his relationship with a relative who has just formalized his wedding tradition.

Conclusion

- (1) According to the indigenous Batak Toba, people who are non-Muslim carry out marriages based on Batak traditions. They are one of the reasons for maintenance of the integrity of Batak marriages. This is especially useful for the future because there is a tremendous sense of attachment among the parties carrying out traditional events involving the transfer of *natolu* and indigenous people in general.
- (2) There has been a shift occurring in the Batak Toba community where 10% non-Muslims have abandoned the traditions and institutions of *Natolu*, there are no longer roles performed by the extended family in marriage, they are only bound to the community and marriage must be with a collection of communities and religions.
- (3) For the Batak Toba community, Muslims solemnize their marriage based on religion, the custom has been ruled out even though there is a wedding party, that is only more inclined to the existence of *si'ar* which is required in Islamic law so that the public knows about the marriage that has taken place.

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