

## **MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS AMONG COASTAL AND MOUNTAIN MANDAR TRIBES: A STUDY OF GEOGRAPHICAL DIFFERENCES**

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### **Abstract**

*Marriage is a common sunnatullah and applies to all His creatures, both humans, animals, and plants, while the Mandar religious community sees marriage as more than just an internal and external bond between a man as a husband and a woman as a wife. Marriage is considered a family relationship involving both the man's family and the woman's family. This study is a qualitative study, with a phenomenological approach. Traditional marriage in the Mandar tribe still takes into account marriage between social levels, so that the customs and traditions of Mandar marriage culture still maintain the tradition of matchmaking that has been passed down from generation to generation. The interaction between coastal and mountainous communities in their daily lives is well established, although it cannot be denied that in the process of interaction there are differences or social stratification. The basis of people's understanding of the prohibition of marriage for coastal and mountainous Mandar is based on geographical differences. Coastal communities are considered to have a higher social strata than mountainous communities, so that those who violate this tradition will be considered to have committed a violation and they are never considered in the family or never born in this life.*

**Keywords:** *Marriage Prohibition, Mandar Tribe, Coast and Mountains*



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### **A. INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia is known as a country rich in cultural diversity. This diversity is reflected in various forms of culture that exist throughout Indonesia. One aspect of culture that is still very strong in its expression among Indonesian society is marriage. Humans, as social beings, instinctively feel the need to establish relationships with others. In general, when someone reaches early adulthood, the instinct to establish a more serious relationship arises, especially with the opposite sex. This desire is traditionally fulfilled through the institution of marriage.

Marriage is a common sunnatullah and applies to all His creatures, both humans, animals and plants. This is a way chosen by Allah SWT as a way for His

creatures to reproduce and preserve their lives. Marriage will play a role after each partner is ready to play a positive role in realizing the goals and marriage itself.<sup>1</sup>

Marriage is a bond that binds a human being (physically and spiritually) between a woman and a man with the aim of building a complete and happy family. In the *Burgerlijk Wetboek (BW)*, marriage is listed in the first book about people whose scope in Indonesia is included in family law. In addition, marriage is also regulated in the *Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI)*. Family law is a rule about legal relations between blood relatives and families due to marriage (parental authority, guardianship, and guardianship).<sup>2</sup>

Marriage or marriage is regulated in Law Number 1 of 1974 (called the *Marriage Law*). The definition of marriage based on Article 1 of the *Marriage Law* states a physical and spiritual bond between a man and a woman to become a husband and wife with the aim of making their family and household happy and eternal based on the Almighty God.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, in carrying out a marriage, the relationship is very close to spirituality or religion so that it is not only physical.<sup>4</sup> The connection with religion is strengthened by Article 2 paragraph (1) of the *Marriage Law*, which states that a marriage is valid if it is carried out based on the religion and beliefs of the prospective bride and groom.<sup>5</sup>

Sayyid Muhammad bin Alawi al Maliki, who is known as the imam of the experts of the sunnah of this century, explained that the first obligation of a husband is to pay the dowry. The second is to provide a living and provide a place to live and a *kiswah* for the wife. This is based on the *Qur'an*, *Surah An-Nisa*, verse 34. The third is to have good relations with his wife which is based on the *Qur'an*, *Surah An-Nisa*, verse 19.<sup>6</sup> This statement is basically not much different from what is stated in the *Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI)*, especially in Article 80 which contains provisions regarding the husband's obligations.<sup>7</sup> These provisions state that a husband as a guide in the household is also obliged to protect his wife and provide all the necessities of household life according to his ability, provide religious education to his wife and cover the needs of the household with his income.

Meanwhile, Article 83 of the *Compilation of Islamic Law* mentions the wife's obligations in marriage.<sup>8</sup> In the first point, it is stated that the main

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<sup>1</sup>Tihami and Sohari Sahrani, *Jurisprudence of Munakahat: A Complete Study of Jurisprudence of Marriage*, (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2009), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Djaja S. Meliala, *Civil Law in the Perspective of BW*, (Nusa Aulia, Bandung, 2012), p. 49.

<sup>3</sup>Article 1 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

<sup>4</sup>Mohd. Idris Ramulyo, *Islamic Marriage Law*, (Bumi Aksara, Jakarta, 1995), p.2.

<sup>5</sup>Article 2 paragraph (1) of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage

<sup>6</sup>Mohamad Hamdan Asyrofi, *Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife (Study of Sayyid Muhammad Bin Alawi Al-Maliki's Thoughts in the Book of Adab Al-Islam Fi Nizam Al-Ussrah)*, (Thesis, Sunan Kalijaga Islamic University, Yogyakarta, 2014), p.17.

<sup>7</sup>Article 80 of the *Compilation of Islamic Law*

<sup>8</sup>Article 83 of the *Compilation of Islamic Law*.

obligation for a wife is to be devoted physically and mentally to her husband within the limits permitted by Islamic law. And the second point, the wife organizes and manages the daily household needs as well as possible. Referring to these provisions, a wife is required to obey her husband and manage all the needs in her household including raising and educating her children in the future.

Regarding the rights of husband and wife, Article 31 of the Marriage Law states that the rights and position of husband and wife are equal.<sup>9</sup> Husband and wife are the parties who have the right to carry out legal acts. A husband acts as the head of the family while the wife acts as a housewife. So related to rights, then what has been stated regarding the wife's obligations becomes the husband's right to receive from a wife. The same thing is also mentioned in this point, namely that all that is the husband's obligation, then automatically those things are the wife's rights that must be fulfilled by the husband as long as the marriage bond between them is still in place.<sup>10</sup>

If a marriage contract is valid, then the event can have legal consequences and will have rights and obligations as a married couple. If a married couple carries out their obligations and pays attention to their responsibilities, then in the household that is built there will be peace in it.<sup>11</sup>

Every married couple should be an inseparable unit in their life journey together. Marriage is not just a desire, but also a normal and healthy intention for children and adolescents who are growing and developing. Life experience shows that although building a family can feel easy, maintaining and developing it at the level of happiness and well-being that is dreamed of is a very challenging task. Families that are able to achieve happiness and well-being are often referred to as Sakina families. To achieve the desired marriage, physical and emotional maturity in the marriage relationship becomes a very important foundation. This is the key to achieving the goals and ideals of our marriage.<sup>12</sup>

For the Mandar tribe, marriage is considered sacred and has a very high value. Therefore, local leaders, religious figures, and their supporting communities carefully consider all aspects related to this marriage. The Mandar religious community sees marriage as more than just an internal and external bond between a man as a husband and a woman as a wife. Marriage is considered a family relationship involving both the man's family and the woman's family. The main purpose of this marriage is to increase harmony in the family environment. The negotiation process regarding the Mandar tribe's marriage involves the

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<sup>9</sup>12 Article 31 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

<sup>10</sup>Muhammad Syukri Albani Nasution, Perspective of Islamic Legal Philosophy on the Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife in Marriage. *ANALYSIS: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol.15, No.1 (June 2015), pp.73-74.

<sup>11</sup>Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh Sunnah*, (Publisher PT Alma'arif, Bandung, 1990), p.51.

<sup>12</sup>Muhammad Aly, The Law of Mut'ah Marriage and Its Relationship with the Formation of a Sakinah Family, *Risalah Journal of Islamic Education and Studies*, Vol 1, 2016, p. 30.

involvement of local leaders, religious figures, and their supporting communities. Decisions regarding marriage are taken with great consideration and wisdom to ensure the continuation of harmony and peace in their families and communities.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the most important thing in a marriage for Mandar people is cooperation, helping each other in doing something, both light and heavy work. The implementation of traditional marriage in the Mandar area also contains cultural values, local cultural values, such as. Sianaung pa'mai, Sirondoi-rondoi and Siballiparri.

In the Mandar community, there are coastal and mountainous communities that have their own rules regarding their marriage. Coastal communities have a tradition of prohibiting marriage with mountainous communities. Due to geographical differences and the influence of social status and old genealogy in coastal families, where the social strata of coastal communities is higher than that of mountainous communities. Therefore, the author is interested in discussing further regarding the prohibition of marriage between coastal and mountainous Mandar tribes.

## **B. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research is a qualitative research, with a phenomenological approach. The data collection process begins with observation techniques, in-depth interviews with traditional leaders, community leaders and religious leaders, and documentation. The collected data is then classified based on its type and content. Furthermore, it is analyzed using qualitative data analysis of the Miles and Huberman Model, with the stages of data reduction, Data Model (Data Display) and Drawing or Verifying Conclusions.

### **A. Discussion**

#### **1. Definition of Marriage**

Humans will not be able to develop well and be civilized without a process or institution called marriage. There are many opinions and views in providing a different understanding of marriage. In civil law, marriage is stated as a binding agreement in a civil relationship by fulfilling the legal requirements of a marriage for both the prospective groom and the prospective bride. Sociologically, marriage is a social phenomenon that changes a person's legal status from a bachelor or immature girl to a social stage with a new legal status, namely husband for men and wife for women. According to Mohd. Idris Ramulyo, in terms of law, marriage is an agreement because the way to regulate the bond has been regulated in advance, namely with a marriage contract and certain pillars or

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<sup>13</sup>Akbar Prikarsa Dwi Putra, Implementation of Mandar Marriage Customary Values in the Sustainability of Husband and Wife Relations in Bonde Village, Campalagian District, Polewali Mandar Regency,

conditions, and the way to break the bond has also been regulated in advance.<sup>14</sup> According to Soedharyo Saimin, marriage is an agreement entered into by two people, in this case the agreement between a man and a woman with a material goal, namely forming a happy and eternal family (household), must be based on the belief in the Almighty God. As the first principle in Pancasila.<sup>15</sup> In the Compilation of Islamic Law Article 2 it is stated that marriage according to Islamic law is marriage, namely a very strong contract or *mitsaqan ghalidzan* to obey Allah's command and carrying it out is an act of worship.<sup>16</sup> According to Van Dijk, marriage according to customary law is closely related to family, community, dignity and personal matters. This is different from marriage in modern Western (European) society where marriage is only a matter for those who are getting married.<sup>17</sup>

Marriage comes from the word "marriage" which in language means forming a family with the opposite sex. Marriage is also called "marriage", derived from the word *nikah* (نكاح) which means to gather, to enter each other, and is used to mean having sex (*wathi*).<sup>18</sup> Marriage in terms of language is *al-jam'u* and *al-dhamu* which means gathering. In terms of meaning, marriage can also be interpreted as *aqdu al-tazwij* or marriage contract. On the other hand, it can also be interpreted as *uwat'u al-zaujahi* which means having sex with one's wife.

According to the law, marriage is defined by Wahbah Zuhaili as a contract that allows you to have fun with women, namely having sex, touching, kissing, hugging and so on. If the woman is not considered a *mahram* in terms of lineage, marriage and family. It can also be interpreted that marriage is a contract that has been established by the Shari'a whose function is to give property rights to men to have fun with women, and makes it legal for a woman to have fun with men.<sup>19</sup>

In the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) Article 2 also states that marriage in Islam is not merely a relationship or ordinary civil contract, but it has a value of worship. Therefore, it is very appropriate if the compilation emphasizes it as a very strong contract (*mitsaqan gholiidhan*) to obey Allah's command, and carrying it out is worship.

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<sup>14</sup>Ika Novitasari, Sulaeman, Andi Dewi Pratiwi and Widya Lestari, 'The Status of Children Resulting from *Likka Soro'* in Mandar Custom According to the KHI Perspective, *Journal of Law*, Vol 6 No 1, 2023, p.22.

<sup>15</sup>Jamaluddin and Nanda Amalia, *Marriage Law Textbook*, (Aceh: Unimal Press, 2016), pp. 16-17.

<sup>16</sup>Compilation of Islamic Law, Article 2.

<sup>17</sup>Tolib Setiady, *The Essence of Indonesian Customary Law in Literature Studies*, (Bandung: Alfabeta, cv, 2018). p. 204.

<sup>18</sup>Tihami and Sohari Sahrani, *Fiqh Munakahat: A Complete Study of the Fiqh of Marriage*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2009), p. 7.

<sup>19</sup>Wahbah Az-Zuhaili, *Islamic Fiqh and the Law of the Prophet Muhammad*, Volume 1, Trans. Abdul Hayyie al-Kattani, et al., (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2010), p. 39.

In terms of marriage law, scholars have different views in placing the pillars and conditions, but these differences are not substantial. Hanafiyah scholars view marriage from the aspect of the bonds that apply between the parties who are carrying out the marriage. Therefore, the pillars of marriage according to this group are only the marriage contract carried out by the two parties who are carrying out the marriage, while the presence of witnesses and dowry are grouped as marriage requirements. Meanwhile, according to Imam Malik, the pillars of the marriage contract are: the guardian of the woman, dowry, the groom, the bride, *sighat*, namely the expression of words that state the intention of the contract.<sup>20</sup>

According to the Syaf'iyah scholars, what is meant by marriage is everything that is directly related to marriage, not just the contract. Therefore, what is included in the pillars of marriage is everything that must be realized in marriage.

So the main elements of marriage are the prospective groom, prospective bride, guardian, two witnesses, *ijab* and *qabul*. The dowry that must be present in every marriage is not included in the pillars, because the dowry does not have to be mentioned in the marriage contract and does not have to be submitted when the contract is carried out. So the dowry is included in the requirements of marriage.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile, the Mandar Tribe itself has its own characteristics in terms of the marriage procession. The first thing to do before determining a prospective wife is *sipau-pau* (deliberation) between the man who wants to propose and his family who are considered important to attend.<sup>22</sup> After determining the prospective wife, the next is *messisi'* (sneaking in). The meaning of *messisi'* is that the man sends one or two elders to ask about the status of the woman he wants to propose to. The next is *situmae anna siperai* (proposing and asking), if both have agreed, then continue with *mattanda jari* or reaffirm the agreement and determine the day and date of the wedding, also *passorong* (dowry) and *doi paccanring* (shopping money). A few days before the wedding day, the man and his family visit the woman's side which is called *maccanring*. The aim is to bring *doi paccanring* or shopping money.<sup>23</sup>

However, in society, there is often a misunderstanding regarding the perception of the position between *passorong* (dowry) and *doi' paccanring*. Both are often interpreted in one meaning, indeed both are gifts from the man to the woman he will marry, but what distinguishes them is that *passorong* is given

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<sup>20</sup>Moh. Ali Wafa, *Marriage Law in Indonesia: A Study in Islamic Law and Material Law*, (Pamulang: Yasmi, 2018), p. 48.

<sup>21</sup>Amir Syarifuddin, *Islamic Marriage Law in Indonesia: Between Fiqh Munakahat and Marriage Law*, (Jakarta: Kencana, 2014), p. 59-61.

<sup>22</sup>Muh. Idham Khalid Bodi, *Sibali Parri: Gender of Mandar Society*, (Solo: Zadahaniwa Publishing, 2016), p. 235.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid*, pp. 247-251.

during the akad process while doi paccanring is given during maccanring/mappadzaiq doiq. This happens because doi paccanring will be spent by the woman when the wedding day (akad) approaches, therefore, doi paccanring is also called shopping money.

Both are almost similar, because both are obligatory gifts from the man. However, in this case, the role of passorong is a provision of sharia while doi paccanring is a provision in local customary traditions. However, from both gifts, what is always in the spotlight of society is the number of dio paccanring. In practice, the number of doi paccanring tends to be greater than passorong. In fact, if you look at its position, passorong is positioned as a marriage requirement and is mentioned in the contract, while doi paccanring is not.

The amount of doi paccanring/shopping money is determined by the woman. The determination of the nominal amount also sometimes makes men who want to propose fail because the determination of the amount of shopping money from the woman is high. There are also factors that influence the determination of the amount of doi paccanring, including the social status of the prospective wife and her level of education. Sometimes, doi paccanring can be an obstacle for couples who want to get married. Even though both of them already love each other, it often fails because the nominal doi paccanring determined by the woman's parents is too high so that the man cannot afford it.

Regarding marriage, there are many customs that regulate it in each region, whether the customs are contrary to sharia or are in accordance. It is also undeniable that marriages that occur in the region must follow the applicable customs. Marriage is indeed one of the customs that develops following the development of society, but the belief in adhering to customary law still applies in a marriage custom. Because the applicable law or rules will be effective if they have a relatively strong social base, meaning that the customary rules are obeyed by the community voluntarily<sup>24</sup>so that the existence of culture in an area is maintained.

Basically, in Islamic marriage law there is no obligation for men to give a doi paccanring to the woman they are going to marry. However, what is obligatory in Islamic marriage law is to give a dowry (passorong). Meanwhile, the custom in Mandar society when a man wants to propose to a woman, he is not only required to give a dowry but also a doi paccanring. Society tends to consider the amount of doi paccanring more than the passorong (dowry). In fact, if you look at its essence, it is the passorong (dowry) that has a more important position in the view of religious law. Society views that the higher the doi paccanring given to the woman shows the highest position in society and becomes a tradition that is difficult to separate from today's society. Conversely, the low doi paccanring

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<sup>24</sup>Soerjono Soekanto, *Indonesian Customary Law*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2003), p. 340

given by the man will become siri' in the life of society (the woman) because it will make them the talk of the town in the midst of society. Sometimes, that is what makes it difficult for men to get married. In Usul Fiqh, this also has a special discussion known as al-,adah al-muhakkamah, namely that customs or habits can be used as a legal basis".

## 2. Mandar Tribe

Historian stated that Indonesia used to adhere to animistic and dynamic beliefs before the influence of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity entered. Likewise in the Mandar land, even animism is still found in the Mandar mountains which are spread across Mamuju and Mamasa Regencies. The ancestral beliefs of the Mandar people which are still continued by several community groups are known as Mappurondo.<sup>25</sup>

Animist beliefs then began to shift after the entry of Islamic influences. several religions, such as Islam as the religion with the largest number of adherents in Mandar and Christianity which is mostly spread in the Mandar mountainous region, especially in Mamasa district.

Regarding when the influence of Islam entered Mandar, it is not known for sure and there are differences among researchers. Suradi Yasil estimates that Islam entered Mandar since the 17th century AD. Since entering the land of Mandar, the development of Islam has been very rapid and almost all areas of the kingdom in Mandar made Islam the official religion adopted by the kingdom, especially in the coastal areas of Mandar. This was because access to the coastal kingdom was easier, considering that the main transportation at that time used sea and river routes. That is why the assimilation of coastal culture was faster than in mountainous areas.<sup>26</sup>

The development of Islam in Mandar was also influenced by the arayang or maraqdia who embraced Islam, then followed by the traditional rulers. Seeing this, the people also flocked to embrace Islam. They did this to follow their king, so there was no coercion or intimidation in it, besides that they also saw the commendable temperament or characteristics of the proponents of the Islamic religion.<sup>27</sup>

Regarding who the first proponent of Islam in the Mandar land is, it is also still a matter of debate. However, Suradi Yasil in Andi Abbas' writings mentions that those who are considered to be the first group to spread the teachings of Islam in the Mandar land are: Abdurrahim Kamaluddin (Tosalama Binuang). Sheikh Abdul Mannan (Tosalama Salawose). Sheikh Zakaria (Puang in Somba). Raden Suryodilogo (Kampung Java). Sayyid al-Adiy (Guru Gaqde).

Based on news from Balanipa, the first spreader of Islam in Mandar was

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<sup>25</sup>Andi Abbas, Rereading Mandar, (Makassar: Philosophia Press, 2015), p. 126.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid, p. 128

<sup>27</sup>Ahmad Asdy, The Nature and Values of Mandar Culture, (Mandar: Mahaputra Mandar Foundation, 2014), p. 76.



Abdurrahim Kamaluddin (Sheikh Bil Ma'ruf) who was later known as Tosalamaq in Binuang. Before going to Balanipa, he spread Islam in the Binuang kingdom first. His arrival in Binuang was unknown to anyone, but when he performed prayers he was witnessed by the Binuang community. They also reported it to Arung Binuang because they felt strange seeing the behavior of Sheikh Bil Ma'ruf. After being picked up to meet Arung Binuang, Sheikh Bil Ma'ruf introduced himself and conveyed the purpose of his arrival in the Binuang Kingdom.<sup>28</sup>

After settling for some time and the teachings of Islam that he spread had been adopted by the majority of the people in Binuang, he then headed to the kingdoms of Balanipa and Banggae because he felt the need to spread Islam in other kingdoms. Sheikh bil Ma'ruf used the sea route and landed on the land of Tomangangalleq (Tammangalle), Balanipa.<sup>29</sup>The first person to embrace Islam at that time was Kanne Cunnang Maraqdia Pallis, then followed by Kakanna I Pattang with the title Daetta Tommuane who at that time served as the fourth Arajang Balanipa.

The Islamic teachings taught by Abdurrahim Kamaluddin were easily accepted by the community because of his very polite and noble character in conveying the message of Islam. His approach to the community was also supported by his understanding of Mandar. Before his arrival in the land of Mandar, Abdurrahim Kamaluddin could already speak Mandar and already knew about the nature and character of the Mandar people. His understanding of Mandar was known from his teacher Syekh Yusuf who was titled Tuanta Salamaka, the son of Sultan Alauddin who had a kinship with the Mandar people.<sup>30</sup>This made Islamic teachings in the Balanipa kingdom develop rapidly, even Kakanna I Pattang Daetta Tommuane who at that time served as Arajang Balanipa made Islam the official religion of the Balanipa kingdom.<sup>31</sup>

The entry of Islam into the Balanipa kingdom caused an addition to the government system, namely the placement of Maraqdiana Syara or in more popular terms called Qadi. The position was then filled by Abdurrahim Kamaluddin and made him the first Maraqdiana Syara in the Balanipa kingdom.<sup>32</sup>

After feeling that Islamic teachings had been firmly established in the Balanipa kingdom, Abdurrahim Kamaluddin then asked permission to return to Binuang. After returning to Binuang, he never left the Binuang area again until the end of his life and was buried in Ammasangnan which is now known

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<sup>28</sup>Andi Abbas, *Rereading Mandar*, (Makassar: Philosophia Press, 2015), p. 129.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.,

<sup>30</sup>Ahmad Asdy, *The Nature and Values of Mandar Culture*, (Mandar: Mahaputra Mandar Foundation, 2014), p. 129.

<sup>31</sup>Andi Abbas, *Rereading Mandar...*, p. 130.

<sup>32</sup>Ahmad Asdy, *The Nature and Values of Mandar Culture...*, p. 131.

as Salama Island. After the death of Abdurrahim Kamaluddin, the spread of Islam was continued by his students Sheikh al-Ma'ruf who was titled Sayyid Losa and Sheikh al-Magribi who was titled Sayyid Kitta who came from Morocco.

The spread of Islamic teachings in the Banggae kingdom was brought by Sheikh Abdul Mannan who had the title Tosalama Salabose around the 16th century AD or the 17th century AD. The Banggae kingdom at that time was led by Tomatindo in Masigi and the first to embrace Islam was Maraquadia Tondoq.<sup>33</sup>

The spread of Islam in Pamboang occurred in the 17th century AD brought by Syekh Zakaria with the title Puang in Somba together with Raden Suryodilogo with the title Kapuang Jawa. Both were students of Sunan Bonang who previously spread Islamic teachings in Kalimantan. Pamboang at that time was led by I Salarang Daeng Malarri with the title Tomatindo in Agamana.<sup>34</sup>

Suradi Yasil in Andi Abbas's writing explains that the entry of Islam in Mandar was brought by Sayyid al-Adiy with the title Guru Gaqde who came from Arabia and was also a descendant of Maulana Malik Ibrahim in Java.<sup>35</sup> He was buried in Lambanan. One of his students, Tuan di Bulo-Bulo, went to the Pitu Ulunna Salu region to spread Islam in the Mandar mountains. The first person to embrace Islam was Indo Kada Nene with the title Todilamung Sallang. Todilamung Sallang's footsteps were then followed by other kings such as Indo Lembang, Tomakaka Mambi, and Tomakaka Matangnga. This made almost the entire Pitu Ulunna Salu region embrace Islam, except Tabang, Tabulahan, and Bambang.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, the Mandar tribe comes from the word Sipamandar which means to strengthen each other. In the language of the Balanipa people, Mandar means river. In addition, information found in H. Saharuddin's book reveals the origin of the word Mandar. According to A. Saiful Sinrang, the word Mandar comes from Mandag which means "light", while according to Darwis Hamzah, it comes from the word Mandag which means "strong". A river flows through the center of the former Balanipa kingdom, and is now known as the Balangnipa River.

Mandar acts as a glue for the unity of the seven coastal kingdoms, known as Pitu Ulunna Salu. In terms of ethnicity, Pitu Ulunna Salu, or better known as Kondozapata, is included in the Toraja tribe (Mamasa and part of Mamuju). However, Pitu Ba'bana Binanga itself has various dialects and languages. These fourteen factions complement each other by strengthening themselves as a nation through the ancestral agreement in Areuan Batu Luyo. The kingdoms

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<sup>33</sup>brahim Abbas, *Mandar Cultural Approach*, cet. 2, 2015. p. 107

<sup>34</sup>Andi Abbas, *Rereading Mandar*, p. 131.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid, p. 132.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid, p. 108.

upstream have an accurate understanding of the situation in the mountains, while the kingdoms at the mouth of the river have a deep understanding of the situation at sea.

Yamin Sani, tells the story of the spirit of "Allamungan Batu Di Laryo" which united the Mandar in the formation of the association "Pitu Ba'bana Binanga and Pitu Ulunna Salu" in a conference that gave birth to the concept of "Sipamandar" (mutually strengthening). They decided to build a mandar in Makassar through cooperation between HA Depu, Abd. Rahman Tamma, Captain Amir, HA Malik, Baharuddin Lopa, SH, and Abd Rauf. These figures had the idea to establish the Mandar province in Captain Amir's house. Along with the separation of South Sulawesi from its parent province, the region is expected to become South and Southeast Sulawesi (Sulseira). Currently, the initiative has been called in further developments.

The idea of forming the Mandar Province was changed into a plan to form the West Sulawesi Province (Sulbar) and this was initiated at HA Depu's house on Jl. Sawerigading No. 2 Makassar, then around 1961 it was declared at the Istana (Plaza) Cinema on Jl. Sultan Hasanuddin Makassar and the struggle continued until the New Order era, the struggle continued but always met a dead end which finally this struggle seemed to be frozen until the Reformation era, this struggle was again attempted by Mandar community leaders as the successors of the struggle of the previous generation, among the initial initiators only HA Malik was still alive, but had also died in the struggle and in 2000 it was declared at the Heroes' Cemetery for 40,000 Victims in Galung Lombok then continued with the First West Sulawesi Congress which was held in Majene with the approval and support of the Regent and Chairman of the DPRD of Mamuju Regency, Majene Regency and Polmas Regency.<sup>37</sup>

Since 2005, three regencies (Majene, Mamuju and Polewali Masama) have officially separated from South Sulawesi Province to become West Sulawesi Province, with the provincial capital in Mamuju City. Furthermore, Polewali-Masama Regency was also divided into two separate regencies (Polewali Mandar Regency and Masama Regency). For quite a long time, this area was one of the most isolated or forgotten areas in South Sulawesi. There are several contributing factors, including, the most important: Its considerable distance from the provincial capital (Makassar), its mountainous geographical conditions with poor road infrastructure, the majority of its population (Mandar ethnic group, and several other small sub-ethnic groups) who are more egalitarian, so that they often have different attitudes from the majority and dominant ethnic groups (Bugis and Makassar) who are more hierarchical (or even feudal).<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> <https://sulbar.tribunnews.com/2021/06/01/history-of-the-formation-of-the-33rd-province-of-West-Sulawesi-indonesia>.

<sup>38</sup> <https://berita.sulbarprov.go.id/index.php/blog/sulawesi-barat>

Based on this opinion, it can be concluded that the Mandar tribe as an ethnic group and community certainly also has a view of life that has been traditional and practiced for generations since long ago. And all of that is recorded orally and in writing in notes called Pappasanna, Rapanna, or pau-pauna Todiolo.

### 3. Mandar Tribe Wedding Customs

West Sulawesi as one of the provinces in Indonesia has a variety of cultures. One of the dominant ones is the Mandar tribe. The Mandar tribe with various cultural diversity has several types of marriages in the Mandar tribe: Sila macoa, an ideal marriage because it is carried out based on the customs or habits of the community and does not conflict with Islamic law. Siala soroq (retrogressive marriage), namely the marriage is carried out simply and married according to religious law, after there is an opportunity and funds, the ceremony is held. The factors that influence this are because both candidates are still children, looking for a good day, not being able to hold a party properly, and so on. Here, the bride and groom cannot have a relationship until the party is over. Sipalaiang or siaindongan, namely elopement carried out by a man and a woman who already love each other and this is done by agreement of both. Naottong or Maqottong, namely the woman goes to the man's house or the imam's house and asks to be married. This happens if the woman has been humiliated by the man. Maoppoq siriq (covering shame), namely if the woman has been impregnated by a man but the man does not want to take responsibility. To cover up the disgrace of the woman's family, the woman's family will look for another man to marry their daughter, and Sigengei, which is a marriage that occurs because they are caught red-handed having a relationship. If this is found by the community, then it will be taken to the priest to be married properly because it is considered to pollute the village and can bring disaster.<sup>39</sup>

The Balanipa Kingdom, as the largest kingdom in Mandar with significant influence, experienced the entry of Islam since the 16th century in the Mandar region. The government system in the Balanipa Kingdom during that period was passed down from generation to generation, following Islamic principles. The lifestyle and life in Mandar today reflect a mindset that is manifested in orderly behavior. The concept of human behavior patterns in a society reflects one aspect of culture. This develops from the way of thinking and behavioral concepts that are part of the cultural system of society. In the Mandar context, one of the parameters for distinguishing people vertically is the calculation of blood concentration. This blood content is influenced by relationships between individuals through marriage, and this blood inheritance occurs from generation to generation. This practice is of particular concern in Malay and Mandarin societies. The symbolic calculation of blood concentration, based on marriage between social strata in Balanipa (Mandar) society, is still firmly held.

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<sup>39</sup>Muh. Idham Khalid Bodi, Sibaliparri: Gender of Mandar Society, (Solo: Zadahaniwa Publishing, 2016), p. 242.

Many Mandar people believe that kinship groups appear to be formed because of economic and political interests. However, through deeper observation, we realize that economic and political aspects are only one part of the complexity of relationships between different individuals. Interactions among members of the Mandar community facilitate various social relationships that are crucial for individuals and society as a whole. It also serves as a moral foundation that binds individuals to their groups.<sup>40</sup>

Mandar traditional marriages have existed and been a tradition that has been carried out for a long time, before the king and the people of Mandar themselves converted to Islam. Until now, the Mandar traditional marriage tradition continues to undergo transformation. The transformation between customs and culture and Islamic law is a feature that colors Mandar weddings to this day. The names are also variously *siala*, *likka*, and *nikka*.<sup>41</sup>

Marriage for the Mandar community in general has more meaning than just the union of a man and a woman as husband and wife with the aim of establishing a family and raising children. Marriage also includes the relationship between a wife and her husband's family members, considered a legal relationship involving economic, social, and political factors. When engaging in a traditional marriage, the involvement of two families is considered as mutual support and as a foundation for kinship relationships that support family harmony and peace. Therefore, traditional institutions play a very important role in carefully regulating Mandar traditional marriages, considering the importance of maintaining positive relations between the two families involved. The formal process of a Mandar traditional marriage consists of a series of steps that are regulated with careful etiquette. Everything, from the choice of clothing, the food served, the time of the event, to the implementation of the wedding ceremony in accordance with the established procedures and traditions. Every detail, even those that seem trivial such as the words spoken, has its own meaning and significance in the context of a Mandar traditional marriage.

Based on this opinion, it can be concluded that the customs of Mandar marriage culture still maintain the tradition of matchmaking that has been passed down from ancestors that cannot be eliminated until now. The occurrence of customary marriage means the enactment of kinship ties to be able to help each other and support harmonious and peaceful family

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<sup>40</sup>Akbar Prikarsa Dwi Putra, *Implementation of Mandar Customary Marriage Values in the Sustainability of Husband and Wife Relations in Bonde Village, Campaalgian District, Polewali Mandar Regency*, (Makassar: Makassar State University).

<sup>41</sup>Ahmad Darwis, *Review of Islamic Law on the Implementation of Mandar Customary Marriage in Polman Regency, West Sulawesi*, (Faculty of Sharia and Law, UIN Alauddin Makassar, 2015), p. 38.

relationships between the two families.

#### **4. Coastal and Mountain Community Life**

##### **a. Coastal Communities**

The definition of coastal communities from various sources refers to groups of people whose lives are mostly or throughout their lives influenced by activities around the sea. The main livelihood in coastal areas is usually related to fishing, although there are also jobs outside of fishing, such as civil servants, shop owners, contractors, hairdressers, and various companies in other service sectors. Coastal communities, especially those whose livelihoods are dominated by fishermen, face the challenge of competing with the ocean to achieve income, and often they cannot fully control the amount of income they earn. As a result, coastal communities, such as fishermen, tend to be humble, resilient, and open in facing their daily lives.

Coastal communities are communities that live and carry out activities in coastal and ocean areas. Or in Mandar language it is known as the Pa'biring community. So coastal communities in the Mandar area are communities that live together in coastal areas forming and having a unique culture, dependence on the use of coastal and ocean resources, consisting of fishermen owners, fishermen laborers, fish farmers, fish traders and others.

##### **b. Mountain People**

Mountain communities are those who live in highland areas or mountain areas. Their jobs are the same as coastal communities, some of them are fishermen. The rest are farmers or ranchers.

In general, people living in mountainous areas have a farming culture, fertile soil conditions allow them to carry out farming activities, so farming is a very striking culture for mountain communities. The daily lives of mountain communities in the Mandar area, in addition to farming and raising livestock, also work as employees, although only a few people.

##### **c. Coastal and Mountain Community Interaction**

Social interaction is a dynamic social relationship that concerns the relationship between individuals, between groups of people, or between individuals and groups of people. Social interaction between groups of people occurs between these groups as a whole and usually does not concern the individuals of its members. This interaction is more striking when there is a clash between individual interests and group interests.<sup>42</sup>

In the context of social interaction, it is undeniable that social class differences are present in the dynamics between coastal and mountainous areas. Dwi Narwoko and Bagong Suyanto stated that the concept of class refers to a certain rank or strata in the social hierarchy structure. As a

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<sup>42</sup>M. Fandi Maradjabessy, Social Interaction of the Tidore Islands City Student Forum in Manado City, *Holistic Journal*, Vol 12 No 1, 2019, p. 4.

consequence, social class is often interpreted as a group whose members generally have similarities in political orientation, cultural values, attitudes, and social behavior. For example, upper middle class people have different characteristics from poor people, not only in terms of appearance. However, they also tend to have differences in political ideology, values, attitudes, and daily behavior. This difference is also manifested between coastal and mountainous communities, which is based on geographical differences. Coastal communities are considered to have a higher social status compared to mountainous communities in social dynamics. Simply put, differences in social class can occur and be seen from the large difference in average income of a person every day or every month. However, as Paul B. Horton and Chester L. Hunt said in Narwoko and Bayong Suyanto, the formation of stratification and social classes in it is actually not only related to money, position, or work. Social stratification is a stratum or layering of people who have the same position in a continuum or series of social status units. Members of a particular social stratum often have relatively the same amount of income. However, more importantly, they have the same attitudes, values and lifestyles. The lower a person's position in the social stratification, the fewer their social associations and relationships. There is a strong tendency for the poor to generally withdraw from common etiquette, they develop their own subcultures which are often in conflict with the subcultures of the social classes above them.<sup>43</sup> As for the mountain community (Pa'buttu), according to him it has become commonplace that coastal communities (Pa'biring) always consider them low or do not have high social status because basically coastal communities are considered good and honorable. Even though they have higher positions compared to the coast, it cannot change their social status.

##### **5. Marriage Prohibition of Coastal and Mountain Mandar Tribes**

As mentioned earlier, in Mandar society, marriage is not only a physical and spiritual bond between husband and wife, but also a bond between the man's family and the woman's family which is also believed to create a family relationship between the two. This will form a larger family unit. The importance of household life for Mandar people is cooperation and helping each other in all things, be it light work or heavy work. Traditional wedding ceremonies in the Mandar area also include local cultural values such as Sianaung pa'mai, Sirondoi-rondoi and Siballiparri.

The implementation of these cultural values is very easy to see, especially when entering the stages of the wedding procession, such as: maccanring, mappessang, maqlolang, metindor and marola. All stages of this marriage will

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<sup>43</sup>Taufik Mukmin, The Relationship between Education and Social Stratification, *Jurnal el-Ghiroh*, Vol. 15 No. 02, 2018, p. 33.

not be successful if the local cultural values as mentioned are not implemented properly. Therefore, the involvement of relatives, neighbors, close people or friends in providing assistance or contributions, whether in the form of material, energy or thoughts is very much needed.

The culture in one of the areas in Polewali Mandar, has an unwritten rule that is understood by all people in the area, namely regarding marriage between coastal and mountain communities. Where coastal communities prohibit marriage with those who are not their own kind. And if the marriage is carried out, it means that they have committed a violation and their families consider them to have never existed or never been born in this life.

The tradition of prohibiting marriage in this community is due to the geographical differences between the coast and the mountains (Pa'biring and Pa'buttu). They believe that marriage is not only a matter of the bond between a woman and a man becoming a legitimate husband and wife before religion and law, but marriage is a new lineage that can continue the lineage and maintain the old lineage and change social status.

As in some statements mentioned by some coastal communities, they prohibit marriage between coastal and mountain communities because coastal communities consider that the status of coastal community families (pa'biring) is above that of mountain communities, where the status of coastal family communities (pa'biring) is also referred to as a noble family (tania sambona). For coastal communities, mountain communities are considered less up to date, so it is not appropriate to marry coastal communities when viewed from a social status perspective.

In Antoni Gramsci's thinking, regarding the theory of cultural hegemony, it can be explained that hegemony is a power or domination over the values of life, norms, or culture of a group of people which eventually turns into a doctrine against other groups of people where the dominated group consciously follows it. The group that is dominated by another group does not feel oppressed and feels that it is something that should happen.

If reflected into the life of the coastal and mountainous Mandar tribe regarding the prohibition of marriage on the basis of geography, it can be explained that the coastal community (Pa'biring) controls the mountain community (Pa'buttu) using ideology. In this case, the coastal community as the dominant class engineers the awareness of the mountain community so that without realizing it, they are willing and support the power of the dominant class. The mountain community which is dominated by the coastal community does not feel oppressed and feels that it is something that should happen. According to him, for us, the mountain community, it is commonplace that the coastal community always considers us low or does not have a high social status because basically the coastal community is considered good and honorable. Even though we have a higher position than the coastal



community, it cannot change our social status.

## **B. CONCLUSION**

Based on the discussion above, several conclusions can be drawn: Traditional marriage in the Mandar tribe still takes into account marriage between social levels, so that the customs and traditions of Mandar marriage culture still maintain the tradition of matchmaking that has been passed down from generation to generation. The interaction between coastal and mountain communities in their daily lives is well established, although it cannot be denied that in the process of interaction there are differences or social stratification. The basis of people's understanding of the prohibition of marriage for coastal and mountain Mandar is based on geographical differences. Coastal communities are considered to have a higher social strata than mountain communities, so those who violate this tradition will be considered to have committed a violation and they are never considered in the family or never born in this life.

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