LEGAL ISSUES OF GANTI TIKAR MARRIAGE IN BUGIS WAJO CUSTOM IN EAST TANJUNG JABUNG REGENCY

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Abstract

Tanjung Jabung Regency, the author's research area, has various tribes: Bugis, Banjar, Batak, Java, and Padang. The Bugis tribe is further divided into Bugis Wajo, Bone and Pinrang tribes. Because their customs also have differences, the author only focuses on the Bugis Wajo tribe community because the Bugis Wajo tribe has traditions or customs that are still thick about marriage. The study focuses on the legal issues of ganti tikar marriage in Bugis Wajo customs in East Tanjung Jabung Regency. The research method used is empirical legal research with a socio-legal approach. The result of this study is that the marriage of ganti tikar by Bugis Wajo in East Tanjung Jabung Regency is permissible and valid as long as the terms and conditions of marriage are fulfilled. At the same time, in positive law, it is a traditional marriage that can be carried out as long as it does not conflict with applicable regulations.

Keywords: Legal issue, ganti tikar marriage, Wajo Bugis customs.

Introduction

The Unitary Republic of Indonesia has an area of 1,904,569 KM². It is inhabited by various ethnic groups who believe in various religions, and adhere to various customs and cultures with their characteristics. These customs have been influenced by various religious teachings such as Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism.¹ With the existence of the State of Indonesia, a Unitary State was realized

with the motto Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, which means different but still one in the container of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. With the development of the times, the customs that exist amid a diverse society continue to be maintained by the indigenous people, including marriage customs.

Human life has several stages, including infancy, elimination, childhood, adolescence, puberty, marriage, post-marriage, pregnancy, and the elderly. A feast or ceremony is usually held during the transition from the previous life stage to the next life stage. A universal feast or ceremony is traditionally held during the transition from one life stage to the next. This ceremony also has an important social function, among others, to inform the public about the changes in the level of life that has been achieved.²

Marriage is a very important event,³ because it involves the value system of human life and is a sacred task for humans to develop good offspring, useful for society. The problem of marriage is not only the business of the two prospective brides who will marry or personal affairs but the affairs of the family, relatives, and community affairs with interrelated interests. Marriage is closely related to religion or spirituality, especially in a country based on Pancasila, where the first principle reads "God Almighty".⁴

Marriage comes from the word Nikah, which means to collect and insert each other, and it is used to refer to intercourse (Wathi). According to Article 2 of the

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Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI).\textsuperscript{5} marriage is a very strong contract or \textit{miitsaqon gholiizhan} to obey the commands of Allah and carrying it out is an act of worship.\textsuperscript{6}

Marriage must be based on praiseworthy intentions and willingness from both the man and the woman. This is very mandatory so that the marriage that is carried out can be worth the reward and also bring benefits and virtues. Quoted from Psychology of Marriage Diving into the Secrets of Marriage by Muhammad Iqbal, Marriage is an act of worship; therefore, someone who is capable/capable and intends to get married to carry out the teachings of Islam will get a reward, so the marriage is counted as worship. By marrying, Muslims can get abundant virtues, including perfecting half of the religion and bringing peace. This is as explained in the following hadith about marriage:

\begin{equation}
\text{إذا تزوج العبد فقد كمل نصف الدين، فليتَّقو الله في النصف الباقي}
\end{equation}

‘If a person marries, he has completed one-half of his religion. Therefore, fear Allah in the other half.’ (HR. Al Baihaqi)\textsuperscript{7}

Each wedding ceremony has majesty, beauty, and uniqueness in human life. Marriage is an important event and has a very sacred value. Through marriage, a person will break away from the previous family environment to build a new family. As unique as marriage is, everyone wants to celebrate it in a sacred and festive wedding ceremony involving relatives and other elements of society.\textsuperscript{8}

According to customary law, marriage is a matter of kin, family, fellowship, and dignity, not a private matter, depending on the structure of the community concerned. Based on customary law in Indonesia, marriage is not only a civil union but also a customary union and, at the same time, a kinship and neighbourly union.

\textsuperscript{7} Qur\’an al Karim surah Al Rûm verse 21. and hadith (HR Al Baihaqi).
The occurrence of marriage ties not only has consequences for civil relations, such as the rights and obligations of husband and wife, joint property, the position of children, and the rights and obligations of parents, but may involve customary relations of inheritance, kinship, kinship, neighbourliness as well as concerning traditional and religious ceremonies.⁹

In addition, it also concerns the obligation to obey religious commands and prohibitions, both in human relations with God (worship) and human relations with fellow humans (mu'amalah)¹⁰ in the association of life to be safe in this world and the hereafter. Customary marriage law is the procedure by which customary law regulates the form of marriage, how to propose it, the marriage ceremony, and the dissolution of marriage in Indonesia. The rules of customary marriage law in Indonesia are diverse due to the nature of society, customs, religion, and beliefs of different communities.

With marriage, a person will experience a change in position (status), namely from a girl/virgin to a family, and by the community, will later be assigned duties and obligations that are different from before. However, marriage does not always go as expected because it breaks up in the middle of the road. Article 38 of Law No. 1 of 1974 states that marriage can be broken up by death, divorce, and court decision.

Under Indonesian customary law, ganti tikar marriage in patrilineal societies is the practice of marrying a man whose wife has passed away to the sister of his deceased wife.¹¹ This marriage is done without the payment of a new jujuran (the

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tradition of paying or giving gifts to the bride in Bugis custom), as this marriage is considered to continue the function of the first wife.\textsuperscript{12}

Starting from Article 38 of Law No. 1 of 1974, the dissolution of marriage due to death, then in the Bugis Wajo community, especially in Tanjung Jabung Timur Regency, a form of marriage is known, namely a marriage to change mats, which in the Bugis traditional language is called "Botting Sitola Angkalungung". Ganti tikar marriage or botting sitola angkalungung is a marriage that is carried out because one of both husband and wife has died. To continue the integrity of the existing family ties, in that case, one of them, the younger brother or sister who has died, is usually married to the husband or wife who has died.

In East Tanjung Jabung Regency, the author's research area, there are various tribes, namely Bugis, Banjar, Batak, Java, and Padang. The Bugis tribe is further divided into Bugis Wajo, Bone, and Pinrang tribes. Because the customs also have differences, the author only focuses on the people of the Bugis Wajo tribe because the Bugis Wajo tribe has traditions or customs that are still thick about marriage. The importance of taking the Bugis Wajo tribe to see how the Bugis Bajo tribe also carries out the marriage tradition of ganti tikar or can be called changing pairs of candidates by his brother because he died to maintain kinship.

The novelty of this research is that no one has discussed the marriage of ganti tikar by the Bugis tribe. It’s just that some previous studies focus on the marriage traditions of the Bugis tribe, such as in the research on the Socio-Cultural Transition of Bugis Marriage Customs in Makassar 1960,\textsuperscript{13} while research that focuses on ganti tikar marriage is research on the Implementation Process of the Customary Wedding Tradition of "Naik" and "Ngali" in the Gayo Tribe in Gayo Lues Regency.

\textsuperscript{12} Dedi Sumanto, "Customary Law in Indonesia from the Perspective of Sociology and Anthropology of Islamic Law," Juris 17, No. 2 (2018): 181. https://dx.doi.org/10.31958/juris.v17i1.1006.

Of the two studies, the object and place of research differ from the research on ganti tikar marriage by the Bugis Wajo tribe.14

Judging from this background, the authors are interested in raising this issue by pouring it into the form of scientific work with the title Legal issues of ganti tikar marriage in the custom of the Bugis Wajo tribe in East Tanjung Jabung Regency with the formulation of the problem of what are the legal consequences of the ganti tikar marriage of the Bugis Wajo custom in East Tanjung Jabung Regency and what are the legal issues in the implementation of the ganti tikar marriage of the Bugis custom in East Tanjung Jabung Regency.

Method

The research method used empirical legal research15 with a sociolegal approach.16 The problems studied are the realities in society regarding the norms and rules of law that apply now, which are then linked to implementing ganti tikar marriage in the Bugis Wajo custom in East Tanjung Jabung Regency. In addition, it also uses data analysis by conducting literature studies, reading, examining, and comparing secondary data that has strong relevance in the form of laws and regulations relating to legal issues of anti tikar marriage in Bugis Wajo customs in East Tanjung Jabung Regency.

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Discussion
Legal Issues of Ganti Tikar Marriage in Bugis Wajo

Marriage is the union of two people with different customs and cultures, so in carrying it out, there must be many adjustments, including understanding the economic situation. Bugis Wajo community has a marriage ceremony. The marriage ceremony is called *makkalaibineng*. The implementation of the marriage ceremony has several series, among others:

Table 1. Stages of traditional ceremonies in the Bugis wedding tradition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Traditional ceremony</th>
<th>Implementation Model</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mappesepese</td>
<td>an exploration conducted by a woman's male party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Massuro Madduta</td>
<td>an engagement in which the male party sends a trusted relative or elder to conduct the engagement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mappesepese</td>
<td>does a woman's male party conduct an exploration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mappasiarekeng</td>
<td>Fulfilling, keeping the promise of an agreement that has been made between the male and female parties beforehand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mappettu ada</td>
<td>to determine the dowry and the date of the marriage ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mappasau Botting</td>
<td>A treatment the bride-to-be undergoes before her wedding day. This tradition generally lasts three consecutive days until the arrival of the D-day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mappanre Temme</td>
<td>the implementation of <em>khotmu Al-Qur’an</em> (recitation of the holy book until completion) for the prospective groom and bride. Mappacci means purifying the soul and body from all the bad things the bride and groom have done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mappasili</td>
<td>a watering event. The purpose of this ritual is to cleanse the bride-to-be and ward off any unwanted misfortune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mappenre Boting and Madduppa Boting</td>
<td>The procession of escorting or parading the groom to the bride’s house with a procession without the presence of parents.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the implementation of ganti tikar marriage, the Bugis Wajo custom, in particular, is mutual for the implementation of ordinary marriages. Likewise, in traditional ceremonies, there is no difference between ganti tikar and other common marriages.

1) Reasons that lead to ganti tikar marriage

A ganti tikar marriage is a form of marriage that takes place in a family by marrying the younger brother or sister-in-law of the deceased wife or husband. This means that a marriage is entered into with the younger brother or sister of the deceased (by marrying his sister or brother-in-law).

Ganti tikar marriage in the Bugis community of Wajo is believed that family relations will remain established with this marriage. The affection of the children from the previous marriage is fulfilled, and the property that existed before is protected so that it does not fall to the other party. Although the custom of ganti tikar marriage is not recorded in Islamic law, it is justified as long as it does not contradict the arguments of Shara’ and does not damage the faith. This kind of custom is called ‘urf sahih, a correct custom that can be used as a legal consideration. If the custom of ganti tikar marriage is contrary to Shara’s and damaging to the faith, it is not permitted.

The positive impact of ganti tikar marriage is that the replacement wife can provide offspring for the continuation of the family if the deceased wife does not have offspring if she already has offspring. This allows children to be taken care of,

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10 Mappasikarawa: an event held after the marriage contract. The bride invites the groom to the bridal chamber to meet his wife.

11 Mapparola: the arrival of the female bride's family to the male bride's residence for friendship.

12 Massita Beseng: a pilgrimage to the ancestors' graves performed by the bride and groom one day after the end of the wedding ceremony.

Source: Compiled by the author from multiple references.

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18 Abdul Fatta, "Review of Islamic Law on Marriage Down the Bed in the Tradition of the Galesong Community (Case Study in Parambambe Village, Galesong District, Takalar Regency)" (Faculty of Sharia and Law, Alauddin State Islamic University Makassar, 2020), 1-14.
receive love from a mother, and maintain kinship relations between the two relatives who have been bound in the marriage relationship. As for the negative impact of the marriage of ganti tikar, it is feared that it will become the gossip of many people who are not good in the community.\textsuperscript{19}

From the results of the research that conducted the marriage of ganti tikar. Data and information were obtained as listed in the table as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>H. Pewa</td>
<td>Died</td>
<td>Husband marries his wife's sister again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Andi Amiruddin</td>
<td>Died</td>
<td>Husband marries his wife's sister again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>H. Ali</td>
<td>Died</td>
<td>Husband marries sister of deceased wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Source: the results of the author's research.}

It can be concluded that, in general, Ganti Tikar's marriage occurred because his wife died, so her husband returned to marry her sister or brother-in-law. Although a husband has died, his wife will be married to the husband's brother. But this rarely happens.

From the limitations of the above definition and the table regarding the deceased party who caused the marriage to replace the mat, it can be easier to find the reasons that encouraged them to do the marriage of changing the mat in East Tanjung Jabung Regency, especially the Bugis Wajo traditional community, and also make it easier to answer the next problem. The reasons that encourage them to do the marriage of changing the mat are, among others:

a) The internal factor is that they carry out a matrimonial change because of the desire to look after and take care of the children who have been left behind by the wife or husband who has died first so that the children left behind do not become neglected and unattended and the loss of affection from the previous parents.

\textsuperscript{19} Reza Nur Fikri, "Marriage Down the Bed in the Tradition of the Betawi People", (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta, 2018), 87-89.
b) The external factor is that those who marry to replace the mats are doing so to maintain and preserve the existing kinship ties so that they are not cut off because one of them has passed away. Another reason for marrying to change mats is to maintain the integrity of the property left behind so that it does not fall to the other party.

Based on the customs of the Wajo Bugis tribe who perform marriages, the classification of answers can be seen in the following table:

**Table 3. Reasons for the occurrence of marital changes in the Wajo Bugis Tribe Customs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Reasons that lead to g anti tikar marriage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Factor in which is to take care of the children.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Exit factor To maintain family ties so as not to be cut off</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exit factor To protect the inheritance, it should not fall into the hands of other parties.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: research results*

It can be concluded that the reason for the Bugis Wajo traditional community to hold a matrimonial change is due to: a) To take care of the children left behind so that they are not neglected; b) To strengthen the family relationship; and c) To protect the inheritance, so that it does not fall to other parties.

2) Implementation of Ganti tikar Marriage

The marriage procedure goes through several stages/levels as follows:

a) Application Stage

At this early stage, for the Bugis Wajo indigenous community to enter into a marriage for the second time or more, the woman must first go through a waiting period, as also regulated in Article 39 of Government Regulation No. 9.
of 1975, where paragraph 1 sub a reads "If the marriage is broken up due to death, the waiting period is set at 130 days.\textsuperscript{20}

In the Bugis Wajo custom, marriage can be held at least one year after the death to replace the mat. The proposal is carried out when the male family sends one of the oldest closest relatives to visit the home of the female family to hold a proposal ceremony. If the proposal is accepted, then a good day and month are sought to hold the wedding and the marriage ceremony.

b) Marriage Stage

The wedding day arrives after both parties have determined the day and month. Implementing \textit{i}jab \textit{kabul} is usually carried out at the bride's place, the Mosque, and the Office of the Head of Religious Affairs (KUA). Still, it can also be done at the groom's house, where two witnesses witnessed it.

c) The marriage solemnization stage

The wedding ceremony can be held at the bride's and the man's residences. However, according to the author's research, the reception of ganti tikar marriage in the Bugis Wajo custom is generally carried out in one place only, whether at the bride's or the man's residence, depending on the agreement of the two families. This is called "massiddi" in Bugis terms, meaning to unite.

\textbf{Legal Consequences of Ganti Tikar Marriage}

With the implementation of a ganti tikar marriage in the Bugis Wajo custom, by Law No. 9 of 1974 and its implementing regulations PP No. 9 of 1975, it means that a significant event has occurred in the life of the community and the nation because the marriage event can also cause legal events that are inseparable from all

the consequences.\textsuperscript{21} The legal consequences arising from a marriage event replace the mat in question concerning several aspects: the legal relationship between the husband and the wife, the legal relationship between parents and children, and those concerning legal relations with property or wealth.\textsuperscript{22} Some legal relationships include:

1) Legal Relationship between Husband and Wife

As a Bugis Wajo customary society that adheres to a patrilineal (fatherly) line of relatives, it dramatically affects the relationship between the husband and his wife, with the implementation of marriage changing the mat directly in the wife becomes a relative of the husband’s family so that the wife must obey and submit to the husband.\textsuperscript{23} After the marriage has taken place, all external affairs of the household are handled by the husband, such as carrying out certain legal acts, for example in buying and selling transactions, giving gifts, and taking care of property, such as taking care of gardens, vehicles, all of which are carried out by the husband.\textsuperscript{24}

In Bugis Wajo’s custom, the husband must fulfil household needs, although his wife sometimes helps him. Household affairs are the full obligation of the wife, and she is responsible for carrying out specific legal actions, such as buying and selling transactions and other legal actions, that the husband mainly carries out as the head of the household. \textsuperscript{25}


\textsuperscript{25} Fitri Hidayat, "Interpretation of Judges Toward Fasid and Batil Marriage", \textit{Trunojoyo Law Review}, 1 No.1 (2019), 61-75 https://doi.org/10.21107/trlr.v1i1.5259
2) Parent-Child Relationship

With the implementation of ganti tikar marriage in the Bugis Wajo custom, the husband and wife become parents with their children. According to the Bugis Wajo custom, parents must care for the children left behind.\textsuperscript{26}

Problems Arising Before the Marriage of Ganti Tikar Marriage

One problem in marriage is the economy. New married couples must be able to adapt to or accept economic conditions at the beginning of the marriage. In this last sub-chapter, the author wants to raise the problems that arose before the marriage of ganti tikar, namely the existence of two understandings about the marriage of ganti tikar in the sense if there is a marriage of ganti tikar it means that there will be no other women or other men so that they are married again with their sister-in-law or brother-in-law. In ganti tikar marriages, it is also not so difficult to understand each other's economic situation because, in the past, they have established kinship relations knowing each other's financial situation.\textsuperscript{27}

In ganti tikar marriage, finding tolerance, respect, and help between partners is not difficult. These marriages are done to maintain the psychology of the children of the previous marriage. The loss of deep affection will greatly shake the children's souls so that the loss of affection can be replaced with siblings from the mother's side.

As for those who do not support the occurrence of ganti tikar marriage, namely a marriage changing mat occurs, it means that it is as if there is no other man or another woman so that it is married again with a sister-in-law or brother-in-law, if a marriage changing mat is carried out it is feared that it will experience again what the Bugis customary people say is "Mattola" which means that the previous


\textsuperscript{27} Nurul Chomaria, Financial Intelligence ala Muslim Family, (Jakarta: PT Elex Media Komputindo, 2015), 45
marriage was interrupted in the middle of the road by the death of one of the husband or wife, so it is feared that the second marriage is the same as the first marriage in other words, one of them dies again.

Ultimately, this research contributes to the knowledge of the Bugis Wajo indigenous people who live and settle outside of the South Sulawesi region, including in East Tanjung Jabung District, which is territorially quite far from the areas usually inhabited by Bugis people. This paper seeks to convince these communities that the tradition of 'changing mats' marriages that have been taking place is not against the rules of positive law in Indonesia. However, these marriages are conducted outside the Bugis tribe’s territory.

Conclusion

With the implementation of the Bugis Wajo, traditional ganti tikar marriage in East Tanjung Jabung Regency, by Law Number 1 of 1974 and its implementing regulations PP Number 9 of 1975, which produces legal consequences, among others: Legal relationship between husband and wife, Parents' relationship with custom, Property relations. According to Islamic law, changing the marriage mat is permissible and valid as long as the terms and conditions of marriage are fulfilled. According to positive law, from his point of view, a traditional marriage can be carried out as long as it does not conflict with the applicable regulations. From the economic law perspective, it can maintain the continuity of business and inheritance from previous marriages so that they will not move to other people. In addition, from a psychological perspective, it is practised to maintain the psychology of the child due to the loss of the mother/father. Meanwhile, the sociological perspective suggests it will allow the couple and family to adapt.

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Nurul Chomaria, *Financial Intelligence ala Muslim Family*, Jakarta: PT Elex Media Komputindo, 2015


