

## Review of 'Urf towards The Ritualization of Marriage in Gunung Meriah, Aceh

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### Abstract

This study aims to analyze the series of marriage traditions in the Gunung Meriah community, Aceh, using the theory of 'urf. The series of traditions consist of *ubengan*, *wearing sindur*, *kembar mayang*, *dulungan*, *lempar sirih*, and *bakar menyanyan*, all of which are carried out after the *ijab-qabul*. This study uses a qualitative approach with ethnographic data collection. The results show that the people of Gunung Meriah maintain a series of traditions around marriage because they are considered good. However, by using the 'urf approach, it can be seen that some of the series of traditions are classified as 'urf *sahihah* or traditions that do not conflict with Islamic law, which consist of *ubengan*, *pakai sindur*, *kembar mayang*, and *dulungan*. Meanwhile, some other traditions have the potential to be classified as 'urf *fasidah* or traditions that are contrary to Islamic law, namely *lempar sirih* and *bakar menyanyan*. In the tradition of *lempar sirih*, if the betel is thrown away, then it is classified as a bad deed, while if the betel is taken, then it is considered good. In the tradition of *bakar menyanyan*, if it is intended to summon the spirits of ancestors, then it is forbidden, whereas if the intention is simply to smell, then it is not forbidden.

**Keywords:** Urf Sahihah; 'Urf Fasidah; Ritualization of Marriage; Gunung Meriah.

### Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis rangkaian tradisi perkawinan dalam masyarakat Gunung Meriah, Aceh, dengan menggunakan teori 'urf. Rangkaian tradisi tersebut terdiri dari *ubengan*, *pakai sindur*, *kembar mayang*, *dulungan*, *lempar sirih*, dan *bakar kemenyan* yang semuanya dilaksanakan setelah *ijab-qabul*. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan pengumpulan data secara etnografis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat Gunung Meriah mempertahankan serangkaian tradisi seputar perkawinan karena dianggap baik. Namun, dengan menggunakan pendekatan 'urf dapat diketahui bahwa sebagian dari rangkaian tradisi itu tergolong 'urf *sahihah* atau tradisi yang tidak bertentangan dengan hukum Islam, yaitu terdiri dari *ubengan*, *pakai sindur*, *kembar mayang*, dan *dulungan*. Sementara itu, sebagian tradisi lagi berpotensi digolongkan sebagai 'urf *fasidah* atau tradisi yang bertentangan dengan hukum Islam, yaitu *lempar sirih* dan *bakar kemenyan*. Dalam tradisi lempar sirih, jika sirihnya dibuang, maka itu tergolong perbuatan yang tidak baik, sedangkan jika sirihnya diambil, maka itu dianggap baik. Dalam tradisi bakar kemenyan, jika dimaksudkan untuk memanggil roh nenek moyang, maka itu terlarang, sedangkan jika maksudnya sekadar berharum-haruman, maka itu tidak terlarang.

**Keywords:** Urf Sahihah; 'Urf Fasidah; Ritualisasi Perkawinan; Gunung Meriah.



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## Introduction

Marriage is a very strong bond to form a *sakinah*, *mawaddah* and *warahmah* family (Uwaidah, 2016). Marriage is part of the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Tarigan, 2004), marriage as one of the worship commanded by Allah swt and his messenger. In Law Number 1 of 1974 Article 1, marriage is defined as the inner and outer relationship of a man and a woman as husband and wife (Tjitrosudibio, 2014).

According to customary law, marriage is not only a civil bond but also a customary bond, namely the relationship between customs, kinship, kinship, neighbourhood, traditional ceremonies (Fauyiani, 2019). Marriage is not only a very noble way to regulate domestic life and offspring, but it can also be seen as a way to get to know each other (Atabik & Mudhiiah, 2016). Marriage has a value equal to half the value of religion. In addition, the value of worship contained in the marriage also has a social meaning (Aziz, 2017).

Marriage is *sunnah mu'akkad* (Sabiq, 2013). But it can also be mandatory if you already have an unstoppable lust and have physical and mental abilities (Ibn Rushd, 1990). The purpose of marriage is to maintain the view and genitals and give birth to pious and pious offspring (Sabiq, 2013). Wahbah Zuhaili said the purpose of a marriage is to realize a marriage that is *sakinah*, *mawaddah* and *warahmah* (Az-Zuhaili, 2009). The implementation of marriage must meet the requirements and pillars (Doi, 2002). Likewise, adjusting the customs that apply in an area.

Each region has their own wedding customs adopted from their ancestors in the past (Khairuddin, 2020). The wedding procession is part of the traditional which has a specific purpose (Pringgawidagda, 2006). A prospective husband is obliged to follow the traditional procession, and if even one of the traditional ceremonies is not carried out, he will be subject to sanctions in accordance with local customs, including in Aceh Singkil (Khairuddin, 2019).

Aceh Singkil is an area that has many tribes (Khairuddin, 2020), including the Singkil (Dianata, 2021) and Javanese tribes, each of these tribes has differences in carrying out marriages. The Javanese in Aceh Singkil, precisely in the village of Blok VI Gunung Meriah, the marriage is a worship that is carried out once in a lifetime, the first and last as a life partner. This sacredness is the background for the implementation of marriage in Javanese society which is very selective and careful when choosing a son-in-law or determining the right time for the implementation of the marriage. The marriage that is carried out must carry out the throwing of betel (*lempar sarih*) at the time of the bride and groom, if it is not done then a marriage *mahligai* will be not good. Therefore,

*lempar sirih* at the time of the steady meeting is part of the requirements for the marriage procession for the Javanese. In addition, it also has the custom of *ubengan*, carrying *manten*, *kembar mayang*, *tbalance* and precedence, all of this is done as well as possible so that the marriage that is taken becomes a lasting family to posterity (Mbah Kemis, Interview: 2021).

The tradition in the ritualization of Javanese wedding customs in the village of Blok VI Gunung Meriah is a tradition that is justified in Islam or this tradition is a wrong tradition. Therefore, the author is interested in examining the problem of how the 'urf reviews related to the ritualization of meeting *manten* in a wedding ceremony in Blok VI Village, Gunung Meriah District, Aceh Singkil Regency.

## **Method**

The research method used is qualitative, with an ethnographic research approach (Dwiloka, 2005) which is a social science research method (Hasan, 2002). His research focal points may include intensive studies of culture and language (Emzir, 2012), or a combination of historical, observation and interview methods (Bungin, 2007). This research was conducted in the village of Blok VI, Gunung Meriah District, Aceh Singkil Regency, Aceh Province.

This research is field research, which conducts in-depth observations and interviews to obtain more valid data on the analysis of the tradition of *lempar sirih* nut at a wedding ceremony in Blok VI village, Gunung Meriah district. In addition, the author also examines several literature books, articles, and so on related to this discussion.

Interviews were conducted by interviewing respondents/resource persons from the research location which consisted of one religious leader, one traditional leader, one community leader and four community members who carried out the betel nut at weddings. Interview time is from 10 June to 2 November 2021.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Traditional marriage rituals in the village of Blok VI Gunung Meriah**

Every wedding carried out must have a different tradition from one place to another (Khairuddin, 2020). The traditions that apply to this day for the people of Block VI, Gunung Meriah District, Aceh Singkil Regency are as follows. First, the groom is moved to the bride's family home which is not too far away. Each bride is decorated by bridal makeup in a different place by wearing Javanese traditional clothes. After that, the bride and groom were accompanied by their respective families from different places. The meeting here is considered by the Javanese tribal community to have the meaning of being able to get rid of bad luck and aims to make the bride and groom happy forever and have children and grandchildren (Teguh, Interview: 2021).

Second, *Gantal/Balanganie* the bride and groom *lempar sirih* nut tied together with thread, filled with several pieces of money, there is no set amount of money depending on the ability of the person who has the intention. *Lempasirih* is not just a tradition, but has a philosophical meaning that is believed to be able to repel all negative influences in fostering a lasting family, so that the bride and groom are happy and happy with each other. This tradition also has the meaning that a wife who used to have an ego, should be removed as she *lempasirih* leaves, as well as her husband who eliminates ego and has more patience like his patience in throwing money during the implementation of the *balangan* tradition.

Third, *bakar kemenyan*, has the meaning of asking the invisible creatures as well as asking the permission of the ruler of the invisible creatures to unite the two brides, be safe and live a long life. Next, the bride and groom face each other, the thumbs of the bride and groom stick together, then the shaman friend reads the creed twice, after that reads "honocoroko dotosowolo podojoyono monggo botongo" meaning that fellow human beings live in marriage. After that, reading "honocoroko coro ancient" means we are following the history of our ancestors (Mbah Kemis, Interview: 2021)

Fourth, *ubengan* that is the bride walks around her partner three times with the meaning as a form of "introduction" between the two brides. With this introduction, it is hoped that each will understand each other's strengths and weaknesses. The groom took off his sandals and stepped on the chicken egg with his feet which had been covered with plantain leaves which were previously covered with a long cloth. The egg that the groom breaks has the meaning of being able to solve negative thoughts so that their minds remain clear and good in fulfilling family life. Then the bride washes the groom's feet with setaman flower water, meaning that the seeds that are passed down are clean from all dirty deeds and the ritual of washing these feet as a sign that a wife must obey and serve her husband (Sarimo, interview: 2021).

Fifth, *pakai sindur*. The bride's father precedes walking forward to the bride's chair, the bride's mother puts a shawl (*sindur*) over the shoulders of the bride and groom. The shawl containing the bride and groom is then pulled by the father and pushed by the mother. *Gendong manten* means that the father of the bride and groom should show the way of life for the bride and groom and the mother supports from behind. In addition, this event also symbolizes that the parents of the bride have completed (completed) their duties/obligations to their children by marrying her off (Arif, Interview: 2021).

There is a philosophical meaning contained in the implementation of *Gendong manten*, namely the father is in the front position with the meaning that the father opens the way for the bride and groom who will grow a new family. While the bride and groom are behind the father, the husband will be the head of the family and they will be together until death comes. Meanwhile, the position of the mother in the back shows that she is the driving force behind the

bride and groom, so that the dreams of the newlyweds can be realized, and are able to deal with all the problems that stand in their way, in other words protecting the family from the marriage contract to death.

Sixth, *kembar mayang* (made from coconut leaves). In the *panggih kembar mayang* ceremony there are usually four pieces and are placed on the right and left of the *decor/rono*. When the *Panggih* ceremony is about to begin, two *kembar mayang* are brought out by two *manggolo* (appointed to pick up the groom), while the other two *kembang mayang* are brought by two *domas* princesses to accompany the bride. When the traditional ritual takes place in the bride and groom, two *kembar mayang* twins accompanying the groom are exchanged for two *kembar mayang* accompanying the bride. The two *kembar mayang* from outside then accompany the bride and groom to the wedding. While the other two *kembar mayang* are taken out of the reception area and are usually dumped on the roof of the host (the bride's parents).

Seventh, The scales are the father of the bride sitting between the bride and groom, the groom's right foot is occupied, the bride's left foot is occupied. A short dialogue between the shaman of *Temanten* and the parents of the bride contains a statement that each bride is balanced.

*Dukun temanten: mbiyen anakmu siji, saiki anakmu loro! opo podo abote? Sebab kalo ora sama mengko dianggap abot sebelah antara anak tiri karo anak kandung* (formerly your child was one, now your child is added one! Are they the same weight? Because if they are not the same, it is considered one-sided).

Eighth, *sungkeman*, in which the bride and groom ask for blessings from both parents, first to the parents of the bride, and then to the parents of the groom. The two brides crouched down and worshiped their parents. Parents receive the *sungkem* of the bride and groom holding out their right hand to be shaken and kissed, while the left hand strokes the bride's head, this is a sign that their marriage is approved by their parents (Joko, interview: 2021).

*Ninth*, the tray is the bride and groom eat together and feed each other. *Make-up* leads the ceremony by giving a plate of yellow rice and side dishes, then the bride and groom take a small spoonful of rice with the side dishes. Furthermore, the bride feeds the groom and vice versa the groom feeds the bride with full of love. The show ended with drinking sweet tea. This symbolizes that the bride and groom are enjoying their company. Family life is also expected to always end sweetly.

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### **Community Perceptions of Gunung Meriah on Ritualization of Marriage Traditions**

Mr. Fahmi, one of the community leaders in Blok VI village on the date that the culture of meeting *manten* and the tradition of *lempar sirih* nut in Javanese traditional marriages is a wealthculture that provides many life lessons. How we try to explore and socialize it is a natural thing to preserve this culture. This is more intended so that Javanese customs do not lose their identity in the current era of globalization which continues to make the younger generation live a westernized life without prioritizing or feeling proud of the traditional culture itself (Fahmi, interview, 2021).

According to Mr. Rusdi, what is called custom must be preserved no matter what the situation is, even though it will disappear with the times. Legacy of ancestors should not be let go at once let alone have to leave this culture, if these meanings are understood and socialized properly it will become a beautiful custom (Rusdi, interview, 2021).

According to Ustadz Muslim Bancin S.Pdi as the Chairman of the Aceh Border Da'i who served in the Aceh Singkil district and at the same time as the Chairman of the Rahmatul Ummah Kindergarten Foundation located in Blok VI Village, Hamlet I, he said that the tradition of meeting *manten* when viewed from a religious perspective was not there is a special explanation, but it is only a series of customs in that place, it may or may not be implemented, it is not prohibited nor recommended. As long as the custom does not contain elements that are contrary to Islamic law, it can still be implemented. It is different if the tradition contradicts Islamic principles such as the tradition of *lempar sirih*, he said that the tradition contains elements of redundancy because in addition to *lempar sirih*, the bride and groom also throw away the money in the scroll. But it will be a benefit for other people if someone takes the money in the betel roll. In addition, if the culture of meeting *manten* has meaning and purpose other than Allah SWT, then the culture contains elements of shirk because it is more directed to other than Allah.

It's another thing if the bride and groom do not know the intent and purpose of the culture, then the bride and groom are not subject to the law of shirk. This is also different from the *Temanten* shaman who thinks and convinces in his heart that the meeting *manten* culture can get rid of bad luck, in order to live happily ever after. Meanwhile, the one who gives harm and benefit is only Allah SWT. So it can be concluded that the meeting *manten* culture may or may not be carried out, it is not prohibited nor recommended. It can be carried out as long as it has no meaning and purpose other than Allah SWT, it is not recommended because at the time of the Prophet this culture was never implemented.

### The Tradition of *Melempar Sirih* in an 'urf perspective

'Urf is one of the methods in establishing a law because it is aware of the fact that custom or tradition has played an important role in regulating human life (Sahid et al., 2020).

'Urf comes from the word 'arafa-ya'rifu (Munawwir, 1997) which means something known (Syarifuddin, 2008). Etymologically, 'urf means something that is considered good (Sodiqin, 2013). While in terminology it means an act or word where the soul feels a calm in doing it because it is in line with logic and can be accepted by society (Abubakar, 2012).

'urf *sahih* (custom), can be used as a legal basis and for a judge to use it in determining a case (Sahid et al., 2020; Abi Hasan, 2021). On that basis, the ushul experts make the following rules:

العادة محكمة

"customs can become law".

الثابت بالعرف كالثابت بالنص

"customs can become law".

Regarding traditional marriage rituals in the village of Blok VI, Gunung Meriah District, Aceh Singkil Regency, when viewed from the perspective 'urf, the custom of *lempar sirih*, *ubengan*, the bride circled her partner three times, *pakai sindur*, *kembar mayang* (made from coconut leaves), *sungkeman*, the bride and groom ask for the blessing of both parents, and the tray is the bride and groom eat together and feed each other, it is not against Islamic law, even the custom has a good gift.

*Lempar sirih* at the manten meeting and on a few pieces of money are immediately taken by people who are near the implementation of the ritual. Next custom *ubengan* has a meaning as the introduction of a man to a woman, as well as *sungkeman* which is part of the teachings of Islam, where a child should apologize to his parents because he will live with his new family. The adat of firsthand is also a religious recommendation, where a husband must treat his wife well, such as feeding his wife and vice versa.

However, the tradition of *bakar kemenyan* to summon spirits is an act that is contrary to religion, and can destroy the aqidah of every Muslim. So this can be categorized as 'urf *fasid* (wrong custom).

These traditions in the wedding ceremony are traditions that have existed for a long time and must be preserved. How we try to explore and socialize it is a natural thing to preserve a culture that is not wrong in religious guidance.

In the Qur'an in the letter al-Baqarah verse 171, Allah SWT has reminded his servants, as for His words:

وَمَثَلِ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا كَمَثَلِ الَّذِي يَنْعُقُ بِمَا لَا يَسْمَعُ إِلَّا دُعَاءَ وَنِدَاءَ صُمُّ بُكُمْ عُمِّي فَهُمْ لَا يَعْقِلُونَ

*“The parable of (those who call) the disbelievers is like that of a shepherd who calls an animal that hears nothing but the call and call, they are deaf, dumb and blind, so (therefore) they do not understand.”*

In the verse it is stated that unbelievers are likened to animals who do not understand the meaning of their shepherd's call. It is certainly not a coincidence that Allah talks about the number of people whose love for the world is equal and even greater than their love for Allah SWT. About the theological relationship between those who follow and those who are followed, about people whose life choices are not based on rationality but solely on the legacy of their predecessors.

Every call that Allah gives to his servant is only effective when combined with a whip. This is also in accordance with the word of Allah SWT in the letter al-Anbiya 'verse 45, as follows:

قُلْ إِنَّمَا أُنذِرُكُمْ بِالْوَحْيِ وَلَا يَسْمَعُ الصُّمُّ الدُّعَاءَ إِذَا مَا يُنذَرُونَ

*“Say (O Muhammad): "Indeed, I only warn you by revelation and there are no deaf people who hear the call, when they are warned.”*

These verses explain that those who oppose or ignore the truth brought by the Prophets and Apostles are like herd animals who hear calls and calls but cannot interpret them so that these calls and calls never enter their consciousness (Az-Zuhaili, 2009). A number of verses of the Qur'an explain that the disbelievers in question are people who claim to be Muslims but whose souls actually deny the calls and calls of the prophets and apostles. If the mind is not functioned, the knowledge received only stops at the senses, empirical knowledge, visible and superficial knowledge. Because we follow the teachings of our ancestors to carry out these traditions which are not based on Islamic teachings, we are obliged to leave.

The Qur'an and Hadith also explain that humans must leave an ancestral heritage that leads us to lose the monotheistic faith of a Muslim. The word of Allah SWT in the letter Luqman verse 21 which reads:

وَإِذَا قِيلَ لَهُمُ اتَّبِعُوا مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ قَالُوا بَلْ نَنْبَغُ مَا وَجَدْنَا عَلَيْهِ آبَاءَنَا أَوْ لَوْ كَانَ الشَّيْطَانُ يَدْعُهُمْ إِلَىٰ عَذَابِ السَّعِيرِ

*“When it is said to them: "Follow what Allah has sent down". They replied: "(No), but We (only) followed what We found Our fathers doing." and Will they (will follow their fathers) even though the devil calls them to the torment of a blazing fire (hell)?”*

The verse above explains that we are only called upon to follow what the Messenger of Allah (PBUH) called, not just follow the teachings of our ancestors without paying attention to the meaning and purpose of these teachings. We are obliged to follow what was revealed by Allah SWT not to follow what was done by our previous parents. And what's even sadder is that the bride and groom



followed what their parents wanted, which in fact had to preserve their ancestral heritage and because they had to be filial to their parents.

Talking about filial piety to parents, the hadith of the Prophet explained as follows:

*"Would you like me to explain as big as a big sin - three times. They replied: Yes, O Messenger of Allah! Then the Prophet said, namely: Associating partners with Allah, disobeying two parents – then he stood leaning back, then sat down, and said: Remember! Lies and false witnesses." (History of Bukhari and Muslim) (Al-Asqalani, 2012).*

The hadith explains like that, here it needs to be emphasized that for things where parents invite to things that are forbidden by Islam Allah SWT has said as follows:

وَوَصَّيْنَا الْإِنْسَانَ بِوَالِدَيْهِ إِحْسَانًا وَالْهَيْئَةُ تَمَكُنُ مِنْهُ وَأُمَّهُ وَهَذَا عَلَى وَهْنٍ وَفِصْلُهُ فِي عَا مَيْنِ أَنْ اشْكُرْ لِي وَلِوَالِدَيْكَ إِلَيَّ الْمَصِيرُ. وَإِنْ جَاهَدَاكَ عَلَى أَنْ تُشْرِكَ بِي مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِ عِلْمٌ فَلَا تُطِعْهُمَا وَصَاحِبُهُمَا فِي الدُّنْيَا مَعْرُوفًا ۖ وَاتَّبِعْ سَبِيلَ مَنْ أَنَا بَ إِلَيَّ ۖ ثُمَّ إِلَيَّ مَرْجِعُكُمْ فَأُنَبِّئُكُمْ بِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ

*"And We have commanded man (to do good) to his two parents; His mother conceived him in a state of increasing weakness, and weaned him in two years. Be grateful to me and to your two parents, only to Me is your return. and if both force you to associate with me something that you do not know about, then do not follow them, and get along well with both in the world, and follow the path of those who return to me, then to me will be your return, so I tell you what you have done". (Surah Al-Luqman: 14-15).*

Every Muslim is ordered to be devoted and do good to parents, in the Sungkeman custom it is shown how a child must bow down and apologize for mistakes to his parents.

## Conclusion

There are two related views about the serial sheet tradition. Carrying the *kembar mayang, sungkeman scale, dulangan, and bakar kemenyan* is a tradition that has a good meaning. Meanwhile, another opinion says that the tradition is like *lempar sirih* and *bakar kemenyan* is a prohibited part. *Lempar sirih* is part of the wasteful behavior, and it is forbidden in religion. Likewise, *bakar kemenyan* for the purpose of summoning the spirits, it is also not allowed. According to the theory of 'urf, performing sungkeman is part of religious teachings as long as there is no cult. Scrub tradition, *pakai sindur, kembar mayang, and tray* is a tradition that has positive values and nothing can conflict with Islam. Meanwhile, the tradition of *lempar sirih* can give rise to two legal possibilities. If the betel is discarded, then it is a wasteful act which is prohibited by religion. However, if the betel is taken and used, then it is permissible. As for the tradition of *bakar kemenyan*, if it is intended to summon the spirits of ancestors, then it is an act of

shirk which is classified as one of the major sins in Islam. However, if the intention is simply to smell good, then the tradition is not forbidden and can be maintained.

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