

# DISCOVERING WISDOM IN GAYO TRADITION WITH REFERENCE TO ISLAMIC EDUCATIONAL VALUES IN MARRIAGE PRACTICE

**Husaini**

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Lhokseumawe  
Jl. Medan-Banda Aceh, Muara Dua, Kota Lhokseumawe, Aceh, 24352  
e-mail: husaini@iainlhokseumawe.ac.id

**Abstract:** This study examines the extent to which Islamic educational values plays in Gayo marriage tradition. By applying a qualitative research methodology where data is obtained through observation, interview and documentation, this study proposes findings that there are several stages in the process of Gayo tradition cultural marriage, they are *muginte*, *segenap* and *begenap begur*, *mujule mas*, *mah bei* and *munenes*. This study finds out that there are Islamic educational values in each stage of the marriage. In general, the marriage process contains values of faith, worship, morals and social. Until now, Gayo cultural tradition, especially the tradition of marriage, where there are many Islamic educational values in it, it is continued to be passed on by the older generation to the younger generation through exemplary, religious guidance and habituation. The effort to cultivate these values has finally been able to create an Islamic society, the heritage of which continues to the present time in the Gayo community.

**Keywords:** values, Islamic education, marriage, Gayo tradition

## Introduction

Gayo tribe is an ethnic group that inhabits Gayo highlands in Aceh. The majority of people are Muslim. According to Mahmud Ibrahim, Gayo people are very fanatical about Islam so that their tradition, culture and education system are all based on Islam. Gayo tribe uses an everyday language called Gayo language which is different from Acehnese. Gayo tribe inhabits four districts, they are Central Aceh Regency, Bener Meriah Regency, Gayo Lues Regency, and Aceh Tamiang Regency. Gayo tribe also inhabits several villages in Southeast Aceh District, Beutong District in Nagan Raya District and Serba Jadi Subdistrict in East Aceh Regency. According to Burhanuddin, Gayo in Malay, Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia, means “beautiful.”<sup>1</sup>

There are many information about the origins of Gayo people. Mohammad Said that the ancestors of Gayo people came from Old Malay. In general, Gayo people came from Old Malay (Hindia rear) who came to Sumatra Island (2500 BC) in the first wave and settled on the island, precisely on the eastern coast of Aceh today, with settlement centers along the mouth of river Jambu Aye, Peureulak river and Tamiang river.<sup>2</sup> T. M. Daud said that in Pase (Pasai) there was a village called Gayo village which was inhabited by Gayo before Islam.<sup>3</sup> Garini connects Gayo with Dargoin and Marcopolo which means Gayo people. According to him, *Nakor* or *Nagor* in the Chinese story is Gayo Country. Population of Peureulak is the oldest and comes from Old Malay. The oldest inhabitants moved to Sumamah Serbejadi, Kalul Pulo Tige, Lingga, Nosar and Isaq via Penarun river. The head of state is called *reje* (king) and the offices below him are called *kejurun* and *penguhulu*, respectively. According to Haji Zainudin, Gayo people live in the interior it does not mean they are afraid to convert to Islam, as the myth associated with the Acehnese language “Ka iyo” (already afraid). This word

is considered to be the origin of word Gayo. Because people of Gayo live in Sumamah, Gayo Lues and Gayo Deret before Islam arrived in Peureulak, which was the first area to convert to Islam in the archipelago. They spread inland through three major river basins, namely Jambo Aye (Kala Jaemer) River, Peureulak River and Tamiang Seruwe River.<sup>4</sup>

Islam entered Peureulak and Pase in the first century Hijriah or the 8th century AD. Gayo people who lived there gradually embraced Islam. When an Islamic missionary force which numbered 100 people consisting of Arabs, Persians and Indians led by Nakhoda Syahir Nuwi from Kambey Gulf Gujarat anchored in Peureulak in 173 AH/800 AD, Gayo people who lived in the region it mingles with them in the government and social processes. They are bound by Islamic brotherhood. At that time, all Gayo people converted to Islam. Previously they embraced animism.<sup>5</sup>

Islamic teachings were preached to Lingga Kingdom by the Peureulak Kingdom scholars. In 181 H., Ahmad Syarif led the implementation of Islamic teachings in Lingga Islamic Kingdom. People in the area lead a new life in an orderly and peaceful manner, because they are bound by the basis of religion and customs in an integrated manner. This principle is outlined in 45 Tradition Articles of Lingga Kingdom Community which were stipulated in the red deliberation (*reje*), scholars, traditional leaders and ingenious cleverness in 450 H/1115AD, after going through a long and lived out process of customary expressions: *urum edet* religion, *zet urum sifet* song, *kin senuwen* religion, *edet in peger*. It means that Islam and Gayo tradition are like substances and characteristics. Religion is as a plant and tradition is as a fence. From this expression it can clearly be seen that integration between tradition and Islamic law is very close and mutually supportive. That tradition may have a function to

support implementation of Islamic religious teachings becomes a principle in the life process of Gayo community, although currently some of the activities of Gayo community are still colored with animism and have not implemented Islamic law in an integrated manner.<sup>6</sup>

From aspect of Gayo tradition, according to Mahmud Ibrahim, Gayo tradition regulates three laws, namely obligatory (must), *warus* (should) and impossible. Gayo proverb says “*Wajib betempat, warus barang kapat dan mustahil nume gere ara atau mustahil gere mendapat.*” It means that what is obligatory must be done at a place and time, what should (be) can be done at any time, while impossible it does not mean not exist anymore but not to get anything.<sup>7</sup> Tradition is a support for implementation of Islamic law, because *ukum mu nukum besifet kalam, edet mu nukum besifet wujud*, it means that Islamic law establishes laws based on the word of Allah and *Sunnah* of the Prophet, while tradition establishes law based on the facts that occur that must be done to support implementation of *sharia*.<sup>8</sup> Gayo tradition was born along with the existence of Gayo community. Initially, Gayo cultural customs embraced animism. When Islam entered Gayo in the 8th century AD or 1 Hijriah, Gayo cultural customary patterns also gradually followed Islamic teachings until today, even though some people are still believe in this animism.

The inheritance of Gayo cultural customs has been carried out by people of Gayo ethnicity, especially in Nasihin village. Conservation will not be able to survive and thrive if it is not supported by the wider community and does not become a real part of life. Therefore, it is necessary to have movers, observers, lovers and supporters from all walks of life. For this reason, it is necessary to develop a strong motivation to be motivated to participate in implementing preservation, namely motivation to protect, maintain and pass down the cultural heritage inherited

from previous generations; motivation to increase knowledge and love of the nation's future generations of the historical values of the nation's personality from time to time through the inheritance of cultural treasures and cultural values that can be seen, remembered and lived; motivation to ensure the realization of a diverse or varied cultural environment; symbolic motivation that believes that local culture is a manifestation of the identity of a group or community so that it can foster a strong sense of pride, self-respect and self-confidence.

Islam is absorbed and colored all aspects of life of Gayo people, from the belief system, kinship, to society. Between Islam and Gayo culture have fulfilled supporting factors for acculturation where customs and traditions of Gayo community have not lost their identity but have been colored by Islamic values and teachings. The existence of a relationship between Islam and local culture of Gayo community because it fulfills the following conditions or principles. Firstly, Islamic values and teachings can be used to replace elements of old culture in Gayo society. For example, the tradition of *kenduri mate* (*nenggari, munujoh, nyawah loh*) which is colored by Islamic teachings can replace the pre-existing tradition of feeding the spirit in Gayo community when embracing animism. Secondly, Islamic values and teachings can replace the old cultural functions. For example, tradition of grave pilgrimage in Islam replaces tradition of worshipping ancestral spirits. Thirdly, Islamic values and teachings can be used concretely in society. For example, to make babies avoid the disturbance of demons and worship of the Lord of Nature as a substitute for activities to honor ancestral spirits and worship of nature. Fourthly, Islamic respect for scholarships and *umara*, in accordance with the culture of Gayo people who have long respected *sarak opat*, namely *reje, imem, and petue*. Fifthly, Islamic teachings on marriage can be integrated with

kinship system in Gayo culture and social elements with alms and worship from Islamic teachings can be integrated with local life patterns of Gayo community.

In general, this article examines Islamic educational values in Gayo tradition marriage. In particular, it will reveal marriage process in Gayo tradition, as well as the educational values contained therein. Then, it will be seen how traditional cultivation in Gayo community in the research location. The study of marriage tradition of a number of ethnic groups in Indonesia has attracted the attention of many researchers.<sup>9</sup> In particular, so far there has been no specific study regarding the values of education in Gayo tradition marriages. Some researchers have indeed studied several aspects of Gayo culture, including research by Sukiman<sup>10</sup> and Syukri.<sup>11</sup> Many researchers have also conducted studies that specifically examine the issue of marriage in Gayo tradition, including research by Maya Apriana & Ikhwan,<sup>12</sup> Indra Setia Bakti, *et al.*,<sup>13</sup> and Nantuhateni Arda.<sup>14</sup> From all of many studies on Gayo tradition marriage, there is no research that specifically examines Islamic educational values in Gayo tradition marriage.

## **Methodology**

This study is based on a qualitative research paradigm. The research data is in the form of written or spoken words of people as well as direct observation.<sup>15</sup> The use of this research method is because the author wants to get a picture of Islamic educational values in Gayo tradition cultural marriage. This research was conducted in Gunung Antara village, Bandar District, Bener Meriah Regency. This location was chosen because people of this area are still adhere to traditional values and culture of Gayo. Sources of data in this study are primary data sources and secondary data sources. Primary sources were the results of interviews

with traditional leaders, village *reje*, then the results of observations and documentation in Gunung Antara Village, Bandar District, Bener Meriah Regency. Secondary sources in this research are books, articles and research results related to the problem being studied. The data analysis in this study used a qualitative descriptive technique. It means that the data collected can be carried out continuously from the beginning to the end of the research inductively, and look for patterns, theories and provide a picture according to what it is according to the reality at the time the research was carried out.<sup>16</sup> Qualitative descriptive data analysis was developed on the basis of the events obtained during the field activity. Data collection and data analysis activities took place simultaneously.

## Results and Discussion

Process of Gayo tradition cultural marriage is an ancestral heritage. This custom is passed down from generation to generation. Regarding this process, Muhammad Thaib as *reje* village of Gunung Antara said:

Actually, there are many traditional Gayo wedding processes, in the past, the process lasted 7 days 7 nights. Along with the times it has changed. Whereas in Gunung Antara village there are six marriage processes, namely *munginte* (proposed), *segenap* and *begenap* (deliberation and family), *beguru* (giving advice), *mujule mas*, *mah bei* (parading the groom), and *munenes* (*ngunduh mantu*).<sup>17</sup>

The process of Gayo tradition cultural marriage is a reflection of behavior, habits and character of the previous community which is used as a legacy of lessons for the next community. The tradition are also not against to Islamic teachings, because tradition and religions have merged into one. Thus, the Gayo tradition is in accordance with Islamic teachings. In the context

of education, there are Islamic educational values contained in the process of Gayo tradition cultural. This is what will be examined in this study.

### **Value in *Munginte* (Winning)**

*Munginte* is the introduction of the two prospective brides' families by establishing friendship. This is not done by the groom's parents directly, but represented by a messenger called the *telangke* (connector) consisting of three or five couples who are closely related to the groom's parents. Wahyu as the Imam of Gunung Antara *village* said:

In my opinion, this *munginte* may contain several educational values, including (1) *ta'aruf* or introduction. Introductions are made by a person or group with the aim of establishing friendship, in this case between family of the prospective bride and the groom, (2) it may not be done directly by the prospective groom or his parents. This practice teaches about giving trust to others.<sup>18</sup>

In the *munginte* event, mothers are the ones who play the most roles. They came with rice, betel bowl and its contents, some money, needles and thread. This baggage is called *penampong ni kuyu* which means as a sign of binding so that the bride's family does not accept applications from other parties.

It is similar stated by Sihar Pandapotan, that in the process of apprenticeship in the traditional of Gayo tradition. Firstly, the *telangke* (intermediary) from the family holds a deliberation about the prospective bride, regarding religion and heredity and especially whether the woman in question has or has not been married to someone else. After an agreement is made, the *telangke* (intermediary) goes to the bride to inform her that the groom's family wants their child to be the son-in-law of the

male family. After the decision was made to be able to come again to the *munginte* at the agreed time, then the *telangke* (intermediary) of the prospective groom returned.<sup>19</sup>

The family of prospective bride is given about 2-3 days to decide whether or not the application from the groom's family will be accepted. During this time, the bride's family usually looks for detailed information on the prospective groom, starting from how he is, his education, religion, behavior, seeds, *bobot* and *bebet*. If the application is accepted, the luggage is not returned to the groom and vice versa.

This implies, in carrying out all actions it is not justified to be greedy, but one has to see phenomenon viewers, further investigate, think, conduct deliberation and so on to make decisions. So that in making decisions do not become regrets later on. Then this attitude teaches someone to refuse kindly and gently to something that is not approved or liked. It can be concluded that the value of Islamic education in the possible process is *ta'aruf* attitude, deliberation, learning to trust others, having good prejudice, positive thinking, assertiveness in determining choices and tolerance.

### **Value in *Segenap* and *Begenap* (Deliberation and Family)**

*Segenap* and *begenap* are attended by community which consists of parents and young people with the aim of helping *empunisinte* (who organized the event) to make success of the event. Deliberations are usually held twice. The first is carried out by close family members, and the second is deliberation between family and community. In this case, Samsul Bahri as the chairman of village said:

*Segenap* of Gunung Antara village is usually held at night after Maghrib prayer, which is attended by the community,

both parents and young people. This event aims to conduct deliberations in order to make success the wedding party. Whereas *begenap*, namely each family member and community member gives rice money, etc., it teaches us the value for helping between families and communities.<sup>20</sup>

Wahyu as the Imam of Gunung Antara also said, “This *Begenap* teaches people to help others, whether that person is in a state of need or vice versa. Whether helping with money, goods, thoughts or services.” It can be concluded that in *segenap* and *begenap* process, there is an educational value that can be learned that it is necessary to conduct deliberations to reach consensus, and to help among fellow community members. Strictly speaking, in *segenap* and *begenap* process, there is a value of deliberation and consensus in deciding a problem and the value of helping.

### **Value in *Beguru* (Value of Advice)**

The *Beguru* program is held after the evening program *begenap*. This event is generally held in the morning but some are held in the afternoon after the Asar prayer, even up to Maghrib prayer. *Beguru* means learning, where the bride and groom will be given various advice and instructions about building a household.

*Beguru* program are held at the house of prospective bride/groom, and it is also accompanied by a tribal event (wailing) in which the bride/groom performs *sungkeman* to his/her parents to ask for blessings and prayers. Marzuki as the Imam of Gunung Antara village said:

*Beguru* has many values including: (1) teaching people to prioritize activities that are more important in living our daily life, for example doing prayers on time. As in *beguru* this is carried out after Subuh, Asar and Maghrib prayers;

(2) teaching people to be filial to their parents, that is, humans are encouraged to get the pleasure of their parents; (3) teaching people to advise each other in truth.<sup>21</sup>

The purpose of *beguru* is to provide supplies in the form of advice on the ins and outs of a household, the obligations of husband and wife in accordance with the provisions of the Islamic religion and customs. In the *beguru* program, some equipment is provided to support it, such as a special place (*dalung*) and its contents are rice, betel, areca, *konyel*, gambier, and lime. At this time *pongot* and *tepung tawar* (*tawar* and wood) are held.<sup>22</sup> Wahyu as the Imam of Gunung Antara village said:

The *beguru* tradition has been around for a long time, which has become a legacy from our ancestors. This *Beguru* is a farewell event. Separation here is not in the sense of being separated forever but rather a separation for changes in the rights or obligations of a male/female candidate between her/himself and her/his family. In this case they are provided with wills, advice from the *reje* and *imem* of the village, as provisions in building a household.<sup>23</sup>

There are five things taught in *beguru*. Firstly, practice saying the creed. Secondly, practice reading the laws of faith and the pillars of Islam and understanding the meaning which contained in them. Thirdly, it teaches how to say acceptance when the consent is done for the groom. Fourthly, it teaches prayer related to husband and wife. Fifthly, it teaches how to deal with problems in the family both with one's own family and in-laws. Samsul Bahri as the chairman of village said:

The advice which is given focuses on cultivating the values of tawheed and morality of *al-karimah*. As a result, *beguru* is the custom of Gayo community which contains lessons on guidance, interacting and communicating politely to both

parents, giving thanks to Allah, following the life patterns of the *anbiyâ'* and *shalihîn*, performing prayers and doing *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, behaving simple and maintaining good manners in social interactions, prohibiting shirk and arrogance, excessive character and greed in all things.<sup>24</sup>

It can be concluded that *beguru* is the third step in Gayo tradition marriage process. The values contained in it are morals towards parents and society. In this case, the bride and groom are given useful advice for themselves and their new family.

### **Value in *Mujule Mas***

*Mujule Mas* or delivering gold which is carried in the form of *batil (cerana)* contains a complete mixture of betel, consisting of betel leaf, betel lime, gambier and betel tobacco. The event begins with the family of male party and *sarak opat* visiting family house of the prospective bride to visit the *empuni edet* (customary holder) while handing over a *batil (cerana)* containing a complete mixture of betel. Along with this it is usually accompanied by a drink and a few *penganan*. After tasting the drinks and food, the discussion about the purpose of visit begins, the amount of assets which are requested by the family of prospective bride and the groom has been mutually agreed to, hand over to the guardian of prospective bride. Wahyu as the Imam of Kampung Gunung Antara village said: "This *mujule mas* means that Gayo community really appreciates women who will later become mothers. This is as Allah commands, that what is prioritized to be respected is a mother 3: 1 with a father."<sup>25</sup> Nasihin as *Petue* village of Gunung Antara said:

*Mujule mas* as a symbol that society especially men to respect a woman. Because women are no less responsible than a man, starting from conceiving, giving birth, taking care of children, taking care of a husband and so on. Although the

phenomena that occurred from the time of ignorance to the present day, many women have been hurt, abused, ignored, etc. both by their husbands and society.<sup>26</sup>

Respect for a woman or mother, is a command from Allah as stated in Q.S. al-Isrâ' verses 23-24, and the pleasure of Allah above the pleasure of both parents, especially mothers. Then, Samsul Bahri as the chairman of village said:

The main purpose of this obligation to give dowry is to show the seriousness of husband's intention to marry his wife and place it in a noble degree. By obliging this dowry, Islam shows that women are creatures who deserve respect and have the right to own property. Unlike today, the "world is upside down" many wives are used as the backbone of family, even though the wife's job is not to provide for family but to educate the children and serve her husband.<sup>27</sup>

Dowry is a legal requirement in a marriage that must be fulfilled by the prospective groom to the prospective bride who is given sincerely without any coercion. Marzuki as the Imam of village Gunung Antara said:

Mahar has a deep meaning. The wisdom of this dowry is to be a sign that a woman should be respected and honored. Therefore, by giving this dowry must also be sincere and truly intend in the heart to glorify a woman.<sup>28</sup>

Based on the interview above, it can be concluded that the *mujule mas* or giving the dowry of prospective groom to the bride is a commandment from Allah that must be carried out. *Mujule mas* teaches men to respect women as they respect their younger brothers and sisters. Thus, in *Mujule mas*, there is a value of mutual respect, especially for women.

### **Value in *Mah Bei* (Delivering the Groom)**

*Mah bei* or *mujule bai* is an event to take the prospective groom to the residence of prospective bride with a *canang* convoy and other equipment to carry out *ijab kabul*. The stages in *ijab kabul* in Gayo tradition are:

1. *Guel* dance to welcome the bride and groom.
2. Both parties concerned (the bride and groom) are seated on an *ampang* (a mat which depicted using colorful threads for the person who is getting married).
3. Both of them were covered with *upuh jerak* (both of them were wearing traditional cloth), followed by advice, special advice, and immediately both of them were formalized as husband and wife. These things were carried out by *Sarak Opat* or local village elders. Both of them received a splash of cold water (*pesejuk*), and also received *jujung* (rice money which splashed to the body).
4. Introducing the siblings of each party as well as informing the related speech (kinship system).
5. The two of them shook hands with the family and relatives who were present, some even hugged each other, conveying their feelings of emotion.
6. The message from the *Sarak Opat* is addressed to the person concerned at the same time for all those present from both parties.
7. Prayer reading by a *tengku* and followed together.
8. Eating together while being friendly and close friendship.

Marzuki as the Imam of village Gunung Antara said that “the meaning which contained in the process of *Mujule Bai* is welcoming guests with joy, providing good service to guests, appreciating guests, and staying in touch with guests.”<sup>29</sup> Nasihin

as *Petue* of village Gunung Antara said: “the process of *mujule bai* or *mah bai* teaches a person to always help each other, respect others, *ta’aruf* and uphold the religious values and cultural customs of Gayo which are based on Islam.”<sup>30</sup> Samsul Bahri as the chairman of Gunung Antara said: “This *Mujule bai* or *mah bai* teaches people to unite in achieving goals, friendship, brotherhood and unity.”<sup>31</sup> Thus, it can be concluded that the *Mujule Mas* contains a lot of educational values as expressed by the informants above.

### **Value in *Munenes (Ngunduh Mantu)***

This event is a symbol of the separation between the bride and her parents because they are married and will be separated from their residence, as well as a farewell ceremony from singleness to family life. The bride will be escorted to the groom’s house carrying her belongings from household appliances to supplies to start a new life. After that, a group meal was held after seven days usually the bride is at the groom’s house, the groom’s parents will come to her *besan*’s house carrying rice along with side dishes. This event, called *mah kero opat ingi* aims to get to know each other better between the two families who have already been *bebesan*. Marzuki as the chairman of village Gunung Antara said: “This *munenes* aims to strengthen the relationship between the groom’s family and the bride’s family, so that both of them respect each other.”<sup>32</sup> Nasihin as *Petue* of village Gunung Antara said: “This *menenes* illustrates that the concept of marriage in the Gayo community, marriage itself, in addition to uniting the prospective groom with the prospective bride in a marriage bond also unites two families who share the same faith. Because, in Islamic teachings it is forbidden to marry women with different faiths.”<sup>33</sup> Samsul Bahri as the chairman of village Gunung Antara said that “this *munenes* gives meaning to establish friendship between two families, to

collaboratively support and motivate the *inen mayak* and *aman mayak* in fostering a new family.”<sup>34</sup> That in *munenes* or escorting the bride by her family to the residence of the groom’s parents, it contains kinship and friendship values.

### **Cultivating Educational Values in the Process of Gayo Tradition Cultural Marriage**

In the tradition of Gayo community, religion and tradition are an inseparable link. In essence, this tradition emerged earlier than Islam. However, after Islam appeared all activities referring to the Qur’an and hadith. So, all community activities are to increase piety to Allah SWT. Carrying out Gayo cultural tradition is the same as carrying out religious orders, and vice versa. Based on the study above that there are educational values in the process of Gayo tradition culture marriage in Gunung Antara Village, Bandar District. In general, there are values of faith, worship, morals and social. Gayo tradition in general, and their wedding customs in particular, continue to be passed down from the older to the younger generations. Planting of tradition marriage which contains many of the values above is carried out through exemplary, recitation and habituation. For more details, it can be seen as follows.

#### **Value of Exemplary Education**

Providing good examples and role models is an important method in instilling the values of Islamic education. Because there is a strong desire in humans that leads him to follow and imitate other people, both children and parents, many are influenced by imitating and imitating. As for the party who gave an example to Gunung Antara village, Bandar District was the village administration consisting of *imem* (village *imam*) *reje* (king or village head),

*petue* (elder people). Wahyu, as the Imam of Gunung Antara Village said:

Basically, we live in this world as role models for family and others. Likewise, in the Gayo *imem*, *reje*, *petue* people are people who are highly valued, honored and used as role models for society. Therefore, people are not arbitrary in choosing the *imem*, *reje*, *petue*.<sup>35</sup>

*Reje* is a general leader who is elected by people democratically in a particular region, region or village. *Reje* is responsible for protecting people, managing and rule all the interests of people and upholding justice in leading people. In this case, Marzuki as the Imam of village said:

*Reje* is elected by people is not only in charge of leading the community but as a role model for the people in carrying out government and customs. An example that can be emulated for the community is when he applies “*musuket sipet*” or weighs properly and fairly in dealing with all problems. In the traditional language it is also mentioned “*reje munyuket gere rancung, munimang gere angek*” (the king measures neither more nor less, weighing not one-sidedly).<sup>36</sup>

*Reje* in carrying out government and customary duties is assisted by “*bedel*,” namely *reje* representatives or assistants. “*Banta*,” namely the secretary or adjutant of *reje*, and *hariye*, which serves as a liaison between *reje* and people, provides information and delivers announcements of *reje* orders to people. Wahyu as the Imam of Gunung Antara Village said:

In my opinion, exemplary can not only be seen from the village government, both in terms of being the caretaker of the government and from the role of his function. But an example can also be taken in terms of the governance structure. It is named between *reje*, *imem*, *petue*, people are located or equal position. It means that describing to us, in essence,

*reje, imem, petue*, people have the same position “as ordinary people”, what distinguishes them is that they are given the mandate by community to carry out religious and customary mandates. In this case it contains the value of cooperation.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, *imem* is chosen by people to lead and implement Islamic law. Function of *imem* in customary institutions and government is to properly investigate whether a case is in accordance with Islamic law or not. The results of the investigation and research are conveyed to *reje* before *reje* makes a decision. Samsul Bahri as the chairman of village said:

Function of *imem* in the traditional language is called *imem muperlu sunet* (an imam to educate and lead people to carry out what is required or obliged by the *sharia*) which includes Islamic law such as compulsory, circumcision, *makruh*, lawful and haram. An example that can be taken from this *imem* attitude is that in doing anything we need to see first whether the work is proper or not, *makruh* or *haram*, useful or not, so that we are not among the losers.<sup>38</sup>

Therefore, *imem* must have authority by providing exemplary guidance for clan members on the things that are obligatory, circumcision to be performed in accordance with religious principles. He also supervises and prohibits *haram* acts which is committed by members of his clan. Nasihin as Petue of village Gunung Antara said:

Function of *imem* is not only to tell people which is lawful and which is *haram*, but also *imem* must be able to enforce the *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* in society, even *imem* must provide religious lessons, science to people so that they can improve the quality of science, piety faith, and experience worship to Allah SWT. All functions of *imem* above, must rely on the Qur'an and hadith.<sup>39</sup>

The task of *imem* is assisted by *lebe*, namely *imem*'s assistant in handling the ins and outs of Islam. Even *imem* and *lebe* are not only know and able to enforce and implement Islamic law, but also must know and be able to carry out Gayo customs/culture, because between Gayo customs and culture cannot be separated. This is as the word custom states “*syariat urum edet lagu zet urum sifet*” (sharia with customs is like a substance with properties). Apart from *reje* and *imem*, *petue* also needs to be used as a role model for people of village Gunung Antara in implementing Islamic Educational values. Samsul Bahri as the chairman of village Gunung Antara said:

*Petue* is an elder who becomes old because of his intelligence and authority which is chosen by people to research, plan, evaluate and find out solutions to problems faced by people, the results of the people's research are conveyed to *reje*. Or *petue* is in charge of carrying out a proper investigation by obtaining concrete evidence of something that is happening in the community to be submitted to *reje* before *reje* takes a decision. In other words, *petue* and *imem* are the judiciary within the organization of *sarak opat* in Tanoh Gayo.<sup>40</sup>

*Petue* has functions as a *mu sidik sasat* (*Petue* investigates and examines the situation of people. Then it is resolved, both by *reje* and *imem*). This function is expected to be able to explore and understand events and everything that lives in society. Wahyu as Imam of village Gunung Antara said:

Function of *petue* follows the aspirations and wishes of people, if there is people's behavior that is against religious norms and customs, then it is immediately report to *reje*, so that *reje* acts fairly and wisely. Function of *petue* in *sarak opat* political system is not only to investigate and research the situation of people, but also to be able to investigate and examine the situation of *reje* itself, if *reje* commits an offense or deviation, then *petue* holds a deliberation with *imem*

and people make regarding the law or sanctions on *reje* whether or not to reduce the power of *reje* from a *sarak opat* government.<sup>41</sup>

In addition, function of *petue* must be to promote Gayo customs/culture (maintaining the good name and dignity of Gayo customs). The existence of *petue* can maintain and preserve the cultural and cultural customs of the ancestors or the unique ancestors of Gayo nation, because it shows that it is a nation with culture, creativity, taste and intention. Furthermore, Nuzul Alfian as *Petue* of village Gunung Antara said:

The positions and functions of *petue* in the political system of *sarak opat* are very decisive, they are even at the forefront of the movement of society. *Petue* must investigate the situation of society and leaders in a straightforward, fair and wise manner. So, it should not be arbitrary regarding any incident or incident that must be reported to *reje*. In other words, *petue* must be careful and vigilant in providing reports or information to *reje* before they make a decision.<sup>42</sup>

Then, the development of Islamic educational values in the process of Gayo tradition cultural marriage is carried out by *rayat*. People are representatives which are elected by people at large. The elected people consist of community leaders, youth leaders, both men and women, and they have the potential to channel the aspirations of people and formulate them in solving problems and development programs in accordance with the interests of people. Samsul Bahri as the chairman of village Gunung Antara said:

Function of people is described in the customary expression “*rayat genap mufakat*” (representatives of people deliberate consensus to solve problems which is faced by people and determine programs that concern all the interests and progress of people). In addition, people are also obliged to hold deliberations

and consensus on things that happen among the people, both in the field of government and other societies as well as in the field of customs/culture and so on to convey to *reje*, so that *reje* can really feel and implement the wishes of people.<sup>43</sup>

Traditional expressions that state functions of people, such as creating harmony, mutual cooperation, working together on a job, both light and heavy job, are as follows. Firstly, *rayat genap mufakat, ratip turah musara anguk, nyawa musara peluk, bulet lagu umut, tirus lagu gelas, rempak bilang ere, susun bilang belo*. This means that people deliberate to reach a consensus, one on one way, unified, not divorced, lined up like a comb, arranged like a betel leaf arrangement. Everything implies brotherhood, equality and unity. Secondly, *beloh sara loloten, moen sara tamonen* means to go together, stay in unity. The point is that you have to agree, do not divorce. Thirdly, *keramat mufakat behu berdedele, sepapah sepupu sebegi seperange*. It means that noble because of consensus, courage because together, the rights and obligations and common goals are manifested in the same attitude and behavior.<sup>44</sup> From the traditional expression above, it can be understood that people have a function to carry out deliberations or democracy to solve various problems, both in the field of government and in other areas of society. This theory explains that community members take part or participate in the process and determination of village government policies.

### **Educational Value of Religious Recitation and Guidance**

Religious recitation and guidance is an effort or activity which carried out to increase the existing stage of religious understanding to be better (perfect) through the maintenance and guidance of laws and regulations that Allah has sent down to humans as a guide for life in the world to obtain world

happiness and the afterlife. Marzuki as the Imam of village Gunung Antara said:

The guidance for religious recitation in Gunung Antara village, Bandar District is carried out by forming several activities, namely 1) the establishment of a TPA consisting of TKA (Al-Qur'an Kindergarten, TPA (Al-Qur'an Education Park and TQA (*Ta'limul Qur'an Lilaulad*). TKA are children 4-6 years (early age), TPA children aged 6-12 years and TQA children aged adolescents); 2) formation of *majlis taklim*, namely recitation for mothers; 3) mosque youth, namely religious guidance for adolescents and adults (*beber* and *bebujang*); 4) Friday prayers and recitation after *Maghrib* are religious guidance which intended for fathers.<sup>45</sup>

Fostering religious recitation in children through TPA aims to create a generation that is Quranic and has noble character, while for adolescents it aims to create the next generation who are Islamic. The purpose of coaching for parents is so that they are able to educate their children and their families to be godly children.

Nasihin as *Petue* of village Gunung Antara said:

To foster the faith and Islam of people of village Gunung Antara, the responsibility of the village *imam* to community includes (1) giving instructions, teaching them to believe in Allah by contemplating and thinking about His creation (the earth, heaven and nature in it); (2) instilling a sense of submission to Allah by carrying out all His commands and avoiding all His prohibitions; (3) training people to be close to Allah in every activity and situation. Training that Allah is always watching, seeing and knowing secrets.<sup>46</sup>

TPA, *majlis taklim* as a non-formal Islamic education institution is one of the centers of religious mental development in the village of Gunung Antara community which functions as a

forum for conveying religious messages, exchanging ideas on various religious issues, fostering intimacy, and a forum for getting information and doing religious studies and cooperation between people. The community has many obstacles in getting a good Islamic education, because the community, including rural areas, still needs enlightenment and inculcation of religious values.

Samsul Bahri as the chairman of village Gunung Antara said:

Community is the third field of education, after guidance in the families and schools. The harmony between these three development fields will have a positive impact on the development of society, including in the formation of their religious spirit. As it is known that in an ideal state, the growth of a person becomes a person who has a personality that is integrated in various aspects, including physical, psychological, moral and spiritual.<sup>47</sup>

The relationship between these three fields is very closely related to human life for survival in society. In this connection, the aim of religious formation is to direct someone to have faith and noble morals, and always maintain and practice what religion has taught. Apart from that, it is necessary to add direct practices, namely carrying out real deeds ordered by religion, recognizing laws and customs as well as rules that require understanding.

### **Habitual Educational Value**

Habitual education is a way to create certain habits or behavior for the community. In addition, habituation is a method that can be used to familiarize people with thinking, behaving and acting in accordance with the guidance of Islamic religious teachings and Gayo cultural customs. This habit should lead to good habituation. The essence of habituation is the repetition

of everything that is done or said by the community. For example, people are accustomed to living together. Society will be accustomed to like helping others. Marzuki as the Imam of village Gunung Antara said:

In fact, there are many habituations in order to instill the values of Islamic education, including (1) on Friday, the community does not hold activities outside the village, and does not carry out buying and selling during Friday prayers; (2) the community does not carry out any activities when a member of the community dies, unless the *fardhu kifayah* has been completed; (3) the habit of praying *Tarawih* during the month of Ramadhan; (4) the habit of holding competitions starting at 17 Ramadhan; (5) the habit of helping community members who are affected by disaster.<sup>48</sup>

Habit has an important role in people's life. Islam makes use of habit as a way of building good morals, so everything that is good is turned into habits. The purpose of holding habituation is to train and accustom society consistently and continuously with a goal, so that it is truly embedded in the community and eventually becomes a habit that is difficult to leave behind in the future.

Nasihin as *Petue* of village Gunung Antara said that "The characteristic of habituation is an activity in the form of repeated repetitions of the same thing. This repetition is deliberately done many times in order to become accustomed and not easily forgotten. Thus, ready to use of knowledge is formed. Therefore, habituation is a very effective way of instilling the values of Islamic education."<sup>49</sup> Then, Samsul Bahri as the chairman of village Gunung Antara shared:

Habitual steps to instill the values of Islamic education can be carried out as follows (1) morals, in the form of habituation to good behavior such as talking politely with others, avoiding

*sumang* and so on; (2) Worship, in the form of customizing congregational prayers at the mosque saying greetings before entering the house, then reading “*Basmalah*” every time starting an activity and “*Hamdalah*” when starting and ending an activity or job; 3) Faith, in the form of habituation of a community to believe with all its soul and heart, by paying attention to the universe, thinking about and contemplating creation, heaven and earth; 4) History, in the form of habituation so that the community reads and listens to the extent of the life of the Prophet and the *Rasul* and the companions of the prophet and Islamic princes and *mujahid*, so that people have enthusiasm and follow their struggle.<sup>50</sup>

All these steps give a positive meaning in familiarizing society with the virtues of the soul, noble morals and social procedures. From this habit he will become a noble person, think positive and *istikamah*. The most important factor in habit formation is repetition, for example a person sees something that is happening in front of him, then he will imitate and then repeat the habit which in turn will become a habit. Therefore, the habitual factor plays an important role in directing the growth and development of society to instill a righteous religion.

## **Conclusion**

Based on the above study, two things can be concluded. Firstly, in the process of Gayo tradition cultural marriage in Gunung Antara District, Bandar District, Bener Meriah Regency, there are several activities in which there are many Islamic educational values, namely *muginte*, *segenap* and *begenap*, *begur*, *mujule mas*, *mah bei* and *munenes*. In general, every marriage process in Gayo tradition contains faith, worship, morals and social values. These values in Gayo community are used as a “fence” to protect religion, because between Islam and Gayo cultural customs

are like substances with properties that cannot be separated from one another. In addition, it is a symbol of the character of Gayo community that should be implemented in everyday life. Secondly, the planting of Gayo cultural values in the research location is carried out through three things, namely through modeling, religious fostering and habituation. Exemplary values are displayed by *reje*, *imem*, *petue*, and *rayat* as village governments. Fostering religious education is carried out through TPA recitation for children and adolescents, *majlis taklim* for mothers, youth mosques for youths and girls and Friday sermons. Then habituation, namely the community tries its best to carry out this in everyday life.

## References

- Apriana, Maya & Ikhwan. "Tradisi Melengkan dalam Perkawinan Adat Masyarakat Gayo di Kecamatan Bandar Kabupaten Bener Meriah," in *Indonesian Journal History and Culture*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2020.
- Arda, Nantuhateni. "Nilai-nilai Pendidikan pada Sebuku Beguru dalam Konteks Sosial Masyarakat Etnik Gayo". Fakultas KIP Universitas Syiah Kuala, 2020.
- Aziz, Safrudin. "Tradisi Pernikahan Adat Jawa Keraton Membentuk Keluarga Sakinah," in *Ibda: Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2017.
- Azmi, Ulul. "Nilai Agama dan Budaya dalam Pantun Nikah Kahwin Masyarakat Melayu Bengkalis," in *Jurnal Ilmu Budaya*, Vol. 10, No. 2 2014.
- Bakti, Indra Setia, Khairul Amin, & Fakhurrazi Fakhurrazi. "Ruang Sakral dan Ruang Ritual Prosesi Adat Pernikahan Sintê Mungêrjê pada Masyarakat Gayo Lôt," in *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Malikussaleh*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2020.

- Basri, Rusdaya and Fikr. “*Sompa dan Dui’ Menre’* Dalam Tradisi Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis,” in *Ibda’: Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2018.
- Fadhilah, Nor. “Tradisi Maantar Jujuran Dalam Perkawinan Adat Banjar Perspektif Kontruksi Sosial.” Tesis: UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2017.
- Gatra, Hammadin. *Negeri Antara Gere Beteh Kati Gere Mukale*. Bandung: Citapustaka Media Bandung, 2005.
- Ibrahim, Mahmud. *Mujahid Dataran Gayo*. Takengon: Yayasan Maqamamahmuda, 2007.
- Ibrahim, Mahmud. *Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam dalam Adat Gayo*. Banda Aceh: Al-Mumtaz Institute, 2013.
- Indra. “Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Dalam Tradisi Pernikahan Melayu di Kabupaten Bengkalis dan Implikasinya Dalam Kehidupan Modern,” in *Jurnal Akademika*, Vol IX, 2016.
- Mantri, Yaya Mulya. “Peran Pemuda Dalam Pelestarian Seni Tradisional *Benjang* Guna Meningkatkan Ketahanan Budaya Daerah: Studi Di Kecamatan Ujungberung Kota Bandung Provinsi Jawa Barat,” in *Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional*, No. XX, Desember 2014.
- Moleong, Lexy J *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2007.
- Nurdin, A. Fauzie. “Integralisme Islam dan Nilai-nilai Filosofis Budaya Lokal pada Pembangunan Propinsi Lampung,” in *UNISIA*, Vol. XXXII, No. 71, 2009.
- Pandapotan, Sihar, “Proses Peminangan Menurut Adat Istiadat Gayo di Desa Kala Lengkie Kecamatan Kebayakan Kabupaten Aceh Tengah,” in *Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, Vol 9 Edisi 1, 2017.
- Prastowo, Andi. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Yogyakarta: Ar Ruzz Media, 2012.

- Sere, Idrus. "Kontribusi Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam Dalam Perkawinan Menurut Adat Istiadat Komunitas Wabula Buton." Disertasi: Pascasarjana UIN Alauddin Makassar, 2015.
- Sukiman. "Nilai-Nilai Pembangunan Islam Dalam Masyarakat Gayo," in *MIQOT*, Vol XXXVIII, No. 1, 2014.
- Suparta. "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam dalam Budaya Nganggung dan Implikasinya Terhadap Solidaritas Umat di Kecamatan Mendo Barat Kabupaten Bangka," in *Madania*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2017.
- Syarifuddin and Lasiyo. "Nilai-Nilai Etis Adat Perkawinan Masyarakat Aceh," in *Jurnal Humanika*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2004.
- Syukri. "Budaya Sumang dan Impimentasinya Terhadap Restorasi Masyarakat Gayo di Aceh" in *MIQOT*, Vol XLI, No. 2, 2017.

### **Interviews**

- Wahyu. *Imam Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.
- Salihin. *Petue Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.
- Samsul Bahri. *Pengulu Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.
- Muhammad Thaib. *Reje Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.
- Marzuki. *Imam Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

## Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Hammadin Gatra, *Negeri Antara Gere Beteh Kati Gere Mukale* (Bandung: Citapustaka Media, 2005), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Mahmud Ibrahim, *Mujahid Dataran Gayo* (Takengon: Yayasan Maqamamahmuda, 2007), p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.

<sup>7</sup> Mahmud Ibrahim, *Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam dalam Adat Gayo* (Banda Aceh: Al-Mumtaz Institute, 2013), p. 162.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>9</sup> Idrus Sere, "Kontribusi Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam Dalam Perkawinan Menurut Adat Istiadat Komunitas Wabula Buton" (Disertasi: Pascasarjana UIN Alauddin Makassar, 2015); Nor Fadhilah, "Tradisi Maantar Jujuran Dalam Perkawinan Adat Banjar Perspektif Kontruksi Sosial" (Tesis: UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2017); Rusdaya Basri dan Fikr, "Sompā dan Dui' Menre' Dalam Tradisi Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis," in *Ibda': Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2018; Safrudin Aziz, "Tradisi Pernikahan Adat Jawa Keraton Membentuk Keluarga Sakinah," in *Ibda': Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2017; Indra, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Dalam Tradisi Pernikahan Melayu di Kabupaten Bengkalis dan Implikasinya Dalam Kehidupan Modern," in *Jurnal Akademika*, Vol IX, 2016; Syarifuddin and Lasiyo, "Nilai-Nilai Etis Adat Perkawinan Masyarakat Aceh," in *Jurnal Humanika*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2004; Ulul Azmi, "Nilai Agama dan Budaya dalam Pantun Nikah Kahwin Masyarakat Melayu Bengkalis," in *Jurnal Ilmu Budaya*, Vol. 10, No. 2 2014; Suparta, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam dalam Budaya Nganggung dan Implikasinya Terhadap Solidaritas Umat di Kecamatan Mendo Barat Kabupaten Bangka," in *Madania*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2017; A. Fauzie Nurdin, "Integralisme Islam dan Nilai-nilai Filosofis Budaya Lokal pada Pembangunan Propinsi Lampung," in *UNISIA*, Vol. XXXII, No. 71, 2009; Yaya Mulya Mantri, "Peran Pemuda Dalam Pelestarian Seni Tradisional *Benjang* Guna Meningkatkan Ketahanan Budaya Daerah: Studi Di Kecamatan Ujungberung Kota Bandung Provinsi Jawa Barat," in *Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional*, No. XX, Desember 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Sukiman "Nilai-Nilai Pembangunan Islam Dalam Masyarakat Gayo," in *MIQOT*, Vol XXXVIII, No. 1, 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Syukri, "Budaya Sumang dan Impimentasinya Terhadap Restorasi Masyarakat Gayo di Aceh," in *MIQOT*, Vol XLI, No. 2, 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Maya Apriana, and Ikhwan, "Tradisi Melengkan dalam Perkawinan Adat Masyarakat Gayo di Kecamatan Bandar Kabupaten Bener Meriah," in *Indonesian Journal History and Culture*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2020.

<sup>13</sup> Indra Setia Bakti, Khairul Amin, & Fakhurrazi Fakhurrazi, “Ruang Sakral dan Ruang Ritual Prosesi Adat Pernikahan Sintê Mungêrjê pada Masyarakat Gayo Lôt,” in *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Malikussaleh*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2020.

<sup>14</sup> Nantuhateni Arda, “Nilai-nilai Pendidikan pada Sebuku Beguru dalam Konteks Sosial Masyarakat Etnik Gayo” (Fakultas KIP Universitas Syiah Kuala, 2020).

<sup>15</sup> Lexy J. Moleong, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2007), p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Andi Prastowo, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Yogyakarta: Ar Ruzz Media, 2012), p. 45.

<sup>17</sup> Muhammad Thaib, *Reje Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 20, 2018.

<sup>18</sup> Wahyu, *Imam Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Sihar Pandapotan, “Proses Peminangan Menurut Adat Istiadat Gayo di Desa Kala Lengio Kecamatan Kebayakan Kabupaten Aceh Tengah,” in *Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, Vol. 9 No. 1, 2017, p. 79.

<sup>20</sup> Samsul Bahri, *Pengulu* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>21</sup> Marzuki, *Imam Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>22</sup> Wahyu, *Imam Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 18, 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Wahyu, *Imam Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>24</sup> Samsul Bahri, *Pengulu Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>25</sup> Marzuki, *Imam Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>26</sup> Nasihin, *Petue Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>27</sup> Samsul Bahri, *Pengulu* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>28</sup> Marzuki, *Imam Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>29</sup> Marzuki, *Imam Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>30</sup> Nasihin, *Petue Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>31</sup> Samsul Bahri, *Pengulu* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>32</sup> Marzuki, *Imam Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>33</sup> Nasihin, *Petue Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>34</sup> Samsul Bahri, *Pengulu Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>35</sup> Wahyu, *Imam Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>36</sup> Marzuki, *Imam Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung August 21, 2018.

<sup>37</sup> Wahyu, *Imam Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>38</sup> Samsul Bahri, *Pengulu Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>39</sup> Nasihin, *Petue Dusun Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>40</sup> Samsul Bahri, *Pengulu Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>41</sup> Marzuki, *Imam Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>42</sup> Nasihin, *Petue Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>43</sup> Samsul Bahri, *Pengulu Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Marzuki, *Imam Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>46</sup> Nasihin, *Petue Dusun* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>47</sup> Samsul Bahri, *Pengulu Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>48</sup> Marzuki, *Imam Dusun Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>49</sup> Nasihin, *Petue Dusun Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.

<sup>50</sup> Samsul Bahri, *Pengulu Kampung* of Gunung Antara, interview in Gunung Antara, August 21, 2018.