

NOT ONLY FOR BEAUTY BUT ALSO FOR A BETTER FUTURE

The Ritual of *Potong Konde* at the Wedding Reception among Muslims of Gunung Meriah Aceh

Khairuddin*

Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Syekh Abdur Rauf Aceh Singkil, Indonesia

Email: khairuddinazka15@gmail.com, *Corresponding author

Nur Hidayah

Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Syekh Abdur Rauf Aceh Singkil, Indonesia

Email: dayah7158@gmail.com

Abstract

This article discusses the meaning of cutting *konde* (back hair) for the bride among the Muslims of Gunung Meriah. Cutting *konde* is usually held at the wedding reception. Data were collected through observation and interviews. Based on empirical research, it can be stated that cutting the *konde* for the bride among the people of Gunung Meriah Aceh is part of the customary law on marriage. Physically, cutting *konde* aims to beautify the bride's hair and eyebrows. Besides that, the ceremony is also meant to foresee the future of the household that will be experienced by the bride and her children. If the forecast results in an unexpected outcome, the community will conduct collective prayer. In Islamic law, this practice has no theological justification. Even though they are aware that this practice is not part of Islamic teachings, the Muslims of Gunung Meriah Aceh continue to practice it because they believe that, by doing so, they will be aware that bad luck can happen and that, in the future, they will not be surprised.

[Artikel ini membahas tentang makna potong konde bagi pengantin wanita di kalangan umat Islam Gunung Meriah Aceh. Pemotongan konde biasanya dilakukan pada acara resepsi pernikahan (*walimat al-'ursy*). Data dikumpulkan melalui observasi dan wawancara. Berdasarkan penelitian empiris dapat disimpulkan bahwa pemotongan konde untuk

mempelai wanita di kalangan masyarakat muslim Gunung Meriah merupakan bagian dari hukum adat perkawinan setempat. Secara fisik, pemotongan konde bertujuan untuk memperindah rambut dan alis pengantin. Selain itu, upacara tersebut juga dimaksudkan untuk meramalkan masa depan rumah tangga yang akan dialami oleh mempelai dan keturunannya. Jika ramalan tersebut menghasilkan sesuatu yang tidak diharapkan, maka masyarakat akan melakukan doa secara berjamaah. Dalam hukum Islam, praktik ini tidak memiliki pembenaran teologis. Meski sadar bahwa praktik tersebut bukan bagian dari ajaran Islam, namun umat Islam Gunung Meriah Aceh tetap melakukannya karena meyakini dengan melakukan itu, mereka akan sadar sbahwa kesialan bisa saja terjadi di masa depan, dan jika terjadi mereka tidak akan terkejut.]

Keywords

Ritual of *potong konde*, wedding reception, marriage ceremony

Article History

Received 10 August 2022

Approved for Publication 30 December 2022

To Cite this Article

Khairuddin, Khairuddin, and Nur Hidayah, "NOT ONLY FOR BEAUTY BUT ALSO FOR A BETTER FUTURE: The Ritual of *Potong Konde* at the Wedding Reception among Muslims of Gunung Meriah Aceh," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 15, no. 2 (2022): 295-309. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2022.15208>.



Copyright © 2022 by Author(s)
This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

Introduction

Culture is created by people according to the principles they adhere to.¹ Each region has its own culture and customs, which allow for cultural differences from one region to another.²

¹ Agung Tri Nugroho, "Seserahan Dalam Perkawinan Masyarakat Adat Lampung," *Sabda* 14, no. 1 (2019): 31-41, <https://doi.org/10.14710/sabda.14.1.31-41>.

In Islam, *walimat al-'ursy* (wedding reception) is suggested with the aim of to announce the general public that the bride and groom are legally married.³ A wedding reception is held according to customs and habits prevailing in the local community.⁴ Implementation of wedding reception varies from region to region⁵ because every wedding reception contains traditions that they have carried out since ancient times, as happened among Muslims in Gunung Meriah District, Aceh Singkil Regency, which has a tradition in weddings, namely *potong konde* (cutting the hair bun) for the bride. The term "potong konde" literally translates to "cutting the bun," which refers to the traditional hairstyle of Javanese women, which involves twisting their long hair into a bun or topknot.

The term *potong konde* is well-known among the people of Gunung Meriah, Aceh. *Potong konde* is part of a tradition that remains exists during the wedding process.⁶ *Potong konde* is conducted after *mido tawar* (the first day of the wedding). The bride who will be cutting her *konde* is already wearing a *hine menangko* (temporary henna tattoo) on his hands and feet.⁷ The function of the *konde* for the bride is to beautify and symbolize the future of the husband, wife, and children who will be born later, whether they will face a beautiful life or an unwanted future.

Traditional rituals before marriage have been studied by several researchers. Among them is the study conducted by Amalia et al., in which they look to the tradition of *tepung besan*⁸ and *punjungan*,⁹ the reciprocal meeting between the groom family and the bride family

² Nadwah Maulidiyah, "Tradisi Walimatul Ursy Di Desa Panaongan Kecamatan Pasongsongan Kabupaten Sumenep (Analisa Semiotika Komunikasi Dakwah)," *Maddah* 1, no. 1 (2019): 16–28, <https://doi.org/10.35316/maddah.v1i1.237>.

³ Tihami Tihami and Sohari Sahrani, *Fikih Munakahat* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2010).

⁴ Muhammad Nasrulloh, M Fauzan Zenrif, and R Cecep Lukman Yasin, "Isbat Nikah Poligami Ditinjau Dari Masalah Mursalah Al-Shatiby: Studi SEMA Nomor 3 Tahun 2018," *Al-Qanun: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pembaharuan Hukum Islam* 24, no. 1 (2021): 122–44, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15642/alqanun.2021.24.1.122-144>.

⁵ Novi Kartika Sari and Kudrat Abdillah, "Tradisi Pecotan Dalam Perayaan Walimah Al- ' Urs (Studi Analisis ' Urf Di Desa Bandaran Kecamatan Tlanakan Kabupaten Pamekasan)," *Al-Manhaj: Journal of Indonesian Islamic Family Law* 3, no. 2 (2021): 173–90, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-manhaj.v3i2.4719>.

⁶ Khairuddin Khairuddin, *Khazanah Adat Dan Budaya Singkil: Mengungkap Keagungan Tradisi Dan Memelihara Kebudayaan* (Yogyakarta: Zahir Publishing, 2020).

⁷ Khairuddin Khairuddin, "Tradisi Peseujuk Pada Saat Pindah Rumah Baru Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam," (*ARJIS*) *ABDURRAUF JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC STUDIES* 1 (2022): 28–44.

⁸ Ikhlasotul Amalia et al., "Tradisi Tepung Besan Pada Walimah Nikah Prespektif ' Urf," *SAKINA: Journal of Family Studies* 5, no. 1 (2021): 28–45.

before the marriage process, where the families members bring the proper food supplies to one another. Another study was conducted by Sari and Abillah about *pecotan* (the invited guest brings an amount of money) in the procession of the wedding reception.¹⁰ Not far different than the two, Hidayatullah and Maisi studied *pamoghi* tradition (the husband and his family bring the household stuff to the place where the new couple's domicile) during a wedding reception.¹¹ These three traditions might be different in the form of their procession but they share the same meaning which is to ensure the good future of the newly married couple. Therefore, the phenomenon of *potong konde* for the bride held during the wedding reception in Gunung Meriah is relatively not a new topic in substance. However, none of the previous researchers discuss *potong konde* tradition. If the three traditions are centered on 'gift' giving, mostly food and domestic furniture, *potong konde* tradition focuses on the ritual of cutting the bun hair of the bride. Even though it differs in procession, it shares the same meaning as the three traditions, that is to ensure the future fortune of the new family.¹² Not far from that explanation, this article continues the last studies mentioned above, which generally view traditions in marriage deemed necessary to be preserved and those who violate them will be subject to customary sanctions. This study emphasizes the reason why the Gunung Meriah Muslim community preserves the tradition of cutting the hair bun at the time of the wedding reception. Not separated from its meaning, it is arguably yet hypothetically to say that *potong konde* for the bride in Gunung Meriah rests on compliance with the old local customs. The customs should not only be seen as beautifying the appearance of the bride and groom but also as negotiating the future of the bride and groom. In Javanese tradition, the act of cutting hair is symbolic of shedding old identities and starting anew as a married couple. Hair is considered a symbol

⁹ Sri Wahyuningsih, "Tradisi Punjungan Walimatul 'Urs Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Di Desa Sirau Kecamatan Kemranjen)," *Jurnal Al Wasith: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 6, no. 1 (2021): 16–29.

¹⁰ Sari and Abdillah, "Tradisi Pecotan Dalam Perayaan Walimah Al- ' Urs (Studi Analisis ' Urf Di Desa Bandaran Kecamatan Tlanakan Kabupaten Pamekasan)."

¹¹ Haris Hidayatullah and Maisih Maisih, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Tradisi Pamoghi Dalam Resepsi Perkawinan (Studi Kasus Di Desa Kembang Kecamatan Tlogosari Kabupaten Bondowoso)," *Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 4, no. April (2019): 1–29.

¹² Albert Schrauwers, "Three Weddings and a Performance: Marriage, Households, and Development in the Highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia," *American Ethnologist* 27, no. 4 (2000): 855–76, <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2000.27.4.855>.

of femininity in Javanese culture, and cutting it represents a symbolic transformation from girlhood to womanhood.

This paper is based on empirical research which uses field data as the main consideration. Data collection is done by means of observation and interviews. Observations were conducted directly at the event *walimat al-'ury* in Gunung Meriah. While the interview conducted with the local informants consisted of three believers, three religious leaders, two traditional leaders, three community leaders, and five people who are married using this tradition. The author conducted interviews with informants starting from October 9, 2021, to January 9, 2022.

Potong Konde Procession

Gunung Meriah is one of the sub-districts under the Aceh Singkil Regency. This sub-district is one of the most populous sub-districts of the eleven sub-districts in the Aceh Singkil district. This sub-district has an area of 224.30 ha which consists of residential land, fields, and plantations. The majority of community businesses are oil palm farmers. The area has a population of 42,435, with details of 19,213 males and 23,222 females.¹³ this district is located on the main causeway bordering Simpang Kanan District and North Singkil District. The majority of people in the Gunung Meriah sub-district are Muslim.¹⁴

One of the traditional practices that exist in the Gunung Meriah sub-district community related to family law issues is the tradition of cutting the hair bun of the bride—known as *potong konde*. There is no data found about the beginning of the tradition of *potong konde* in Gunung Meriah District. However, based on oral sources, there is information that *potong konde* ritual already existed since the Dutch colonial period. According to Anjali, who is more than 90 years old, she has known the tradition since she was young and has seen the practice of haircutting several times.

Potong konde in the marriage reception event stems from the community's belief in the benefits namely it can decorate the bride and groom so that they look more beautiful,

¹³ See Abi Hasan and Khairuddin Khairuddin, "Pandangan 'Urf Terhadap Uang Pekhanjangan Dalam Perkawinan Melangkahi Kakak Kandung," *Istinbâth Jurnal Hukum Dan Ekonomi Islam* 20, no. 1 (2021): 176–88.

¹⁴ Ridwan Nurdin, Muhamad Yusuf, and Syarifah Sharah Natasya, "The Gayonese Culture of Marriage System: The Islamic Law Perspective," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 5, no. 1 (2021): 108–26.

elegant, and charming. Actually, *potong konde* is not only at weddings but also at the circumcision of the apostles, provided that the circumcised child is female. *Potong konde* also is believed as a way to early find out the fate of the bride and groom's marriage.¹⁵ Every marriage is preceded by this tradition, without exception for the lower, middle, and elite social strata. If this process is ignored, the couple is obliged to pay sanctions in accordance with the applicable customary provisions. Field data shows that at least during 2020/2021 there were 75 married couples of the Singkil ethnic group. Of the 75 couples, all of the brides cut their hair buns. The main reason for this is that if they do not cut the hair bun, a penalty (around 2 million rupiahs) will be imposed on the bride's family. This certainly makes the bride's extended family feel embarrassed because they are unable to carry out the traditional procession that has been in force by their ancestors. The procession of *potong konde* is carried out at the wedding reception. But according to one statement, a believer had cut her hair after a wedding reception. It is because the bride did not know when to cut her hair, so she cut the *konde* after the wedding reception. It should be conducted on the first day of the wedding reception, specifically during the *mido tawar* procession. *Mido tawar* procession is a series of prayers and having eaten (either lunch, dinner, or breakfast) together with the people who attend the bride's residence. After the 'eat' session, then the uncle of the groom asks for permission from the *sintua* (village leader) to conduct the custom procession in his nephew's marriage. If the *sintua* agrees, all rituals are prepared and performed to the end, following the steps of custom.¹⁶

The men of society put up the customary equipment on the terrace of the house, like, *lelangit* (the dominant red cloth attached above as palate), *pool* (the cloth surrounding the terrace) by having five colors namely yellow, green, white, red, and black. The basic color is yellow and the installation of pole coverings around the terrace or more familiarly known as *balut belangun* [striped wrap].¹⁷ Yellow means the ruler. It is used to occupy by *raja* (leader) in the Singkil region, which is the village head. Beside the *raja* is the uncle.¹⁸ White color is for the clerics or people who understand religious knowledge that is usually village

¹⁵ Lokhah, Traditional Leader, Gunung Meriah, Aceh Singkil, interview 12 December 2021.

¹⁶ K A Steenbrink and Jan S Aritonang, "Chapter Thirteen. The Sharp Contrasts Of Sumatra," in *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Brill, 2008), 527–638, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003588>.

¹⁷ Karyanto, Religious Leader, Gunung Meriah, Aceh Singkil, interview 17 December 2021

¹⁸ Nanda, Community Leader, Gunung Meriah, Aceh Singkil, interview 2 January 2022

priests or religious leaders. Next to the cleric is the brother(s) of the groom. Green color means for the community figure. Red means the commander-in-chief is occupied by the father *memberu* (father's brother/sister's husband), and black means charmer.¹⁹

The women carry out and witness the cutting of the bride's hair bun. The process of cutting the hair bun is carried out by traditional female leaders called *sinentua*. The condition of the bride and groom at the time of the hair bun cutting is sitting on a bed that has been wrapped in a long cloth, surrounded by close family and friends to witness the hair cutting procession and see firsthand how the results of the hair cutting are. This procession is quite tense. Before cutting the bride's bun, a *pesejuk* ritual, better known as plain flour, is performed. The tools used for *pesejuk* are several materials such as a small piece of iron, a crossbar, a narrow tank, pieces of a banana tree, and water. This *pesejuk* ritual is often carried out in Aceh Singkil, for example before moving to a new house, buying a new vehicle, after a vehicle accident, after a fight, and before traveling far or after returning from a far place, circumcision. In this context, it is done before cutting the hair bun. The purpose of this *pesejuk* is to make the hair-cutting process run smoothly. The *pesejuk* process is carried out by *sinentua*/female figures, accompanied by the bride's closest family.²⁰

After the equipment is complete, the *sinentua* performs the cutting of the *konde* starting with rolling a white cloth in front of the bride. On top of the white cloth is placed a small cloth or rope as a barrier. Then *sinentua* started combing the bride's hair and tidying it up. After the bride's hair is neat, *sinentua* takes the bride's hair on the front and divides it into three parts. The hair is rotated using a gold ring. The hair on the right usually symbolizes "father". The middle hair symbolizes the "child". The left hair symbolizes "mother". After the front part of the bride's hair has been divided into three parts, *sinentua* ties the bride's head with a cloth so that when cutting the front hair it looks parallel and stylish.

The bride's hair begins to cut from the right and ends from the left. After all the hair that has been twisted into three parts falls on the white cloth, the family, friends, and elders will witness how the condition of the bride's hair falls after being cut, whether the ends of the hair gather in all three parts or only two of them together or each of them

¹⁹ Yahya, village head/ community figure, Gunung Meriah, Aceh Singkil, interview 12 November 2021.

²⁰ Umak Sampup, Female Character (*believed*), Mount Meriah, Aceh Singkil, interview 12 November 2021.

separately. After cutting the *konde*, the bride is told to eat *nakan gekhsing* (turmeric rice) and rub the chicken liver on the bride's teeth. After cutting the hair bun, *sinentua* collects the hair and put it in a bowl of plain flour. The hair and *tepung tawar* are planted near the bride's house like planting trees. After that, the bride's family pays the *sinentua* with three coconut fruits (one of them is coconut seed), one bamboo rice, a long cloth, one chicken, and a proper amount of money (usually around 50,000-100,000 rupiah).

In Javanese community, mostly *potong konde* is conducted during a marriage ceremony. Before the *potong konde* procession, the bride and groom usually prepare themselves by dressing in their traditional wedding attire. The hair of bride is often styled into a bun or topknot, while the groom's hair may be styled in a more masculine manner. The procession is often introduced by a master of ceremonies or a respected elder who explains the significance of the ritual to the guests. Its procession usually begins with the cutting of the bride's hair. The bride may sit on a special chair or throne, and the cutting is often performed by a family member or respected individual, such as the groom's mother or an elder in the community. The person cutting the hair may recite prayers or blessings as they cut the hair. After the bride's hair is cut, the groom's hair is cut as well. The groom may sit on a similar chair or throne, and the cutting is often performed by a family member or respected individual, such as the bride's mother or an elder in the community. After the hair is cut, it is usually collected and placed in a container as a keepsake. The container may be passed around to guests for them to offer their own blessings or wishes. The hair is often later disposed of in a respectful manner, such as being buried or scattered in a sacred place. After the procession is complete, the bride and groom may be congratulated by the guests, and the wedding ceremony or reception may continue.

Community Belief in the Ritual of *Potong Konde*: Symbolizing the Couple's Future

The majority of people perceive that *potong konde* is part of the customs that must be upheld, where the earth is stepped on there the sky is upheld. Apart from customary demands, this hair bun cut also beautifies the bride, because her hair and eyebrows will be arranged neatly so that the woman is different from the woman who comes to the wedding

reception.²¹ Bearing the significance of this tradition, in some communities lives a prohibition when teenagers are prohibited from cutting the *konde*, because cutting the *konde* is only allowed at wedding receptions. The majority of the people of Gunung Meriah know that cutting the hair bun is part of the custom that cannot be removed. However, most people do not question how the law performs these rituals, whether it is permissible in Islam or prohibited.

Customary law can be actualized in everyday life as long as it does not conflict with Islamic law, when it is contradictory, then Islamic law takes precedence. The community knows and understands a customary law better than the law from the implementation of the custom itself.²² This is due to the lack of counseling and religious guidance regarding hair bun cutting. Due to the sensitivity of customary issues, it is difficult for religious leaders to communicate them. This can lead to multiple interpretations within the community, especially given the disparity in the community's level of thought and knowledge.²³ Due to the fact that these customs have been passed down from generation to generation and cannot be altered despite being clearly against Islamic law, it can even lead to conflict.

Cutting the hair bun for the bride is a custom that is non-negotiable. Apart from the function of beautifying the bride, it also has the function of foreseeing the future of the groom, women, and their future children. There are at least five beliefs in predicting the fate of the bride when the cutting is performed. (1) If the hair on the right side jumps and separates from the middle and left part of the hair while the hair is still curled by the ring, then the husband will die shortly after marriage, as was the case with Mrs. T, whose marriage was predicted to be short and lasted only three years before her husband died of illness. (2) If the right hair strand jumps and separates from the middle and left hair while the hair is separated from the ring, the bride and groom will divorce shortly after their wedding. This demonstrates that the husband is self-centered toward his wife. This is also

²¹ Muslimah Manik, The bride who cut her hair bun, Gunung Meriah, Aceh Singkil, interview 04 December 2021.

²² Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, "Myths and Stereotypes about Adat Law: A Reassessment of Van Vollenhoven in the Light of Current Struggles over Adat Law in Indonesia," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 167, no. 2–3 (2011): 167–95.

²³ Amen Bc. Religious Leader, Mount Meriah, Aceh Singkil, interview 12 December 2021.

what happened to the mother of the bride S, who was married shortly after their separation because they were unable to find a suitable couple.²⁴ (3) If the middle roll of rolled-up hair jumps and separates from the hair on the right side while the hair is still curled by the ring, the bride will soon die. Similarly, in the case of Mr. B, whose beloved wife died in the hospital after giving birth to their only child. (4) If the middle coil of hair jumps and separates from the right and left coils while the hair is separated from the ring, the bride will divorce her husband shortly after the wedding. This scroll demonstrates that the bride is self-centered and disobedient toward her husband. Such rolls are not suitable for brides. This was also the case for Mr. N, who divorced his wife. According to Mr. N, the separation from his wife was inevitable because she was disobedient and disrespectful to her husband and in-laws.²⁵ (5) If the three sections of the bride's hair, which are commonly referred to as the father, mother, and child, gather in front of the bride and roll in this manner, it indicates that the bride's family will live happily in the future, which is great news for brides. Numerous brides have hair rolled in this manner.²⁶

After the *potong konde* procession has concluded, the family of the bride is anxious and happy. If the results are good then their hearts are relieved. But instead, feel afraid and anxious when the results obtained are not as desired.²⁷ If the cut of the female bun shows an unwanted result, the bride's family held a prayer together asking Allah so that this would not happen. Nothing can go against fate except for prayers that Allah accepts. The implementation of the collective prayer is carried out after the marriage reception, which is attended by neighbors, community leaders, and religious figures, in this case usually the imam of the mosque. The fervent prayer is expected to be granted by Allah so that the symbolic prediction of the bride and groom does not come true. In the case of cutting the bun with bad predictions, if the bride and groom have their first child, whether the child is male or female, usually the child should be adopted by another family so that the marriage lasts. This was also experienced by Mrs. Salamah who got a bad haircut. When she gave

²⁴ Anis Marsela, *Sinentuai* Mount Meriah Customs, Aceh Singkil, interview 12 November 2021.

²⁵ Janiah, Female Character (*believed*), Mount Meriah, Aceh Singkil, interview 11 November 2021.

²⁶ Umak Sampup, Female Character (*believed*), Mount Meriah, Aceh Singkil, interview 12 November 2021.

²⁷ Anis Marsela, *Sinentuai* Mount Meriah Customs, Aceh Singkil, interview 12 November 2021.

birth to her first child, her child is adopted by *sinentua*. For the couple's second child, it is not required.²⁸

Customary Authority during *Potong Konde* Ritual

In Indonesia, traditional wedding receptions are steeped in cultural customs and rituals that vary depending on the region and ethnicity of the bride and groom. However, some elements of a traditional Indonesian wedding reception are common across many cultures in the country. One of the most important aspects of a traditional Indonesian wedding reception is the presence of a "traditional authority" or a religious leader who presides over the ceremony. The traditional leader—mostly in Muslim society is the cleric. Traditional authority leads the couple in reciting their vows and blessing the marriage, and the couple often exchanges rings and receives blessings from their parents.²⁹ During the reception, guests are typically served a wide variety of traditional Indonesian dishes, which can include rice, meat, vegetables, and seafood. The food is often served buffet-style or family-style and is usually accompanied by traditional Indonesian drinks. Music and dance are also important elements of a traditional Indonesian wedding reception. The bride and groom usually wear traditional Indonesian attire, with the bride wearing a "kebaya" or a traditional wedding gown, and the groom wearing a "batik" shirt or traditional suit. Guests are also expected to dress in formal attire, such as a batik shirt or a kebaya for women. In some cultures, the wedding reception may also involve traditional customs and rituals, such as the "siraman" ceremony in Javanese culture, where the bride and groom are bathed with flower water by their parents and elders to purify and prepare them for marriage. A traditional Indonesian wedding reception is a joyous occasion that brings together family, friends, and community members to celebrate the union of two people in love, and to honor their cultural heritage and customs. It seems that the existence of traditional leaders is to ensure this togetherness.

In Indonesia, customary authority plays an important role in marriage ceremonies. Customary authority refers to the traditional practices and customs of a particular community or ethnic group, and it is often used to guide and regulate the marriage process.

²⁸ Janiah, Female Character (*believed*), Mount Meriah, Aceh Singkil, interview 11 November 2021.

²⁹ Al Farabi, "The State Penghulu vs The Non-State Penghulu: The Validity and Implementing Authorities of Indonesian Marriage," *Justicia Islamica: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial* 17, no. 2 (2020): 343–64.

In many Indonesian communities, the marriage ceremony is presided over by a "pemangku adat," a traditional leader who is responsible for upholding and enforcing customary law.³⁰ The *pemangku adat* is usually an elder or a respected member of the community who has extensive knowledge of the customs and traditions of the local culture. Before the marriage ceremony can take place, the couple must seek the approval and blessings of their families and the *pemangku adat*. This often involves a series of negotiations and discussions to determine the terms of the marriage, including the payment of a dowry or bride price, the division of property, and the responsibilities of the husband and wife within the marriage. During the marriage ceremony itself, the *pemangku adat* plays an important role in guiding and overseeing the proceedings. They may lead the couple in reciting their vows and blessing the marriage, as well as performing other traditional rituals and customs. After the ceremony, the *pemangku adat* continues to play a role in the couple's lives, offering guidance and advice on matters related to the marriage and family life. They may also mediate disputes or conflicts that arise within the family or community, using their knowledge of customary law and tradition to find a resolution that is acceptable to all parties involved. Overall, customary authority is an integral part of the marriage process in Indonesia, providing a framework for the negotiation and regulation of marriages within local communities. While the role of the *pemangku adat* may vary depending on the region and culture, their presence is a testament to the importance of tradition and customs in Indonesian society.³¹ Not excluded, the procession of *potong konde* tradition is conducted under the strong existence of traditional authority.

Most of the people of Gunung Meriah believe in the result of cutting the bride's hair bun. This public perception has existed from ancient times to the present. This custom is binding on the entire Gunung Meriah society.³² Most of the Gunung Meriah people maintain their customs, especially the issue of cutting the hair bun at the wedding

³⁰ Yohanes S Lon and Fransiska Widyawati, "Customary Law before Religion and State Laws Regarding Marriage In Manggarai, Eastern Indonesia," *Jurnal Cita Hukum* 9, no. 1 (2021): 93–110, <https://doi.org/10.15408/jch.v9i1.16510>.

³¹ Adriaan Bedner and Stijn Van Huis, "Plurality of Marriage Law and Marriage Registration for Muslims in Indonesia: A Plea for Pragmatism," *Utrecht Law Review* 6, no. 2 (2010): 175–91, <https://doi.org/10.18352/ulr.130>.

³² Munir Salim, "Adat Sebagai Budaya Kearifan Lokal Untuk Memperkuat Eksistensi Adat Ke Depa," *Al Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Pidana Dan Ketatanegaraan* 5, no. 2 (2016): 244–55, <https://doi.org/10.24252/ad.v5i2.4845>.

reception. The notable side of this ritual is the section which is to predict the fate of the bride and groom who are about to marry, both predicting the husband, wife, and children that will be born later. The tradition of cutting the hair bun for the bride is generally accepted because most of the residents do not violate these rules. Various efforts have been made by traditional leaders in order to preserve this custom. Even though this custom is no longer relevant today, its existence seems to rest on the sanctions for those who do not cut their hair buns at the time of the wedding reception.³³

During 2020-2021 the people of Gunung Meriah committed very few violations, approximately no more than 1% of all many marriages. The sanction for those who violate the roles is two million and one hundred thousand rupiahs. This amount of money will later be given to *sintua* witnessed by several people. Even though this binding sanction is not a big number but society of Gunung Meriah obeys this rule.³⁴ The compliance of the society seemingly rests on the moral sanctions in the midst of the society, in which the new couple will become the main talking of the entire village. It, later on, becomes the disgrace of that family.³⁵ The two sanctions resulted in the Gunung Meriah community complying with the customary rules of cutting the hair bun for the bride during the marriage reception.

Conclusion

Potong konde is one of the customary obligations that must be carried out by the bride. The tradition of cutting buns in Gunung Meriah has existed since ancient times, and it is one of their ancestors' legacies that have been preserved to this day. *Potong konde* at the wedding reception is carried out at noon on the first day of the marriage ceremony. If there is a bride who does not cut her hair bun, she will be subject to sanctions according to custom. Cutting the hair bun for the bride in Gunung Meriah District has several functions. Physically, preserving the custom of cutting the hair bun for the bride means beautifying

³³ Ikhwanuddin Nasution, Robert Sibarani, and Muhammad Takari, "Local Wisdom In Malam Berinai Tradition In Malay Society, Tanjungbalai, North Sumatera, Indonesia," *Journal of Arts and Humanities* 5, no. 5 (2016): 68–77, <https://doi.org/10.18533/journal.v5i5.935>.

³⁴ Husaini Husaini, "Discovering Wisdom in Gayo Tradition with Reference to Islamic Educational Values in Marriage Practice," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies* 4, no. 2 (2021): 204–34, <https://doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v4i2.8407>.

³⁵ Siddiq Muhammad Armia, *Hukum Adat Perkawinan Dalam Masyarakat Aceh: Tinjauan Antropologi Dan Sosiologi Hukum* (Banda Aceh: UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, 2019).

the bride, especially the hair and eyebrows of the bride and groom. Apart from that it also symbolizes the future of the bride and groom and their offspring.

References

- Amalia, Ikhlasotul, Fakultas Sy, Universitas Islam, Negeri Maulana, and Malik Ibrahim. "Tradisi Tepung Besan Pada Walimah Nikah Prespektif 'Urf." *SAKINA: Journal of Family Studies* 5, no. 1 (2021): 28–45.
- Armia, Siddiq Muhammad. *Hukum Adat Perkawinan Dalam Masyarakat Aceh: Tinjauan Antropologi Dan Sosiologi Hukum*. Banda Aceh: UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, 2019.
- Bedner, Adriaan, and Stijn Van Huis. "Plurality of Marriage Law and Marriage Registration for Muslims in Indonesia: A Plea for Pragmatism." *Utrecht Law Review* 6, no. 2 (2010): 175–91. <https://doi.org/10.18352/ulr.130>.
- Benda-Beckmann, Franz von, and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann. "Myths and Stereotypes about Adat Law: A Reassessment of Van Vollenhoven in the Light of Current Struggles over Adat Law in Indonesia." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 167, no. 2–3 (2011): 167–95.
- Farabi, Al. "The State Penghulu vs The Non-State Penghulu: The Validity and Implementing Authorities of Indonesian Marriage." *Justicia Islamica: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial* 17, no. 2 (2020): 343–64.
- Hasan, Abi, and Khairuddin Khairuddin. "Pandangan 'Urf Terhadap Uang Pekhanjangan Dalam Perkawinan Melangkahi Kakak Kandung." *Istinbath Jurnal Hukum Dan Ekonomi Islam* 20, no. 1 (2021): 176–88.
- Hidayatullah, Haris, and Maisih Maisih. "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Tradisi Pamoghi Dalam Resepsi Perkawinan (Studi Kasus Di Desa Kembang Kecamatan Tlogosari Kabupaten Bondowoso)." *Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 4, no. April (2019): 1–29.
- Husaini, Husaini. "Discovering Wisdom in Gayo Tradition with Reference to Islamic Educational Values in Marriage Practice." *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies* 4, no. 2 (2021): 204–34. <https://doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v4i2.8407>.
- Khairuddin, Khairuddin. *Khazanah Adat Dan Budaya Singkil: Mengungkap Keagungan Tradisi Dan Memelihara Kebudayaan*. Yogyakarta: Zahir Publishing, 2020.
- . "Tradisi Peseujuk Pada Saat Pindah Rumah Baru Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam." (*ARJIS*) *ABDURRAUF JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC STUDIES* 1 (2022): 28–44.
- Lon, Yohanes S, and Fransiska Widyawati. "Customary Law before Religion and State Laws Regarding Marriage In Manggarai, Eastern Indonesia." *Jurnal Cita Hukum* 9, no. 1 (2021): 93–110. <https://doi.org/10.15408/jch.v9i1.16510>.
- Maulidiyah, Nadwah. "Tradisi Walimatul Ursy Di Desa Panaongan Kecamatan

- Pasongsongan Kabupaten Sumenep (Analisa Semiotika Komunikasi Dakwah).” *Maddah* 1, no. 1 (2019): 16–28. <https://doi.org/10.35316/maddah.v1i1.237>.
- Nasrulloh, Muhammad, M Fauzan Zenrif, and R Cecep Lukman Yasin. “Isbat Nikah Poligami Ditinjau Dari Masalah Mursalah Al-Shatiby: Studi SEMA Nomor 3 Tahun 2018.” *Al-Qanun: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pembaharuan Hukum Islam* 24, no. 1 (2021): 122–44. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15642/alqanun.2021.24.1.122-144>.
- Nasution, Ikhwanuddin, Robert Sibarani, and Muhammad Takari. “Local Wisdom In Malam Berinai Tradition In Malay Society, Tanjungbalai, North Sumatera, Indonesia.” *Journal of Arts and Humanities* 5, no. 5 (2016): 68–77. <https://doi.org/10.18533/journal.v5i5.935>.
- Nugroho, Agung Tri. “Seserahan Dalam Perkawinan Masyarakat Adat Lampung.” *Sabda* 14, no. 1 (2019): 31–41. <https://doi.org/10.14710/sabda.14.1.31-41>.
- Nurdin, Ridwan, Muhamad Yusuf, and Syarifah Sarah Natasya. “The Gayonese Culture of Marriage System: The Islamic Law Perspective.” *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 5, no. 1 (2021): 108–26.
- Salim, Munir. “Adat Sebagai Budaya Kearifan Lokal Untuk Memperkuat Eksistensi Adat Ke Depa.” *Al Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Pidana Dan Ketatanegaraan* 5, no. 2 (2016): 244–55. <https://doi.org/10.24252/ad.v5i2.4845>.
- Sari, Novi Kartika, and Kudrat Abdillah. “Tradisi Pecotan Dalam Perayaan Walimah Al- ‘ Urs (Studi Analisis ‘ Urf Di Desa Bandaran Kecamatan Tlanakan Kabupaten Pamekasan).” *Al-Manhaj: Journal of Indonesian Islamic Family Law* 3, no. 2 (2021): 173–90. <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-manhaj.v3i2.4719>.
- Schrauwers, Albert. “Three Weddings and a Performance: Marriage, Households, and Development in the Highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia.” *American Ethnologist* 27, no. 4 (2000): 855–76. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2000.27.4.855>.
- Steenbrink, K A, and Jan S Aritonang. “Chapter Thirteen. The Sharp Contrasts Of Sumatra.” In *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 527–638. Brill, 2008. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003588>.
- Tihami, Tihami, and Sohari Sahrani. *Fikih Munakabat*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2010.
- Wahyuningsih, Sri. “Tradisi Punjungan Walimatul ‘Urs Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Di Desa Sirau Kecamatan Kemranjen).” *Jurnal Al Wasith: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 6, no. 1 (2021): 16–29.