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# CULTURAL SYNERGY IN THE WEDDING TRADITION BETWEEN BATAK AND JAVANESE TRIBES IN SOUTH BARUMUN, PADANG LAWAS REGENCY

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**Abstract:** This writing aims to analyse and reconstruct history, looking at the cultural Synergy In The Wedding Tradition Between Batak And Javanese Tribes In South Barumun, Padang Lawas Regency. In reviewing this research, the author uses a historical research method consisting of four steps, namely heuristics, source criticism, synthesis, and historiography. The results obtained explain that the majority of the population in South Barumun Sub-district are Mandailing Batak people. However, there are also migrants from Java Island. At the beginning of the arrival of the Javanese to South Barumun, they intended to manage the land in the area for farming. The king of Luhat Batang Bulu, Tongku Mangaraja Ronggur Hasibuan, gave the Javanese migrants land to manage and settle on for free. Over time, the marriage between the Javanese and Mandailing Batak communities had a very positive impact, creating a mutual cultural relationship between the two. This can be seen in the cultural arts used in this area, where cultural forms from both ethnicities are still equally maintained. The art of Kuda Kepang, for example, is still preserved today and is often held during weddings and on certain holidays. In addition, the system of inheritance of tribes or clans for descendants of marriages between ethnic Batak and ethnic Javanese in South Barumun is unique.

**Keywords:** Synergy, Marriage, Batak, Javanese

Abstrak: Penulisan ini bertujuan untuk menganalisa dan merekonstruksi sejarah, melihat sinergi budaya dalam tradisi pernikahan antara Suku Batak Dan Jawa di Barumun Selatan, Kabupaten Padang Lawas. Dalam mengkaji penelitian ini, penulis menggunakan metode penelitian sejarah yang terdiri dari empat langkah, yaitu heuristik, kritik sumber, sintesis, dan historiografi. Hasil yang diperoleh menjelaskan bahwa mayoritas penduduk di Kecamatan Barumun Selatan adalah masyarakat Batak Mandailing, Namun, ada juga masyarakat pendatang yang berasal dari Pulau Jawa. Pada awal kedatangan orang Jawa ke Barumun Selatan, mereka berniat untuk mengelola lahan yang ada di wilayah tersebut untuk bercocok tanam. Raja Luhat Batang Bulu, yang bernama Tongku Mangaraja Ronggur Hasibuan, memberikan lahan untuk dikelola dan sekaligus sebagai tempat permukiman bagi pendatang dari Jawa secara gratis atau tanpa biaya. Seiring berjalannya waktu, pernikahan antara masyarakat Jawa dan masyarakat Batak Mandailing memberikan dampak yang sangat positif, menciptakan hubungan timbal balik kebudayaan antara keduanya. Ini terlihat dalam seni budaya yang digunakan di daerah ini, di mana bentuk kebudayaan dari kedua etnis tetap sama-sama dipertahankan. Kesenian Kuda Kepang, misalnya, masih lestari hingga saat ini dan sering diadakan saat acara pesta pernikahan maupun pada hari-hari besar tertentu. Selain itu, sistem pewarisan suku atau marga bagi keturunan dari pernikahan antara etnis Batak dan etnis Jawa di Barumun Selatan mengikuti garis keturunan ayah. Proses ini berlangsung dengan harmonis dan tetap dijaga kelestariannya.

Kata Kunci: Sinergi, Pernikahan, Batak, Jawa

#### A. INTRODUCTION

By nature, humans are social entities or creatures that naturally live in communities or groups. The nature of human beings as social beings basically involves individual awareness of their status and role in life together with other human beings, as well as an understanding of the responsibilities and obligations inherent in the dynamics of togetherness. Society can be defined as a system involving customs and norms that regulate authority and cooperation between various human groups and classifications, as well as oversight of individual

behaviour and freedom. The whole entity that is constantly undergoing change is referred to as society. Society is a series of social interactions. Ralph Linton's opinion contained in Dadang Supardan's work also states that Society is a group of people who have lived together and worked together for a long enough period of time, so that they are able to organise themselves as an integrated social entity, with boundaries that have been firmly formulated.<sup>1</sup>

Javanese people who have settled in South Barumun Sub-district carry out a series of adaptation activities with the aim of forming a forum and relationships that facilitate the adaptation process. This is so that the migrants' community can become a place where members can share experiences and convey the various problems they face. In addition, through interaction within the community, it is hoped that mutual trust and solidarity can grow, each member of the community feels supported and able to help each other. Apart from the fact that they come from the same city, there is also a sense of closeness that exists between members of the community, similar to the closeness that exists in a family.

The Javanese community living in South Barumun sub-district is known for its customs. This community forms a strong social unit and demonstrates significant influence in the local area. The sustainability and strength of these customs is highly dependent on the support provided by some or all members of the community, based primarily on perceptions of fairness. These communities have no difficulty in interacting within their social environment, as they believe that customs, which are sustained, automatically create law and order.

The existence of customs is considered a means to achieve legal certainty. This is because through the use of adat, a legal framework is formed that provides guarantees for the rights and obligations of the community. This legal framework has a strong binding force, so that it can firmly establish the norms that govern the behaviour and obligations of the community. All these aspects are reflected in customary law, which contains commands, prohibitions and permissions as an integral part of the rules governing community life.

#### **B. RESEARCH METHOD**

The specific approach used in this research is the historical research method, which consists of four main stages. These stages include collecting historical sources (heuristics), critically evaluating sources (source criticism), interpreting or interpreting the information obtained (synthesis), and writing history (historiography).(2 This approach was chosen with the aim of investigating in depth the cultural Synergy In The Wedding Tradition Between Batak And Javanese Tribes In South Barumun, Padang Lawas Regency.

In the first stage, heuristics, the researcher collects all sources relevant to the research. This stage involves searching and collecting data from various available sources. In this process, researchers conducted a literature study by tracing books, news, journal articles, document studies in the form of photographs, looking for books related to research at the UIN Imam Bonjol Padang library and other supporting evidence. Furthermore, through in-depth interviews related to the research. In the context of this research, the informants involved involved community leaders, traditional leaders, scholars, village government and other informants who are considered to have important knowledge and relevant competencies related to the focus of this research and direct observation to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> (Dadang, 2015:28)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Saleh Madjid, 2011).

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research location, namely South Barumun District.3

The third stage is data analysis and interpretation. At this stage, researchers interpret the data by connecting all the facts that have been processed at the source criticism stage. This analysis is important to understand the context and meaning of the data that has been collected, so that researchers can compile a comprehensive picture of the topic under study. The last stage carried out by researchers is the historiography stage. In the historiography stage, researchers write history based on all the facts that have been verified and interpreted.<sup>4</sup>

#### C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

# 1. Community History between Javanese Ethnicity and Mandailing Batak Ethnicity

The Batak ethnicity is one of the oldest ethnic groups in North Sumatra. This ethnicity is spread in almost all areas of the province. Batak ethnicity belongs to the Malay or old Indonesian family. In addition, Batak ethnicity does not consist of just one group, but has many different sub-tribes. These sub-tribes include the Toba Batak, Karo Batak, Simalungun Batak, Pakpak/Dairi Batak, Mandailing Batak, and Angkola Batak. <sup>5</sup>

The arrival of the Javanese to South Barumun Sub-district can be explained as a gradual process. The first trace of the Javanese presence in South Barumun was recorded in 1946. The pioneering figures in this event included Marsidin, Kasmin, Kasiah, Suanda, and their friends. They were the first to enter the South Barumun sub-district and took the initiative to invite Javanese from outside the sub-district, including those in Padang Lawas and those from the Batang Toru plantation.

The main mission of these early leaders was to unite the Javanese community in Padang Lawas. In the beginning, the Javanese community in Padang Lawas did not have a special forum or association. Therefore, the aim of these leaders was to invite and unite the Javanese community in South Barumun Subdistrict, especially those from Padang Lawas, who had not previously been organised into an association.

The area where the Javanese currently live is in Sidomulio Village, which is specifically located in South Barumun Sub-District, Padang Lawas Regency. In the past, this village was known as an area that had very dry, arid and barren weather conditions. At that time, the local community did not utilise the land, because they thought that whatever plants were planted there would not grow and assumed that there was no life there. Because in addition they had a more fertile and extensive area, even at that time the system of taking land ownership rights was still free or unpaid. This means that for anyone who wants to take as much land as he wants, then it can and is valid as his personal property. This is what makes the local community not utilise and not make the area inhabited by the Javanese Community now as a place to settle or a place to grow crops.<sup>6</sup>

The arrival of the Javanese to South Barumun Sub-district was welcomed by the Harajaon (King) and the local community. At the beginning of the arrival of the Javanese to this sub-district, they came to the king to ask permission so that they could manage the land in the South Barumun Sub-district area and use it for farming. Then, the King of Luhat Batang Bulu named Tongku Mangaraja Ronggur Hasibuan gave land to migrants from Java to be managed and used as a place for

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> (Mestika Zed, 2004:3)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> (Kuntowijoyo, 2001:107)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> (Daulay, 2016:63)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Irwan, Merupakan Kepala Desa Sidomulio (Wawancara Langsung, 2023).

their permanent settlement. This decision was taken with the intention of giving the Javanese the opportunity to grow crops and settle in the area.

After the King of Batang Bulu gave land to the Javanese in the area of the current Sidomulio Village, at the same time there were also several villages that received permission from the Harajaon of the Batang Bulu region to malua sion hambitan (be able to establish their own village or expansion), including Gunung Barani Village, Tanjung Baringin Simarulak Village also received approval from the Harajaon (King) of Batang Bulu, Tongku Mangajara Ronggur Hasibuan, together with the State Council of Janji Lobi, then known as Luat Janji Lobi (the term "luat" in Batak language refers to a territory or area ruled by a king).<sup>7</sup>

The emergence of the Javanese community in South Barumun as a group residence was primarily fuelled by the natural instinct to maintain group cohesion. In this environment, there is a foundation that strengthens interactions between group members based on family or kinship ties, which are formed due to geographical proximity and common interests. Marsidin, Suanda Kasih and Kasmin invited or requested the participation of Javanese from other regions to jointly participate in the development of Sidomulio Village, located in South Barumun Sub-district, Padang Lawas Regency. They aim to improve their quality of life, which was previously difficult in their area of origin.

# 2. Marriage Procession between Javanese and Batak Communities

Each community has its own distinctive culture and customs, including those in the South Barumun region. This area is known to have unique customs traditions in the implementation of traditional ceremonies. The uniqueness of the customs in South Barumun is that there are different customary procession systems, namely between Mandailing Batak customs and Javanese customs. Although these two customary systems are different, both systems can run well. As in the case of the marriage procession when there is a Mandailing Batak community married to the Javanese Community or vice versa.

Cultural acculturation that occurs in the marriage ceremony is a process of uniting two different cultures. Although there are differences in culture and traditional processions, this does not become an obstacle in the process of cultural acculturation between the two different cultural groups. The implementation of a series of marriage processions between the Javanese Community and the Mandailing Batak Community until now continues to take place simultaneously, without any attempt to reduce or eliminate one of the cultures. This process continues in harmony, maintaining and respecting both cultures involved.

As a result of marriages between Javanese and Mandailing Batak communities, there is a very positive impact that gives rise to reciprocal relationships in cultural aspects between the two groups. Marriages between individuals from these two groups result in rich and mutually enriching cultural interactions, allowing for the exchange of values, traditions and daily life practices. Thus, a close bond is formed between Javanese culture and Mandailing Batak culture, creating a unique and diverse cultural diversity in the region. Involvement in various cultural events is one aspect that reflects the harmony in the fusion of these cultures. For example, when there is a celebration or special event, the Javanese community participates in cultural ceremonies organised by the Mandailing Batak community, without forgetting and leaving Javanese cultural elements. Conversely, the Mandailing Batak Community also actively participates in events held by the Javanese Community, with full respect for the existing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Suhedi, *Merupakan Kaur Desa Sidomulio Tahun 2022* (Wawancara Langsung, 2023).

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cultural diversity.

The researcher also observed the dynamics of the marriage process in South Barumun Sub-district. In the context of the marriage procession involving two different cultures, namely Mandailing Batak culture and Javanese culture, it was found that the customs of the two cultural groups were carefully maintained. Mandailing Batak culture insists that every stage in the traditional procession must be carried out with great care, as well as the Javanese who live in Sidomulio Village, who maintain the entire series of Javanese traditional processions in the implementation of their marriage.

The Mandailing Batak community, as part of the Batak ethnic group, views that customs are not just an activity, but an activity that is integrated in the community's kinship system. Customs are considered a guideline or reference in determining attitudes, behaviour, and interactions with the social environment, while keeping them in line with the religious values adopted. In addition, customs are also an element that strengthens the identity of Mandailing Batak people. <sup>8</sup>

As the author obtained data from several informants, namely Ramadhan Hasibuan (age 63) said that the marriage procession system carried out in South Barumun in particular, if there is a cross-cultural marriage or marriage between individuals who come from Batak and Javanese ethnicities, the customary system applied will automatically focus its attention first on the location where the marriage procession will take place. This means that if the marriage procession is held in a Javanese place, then automatically, the custom used is Javanese custom, and if the marriage procession is used in a Batak place, then the custom used is also Batak custom. In this case, there is no problem regarding the customs used.<sup>9</sup>

The second informant, buk Sukinam (age 52), said that the customary procession system carried out if a Javanese person marries a Batak person, then the custom we use is still Javanese custom. and if later the Batak person also wants to celebrate a reception at his house, then they will also use their custom, namely Batak custom. and in terms of customs about this marriage procession has been going on for a long time in South Barumun. <sup>10</sup>

The form of acculturation in the marriage procession that occurs between the Batak community and the Javanese community in South Barumun is among others in terms of:

## a. Markobar Event

Markobar houses a set of procedures that have been agreed upon by the Mandailing Batak Community. Although there are variations in the method of delivery and the content expressed, this cultural heritage is considered a cultural element. The implementation process reflects diversity in expression, but at its core, Markobar remains the guardian of the values collectively recognised by the Mandailing Batak community, still carried out with great respect in various Mandailing traditional ceremonies. One of them is in South Barumun Sub-district, Padang Lawas Regency.

The uniqueness of markobar is very interesting. For those who are not familiar with Mandailing traditions, have limitations in understanding the variety of Mandailing languages, and do not fully understand the dynamics of social relations and Mandailing kinship principles, markobar events may be

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Harahap, Orientasi Nilai-Nilai Budaya Batak Toba Suatu Pendekatan Terhadap Perilaku Batak Toba Angkola Mandailing (Jakarta: Sanggar Willem Iskandar, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> Ramadhan Hasibuan, Pemangku Adat (Wawancara Langsung, 2022).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Sukinam, *Masyarakat Sidomulio* (Wawancara Langsung, 2022).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Dedisyah, "Tradisi Makkobar Dalam Pernikahan Adat Mandailing Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam," *Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 1, no. 2 (2022).

considered less interesting or even equated with a waste of time. This situation reflects the implementation of the value of "olang" (love) in the Mandailing cultural context. Every family member, who is seen as an integral part of the kinship relationship, is expected to participate in the markobar. For those who do not fully understand this aspect, participation may be considered less relevant. However, from another perspective, for individuals who understand their role and position in the kinship structure, non-participation in customary meetings or not getting the opportunity to speak in customary discussions can cause offence and even potentially trigger internal conflict within the kinship framework. <sup>12</sup> In the procession of this markobar event, the form of official conversation is in the form of oral tradition. <sup>13</sup>

According to Parinduri, most Mandailing Batak communities still consider the Markobar tradition as an integral element of various traditional celebrations with a high level of importance. The presence of this Markobar tradition proves its relevance in the implementation of various traditional ceremonies, both small-scale and in the context of organising large traditional ceremonies, where markobar elements are always involved in the procession. In addition, the Head of Customary Arts and Culture of HIKMA (Himpunan Keluarga Besar Mandailing) North Sumatra categorised Markobar into four different functions, namely sacred, traditional, attractive and artistic functions. This categorisation reflects the diverse roles and importance of Markobar in the lives of Mandailing people.

## 1) Markobar's activities are viewed as sacred by the community

This is due to the fact that most of the content of the messages delivered in Markobar shows is about values that encourage virtue and avoid inappropriate behaviour (amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar). In other segments of Markobar, there is a tendency to give advice (marsipaingot), especially to newlywed couples. This advice is inseparable from the principles of Islamic teachings that teach to obey Allah and His Messenger, carry out prayer obligations, and give respect and affection to parents, relatives (morakahanggi), and anak boru.

Furthermore, someone who will migrate is given advice not to forget to carry out prayer obligations. This advice is intended to remind them of the importance of maintaining the observance of worship, showing determination and firmness in seeking sustenance, upholding the values of honesty and trustworthiness, and keeping in mind their origins and hometown.

# 2) Markobar Activities are Perceived as a Traditional Activity by the Community

Because it has become a routine for the Mandailing Batak Community, both those who live in the Mandailing area and those outside the area. Certainly, a wedding celebration will feel incomplete without a Markobar event. Although not all brides can or understand the Mandailing language used in Markobar, this tradition is still carried out, even if it is only done in a few sessions.

# 3) Markobar's Activity is Recognised as an Activity that Attracts Attention

<sup>12 (</sup>Fauziah, 2014:70)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> (Liliweri, 2003:32)

In practice, the Parkobars (Parhata-hata) have a role as a panel of judges who have influence in determining the decision to be taken. In this context, there is competition or speaking skills on the part of the Parkobar, especially in relation to the ability to seduce (mangaririt), propose (manyapai boru), and deliver hantaran (pataru batang boban). Therefore, both the bride and groom-to-be are given the opportunity to display their communication and wooing skills in front of the Parkobars, both of whom will jointly demonstrate their expertise in the traditional court. The ability to use words wisely and politely plays an important role in the smoothness and ease of the process. This concept is in line with a proverb in the Mandailing Batak language which states that "hata-hata do dupang-dupang, hata-hata do pambayar ni utang", meaning that "wise words can pay debts".

### 4) Markobar Activities Seen as Artistically Charged Activities

In the procession, the use of artistic language becomes essential, which includes the selection of words, unique language style and proper intonation is the hallmark of markobar events. The way language is delivered and the choice of words in the markobar event is adjusted to the ongoing situation and context. The bride-to-be or anak boru, with the aim of getting approval from the mora, will express her speech humbly, seduce in a pleading style, and share her grievances to achieve the mora's approval. On the other hand, the mora will communicate quickly and show authority in every word he says. This kind of performance will increase the respect of the boru and their family.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. Community Arts

In terms of community arts, the differences between the Batak community and the Javanese community in South Barumun are very visible. But even though the art system between these two ethnic communities is different, it does not mean that it cannot be united. With tolerance in the midst of society and accepting existing differences, so that differences are not considered a big problem or division, but are used as a form of unifying culture between two different ethnicities and as a form of local wisdom.

As explained by the informant, the arts used in South Barumun, we know that in South Barumun there are two different ethnic communities and until now the community is harmonious and peaceful. In the area, both ethnicities use the same type of art that they have adopted. The Batak community continues to use their arts both in terms of marriage processions or celebrations such as the arts of Margondang, Manortor and so on. Likewise, the Javanese also continue to use their arts such as kuda lumping and other forms of art performances.<sup>15</sup>

From the results of interviews obtained from informants, namely Pak Toni (Age 59 years) said that the acculturation process that occurred between the Mandailing Batak Community, as an indigenous group in the South Barumun area, and the Javanese Community, which is a migrant group, can also be identified from the continuation of the Kuda Kepang art tradition in Sidomulio Village. This tradition continues to be preserved and maintained until now, both when it is performed at weddings and on other major celebrations. The continuation of the Kuda Kepang art provides concrete evidence that the Javanese community, as a migrant group, and the Mandailing Batak community, as an indigenous group, can

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> (Parinduri, 2013:30)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Adam Nasution, *Pemangku Adat* (Wawancara Langsung, 2023).

live together without social conflict in the South Barumun area. 16

From the established social relations, thus, there is an attitude of tolerance in the midst of diversity between local communities, such as the Mandailing Batak Community, and the Javanese Community. In addition, there is also a harmonious social relationship between the local community and the Javanese Community.

# 4. The system of inheritance of tribes or clans from offspring resulting from marriages between ethnic Javanese and ethnic Batak / Cross-Marriage

Each ethnic group, such as the Mandailing Batak Community, which represents the Batak sub-tribe, maintains a rich cultural heritage, including a system of social structures that have been inherited from their ancestors. This system governs the relationships between members of the community, including those between the nuclear family, extended family, countrymen, and members of the community as a whole. The core of the Mandailing Batak community's social structure is based on the principle of paternal descent, often referred to as the Patrilineal system.<sup>17</sup>

In the tradition of Batak society, boys have a very significant role. As well as being assigned as heirs to the family clan or tribe, boys in the Batak community are also entrusted with the responsibility of continuing the lineage, fulfilling obligations and learning to live independently. This shows how important the role of boys is in maintaining and passing on the traditions and values of their family and culture. However, it is important to remember that girls are not marginalised in Batak society. This society also values and gives equal respect to the role of girls. <sup>18</sup>

The prevailing kinship system among the Javanese is the bilateral kinship system. Bilateral kinship is a term that refers to kinship relationships formed through the involvement and contribution of both paternal and maternal parents. This kinship system is also known as parental kinship. In a bilateral kinship structure, bilateral kinship refers to kinship relationships that are formed through the participation and involvement of both parents, both paternal and maternal.

Children connect themselves with both their parents. In addition, children also establish relationships with their paternal and maternal relatives on a bilateral basis. Within the framework of this bilateral or parental kinship system, similar rules apply for marriage, maintenance obligations, honour and inheritance, both on the paternal and maternal sides. In this parental kinship order, a child's family ties can only be formed through marriage. 19

In terms of cross-cultural marriages, there have been many intermarriages between Javanese and Mandailing Batak communities, which have blended harmoniously into community life. There are many examples of marriages between individuals from Mandailing Batak and Javanese communities in the South Barumun area, who have become an integral part of the local community, resulting in integration between Mandailing Batak and Javanese communities.

As stated by the informant, Adam said that if there is a Batak Mandailing (male) who marries a Javanese (female), then later the system of decreasing the tribe or clan will follow the father's lineage or patrilineal, then later the child born

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Toni, *Pemangku Adat* (Wawancara Langsung, 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> (Firmando, 2020:62)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> (Rahayu, 2016)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> (Arifah, 2021:29)

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will have a clan or tribe according to his father's clan, and if there is a Javanese (male) married to a Batak (female), then later the lineage of the child born will also follow his father. This means that the child born does not have a clan anymore, or what is commonly referred to in this area is the Javanese clan.<sup>20</sup>

The system of descending tribes or clans for descendants of the results of marriages between Javanese Ethnic and Batak Ethnic in South Barumun follows a patrilineal pattern, namely according to the father's lineage. And this system has also been going on for a long time and has been equally accepted among the two ethnic communities.

### **D. CONCLUSION**

Based on the findings that have been revealed in the previous discussion, conclusions can be drawn from the results of the research that has been conducted. The early arrival of the Javanese to South Barumun Sub-district was welcomed by the Harajaon (King) and the local community. At the beginning of the arrival of the Javanese to this sub-district, they came to the king to ask permission so that they could manage the land in the South Barumun sub-district area and utilise it for farming. They had the aim of improving their quality of life, which was previously difficult in their area of origin. The arrival of the Javanese to South Barumun Sub-district can be explained as a gradual process.

Acculturation between the Javanese Community and the Batak Community has been going on for decades, precisely since 1946. Acculturation that occurs in the marriage ceremony is a process of uniting two different cultures. This process continues in harmony, maintaining and respecting both cultures involved. Marriage between the Javanese and Mandailing Batak communities has a significant positive impact and creates mutual influence in the field of culture between the two groups. This indicates an exchange of cultural values, traditions and daily life practices that enrich the cultural diversity of the region. Involvement in various cultural events is one aspect that reflects harmony in cultural fusion.

In the context of inter-ethnic marriage, many members of the Javanese Community and Mandailing Batak Community have intermarried and have become integrated into the community. This shows the integration between the two ethnic groups in their social and cultural life. If there is a Mandailing Batak person (male) who marries a Javanese person (female), then later the tribal or clan inheritance system will follow the father's lineage, then later the child born will have a clan or tribe according to his father's clan, and if there is a Javanese person (male) married to a Batak person (female), then later the lineage of the child born will also follow his father. This means that the child born has no clan anymore, or what is commonly referred to in this area is the Javanese clan. In South Barumun, the tribal or clan inheritance system for descendants of marriages between ethnic Batak and ethnic Javanese follows the father's descent pattern. This means that tribal or clan identity is determined by the father's lineage, which is typical of the social structure in the area.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Adam Nasution, *Pemangku Adat*.

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