

The Tuhor Tradition In Marriage Among The South Tapanuli Community The Dialectic Between Custom and Islamic Law

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Article Info	Abstract
<p>Article history: Received: Feb 16, 2026 Revised: Mar 11, 2026 Accepted: Mar 28, 2026</p> <hr/> <p>Keywords: Islamic law Marriage customs Socio-legal study Tapanuli Selatan Tuhor</p>	<p><i>The tradition of tuhor (bride-price) in the marriage customs of the Tapanuli Selatan community represents a complex intersection between local adat values and Islamic legal principles. This study aims to examine the dynamics of determining the quantity of tuhor through the dialectical relationship between customary norms and Islamic jurisprudence. Employing a qualitative field research approach, data were collected through interviews with religious leaders, adat elders, and community members involved in marriage negotiations. The analysis used a socio-legal framework to reveal the coexistence and tension between customary practices and Islamic legal ethics. The findings indicate that tuhor functions not merely as a material requirement but as a symbol of family honor, social responsibility, and mutual respect between kinship groups. From an Islamic perspective, the amount of tuhor should align with the principle of fairness ('adl) and should not burden either party. However, in practice, social prestige and local status often influence the determination of its value, leading to disparities between religious ideals and customary expectations. The study concludes that harmonization between adat and Islamic law is essential to ensure that the implementation of tuhor reflects both cultural dignity and the spirit of justice as mandated in Islamic teachings.</i></p>
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A. Introduction

The tradition of tuhor in the marriage of the South Tapanuli community is a phenomenon that occupies an important position in the social and cultural structure of the Mandailing-Angkola people. Historically, tuhor, or honest money, functions as a form of appreciation to the woman's family, while also symbolizing the man's ability to bear the responsibilities of the household (Abadi, 2020). However, in the context of modern society, which is becoming increasingly complex, the meaning of tuhor has shifted. Some people view it as part of the tradition that must be preserved, while others consider this practice burdensome for the prospective groom. This change has caused social tension between traditional values and the principles of benefit (masalah) taught in Islam (Bardan, 2021).

The main issue faced by the South Tapanuli community is the absence of a standard in determining the quantity of tuhor. Based on field data from Batang Angkola District, the amount of

tuhor can range from five million to one hundred million rupiah, depending on the social status and family background. This disparity creates social inequality and jealousy among residents, and in some cases, has caused delays in the marriage contract because the groom's side has not been able to meet the demands of the woman's family (Siregar & Mardiah, 2021). This phenomenon reveals the imbalance between the symbolic value of appreciation and the economic burden that the groom must bear.

In Islamic law, the concept of giving to the bride is more commonly known as mahr, which is based on the principles of sincerity and justice without a fixed amount. However, the practice of tuhor in South Tapanuli often exceeds the value of mahr set in the marriage contract, raising the question of whether this practice aligns with Sharia principles or deviates from the values of Islamic justice. (rahmat ramdhani, hosen, puji pratiwi, 2024). Local scholars generally take a moderate stance by allowing tuhor as long as it does not burden the groom, but in practice, tradition remains the main determining factor in marriage negotiations.

The tension between tradition and Islamic law reveals an interesting normative dialectic to explore. In Mandailing-Angkola tradition, tuhor is seen as a symbol of the family's dignity and a bond that strengthens kinship relations. Meanwhile, in Islam, marriage is an act of worship that should be based on simplicity and ease (*taisir*). When traditional values demand a large amount as a form of honor, while Sharia emphasizes justice and flexibility, the question arises about the point of convergence that can preserve the harmony between these two value systems (Harahap, 2024).

Another issue arises from the social perceptions that have developed in the community. Interviews with several customary leaders in Padangsidempuan indicate that the higher the education or social status of the woman's family, the higher the amount of tuhor demanded. This practice shows that tuhor has shifted into an instrument of social prestige, no longer a symbol of spiritual respect. As a result, there is a gap between the egalitarian moral values of Islam and the hierarchical social reality. This phenomenon suggests that the traditional customs, which were originally intended to strengthen relationships, can now become an obstacle for the younger generation in building a household. (Nisa' & Darmawan, 2021).

From an economic perspective, the high setting of tuhor often creates a heavy burden for the groom. Based on field data from 2024 in Sigalangan Village, 34% of grooms admitted that they had to postpone their marriages because they were unable to meet the agreed-upon amount of tuhor. This condition has the potential to create other social implications, such as an increase in the age of marriage and a tendency for cohabitation outside of marriage. This phenomenon has become a social problem that calls for a reinterpretation of tradition to make it more adaptive to the principles of Islamic economic justice.

Besides the economic issue, gender problems also arise in the practice of tuhor. In some cases, women are placed as symbolic objects who are 'valued' through the tuhor money, whereas Islam positions women as subjects who have full rights over themselves and the mahr they receive (Nisa' & Darmawan, 2021). Some women's activists in South Tapanuli have stated that this practice can reinforce patriarchal stereotypes, where a woman's value is measured by the amount set by her family. This issue invites debate between the preservation of culture and the need for a reform of values in accordance with the principles of Islamic equality. The legitimacy of customary law within the national legal system. Although tuhor is recognized as part of local tradition, its implementation is not formally regulated within the state law or Islamic law. As a result, disputes related to the determination of tuhor or its return after the cancellation of a marriage often lack a clear legal basis. Data from the Batangtoru Religious Affairs Office (KUA) indicates several cases where the groom's side requested the return of tuhor after the marriage was canceled, but the resolution was only carried out through customary deliberation without a definitive normative reference (Dwi Fathir & Institut, 2023).

Theologically, tuhor raises questions about the boundary between customs accepted by Islam and those that contradict Sharia. The principle of *al-'adah muhakkamah* (custom can become law) provides room for customs as long as they do not contradict the Sharia texts. However, when customs become a burden and hinder the implementation of the sunnah of marriage, a violation of the principle of *raf'ul haraj* (removing hardship) occurs. This issue necessitates a reinterpretation of the meaning of tuhor to ensure it continues to function as a social instrument that brings benefit.

Another issue is how the community interprets the spiritual value of tuhor. Interviews with a scholar in Sipirok revealed that some people understand tuhor as a form of charity (*sadaqah*) to the bride's family, rather than as a symbol of honor or compensation. However, this interpretation is not uniform across South Tapanuli. The variation in understanding highlights the need for religious education that emphasizes the values of simplicity, responsibility, and sincere intention in marriage. In the context of modernization and urbanization, the tuhor tradition also faces the challenge of adaptation (Nusi et al., 2023). Young generations in urban areas such as Padangsidempuan and Gunung Tua have begun to question the relevance of high-valued tuhor. They emphasize the substance of marriage as an act of worship and a social contract, rather than as a means of proving family status. However, this progressive view often clashes with the older generation, who hold onto tradition as a sacred inheritance. This generational conflict becomes an interesting aspect in understanding the shift in cultural values in the era of globalization.

Another issue arises in the context of the local economy. In some villages, tuhor has become an important economic resource for the bride's family, which uses the funds for social and educational purposes. This phenomenon creates ambiguity: on one hand, tuhor provides economic benefits, but on the other hand, it has the potential to create dependency and the commercialization of marriage.

Data from field research in Sayur Matinggi District shows that 28% of the bride's family allocates tuhor for the educational costs of the groom's younger siblings, highlighting the socio-economic dimension that cannot be overlooked. The weak awareness of the community regarding the concept of mahr according to Sharia, which should be the core of the marriage gift, is evident. Many people still consider mahr as merely an administrative formality in the marriage contract, while the value of tuhor is regarded as more determinant of the validity of marriage according to custom. This imbalance reveals the dominance of tradition over Sharia, which has implications for the substantive understanding of Islamic family law. From a social perspective, the practice of tuhor also reinforces class stratification (Siregar, 2022). Families with higher economic status tend to set a large nominal as a form of pride, while poor families struggle to adjust to these social standards. This has the potential to create marginalization of economically disadvantaged groups and limit their opportunities for marriage. In this context, a reconstructive approach is needed so that the tradition of tuhor does not become an exclusive instrument, but rather continues to function to strengthen social and spiritual bonds.

The weak legal literacy of Islamic law in rural areas exacerbates misunderstandings regarding the position of tuhor. Some people still equate tuhor with mahr, even though the two have different foundations and functions. Mahr is the wife's right that must be given according to Sharia law, while tuhor is a customary practice and does not carry the same legal consequences (Kafi, 2020). This lack of knowledge has led to practices that are not in line with the principles of fiqh, such as the complete appropriation of tuhor by the bride's parents without the knowledge of their child. The dialectic between tradition and Islamic law has yet to reach an ideal point of harmonization. Therefore, this research is necessary to examine how the practice of tuhor can be reformulated to preserve the dignity of tradition while upholding the values of justice and ease in Islamic law. The effort for harmonization is expected to result in an integrative model that respects local traditions without sacrificing the principles of Sharia, and that can serve as a guide for socio-religious policies for the South Tapanuli community in the future.

B. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with field research to deeply understand the tuhor tradition in the marriage of the South Tapanuli community. This approach is chosen because it can reveal the social, legal, and religious meanings of a customary practice that still thrives within the community. The research location is focused on several districts, including Batang Angkola, Sipirok, and Sayur Matinggi, which represent the socio-cultural variations of the Mandailing-Angkola community. Primary data is obtained through in-depth interviews with customary leaders, scholars, marriage officiants, and couples directly involved in the tuhor practice. Participatory observation is

conducted to document the customary proceedings and social interactions during the tuhor negotiation, while secondary data is gathered from KUA documents, local government archives, and Islamic legal literature.

Data analysis is carried out descriptively-analytically using a socio-legal approach, which combines normative analysis of Islamic teachings with the empirical realities of the local community. The analysis process includes data reduction, presentation, and thematic conclusion drawing. Data validity is maintained through source and method triangulation techniques. With this approach, the research is expected to comprehensively explain the dialectic between customary values and Islamic law in the practice of tuhor in South Tapanuli

C. Result and Discussion

Implementation and Dynamics of the Tuhor Tradition in the South Tapanuli Community Tradisi

Until now, tuhor remains an integral part of the Mandailing-Angkola customary marriage system in the South Tapanuli community. Based on field observations in several districts, such as Batang Angkola, Sipirok, and Sayur Matinggi, the practice of tuhor is consistently embedded in the customary marriage process, including during the negotiation, handover, and post-marriage contract stages. Tuhor is understood not merely as a material gift from the groom's side to the bride's family, but also as a symbol of respect for the dignity of women and the kinship between families (Syarifuddin & Fiqh, 2017). In this context, tuhor functions as a manifestation of moral values passed down through generations and is seen as a social prerequisite that ensures the honor of both families.

Based on an interview with a customary leader in Sipirok in March 2024, it was mentioned that 'tuhor is not the price of a woman, but a symbol of respect and the man's responsibility toward the bride's family.' This statement shows that the community still views tuhor as a position of moral and social honor. However, on the other hand, the determination of the tuhor amount is often influenced by social status, educational level, and the economic position of the family. This indicates that tradition is not entirely static, but rather dynamic and adaptive to the social developments occurring in modern society (Azni, Wahidin, Rahmad Kurniawan, 2022).

The process of determining tuhor begins with a meeting of the two extended families, known as *marbata sinamot*, where negotiations are conducted openly while still upholding customary communication ethics. Observations in Sigalangan Village show that the bride's family is typically represented by the customary leader (*mora*), while the groom's family is represented by the *kabanggi* (blood relatives). In this deliberation, the amount of tuhor is determined through mutual agreement, taking into account the groom's family's ability. However, in practice,

differences of opinion often arise between the principle of sincerity and the value of social prestige, especially among urban communities.

An interview with a marriage officiant in Batang Angkola revealed that 'often, the groom has to borrow money or sell assets to meet the tuhor demands from the bride's family.' This indicates that the tuhor tradition, originally intended to strengthen social bonds, has now often become a significant economic burden. This phenomenon reflects a shift in value orientation, from being primarily symbolic and spiritual to adopting a materialistic dimension influenced by economic modernization and social needs.

The form of tuhor delivery also varies in practice. In rural areas such as Sayur Matinggi, tuhor is usually given in the form of cash wrapped in traditional ulos cloth, accompanied by symbolic items such as rice, gold, and woven cloth. Meanwhile, in urban areas like Padangsidempuan, tuhor is often delivered via bank transfer or through a simplified symbolic ceremony. This variation shows that the value of the tradition is maintained, but its implementation is adapted to the socio-economic context of the community (Rasyid & Siregar, 2022). Besides the material aspect, the spiritual dimension of tuhor remains strong in the community's consciousness. In an interview with a scholar in Sipirok, he emphasized that 'as long as tuhor is intended as a form of respect, not a transaction, then this custom does not contradict Sharia.' This view reflects a local effort to maintain a balance between tradition and Islamic law. Scholars and customary leaders collaborate to ensure that the practice of tuhor does not conflict with the principle of justice and does not cause harm to the bride and groom

The implementation of tuhor serves to strengthen community solidarity. The *marbata sinamot* procession is attended by all extended family members, and even by local residents who offer both moral and material support. Based on observations in Batang Angkola, this process illustrates how marriage functions as a means to reinforce social ties and expand kinship networks. Thus, tuhor plays a role as a social mechanism that reinforces cohesion and harmony within the Mandailing-Angkola community. However, social dynamics also reveal the emergence of critical views toward the practice of tuhor. Some young couples interviewed in Padangsidempuan stated that the high value of tuhor often becomes an obstacle to marriage. A 27-year-old respondent mentioned that 'for us, who are just starting our careers, paying tens of millions for tuhor is a heavy burden; but if we don't follow the tradition, we're considered disrespectful.' This situation reflects a social dilemma between respecting tradition and the rational need to simplify marriage expenses (Cici Handayani, 2023).

Moreover, the generational differences in perspective further highlight the cultural orientation shift. The older generation still views tuhor as a symbol of family honor that must be preserved, while the younger generation sees it as a practice that needs to be adjusted to modern

economic conditions. An interview with an Islamic law lecturer in Padangsidempuan emphasized that 'the biggest challenge today is finding common ground between sacred customs and Islamic law, which is flexible to the changes of the times.' This view highlights the importance of a cultural dialogue process to ensure that traditions remain relevant in the context of contemporary society. This adaptation phenomenon is also evident in the gender context. In some cases, women now have a voice in the tuhor negotiation process, something that was previously done only by the men and their extended families. An interview with a women's activist in Sayur Matinggi District revealed that 'women are now beginning to determine the amount of tuhor to avoid burdening their future husbands.' This involvement of women indicates a positive social transformation, where the values of justice and equality are beginning to be integrated into customs.

The findings in the field show that the South Tapanuli community has differing views on how to allocate tuhor funds. Most of the bride's family uses the funds for the wedding celebration, while others save it as a symbolic gesture of family honor. However, based on an interview with a customary leader in Batangtoru, a practice of productive management of tuhor was also found, such as using it to finance the education of the groom's younger siblings. This shows that the economic value of tuhor can be directed toward the well-being of the family if managed wisely. In the socio-religious context, tuhor also functions as a moral instrument. An interview with the marriage officiant (penghulu) from KUA Batang Angkola revealed that 'the giving of tuhor often becomes a symbol of the man's responsibility toward the bride's family, which then serves as a reminder in married life.' This sense of responsibility becomes a moral aspect that strengthens tuhor's role as an ethical education in marriage. Therefore, although the practice is customary, the moral substance contained within it aligns with Islamic values.

Field observations show a variation in the level of community acceptance of changes in the value of tuhor. In rural areas, people still maintain the traditional pattern with a large nominal as a symbol of honor. Meanwhile, in urban areas, a reform movement has emerged advocating for the limitation of tuhor amounts to align with the economic capacity of the bride and groom. This initiative comes from the younger generation and religious leaders who are striving to harmonize tradition with the principle of ease (taisir) in Islam (Sugiono, 2011).

The social changes that have occurred have also introduced a new dimension in the interpretation of tradition. In several villages such as Siuhom and Aek Libung, the practice of tuhor is now linked to values of moral education and economic empowerment for families. According to one customary leader in Siuhom, 'We strive to ensure that tuhor is not just a symbol, but also beneficial for the future of the couple getting married.' This approach shows a new awareness that tradition can be revived through a transformation of values that align with the needs of the times.

In addition to the internal aspects of the community, local government policies also influence the dynamics of tuhor. The government, through the Religious Affairs Office (KUA) and customary institutions, often acts as a mediator when disputes or objections arise regarding the amount of tuhor. According to data from KUA Sipirok in 2023, several cases were recorded where the groom's side requested a review of the tuhor amount, which was considered excessive. These cases were resolved through customary deliberation with a persuasive approach, demonstrating the synergy between customary institutions and religious organizations. In the perspective of Islamic law, some local scholars state that tuhor cannot be equated with mahr because it is not a requirement for the validity of marriage. However, as long as it does not contradict the principles of justice and does not cause harm, this practice can be accepted as part of tradition recognized by Islam (Ikhsan, 2022). The principle of *al-'adah muhakkamah* serves as the basis for the legitimacy of scholars to uphold tradition as long as it brings benefit. This proves that the South Tapanuli community has successfully developed a pattern of harmonization between local culture and religious norms.

The implementation of the tuhor tradition in South Tapanuli shows a complex dynamic between values, economics, and religiosity. On one hand, tuhor remains a symbol of honor and cultural identity that is highly esteemed; on the other hand, it faces pressures from modernization and the need for reinterpretation to align with Islamic principles and the economic realities of society. Therefore, the practice of tuhor in this region reflects a living dialectical process between tradition, religion, and modernity—a social phenomenon that represents the community's efforts to maintain a balance between traditional heritage and the demands of the times.

The Dialectic Between Customary Values and Islamic Law Principles in the Determination of Tuhor.

The dialectic between customary law and Islamic law in the practice of tuhor in South Tapanuli shows a dynamic and mutually influential relationship. Based on field findings, the community does not view custom and Islam as two conflicting entities, but rather as value systems that can complement each other. In an interview with a scholar in Sipirok District, he stated that 'Mandailing customs do not conflict with Islam as long as they are practiced with good intentions and do not cause difficulty for the people.' This statement reflects the community's efforts to preserve tradition while ensuring that its practice remains within the boundaries of Sharia.

The concept of giving in marriage is represented by mahr, which has normative foundations in the Qur'an, Surah An-Nisa, verse 4. Mahr is given to the bride as a personal right and a symbol of respect. However, in the context of tuhor, the recipient is not the individual, but the bride's family. According to an interview with a marriage officiant (*penghulu*) in Batang

Angkola, 'Tuhor is not mahr because it is given to the family, but its value remains with good intentions, not to purchase someone.' This shows that the difference in the recipient's function does not automatically make tuhor contrary to Islamic law, as long as its intent and practice remain within the boundaries of benefit (*kemaslahatan*) (Sugiono, 2011). From a customary perspective, tuhor is seen as a social tool to strengthen ties between clans and reinforce moral responsibility. A customary leader in Sayur Matinggi explained that 'tuho is a symbol of the bond between two families; once it is given, their relationship is not just between husband and wife, but between their descendants.' This concept shows that tuhor holds social value that goes beyond its economic aspect. However, theologically, this must still be controlled to prevent it from shifting into a material assessment of the dignity of women.

Value tension arises when the determination of tuhor is influenced by social prestige and family status. Based on field data, there is a tendency that the higher a person's education or position, the greater the nominal tuhor set. Some local scholars criticize this practice as it is seen as conflicting with the principles of *al-'adl* (justice) and *al-taisir* (ease) in Islamic law (Zulaifi, 2022). A ulama in Padangsidempuan emphasized that 'Islam does not prohibit tradition, but it prohibits hardship; if tuhor makes it difficult for people to marry, then it must be corrected.

Custom and Islam meet at the point of responsibility and respect, but differ in terms of distribution and the limits of fairness. From the customary perspective, the larger the tuhor, the higher the value of respect for the bride's family; while in Islam, true respect lies in the intention and goodwill. This dialectic results in a local understanding that the balance between economic ability and the value of respect must be maintained (Lapanca, 2021). Therefore, many customary leaders have started to adopt the principle of consensus (*musyawarah mufakat*) to determine the value of tuhor in order to align it with the groom's financial capacity without diminishing the symbolic value of the tradition.

The results of interviews in Sigalangan Village show that this practice of consensus has been widely implemented since 2020, especially after marriage officiants and customary leaders conducted socialization of Islamic law at the village level. As a result, tuhor is no longer set unilaterally, but rather through open dialogue between the two families. This process reflects the application of the *fiqh* principle of *al-'adah muhakkamah*, that custom can serve as a legal basis as long as it does not conflict with Sharia. The community recognizes that maintaining harmony between tradition and Islam is a form of obedience to two equally noble value systems.

The shift in values is also evident in the reinterpretation of the meaning of tuhor. According to an interview with an Islamic law lecturer in Padangsidempuan, 'tuho is no longer a measure of prestige, but part of a social learning process where marriage is a shared responsibility of both families.' This shows a shift from competitive values to educational values. This

transformation of meaning makes tuhor not just a material symbol, but also a medium for moral education for the younger generation to understand the concept of responsibility in marriage (rahmat ramdhani, hosen, puji pratiwi, 2024). From an economic perspective, some members of the community have started to propose limiting the value of tuhor based on the principles of Islamic justice. In Batang Angkola District, for example, an informal agreement has emerged between customary leaders and the local Religious Affairs Office (KUA) to limit the maximum value of tuhor to ten million rupiah for families with a lower to middle income. This informal policy has been positively received as it is seen to align with the spirit of *raf'ul haraj*, which means removing difficulties in religious matters. This approach demonstrates the community's ability to recontextualize tradition within the framework of Islamic law without eliminating the tradition itself.

Additionally, an interview with a religious leader in Sipirok revealed efforts to integrate spiritual values into the practice of tuhor. He explained that 'we always remind our congregation that the intention should not be to show off, but to show respect; if the intention changes, the tradition can become a burden of sin.' This statement reflects the growing religious awareness within the community about the importance of intention in every customary practice. This means that Islam provides the moral direction for the implementation of tuhor, while custom gives its social form (Jumiyati et al., 2024). However, challenges still arise in the implementation on the ground. Some extended families continue to maintain high tuhor values, citing the need to preserve the dignity of their clan. In Siuhom Village, for example, a case was found where the groom postponed the marriage because he could not meet the tuhor demand of fifty million rupiah. According to a local customary leader, 'We understand how difficult it is, but for us, this is a matter of family honor; if it is reduced, it is seen as devaluing the woman.' This statement indicates that there is still resistance within customary law to the principle of Islamic economic justice.

From the perspective of Islamic legal anthropology, this condition shows the existence of living law, where customary norms and religious norms operate in parallel. Both coexist and continuously negotiate their spheres of authority. Islamic law provides a moral foundation and ethical boundaries, while custom provides a concrete form in the social context. This dialectic is not a form of contradiction, but rather an ongoing process of adjustment between universal norms and local values (Adi Gunawan Harahap, Sawaluddin Siregar, 2024).

The South Tapanuli community fundamentally has a normative awareness that Islam does not reject custom, as long as the custom supports the common good. Based on an interview with a customary leader in Sayur Matinggi, he emphasized that 'our customs are grounded in Islamic law, and our Islam is rooted in custom; they are like two sides of the same coin.' This statement

reflects the local philosophy of *adat dohot ugamo, dua sada dohot dua batoban* (custom and religion are one unity that reinforces each other). This principle demonstrates the harmonious integration of Islamic values and Mandailing-Angkola traditions.

The effort to harmonize between custom and Islamic law is also realized in the customary and ulama forums that have been regularly held in Padangsidempuan since 2019. This forum serves as a platform for social-religious consultations in resolving marital issues, including in determining the value of tuhor. In the forum, it was agreed that the value of tuhor should not be an obstacle to the marriage contract and should not result in prolonged debt for the groom. This forum decision reflects the practical application of maqasid al-shariah, particularly in preserving the common good of *hifz al-nasl* (protection of lineage) and *hifz al-mal* (protection of wealth).

Normatively, Islamic law allows flexibility towards customs as long as they do not violate the principle of justice and do not cause harm. Therefore, tuhor in the context of South Tapanuli can be viewed as a form of *'urf shabih*, which refers to an accepted and legitimate custom because it embodies values of respect, togetherness, and responsibility (Alfarisi et al., 2025). However, if its practice causes excessive economic burdens, it could be categorized as *'urf fasid* (corrupt custom) that needs to be reformed. This awareness is beginning to grow among the community and local scholars.

The dynamic dialectic between custom and Islam is also evident in the resolution of tuhor disputes. According to data from the KUA Padangsidempuan in 2023, several cases were recorded where the groom requested the return of part of the tuhor after the marriage was canceled. The resolution was carried out through customary deliberation with assistance from religious leaders. This process shows that the social system of the community still prioritizes familial values and restorative justice, in line with the Islamic principle that emphasizes reconciliation. From a moral perspective, the community understands that customs without the spirit of Islam lose their direction, and Islam without customs loses its context. Therefore, their relationship is both dialectical and symbiotic. Tuhor becomes the meeting point between the symbol of custom and the ethics of Islam, which emphasize respect, simplicity, and social responsibility. Through this balance, the South Tapanuli community has successfully maintained its cultural identity without negating the principles of Sharia (Siregar & Mardiah, 2021).

Based on field data, it shows that the dialectic between custom and Islamic law in the determination of tuhor operates constructively. Both influence each other in the process of forming contextual social norms. Islam provides moral direction and ethical boundaries, while custom preserves cultural continuity and local identity. Thus, the tuhor tradition in South Tapanuli is a concrete example of harmony between religion and culture, emphasizing that Islam can adapt

without losing its essence, and custom can endure without neglecting the values of justice taught by Sharia

D. Conclusion

This research shows that the tuhor tradition in the marriage of the South Tapanuli community is a socio-religious phenomenon born from the meeting between the Mandailing-Angkola custom and the principles of Islamic law. Based on field data from Batang Angkola, Sipirok, and Sayur Matinggi, the practice of tuhor still functions as a symbol of honor, respect, and a bond of kinship between families. However, modern social and economic dynamics have caused a shift in meaning from a moral symbol to a material demand that sometimes burdens the groom. Nonetheless, the local community has shown awareness of the need to reformulate this tradition through customary deliberation and consultations with scholars to ensure it remains in line with Sharia values. From an Islamic legal perspective, tuhor can be categorized as *'urf shabih* a custom that is valid and accepted as long as it does not cause harm and still contains elements of respect and benefit. Custom and Islam, in this context, are not opposed, but rather engage in a dialectic that reinforces each other. Thus, the implementation of tuhor in South Tapanuli reflects a model of harmonization between local tradition and Islamic norms that are adaptable to the changing times. This tradition shows that the religiousness of the community does not stop at symbols but continues to live in the balance between cultural values and the justice of Sharia.

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