

Pecoah Kohon

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PECOAH KOHON: THE RESTRICTION ON INTER-COUSINS MARRIAGE IN INDIGENOUS THE REJANG SOCIETY

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⁶ **Abstract:** This study aims to examine the prohibition of *Pecoah Kohon* in the indigenous marriage Rejang tribe. *Pecoah Kohon* is a union between a man and woman related by blood, namely one grandmother. In this study, the problem emphasized a customary prohibition on the union, regardless of its non-prohibition by Islam. This qualitative-field analysis used a normative-sociological approach, with the implemented data collection techniques prioritizing interviews and documentation. A purposive sampling technique was also used to determine the informants. The results showed that the survival of *Pecoah Kohon* tradition was due to the socialization carried out by traditional officials in a systematic, structured, and hierarchical pattern toward the Rejang community. Sanctions were also considered quite strict against customary violations. Moreover, the good communication and cooperation between traditional officials and the community was a strong foundation for the preservation of *Pecoah Kohon* tradition and the Islamic religious insights of the Rejang community were increased. From this context, the debate about the tradition had various meeting points and solutions. This indicated that *Pecoah Kohon* supporters believed the tradition did not include prohibitions and cancellations of marriage, with its performance considered a tribute and cultural preservation. Religious experts also understood that *Pecoah Kohon* was solely a custom and not a belief exceeding or equalling religion, indicating needless argumentative efforts.

Keywords: *Pecoah Kohon*, *Inter-Cousins Marriage*, *Rejang Society*.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji larangan *Pecoah Kohon* dalam perkawinan adat masyarakat Rejang. *Pecoah Kohon* yaitu perkawinan yang terjadi antara laki-laki dan perempuan yang masih punya hubungan kekerabatan sedarah, yakni satu nenek atau satu poyang. Masalah penelitian ini adalah adanya larangan Adat dalam pernikahan ini padahal Islam tidak melarang. Penelitian ini adalah

penelitian kualitatif-lapangan dengan pendekatan *normatif-sosiologis*. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah wawancara dan dokumentasi. Dalam penentuan informan, peneliti menggunakan teknik *purposive sampling*. Temuan penting dalam penelitian ini adalah tradisi *Pecoah Kohon* masih bertahan hingga saat ini disebabkan oleh sosialisasi yang dilakukan oleh perangkat adat secara sistematis, terstruktur, dan hierarkis sampai kepada masyarakat rejang. Ditambah lagi, penerapan sanksi terhadap pelanggaran adat dirasa cukup ketat. Komunikasi dan kerjasama yang baik antara perangkat adat dengan masyarakat menjadi pondasi kuat untuk lestainya tradisi *Pecoah Kohon*, meskipun wawasan keagamaan keislaman masyarakat rejang sudah meningkat. Perdebatan tentang tradisi *Pecoah Kohon* sebenarnya memiliki titik temu. Pendukung tradisi *Pecoah Kohon* menyakini bahwa tradisi *Pecoah Kohon* tidak termasuk larangan dan batalnya perkawinan, akan tetapi mereka tetap melaksanakannya sebagai penghargaan dan pelestarian budaya. Sebaliknya, para 'alim juga memahami bahwa tradisi *Pecoah Kohon* semata-mata sebagai adat dan bukan keyakinan yang melebihi atau menyamai agama, sehingga tidak perlu dipertentangkan.

Kata kunci: *Pecoah Kohon, Perkawinan Antar Sepupu, Masyarakat Rejang.*

Introduction

The Rejang people are obligated to adhere to an exogamy system prohibiting marriage of the same clan or tribe. This explains that men from the Rejang tribe are restricted from marrying women of the same clan, indicating the approval of a union outside the tribe (*mok tun luyen*) (Arso & APHA, 2020). In this case, the violation of the prohibition often leads to the obligation to pay a fine (Busyro & Malindo, 2022). Based on the customs of the Rejang people, the restriction of mating with the same ancestor is regulated, causing a split in the family (*sukau/margo*), as well as a ban on marriage with parallel and cross cousins (Yusdiawati, 2018).

This exogamy marriage provision is found in *Pecoah Kohon* tradition, which emphasizes family or kinship dissolution between both couples. The rules in this tradition are also customary and should be obeyed by the Rejang community. When these rules are violated, a fine, *mas kuteui*, a fine is subsequently paid for the admission of mistakes (Efendi, 2022). Furthermore, the implementation of *Pecoah Kohon* often establishes debate in the Rejang community groups supporting and rejecting the custom. From this context, the rejection group originates from educated intellectuals/modern society and categories of Islamic religious experts. For the supporting group, the people originate from traditional leaders and community of the Rejang tribe (Nasrul, 2022). In this case, the traditional leaders believe that the ancestral *Pecoah Kohon* tradition should be preserved. The ancestral rules in this tradition also have a good purpose, regarding the portrayal of harmonious marriage in the Rejang community. In addition, the union of one clan (one *poyang*) is capable of causing family conflict during the occurrence of divorce. This condition is different when marriage is carried out with someone outside the tribe (not one *poyang*), indicating that the occurrence of divorce does not cause conflict between extended families. These conditions lead to the development of good rules (*mas kuteui*) by the ancestors of the Rejang tribe, which should be obeyed by all the natives.

In practice, this noble goal is highly criticized by the modern intellectuals and Islamic religious experts assuming that *Pecoah Kohon* tradition is unnecessary and lacks a basis in Islamic religious principles. This is due to the set and clear rules of the religion, regarding marriage and divorce (Baharudin, 2022). In Islam, marriage is a strong bond or *misaqan galizan* (Samuri et al., 2022), as an inner and outer relationship between a man and woman to obey and carry out the commands of Allah (Moyazzem Hossain et al., 2022). It also prioritizes the realization of *sakinah* household life, *mawaddah wa rahmah* (Hasan et al., 2022). Moreover, marriage is a form of worship, which develops a sense of peace in the household (Berkah & Sawarjuwono, 2019). Regarding the choice of partner, marriage permission (Takwa et al., 2022), and prohibition are observed according to the Islamic religion (Elmali-Karakaya, 2022). Based on Islamic law, marriage within specific groups/tribes was not allowed, proving that

women were unable to be married to a man or vice versa (Fahimah & Zaenal, 2022). The prohibition on marriage is also divided into two, namely eternal and temporary prohibitions, as stipulated in the letter An-Nisa', 4:23 (Suhairi, 2021). In the rules of marriage in Islam, *Pecoah Kohon* tradition does not need to be carried out, with some fines even proving burdensome for married couples during the implementation of the custom.

This phenomenon is interesting to examine more deeply, with the normal logic of *Pecoah Kohon* tradition abandoned due to consistent debates. However, the tradition is continuously existing without being eroded by the currents of moderation. Several scholars also attempted to obtain information from various relevant studies, which were divided into three categories, namely (1) Analyzing marriage traditions of the Rejang community (Irsal, 2017), (2) Assessing the tradition of the Rejang marriage between Islam and *adat* (Majana, 2017), and (3) Evaluating the custom of breaking *Kohon* (Lestari, 2020). Based on these analyses, the results obtained are different from the present study object, which emphasizes the cause of the existing *Pecoah Kohon* tradition. The understanding level of the Rejang people remains increased regarding religion and education, despite many people rejecting the tradition. From this context, *Pecoah Kohon* is observed to remain sustainable until presently. Therefore, this study aims to comprehensively determine the debate focus between the groups rejecting and supporting *Pecoah Kohon* tradition. This study is very important due to several reasons, especially as a form of support for the preservation of the tradition. It is also essential in clarifying the status of *Pecoah Kohon*, toward minimizing the debate occurring in the community.

Literature Review

The Indigenous Rejang, Islamic Law, and Marriage System

The Rejang Lebong Regency is a district consisting of various ethnic groups, with the natives more dominant (Linggih & Sudarsana, 2020). The existence of the customary law of the people also applies to all the ethnicities contained in the district (Devi, 2016). This shows that the customs are continuously carried out by the Rejang people, as well as their children and grandchildren, emphasizing its consideration as a customary law (Ellyani et al., 2020). In addition, the customs of the people are strongly guided and become a reference in their daily life. This indicates that the cultural values are reflected in the law guided by social life (Hastati, 2019)

The Rejang people previously had a traditional institution known as *kutai latet*, where trials were often held to resolve several cases. This institution was led by a village head (*potai*) consisting of *ketuai sukau*, a group of older men, *tukang lungus* (shamans), and scholars. Customary law was also previously applied very harshly, with violators instantly acquiring a death sentence. This regulation is presently prohibited, unless customary law *membunuh membangun* is applied, indicating that the perpetrator was obligated to pay a fine with an amount of gold or silver according to the decision of the *jenang kutai*. In this context, the Rejang people are historically known as a customary law community, *kutei*, where members are conjoined to live together, possess similar interests and life goals, as well as maintain the order and laws regulated by the societal rulers, *tuwei kutei*.

The traditional institutions in the Rejang Lebong Regency were the Adat Consultative Body (BMA) at the district, sub-district, and the Village level. From this context, the legal basis for the formation of the Customary Consultative Body at the Village level was the Decree of the Rejang Lebong Regent No. 309 of 2007, concerning Appointments Management. This stated that the formulation of a Customary Consultative Body at the village level. The number of board members was 15 (fifteen people), with each of them having several duties as advisors (2 people), deputy chairman, secretary, deputy-secretary, treasurer, as well as the fields of customs (2 people), archaeological history (2 people), literacy and arts/culture (2 people), program development, and public relations. In resolving community problems, the involved parties having a BMA extension were *jenang kutai* or village judges. From this context, the enacted legal basis was derived from the

Decree of the Rejang Lebong Regent Number 58 of 2005, which contained the implementation of the Rejang customary law. It also emphasized the Letter Decree of the Rejang Lebong Regent Number 93 of 2005 dated March 17, 2005. This was supported by the BMA Rejang Lebong Regency, through the issuance of Letter Number 26a/BMA/III/2005 dated March 23, 2005, where any problem involving violations of customary law were resolved in the village and handled by the *jenang Kutai*.

One of the generational regulation also emphasized the customary rules in marriage (Febrianty et al., 2020). This explained that marriage was part of the ritual prioritizing the circle of life in the customs of the Rejang tribe in Bengkulu. In this case, the tribe only understood the form of *kawin jujur*, although *kawin Semendo* emerged in subsequent developments due to the influence of Minangkabau custom and Islam. In customs, the Rejang ethnic group was also prohibited from inter-tribal marriage. This was in line with the customary provisions of the Rejang tribe regarding marriage restriction, where the union of a man and woman was best performed with other people (*mok tun luyen*). From this context, the restriction expressly prohibited marrying parents, close relatives, even with one tribe-one *pyang*. When close relatives were involved in marriage rites, the situation was considered *perkawinanan sumbang*, with the Rejang ethnic group prioritizing it as *komok* (shameful). Meanwhile forceful marriage with cousins, as well as one grandmother and *pyang* (brother grandfather) were subjected to sanctions (customary institutions), with the tribe considering the situation *Mecoak Tumbang*. Other types of marriage prohibited by the custom also emphasized the union between a man/woman with an ex-wife/husband of a brother/sister that is still alive. Furthermore, another type of prohibited marriage was *Pecoah Kohon*, which focused on the union between a blood-related man and woman, namely one grandmother/*pyang*. This demonstrated that one *pyang* family relationship was commonly between two people from the same grandparents. It also focused on one ancestral descendant, indicating the existence of a blood relationship between generations. (Tahir, 2021).

The traditional marriage of the Rejang tribe had a rule that prohibited marrying other *petulai* (*sukau/margo*). When violated, the perpetrator was subjected to fines and sanctions. This was because the community often became worried that marriage was capable of breaking long-established kinship ties. Based on the data obtained from relevant interviews, *Pecoah Kohon* marriage was prohibited in the Rejang tribe due to being considered to have a very close kinship relationship, indicating that the union was a taboo, strange, and restricted (Mamat, 2022). Although the traditional marriage was not prohibited by Islamic law, the Rejang tribe that was sociologically a religious society still emphasized the prohibition of the union. Evidence of the tribal religion was also observed from the daily religious practices carried out by the natives. In this case, almost none of the Rejang community had a religion besides Islam, with only a few people observed. The existence of Hinduism/Buddhism and Christianity adherents in the residential area of the community was also generally related to the migrant society. In Tanah Rejang, the adherents of Hinduism were generally Balinese, with Chinese and Javanese/Batak descendants embracing Buddhism and Christianity, respectively. In addition, Islam was considered the religion of the people and an integral part of modern culture. This religion influenced funeral procedures and halal food ingredients, as well as fostered a culture of reciting the Qur'an in mosques and *tahlilan*.

According to Marsden, in the book titled "*The History of Sumatra*" (1783), the Rejang tribe was Mahometan, an ancient designation for people following the teachings of Muhammad. The records of 1862 also showed that almost all the Rejang people embraced Islam and continuously complied with their customs and laws. Moreover, the Islam of this people did not differentiate them from those in Bengkulu (Coastal). This was because the religion was assumed to have entered Tanah Rejang in the 16th century AD. In this case, the people that initially accepted Islam resided on the coast. In Jalaluddin, Sukarman, and Hanafi (1992), the people of the Rejang Pesisir had embraced

Islam since 1552-1570, with the Rejang, in Bukit Barisan, having direct initial and consecutive contacts with the religion in 1625 and 1776-1804, respectively. Islam was also introduced by the Minang, Banten, and Acehnese, which had earlier experienced Islamization (Asha, 2016).

Method

This field study (Crump, 2020) used a normative-sociological approach and was conducted on the Rejang Tribe, Bengkulu, where the “*Pecoah Kohon*” tradition was still practiced. In this case, the primary data was obtained by direct interviews with traditional and religious leaders, the Rejang tribe community, as well as the couples involved in the tradition. Meanwhile, the secondary data contained documents or written/library materials as the books, articles, scientific journals, and newspapers that evaluated relevant issues. The selection of informants was also carried out through a purposive sampling technique, with the selected people emphasizing those involved in “*Pecoah Kohon*”, especially the Rejang indigenes. In this study, the information obtained from observation, interviews, and documentation techniques were then analyzed through data reduction, presentation, analysis, and conclusion.

Results and Discussion

The Tradition of *Pecoah Kohon* Marriage in the Rejang Community

In the life of the Rejang tribe, a custom prohibited marriage between the people sharing similar ancestors, which was capable of causing a split in the family. This is known as *Pecoah Kohon* (breaking a pot) in the language of the tribe, with the custom maintained until presently. These rules prohibited those having family ties in the kinship line from getting married. For violators, the sanctions prioritized the payment of a fine (*mas kutei* and *Pecoah Kohon*) as a sign of the family relationship breakup between the two. Furthermore, *Pecoah Kohon* tradition was responsible for prohibiting a person from marrying a relative still having an ancestral kinship line, such as the same ancestry. One of the reasons for this prohibition was the fear of causing the destruction or breakage of family relations, leading to its exhibition as “*Pecoah Kohon*”. Although this prohibition was not absolute, it was still permissible to marry within the kinship line of one ancestor, through a traditional procession. This belief was firmly held from the ancestral period, with the validity of the tradition adequately confirmed due to its embodiment of public respect for the struggle of traditional ancestors (Jaya, 2022).

Pecoah Kohon union was also capable of causing a family or kinship breakdown, regarding the existence of joys and sorrows in marriage. This often lead to the divisions and disruptions of family bonds, demonstrating the reasons the practice should not be condoned (Baharudin, 2022). Since this marriage was carried out by various relatives or cousins, the occurrence of bad events were often emphasized, such as weak offspring, mental disabilities, hereditary diseases, commotion, and divorce (Yuli, 2022). When people perform *Pecoah Kohon* marriage, worries were commonly prioritized regarding the union between suckling brothers. Since ancient times, most people in the Rejang region were farmers, with infants often entrusted to their aunts or other relatives that subsequently breastfed them. To prevent the occurrence of marriage between people that were breastfed by the same person, adequate measures were implemented to prohibit the unions. These measures were performed to avoid potential moral and ethical issues capable of emanating from sibling marriage (Yuli, 2022). When *Pecoah Kohon* marriage had a family line and one ancestry, the prohibition was not absolute, indicating that a union emphasizing the kinship line of a single ancestor was permissible through a traditional procession (Qureshi, 2018). This belief was firmly held since ancient times, with the validity of the tradition adequately confirmed due to its embodiment of public respect for the struggle of customary ancestors (Sol, 2022).

In the Rejang community, *Pecoah Kohon* marriage tradition was ongoing for a long time since the ancestral periods and was still presently valid. This tradition was considered an embodiment of public respect for the struggle of traditional ancestors. For the customary prohibition before marriage, every parent always advised and provided early directions to children, toward avoiding the cultural restriction

of *Pecoah Kohon* marriage. This marriage prohibition emphasized the hadith of the Prophet, where the violators of *silaturrahimi* (friendship) had no place in heaven. Based on the customary institution agreement, the prescribed sanctions emphasized a cash fine of Rp. 400,000.00 when the ban on *Pecoah Kohon* was enforced, with the traditional penalty symbolizing the termination of the family relationship (Rawi, 2022).

As parents, the elders of the Rejang Community had previously demonstrated that brothers and sister should frequently respect each other and possess a sense of Shame as part of faith. Based on the existence of a "*Pecoah Kohon*" marriage, shame was often considered absent toward fellow brothers. In this case, children need to be earlier instructed and advised not to marry within their kinship line. However, children, as parents, should also be able to advise their kids, due to the responsibilities possessed for subsequent ups and downs (Yahya, 2022). For example, *Pecoah Kohon* marriage once happened to Rika and Nepan. According to this couple, shame was initially due to marrying their relatives and were considered disobedient to the ancestral customs. Since the couple loved each other, worries were not exhibited about the challenges in their household, as every happening was considered to be the destiny ordained from Allah SWT. Another example emphasized Nasrul and Desmi, which performed *Pecoah Kohon* marriage. This couple was initially apprehensive about the consequences of their actions and had discouraged getting married. However, Nasrul always persuaded the partner, leading them to relinquish those malevolent thoughts. This transformation stemmed from their belief that all positive or negative outcomes were divinely ordained by Allah SWT. From this context, both joy and sorrow, as well as hardships and happiness, were part of life regardless of the consequences (Rika, 2022).

According to these results, various couples with broken marriage did not believe that bad things were capable of befalling their families, as their beliefs depended on the outcomes ordained from Allah SWT (Probert & Saleem, 2018). Furthermore, *Pecoah Kohon* indicated the union not recommended according to the Rejang customary law, due to the existence of a family or clan relationship with an ancestral kinship. In this case, the prohibition was not absolute, prioritizing the permissibility to marry within the kinship line of one ancestor through a traditional procession. This belief was adhered to since the ancestral period, with the tradition confirmed to be valid regarding the respect exhibited to the struggle of traditional ancestors.

Based on these explanations, several factors or reasons were observed for the prohibition of *Pecoah Kohon* marriage, namely faith, normative, biological, health, and sociological variables. The reasons for this prohibition are briefly shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Reasons behind *Pecoah Kohon* Marriage Prohibition

No.	Aspect	Reasons for Prohibition
1	Faith aspect	Marriage in one line of kinship signifies having no shame, indicating a lack of faith. This leads to catastrophes, such as divorce
2	Normative aspect	Worries are observed about marriage between brothers and sisters because of a tradition entrusting children to relatives, with the union prohibited by Islamic law.
3	Biological and health aspects	This causes bad events such as weak heredity, mental disabilities, and hereditary diseases It leads to negative consequences such as weak heredity, mental disabilities, and hereditary diseases.
4	Sociological aspect	A form of obedience to the ancestral traditions of the Rejang tribe

Source: Author's Interpretation

When *Pecoah Kohon* marriage was observed, sanctions and customary processions were immediately carried out, determined by the customary leader under the results of deliberations or traditional institutions. This sanction price was Rp—400,000.00 and was handed to the customary treasury of the institution. The following sanctions broke two *Kohon* (pots), indicating pots from the prospective groom and bride. This process indicated that the prospective groom and bride handed over

one pot each to the customary leader, with the witnesses including the members of traditional institutions, community leaders, village supervisor, and the families of both parties. When the male and female pots were broken, the families of the couple were responsible to hand over one pot for immediate replacement. This pot was then filled with two "cantings" of rice and handed over to the prospective bride and groom, with the wife sprinkling water into the *Kohon*. These processions were accompanied by applause from the witnesses, with the pot breakage symbolizing kinship relations (Nasrul, 2022).

This *Pecoah Kohon* marriage was carried out because no prohibition was observed in the Qur'an and Sunnah. However, compliance with the customary law was compulsory besides adhering to the rules contained in Islamic policy, because of the existence of humans in society. In the Rejang community, those not complying with adat were labelled as uncivilized and unethical, indicating that the ban on *Pecoah Kohon* marriage was not an absolute prohibition. This emphasized the permissibility of the tradition, as the people involved need to willingly accept the customary sanctions that had been effective from ancient to modern periods (Rawi, 2022).

The Factors of Sustainable for *Pecah Kohon's* Marriage

Pecoah Kohon marriage tradition is still presently sustainable, with the Rejang people generationally adhering to it. In this case, several factors were found influencing the present sustainability of the custom, including the following,

Firstly, the continuity of the *Pecah Kohon* tradition was inseparable from the socialization carried out by traditional officials in a systematic, structured, and hierarchical pattern to the Rejang community. The impact of this socialization caused the increased understanding and awareness of the community, which had been instilled since childhood about the importance of the tradition. From this context, the inheritance of values and knowledge was carefully carried out to accept adat as part of the community unit and encourage each family to educate the next generation about accepting traditional beliefs and conducting their customs in life. (Efendi, 2022) Secondly, strengthening traditional institutions in monitoring and imposing sanctions on violations of *Pecoah Kohon* customary marriage. This was considered quite stringent, with the community encountering difficulties in escaping the bondage of adat through the improvement of the traditional apparatus capacity and role in supervising the implementation of customary rules. This demonstrated that the participation of the younger generation was highly sufficient to preserve customs and culture. In this case, good communication and cooperation between traditional officials and the community were capable of maintaining the customs, including *Pecoah Kohon* marriage (Wati, 2022) (Jaya, 2022)

The factors influencing *Pecoah Kohon* marriage prohibition included the following,

1. Worries about friendship relations

During a divorce, concerns were raised about its potential damage to the friendship between **the families of the bride and groom**. In **the** Rejang language, this emphasized "*Pecoah Kohon*", a split in a pot/family. To safeguard the friendly relations, the customary chiefs implemented preventive measures by intervening before the occurrence of marriage. This prioritized the hadith of the Prophet, explaining that people capable of breaking friendships had no place in heaven (Rahman, 2022)

2. Sibling Marriage Concerns

The community was distraught when a marriage was observed between siblings, leading to the prevention of incestuous marriage. This was because the occurrence of the union was often challenging to separate due to a lack of morals (Mamat, 2022).

3. Belief in Heredity

The community believed that the offspring of the perpetrator of *Pecoah Kohon* marriage commonly experienced the mental disabilities and hereditary diseases difficult to cure. In this case, the household of the perpetrator was likely to be unhappy, accompanied by continuous complain (Sol, 2022).

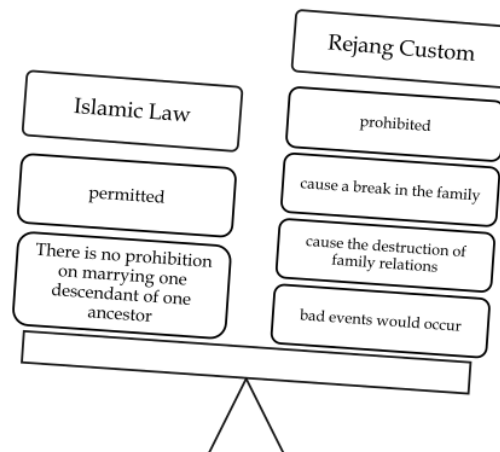
4. Educate Shame

In the Rejang custom, fellow brothers were taught to respect each other and have a sense of Shame, which was a part of faith. This showed that the occurrence of *Pecoah Kohon* marriage emphasized the lack of shame toward fellow brothers (Yahya, 2022).

The Survival of *Pecoah Kohon* in the Midst of Conflict with the Textual *Nash*

Pecoah Kohon tradition, as perceived from the ceremonial side and the customary sanctions, was different from the Islamic law for several reasons. Firstly, Islam did not prohibit marriage of one poyang (one grandfather) (Baydar, 2023), explaining that women were forbidden to marry. Although the prohibition of marrying a woman was forever (*muabbad*) (Maimun et al., 2020), others were still temporary (*muuqqat*) (Siregar, 2021). In this case, no prohibition was observed on marriage caused by one *poyang* (one grandfather), demonstrating that the tradition of *Pecoah Kohon* was not following Islamic teachings. Secondly, *Pecoah Kohon* traditional procession was burdensome due to meeting several stages of the process. This condition did not follow Islamic teachings, prioritizing the principle of *yasir wala tu'asir*. Thirdly, the existence of fines and sanctions in *Pecoah Kohon* tradition was specifically not in line with Islamic teachings. This proved that the concept of marriage in Islam only recognized dowry without sanctions and fines. The discrepancy between *Pecoah Kohon* tradition and Islamic law is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The problem of *Pecoah Kohon* Marriage between Islamic Law and Rejang's Custom



Source: Author's Interpretation

Based on Figure 1, an imbalance was observed between Islamic law and the Rejang custom. Although an imbalance was observed, the facts in *Pecoah Kohon* tradition was still presently existing. In this case, the tradition encountered development and sustainability difficulties. From these results, at least three reasons emphasized the survival of *Pecoah Kohon* tradition despite its non-alignment with the textual texts.

Firstly, Islamic teachings did not completely forbid the local traditions of the community. This was because the religion demanded to accept local customs and culture, which had their forbidden sides removed. In this case, the good tradition was developed and preserved while following *Maqosid Syari'ah* in marriage, namely the realization of a *sakinah*, *mawadah*, and *warohmah* family (Santoso, Jafar, et al., 2022). The rules developed in *Pecoah Kohon* tradition were also not implemented to enable difficulties for

the bride and groom. However, the rules were used to minimize the occurrence of hostilities in the household. These data were in line with the following interview information,

The group clashing between Pecoah Kohon and Islam did not understand Islamic teachings. Islam wants marriage that occur to create happiness and not cause hostility between families in the event of divorce. This noble goal is also what our ancestors hoped for. They want their children and grandchildren not to become enemies with each other just because of divorce. (Rika, 2022)

After experiencing the benefits of *Pecoah Kohon* tradition, the Rejang people automatically continued to follow the ancestral traditions without any coercion. This was specifically emphasized after the enlightenment that the custom was harmonious with the *maqshid* of Islamic marriage. This *maqshid* emphasized the realization of the *Samara* family and avoided the occurrence of hostility between families (Santoso, Yusefri, et al., 2022).

Secondly, the sanctions and fines in *Pecoah Kohon* tradition were unpunished against Islamic teachings. This indicated that Islam allowed sanctions or fines for the purposes that followed the *Shari'ah*, where *istihsan* was the implemented legal basis. Although an action was initially prohibited, the law still changed to be permissible due to its goodness under specific conditions (Nabilah et al., 2021). For example, the observation of the private parts of a woman (*aurat*) not a *mahram* was illegal under normal conditions. This was different when the law became permissible in an operating condition that required medical treatment to observe the genitalia (Syarifudin, 2020). Based on sanctions and fines, the law was initially *haram*, although became permissible under specific conditions (Hernata & Andiko, 2021). From these results, the imposition of these punishments in *Pecoah Kohon* tradition was educative and preventive. This showed that sanctions were purposely provided to follow the Shari'a in marriage. The provision of sanctions and fines also allowed the Rejang people avoid sepyang marriage, leading them to seek a life partner with no family relationship (spousal). In this case, conflict was not observed in the extended during the occurrence of a divorce. These data were reinforced by the following interview output,

Sanctions and fines in Pecoah Kohon tradition are actually so that the Rejang people do not marry people still in the same poyang (one grandfather) because there are many broken marriages when a divorce results in conflict in the extended family. Relationships that have been established can be broken. A divorced wife or husband can still get another new partner, but a broken family relationship will not be able to get a new one again. (Wati, 2022)

Based on these results, most Rejang people continuously preserved *Pecoah Kohon* tradition due to the agreement that it did not cause bad things. In this case, goodness and benefits were provided to the Rejang people by the tradition.

The Meeting Point of Differing Opinions About *Pecoah Kohon's* Marriage

Based on the results, not all the Rejang people accepted *Pecoah Kohon* marriage tradition due to the emergence of frequent arguments. This indicated that debates often emerged between the scientific and Islamic religious expert communities with traditional officials and indigenous people demanding improvements. This debate was observed for a long time, with the scientific notion of avoiding incestuous marriage no longer used as an excuse due to its capability to trace the condition of families practicing *Pecoah Kohon* from childhood (from birth) to adulthood. In this case, the tradition of breastfeeding siblings or children to other families was also not common anymore. Similarly, the detection of the physical or biological condition of those carrying out *Pecoah Kohon* was also conducted through modern technology (Mamat, 2022). Therefore, this tradition was not necessary due to its non-requirement. This statement was answered by those supporting *Pecoah Kohon*, where the tradition was still relevant and needed to minimize negative impacts. The group also assumed that the prevention of

the tradition was better than cure, proving the suitability of strict rule development for the prospective family life to be better maintained and fostered while avoiding negative impacts (Rawi, 2022).

According to religion, Islamic religious experts adequately understood the prohibition and cancellation of religious marriage (Al-Sharmani, 2018). This was due to the assumption that *Pecoah Kohon* tradition was not included in the prohibition and cancellation of marriage. Marriage was also carried out because no prohibition was observed in the Qur'an and Sunnah. Since humans lived in society besides complying with the rules contained in Islamic law, adherence to customary law was also needed. In the Rejang community, those not subjected to the custom were labelled uncivilized and unethical, demonstrating that the ban on *Pecoah Kohon* marriage was not an absolute prohibition. This was only considered *mubah*, indicating the capability of anyone to adopt it without rejecting the existing ancestral customary sanctions (Rahman, 2022)

The dialectics of the Rejang community toward *Pecoah Kohon* tradition also had a meeting point commonly known as the acculturation of religion and culture. In this case, the supporters of the tradition believed in the provisions of the Islamic religion. This proved that the traditional performance did not include the prohibitions and cancellations of marriage, although it was still conducted as a tribute and cultural preservation subjected to sanctions when violated. From this context, Islamic religious experts only understood the efforts conveyed by customary officials or indigenous people as custom, compared to the beliefs exceeding or equalling religion. In this case, customary sanctions were applied as the traditional matters that did not need to be contested (Nasrul, 2022).

Conclusion

Based on the results, *Pecoah Kohon* tradition was sustainable and inseparable from the people carrying it out with the understanding and awareness instilled since childhood. The process of socializing *Pecoah Kohon* tradition was also carried out consciously and unconsciously by traditional officials in a systematic, structured, and hierarchical pattern to each individual. From this context, the inheritance of values and knowledge was carefully carried out to accept adat as part of the community unit. It also encouraged every family to educate the next generation about accepting and conducting traditional beliefs and lives. Furthermore, strengthening traditional institutions in monitoring and imposing sanctions on customary violations was considered quite strict. By strengthening the capacity and role of traditional apparatus in supervising the implementation of customary rules, the community experienced difficulties in escaping from the bondage of *adat*. This showed that the participation of the younger generation was highly sufficient to preserve customs and culture, leading to good communication and cooperation between traditional officials. The community was also capable of maintaining various customs, including *Pecoah Kohon* marriage. Based on these results, *Pecoah Kohon* tradition was still surviving despite the higher Islamic religious outlook. At the level of religious scholarship, society was also aware of and recognized Islamic law for acting in religious matters. This did not consider the tradition of breaking Kohon as an obstacle or prohibition of marriage in Islam. In this case, the occurrence of marriage was still possible and remained legal according to religion. However, the perpetrators of the tradition were subjected to customary sanctions regarding the perspectives of the customers. These sanctions emphasized money and social sanctions from indigenous peoples.

From these results, a debate was observed between the scientific and religious expert communities with the traditional officials and indigenes still demanding to strengthen the tradition of *Pecoah Kohon*. Meanwhile, each of them struggled with their arguments, with the scientific notion of avoiding inbreeding no longer used as an excuse due to being traced to the condition of families practicing *Pecoah Kohon* from childhood (from birth) to adulthood. It also proved that the tradition of breastfeeding siblings or children to other families was no longer common. The physical/biological conditions of those carrying out the tradition was also detected through the advancement of knowledge. For religion, the religious expert similarly understood the prohibition and cancellation of religious marriage adequately. In this case, *Pecoah Kohon* tradition was not included in the prohibition and cancellation of marriage, which was

commonly known as the acculturation between custom and religion. The results also showed that traditional proponents believed in the religious provisions indicating the non-inclusion of marriage prohibitions and cancellations. Despite this, the performance was still carried out as a tribute and preservation of customs/culture subjected to sanctions when violated. The 'alim also understood the efforts conveyed by traditional officials/people as custom only, not the beliefs exceeding or equalling religion. This demonstrated that customary sanctions were applied as the traditional matters not needing to be contested.

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