Indonesian Islamic Law Review on the Marriage Customs of Juelen and Angkap in Gayo Tribes, Central Aceh District

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Abstract: This study presents the latest information on a review of Islamic law towards marriage customs of juelen and angkap in Gayo tribe, Central Aceh District. This research uses the theory of mashlahah: the applicative theory is used in analyzing the research data and in the end of the research shows that the effect of marriage custom of Gayo on juelen and angkap must continue to give part to each party (ex-husband and wife) especially the marriage of Angkap, and if there is a dowry debt as in marriage of angkap, then it can be settled after sharing of shared assets between the former wife and husband. This awarding is based on consideration of mercy on the basis of providing guarantees in life after the divorce occurred. Obviously by giving a share to the husband or wife of shared assets as a result of the marriage customs of juelen / angkap in Gayo custom, it is still based on the idea behind the spirit of KHI that seeks to translate shared assets as a means to guarantee life after divorce and of course this is in line with the legal basis Islam. Thus, the formulation of article 85-97 KHI is considered to fulfill the values of benefit in maintaining humanitarian relations and the benefit of family.

Keywords: marriage; Juelen; Angkap; Gayo; Islamic law.

I. Introduction

Gayo people who call themselves "Urang Gayo", are Muslims, the Gayo Tribe is a tribe that inhabits the Gayo plateau in the central province of Aceh. Outwardly the Islamic of Gayo people can be seen from the pattern of settlements with buildings that are mersah, joyah and mesegit. For the Gayo community, the Islamic religion with all its creeds and rules is the main reference for their behavior which is coupled with traditional norms. The relationship between religion (milad) and custom is clearly recorded in the phrase "edet mungenal hukum mubeza" or "edet pegerni agama". ²

Gayo community, in all aspects of life, Gayo people have and cultivate a number of cultural values as behavioral references to achieve order, discipline, solidarity, mutual cooperation, and diligence (*mutentu*). The experience of this cultural value is driven by a value called *bersikemelen*, namely competition that embodies a basic value of self-esteem (*mukemel*). These values are manifested in various aspects of life, such as in the fields of economics, arts, kinship, and education. The source of these values is the religion of Islam and the local customs adopted by the entire Gayo community.

This can be seen from the customs of the social life of the Gayo community, where the Gayo community lives in a small community called *Kampong*. Each village is headed by a *gecik*. A collection of several villages called *kemukiman*, led by *mukim*. The traditional

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¹ Pemerintah Aceh Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Aceh, Budaya Aceh (Yogyakarta: Polydoor Desain, 2009), P.113

² M. Yunus Melalatoa, Memahami Aceh Sebuah Persepktif Budaya dalam Aceh Kembali Ke Masa Depan, (Takengon: Yayasan Maqamam Mahmuda, 2005),P. 5

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government system in the form of a leadership element called *sarak opat*,³ consists of *reje* (king), *petue* (petua), *imem* (imam), and *rayat* (folk).⁴

II. Review of Literatures

2.1 Juelen

Juelen marriage is a form of ango or juelen marriage, where the husband seems to buy a woman who will be a wife, then the wife is considered to enter into the husband's part, because he has been bought. Therefore his children will be patrilineal, because he joins the father's side. If there is cere hate (divorce because of a dispute), then the wife becomes ulak-kemulak (returning to the origin). Her children are the responsibility of his father. But if there is love (divorce because of death), it does not cause a change in the status of the wife, she remains within the husband. And her children are the responsibility of the father, his guardian. While the form of Angkap marriage, where the male (husband) is pulled into the wife's part, the husband is separated from the division.⁵

2.2 Angkap

Angkap marriage is a form of marriage where men are brought into their wives. This marriage has provisions that must be obeyed. This angkap marriage can be divided into 2 namely angkap nasab and transient angkap. In angkap nasab marriage, the husband is separated from his part and is pulled into his wife's part, this usually occurs where the husband does not have the ability in terms of assets to finance his marriage. Angkap nasab is not necessarily caused by the inability of the husband in terms of its finances, but it can also occur due to the family of the female child who is not male. He wanted to get a boy who was put in the split. So the son-in-law is called the *penurip-murip peunanom mate* means to maintain during life and bury the dead in-law. Therefore, his children seemed to be matrilineal because his son joined his mother's side. When there is *cere* hate, the father is still responsible for his child. But all the assets from the father and mother belong to the child and mother. But if there is cere love, for example, the husband dies, the property is still owned by the child and his mother, but the responsibility for the child is handed over to the father. Suppose the husband dies and turns out not to leave the child, all of his property automatically belongs to his wife. Next is transient angkap, this angkap marriage is also the same as the nasab trap marriage where the husband enters his wife's part, because the husband cannot give dowry or *unyuk* (request) from the wife's family or because the wife is the only child or the parents already old who need care by his daughter, then the woman's parents look for men who can be taken as their daughters by looking at the goodness of their religion and descendants. What is the difference between these two

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³ Sarak Opat is a term taken from the words Gayo, which consists of two syllables, namely; "Sarak" and "opat". Sarak means Body, container and opat means four powers, consisting of Kings, Elders, Imams, and People. So sarak opat means a container of government apparatus that regulates and takes care of the interests of the community based on customary law in harmony with Islamic law. See the Worship of the Author in the Syukri, MA, Sarak Opat Book of the Gayo Land Government System and its Relevance towards the Implementation of Regional Autonomy (Jakarta: Hijri Main Library, 2009), P. 19.

⁴ A. Hasymy, Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia, 3th ed. (T. tp: PT. Al Ma"arif, 1993), P. 481

⁵ Asyura Laila Ramadhani, Sistem Perkawinan Suku Gayo, https://www.academia.edu/35532270/SISTEM_PERKAWINAN_SUKU_GAYO?auto=download.

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marriages is that if marriage is married, the son-in-law *nasab* is required to stay forever in the bride's family environment.

The position of the husband to be a boy who must serve his wife's family, become a protective fence for his family, all responsibilities are given to him. In carrying out his responsibilities, the husband is given assets as capital by the wife's family, usually in the form of garden land or paddy fields to grow crops. The husband's position is illustrated in the phrase "anak angkap penyapuni kubur kubah, si muruang i osah umah, si berukah i osah ume" it means the son-in-law of the cemetery dome sweeper, who has a place to live to give a house, which has land to give rice fields. But in the form of transient traps the son-in-law is in his wife's side as long as he cannot pay off his dowry or dowry to his wife. If one when the husband can redeem the dowry or unyuk, then he can return to the original part by bringing his wife and child and the kinship system which was originally in the form of matrilineal turns back into a patrilineal form. Thus the nasab angkap is the condition of the son-in-law forever in the wife's family while the temporary trap is the son-in-law in the wife's family until the deadline agreed upon by both parties at the time of the proposal. The position of the social status of men who undergo a form of dual marriage or temporary angkap is also very low in the view of the Gayo community in contrast to juelen marriage.

2.3 Munik

Munik marriage is a marriage happens because both like it, but get the obstacle from one or both families. So the woman requested that she be married to a man through the religious affairs office.

2.4 Mah Tabak

Mah tabak marriage is marriage happens because both like it, but they get obstacles from one family or both families. So that men surrender themselves to the family of women to be married

III. Discussion

3.1 Legal Consequences of *Juelen Marriage* and *Angkap* in the Gayo Tribe in Central Aceh District.

Marriage in the Gayo tradition has a very important meaning to the kinship system because the Gayo community adheres to the *Exogamy* Marriage system (marriage between the divisions). According to the Gayo custom, marriage with an *endogamy* system (mating one part) becomes a prohibition or taboo because fellow clans are still considered to have ties of brotherhood or blood ties. Thus it will facilitate genealogical relations between one village and another village. There are three types of marriages found in the Gayo community, namely *ango* or *jeulen* marriage, *angkap* marriage.

a. Juelen Marriage and Its Legal Consequences

Ango or juelen marriage is a form of marriage that requires the prospective husband to buy a woman who will be made a wife. Once purchased, the wife becomes a part of the husband. If at one time there is a cere hate (divorce dispute), the wife becomes an ulak kemulak (returning to the origin). The ex-wife can bring back the treasure (the gift of his parents) and likewise the dying treasure (assets from the results of a joint venture). But if there is cere love

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(divorce), it does not cause a change of status (division) for both. For example, if the husband dies, the husband is obliged to find his ex-wife's mate with one of his relatives the closest to the deceased husband. If the deceased does not have the child, then the party left has the right to return the inheritance to the division of the property. If the deceased is a descendant, then the inheritance belongs to his offspring.⁶

b. Angkap Marriage and Its Legal Consequences

This *angkap* status marriage is more or less compatible with *japuik*⁷ in Minangkabau. The emergence of this *angkap* status is due to the demands of the situation. Just like that, there are two wives who have no sons. To get a son, this husband and wife are looking for a child's life partner. the woman with the *angkap* road. Due to the fact that the man who became his neighbor was from another side, while his marital status was angkapd, this man left his part and entered his wife and children born. The husband from the marriage will use his wife's clan.

In general, indigenous Gayo men rarely get caught in a angkap status, except that the man is truly from a poor family so he is unable to fulfill the edict *edet* (*unyuk*, *i pemera*, *teniron*,etc.). Men with status Angkaps are generally migrants from outside the Gayo area, such as ethnic Malays, Arabs, Acehnese, Bataks, and Chinese, or people who have been *temuluk*.⁸

Capturing someone from the tribes above is not as easy as expected because the girl's parents must first investigate their behavior, especially regarding honesty, the religion embraced, and their loyalty, because this person will be entrusted with the inheritance. From the description above, it can it was concluded that the marriage status was none other than taking a man (single or widowed) on the marital path and he was legalized as a biological child before there was a divorce. The marital status consists of four types, namely:

- 1. Nasab angkap marriage⁹;
- 2. Angkap duduk edet marriage¹⁰;
- 3. *Angkap sentaran* marriage¹¹;
- 4. Angkap janyi marriage¹².

1) Nasab angkap marriage

Nasab angkap marriage is the status of form annexation, which is combining and appointing a man to make him through marriage with his own daughter. This heavy point of *nasab angkap* is actually aimed at men outside the Gayo ethnic group who happen to live or earn a living in the Gayo area. By an original resident because the man has behavior, said greeting, and is Muslim, and shows his honesty he is appointed and married so that his position is as a biological child.

The status of *nasab angkap* is the opposite of that of *juelen* or *ango*. *Injuelen* or *ango* the person who escapes from the environment of his traditional house into his husband's traditional house, then the marriage *angkap nasab* of her husban (immigrants from outside the Gayo area) enters his wife's traditional house so that the this husband has the same position as another man

⁶ Joni as the manager of the Gayo Indigenous Majlis, interview researcher, Central Aceh, January 25, 2019.

⁷ japuik "pickup" (Minangkabau)

⁸ Temuluk'budak '. Formerly the aristocratic class generally had slaves, and as a sign of being given a bracelet from the rattan on its neck. Most of these slaves were free to marry native Gayo people.

⁹ nasab ANGKAP 'taken / recognized as legitimate'.

¹⁰ Angkap duduk edet 'revealed before to be financed'.

¹¹ angkap sentaran 'di angkap sementara'.

¹² angkap janyi 'di angkap with perjanjian'.

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from his wife's side according to customary law. In other words, he must be a loyal citizen in his wife in particular, and Gayo in general because of his marriage. In addition, he received an endorsement from the *Pengulu* or *Reje*, and his in-laws were required to pay the *penesah*¹³ to the *Pengulu* or the relevant *Reje* as much as 5-10 ringgit as a sign that the immigrant man had been allowed to enter his wife as a Gayo person, as well as later generations.

In the implementation of the marriage, the *nasab angkap* status of the prospective husband is not burdened with anything, such as *unyuk*, *pemera*, *teniron*, and so on, such as in marriage status, except for paying only 1 (one) ringgit as still married. In general parents who do not have sons man, often taking the marriage path that is in the trap of the *nasab* because not only does he need a son, even more so that this parent wants his daughters to stay by his side.

A husband who enters his wife in a *nasab* angkap status must be able to care for and care for both of them, as well as he must show himself as a human being. Such a husband in Gayo language is called the *Kin penurip murip, kin penanom mate*¹⁴. If someone from the king group has a daughter, then this king rarely marries his child in a juelen marital status. This will reduce his rank in the eyes of his group and society as if this king is not able to feed and care for his child. Therefore, marriage for the daughters of a king is always cultivated in a captive marital status, except if those who apply it are also of the same king descent, then the marital status is *juelen*. On the contrary, a King's son is never made a *kilel* marital status even though the one who meant it was a fellow from the King's descendants because this son would generally replace his father.

2) Angkap Duduk Edet Marriage

This marital status is actually *juelen / ango*, but because the husband has not been able to pay *edet {unyuk, pemera, teniron*, etc.), while their marriage cannot be delayed, the husband is required to stay in his home as hostage as long as *edet* has not been paid. Provide the best possible service to the family of the wife during her stay at her in-laws' house.

The process of *Angkap Duduk Edet* sometimes runs yearly if the obligation to pay edet is not fulfilled. Because of that, the husband is not allowed to bring his wife to stay in his own neighborhood. The time limit for this payment is indeed not determined so it often happens that the edet has been forgiven and does not pay off, either by the husband or by his family. Therefore, in the end the status of being caught up in *edet* became an *angkap* status and the husband then used his wife's clan.

3) Angkap Sentaran Marriage

The status of *angkap sentaran* is generally carried out by people who only have single daughters. In the marriage status, the *angkap sentaran* is actually not yet paid. If the *edet* has been paid, then it is not *angkap* again, but *juelen*. The wife's parents want the husband to stay with them. As long as these parents live because they do not have sons, except the only daughter. Parents expect that the *kile* can maintain and care for them until the end of their lives. After they die, it may be possible to share it with his wife and move to a neighborhood from where he came from.

Of course when waiting for when someone dies, no one can predict, even sometimes the parents-in-law until their age has not yet ended. That's why sometimes someone who is caught

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¹³ Penesah comes from the legal word (= according to the law), the presenter, is legally valid inside the wife's part.

¹⁴ Kim penurip murip, kin penanom mate, the proverb saying that being responsible for life died in-law.

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in a chat for various reasons then tries to pay for *edet*, then returns with his wife and children to the neighborhood.

While that is indeed the term *angkap* in the Gayo community despicable it seems, especially for a man of descent, but if the reason for his in-laws is quite convincing, then this sentiment can be obeyed in accordance with the agreement.

4) Angkap Janyi Marriage

The actual status of *janyi* is *juelen / ango* because some of the *edet* has been paid but it has not yet been repaid. While it has not been paid, the husband must stay with his parents in accordance with the agreement. This repayment agreement is according to the deadline and if the settlement has been fulfilled and his children have the right to leave his father-in-law's house, and return to the neighborhood from where he came from. The three final marital statuses of angkap, namely *angkap duduk edet*, *angkap sentaran*, *and angkap janji* only apply to residents of Gayo, while for migrant tribes from outside Gayo not affected by that status. For immigrant ethnic groups still apply *nasab* angkap status.

These people need to be tied tightly because they are afraid that they will leave their wives because they are unknown in the picture, with the origin and origin of their origin, such as Arabs, Chinese, Malays, and so on. The people of Aceh because of this many, the term *angkap* by the Gayo community is equated with the word Aceh (Gayo's tongue mentions indifferent), is an allusive word for people who marry the status of *nasab*, for example in the sentence: Gere *ku acihen anakku* (= my son who will not marry with *nasab* angkap status).

Angkap marriage is a form of marriage that has provisions that must be adhered to. The male side (husband) is drawn into the wife's spouse. This angkap marriage can be divided into two types of traps, namely angkap nasab and angkap temporarily. In marriage angkap nasab causes the husband to lose cut it off, because it has been pulled into his wife's side. If there is a divorce because of the transvestite cereals (divorce disputes) in this nasab marriage, it causes a change in the status of her husband because the husband must return to his original place of origin, and is not permitted to carry any treasure, except the dying property. But if there is love, for example a wife dies, then her ex-husband stays in his wife's part. At one time, when the exhusband would be remarried by his wife's part with one of his wife's relatives. If the deceased is her husband, then his wife is at the origin. But if the deceased has a descendant, then the inheritance of the inheritance falls to the hands of his offspring.

Temporary trapping in the Gayo community is also called angkap edet. A husband in a certain period of time stays in his division according to the agreement when he is done with a special arrangement. The temporary status continues as long as the husband has not been able to fulfill all the conditions set at the time of his appointment. If there is a divorce in the form of effeminate cereals, the husband will return to the division, and the dying property will be divided, if the temporary angkap conditions have been fulfilled by the husband, while the property is tempered, for example, the wife dies, the husband will not change his status until the angkap agreement is completed. Therefore, it is the duty of his wife to marry again with one of his relatives.

If there is a divorce in the form of effeminate cereals (divorce disputes), the husband will return to the party to divide it, and the dying property will be divided, if the conditions of the participant have been fulfilled by the husband, while the property is not, for example the wife dies, the husband will not change status until the angkap agreement period is complete. Therefore, it is the duty of his wife to marry again with one of his relatives.

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Table 1. Identity of Respondents

No	Name	Gender	Work	Mariage status
1	Rahmad	Male	Coffee farmer	AngkapNasab
2	Suratman	Male	Coffee farmer	AngkapNasab
3	Ibrahim	Male	Coffee farmer	AngkapNasab
4	Isnina	Female	Housewife	Juelen
5	Sulastri	Female	Housewife	Juelen

Table Description:

- 1. Respondent number 1 and number 2 who were doing angkap marriage in Aru Gele Village, Central Aceh District.
- 2. Respondent number 3 who was doing angkap marriage in Jl. Grerau Bebesen Sub-district, Central Aceh District.
- 3. Number 4 respondent who was doing juelen marriage in Daling Village, Bebesen Subdistrict, Central Aceh District.
- 4. Respondent number 5 who was doing juelen marriage in Arul gege Village, Silih Nara Sub--district, Central Aceh District.

3.2 Problems in the Gayo Tribe Community Related to Juelen Marriage and Angkap Customs in Central Aceh District.

Traditional wedding ceremonies as one of the elements of human culture certainly contain noble educational values. Traditional ceremonies such as birth ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, death ceremonies, medical ceremonies and other traditional ceremonies are a form of informal education that takes place in the family or the supporting community because the individual or executor of the traditional ceremony is mostly in informal communities. Educational values contained in a traditional ceremony include religious values, social values, cultural values, historical values and moral values. Likewise, the marriage ceremony or *ngerje* as one of the traditional ceremonies in the Gayo tribe in Central Aceh district is an informal education that contains noble values as well as other traditional ceremonies.

Education of religious values in marriage ceremonies teaches marriage procedures that are in accordance with Islamic law to avoid acts of adultery and other immoral acts. The values that educate the generation of Islam to stay away from these immoral acts are found in the hadith of the Prophet.

"O young generations who among you is capable of marriage, then marry, because in fact marriage is more eye-bending and more caring for genitals. Whoever is unable, and then let him be shaum. Because actually the shaum can reduce its lust "(hadist history of the Jamaah).

The *ngerje* marriage ceremony also contains the education of social values that teach the supporting community to expand the relationship of social ties or kinship. As we know that the Gayo tribe adheres to a split or *klen* system. The Gayo tribe views fellow people as clerics who are still considered blood or one offspring (patililinial). Gayo people adhere to an exogamous marriage system, which forbids strict marriage by dividing itself or by one *klen*.

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Thus the Gayo people married with other clans thus enlarging the circle of brotherhood or social circle. The size of the circle of brotherhood due to this marriage results in a brotherhood between the two sides or clans. Either sides or clans will respect each other and work together to implement or succeed other traditional ceremonies.

3.3 Legal Consequences of *Juelen Marriage Customary and Angkap's Perspective of Islamic Law Compilation*

Along with the times, legal awareness in society and the development of Islamic law in Indonesia itself in the 20th century shows that the books of fiqh show that not all of the books are in accordance with the legal needs of the people in Indonesia, for example the issue of the law of joint property is not include, the problem of substitute heirs and various marital problems, inheritance and representation.

Among one of the traditions and local culture adopted by KHI to become Islamic law in Indonesia is a joint asset. Joint assets are husband and wife property acquired during marriage, both individually or jointly without questioning on whose name the property is registered. Provisions regarding shared assets are contained in Chapter XIII of the Indonesian Islamic Law article 85-97. In principle, these articles affirm that the distribution of shared assets between husband and wife who are divorced or divorced dies, or because one of them is lost, each of them gets a second / half of shared assets. It does not count who works, and on whose behalf the joint property is registered.

The provisions of shared assets as mentioned in the Compilation of Islamic Law above are considered as the result of *ijtihad* and consensus of Indonesian scholars because the common assets are not explicitly found in the Qur'an and hadith. Classical fiqh books do not discuss it, except the syirkah issue (partnership)¹⁶ this can be understood, because the family system that is fostered in the Arab community does not know the common property, because the one who tries in the family is the husband. Meanwhile the wife is only in charge of managing household affairs¹⁷. Therefore, Islamic law experts in Indonesia disagree about shared assets. Some argue that joint assets are regulated in Q.s. al-Baqarah 2: 228, Q.s. al-Nisa '4: 21 and 34 which implies the existence of shared assets, namely assets obtained by husband and wife because of their efforts, whether they work together or only the husband works while the wife takes care of the household. Others argue otherwise, that shared assets are not known in Islam, except syirkah (agreement) between husband and wife made before or at the time the marriage is held.

¹⁵ Depag RI, Bahan Penyuluhan Hukum, (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Pembinaan Kelembagaan Agama Islam, 1996/1997), P. 109

¹⁶ According to Sayid Sabiq as quoted by M. Ali Hasan, that there are four forms of syirkah, namely: syirkah 'inan, syirkah mufâwadhah, syirkah' abdan, and syirkah wujûh. Syirkah 'inan is a venture capital partnership to be worked together and profit divided according to the amount of capital planted. Syirkah mufâwadhah is a capital partnership for a joint venture with the condition that the amount of capital must be the same and each member has the same right to act. Syirkah 'abdan, is a labor partnership to do a job / business and the results are divided based on the agreement. Syirkahwujûh, partnership to buy something with trust and profit divided between members. See M. Ali Hasan, Various Transactions in Islam, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2004), P.163

¹⁷ H.M. Anshary MK, Hukum Perkawinan di Indonesia:Masalah-Masalah Krusial, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2013), P.129.

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IV. Conclusion

Juelen and angkap marriage in Central Aceh District as a traditional marriage for the Gayo tribe, currently also experiencing problems in the midst of the Gayo tribe community regarding its long practice and is considered difficult. But what is interesting about the legal practices of Gayo customary marriage, the difficulties in juelen and angkap customary marriage are legal experience, gave birth to new customs in the midst of the gayo indigenous people, namely with the new custom of marriage in the midst of the Gayo indigenous people, namely the term *kuso kini* marriage. *Kuso kini* marriage now in denotation is mating here and there. Married *kuso kini* now has the connotation of a form of marriage that gives freedom to husband and wife to choose a place to settle in the husband or wife. Now married husband and wife, husband and wife can determine to both families or independent at home and their own work but still look and help the families of both parties well.

Gayo custom marriage legal consequences both in *juelen* marriage and *angkap* marriage are related to share assets in the KHI perspective, of course, in terms of the concept of joint assets contradicting. As a result of *juelen* marriage and *angkap* marriage of the Gayo custom and its intention, it still gives a share to each party (ex-husband and wife), and if there is a dowry debt as in an angkap marriage, it can be settled after the sharing of joint assets between the ex-wife and husband. If the division of assets together with obtaining half of each part is given to the ex-husband and wife, it is considered to give a portion with a large amount to both the husband (angkap marriage) and the wife (juelen marriage), then the shared property should be carried out by following the mandatory will namely with the amount of one third of the joint assets to the husband (angkap marriage) or wife (juelen marriage). Based on considerations that are more mash, namely by providing a guarantee in life after the divorce occurs. Obviously by giving a share to the husband or wife of shared assets as a result of the marriage customs of juelen / angkap in Gayo custom, it is still based on the ideas behind the spirit of KHI who try to translate shared assets as a means to guarantee life after divorce and of course this is in line with the rules the basis of Islamic law. Thus, the formulation of article 85-97 KHI is considered to fulfill the values of benefit in maintaining humanitarian relations and the benefit of family.

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