

PEACE BUILDING TO KARO SOCIETIES: DALIKEN SI TELU AS THE MEDIA OF RELIGIOUS CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN KABANJAHE

M. Abduh Lubis

UIN Sunan Kaliga Yogyakarta, abduhlubis@gmail.com

In this study, the Author see how the solidarity of Karo people in Kabanjahe which implicate to create the harmony among religious differences. The solidarity of Karo is formed by the culture inherited and continue throughout the history of the Karo society today. This research is a qualitative research by conducting direct observation to the location of the research and interviewing some religious leaders and customary figures with social approach that Emile Durkheim thought about social solidarity. The Author notes there are two most important things in the Karo people of the kinship system known as Daliken Si Telu, which means three stone stoves, or can be understood as a family arrangement consisting of: Sembuyak / Senina / Sukut, Kalibumbu and Anak Beru. In the arrangement of kinship, the Karo people have five of clan or merga who each has branches. The merga si lima become the main pillar to support Daliken si telu could be worked in Karo society the five merga are: Perangin-angin, Ginting, Tarigan, Karo-karo, and Sembiring. Daliken si telu takes a very important role for the people of Karo in Kabanjahe, especially at traditional ceremonies such as marriage, death and social problem among the Karo people. The Karo people of Kabanjahe make the tradition and culture are part of life that can not be avoided for every karo, and Daliken si telu become a way to perform it.

Keywords: Karo, Daliken Si Telu, Merga silima, Peace building

A. Introduction

Indonesia is a diverse country consisting of many tribes, religions and cultures extending from Sabang to Merauke. The diversity makes individual or group of Indonesia will interact in social life with another people from another religions. The various of characteristics, ethics, and culture that exist in each region of Indonesia cause a significant differences, therefore each person is required to be able to adapt either an environment or a tradition in certain region to avoid misunderstanding and Shock Culture which can lead to conflict. According to census 2010, percentage of Indonesian society based on religion 87.18% of Indonesia's 237,641,326 are Muslim, 6.96% Protestant, 2.9% Catholic, 1.69% Hindu, 0.72% Buddhist, 0.05% Kong Hu Cu, 0.13% other religions, and 0.38% missed or not as the religion⁸³. In everyday life people are always in touch with each other, individual has his/her own role of moving and affecting the environment around it, as well as the opposite nature also affects individuals, be they behavior, deeds, thoughts, attitudes, feelings, etc. This kind of relationship is called *autoplastic*, that is one has to adapt to the environment and *alloplastic* is one can also change the environment to suit their own desires⁸⁴.

⁸³Based on website :<http://sp2010.bps.go.id> Accessed, 25 February 2017

⁸⁴ Abu Ahmadi, *Psikologi sosial* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta2007), hlm.49

Kabanjahe is one of the districts located in Karo Regency, North Sumatra Province. Kabanjahe is also the capital of Tanah Karo. Another name of this Regency is "Tanah Karo Simalem" (Tanah Karo yang Permai). The Karo people of Kabanjahe generally work as farmers, and depend on their livelihoods through agricultural products, the condition of fertile soil makes agricultural land like fruits and vegetables can flourish. So the biggest livelihood in this area is farming.

The Karo people living in kabanjahe today are Religious people but still maintain and preserve their customs so that between religion and culture for Karo people in Kabanjahe is a very important thing in life. The Karo society has always been bound by its customs, the relationship between one person Karo with the other tied by the bonds of kinship and customs that continue throughout the day in the history of Karo Culture. Religion and culture for the Karo societies are a complementary unity and not a separate thing a Karo can still carry out his customs without having to leave his religion, also a Karo can run his worship without having to leave his customs, religious differences from Karo society is not an obstacle because they are from one family that is Karo family.

B. The History and Origin of Karo

According to Tengku Luckman Sinar SH⁸⁵, the Karo Society is a resident of the Haru kingdom that emerged in the XIII century that encompassed all traces to the East Sumatra residence starting from the Tamiang boundary to Rokan. The inhabitants of the Haru kingdom consisted of a mixture of Karo and Malay Batak who had embraced Islam or at least the King, the nobles and his dignitaries. In his research Luckman records the pannay kingdom (Panai River / Barumun Padanglawas conquered by the Tamil King Indra coladewa I in 1010 as found in Tanjore Inscription . For the first name appears the kingdom Haru or Ya-lu or A-lu who pay tribute to the emperor Kublai Khan of China in the year 1282. When the year 1292, the king of East Java, Kertanegara sent his troops to attack Malay and Srivijaya in chronicles Pararaton also mentioned that the Haru kingdom has the opposite attitude Then in 1350 again expedition conquest of Majapahit in NegaraKertagama mentioned besides Pane, also conquered Kampe and Haru.

The dispute between the Haru Kingdom and the Pasai kingdom in the XV century, which establish to a ceasefire. The kingdom of Haru is led by Serbanaman the king of Purba and the King of Kemat. They are Karo people who live in the upper river Deli. Furthermore,

⁸⁵ Tengku Lukman, *Data Sejarah Haru-Deli Tua-Puteri Hijau-Meriam Puntung*, (Medan: Waspada, 2008), hlm.18

after the influence of Aceh in Deli, before the arrival of the Netherlands there is a small kingdom headed by Datuk (in Tanah Karo Land called King Urung). Of the four kingdoms of Datuk leadership in Deli the largest part of the population are Karo people, namely Sunggal / Serbanaman Urung X Kuta, Urung XII Kuta / Hamparen Perak, Urung Senembah and Urung Sukapiring.

The Portuguese governor sent Fernando pinto in Melaka to visit the land of Batak and the kingdom of Haru and invite trade cooperation as well as get ready to fight the kingdom of Aceh led by Sultan Alaidin Riyatsyah (Al-Qahher). The King of Haru Haru at the time was Husin and he married Anchensinny (known Karo descent) fled to the interior.

The process of the conversion of the people who live in the kingdom like the Batak Karo, especially in the interior is rather slow. At that time, if there are Batak people who convert to Islam then Malay people are called "become Islam", while by the people who convert to Islam they are called "enggo jadi Jawi" (Already made Jawi / Islam) because Malay is identified with Islam.

At the time of the battle between the kingdom of Aceh under the Sultan Al-Qahher who attacked the kingdom of Haru whose king is the Sultan Husin in 1539, then surely the battle was happened in the Old Deli at this time. The incident is very similar to the folk legend regarding the Green princess (Putri Hijau). In the legend of Karo said Queen /Putri Hijau is the empress of Sultan Husin named Anchensinny (Encik Sini), is a Karo people who came from Seberaya in the highlands of Karo. The resistance under the leadership of the Putri Hijau against the invasion and attack of Aceh in the XVI century so that some of his body-shaped cannon was thrown into his home village of Seberaya, the event was clearly explained to Karo and Malay legend.

The Karo is not only people who live in the highland or Karo District. They also reside in their neighboring areas such as the District: Deli Serdang, Langkat, Simelungun, Dairi, Southeast Aceh, Medan Municipality, Binjai municipality and various places in the archipelago. Before the Dutch came they had long occupied these areas until then the Dutch came and divided into areas of government that is: Onderafdeling Karo-landen led by Controleur under Dutch rule. In addition there is also the government of Bumiputra (Landschaap). This government was formed on a "Perjanjian pendek" (Koret Verklaring) of 1907 and divided into five landschaaps headed by Sibayak. Under the Landschaap there is also a smaller kingdom called Raja Urung.

The whole combination of Karo Batak tribes is bound by a dialect (language) that can be understood everywhere and almost no different from each other⁸⁶, in short the Karo Batak located in Langkat, Deli Serdang and highland (Karo Highlands) to Tanah Alas (Southeast Aceh) have language attachments between each other.

C. Religion and Belief of Karo Societies

Since the first Karo Society has a traditional belief or local religion that has existed since their ancestors whoknown as the religion of Pemena. This pemena is also often referred to *perbegu*, Believing in the spirit of their ancestors in the form of sacred objects which they considered to have supernatural powers this form of their belief is animism and dynamism⁸⁷. In pre-colonial times Europeans and Malays usually use Batak term to refer to people who live in North Sumatra including Karo, but most of the Karo tribe people are reluctant to be called as Batak people because they feel differently in identity between the people of Karo and Batak people⁸⁸. Some others accept called batak but do not want to be equated with Batak Toba and Tapanuli because Karo society is realized that is very different from language and tradition.

The Christianity came to Tanah Karo is inseparable from the Dutch role in the Colonial period, Rita Kipp Smith in *The Early Years of Dutch Colonial mission: The Karo Field* explains Christian mission in Tanah Karo beginning in 1889 the Dutch desires to control the tobacco field Deli then made a cooperation as well as to keep the Deli from the attacks of Acehnese and Karo people who live around Aceh and Deli. Finally J.T Cremer asked the Dutch government to send missionaries to the Karo area for Christian functioned to fight the people of Aceh who are Muslims.

Missionaries responded to the cooperation with an ambiguous attitude, on the one hand they realized that the Dutch government's support was not solely due to religion but the material advantage of the tobacco field, on the other hand it was a way of spreading Christianity in the area. In short the Dutch finance all missionary activities to carry out evangelism and to appease and anticipate those who will convert to Islam which could potentially threaten Dutch investment⁸⁹.

⁸⁶Neumann J.H *Sejarah Batak Karo* Bhartara, Jakarta, 1972, hlm. 9

⁸⁷Interviewed to Adin Sinulingga as the indigenous leader of karo society in Kabanjahe

⁸⁸Mujiburrahman, *Religious Conversion in Indonesia: The Karo Batak and the Tengger Javanese* (Carfax Publishing Vol. 12, January 2001) hlm 28

⁸⁹Rita Kipp Smith, *The Early Years of Dutch Colonial mission : The Karo Field*, (Michigan 1993), hlm.35-45

In the early days of the Government of Indonesia, Kabanjahe became one of the target of seizure the congregation of each religion both Islam and Christianity. Pancasila as the constitution of the state which the first principle is “Belief in the One Supreme God” according to that, Indonesia is not a state based on religion as well as not a secular state. Then the first principle produces five religions recognized by the state they are Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism and Hinduism, whereas the indigenous are regarded as local beliefs and belong to the category of non-religion “belum beragama”.

The Islamic religion coming from Southeast Aceh and the lowlands (Deli Serdang and Langkat) the religion for the people of Karo is not so fast, proved in the 1950 just a few tens of thousands among hundreds of thousands of Karo society. So the way in which missionaries in developing religion is followed by the field of education, it is indeed succeeding slowly⁹⁰. In 1965 the Communist Party's failure to take power caused Communist groups to be in a dangerous, the Communists defined as a non-religious ideology that contradicted by Pancasila. The Indigenous “aliran kebatinan” did not convert to the five religions recognized to the government will be linked to the communist party. So in this period a lot of both Islam and Christian sent Da'i and Missionaries to Karo including Kabanjahe.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs in Kabanjahe for example in cooperation with the Coordination Agency of Islamic Da'wah (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah), the institution sent many Da'is to invite Karo especially the indigenous to convert to Islam and teach who had converted in Kabanjahe. The activities carried out by building madrasah that supported by the Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah, also held recitation “pengajian” weekly called Merga Si Lima's recitation, that using Karo language as well as teach to the Karo society that between religion and culture is a unity.

The Christian mission at this period also evolved through GBKP as the supreme authority of Christianity in the land of Karo. The church is also functioned as education and health activities there are several schools, clinics and orphanages to serve Karo in Kabanjahe. . After the 1960, many Karo people who converted to religion based on their own consciousness, were not influenced by families who had previously embraced a particular religion, so we can now meet religious different of Karo people in one family, for example his father is Muslim, his mother is Protestants while their children embrace Catholicism, Advent or other religions.

⁹⁰Bangun Tridah, *Manusia Batak Karo*, (Jakarta: Inti Idayu Press 1986) hlm. 114

They do their respective worship and religion by not reviling each other, then harmony is maintained between each other because of a sense of kinship in the tradition that has been ingrained.

The percentage of Karo people in Kabanjahe based on Kabanjahe district government 2015 statistic is Protestant 54% or 39.688 people, Islam 28% or 20,764 people, Catholics 14% or 10607 people, Buddhists 1,187 people⁹¹.

D. Merga Silima (The Five main of Surnames) as Solidarity in Karo Societies

The Karo people are recognized into five main Surnames/clans and every surname has suburnames, the five main surname are :

1. Perangin-angin
2. Ginting
3. Tarigan
4. Karo-Karo
5. Sembiring

The suburnames of each main surnames are :

1. Perangin-angin has eighteen suburnames:

1.	Bangun	10.	Sukatendel
2.	Sinurat	11.	Kutabuluh
3.	Benjerang	12.	Singarimbun
4.	Nomohaji	13.	Uwir
5.	Sebayang	14.	Penggarun
6.	Pencawan	15.	Laksa
7.	Perbesi	16.	Keliat
8.	Mano	17.	Kacinambun
9.	Ulujandi	18.	Pinem

2. Ginting has sixteen suburnames :

1.	Munte	9.	Babo
2.	Suka	10.	Sugihen
3.	Tumangger	11.	Saragih
4.	Capah	12.	Beras

⁹¹Central Bureau of Statistics Karo Regency, Kecamatan Kabanjahe Dalam Angka

5.	Sinusinga	13.	Garamata
6.	Gurupatih	14.	Sinusinga
7.	Jawak	15.	Jadibata
8.	Manik	16.	Ajartambun

3. Tarigan has thirteen surnames :

1.	Sibero	8.	Bondong
2.	Tambak	9.	Gersang
3.	Tua	10.	Silangit
4.	Pekan	11.	Purba
5.	Ganagana	12.	Gerneng
6.	Jampang	13.	Tegur
7.	Tegur	14.	

4. Karo-karo has eighteen surnames :

1.	Sekali	10.	Sinuraya
2.	Purba	11.	Simuhaji
3.	Kemit	12.	Sinulingga
4.	Ketaren	13.	Barus
5.	Bukit	14.	Sinubulan
6.	Jung	15.	Surbakti
7.	Gurusinga	16.	Kacaribu
8.	Kaban	17.	Sitepu
9.	Samura	18.	Sinukaban

5. Sembiring has eighteen surnames divided into two groups, the first group forbids to eat the dogs and second group is allows it :

A. The group of Sembiring forbid to eat the dogs

1.	Brahmana	8.	Gurukinayan
2.	Colia	9.	Pandia
3.	Depari	10.	Meliala
4.	Pelawi	11.	Muham
5.	Maha	12.	Pandebayang
6.	Keling	13.	Sinukapur
7.	Tekang	14.	Bunuaji

B. The group of Sembiring allows to eat the dogs :

1.	Kembaren	3.	Sinupayung
2.	Keloko	4.	Sinulaki

The Karo people do not be justified the marriage to every Karo with the same surname, for example a young man surnamed Ginting then does not be allowed to marry a girl surnamed Ginting. Because they are a descendant that can be interpreted as blood brother/sister even though they do not know each other. But there are exceptions related to the marriage of the clan in Perangin-angin, for example Sebayang which is the one of surnames of Perangin-angin is justified to marriage another surnames in Perangin-angin. So also in Sembiring that is justified to marriage with another surnames of Sembiring with a note both of surnames in one group to forbid to eat the dogs or to allow it for example between Sembiring meliala is justified to marriage with Sembiring guruinayan, and Sembiring Kembaren justified to marriage with Sembiring simapayung.

There is also interbreed marriage of the surname which is prohibited, for example, Sebayang which is surname of perangin-angin is prohibited to marriage with Sitepu which is surname of Karo-karo, neither a young man/women of Sebayang nor man/women of Sitepu do not be allowed to marriage. The violation of the customary system will make the Karo ostracized in their daily life, furthermore serious violations he can be expelled from the Karo society, even if there is a marriage between Sebayang and Sitepu, the Karo people believe that their lives in marriage will not get along well.

The lineage of Karo people are patrilineality⁹², The offspring that applied to Karo society is male or father, therefore the son is the legitimate heir and the successor of the offspring, since time immemorial if the woman marries with a man from another surname, for example Siti surnamed Ginting married with Achmad Tarigan, Siti who has "bought" by the family of Tarigan so Siti no longer belongs to the Ginting group then the child belongs to the group of Tarigan and she is not the heir of the clan of his father who is surnamed Ginting, both in his parents' property and in continuing the lineage. Regarding the woman who does not get inheritance is not a problem because it is assumed that if a woman married someone from another parent/surname, the husband who get the inheritance from his parents automatically she also received the inheritance. So in its application related clans in Karo society for example a

⁹²Bangun Tridah, *Manusia Batak Karo*, hlm. 95

man named Budi Ginting married with Rahmah Sembiring then they have a boy named Lukman and his daughter Rina, then the surname of Lukman is Ginting and “bere-bere” is Sembiring (taken from his mother's clan) as well as Rina is Ginting and bere-bere is Sembiring. In girls in front of his father's clan commonly added "beru" would be Rina Beru Ginting. So if among the two Karo who previously did not know each other then in the introduction can mention his/her name, surname at once his/her bere-bere . For example Rudi Bangun bere Tarigan or Arif Ginting Bere Sembiring. It will be known that Rudi's father from the Perangin-angin suburname Bangun and his mother from the Tarigan group. while Arif's father from the Ginting group's surname and his mother from the Sembiring group's surname.

According to the descriptions before it will be found their relation of kinship, whether they are cousins or nephews or brother/sister-in-law and so on. Relationships and kinship levels can be traced Due to the clarity of surname in every Karo person, it is difficult to manipulate the offspring from which it originated. At least every Karo person has three surnames, first, is the surname from father, second is bere-bere (the surname from mother) and last "Kempu" is the surname of grandmother from mother. So if both people meet, definitely between one another will find in one particular surname group because the surname is only five (merga silima).

E. Daliken Si Telu For Resolution of Religious Conflict

Daliken Si Telu means a stone stove where cooking in the kitchen and sitelu means three, so the meaning of Daliken Si Telu is three stone stoves. The three stone furnaces fitted with triangles for cooking from on the third side of the open space can be added and filling the wood as fuel. The three pillars in Daliken Si Telu's composition are: Sembuyak / Senina / Sukut, Kalimbubu, and Anak Beru. Basically all Karo people are the same as the kinship pattern in Daliken Si Telu, everyone is king and respected, everyone is also as "Anak Beru" the worker or servant for "Kalimbubu".

In summary Daliken Si Telu the particular group is respected because its position as Kalimbubu (brothers or fathers of the wife who has the ceremony). But in other ceremonies The Kalimbubu that can also turn into Anak Beru (The parties who marry the sisters of the intent) that is as workers or servants and going on in a circle in the Karo Community kinship. Daliken Si Telu is used by the people of Karo in various social activities especially, marriage, entering traditional house, misfortune and so on. If the Sukut party has an intent, he needs to make a consultation, Sukut is assisted by "senina" which means blood relatives. Senina may also be a brotherly relation of a person to another person on the basis of a cluster of mothers or

other clans who are mutually agreed upon as a supporter of the responsibility while providing guarantees for handling matters concerning all activities, Senina can be understood also as a companion of Sukut. Senina must be a person who knows the history and character of the people that he accompanied. Sometimes senina in certain ceremony will exchange in another ceremony so both of them will get mutual advantage.

The role of Senina is indispensable in any custom feast, a deliberation or customary activity is incomplete if without the existence of Senina even though siblings or other cousins have been present, because in the deliberation the party of Senina is the party who speaks representing Sukut and be in charge of implementing the customary event in specific scope. For example, at the ceremony of "Menget rumah mbaru" (entering new house), then Anak beru as worker or servant to kalimbubu conducting deliberation and dialogue through Senina from Sukut, then Senina forward to Sukut.

At the wedding party too, Anak beru always communicate and ask something to Kalimbubu through Senina. In addition to being a companion Sukut Senina also become a mediator that will give the opinions, but not only as a mediator Senina is also responsible for the conversation and the results of which have been discussed. For example, the family from group A is marrying her daughter then A is not allowed to express his fee directly. He conferred first with his group after an agreement between them and then deliver to his senina.

In a traditional ceremony the community does not regard the class or position of a person, Daliken Si Telu is practiced continuously since the time of the previous king, even though he is a king if his position in the traditional ceremony is the Anak Beru (workers and servants) then he must take care of all ceremonies customwhether in terms of cooking, food or in consultation for the sustainability of the customary event, it applies also today both the General and the Governor then he must follow the same.

For the people of Karo in Kabanjahe Daliken Telu is still carried out until now, at least every Karo will do Daliken Si Telu when he/she wants to get married even though Daliken Si Telu is also used in solving social, economic and religious problems, In the implementation of Daliken Si Telu, the Karo people of Kabanjahe will communicate and cooperate with other Karo People from different religions. Daliken Si Telu system creates solidarity and emotional strength from the Karo people, they tend to prioritize familial attitudes rather than blame religious identity. According to the chairman of FKUB⁹³ (Religious Harmony Forum) of Karo district, almost no religious conflict occurred in Kabanjahe, all due to the awareness of every

⁹³Interviewed to Aswan Sembiring as Chief of FKUB (Religious Harmony Forum) of Tanah Karo Regency

Karo people that they are a family that comes from the same ancestors and must keep each other's traditions inherited to live in harmony.

F. Conclusion

- The Karo people of Kabanjahe have a dynamic complex relationship between religious people since pre colonialism until now, nevertheless the Karo societies remains a unity and is bound by its customs by knowing the kinship system through the *merga silima*.

- *Daliken Si Telu* for Karo people in Kabanjahe become a solution to reduce social problems that can trigger religious conflict, the kinship system in *Daliken Si Telu* to form a mutual social solidarity, mutual respect for each other and able to move mutual cooperation, thus creating harmony for the people of Karo in the social sphere without having to distinguish religious differences.

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Interview :

- Suwanto Sitepu as religious leader of Islam in Kabanjahe
- Drs. Pimpin Bangun the Secretary of Main Mosque in Kabanjahe,
- Adin Sinulingga as the indigenous leader of karo society in Kabanjahe
- Julistianus Purba as Religious leader of Catholic in Kabanjahe
- Joshua Ginting as Religious leader of Protestant in Kabanjahe
- Aswan Sembiring as Chief of FKUB (Religious Harmony Forum) of Tanah Karo Regency
- Rudi Ginting Karo who lives in Kabanjahe around fifty years
- Etc,