Mora, Kahanggi, and Anak Boru as a Local Culture of Batak-Angkola Community in Maintaining Muslim-Christian Harmony in Sipirok, Tapanuli Selatan

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Abstract
This research aimed to describe the portrait of inter-religious harmony and the approach adopted by Muslims and Christians in Sipirok in nurturing a harmonious relationship through the local culture system, namely Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru. This study employed an ethnographic approach with data collection techniques involving observation, interviews, and documentation. Miles and Huberman's interactive analysis model was used as the data analysis technique. The results of the study showed that the effort to maintain the interreligious harmony in Sipirok has so far been carried out by the Muslim-Christian community through the role of Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru as a kinship system in the ethnic Batak-Angkola community in Sipirok District, Tapanuli Selatan Regency. The result also indicated that the efforts to nurture the harmonious Muslim-Christian relationship have been carried out by the residents of Sipirok by prioritizing four aspects, namely (a) the relationship in the social aspects, (b) the relationship in the economic aspects, (c) the relationship in the customary aspects, and (d) the relationship in the socio-religious aspects.

Keywords: Mora, Kahanggi, Anak Boru, Local Culture, Inter-religious Harmony
Introduction

In Indonesia, religious plurality is a necessity, the diversity of languages, ethnicities, and races is also present, and each of them is an important principle for achieving inter-religious harmony (Rizky & Sriulina 2016). Religious harmony is a dynamic process that develops along with the development of society. To foster inter-religious harmony, one must actively strive to instill a sense of community values and lifestyles that support it, maintain an order and environment that can support attitudes and behaviors that lead to religious harmony, and actively foster and develop attitudes and behaviors which supports inter-religious harmony (Nazmudin 2017).

According to Umar and Hakim (2019), interreligious harmony for a pluralist country is actually the main element in the creation of brotherhood and national unity. While the brotherhood, unity, and harmony are highly essential for the realization of development. Consequently, it will apparently be difficult to realize the national development without the creation of a sense of unity and harmony among the citizens.

The issue of interreligious harmony is a necessity in the context of religious diversity in Indonesia (Pratiwi 2021). For this reason, the issue of religious harmony must be a priority for the citizens to maintain and manage properly. The national harmony has consistently been in a state of fluctuation due to friction between religious adherents (Arifianto 2021). Relationship among religious adherents from time immemorial have always undergone unstable fluctuations due to social problems caused by such claims that one religious teaching is the most correct, to the point of insulting and belittling others’ beliefs, thus giving rise to antipathy (Saefullah 2011). The problem in inter-religious harmony is always persistent in the life of a society, nation and state. many groups of people still persistently commit acts of intolerance towards certain religious minorities (Muhdina 2015).

The differences in opinion and religious conceptions, according to Husaini (2004), initially do not automatically give rise to conflict on a practical level. Even throughout history, people of faith have enjoyed living in the periods of peace and harmony longer than the periods of religious conflicts. Throughout the Muslim-Christian conflict, during which the notorious
crusade lasting for hundreds of years took place, for example, a number of social relations between Islam and Christianity in Syria remained in operation.

Ironically, the numerous conflicts that arise among religious communities are not only due to religious fundamentalism, but also driven by political and economic interests (Atmanto and Muzayanah 2020). Psychologically, most people of different faith and beliefs have hardly been able to live side by side (Team 2020). Recently in fact, religious conflicts have also been instigated by the differences in the interpretation of the meaning of social symbols in communication (Azizah, Lutfatul 2021). The ironical incidents have but reinforced the need for the people of faith to practice their religion moderately in accordance with the moderate values of each religion.

Conflicts and disintegration among religious adherents are certainly detrimental to the national stability, including the people of faith themselves. Disharmony, especially conflicts, will certainly have an impact on all aspects of life, including political stability, economic growth, and socio-cultural development. Living in an atmosphere of uncertainty will breed fear and give rise to feelings of distrust (Suryana 2011).

Tolerance and respect for diversity among Muslims as well as among non-Muslims is very important. Remembering that society is strong and can coexist in diversity because of these fundamental values that have been maintained for a long time (Rohimah, Hufad, and Leksono 2022).

The frequent acts of terrorism and intolerance perpetrated by a particular group in the name of religion have highlighted the need for every believer to practice religious moderation as initiated by the Ministry of Religion. Therefore, the agenda moderation religious tradition initiated by the Ministry of Religion is important for every religious adherent to practice because of the emergence of a series of incidents of terrorism and intolerance by a group in the name of religion to justify their actions. The series of acts of terrorism can be seen starting from the 2002 Bali bombings, the 2009 Jakarta Bombings bombings, the 2011 Cirebon bombing, the 2016 Jakarta attacks at the Sarinah shopping mall, the Solo Mapolresta bombing, Melayu Village Bomb Attack (Azanella 2018) the 2002 Maluku Islands sectarian conflict, and the 2022 attack on Huriah Kristen Batak Protestant (HKBP) (Rouf 2020). Adding to the long list of acts of terrorism is church burning in Suka Makmur
Gunung Meriah in 2015 and the recent conflict over the establishment of the church in Aceh Singkil in 2015 (Ahmad 2016). However, Fairusy (2015) insisted that the recent religious frictions are actually not only instigated by religious factors, but also driven by the various interests of certain individuals.

Religious leaders must promote an attitude of openness to prevailing differences in order to maintain a harmonious relationship (Yanasari 2021). However, the religious moderation Nevertheless, the religious teachings echoed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs at this time is arguably too general in nature since it is still limited to the outlines of the basic principles in understanding religions, and has not yet formulated the effective forms, approaches, and strategies in practicing them in the midst of the diversity of religions, cultures and ethnicities of Indonesian society, whereas the model of interreligious harmony with a local cultural approach is more effective in uniting those with different beliefs beyond their own religious ties (Haryanto 2014). This notion is reinforced by Kasmir, Hamdani et al., (2021) who stated that the local culture is highly influential in nurturing an attitude of religious moderation, especially among teenagers, to establish harmonious relationships with fellow citizens of different faiths.

Thus, research on the role of Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru in a pluralist ethnic Batak-Angkola community serves as a social cohesive in maintaining a harmonious relationship among the people of different faiths. In this case, the research was conducted on the people of Sipirok District, Tapanuli Selatan. It is hoped that the village can serve as a role model in the development of inter-religious harmony in a society that is still uncertain in interacting with people of different faiths.

The residents of Sipirok, made up by Muslims and Christians, have always lived in peace and harmony. This area is a part of the larger Tapanuli Selatan area, which statistically is inhabited by the Muslim majority as much as 91.71% (BPS Provinsi Sumatera Utara 2020). Both Muslim and Christian residents of Sipirok are able to equally uphold local culture and religions. Position of Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru in the Batak-Angkola community are a kinship system that serves as a foundation in performing a variety of deeds (Nasution 2015). This integration of religious understanding with local cultural approaches certainly needs to be appreciated because the is able
to penetrate religious barriers that tends to be exclusive. According to Asrizal and Armita (2019) if one of the residents holds a religious or traditional celebration or party, all other Muslim and Christian residents will flock to contribute to the event by carrying out their roles according to their respective positions in custom as either Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru.

Based on the aforementioned phenomenon, this study aimed to explore a local culture-based approach in nurturing religious harmony through the implementation of local traditional process by the Batak-Angkola community in Sipirok. Practically, this research can be used as a reference in carrying out public relations activities involving different religions. Thus, this study aimed to explore the actualization of the diversity among the residents of Sipirok who have been able to maintain harmony in their multi-religious communities.

Methods
This research employed a ethnographic approach (Spradley 1979). This approach was employed to obtain and analyze the data on the views and practices of the religious figures, customary leaders and the Batak-Angkola community in Sipirok in maintaining interreligious harmony in their community. The research locus was chosen based on the fact that the Muslim and Christian residents of Sipirok have been able to live in peace and harmony without any conflict. The researchers believed that this reality called for in-depth research. The data collected are descriptive data on the socio-cultural context of the Sipirok residents, the traditional and religious figures’ approaches in nurturing and maintaining their interreligious harmony, and their views on the role of Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru in Sipirok. Data collection were carried out by means of observation, interviews and documentation, while Furthermore, Miles and Huberman interactive analysis model, which consists of data reduction, data display, and data conclusions drawing/verification, was employed as the data analysis technique (Miles & Huberman 2019).

Results
Portrait of Muslim-Christian Inter-religious Harmony in Sipirok
Sipirok is one of the fourteen sub-districts in Tapanuli Selatan Regency, North Sumatra. Located in the valley of Mount Sibualbuali, Sipirok District has an area of 40,936.52 hectares or about 9.40 percent of the total area of Tapanuli Selatan Regency. With this area, Sipirok is the third largest sub-district in Tapanuli Selatan Regency after Saipar Dolok Hole District and Angkola Selatan District. In the north, Sipirok is bordered by Arse Subdistrict, Tapanuli Utara Regency, while in the east it is bordered by Padang Lawas Utara Regency (BPS Tapanuli Selatan 2020).

At the moment, Sipirok is a sub-district inhabited by both Muslims and Christians. Before the spread of Islam and Christianity in the area, the residents of Sipirok as a whole still adhered to animistic beliefs referred to by the locals as *Pelebegu* or *Parbegu*, which perceives that the spirits of ancestors are able to provide certain instructions and powers, with which the people, led by their kings, perform certain rituals in their daily life (Lubis & Lubis 2020).

Administratively, dominated by rice fields and plantations, the landscape of Sipirok District is divided into six sub-districts and thirty-four villages Sipirok. Since 2007, Sipirok has become the capital of Tapanuli Selatan Regency, replacing Padang Sidimpuan, which since 2001 has been designated as a Municipality through Law No. 4 of 2001. The determination of Sipirok District as the new capital of Tapanuli Selatan Regency is stated in Law No. 37 of 2007 concerning the Establishment of Padang Lawas Utara Regency and Law No. 38 of 2007 concerning the Establishment of Lawas Regency (BPS Tapanuli Selatan, 2020).

In terms of location, the houses of its Muslim and Christian residents are built close to each other. The Muslim community in the sub-district as the majority has so far been able to provide the Christian minority a sense of security, which is not only based on the principle of equal citizenship alone, but also the awareness that differences in faith do not have to bring about divisions and suspicion, but, on the contrary, religions preach respect for others’ different beliefs. This is as expressed by Sibarani, a Christian villager, who stated, “Basically, we are all the same. [We] came from the same origins, and have the same goal as God’s people” (Sibarani 2022).

Daily worship by Muslims in Sipirok such as daily prayers is performed at the mosques and *mushalla* located on the side of the villages’ main street.
Worship activities such as recitation of surah Ya-Sin, dhikr and religious sermons are performed as part of a sacred procession or after a death. In addition, other religious activities are guided by the programs proposed by the village’s Badan Kemakmuran Masjid (Mosque Prosperity Agency) and activities initiated periodically by the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) of Tapanuli Selatan. Religious preaching or sermons carried out by Muslims in the village aim solely to preach true obedience to the teachings of Islam rather than to build the disruptive narratives of religious differences.

Then da’wah materials delivered by ustaz or ustazah in Sipirok area, must not ignore the socio-religious factors of the local community. This principle is what in turn shapes a moderate perspective on religious teachings which gives birth to the values of mutual respect for the differences among the people of the village. Therefore, from the perspective of the sociology of religion, the world-view as shared by the people of Sipirok indicates a strong respect for human values (Muzairi 2017).

The attitude of moderation nurtured among the Christians in Sipirok district reinforces the church’s narrative of equality among human beings. The view that focuses on equality in the perspective of religious moderation is part of an effort to alleviate the sides of every religious teaching that promotes violence against religious differences. This view evidently not only brings a sense of togetherness and harmony in Sipirok, but also strengthens the ties of brotherhood among the people. The residents of the village are able to create a peaceful atmosphere in the midst of their lives by exploring a sense of togetherness with the existing traditions. In addition, any preaching of the teachings of their religions is never imbued with materials that may lead to conflicts.

Statistically, relatively the vast majority of the citizens in Sipirok District are Muslims. The total population of Sipirok is 33,250 peoples consisting of 30,495 Muslims (91.71%), 2,678 Christians (8.05%), 72 Catholics (0.22%), and 5 Buddhists (0.02%). Meanwhile, the houses of worship in Sipirok District consists of 82 mosques, 35 mushallas, and 17 churches (GKPA 10, HKBP 5, Advent 1, GKI 1).
### Table 1. Total Number of Religious Adherents in Sipirok

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Total Number of People</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>30,495</td>
<td>91,71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>2,678</td>
<td>8,05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>0,22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0,02%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Document from KUA of Sipirok

### Table 2. Total Number of Worship’s House in Sipirok

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Worship’s House</th>
<th>Total Number of Worship’s House</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mosque</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>61,19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushalla</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26,11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12,68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Document from KUA of Sipirok

Based on the data above, it shows that Muslims in Sipirok are the majority citizens. Although quantitatively, the number of Muslims and Muslim houses of worship are very significant, but they exhibit no arrogance and feeling of superiority or treat Christians discriminatively. This is evident from the intimate economic activities and social interaction among the residents of Sipirok. The coffee shops (locally called *lopo kopi*) where the farmers and some employees usually hang out before going about their businesses are filled with Muslims and Christians visitors.

The growth of togetherness among Muslims and Christians in such daily activities is driven by the kinship system, which has existed since before the colonial period and stems from the local wisdom. Kinship in Sipirok’s case manifested in the form of intermarriage, which eventually gave birth to relatives by clan later known as *Mora, Kahanggi* and *Anak Boru*.

The socio-religious and economic cooperation is built by the Muslims and the Christians in Sipirok indiscriminately of religions by prioritizing four
aspects of a symbiotic relationship of mutualism, which include social, economic aspect, customary and socio-religious aspects of the residents’ lives. Cooperation in the social aspect occurs in village-related development and empowerment. For example, the Christians were involved in the construction of Gereja Kristen Protestan Angkola (GKPA) in Pasar Sipirok and construction of Nurul Huda Mosque in Bunga Bondar sub-district, and together with the Muslim villagers, they always participate in gotong royong (mutual cooperation). Cooperation in the economic aspect, meanwhile, is evident in the Muslim residents’ practice of providing loans and land lease as well as buying and selling agricultural and plantation products to their Christian counterparts or vice versa. Cooperation in the customary aspect of the residents’ lives takes place, among others, in the events of horja pabuat boru (wedding parties) and horja siluluton (death ceremonies), during which the traditional leaders always play a role in markobar (delivering kobar or introduction to the traditional procession of wedding/death). The kobar is delivered by Muslim traditional leaders at every event held by either the Muslims and the Christians (Nasution, 2016). Finally, cooperation in the socio-religious field can be observed in the distribution of qurban meat on Eid al-Adha. All Christians in Sipirok receive a coupon for free meat like other Muslims. Regarding this practice, a Christian resident named Sinaga mentioned, “We as Christians here do receive the portions of qurban meat every Eid al-Adha, and we are very grateful to have Muslim brothers like them” (Sinaga 2022).

Another informant said, “All of us still brothers. It’s like our blood is still each other talk”. “Already from there,” “already used to”, “already from long ago” are some of the expressions put forward informants answered the question why the community in Sipirok can live in harmony despite adhering to a different religion.

Based on the above description, the cooperative relationship in socio-economic, cultural and socio-religious aspects maintained by the residents of Sipirok residents represents intertwined family and citizenship values. The absence of segregation and differences in social and economic activities in Sipirok shows that the community still upholds familial values.
The Role of *Mora, Kahanggi* and *Anak Boru* in Nurturing Muslim-Christian Harmony in Sipirok

The residents of Sipirok are originally ethnic Batak-Angkola communities. Being a part of the ethnic Batak-Angkola, the residents of Sipirok embrace *Dalian Na Tolu* social system, which is a kinship system consisting of three elements, namely *Mora, Kahanggi* and *Anak Boru*. *Mora* refers to the whole family or community from the behalf of the wife’s family, while *Kahanggi* is the whole family or community of the same clan. *Anak Boru*, meanwhile, is the whole family or group of husband’s family (Nasution, nd).

This kinship concept underlies ethics in the relationship between the three elements, namely respect for *mar-mora* (being polite and respectful to *mora*), *elek mar-kahanggi* (being kind to family relatives), and *holong mar-anak boru* (being affectionate to children, especially because their hand is much needed to help with the work, especially during family events). In a traditional ceremony, the *mora* occupies the highest position, and is usually provided a seat among the kings and elders, while *anak boru* occupies the lowest position because of his minimal role in helping with the work related to the ceremony. However, a person’s position in this system is dynamic, that is, at a certain time each member of the family must occupy each of these positions, i.e. being *mora* in a daughter’s marriage, acting as *kahanggi* in the marriage of the relatives with the same *marga*, and acting as *boru* when a son from the family proposes to a daughter from another family.

This kinship system philosophy in the view of the ethnic Batak-Angkola in general is a figure of speech that illustrates an equally shared role (Hanafi 2017). This means that in social life, each element of *Dalian Na Tolu*, namely *Mora, Kahanggi* and *Anak Boru* play the same role in life as unit. Together the three stoves support the cauldron which is used as a place to cook all kinds of dishes. If one of the stoves fails to support the cauldron properly, it will fall off and the food will spill out. On the other hand, if all the stoves are both sturdy and balanced, the cauldron will remain stable until the food is cooked.

The *Dalian Na Tolu* system plays an important role in much of both the lower middle class and the upper middle class of Batak-Angkola community. (Hanafi 2017). The people of Sipirok shared the belief that the interaction based on the kinship system precedes the relationship on the basis of shared
religions. Rather than discriminate people based on their religion, the kinship system in *Dalihan Na Tolu* distinguish people according to what clan they belong to, by figuring out whether they belong to the *Mora*, *Kahanggi* or *Anak Boru*.

In practice, the roles of *Mora* and *Anak Boru* in Sipirok are assumed by both Muslim and Christian residents, meaning that the Christians have *Mora* and *Anak Boru* from among the Muslims, and vice versa. The role of *Kahanggi*, on the other hand, is predominantly assumed by the two religious groups since the dominant clans in the village are *Siregar* and *Harahap*, both of which have Muslim and Christian members.

The kinship system of *Mora*, *Kahanggi* and *Anak Boru* in Sipirok has proven to strengthen not only the unity but also the sense of solidarity and togetherness. The sense of togetherness is able to create the feelings of sympathy and empathy at the same time. This is well-reflected in the daily interactions among the youth in the village. Muslims and Christians intermingle in everyday life, both at work and in coffee shops where young people usually gather and socialize.

Regarding this, Siregar as a Muslim religious figure in Sipirok, stated, “We here always maintain cohesiveness, both in daily interactions and in work, we never discriminate against religions. We feel as one family here, so helping in the name of brotherhood is more important than helping in the name of religion” (Siregar 2022).

In addition to *Dalihan Na Tolu*, another concept is known in the Southern Tapanuli (Tabagsel), including Sipirok, namely the *Opat Ganjil Lima Gonop*. In this concept, more elements are involved in traditional assembly with the inclusion of *Pisang Raut* (*Anak Boru* from *Anak Boru*) and *Hula-Hula* (*Mora* from *Mora*). The inclusion of *Pisang Raut* element to the assembly makes it consist of four elements, but four is still considered lacking or odd. Therefore, the *Hula-Hula* element is added to make the number even. Hence, the term *Opat Ganjil Lima Gonop* (four odd five even) is coined.

Based on the above description, it can be emphasized that the religious harmony built in Sipirok practically can be traced back to the long historical traditions that have predated the arrival of the two religions in the Sipirok. *Mora*, *Kahanggi* and *Anak Boru* as a kinship system that applies regardless of
religion functions as a reinforcement of the values of harmony, togetherness and tolerance in the daily life of the residents of Sipirok and Tapanuli Selatan community in general.

**Literature Review**

In his book “Making Democracy Work”, Putnam (1993) formulated the concept of civic bond or kinship system using the concept of social capital. He defines social capital as aspects of social organization, such as attitudes of trust, norms, and networks, which can increase the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action. Meanwhile, in his next work, “Bowling Alone”, Putnam (2000) defines social capital as the reciprocity and trustworthiness born of the social network.

In his later work, Putnam (2000) introduced what he calls the two most important dimensions of social capital, namely bridging (inclusive) and bonding (exclusive). Some social capital, according to Putnam, either by necessity or choice, is inward-oriented and tends to strengthen exclusive identities and homogeneous groups. This is what he calls bonding (exclusive) social capital. Meanwhile, some social capital is oriented outward and includes people from different social groups, which he calls bridging (inclusive).

Like Putnam, Varshney (2002) also highlighted the importance of civic bonds. However, he focused on the important role of civic bonds, especially those of an inter-communal nature, for the realization of inter-ethnic peace. The intercommunal civic bond that Varshney emphasizes is similar to the bridging social capital in Putnam’s concept. The citizenship bond, in Varshney’s view, is formed in the living space between the state and the family, which is relatively independent from the state and allows people to jointly carry out various public activities.

Furthermore, Varshney (2002) divided civic bonds into two types, namely quotidian engagement and associational engagement. Examples of the first form are simple and routine life interactions, such as visiting between different ethnic and religious communities, eating together, participating in celebratory events. Examples of associational engagement include business associations, professional organizations, labor unions, and cadre-based political parties. If the interaction is strong, then the two forms of interaction can
encourage the realization of peace. On the other hand, if the two forms of civic interaction are weak, it can open up space for communal violence to emerge.

Between the two forms of interaction, according to Varshney (2002), associational engagement proves to be stronger than quotidian engagement, especially when people are faced with politicians' attempts to polarize ethnic communities. Strong associational life, if intercommunal, can hinder the polarizing strategy of the political elite.

This study uses the concept of civic bonds, namely quotidian engagement and associational engagement as developed by Varshney (2002), to explain the phenomenon of Muslim-Christian harmony in Sipirok which is built through the kinship system. However, as will be shown, there is another aspect of the civic bond that Varshney doesn’t explain, but which plays an important role in maintaining religious harmony, namely the important role of the kinship system, namely Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru.

Discussion

The Muslim-Christian religious harmony built in Sipirok with a kinship system approach through the role of Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru as described in the previous discussion is very relevant to the concepts offered by Varshney (2002), namely quotidian engagement and associational engagement. Factually, the concept can be represented through several indicators, firstly by cooperation between religious communities in socio-religious aspects. This is evidenced by the involvement of inter-religious communities in building educational institutions and houses of worship, then distributing sacrificial meat to Christians as a form of a sense of togetherness as members of a harmonious society. Second, cooperation between religious communities in economic aspects, such as the marsialap ari culture, namely helping each other with work in the fields and gardens alternately with the same work without paying money in the form of money but only providing enough food. Then providing assistance in the form of money loans to Christians in need, this was done by H. Hasanuddin Harahap as a Muslim figure who is classified as capable and rich in Sipirok. Third, cooperation in the social aspects. This collaboration is embodied in the form of daily relationships and interactions. There are no boundaries of relationships that are made as a differentiator
based on religion. This close and harmonious relationship between religious communities has been built naturally for a long time through the kinship system.

The portrait of the harmonious relationship between Muslims and Christians in Sipirok above is the result of the interaction process that the Sipirok community have passed from generation to generation in their daily interactions. The supporting factor for the ongoing process of religious harmony is the existence of a humanitarian impulse that is strengthened by a sense of brotherhood among fellow citizens. This humanitarian urge comes from an inclusive and moderate understanding of religious teachings, because the Islamic pattern that has developed to this day among the Sipirok community are generally Syafi’iyah. Meanwhile, the encouragement of brotherhood was born through a sense of racial equality, customs and culture among the Batak-Angkola ethnic groups in this case tied in a kinship system, namely Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru.

However, frictions that lead to tensions in inter-religious relations still occur. In early 2019 several Christian groups sued the village head of Huta Suhut by filing a complaint with the district court claiming that the land occupied by the local and sub-district government offices now belongs to the church on the basis of a past history of the early entry of Christians in Sipirok. However, the claim was not supported by strong documentary evidence so that the lawsuit was stopped in the middle of the road and in the end was not continued. In the process of this claim, a narrative of disappointment emerged that was conveyed by Christians to the local village government, especially the village head who happened to be Muslim. The village head once responded with issues of religious differences that he stated that the demands arose more because of his personal disagreement.

The tension that had occurred basically only happened to a few religious leaders and the village government. Not to the ordinary people. However, the efforts and influences of outsiders who try to disrupt religious harmony in Sipirok can be said to be an inhibiting factor for strengthening moderation that has been built by Muslims and Christians. The description of the conditions of tension that had been experienced by the two religions showed that there was a gap to make the two religions pitted against each other. But in
reality, both religions show their maturity in dealing with every problem. The issue of land ownership, which has actually touched on the two religions, is precisely that between religious communities there can still be objective, so it is not easy to be provoked by the issue of division. This proves that the attitude of moderation in Sipirok has been rooted since the beginning which was formed on the basis of a system of kinship bonds through the roles of Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru. Then reinforced by the values of moderation from the teachings of each religion that consistently maintains harmonious relations between inter-religious communities in Sipirok.

Conclusion

The religious harmony maintained by the Muslims and the Christians in Sipirok, Tapanuli Selatan Regency with its kinship system is an important social capital in nurturing peaceful and harmonious relationship among religious communities. Religious harmony is maintained by the residents of Sipirok by upholding the values of brotherhood as represented in the local cultural kinship system known as Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru. The kinship system embraced by the residents of Sipirok has given birth to the view that religious differences do not hinder cooperative relationship among the believers in various aspects of their life, from village-related development and empowerment as in the involvement of both Muslims and Christians in the construction of Gereja Kristen Protestan Angkola (GKPA) in Pasar Sipirok and construction of Nurul Huda Mosque in Bunga Bondar sub-district, Sipirok and in jointly held Gotong Royong, to the implementation of the religious rituals of each religion. This certainly would not have happened without mutual respect and strong ties of brotherhood on the basis of humanity, each of which has been played well by Mora, Kahanggi and Anak Boru for a long time.

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