

THE PRACTICE AND PROHIBITION OF CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE IN NGLAWAK INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, NGANJUK ISLAMIC LEGAL PERSPECTIVE



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Abstract

Custom is a habit that is inherited by local people from generation to generation, which a source of law is known as customary law. Like the Javanese customary marriage law that grows and develops in an area. In Javanese customary marriage law there are practices or prohibitions that must be obeyed by the community. The author's goal here is to map practices or prohibitions in Javanese traditional marriages in Nglawak Village, Kertosono District, Nganjuk Regency, and compare them with marriages according to Islamic law. The research method used was field research (Field Research), meaning that the research was carried out by going directly to the object area under study using interviews with the community, traditional leaders, elders, and village heads. As well as by combining library research methods (Library Research), meaning that the data obtained by collecting secondary data such as reading and obtaining through various books and journals/articles related to marriage according to customary and Islamic law, which later these data will be combined and discussed in detail, so that they complement each other. The results of the study show that practices and prohibitions in Javanese traditional marriages are still applied in the village of Nglawak, because many people still adhere to ancestral traditions. However, there are some people who have abandoned this belief. Because in Islamic law there are no prohibitions or restrictions as in traditional marriages.

Suatu kebiasaan yang diwarisi oleh masyarakat daerah secara turun temurun, merupakan sumber hukum yang disebut sebagai hukum adat. Seperti halnya hukum perkawinan adat Jawa yang tumbuh dan berkembang di suatu daerah. Dalam hukum perkawinan adat Jawa terdapat praktik ataupun larangan yang harus ditaati oleh masyarakat. Terdapat kebaruan dalam penelitian ini terkait dengan praktik larangan dalam perkawinan adat Nglawak. Adapun tujuan penulis disini untuk memetakan praktik dan larangan dalam perkawinan adat jawa yang terdapat di Desa Nglawak, Kecamatan Kertosono Kabupaten Nganjuk yang ditinjau menurut hukum Islam. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian lapangan (Field Research), yang dilakukan dengan cara terjun langsung ke daerah obyek yang diteliti dengan pengumpulan data menggunakan metode interview kepada masyarakat, tokoh pemangku adat, sesepuh, dan kepala desa. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa praktik dan larangan dalam pernikahan adat Jawa masih kental diterapkan di desa Nglawak, namun ada sebagian masyarakat yang sudah meninggalkan kepercayaan tersebut. Islam memandang adat yang ada boleh dilaksanakan asalkan tidak ada praktik yang dilarang oleh syariat, sehingga larangan pernikahan adat dikembalikan kepada niat individu masing-masing karena dalam hukum Islam tidak terdapat larangan ataupun pantangan-pantangan seperti dalam perkawinan adat.

INTRODUCTION

Marriage is a sacred bond between a man and a woman. Indonesian society adheres to several marriage laws, customary, religious, and positive. Customary marriage law is mostly an unwritten law that lives and develops in the community and is believed and obeyed by the local community until it grows into the customary law of the local



community. As we know, Indonesia is a country that has approximately 200 million inhabitants, and there are approximately 800 regional languages and 1,340 ethnic groups that grow and develop in the country. It is not surprising that in Indonesia, various types of ways of life and prohibitions must be obeyed by the citizens of the region, such as Javanese traditional marriage in Nglawak Village, Kertosono District, and Nganjuk Regency. In Javanese traditional marriages in the area, some prohibitions or taboos are believed by the community and must be obeyed to create a marriage that is by the expected goal, namely a happy marriage.

Islamic teachings do not recognize prohibitions and ceremonial processions in a marriage, Islam also does not apply the determination of good days by the calculation of "weton" (the day of birth in the date of the Javanese tribe community) in carrying out marriage, the most important thing is to have the same belief, namely being Muslim, feeling suitable between both parties and ready to proceed to the next level, because marriage can be said to be a long worship. Marriage according to the terms of Islamic law, is the occurrence of contracts in the form of *ijab* and *kabul* stipulated by Islamic religious law, to avoid acts that result in sin (adultery) to allow him to have fun in relations between men and women and justify the pleasure of women with men in a sacred bond and in the pleasure of Allah SWT or called *mithaqan ghalizhan* to obey the commands of Allah and the sunnah of the Prophet.

The type of research used in this study is qualitative research with field research (field research) by going directly to the research object area to obtain data related to the discussion raised. Primary data was obtained through direct respondents from communities, traditional leaders, community leaders, religious leaders, and people who still hold the custom.

The analysis was conducted by describing and sorting out one by one the data obtained regarding the traditional marriage tradition that occurred in Nglawak, Kertosono, and Nganjuk Regency. Later, this data will be combined and discussed in more detail. The data obtained can contain information that is easily understood by readers to obtain information on research results related to customary marriage traditions in Nglawak, Kertosono, Nganjuk, and East Java related to practices and prohibitions both in terms of Islamic law and customary law. Many customary marriage practices exist in Nganjuk, with their ways and rules according to the customs that apply in the local community, but research that specifically discusses the practices and prohibitions of marriage in Nglawak, Nganjuk, has not been fully revealed by other researchers before.

METHOD

This research is empirical legal research that collects qualitative data generated from field research. The data collected are data on marriage practices and prohibitions that exist in the Nglawak indigenous community obtained from sources in the field, including communities, traditional leaders, elders, and local village heads. Data mining techniques are carried out through open interview methods with the speakers, and then the results of the data obtained in the field are processed and then analysed from the point of view of Islamic law.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Marriage In Islam

In Islam, marriage is defined as a legal bond between a man and a woman. In this marriage law, the husband is obliged to pay the dowry and provide for his wife, while the wife is obliged to always obey her husband, maintaining polite and pious behavior.

Marriage is not only for personal gain but also for worship, protecting women, increasing offspring and people, and practicing the sunnah of the Prophet. Islam does not regulate in detail the stages of the marriage procession carried out by the community nor the prohibitions or taboos that must not be violated, specifically in certain areas. Islam regulates the marriage procession through several conditions and pillars that must be fulfilled so that the marriage can be said to be valid. The pillars of marriage must be carried out by every Muslim who will hold the wedding. As for the pillars in the first Islamic marriage, namely a guardian, a guardian must exist for the woman, and the law must be unavoidable. If there is no guardian on the woman's side, the marriage is considered void and invalid. As in the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, as follows:

"It is from Aisha that the Prophet sallallahu 'alaihi wasallam said: "Any woman who marries without the permission of her guardian is void; her marriage is void." (Narrated at Tirmizi No. 1102, Kitab an-Nikah)The hadith states that guardianship in marriage is obligatory."

The second pillar has two witnesses. The existence of witnesses in marriage is also very important; if there is no witness, it will not be valid. According to the Shafi'i school, marriage must be witnessed by two witnesses; if the marriage is carried out with witnesses and it is not known whether it is fair or not, it will still be valid. According to Maliki, a witness is an announcement to the public that a marriage has taken place. The third pillar is *ijab* and *kabul*. *Ijab* in marriage is a surrender made by the first party, and *kabul* is acceptance received based on willingness and gratitude. The surrender referred to here is the handover of dowry given by the male party to the female party.¹ The fourth and final pillar is the bride and groom, the future male and the future female. The requirements for male candidates as stated by Imam Zakaria al-Anshari in *Fathul Wahab bi Sharhi Minhaj al-Thalab* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr), juz II, p. 42, state that "the condition of a prospective husband is to legally marry the future wife, i.e., Islam and not mahram, not to be forced, prescribed, and to know that the future wife is lawful for him." For women, it is stated in the KHI that a Muslim woman should not marry a non-Muslim man.²

In addition, there are also marriage requirements according to Islam that must be fulfilled, namely: (1) the bride and groom must be Muslims; (2) they cannot marry a mahram; and (3) the prospective husband and wife must not be related by blood, relatives, or mahrams. (3) Male marriage guardians, the biological father. However, if the bride's father has passed away, then it can be represented by a male from the paternal line, such as a grandfather, great-grandfather, maternal half-brother, uncle, and so on by lineage. (4) Witnesses, one from the bride and one from the groom. In addition, a witness must be Muslim, mature, and able to understand the meaning of the contract. (5) Not *ihram* or *haji*. This is confirmed by a scholar of the Shafi'i school in the book *Fathul Qarib al-Mujib*, who states that one of the prohibitions in *Haji* is to perform a marriage contract or be a guardian in marriage. (6). It is not a compulsion and is the pleasure of each bride-to-be.³

¹ Agoes and Artati, *Kiat Sukses Menyelenggarakan Pesta Perkawinan Adat Jawa (Gaya Surakarta Dan Yogyakarta)*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2001), 2.

² Ibid

³ Ibid

Traditional Marriage Procession in Nglawak, Kertosono District, Ngnajuk Regency

Javanese customs and marriage procedures are hereditary cultures originating from the palace. In the past, the majority of Javanese traditional marriage procedures could only be done among the palace, abdi dalem (servants of the king), or people who were still of noble blood (priyayi, or nobles).⁴ Javanese customs and marriage procedures are hereditary cultures originating from the palace. In the past, the majority of Javanese traditional marriage procedures could only be done among the palace, abdi dalem (servants of the king), or people who were still of noble blood (priyayi, or nobles).⁵

The person who first marries her child is called mantu sapisan (first mother-in-law). Or, in other words, the Javanese call it Kawah Bukaka (road opener). While the son-in-law of the youngest child is called mantu ragil or known as tumplak punjen (removing the contents of the wallet or punjen as a form of parental responsibility), when holding a traditional marriage ceremony, several stages are usually passed, namely the initial stage, the preparation stage, the peak stage of the event, and the final stage. However, there are different stages of the Javanese traditional marriage procession in each region, although the essence remains the same because some people believe that if one is missed, it is considered incomplete. But it is different with the Nglawak Village Community, which still maintains the cultural heritage of their ancestors for generations from generation to generation. Prosesi upacara perkawinan adat Desa Nglawak Kecamatan Kertosono Kabupaten Nganjuk tidak jauh berbeda dengan perkawinan adat masyarakat Jawa pada umumnya, yang meliputi penentuan hari pernikahan dan lamaran, serah-serahan peningset, midodareni, pasang tarub dan sesajen, siraman, ijab kabul, serta panggih temanten.

Based on the results of interviews with traditional leaders of Nglawak Village at the residence, they explained the series of calculations for determining good days. The first way to do this is to calculate the number of wetons; that is, the second neptu weton is added up. The value of Neptu is calculated as follows: Sunday is worth 5, Monday is worth 4, Tuesday is worth 3, Wednesday is worth 7, Thursday is worth 8, Friday is worth 6, and Saturday is worth 9. The next step is to continue with the Java market (calendar), namely the kliwon market worth 8, the legi market worth 5, the pahing market worth 9, the pound market worth 7, and the wage market worth 4. For example, men have Wednesday Legi ($6 + 5 = 11$) while women have Sunday Legi ($5 + 5 = 10$); when added together; the total is 21 after knowing the result of the neptu sum of both pairs.⁶

The weton calculation is carried out during or even before the application process. In the Nglawak Village community, applications are carried out by men, who carry out the application procession not alone but accompanied by their parents and extended family. Parents and families and representatives of the male side, namely elders or traditional stakeholders who are experts in applying for visits, and representatives of the youth family convey their intentions and objectives to the girl's parents, saying that the purpose of coming to the girl's parents is to propose to their children, in the hope that the girl's parents accept the proposal of the young man's parents to marry off his child. This woman usually conveys everything as it is and can act immediately. After the proposal of the male parents is accepted by the female parents, they ask the padhang peteng (good and bad considerations of the time plan for the date and month of the marriage) of the woman's

⁴ Ibid

⁵ M. Hari Wijaya, *Tata Cara Penyelenggaraan Perkawinan Adat Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Hanggar Kreator, 2004), 13–14.

⁶ Mbah Misri, Narasumber Pemangku Adat di Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 9 Desember 2022.

family.⁷ The closing of the application procession is carried out with a handover ceremony. The male side will give as little money as possible, commonly called *buwuh*, to the woman's parents as a sign of commitment, sometimes accompanied by a complete betel nut.⁸

Based on the results of interviews with local indigenous communities located on the terrace, Ibu Sudarmi of Nglawak Village said that the wedding party usually begins with the process of installing *tarub* (an additional temporary roof made of neatly woven dried coconut trees) and *bleketepe* (woven coconut leaves, or *nipah*) in front of the house for those who hold celebrations. This is a condition for repulsion, so that the marriage procession runs smoothly without any obstacles.⁹

According to Mbah Darmaji, in the traditional procession, there are 12 offerings, and they are given to the riders (cooks, sounders/operators, parasters, shrimp workers, screwdrivers/prayers, tarers, toilets, wells, rice, and snacks).¹⁰ The gift was in the form of a *kendil* containing rice, betel leaves, vegetables and fruits, market snacks, *menyan*. After the jug is filled, it is covered with a white cloth and roped and ready to be placed in predetermined places. And when the celebration is over, the offerings are given to those who have been given the mandate to guard these places. The people of Nglawak village believe that all of this aims to avoid reinforcements and when the celebration takes place to run smoothly without any obstacles. Mbah Misri as a traditional leader in Nglawak Village added that it is necessary to sprinkle salt around the house accompanied by reading prayers by traditional elders, because this can be a repulsion that is felt to provide security and safety during the celebration, and minimize bad things that will happen to the bride and groom's family.¹¹

The next procession is the *siraman*, which is carried out the day before the *ijab kabul* event, which is before the *midodareni* event. Bridal *siraman* comes from the word *siraman* (Javanese), while the meaning of Indonesian is bathing the bride and groom so that the bridegroom and bridegroom are clean and pure outwardly and mentally become soul and spiritual.¹² The *siraman* at a traditional Javanese wedding held in Nglawak Village starts at 11 a.m. This belief has been held for generations by the people of the village because it is believed that at these hours, angels from heaven come down to bathe. The hope is that the bride and groom are blessed with the beauty of angels. In its implementation, the bride and groom will be bathed by seven people, namely the parents of the bride, the elder (the person who is departed or who represents), and the mother of the bride.¹³ Some water that is considered the same strength, namely, rainwater, well water (reservoir), snow water, dew water, river water, and sea water, is also used to scent the flush water, namely with garden flowers. The procession begins with a bride, sungkem to both parents, and then both people—parents and elders—water the bride and groom with a dipper. Starting with washing the head with water containing garden flowers, the body is rubbed with seven coloured rice flours mixed with mangir, fragrant and yellowish pandan leaves that have been mashed. Watering is carried out by parents, elders, and traditional leaders of

⁷ Aam Masduki, "Upacara Perkawinan Adat Sunda Di Kecamatan Cicalengka Kabupaten Bandung," *Patanjala : Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah dan Budaya* 2, no. 3 (September 1, 2010): 380,

⁸ Hariwijaya, *Perkawinan Adat Jawa*, 75.

⁹ Sudarmi, Narasumber masyarakat di Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 9 Desember 2022.

¹⁰ Mbah Darmaji, Narasumber Sesepuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, Desember 2022.

¹¹ Mbah Misri, Narasumber Pemangku Adat di Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, Desember 2022.

¹² Andjar Any, *Perkawinan Adat Jawa Lengkap* (Surakarta: Pabelan, 1985), 36.

¹³ Sudarmi, Narasumber masyarakat di Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, Desember 2022.

the village. The bride and groom sit on a bench, given mats and new leaves (opo – opo leaves, koro leaves, kluwih leaves, front – torn leaves, and alang – alang leaves) wrapped in Yuyu Rumah or Lawon batik motifs.¹⁴

After the *siraman* ceremony, followed by a series of *ijab kabul*, or marriage contracts tailored to their respective religions or beliefs, the marriage contract continued with *panggih manten*. In the *panggih* ceremony, the bride and groom sit side by side, witnessed by the bride's family and guests.¹⁵ The *panggih* ceremony in Nglawak Village is usually carried out at the bride's house. The bride and groom carry out sacred steps and are full of meaning contained in the *panggih* ceremony. Through this ceremony, the rights and obligations of husband and wife are conveyed symbolically in the stages of the *panggih* ceremony¹⁶ there are the exchange of *mayang* flowers, *balangan betel* (betel throwing), *ngidak tigan* and *wiji dadi sekar setaman* (stepping on eggs and washing feet with setaman water flowers), *junjung drajat*, *jumenengan* (muteri kaping telu), *unjungan tirta wening*, *sinduran pangkon timbang*, *tanem jeru*, *kacar kucur* (pouring "treasure symbol"), *dahar klimah* (feeding each other), and ending with *sungkeman* ¹⁷

The wife should give support or pray for all the purposes of her husband's departure, such as work or others. I don't know what good things her husband does; the wife must always be supportive under any circumstances.¹⁸ The traditional Javanese marriage procession ends with a *sungkeman* procession, which is a procession when the bride and groom are carried out by the bride and groom sitting on the *jengkeng* by hugging and kissing the knees of both parents, both the groom's parents and the bride's parents, as a form of respect, thank you, and say goodbye. A prayer request for a happy and prosperous home, in addition to avoiding mistakes, the bridegroom's *kris* is revoked, which means that the rank or power that the child has does not apply to parents.¹⁹

The Prohibition in Traditional Marriage Procession in Nglawak Village

Based on the results of an interview with the Head of Nglawak Village at the Village Head's Office, he explained that prohibitions and taboos in traditional marriage in Nglawak have become beliefs held for generations by the people of this village, but they are returned to each person by the beliefs adhered to, because according to his narration, it is actually not a prohibition but a belief in sanctions if violated according to themselves respectfully, and this principle is firmly held by the people of the local community. It's good for us to respect and obey the prohibition. It is said that it is believed that the traditions of Javanese society will manifest into reality if they are violated and sanctioned and harm the harmony of marital relations.²⁰ Prohibitions and taboos in traditional marriages of the Nglawak people include;

¹⁴ Soemodijdojo R, *Betaljemur Adammakna*, 2008th ed. (Solo: CV Buana Raya, n.d.), 31.

¹⁵ Fahmi Kamal, "Perkawinan Dalam Kebudayaan Adat Jawa" V, no. 2 (September 2014): 4.

¹⁶ Aurora Nandia Slamet, "Kembar Mayang Dalam Upacara Adat Perkawinan Jawa Di Desa Nambahrejo Kecamatan Kotagajah Kabupaten Lampung Tengah. Lampung:" (Universitas Negeri Lampung., 2013), 20.

¹⁷ Diana Anugrah, "Analisis Semiotika Terhadap Prosesi Pernikahan Adat Jawa 'Temu Manten' Di Samarinda," 2016, 323.

¹⁸ Fatichatus Sa'diyah, "Upacara Pernikahan Adat Jawa (Kajian Akulturasi Nilai – Nilai Islam Dalam Pernikahan Adat Jawa Di Desa Jatirembe Kecamatan Benjeng Kabupaten Gresik)," *Al – Thiqah : Jurnal Ilmu Keislaman*," n.d., 11.

¹⁹ Imanatus Sholeha, "Makna Simbol Upacara Temu Manten Di desa Senduro Sebagai Kekayaan Budaya Pandalungan," n.d., 5.

²⁰ Muryanto, Narasumber Kepala Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 9 Desember 2022.

Jilu (Siji karo Telu)

The people of Nglawak Village, Kertosono District, Nganjuk Regency, and East Java believe that this "Jilu" tradition has existed since the time of their ancestors which was carried out for generations. The history of the origin of this Jilu marriage tradition dates back to the royal era.²¹ Jilu marriage is the marriage of the first child with the third child or the only child with the third child. Jilu stands for "siji" (one) and "telu" (three), meaning that the first child cannot marry child number three. The people of Nglawak Village, some of the people still adhere to the jilu tradition. Many parents here no longer adhere to the tradition of the first child not being able to marry the third child (jilu), especially because of the times. Time "in the past, one and three were strictly forbidden on the grounds that there would be a disaster between the household, family and fortune, the death of one of the parties or it could even have an impact on the offspring,"²² said Mbah Amiati, one of the elders of Nglawak village. So according to parents in Nglawak Village, jilu marriage should be avoided. However, all of that cannot be used as a benchmark that age, soul mate, and fortune have been arranged. It is not mandatory to have and to believe in the tradition of Jilu like an unwritten rule.²³

From the interviews of community leaders and village elders, researchers concluded that the jilu tradition is siji and telu. The tradition has existed since the time of the ancestors, which means that the first child should not marry the third child because of the nature of the first child, who wants to win alone and be strong, while the third child always wants to be spoiled. If this tradition is violated, some people there believe that it will have an impact on the disharmony of the household and also the offspring. However, some of the jilu practitioners do not believe in the tradition.

Mbah Amiati also said that there is a solution to continue the jilu marriage, namely with the term "boyong." Boyong is one of the brides and grooms leaving home before Ijab Kabul. Then it seems to be met by the future in – laws of the bride and groom. Therefore, one of the bride's family members can hold a reception.²⁴

Ngalor-Ngulon

According to Mbah Amiati, the next prohibition for the people of Nglawak Village to perform a marriage in the direction of the bridegroom's house to the bride, ngalor – ngulon, means that a man is not allowed to carry out a marriage with a woman whose house direction is north to west and vice versa because it is believed that it will bring bad luck and disaster to the bride and to her family, and his household is not peaceful.²⁵ When drawn in a straight line, the marriage goes from the south to the north and then to the west. Thus, such marriages are not allowed because they violate custom. These customs or customs have become traditions in their lives, and people believe that there are many bad events after doing what is prohibited by customary law itself.²⁶

²¹Fendi Bintang Mustopa, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Larangan Pernikahan Adat Jawa Jilu Studi Kasus Di Desa Tanggan Kecamatan Gesi Kabupaten Sragen," *Legitima: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 2, no. 1 (December 31, 2019): 46.

²² Mbah Amiyati, Narasumber Sesepuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 19 Desember 2022.

²³ Mbah Amiyati, Narasumber Sesepuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 19 Desember 2022.

²⁴ Mbah Amiyati, Narasumber Sesepuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 19 Desember 2022.

²⁵ Mbah Amiyati, Narasumber Sesepuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 19 Desember 2022.

²⁶ Agus Mahfudin and S. Moufan Dinatul Firdaus, "Analisis Teori Masalah Mursalah Terhadap Tradisi Larangan Pernikahan Ngalor – Ngulon Masyarakat Adat Jawa," *Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 7, no. 1 (September 15, 2022): 35.

Quoting the opinion of a local community leader, Mbah Amiati, the myth of Nikah Ngalor Ngulon is not in written regulations, and in fact, many Muslims still hold the belief.²⁷ The interviewee himself did not know exactly how the origin of the marriage existed and was forbidden, but because of the customary relic factor, it must respect the historical relics that have existed until now. For them, it is an effort to be careful and find safety from disasters that will befall their families, such as the death of one party and so on. However, if anyone violates, it means that he brings danger to himself. This has become something that the people of Nglawak village believe because someone has experienced bad things happening to their families when the ban was violated.

Mbah Amiati also explained that the custom of prohibiting "Ngalor ngulon" marriage is difficult to manipulate because this provision is according to the results of research by previous community leaders and has become a principle that cannot be changed. So, the way out is to find another candidate whose home directions do not conflict. However, Amiati also stated that there is another solution to overcome this if you still want to continue the marriage, which is to be saved by the term "boyong," where one of the bride and groom leaves home the day before *ijab kabul* to the west of the prospective spouse's house. It seems to be met by the future in-laws of the bride and groom (the term son of *temon*). So those who can hold receptions are only from the family who "find" the bride, as termed in the puppet story called "Semar Boyong".²⁸

Dadung Kepluntir

Dadung Kepluntir comes from two Javanese words, namely "Dadung" and "Kepluntir." Dadung which means talu or slap (Javanese and Madurese), and Kepluntir, which means twisting. So these two words have the meaning of twisted rope.²⁹ Dadung kepluntir marriage is a marriage that is still closely related, where women's language or vocation from the family tree is higher than that of men. Traditional Javanese marriage, or dadung kepluntir, is a marriage carried out between two families, where the brother marries the brother and the younger brother marries the older brother.

Mbah Amiati himself said that if he violates the customary prohibition, his family will experience disaster, even to the point of making one of his life partners "ora nutut" (not until it is finished), meaning that his life will not last until old age (divorce). Based on the incident that has been experienced in Nglawak village, the majority of the community believes that the consequences happened to the people who violated it, thus making them comply with the ban.³⁰

Gelit Deso

Gelit is the similarity of the first two letters of the first name or the last two letters of the last name of the bride and groom. There are two kinds of gelit that develop and are believed by the community in several areas of Nganjuk, which causes people in the area not to marry if the bride and groom are known to be gelit. This gelit custom is a relic of previous elders who lived in the Nganjuk area. There are several areas in Nganjuk where people still believe in gelit customs, including Patianrowo, Jaticalen, Lengkong, and so

²⁷ Mbah Amiyati, Narasumber Sesepuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 19 Desember 2022.

²⁸ Mbah Amiyati, Narasumber Sesepuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, November 26, 2022.

²⁹ Putri Nailatul Iqna'ah, "Pernikahan Adat Jawa Dadung Kepluntir dalam Perspektif Masalah Mursalah (Studi Kasus di Desa Sekapuk Kecamatan Ujungpangkah Kabupaten Gresik Provinsi Jawa Timur)," May 3, 2021, 6, <http://repository.unisma.ac.id/handle/123456789/2844>.

³⁰ Amiati, *Wawancara*, Nganjuk, November 26, 2022.

on. Gelit deso is the similarity of the prefix or suffix of the first name of the place of residence (village) of the bride and groom who will marry.³¹ For example, the bride – to – be lives in Nglawak village, while the bridegroom lives in Ngluyu village. Because both villages start with the letter "N," it is called gelit deso.

They believe that if this is done, there will be moral consequences; for example, one of the parents of the bride and groom or one of the bride and groom will die shortly. However, according to people who believe in the gelit custom in Nganjuk village, marriage is allowed if one or both of them change villages or change names so that the person concerned does not indicate any more gelit.³²

Mertelu

Mertelu, in the prohibition of Javanese traditional marriage, is not allowed to marry with a third descendant or have marriage carried out with a fellow progeny, also called the fourth line if counted starting from children, grandchildren, great – grandchildren, then canggah.³³ This tradition of prohibiting mertelu marriage is an ancestral heritage that is still preserved and is still believed today because, according to the people of Nglawak village, this incident is real and true if this marriage is still carried out.

There are people in Nglawak village who still use and some do not use or believe in this ban on mertelu marriage. As for those who believe, biologically, this mertelu still includes relatives, even though they are not close relatives, but there may still be the same genes, so it is feared to endanger the child they are born to.³⁴ Back to the beliefs of each of them: If, over time, no one understands and explores the custom, it will disappear by itself.

Pingitan

In the moments before the wedding, people in Nglawak Village carried out a "pingitan" procession for the bride – to – be for five days. During that time, the bride – to – be is forbidden to leave the house and cannot meet the bridegroom. Usually, in the procession, the whole body of the bride and groom is stretched with herbs, and fasting is also recommended. The goal is that when she becomes a bride later, the bride looks beautiful so that it makes pangling people who witness it more especially encouraged to fast. According to Mbah Amiyati, a traditional elder of Nglawak village, if this procession is violated according to Javanese traditional beliefs, it will result in "gendruwoni" (the aura will be pierced).³⁵

Forbidden to take a bath during the celebration

Mbah Amiyati also stated that, in Nglawak Village, it has been believed that during the wedding celebration, family members (father, mother, and bride) are forbidden to bathe, allowed to take a bath if there is something that requires bathing, even by rubbing a cloth that has been given water (seko) because it is believed to bring rain, and if it

³¹ Ahmad Syaiful Ikhwan, "Wali Adhal Sebab Adat Gelit Dalam Pandangan Hakim Dan Urf'," *Sakina: Journal of Family Studies* 5, no. 3 (August 24, 2021), [http://urj.uin – malang.ac.id/index.php/jfs/article/view/746](http://urj.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/jfs/article/view/746).

³² Mbah Misri, Narasumber Pemangku Adat di Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 8 Desember 2022.

³³ Mbah Darmaji, Narasumber Sesepuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 1 Desember 2022.

³⁴Fitria Roisatul Islamiyah, "Persepsi Tokoh Agama Mengenai Larangan Pernikahan Mertelu Di Dusun Purworejo Desa Karangpakis Kecamatan Purwosari Kabupaten Kediri," Skripsi (IAIN Tulungagung, October 4, 2021), 71..

³⁵ Mbah Amiyati, Narasumber Sesepuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 9 Desember 2022.

happens to stop the rain by throwing the panties that celebrate the roof tile of the house to relieve rain.³⁶

Perhitungan Weton

Weton regulations in traditional marriages in this area are very important, meaning that the bride and groom are prohibited from continuing the marriage if the weton calculation is not right. Mbah Misri explained that the first step that must be done in calculating weton before marriage is to know the weton of the birth of the prospective bride; the second must also know the weton of the birth of the prospective spouse (the prospective husband or wife). Next is to bring the day of passage from both parties, namely the bridegroom and bride using the day of passage in marriage, and then another day will be found that does not hit the day that is not allowed. After knowing these three things, the parent or guardian will immediately meet with the "perjangga" (weton expert) to do a weton count to determine the right day to carry out ijab. The final step in weton counting is that the janger will calculate weton by finding a good day. After knowing these three things, the parent or guardian will immediately meet with the "perjangga" (weton expert) to do a weton count to determine the right day to carry out ijab. The final step in weton counting is that the janger will calculate weton by finding a good day.³⁷

Tabel 1: *Neptu Day Calculation*

1	Sunday	Neptu days are 5
2	Monday	Neptu days are 4
3	Tuesday	Neptu days are 3
4	Wednesday	Neptu days are 7
5	Thursday	Neptu days are 8
6	Friday	Neptu days are 6
7	Saturday	Neptu days are 9

Tabel 2: *Java Market Neptu Calculation*

1	Legi	Neptu days are 5
2	Pahing	Neptu days are 9
3	Pon	Neptu days are 7
4	Wage	Neptu days are 4
5	Kliwon	Neptu days are 8

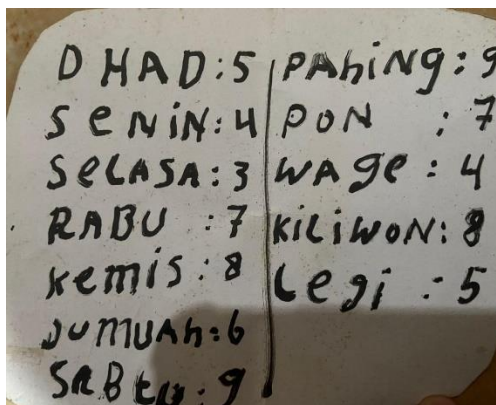
Mbah Darmaji explained how weton is calculated, for example:

"The woman was born on Wednesday, pahing and According to the Javanese Primbon, Wednesday Pahing has a neptu number of 16, while the man was born on Monday Pahing. Based on the Javanese Primbon, Monday Pahing weton has a neptu number of 13, then, to calculate the meeting in marriage, the number of female and male weton is added, so $13 + 16 = 29$. In the Javanese Primbon, 29 "tibo tinari" means good and okay when continuing the marriage. If the bride and groom have a weton wage meeting with their prospective spouse, whose weton pahing is not allowed, it is considered

³⁶ Mbah Amiyati, Narasumber Sesepuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 9 Desember 2022.

³⁷ Mbah Misri, Narasumber Pemangku Adat di Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 9 Desember 2022.

that the marriage is not in line. If continued, this Javanese custom is called "geyeng" (wage + pahing)".³⁸



D HAD : 5	PAHING : 9
SENIN : 4	PON : 7
SELASA : 3	WAGE : 4
RABU : 7	KILIWON : 8
KEMIS : 8	LEGI : 5
JUMUAH : 6	
SABTU : 9	

Figure 1. Records of Neptu Day and Market Calculations
Owned by Mbah Misri as a Traditional Stakeholder

Javanese people, especially in Nglawak Village, still believe in traditions that have been inherited from generation to generation when there are couples who have weton wage and pahing. These two wetons are very difficult to put together because weton is likened to having properties like oil, while pahing has properties like water. According to the Javanese primbon, if these two weton remain married, the household will be hit by many problems until it leads to divorce. Mbah Misri suggested that if you still want to carry out this marriage, it can be saved by holding "shodaqohan mbangun nikah" every year. Shodaqohan is done using slametan. However, there are exceptions, namely the "geyeng" units that cannot be "tricked," namely Tuesday Wage and Thursday Pahing, with a total of 24 weton.³⁹ Therefore, the prohibition of weton "geyeng" marriage aims to obtain blessings and salvation of life from living in the ark of the household. In forming a family that is sakinah, obtaining good offspring, creating a sense of affection, and avoiding immoral acts. Also, as a form of resilience, being steadfast in facing obstacles, tests, and trials and expected to create harmony and permanence is the hope of every individual in using the ban on weton – geyeng marriage.

Analysis of the Prohibition of Customary Marriage Processes

From all the discussions that have been presented, it can be understood that the tradition or prohibition of traditional marriage in Nglawak Village, Kertosono District, and Nganjuk Regency is a tradition that has existed since the time of the ancestors. Prohibition or abstinence from marriage are all things or actions that are prohibited according to beliefs or customs in a particular area before marriage. Each region must have different customs as well as the customs carried out by the people of Nglawak Village before carrying out the marriage procession; usually, they do the calendar of good days first to avoid mara bala', or danger. In Javanese indigenous peoples, especially Nglawak Village, this calculation is an important factor because it is closely related to the life to be lived. The calculation of java (petung jawa) such as, neptu, dina, sasi and year. If you have calculated the neptu dina, neptu pasar, neptu sasi and neptu year, then just calculate what influence will arise on the neptu of a person based on the day of his birth. Each

³⁸ Mbah Darmaji, Narasumber Sesepeuh Adat Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 9 Desember 2022.

³⁹ Mbah Misri, Narasumber Pemangku Adat di Desa Nglawak, *Wawancara*, 9 Desember 2022.

region must have different traditions that are difficult to eliminate or just abandon because they are relics from previous ancestors.

Prohibitions and taboos in traditional marriage have indeed become beliefs held for generations by the people of this village. However, it is returned to each person in accordance with the beliefs adhered to, because the community considers that it is actually not a prohibition but a belief that there will be sanctions if it is violated, and this principle is firmly held by the Javanese, especially the local community. But it's good for us to respect and obey the prohibition. It is said that people believe that Javanese traditions will manifest into reality if violated and sanctioned, adversely affecting the harmony of marital relations.

As for the prohibitions in Nglawak Village, such as no marriage in which the direction of the house between the bride and groom faces towards ngalor (North) and Ngulon (West), Dadung Kepluntir (married to relatives), Gelit Deso (the name of the area is the same), Mertelu (married with the descendants of the third child), and others, if there is a violation related to the existing prohibition, then the family will suffer a disaster. Even among these families, some died. Here, researchers try to analyse the marriage ban in Nglawak Kertosono Nganjuk Village with an Islamic view. From the narration of village elders, doing customs about this prohibition depends on the intention. If it is intended to fear the occurrence of danger, it is not justified because everything good and bad or calamity comes from Allah SWT. Even the 'ulama' strictly forbids such a thing because it includes thiyarah, which is to predict bad luck for breaking something, and that includes shirk. In Islamic Sharia, there is no specific nash, be it from the Qur'an or Hadith, and there is no nash that forbids on what day or month to hold a marriage. However, if the day or month is determined based on Javanese or Primbon calculations, etc., with the belief that the day has sacred values, or shirk, then it is not justified by Islamic law. If the calculation is only an intermediary and hopes for goodness and harmony solely from Allah, this is still acceptable. Regarding weton, day, and month, which are believed to be sacred by indigenous Javanese people, their existence in Islam is not explained. There is no commandment or prohibition on weton, day, or month to determine whether to choose a mate or to perform marriage based on weton. As well as the basis of marriage in the Qur'an, namely:

"And marry those who are alone among you and those who are worthy (marry) of your sahaya's male servants and your sahaya's female servants. If they are poor, God will enable them by His grace. and Allah is Vast (His gift) again, All – Knowing". (Q.S. An – Nur: 32).⁴⁰

It can be concluded from the Qur'anic verse above that getting married does not have to determine the weton, day and month of marriage, so if you want to get married and are able to get married then the law can be sunnah and even obligatory for him and if you want to get married and are unable to carry it out then make it worse, because it can dampen his martyrdom.

The determination of a good day can be done to take the glory of that day if you think that the day that causes a person to have a disaster or get good luck is not allowed because everything is only what Allah determines. What happened to the Nglawak village community before the wedding began with determining a good day and month to continue the step to the marriage level, which has become an ingrained custom that has been passed down from previous ancestors, can still be preserved with the note that the

⁴⁰ "Al – Qur'an Surat An – Nur Ayat ke – 32," SINDOnews.com, accessed December 28, 2022, <https://kalam.sindonews.com/ayat/43/2/an – nur – ayat – 32>.

assumption that can provide benefits or harm is only God. The prohibition of marriage in Islamic law has been explained in the Qur'an, Surat an – Nisa verse 43, which explains the prohibition of marriage by blood, and Surah Al – Baqarah verse 221, which explains the prohibition of marriage with a polytheistic man or woman.

In this case, it can be seen that the people of Nglawak Village still believe in the myths inherent in everyday life. This belief cannot be explained logically. Because what they believe is only a legacy born from the acculturation of animist culture and dynamism that existed in ancient times under their ancestors. The people of Nglawak Village also know about the existing marriage ban because they believe that if the tradition is not carried out, it will have a bad impact on their married life, just as if it is not started by determining a good day, which believes that the date can bring good or bad, for which there is no detailed explanation in Islamic law. To avoid cultural clashes or chaos, these myths inevitably carry out, and Islam itself exists to purify again that everything comes by the will of Allah and liberates this heart from other dependencies. The attitude that can be done is to give an understanding that everything that happens is by the will of God and can carry out cultural traditions or customs that have been carried out for generations while still prioritising what can cause harm or benefit (e.g., harmony) is not the tradition but from God alone.

Therefore, it is necessary to have an attitude of *tawakkal* towards Allah SWT by putting our trust in him. We are very dependent on him to gain profits or ward off losses. So whatever befalls a person, be it pleasure, sorrow, calamity, and so on, he believes that it is His will, full of justice and wisdom. Just like when Allah wants someone to be stricken by a calamity, the calamity is not due to marriage in the month of Muharram, but the calamity is a test from Allah.

CONCLUSION

In this case, the researcher returns the problem to the rules of jurisprudence, regarding how the *urf* position determines the legal basis for the acceptance of custom as one of its sources. However, it should be noted that not all *urfs* (customary) are good to rely on. So there are times when *urf* is *shahih* and *urf* is *fasid*. *Urf* is said to be *shahih* if it does not contradict the proposition of *sharia*, 'whose laws are fixed, do not change with the environment and customs, and do not leave benefits and do not cause damage. While *urf*' is said to be a *fasid*, *urf* is not good and not accepted because it is contrary to *shara'*. Or customs that contradict the postulates of *shari'i* and the rules that exist in *shari'a'*. From the information above about *urf shahih* and *urf fasid*, they can be used as a legal basis in jurisprudence and have certain conditions.

The people of Nglawak Village understand that marriage is only guided by customary law, which has become customary. The prohibition of customary marriage in Nglawak Village, if researchers look closely, is a custom or tradition because, as explained above, Islam does not prohibit a person from marrying, but they must obey what is forbidden and has been decreed by Allah's law and count the days that are considered good in marriage. Thus, the ban on marriage in Nglawak Village is not eliminated or abandoned by residents and can be used as a benchmark for the community by assessing what is permissible according to Islam and what is not allowed according to Islam. While customs are still attached to people's lives, existing customs cannot be easily changed because they are inherently passed down from generation to generation.

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