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MARRIAGE TRADITIONS IN INDONESIA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF 'URF

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Abstract

Marriage in Indonesia represents both a religious bond and a socio-cultural event that reflects the interaction between tradition and Islamic teachings. This study aims to analyze the pattern of 'urf assessment in Indonesian marriage traditions and to formulate its legal implications for the development of Islamic family law. The research employed a literature review using the PRISMA diagram through searches on Google Scholar, Garuda, and ProQuest, with criteria including articles published in 2024–2025, written in Indonesian or English, and fully accessible. Out of 7,897 identified articles, 12 were selected and analyzed. The findings indicate that four traditions are categorized as 'urf sahih, five as 'urf fasid, and three have mixed assessments, forming a continuum that allows some traditions to shift between sahih and fasid depending on implementation, impact, and societal interpretation, along with a socio-legal dimension that positions 'urf as both a mechanism of social control and an act of worship, accompanied by a national tendency for 'urf fasid to emerge in cases of rule violations or beliefs in misfortune if traditions are disregarded. The study concludes that the assessment of marriage traditions is contextual and dynamic, requiring attention to compliance with Sharia, social impact, and societal interpretation. The study recommends that Islamic family law consider the continuum of tradition and develop contextual guidelines responsive to socio-cultural change.
Keywords: *Marriage, 'Urf Perspective, Tradition in Indonesia.*

Abstrak

Perkawinan di Indonesia merepresentasikan ikatan keagamaan sekaligus peristiwa sosio-kultural yang mencerminkan interaksi antara tradisi dan ajaran Islam. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pola penilaian 'urf *dalam tradisi perkawinan di Indonesia serta merumuskan implikasi hukumnya bagi pengembangan hukum keluarga Islam. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode tinjauan literatur dengan diagram PRISMA melalui penelusuran pada Google Scholar, Garuda, dan ProQuest, dengan kriteria artikel yang diterbitkan pada tahun 2024–2025, ditulis dalam bahasa Indonesia atau bahasa Inggris, serta dapat diakses secara penuh. Dari 7.897 artikel yang teridentifikasi, sebanyak 12 artikel dipilih dan dianalisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa empat tradisi dikategorikan sebagai* 'urf sahih*, lima sebagai* 'urf fasid*, dan tiga memiliki penilaian campuran yang membentuk suatu kontinum yang memungkinkan beberapa tradisi bergeser antara sahih dan fasid tergantung pada implementasi, dampak, dan interpretasi masyarakat, disertai dimensi sosio-legal yang menempatkan* 'urf *sebagai mekanisme kontrol sosial sekaligus bentuk ibadah, serta kecenderungan nasional munculnya* 'urf fasid *pada kasus pelanggaran aturan atau keyakinan akan datangnya kesialan jika tradisi diabaikan. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa penilaian terhadap tradisi perkawinan bersifat kontekstual dan dinamis, sehingga memerlukan perhatian terhadap kesesuaian dengan syariah, dampak sosial, dan interpretasi masyarakat. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan agar hukum keluarga Islam mempertimbangkan kontinum tradisi serta mengembangkan pedoman kontekstual yang responsif terhadap perubahan sosial-budaya.*
Kata Kunci: *Pernikahan, Perspektif* 'Urf*, Tradisi di Indonesia.*

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INTRODUCTION

Humans as social beings cannot live independently because they always require interaction and attachment with others.[1] Marriage exists as a sacred bond between a man and a woman to establish a family.[2] Furthermore, marriage functions as a form of self-protection that safeguards individuals from actions prohibited by religion and serves as a bridge that unites differences in nations, ethnicities, and cultures.[3] In Islam, marriage constitutes a lawful contract that legitimizes the relationship between a man and a woman as husband and wife.[4] In Islamic law, the validity of a marriage is determined by the fulfillment of its essential pillars and conditions, such as the presence of the bride and groom, witnesses, and the offer and acceptance.[5]

The concept of marriage in Indonesia is regulated under Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, which defines marriage as an inner and outer bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife, with the objective of forming a happy and everlasting family (household) based on the belief in the One and Only God.[6] In line with this, the Compilation of Islamic Law affirms that marriage is a very strong covenant (*mitsaqan ghalidzan*) undertaken in obedience to the command of Allah SWT, and that its implementation constitutes an act of worship.[7] In 2024, the number of marriages in Indonesia was recorded at 1,478,302 marriages.[8]

Indonesia is a country characterized by remarkable cultural diversity, marked by the presence of more than 300 ethnic groups and 700 regional languages spread across various

[1] Kurnia Sani, Elsa Fadhilah Safitri, and Luthfiyatul Muniroh, "Tradisi Perkawinan Turun Ranjang Perspektif *'Urf*: Studi Kasus Di Desa Apiapi, Bontang," *Ma'mal: Jurnal Laboratorium Syariah Dan Hukum* 03, no. 03 (2022): 272–85, https://jurnalfsh.uinsa.ac.id/mhs/index.php/mal/article/view/129.

[2] Afiq Budiawan, "Tinjauan Al Urf Dalam Prosesi Perkawinan Adat Melayu Riau," *Jurnal An-Nahl* 8, no. 2 (2021): 115–25, https://annahl.staile.ac.id/index.php/annahl/article/download/39/38.

[3] Yasir Fauji, "Tradisi Kalangkah Dalam Perkawinan Adat Sunda Perspektif *'Urf* (Studi Kasus Di Desa Pananjung Kec. Pangandaran Kab. Pangandaran)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Nusantara (JINU)* 2, no. 3 (2025): 195–205, https://ejurnal.kampusakademik.co.id/index.php/jinu/article/view/4450.

[4] Elvina Jahwa et al., "Konsep Perkawinan Dalam Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Nasional Di Indonesia," *INNOVATIVE: Journal Of Social Science Research Volume* 4, no. 1 (2024): 1692–1705, https://j-innovative.org/index.php/Innovative/article/view/8080.

[5] Ike Nur Halimah and Ahmad Wahidi, "Pandangan Tokoh Masyarakat Terhadap Tradisi Pemberian Langkahan Di Desa Baujeng Kecamatan Beji Kabupaten Pasuruan," *SAKINA: JOURNAL OF FAMILY STUDIES* 7, no. 1 (2023): 22–30, https://urj.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/jfs/article/view/2620.

[6] Jahwa et al., "Konsep Perkawinan Dalam Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Nasional Di Indonesia."

[7] Sani, Safitri, and Muniroh, "Tradisi Perkawinan Turun Ranjang Perspektif *'Urf*: Studi Kasus Di Desa Apiapi, Bontang."

[8] Badan Pusat Statistik, "Nikah Dan Cerai Menurut Provinsi (Kejadian), 2024," 2025, https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/3/VkhwVUszTXJPVmQ2ZFRKamNIZG9RMVo2VEdsbVVUMDkjMw==/nikah-dan-cerai-menurut-provinsi.html.

regions.[9] Indonesia is also the largest archipelagic country in the world, comprising 17,001 islands, which socially and geographically give rise to a rich diversity of ethnic groups, languages, and cultures, and according to the Long Form SP2020 data, more than 1,200 ethnic groups have been recorded, including sub-ethnic and sub-sub-ethnic groups.[10] Such diversity forms a rich national identity, at the same time, it gives rise to differences in values and traditional practices that develop according to their respective local contexts.[11]

One tangible manifestation of Indonesia's cultural diversity can be observed in the implementation of customary practices, such as wedding procession traditions found in nearly every region.[12] Tradition refers to customs passed down from ancestors from generation to generation and embodies cultural values, social norms, and philosophical meanings for the local community.[13] According to the 2024 Social and Cultural Statistics, 89.49% of households in Indonesia have organized and/or attended traditional ceremonies, with wedding ceremonies ranking second in frequency. Additionally, 71.03% of households were involved in organizing or attending traditional wedding practices.[14] This finding is supported by research showing that 90% of marriages in Gorontalo Regency are conducted with traditional ceremonial processes.[15]

In the perspective of Islamic law, tradition is known by the term *'urf*, which refers to something that is widely known, practiced, and accepted by society, whether in the form of conditions, statements, or actions.[16] Islam views tradition as one of the sources of legal consideration as long as it does not contradict the principles of the Sharia. In Islamic legal theory,

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[9] Imam Riyadi, Edo Arya Prabowo, and Dzikril Hakim, "Peran Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Dalam Keberagaman Adat Budaya Di Indonesia," *Jaksa: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Hukum Dan Politik* 2, no. 3 (2024): 34–49, https://journal.stekom.ac.id/index.php/Jaksa/article/view/1870.

[10] Badan Pusat Statistik, *Profil Suku Dan Keragaman Bahasa Daerah Hasil Long Form Sensus Penduduk 2020* (Jakarta, 2024), https://www.bps.go.id/id/publication/2024/12/12/6feb932e24186429686fb57b/profil-suku-dan-keragaman-bahasa-daerah-hasil-long-form-sensus-penduduk-2020.html.

[11] Badan Pusat Statistik, *Profil Suku Dan Keragaman Bahasa Daerah Hasil Long Form Sensus Penduduk 2020*.

[12] Muhammad Sakinul Jinan, Mahroji Hidayah, and Safiah Wardah, "'Urf' Dalam Pernikahan Adat Banjar Perspektif Abdul Wahab Khallaf," *Mitsaqan Ghalizan : Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Pemikiran Hukum Islam* 3, no. 1 (2023): 45–59, https://journal.umpr.ac.id/index.php/jmg/article/view/5452.

[13] Muh. Sudirman and Mustaring, "Penyerahan Penne Anreang Dalam Tradisi Perkawinan Adat Bugis Parepare: Kajian Gender Dan Hukum Islam," *DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum* 20, no. 2 (2022): 228–42, https://ejurnal.iainpare.ac.id/index.php/diktum/article/view/3351.

[14] Badan Pusat Statistik, *Statistik Sosial Budaya Hasil Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional Modul Sosial Budaya Dan Pendidikan (Ssusenas MSBP) 2026* (Jakarta, 2025), https://www.bps.go.id/id/publication/2025/05/28/1b5cdf50f49c754c3b581bd2/statistik-sosial-budaya-2024.html.

[15] Ishak Tahir, Zulkarnain Suleman, and Muhammad Gazali Rahman, "Makna Filosofis Profesi Adat Pernikahan Di Kabupaten Gorontalo Perspektif Al-Urf," *As-Syams: Journal Hukum Islam* 5, no. 2 (2024): 48–57, https://ejournal.iaingorontalo.ac.id/index.php/AS-SYAMS/article/view/1793.

[16] Tomi Adam Gegana and Abdul Qodir Zaelani, "Pandangan Urf Terhadap Tradisi Mitu Dalam Pesta Pernikahan Adat Batak," *El-Izdiwaj: Indonesian Journal of Civil and Islamic Family Law* 3, no. 1 (2022): 16–30, https://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/ElIzdiwaj/article/view/12495.

'urf is classified into *'urf sahih*, which is consistent with the Qur'an and Sunnah and may serve as a legal basis, and *'urf fasid*, which contradicts the principles of Sharia and therefore cannot be used as a source of law.[17]

However, in practice, not all wedding traditions are aligned with Islamic Sharia, which may give rise to potentially problematic practices, such as delaying marriage or the occurrence of forced marriages.[18] Therefore, a tradition can only be recognized as *'urf sahih* if it embodies public benefit and is acceptable to sound reason, is widely practiced within society, existed prior to the establishment of the relevant legal ruling, and does not contradict any sharia evidence or the fundamental principles of Islamic teachings, if it conflicts with an explicit textual proof, it is classified as *'urf fasid* and cannot serve as a basis for legal consideration.[19]

Various studies have examined marriage traditions in Indonesia from the perspective of *'urf*. Research on the *Karia* customary procession among the Muna ethnic community in Laiworu Village, Muna Regency, concluded that it is consistent with the Qur'an and Sunnah and does not contain elements of harm.[20] The *Malangkahi* tradition among the Mandailing community in Mandailing Natal demonstrates a classification between *'urf sahih* and *'urf fasid*, depending on its impact and method of implementation.[21] Furthermore, a study of the *Naung Ri Ere* tradition in Balassuka Village, Gowa Regency, emphasizes that the tradition falls into the category of *'urf fasid* because it contradicts normative Islamic provisions preserve.[22]

Various previous studies have examined wedding traditions by classifying them into *sahih* or *fasid* categories based on their respective perspectives and research contexts. Through a review of the available literature, the assessment of wedding traditions is conducted based on how these traditions are understood and practiced in social life, so that the analysis does not stop merely at their outward form. Accordingly, the purpose of this article is to analyze the patterns of *'urf* assessment in wedding traditions in Indonesia and to formulate their legal implications for the development and reform of Islamic family law.

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[17] Sudirman and Mustaring, "Penyerahan Penne Anreang Dalam Tradisi Perkawinan Adat Bugis Parepare: Kajian Gender Dan Hukum Islam."

[18] Fikri Alwi Nasution and Zainal Arifin Purba, "Tinjauan 'Urf Terhadap Praktik Malangkahi Dalam Perkawinan Adat Mandailing," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ahwal Syakhshiyyah (JAS)* 7, no. 1 (2025): 31–50, https://riset.unisma.ac.id/index.php/JAS/article/view/23417.

[19] Tahir, Suleman, and Rahman, "Makna Filosofis Profesi Adat Pernikahan Di Kabupaten Gorontalo Perspektif Al-Urf."

[20] Muhammad Fajri Mohasa, Musyfikah Ilyas, and Abdul Syatar, "Pandangan 'Urf Terhadap Prosesi Adat Karia Pada Masyarakat Muna Di Kelurahan Laiworu Kecamatan Batalaiworu Kabupaten Muna," *QadauNa: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Hukum Keluarga Islam* 5, no. 1 (2023): 48–60, https://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/qadauna/article/view/32862.

[21] Nasution and Purba, "Tinjauan 'Urf Terhadap Praktik Malangkahi Dalam Perkawinan Adat Mandailing."

[22] Ahmad Muntazar and Mursyid Fikri, "Pandangan Tokoh Muhammadiyah Terhadap Tradisi Naung Ri Ere Dalam Pernikahan: Perspektif 'Urf," *Cakrawala: Jurnal Studi Islam* 18, no. 2 (2023): 77–86, https://journal.unimma.ac.id/index.php/cakrawala/article/view/10143.

Unlike previous studies, which generally adopt case study approaches and assess marriage traditions in a partial manner, this article offers a national-level synthesis based on a literature review to map patterns of *‘urf* assessment in Indonesian marriage traditions. This approach enables the identification of factors influencing the classification of *‘urf* in a more comprehensive and contextual manner, while also providing a conceptual foundation for strengthening and reforming Islamic family law in response to social realities.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employed a literature review method with a search strategy guided by the PRISMA diagram as illustrated in Figure 1. The sources consist of scholarly articles discussing marriage traditions in Indonesia from the perspective of *‘urf*. The search was conducted through Google Scholar, Garuda, and ProQuest, using the keywords “Perspective of *‘Urf*,” “Marriage,” and “Tradition.” The literature search was carried out during the period of 20 November–20 December 2025. The articles analyzed had to meet the inclusion criteria, published in 2024–2025, written in Indonesian or English, available in full text, and relevant to the research topic. Based on the initial search using the selected keywords, 7,897 articles were identified. After the initial screening stage, the number of articles was reduced to 2,265. Subsequently, through further filtering based on topic relevance, type of publication, and availability of full-text access, 12 articles were selected for further analysis.

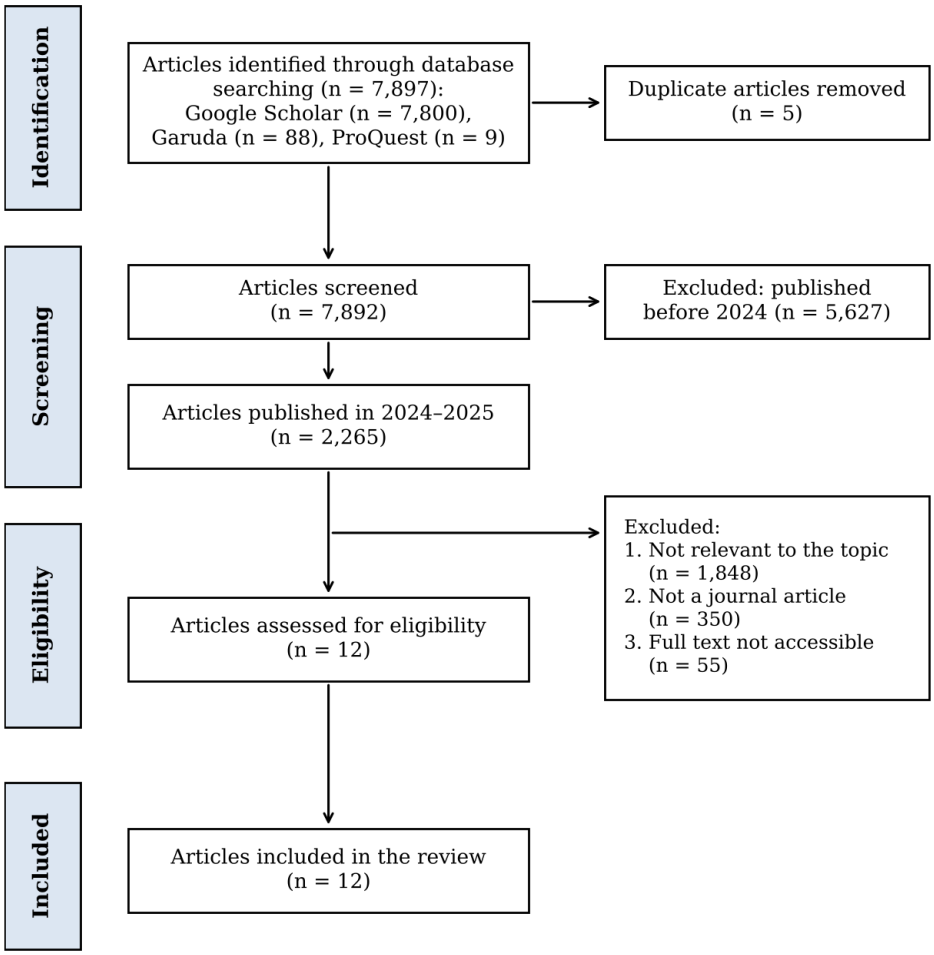


Figure 1**.** PRISMA Diagram for Literature Search

Source: Authors' search results (recreated from the original diagram).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the tracing and selection of literature using the PRISMA scheme, this study identified twelve articles discussing marriage traditions in various regions of Indonesia from the perspective of *'urf*. The review indicates that four traditions are categorized as *'urf sahih*, five as *'urf fasid*, and three fall into a dual assessment category. These findings demonstrate that the evaluation of *'urf* concerning marriage traditions is not singular in nature but is influenced by social context, objectives, and modes of implementation. Some traditions are considered consistent with the principles of Islamic law and provide social benefit (*maslahah*), while others are regarded as problematic due to their contradiction with fundamental Islamic values or their negative practical implications. Traditions with dual assessments reflect flexibility in the *'urf* approach, in which a particular customary practice may be accepted or rejected depending on its implementation and the community's interpretation. The literature review results are presented in

Table 1, which includes the research identity, methods, and conclusions on the *‘urf* assessment of each marriage tradition.

Table 1**.** Results of Article Review

Journal Identity	Research Method	Research Findings
Laistya, N., & Ambarwati, S. D. (2024). Implementasi Tradisi *Rugi Madota* Dalam Perkawinan Adat Masyarakat Muslim Di Suku Galela Kabupaten Halmahera Utara Maluku Utara Di Tinjau Dari Perspektif *‘Urf*	Qualitative	*Rugi Madota* is a ceremonial gift-giving ritual symbolizing respect and the union between the bride and groom, categorized as *‘urf sahih* because it contains social benefit and does not contradict Islamic law as long as it does not burden either party.
Winarno, R. S., Nasution, S., Jamhuri., Hidayat, I. N., & Cahyani, M. (2025) *Analysis of The ‘Urf Concerning The Prohibition of Ngalor Ngulon Matrimony in Tumpakkepuh Village, Bakung, Blitar*	Qualitative	*Ngalor Ngulon,* a prohibition of marriage based on the directional position of the prospective bride and groom’s houses, is categorized as *‘urf fasid* because it originates from hereditary beliefs.
Awalia, F. T. M., Syarifah, E. S., Hidayati, N. K., Sarjana, S. A., & Elita, Y. (2025) Analisa Tradisi Pernikahan Siji Jejer Telu Ditinjau dari Fiqih Munakahat dan ‘Urf	Qualitative	*Siji Jejer Telu* is a prohibition of marriage between two firstborn children based on parental birth order, categorized as *‘urf fasid* because it is based on beliefs regarding adverse consequences without foundation in Islamic law.
Nasrudin, I., & Masrokhin (2024) Pandangan Masyarakat Terhadap Prosesi Tradisi Betangas Perspektif *‘Urf* (Studi Kasus Di Desa Pasir Panjang Kecamatan Mempawah Timur Kabupaten Mempawah)	Qualitative	*Betangas* is a self-purification tradition for prospective brides using steam, categorized as *‘urf sahih* because it provides benefit; however, its implementation becomes *‘urf fasid* if conducted in revealing attire that exposes ‘awrah.
Maulidia, R. A., & Masrokhin (2024) Pandangan Masyarakat Terhadap Tradisi Perhitungan Weton Dalam Pernikahan Perspektif ‘Urf (Studi Kasus Di Ds. Sugihwaras Kec. Ngoro Kab. Jombang)	Qualitative	*Perhitungan Weton* is a tradition of assessing compatibility and determining an auspicious wedding day, classified as *‘urf sahih* because it has good intentions and is socially recognized, provided it serves only as a supplementary consideration and not the primary determinant of marriage.
Dani, M. I., & Rahmawati, N. P. (2024) Kajian Kritis Tradisi *Nyongkolan* dalam Perkawinan Adat Lombok Perspektif *‘Urf*	Qualitative	*Nyongkolan* is a wedding procession parade following the marriage contract, categorized as *‘urf sahih* because it functions to publicly announce the marriage; however, it becomes *‘urf fasid* when accompanied by practices contrary to Islamic law, such as erotic dancing, alcohol consumption, or disorderly conduct.
Ahsan, M., Ningsi, S. C., Nirwana, S., Darwis, S. F. S. A. Z., & Asyikin, N. H. (2025) Analisis Tradisi Mappanini Bosi Dalam Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis Perspektif Urf	Qualitative	*Mappanini Bosi* is a ritual prayer to prevent rainfall during important events, categorized as *‘urf sahih* because it is understood as an effort and supplication for the smooth conduct of the event while affirming that all power lies under the will of Allah SWT.

Journal Identity	Research Method	Research Findings
Illah, M. K., Kalamiah, J., & Safithri, A. (2025) Tradisi *Rokat Pandhebeh* Menjelang Pernikahan Perspektif *Urf* di Desa Randuagung	Qualitative	*Rokat Pandhebeh* is a spiritual customary procession before marriage intended for the safety and blessing of the bride and groom, categorized as *'urf sahih* because it does not contradict Islamic law and provides social benefit to the community.
Marasabessy, R. M., & Halim, A. (2024) *Barekeng* Dalam Adat Pernikahan Perspektif *'Urf*	Qualitative	*Barekeng* is a tradition of mutual cooperation based on solidarity, involving voluntary financial support for the groom's family, categorized as *'urf sahih* because it does not cause harm.
Primadian, S., & Hamdani (2025) Tradisi Membuat Godok Obuih Sebelum Prosesi Pernikahan Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Di Nagari Lubuk Tarok Kecamatan Lubuk Tarok) Kabupaten Sijunjung	Qualitative	*Membuat Godok Obuih* is a pre-marital tradition requiring the preparation of a specific traditional dish, categorized as *'urf fasid* because in practice it entails consequences contrary to Islamic law, such as the belief that failure to prepare it tarnishes the clan's reputation.
Ismar (2024) Praktik Silariang Dalam Adat Perkawinan Suku Mandar Perspektif *'Urf* (Studi Kasus Di Desa Kuanjang Kecamatan Binuang Kabupaten Polewali Mandar)	Qualitative	*Silariang* is the practice of elopement due to the absence of parental consent and social obstacles, such as high marriage costs, educational status, and promiscuity; it is categorized as *'urf fasid* because it results in *siri'* (shame) and customary sanctions and contradicts Islamic law.
Ranun, A., Abdullah, T. N., & Azwar, Z. (2024) Tradisi *Bere Kuni* Dalam Adat Pernikahan Di Kabupaten Simeulue Provinsi Aceh Perspektif 'Urf	Qualitative	*Bere Kuni,* the act of throwing turmeric rice at the bride and groom as a symbol of happiness, is categorized as *'urf fasid* because it contains elements of wastefulness that contradict the principles of Islamic law.

Source: Authors' literature review.

Based on Table 1, several marriage traditions in Indonesia are categorized as *'urf sahih* because they do not contradict Islamic teachings and provide social benefits, such as *Rugi Madota, Barekeng, Mappanini Bosi*, and *Rokat Pandhebeh*. In contrast, traditions such as *Silariang, Siji Jejer Telu, Ngalor Ngulon, Bere Kuni*, and *Membuat Godok Obuih* are classified as *'urf fasid* because they conflict with the Sharia, originate from hereditary beliefs without religious foundation. Furthermore, traditions such as *Betangas, Nyongkolan*, and *Perhitungan Weton* may be considered either *sahih* or *fasid* depending on their implementation, they are acceptable if in accordance with Islamic teachings but become problematic if they violate Sharia principles.

Marriage Traditions in Indonesia

Marriage in Islam is positioned as a sacred bond between a man and a woman aimed at establishing a family that adheres to the commands of Allah SWT.[23] Marriage is also understood as a sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, intended to build a physically and mentally healthy

[23] Budiawan, "Tinjauan Al Urf Dalam Prosesi Perkawinan Adat Melayu Riau."

family life and to protect individuals from prohibited behavior.[24] Social interaction can also give rise to traditions that are evaluated based on social norms and Islamic teaching.[25] In line with the view that custom is living law, even though it is not written.[26]

The review shows that several wedding traditions help strengthen responsibility and family relationships. The *Rugi Madota* tradition among the Galela ethnic community in Simau Village, North Halmahera Regency, places the giving of marriage offerings as a symbol of the groom's seriousness in establishing a household.[27] The *Barekeng* tradition among the people of Negeri Kailolo in Central Maluku Regency reflects a practice of financial mutual cooperation aimed at alleviating the family's burden in organizing a wedding.[28] These practices demonstrate that marriage also involves interaction with social and cultural norms within the community.[29]

Wedding traditions also emphasize the physical, mental, and symbolic preparation of prospective brides and grooms. The *Betangas* tradition among the Malay community in Pasir Panjang Village, Mempawah Regency, is interpreted as a process of self-purification prior to marriage.[30] The *Rokat Pandhebeh* tradition among the Madurese community in Randuagung Village, Jember Regency, is understood as a ritual of purification and self-protection conducted within a particular family structure.[31] Among the Minangkabau community in Nagari Lubuk Tarok, Sijunjung Regency, the tradition of *Membuat Godok Obuih* is seen as both a food

[24] Humaidy, Muhammad Zaid, and Muhammad Rizky Arrofi, "Pernikahan Dalam Islam," *Jurnal Religion: Jurnal Agama, Sosial, Dan Budaya* 1, no. 6 (2023): 453–67, https://maryamsejahtera.com/index.php/Religion/article/view/767.

[25] Ali Makki, "Pernikahan Perspektif Tradisi Dalam Hukum Islam," *HUKAGI Jurnal: Hukum Keluarga Islam* 1, no. I (2025): 82–94, https://jurnal.stisapamekasan.ac.id/index.php/HUKAGI/article/view/138.

[26] Tahir, Suleman, and Rahman, "Makna Filosofis Profesi Adat Pernikahan Di Kabupaten Gorontalo Perspektif Al-Urf."

[27] Nafa Laistya and Sinta Devi Ambarwati, "Implementasi Tradisi Rugi Madota Dalam Perkawinan Adat Masyarakat Muslim Di Suku Galela Kabupaten Halmahera Utara Maluku Utara Ditinjau Dari Perspektif 'Urf," *FALA (Jurnal Ilmuan Multidisipliner)* 2, no. 1 (2024), https://jalanjurnal.mahbaabsarinahasanah.ac.id/ojs/index.php/Fala/article/view/40.

[28] Rama Maulana Marasabessy and Abdul Halim, "Barekeng Dalam Adat Pernikahan Perspektif 'Urf," *MASADIR: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 04, no. 02 (2024): 1020–33, https://ejournal.unkafa.ac.id/index.php/masadir/article/view/1538.

[29] Muhamad Nurdin and Taufik Hidayat, "Tradisi Ngubel Bagi Pasangan Pengantin Dalam Pandangan Al 'Urf Dan Kontruktivisme Sosial," *Islamitsch Familierecht Journal* 5, no. 2 (2024): 148–70, https://rumahjurnal.iainsasbabel.ac.id/IFJ/article/view/5065.

[30] Ilham Nasrudin and Masrokhin, "Pandangan Masyarakat Terhadap Prosesi Tradisi Betangas Perspektif 'Urf (Studi Kasus Di Desa Pasir Panjang Kecamatan Mempawah Timur Kabupaten Mempawah)," *JIPM Jurnal Ilmiah Penelitian Mahasiswa* 2, no. 4 (2024): 890–97, https://ejurnal.kampusakademik.my.id/index.php/jipm/article/view/358.

[31] Miftah Khasful Illah, Jeweherul Kalamiah, and Awaliya Safithri, "Tradisi Rokat Pandhebeh Menjelang Pernikahan Perspektif Urf Di Desa Randuagung," *Mabahits Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 6, no. 2 (2025): 197–204, https://ejournal.uas.ac.id/index.php/Mabahits/article/view/2550.

presentation and a sign of the bride's family readiness and respect toward the groom's family and the surrounding community.[32]

Several marriage traditions also function as a means of public announcement and social legitimization of a marriage that has taken place. The *Nyongkolan* tradition among the Sasak community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara Province, is carried out to introduce the married couple to the wider community.[33] This practice demonstrates that customary ceremonies not only reflect cultural values that live within society but also function as a means of social recognition, togetherness, and solidarity in Indonesian social life.[34] Thus, marriage traditions play a role in maintaining social order and reflecting the identity of communities living in diversity.[35]

In certain socio-cultural contexts, marriage traditions also function as mechanisms of social control rooted in customary beliefs. Examples include the *Ngalor Ngulon* prohibition in Tumpakkepuh Village, Blitar, which restricts marriage based on the directional position of the couple's houses, and the *Siji Jejer Telu* taboo in Carangrejo Village, Ponorogo, which forbids marriage between individuals with specific birth-order combinations believed to affect marital harmony.[36] The *Perhitungan Weton* tradition among the Javanese community in Sugihwaras Village, Jombang Regency, is used as a basis for assessing the compatibility of prospective spouses and determining the wedding date according to a specific calendar system.[37] These diverse practices illustrate the role of custom as a living social guideline observed and adhered to by the community.

Several traditions contain symbolic meanings that reflect how communities respond to natural conditions and shared beliefs. The *Mappanini Bosi* tradition among the Bugis community in Waetuoe Village, Pinrang Regency, is understood as a collective prayer practice conducted prior to important events in the hope that the weather will support the smooth running of the

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[32] Shofie Primadian and Hamdani, "Tradisi Membuat Godok Obuih Sebelum Proses Pernikahan Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Di Nagari Lubuk Tarok Kecamatan Lubuk Tarok) Kabupaten Sijunjung," *JURNAL INOVASI HUKUM DAN KEBIJAKAN* 6, no. 4 (2025): 334–56, https://ejurnals.com/ojs/index.php/jihk/article/view/3801.

[33] Muhammad Iwan Dani and Nita Putri Rahmawati, "Kajian Kritis Tradisi Nyongkolan Dalam Perkawinan Adat Lombok Perspektif ' Urf," *Islamic Review: Jurnal Riset Dan Kajian Keislaman* 13, no. 2 (2024): 73–84, https://mail.journal.ipmafa.ac.id/index.php/islamicreview/article/view/1309.

[34] Badan Pusat Statistik, *Statistik Sosial Budaya Hasil Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional Modul Sosial Budaya Dan Pendidikan (Ssusenas MSBP) 2026*.

[35] Agus Maulana Qosim and Muhammad Ihsan, "Tantangan Dakwah Islam Di Tengah Keberagaman Budaya Indonesia," *SUJUD: JURNAL AGAMA, SOSIAL DAN BUDAYA* 1, no. 3 (2025): 134–43, https://ojs.indopublishing.or.id/index.php/sujud/article/view/70.

[36] Fadhila Tianti Mudi Awalia et al., "Analisa Tradisi Pernikahan Siji Jejer Telu Ditinjau Dari Fiqih Munakahat Dan 'Urf," *Nuris Journal of Education and Islamic Studies* 5, no. 1 (2025): 57–70, https://nuris.ac.id/journal/jeis/article/view/102.

[37] Rizka Amalya Maulidia and Masrokhin, "Pandangan Masyarakat Terhadap Tradisi Perhitungan Weton Dalam Pernikahan Perspektif 'Urf (Studi Kasus Di Ds.Sugihwaras Kec.Ngoro Kab.Jombang)," *JSSR Jurnal Sains Student Research* 2, no. 4 (2024): 972–84, https://ejurnal.kampusakademik.co.id/index.php/jssr/article/view/2083.

ceremony.[38] Meanwhile, the *Bere Kuni* tradition in Meunafa Village, Simeulue Regency, is carried out by throwing rice mixed with turmeric at the bride and groom as a symbol of prayer, happiness, and hope for a harmonious household.[39] This demonstrates that marriage traditions contain symbolic meanings practiced in accordance with local culture.

Marriage traditions also frequently function as a response to social dynamics faced by individuals and communities. The practice of *Silariang* among the Mandar ethnic community in Kuajang Village, Polewali Mandar Regency, is understood as an alternative chosen by couples when facing family rejection or social obstacles such as high marriage costs, educational status, and free association.[40] This phenomenon shows that marriage is not only related to the personal relationship between two individuals but also to social rules and relationships within the family and society. In Indonesia's ethnically and culturally diverse society, marriage traditions are interpreted differently according to local contexts, with only practices that contradict Islamic teachings being abandoned, while those aligned with religious values are maintained.[41]

Based on the literature review, it is evident that marriage traditions in Indonesia possess a strong socio-legal dimension. Marriage traditions are not merely religious practices or cultural symbols but also function as mechanisms for regulating social behavior. These findings affirm that the existence of marriage traditions cannot be separated from their function as instruments of social control that influence individual decisions and the order of social life.

The Assessment of Marriage Traditions in Indonesia from the Perspective of *'Urf*

A review of literature on marriage traditions in Indonesia shows diverse forms of *'urf* that receive different scholarly evaluations. These differences arise because the assessment considers not only the ritual form but also its purpose, social values, and impact. Consequently, the evaluation of *'urf* is not strictly divided into sahih and fasid, but rather forms a continuum.

Marriage Traditions Classified as 'Urf Sahih

According to Amir Syarifuddin, *'urf* sahih is a tradition that brings public benefit (maslahah), is rationally accepted, widely practiced, predates formal law, and does not contradict

[38] Muh. Ahsan et al., "Analisis Tradisi Mappanini Bosi Dalam Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis Perspektif Urf'," *MAQASID : Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 14, no. 3 (2025): 155–64, https://journal.um-surabaya.ac.id/Maqasid/article/view/28664.

[39] Adim Ranun, Teuku Naldi Abdullah, and Zainal Azwar, "Tradisi Bere Kuni Dalam Adat Pernikahan Di Kabupaten Simeulue Provinsi Aceh Perspektif 'Urf," *HAKAM; Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Ekonomi Islam* 8, no. 1 (2024): 122–32, https://ejournal.unuja.ac.id/index.php/hakam/article/view/8536.

[40] Ismar, "Praktik Silariang Dalam Adat Perkawinan Suku Mandar Perspektif 'Urf (Studi Kasus Di Desa Kuajang Kecamatan Binuang Kabupaten Polewali Mandar)," *Al-Istinbath : Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Hukum Keluarga Islam* 1, no. 2 (2024): 31–36, https://journal.salahuddinal-ayyubi.com/index.php/AlIJIH/article/view/120.

[41] Tahir, Suleman, and Rahman, "Makna Filosofis Profesi Adat Pernikahan Di Kabupaten Gorontalo Perspektif Al-Urf."

Islamic principles. Thus, the evaluation of marriage traditions depends on their practice and interpretation within Indonesia's diverse cultural contexts.[42]

The first condition of *'urf* sahih, namely public benefit, is reflected in the *Barekeng* tradition, where community members voluntarily provide financial assistance to support wedding expenses, easing economic burdens and strengthening social ties. Similar values appear in the *Pemberian Langkahan* tradition, where a younger sibling who marries first gives money or goods to an older sibling as a sign of respect and family harmony.[43] Thus, *Barekeng* represents a form of *'urf sahih* that produces clear social benefit.

The second condition of *'urf sahih*, namely widespread practice within the community, is reflected in the *Mappanini Bosi* tradition, a ritual performed before major events such as weddings to pray for favorable weather. Community participation and the role of the sanro as prayer leader indicate broad social acceptance while maintaining belief in Allah SWT as the ultimate determinant. A similar pattern appears in the *Moponika* tradition in Gorontalo, which is widely practiced as ancestral heritage.[44] Therefore, *Mappanini Bosi* fulfills the criterion of *'urf sahih* through its general acceptance within society.

The third requirement of *'urf sahih*, namely the existence of a tradition prior to formal legal regulation, is reflected in the *Rugi Madota* tradition. Originating from the Sultanate of Ternate, this practice involves gift exchange as a symbol of the groom's seriousness and responsibility before marriage and has long been preserved in community life. Similar customs are found in the *Penne Anreang* tradition among the Bugis community. In the study of *'urf*, customs not explicitly regulated in the Qur'an and Hadith may remain valid when continuously practiced and accepted by society.[45] Thus, Rugi Madota represents a longstanding custom that qualifies as *'urf sahih*.

The fourth requirement of *'urf sahih*, namely not contradicting dalil syara', can be seen in the Rokat Pandhebeh tradition. This ritual includes collective prayers, ritual bathing, and charity, accompanied by Islamic recitations such as *Surah Yasin, Ayat al-Kursi, tahlil*, and *shalawat*.

[42] Siti Nurul Afifah, Hartini Tahir, and Asni, "Pandangan Hukum Islam Terhadap Tradisi Appabattu Nikkah Dalam Pernikahan Adat Makassar (Desa Bontoala Kecamatan Pallangga Kabupaten Gowa)," *QadauNa: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Hukum Keluarga Islam* 4, no. 1 (2022): 81–99, https://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/qadauna/article/view/29331.

[43] Halimah and Wahidi, "Pandangan Tokoh Masyarakat Terhadap Tradisi Pemberian Langkahan Di Desa Baujeng Kecamatan Beji Kabupaten Pasuruan."

[44] Tahir, Suleman, and Rahman, "Makna Filosofis Profesi Adat Pernikahan Di Kabupaten Gorontalo Perspektif Al-Urf."

[45] Nasution and Purba, "Tinjauan 'Urf Terhadap Praktik Malangkahi Dalam Perkawinan Adat Mandailing."

Similar values appear in the Karia ceremony, which promotes self-restraint and marital readiness while remaining consistent with Islamic principles.[46]

Based on the study of various marriage traditions deemed valid *('urf sahih*), it is found that these practices do not add to the pillars and conditions of the marriage contract but rather strengthen the couple's social readiness. Such traditions instill responsibility, involve families, and build social support, thereby organizing premarital social and moral relations and shaping marital preparedness beyond merely legal and religious aspects.

Marriage Traditions Classified as 'Urf Fasid

Based on the literature review, several Indonesian marriage traditions are classified as *'urf fasid* because they contradict Islamic principles. One example is the *Ngalor Ngulon* prohibition, which determines marriage permissibility based on the direction of the house and is believed to bring misfortune if violated, making it inconsistent with the criteria of *'urf sahih*.[47] A similar case appears in the Siji Jejer Telu tradition, which prohibits marriage based on birth-order combinations and is believed to bring misfortune such as divorce or death. Comparable beliefs are also found in the Malangkahi tradition, where a younger sibling marrying before an older one is considered problematic but may be resolved through a customary fine. Since these practices lack a clear basis in Islamic legal principles and do not produce maslahah, they are categorized as *'urf fasid*.

Studies on the Silariang practice indicate characteristics of *'urf fasid*, as couples elope without family consent despite the validity of the marriage contract. This practice often arises from family rejection or social barriers such as high wedding costs, educational differences, or social pressures. Similar patterns appear in the *Malangkahi* practice, where high customary fines may encourage elopement. Literature also notes that *Silariang* contradicts religious and social norms because it brings shame to the family and may be associated with premarital pregnancy.

Another example is the Membuat Godok Obuih tradition, which symbolically represents respect and cooperation before marriage but includes sanctions such as social exclusion and loss of tribal recognition for non-compliance. A similar case is the Uang Pekhanjangan practice, where financial demands on the groom may become excessive and hinder marriage.[48] Due to these social pressures and sanctions, the Membuat Godok Obuih tradition is categorized as *'urf fasid*.

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[46] Ilyas Syarofian Akmal et al., "Agama Dan Relasi Budaya Dalam Islam: Menjelajahi Peran Penting Budaya Dalam Pembentukan Identitas Keagamaan," *Al Aufa: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Kajian Keislaman* 5, no. 2 (2023), https://journal.unugiri.ac.id/index.php/AL-AUFA/article/view/1667.

[47] Afifah, Tahir, and Asni, "Pandangan Hukum Islam Terhadap Tradisi Appabattu Nikkah Dalam Pernikahan Adat Makassar (Desa Bontoala Kecamatan Pallangga Kabupaten Gowa)."

[48] Abi Hasan and Khairuddin, "Pandangan 'Urf Terhadap Uang Pekhanjangan Dalam Perkawinan Melangkahi Kakak Kandung," *Istinbáth Jurnal Hukum Dan Ekonomi Islam* 20, no. 1 (2021): 176–88, https://istinbath.or.id/index.php/ijhi/article/view/337.

The *Bere Kuni* tradition is classified as *'urf fasid* because it involves throwing rice mixed with turmeric at the bride as a symbol of happiness, which is considered wasteful since rice is a staple with sacred value. Although the tradition carries symbolic meaning, its practice does not fulfill the criteria of '*urf sahih* due to the material loss it causes.[49] A review of traditions categorized as *'urf fasid* also reveals common patterns, including social pressure to follow customary rules and beliefs that misfortune will occur if they are violated. These patterns show that a tradition may be considered fasid when it conflicts with Islamic legal principles..

Marriage Traditions with a Dual Assessment ('Urf Sahih and 'Urf Fasid)

Some wedding traditions receive dual evaluations. The *Betangas* tradition is considered valid because it aims to purify the bride and groom through a herbal steam bath before marriage. However, if performed with clothing that exposes aurat, it may be classified as *'urf fasid*. A similar case occurs in the *Bamandi-mandi* tradition in Banjar weddings, which has been adapted with proper covering to comply with sharia.[50] Thus, the Betangas tradition demonstrates a legal duality, *'urf sahih* in terms of values and purpose, yet *'urf fasid* in certain practices.

A similar dual assessment appears in the *Perhitungan Weton* tradition, which combines a person's birth day with the Javanese market cycle. This practice is considered *'urf sahih* when used merely to assess compatibility or choose an auspicious wedding day. However, it becomes *'urf fasid* if believed to determine marital fate and happiness. A comparable pattern exists in the *Babilangan* practice, where name calculations are used to assess compatibility but remain 'urf sahih as long as they are not treated as determinants of destiny.[51] Belief in supernatural powers outside the will of Allah SWT falls under the category of *'urf fasid.*[52]

A similar pattern appears in the *Nyongkolan* tradition, which functions as a public wedding announcement and strengthens kinship and social bonds. In its ideal form, it is considered *'urf sahih* because it prevents slander and preserves cultural values. However, it becomes *'urf fasid* when accompanied by practices that violate sharia, such as alcohol consumption, erotic dances, brawls, or other criminal acts. This refle.[53]

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[49] Lili Zuliawati, Azhar, and Muhammad Saleh, "Tinjauan 'Urf Terhadap Ritual Mandi Pengantin Dalam Perkawinan Adat Suku Melayu Di Kecamatan Tanjung Pura Langkat," *Stigma Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Politik Dan Humaniora* 1, no. 3 (2022): 53–57, https://jurnal.risetilmiah.ac.id/index.php/stigma/article/view/220.

[50] Jinan, Hidayah, and Wardah, "'Urf' Dalam Pernikahan Adat Banjar Perspektif Abdul Wahab Khallaf."

[51] Sitta Nur Karimah, "Praktik Babilangan Pada Tradisi Basasuluh Suku Banjar Presfektif Urf'," *Jurnal Justisia Jurnal Ilmu Hukum, Perundang-Undangan Dan Pranata Sosial* 7, no. 2 (2022): 346–61, https://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/Justisia/article/view/15114/0.

[52] Karimah, "Praktik Babilangan Pada Tradisi Basasuluh Suku Banjar Presfektif Urf'."

[53] Gegana and Zaelani, "Pandangan Urf Terhadap Tradisi Mitu Dalam Pesta Pernikahan Adat Batak."

Based on traditions with dual assessments, the evaluation of *'urf* in marriage customs is not strictly dichotomous between sahih and fasid, but rather forms a continuum. A tradition may be sahih in its purpose and values yet become fasid when its practice deviates from sharia. Thus, the fasid element lies not in the tradition itself but in its interpretation, beliefs, or accompanying practices.

Overall, the findings show that Indonesian marriage traditions have a strong socio-legal dimension. They function not only as cultural or religious rituals but also as mechanisms that regulate behavior, establish norms, provide social recognition, and enforce sanctions. In this way, *'urf* operates both as a reflection of religious values and as a form of social control within the framework of *Islam Nusantara*, where Islamic teachings interact with the diverse cultures of the archipelago.[54] The second finding shows a continuum in the evaluation of *'urf*, meaning that marriage traditions are not simply classified as *sahih* or *fasid* but can shift depending on their implementation, meaning, and accompanying social interactions. This aligns with the understanding that marriage traditions are often maintained as ancestral heritage and social considerations, as long as they do not conflict with Islamic law.[55] The third finding indicates that *'urf fasid* more frequently arises in traditions accompanied by social pressure on individuals who do not follow customary rules and the belief that misfortune will occur if these rules are violated. Therefore, the assessment of *'urf* must consider the social context and the consequences of traditional practices to ensure an objective understanding.

Conceptually, these findings imply that marriage traditions can serve as 'urf sahih when their implementation aligns with sharia, as they help maintain social order and uphold religious values. Therefore, Islamic family law in Indonesia should apply an adaptive evaluation that considers not only the procedures of traditions but also their social impacts and underlying beliefs. With this approach, traditions that are sahih in principle may become fasid if their practice deviates from sharia. Thus, customary wedding ceremonies hold both religious and social significance, reflecting family legitimacy and community recognition of marriage.[56]

[54] Ansari Ansari, "Islam Nusantara: Keanekaragaman Budaya Dan Tradisi," *Lisan Al-Hal : Jurnal Pengembangan Pemikiran Dan Kebudayaan* 18, no. 2 (2024): 226–47, https://journal.ibrahimy.ac.id/index.php/lisanalhal/article/view/4799.

[55] Kuntum Khairah Ummah, "Tradisi Baarak Perkawinan Di Nagari Koto Hilalang Kabupaten Solok Perspektif 'Urf," *Jurnal Al-Ahkam* XXIII, no. 2 (2022): 150–69, https://ejournal.uinib.ac.id/jurnal/index.php/alahkam/article/view/5165.

[56] Arini Anggriany A.S and Sudirman, "Tradisi Upacara Perkawinan Adat Masyarakat Suku Ende Perspektif 'Urf," *SAKINA: JOURNAL OF FAMILY STUDIES* 6, no. 3 (2022), https://urj.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/jfs/article/view/1996.

CONCLUSION

Based on an analysis of twelve articles, this study finds that four marriage traditions are classified as *‘urf sahih*, five traditions as *‘urf fasid*, and three traditions exhibit dual evaluation. Traditions categorized as *‘urf sahih* promote public benefit (*maslahah*), are socially accepted, and are consistent with Islamic law, whereas traditions classified as *‘urf fasid* arise from customary practices lacking a foundation in Islamic law and may result in social sanctions or extravagance. Traditions with dual evaluation may be considered *sahih* or *fasid* depending on their implementation, impact, and the meanings attributed to them by the community. These findings indicate that marriage traditions in Indonesia function not only as religious rituals or cultural symbols but also as mechanisms of social regulation that shape norms, sanctions, and relationships among individuals and families. The evaluation of *‘urf* is contextual and dynamic, forming a continuum between *sahih* and *fasid*, such that a tradition that is principled as *sahih* may shift toward *fasid* if its practice deviates from Islamic law. The study also reveals a pattern in which *‘urf fasid* tends to emerge in traditions accompanied by social pressure against individuals who do not adhere to customary rules or by beliefs in misfortune should the tradition be violated. This underscores the importance of understanding marriage traditions comprehensively by considering their ritual forms, social impacts, community interpretations, and conformity with the principles of Islamic law.

Islamic family law in Indonesia should consider the continuum in evaluating traditions, preserving practices that promote maslahah while reforming those that cause mafsadah. Legal practitioners, religious leaders, and communities need to reassess traditions by distinguishing their core values from their implementation to ensure alignment with Islamic law. Further research on marriage traditions across broader regions is recommended to develop contextual guidelines for the reform of Islamic family law.

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