



Article

**CONCEPTION OF JAVANESE CULTURAL MARRIAGE  
RESTRICTIONS IN BUILDING A SAKINAH FAMILY**

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**Abstract**

Sakinah families in Javanese culture are strongly tied to the traditions of the ancestors, one of these traditions is the marriage prohibition. Marriage prohibition in Javanese culture is a tradition of restriction to get an ideal relationship (sakinah) according to Javanese society. Marriage prohibition in Javanese society can also be called mate restriction. From this explanation to find out the concept of a sakinah family through the prohibition of Javanese cultural marriage, this research uses a descriptive qualitative method with a library research model. The design in completing this research uses Ethnography-History Studies, where this research will examine further related to the history of Javanese culture, namely "marriage prohibition", see the history and basis of the culture so that it becomes a social phenomenon. Javanese people interpret the prohibition based on several factors, namely: First, Larang marriage due to biological factors, which means that the marriage that is held from the bride and groom has a biological relationship. Second, Social Factors, namely where violators of the Ban will get social sanctions when carrying out this marriage ban, so that the impact will continue. Natural factors, basically Javanese people believe in the power of nature, or what is known as natural law, the community believes that everything that happens in every event cannot be separated from the power of Allah SWT. The concept of a sakinah family embedded in the marriage prohibition is actually a form of caution from the Javanese community.

**Keywords :** *Conception, Marriage Prohibition, Javanese Culture, Sakinah Family*

**Introduction**

Marriage is a meeting of two hearts that complement each other and are based on love (mawaddah) and love (rahmah), basically every prospective married couple who will take place or will form a household will always aim to create a family that is sakinah and prosperous and lasts forever.<sup>1</sup>

A sakinah family is a family that is built on a legal marriage, is able to fulfil spiritual and material needs properly and in balance, is filled with an atmosphere of affection between family members and their environment in harmony, harmony and is able to practice, live and deepen the values of faith, piety and noble morals.<sup>2</sup> A sakinah family in the general view is a family that is

<sup>1</sup> Abdul Muhaimin As'ad, *Risalah Nikah Penuntun Perkawinan*, (Surabaya: Bintang Terang 99, 1993 ), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Pembinaan Gerakan Keluarga Sakinah*. (Bandung: Ministry of Religious Affairs, Regional Office of West Java Province, Division of Islamic Affairs, 2001).

happy, peaceful, harmonious, understanding of each other's needs and shortcomings and does not measure the key to family happiness in the glasses of abundant wealth and an established position.<sup>3</sup>

The concept of a *sakinah* family that develops in society is a picture of Middle Eastern (Islamic) and Western thought, where the concept is applied and embedded in people's minds. The concept of local culture only develops in certain circles, but in reality, local culture still dominates, where in building a *sakinah* family it still applies, especially in Javanese culture.

*Sakinah* family development in Javanese culture is strongly tied to the traditions of the ancestors, one of these traditions is the marriage prohibition. Marriage prohibition in Javanese culture is a tradition of restriction to get an ideal relationship (*sakinah*) according to Javanese society. Ideal marriage according to Javanese society is a form of marriage that occurs and is desired by the community, namely a form of marriage that occurs based on certain considerations, does not deviate from the provisions of the rules, or norms that apply in the local community<sup>4</sup>. Marriage prohibition in Javanese society can also be called mate restriction. Rules that prohibit marriage between a person and a certain person, in order to create a happy, lasting and prosperous family. The concept is a legacy of ancestral traditions that are still valid and applied by Javanese society today. In line with this, it can be said that in building a *sakinah* family, Javanese society has a different concept from the Islamic concept.

## METHODS

The type of research used in this study is qualitative research with an anthropological approach because the subject matter is in the form of existing customs in the community, namely the culture of marriage prohibitions in Javanese society. This marriage ban is still applied in some communities in Central Java and East Java.

The research design used is descriptive qualitative with a *library research* method, namely research that uses literature data, by collecting data and information from various sources until the research results are collected. The design in completing this research uses *Ethnographic-Historical Studies*, this research will examine further related to the history of Javanese culture, namely the "marriage ban", see the history and basis of the culture so that it becomes a social phenomenon. The analysis technique used in the research is data triangulation, from the sources used by the research, namely: historical and cultural book sources, journals, research results (Thesis, Thesis, Dissertation, etc.) related to the habits of Javanese society. Presentation of the results of this study with descriptive narrative techniques, researchers present a narrative of each finding.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### A. Javanese Culture Marriage

Marriage according to the Javanese community is a sincere love relationship between a young man and a young woman which basically occurs because of frequent encounters between the two parties, namely women and men. One Javanese proverb says "tresno jalaran seko kulino" which means that love grows out of habit.<sup>5</sup> Javanese traditional marriage is a syncretism of Hindu and Islamic influences. In Javanese customs, offerings, calculations, taboos, and myths are still strongly rooted.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Syafrudin Aziz. Tradisi adat Jawa kraton membentuk keluarga sakinah. *journal Ibda'*. Vol. 15, no.1, 2017, pp. 23

<sup>4</sup> Ririn Mas'udah fenomena mitos penghalang perkawinan dalam masyarakat adat trenggalek. (*Journal of Jurisdiction*. 2010) Vol 1. No 1, pp. 9

<sup>5</sup> Suryo Negoro, , *upacara tradisional jawa*. (Surakarta: C.V Buana Raya, 2001), p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Isma'il *Islam Tradisi, Studi Komparatif Budaya Jawa dengan Tradisi Islam*, (Kediri: TETES Publishing, 2011), p. 92.

The ideal marriage according to the Javanese traditional community is a form of marriage that occurs and is desired by the community. A form of marriage that occurs based on certain considerations, does not deviate from the provisions of the rules or norms that apply in the local community.<sup>7</sup> A person who is going to hold a marriage has special considerations in choosing a mate, this consideration is also taken into account because it is related to the concept of *bibit, bobot, bebet* in fostering a husband and wife relationship.<sup>8</sup>

For Javanese people, especially those who still adhere to Javanese customs, the role of parents in marriage activities cannot be abandoned. In determining a mate for their teenage children, they take everything into account through the customary conceptions that apply in their society. The basis used by parents to determine or choose a mate for their children is generally the taboos or prohibitions on marriage.<sup>9</sup> Marriage taboos or prohibitions in Javanese society are like customary laws that apply in the community, so that parents really strive to always carry out these customary laws. According to the belief of the Javanese people, if they do not do this, the married couple will experience difficulties and even lead to divorce.

## **B. Marriage Prohibition in Javanese Society**

The process of interaction between the Javanese marriage tradition and Islamic values is interesting to study because there are prohibitions that until now still cause pros and cons both from Islamic teachings and traditions in the context of heterogeneous Indonesian Muslims, even in reality there are many variants. The tradition of marriage prohibition is very strong in the community and young people do not dare to violate these prohibitions because many people have the belief that the tradition of prohibition will lead to bad things or calamities such as economic difficulties, illness, divorce, death and so on.<sup>10</sup> Marriage prohibitions in Javanese society are as follows:

### **1. *Ngalor Ngulon* Prohibition**

The prohibition of *ngalor-ngulon* marriage is a determination of the prospective bride seen from the position of the bride's house, which is located to the northwest of the prospective groom. Thus, when the position of the bride's house is located in *ngalor-ngulon*, the prospective groom is prohibited from marrying the woman.<sup>11</sup> The *ngalor-ngulon* prohibition is a prohibition on marriage if the prospective bridegroom has a house in the south-east (*kidul wetan*) while the bride has a house in the north-west corner and vice versa.<sup>12</sup> The belief of Larangan *ngalor-ngulon* is one of the myths that is still applied in various parts of Java.

The emergence of the belief in the prohibition of *ngalor-ngulon* marriage has been written by Kurniawan (2012), a student of Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University who wrote a thesis entitled 'The Myth of Northwest Marriage in Tunggulrejo Village, Batas District, Blitar Regency (Phenomenological Study)' which explains that the origin of the prohibition of northwest marriage in Tunggurejo Village is the story of Aji Saka whose messenger died with a position to the northwest and southeast. From this story comes the message of marriage that leads to the northwest because there will be casualties if they do

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<sup>7</sup> Ririn Mas'udah, Loc.Cit. pp. 01-120.

<sup>8</sup> Suwardi Endraswara, *Falsafah Hidup Jawa*, (Cakrawala: Tangerang, 2003 ), p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> Kusul Kholik "Mitos-Mitos Penghalang Perkawinan Pada Adat Jawa Dalam Prespektif Hukum Islam", *USRATUNA Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (July 2018), pp. 1-26 .

<sup>10</sup> Chalwan Syafingi larangan perkawinan *ngalor-ngulon* dalam adat jawa di desa leses kabupaten klaten perspektif *sadd ad-dzari'ah*, (*Journal: Misykat, December 2020*), Vol. 05, No. 02 , p. 101

<sup>11</sup> Miftahul Huda, Membangun Model Bernegosiasi Dalam Tradisi Larangan-larangan Perkawinan Jawa, (*Journal of Islamic Science Development*, December 2017), Vol. XII, No. 2 , p. 382

<sup>12</sup> Enik Puji Lestari, et al, Fenomena Pantangan Perkawinan Ngalor-Ngulon Bagi Masyarakat Desa Tambakrejo Dalam Perspektif Tokoh Adat Dan Masyarakat, (*Nusantara Culture Journal, March 2022*), Vol.5 No.2 , p 70

so.<sup>13</sup> The origin of the prohibition of *ngalor ngulon has* also been written by Enik Puji Lestari, et al (2022) explaining the background of the prohibition of *ngalor-ngulon* marriage because of the agreement between Nyai Roro Kidul and Panembahan Senopati, if the descendants of Nyai Roro Kidul marry the descendants of Panembahan Senopati, their lives will not be peaceful and experience badness.<sup>14</sup> The explanation is also reinforced by the results of interviews with elders and community leaders of Tambakrejo Village.<sup>15</sup>

Another research is Nila Marita Sofiana (2020) based on the history of the relationship between Majapahit and Islamic Mataram.<sup>16</sup> From this developing story, until now the Majapahit community still has a grudge, which is known that the Prambon area is still the territory of Majapahit in the past. The belief of young people not to marry that leads to the northwest is no different from Ki Ageng Mangir Wanabaya who experienced destruction. This is believed by the community because it is considered a form of community prayer in the past for the next generation so that they do not experience the disgrace received by Ki Ageng Mangir.<sup>17</sup>

For Javanese society, the myth of prohibition is something that must be obeyed. Chapters are avoided because they have consequences that are not trivial if violated. The consequences that will be received in the form of (life is difficult, sickness and accidents, divorce).<sup>18</sup> In line with this, it can be said that Javanese people who believe in the marriage ban often associate the calamities that occur to the bridal couple with this ban.

## 2. Prohibition of *Adu Wuwung*

*Adu wuwung* itself comes from two syllables, *adu* which means facing each other straight and *wuwung* which means the ridge of the roof of the house.<sup>19</sup> Javanese people believe that if the position of the bride and groom's houses facing each other is prohibited from getting married. If the bride and groom continue to marry, it is feared that there will be various problems in their household life. If they still want to get married, the solution is for one of the houses to be renovated so that they no longer face each other. Or one of the bride and groom are banished from their family and adopted by their relatives whose houses do not face the other bride and groom.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Alif Chandra Kurniawan, *Mitos Perkawinan Ngalor-Ngulon Di Desa Tugurejo Kecamatan Wates Kabupaten Blitar (Kajian Fenomenologis)*, (in a thesis at Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University Malang, 2012), pp. 83

<sup>14</sup> Enik Puji Lestari, Op.Cit, p 71

<sup>15</sup> According to Mbah Suati (an elder), this is because there was an agreement between the devil and humans in ancient times. So that anyone who violates it will become a slave of the ancestors (demons) in another world. According to mbah Sosok (elder), the origin of the *ngalor-ngulon* marriage is more about the similarity of how to bury the dead in Islam, namely the head on the *ngalor* side (north) and the legs / body leaning (*ngulon*) to the southeast east. Therefore, the *ngalor-ngulon* marriage refers to a death (enik Puji Lestari, et al. 2022) p 71.

<sup>16</sup> when Ki Ageng Mangir Wanabaya, a descendant of the Majapahit kingdom, took as his wife a son of Panembahan Senopati named Pembayun from the Islamic Mataram kingdom. At the time of worship, Senopati was surprised by the presence of Ki Ageng Mangir who had many retainers. He was worried that Ki Ageng Mangir would be the cause of the collapse of the Mataram kingdom, because he was a descendant of the Majapahit kingdom. So a cunning idea emerged, at that time Pembayun managed to captivate Ki Ageng Mangir Wanabaya. Panembahan Senopati seemed to have succeeded in trapping Ki Ageng Mangir. When Ki Ageng Mangir came to the kingdom of Mataram Islam instead met his death because he was killed by Panembahan Senopati's messenger who was none other than his own mother-in-law (Nila Marita Sofiana d, 2020) pp. 5-6.

<sup>17</sup> Nila Marita Sofiana. *Mitos Ngenani Wewaler Jejodhoan Ngalor-Ngulon ing Kecamatan Prambon Kabupaten Nganjuk (Tintingan Folklor)*, (Surabaya: Digital Library UNESA, 2020 ) pp. 6

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, pp 7-8

<sup>19</sup> L. Mardiwarsito, et al., *Kamus Indonesia - Jawa Kuno*, (Jakarta : Pusal Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1992), pp. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Nurfadillah Rizki, *Fenomena Rumah Tangga Karena Perkawinan Adu Wuwung Ditinjau Dari Hukum Islam (Studi Di Kelurahan Eka Jaya Kecamatan Paal Merah Kota Jambi)*, (a Thesis of Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin Jambi State Islamic University, 2022 ), Hal. 32

The impact of *adu wuwung* marriage according to Moh. Syahrir Ridlwan's research (2016) is: if you continue to carry out the "*adu wuwung*" marriage, a negative impact will befall one or both partners and can also befall the families of both parties. The negative impact can be in the form of the absence of harmony in fostering the household. The community calls it "*benceng ceweng*", economic difficulties, one of the partners is unlucky, the term in the community is "*kalah siseb*".<sup>21</sup>

The origin of the prohibition of *adu wuwung* is still unknown. The community considers this culture to have emerged since the ancestors, such as an interview<sup>22</sup> conducted by Moh. Syahrir Ridlwan (2016) in his thesis "*The Myth of Marriage "Adu Wuwung"*". The culture of the prohibition of *adu wuwung* has existed and is hereditary in society and has become a habit.

### 3. Prohibition Based on *Weton* or *Neptu*

The word *weton* is a combination, gathering, unification, or summation of a person's lucky days, namely Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday with market days, namely *kliwon*, *legi*, *pahing*, *pon* and *wage*. *weton* based on Javanese calendar is the knowledge of Javanese people obtained from their ancestors and passed down from generation to generation. The knowledge of *weton* owned by the Javanese community is an idea. Where this idea is a form of culture.<sup>23</sup>

*Weton* in Indonesian is the day of birth: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and so on. *Neptu* is the number or value of each day: Monday 4, Tuesday 3, Sunday 7 and so on. *Pasaran* is Javanese counting: *pon*, *kliwon*, *wage* and so on.<sup>24</sup> Each day has a value or number that is often used by Javanese people. *Weton*, *Neptu*, and *Pasaran* counts are: Sunday 5, Monday 4, Tuesday 3, Wednesday 7, Thursday 8, Friday 6, Saturday 9, and *Pasaran Pon* 7, *Kliwon* 8, *Wage* 4, *Legi* 5, *Pahing* 9. *Weton* (day of birth and market) of the prospective bride and groom are each added up and then each is subtracted 9 from the rest we can match with the Matchmaking Count. Meaning of Number Count Before Matchmaking: 1 and 1 Good and loved, 1 and 2 Good, 1 and 3 Good fortune, 1 and 4 Many dangers, 1 and 5 Divorced, 1 and 6 Far from prosperity, 1 and 7 Many enemies, 1 and 8 Tossed around, 1 and 9 Become a burden, 2 and 2 Good fortune, 2 and 3 Poor, 2 and 4 Many trials, 2 and 5 Many dangers, 2 and 6 Get rich quickly, 2 and 7 Many children die, 2 and 8 There are blessings, 2 and 9 Many blessings, 3 and 3 Poor, 3 and 4 Many dangers, 3 and 5 Get divorced quickly, 3 and 6 Get grace, 3 and 7 Many misfortunes, 3 and 8 One of them dies quickly, 3 and 9 Many blessings, 4 and 4 Often sick, 4 and 5 Many plans, 4 and 6 Many blessings, 4 and 7 Poor, 4 and 8 Many obstacles, 4 and 9 Lose One, 5 and 5 Be fortunate, 5 and 6 There are blessings, 5 and 7 Be prosperous, 5 and 8 Many obstacles, 5 and 9 Prosper, 6 and 6 Great obstacles, 6 and 7 Harmony, 6 and 8 Many enemies, 6 and 9 Wavering, 7 and 7 Betrayal, 7 and 8 Encountering harm from oneself, 7 and 9 Sincere marriage, 8 and 8 Loved by people, 8 and 9 Many misfortunes, 9 and 9 Good fortune.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Moh. Syahrir Ridlwan, *Mitos Perkawinan "Adu Wuwung"* (Studi Kasus Di Desa Payaman Kecamatan Solokuro Kabupaten Lamongan), (A Thesis at State Islamic University (UIN) Malang, 2016), pp. 53

<sup>22</sup> Interview with Moh Syahril Ridlwan, a community leader in Payaman village: "*wes suweh mas definitely piro year I don't know seng tak ngerteni yo mok ndisik-ndisik I was peseni karo mbah-mbahku wong tuwoku ndisek nek gak diolei kawen adu wuwung nek takon tahun piro dimaine yo wes kaet ndisek*" (it's been a long time mas for sure what year I don't know that I know in the past I was ordered by my grandparents in the past, My parents used to tell me not to marry adu wuwung if you ask me how many years ago" (Moh. Syahril Ridlwan, 2016 )p. 55.

<sup>23</sup> Farid Rizaluddin, et al, Konsep Perhitungan *Weton* Dalam Perkawinan Perspektif Hukum Islam, (*Journal: Yudisia*, 2021), Volume 12, Number 1 , Page. 143

<sup>24</sup> Purwadi and Enis niken, *Upacara Pengantin Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: Panji pustaka, 2007 ), 184

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 187

#### 4. *Jilu Ban*

Javanese traditional marriage *Jilu* (*Siji Telu*) is a marriage between a *mbarep* (first) child and a *ketelu* (third) child, both the husband and wife candidates are *mbarep* or number *telu*. Javanese society in ancient times until now which is still thick with *kejawen* nuances there are those who still believe in it. If you violate the *Jilu* Marriage tradition, it will have a negative impact, namely: Continuous character conflicts, Households are always shrouded in problems, The economy is always difficult, Death will befall one of the spouses or their families.<sup>26</sup>

The beginning of the emergence of *Jilu* Marriage based on research by Fendi Bintang Musthofa and Sheila Fakhria (2019) based on the results of interviews with figures<sup>27</sup> is a Javanese belief in ancient times that still believes in myths or *kejawen* customs inherited from ancestors, especially about *Jilu* Marriage and is also preserved which gradually becomes a belief. Usually accompanied by amazement, fear or both, which gives birth to an attitude of worship (cult). Such an attitude of worship is then preserved in the form of stories that are conveyed from mouth to mouth throughout time, down and down, and which are now recognised as folklore.<sup>28</sup>

#### 5. Prohibition of *Sedulur Nosebleed*

The Javanese refer to this as *sedulur misan (tunggal mbah buyut)*, i.e. 4th generation and below. If the prospective mate comes from the brother-in-law group, the Javanese call it *krambil sejenjang*. It is believed that if the taboo is broken, one of them will die.<sup>29</sup>

#### 6. *Ban Pancer Wali*

The prohibition of marrying *pancer wali* is a prohibition because they are still related, namely the marriage of the children of the grandchildren of male siblings with the children of male siblings, this tradition has existed for a long time and the beginning is unknown.<sup>30</sup> If the candidate (girl) is the daughter of the father's brother, the Javanese call it *sedulur pancer*.<sup>31</sup> For example, male Kus'an(A) has a brother Munab(B). Kus'an(A) has a son Mulyo(C), Munab(B) has a son Yunis(D), and Mulyo(C) has a son Kurni(E), then Yunis(D) and Kurni(E) get married. Because Kus'an(A) and Munab(B) are siblings, this is what is called a *Pancer Wali* marriage.<sup>32</sup>

The phenomenon of *pancer wali* occurs when a woman marries the son of her father's brother (cousin). The father's male relatives are the ones who can represent the bride's father as marriage guardian. If the bride's father dies then a brother or uncle from

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<sup>26</sup> Fendi Bintang Mustopa and Sheila Fakhria "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Larangan Perkawinan Adat Jawa Jilu Studi Kasus di Desa Tanggan Kecamatan Gesi Kabupaten Sragen", (*Legitima Journal, December 2019*), Vol. 2 No. 1 , p. 50.

<sup>27</sup> The history of the origin of the Perkawinan *jilu* tradition dates back to the royal era. This tradition is actually the tradition of the Hindus, the history is that there are those who are looking for the house of the supreme (god) but do not find the house. Finally came an animal in the form of a grasshopper laughing at the hermitage and while talking "you are diligent in prayer, diligent in tirakat but until now you have not found the house of god. God's house is in three places. 1. A woman's home is in her husband's house, 2. In her parents' house, 3. In her heart. The three things in this village are very heavy, the result of the three things is the tradition of belief in *babatan tiga*. *Babatan tiga* is believed to be a disaster, many people are reluctant to believe in the case of three. Finally, the case of three is used for *jilu* marriage and is believed until now, but there are also those who do not believe in *jilu* marriage (Fendi Bintang Mustopa and Sheila Fakhria. 2019: p. 46).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p. 51

<sup>29</sup> Yuni Kartika *Perkawinan Adat Jawa Pada Masyarakat Islam Di Desa Kalidadi Kecamatan Kalirejo Kabupaten Lampung Tengah*, (A Thesis at Raden Intan State Islamic University Lampung, 2020 ), Page. 27

<sup>30</sup> Busyron Heli Fransiska *Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Larangan Nikah Pancer Wali Di Desa Sugihan Kecamatan Solokuro Kabupaten Lamongan*, (A Thesis at Sunan Ampel State Islamic University, 2015 ), Page. 77

<sup>31</sup> Ririn Mas'udah, *Loc. Cit*, p. 10

<sup>32</sup> Busyron Heli Fransiska, *Loc. Cit*, p. 6

the father's family is obliged to be the marriage guardian. That is why as a person who can be a guardian is not allowed to be a mother-in-law.<sup>33</sup>

#### 7. ***Mlumah Murep prohibition***

*Mlumah Murep* is a prohibition on marriage when the candidate has a relative who is already married to someone from his village. The myth of *Mlumah Murep* is difficult to trace its historical source. When, where and by whom this myth was introduced.<sup>34</sup> as for the impact of violations explained by Ririn mas'udah (2010) The Myth of *Mlumah Murep* is believed by the majority of the local community, because it has *Magical* power or *Bala'*. According to the experience of the local community, the *bala'* for those who violate the customary provisions takes various forms. In fact, because it is believed that there will be a disaster or some kind of calamity that will befall the perpetrator of the *Mlumah Murep* marriage, not many local people dare to do it.<sup>35</sup>

The direct impact experienced by those who perform *Mlumah Murep marriages* can be in the form of being attacked by an illness, divorce, infertility, and even death. In addition to some of the calamities that befall those who perform *Mlumah Murep* marriages mentioned above, there are also calamities in other forms, such as families who do not get offspring. Not only that, the most tragic consequence of this marriage believed by the Bendorejo community until now is death.<sup>36</sup>

#### 8. ***Selen's ban***

The prohibition of *selên* marriage is a marriage performed by the first child with a bride-to-be where one of the parents is no longer complete due to death or divorce. The belief arises because of the fear of the consequences that will occur if it violates this *selên* marriage, there is no provision that prohibits in detail. The prohibition of *selên marriage* is only the history and behaviour experienced by the ancients who performed *selên* marriage. Because they experienced bad and bad things, the community considers it to be the fault of custom, even though it is actually a destiny that has been determined by Allah SWT.<sup>37</sup>

The prohibition of *selên* marriage has existed since ancient times where Javanese people in ancient times still believed in myths that continued to be preserved and gradually became a belief. The people of Wringinharjo village call it *titen* science or memorising science, which refers to the corresponding events that occur, namely unwanted events after carrying out this *selên* marriage. They learnt it from their ancestors and then applied it to become a legal basis.<sup>38</sup>

#### 9. ***Ban on Kebo Balik Kandang***

*Kebo Balik Kandang* is a Javanese tradition of marriage prohibition, where a man and a woman are prohibited from marrying if their male parents used to live in the same village, and one of their male parents left the village before the marriage took place.<sup>39</sup> The *kebo balik kandang* custom is a marriage prohibition if the father and mother of the groom live outside the area of origin of the father, aka the home of the bridegroom's grandparents and then the bride comes from the village of origin of the groom's father, and vice versa.

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<sup>33</sup> Hengki Irawan, "*Pepali*" dalam *Adat Perkawinan Masyarakat Jawa di Desa Paleran Kecamatan Umbulsari Kabupaten Jember*, (an article thesis University of Jember , 2015) h. 5.

<sup>34</sup> Ririn Mas'udah, Loc. Cit, p. 10

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p. 12

<sup>36</sup> Ibid

<sup>37</sup> Imroatin Chafidoh, *Tradisi Larangan Perkawinan Selên Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Di Desa Wringinharjo Kecamatan Gandrungmangu Kabupaten Cilacap)*, (A Thesis of Purwokerto State Islamic Institute, 2020 ), Page. 62

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, pp. 62-63

<sup>39</sup> Mohamad Ziad Mubarak, *Tradisi Larangan Perkawinan Adat Jawa Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Tradisi Kebo Balik Kandang Pada Masyarakat Desa Sugihwaras Kecamatan Prambon Kabupaten Nganjuk Jawa Timur)*. (Jakarta: Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, 2017) p. 5

This does not apply if the bride comes from the village of origin of the groom's mother or vice versa, because what is meant by winih is a man. For example, the father is from Village (A), the mother is from Village (B) then domiciled in Village (C) and the child has a candidate in Village (A), so the village where the father is from.<sup>40</sup>

The origin of the *Kebo Balik Kandang* custom itself is not yet known. It is said that the custom has become a belief of the local village community, so that until now it is still an inherent and hereditary tradition that if the custom is violated, one of the two parties receives a catastrophe and is afflicted with disaster in married life. The calamities referred to include the husband or wife dying within a short time after the marriage takes place. If it does not happen to the husband or wife, then the parents of the husband or wife die within a short period of time after the parents of the kebo balik kandang marriage take place. Or in navigating household life, the family of a kebo balik kandang marriage does not get welfare in terms of economy and health. So that their family life is stranded, as a result always experiencing difficulties in all fields and becoming unhappy.<sup>41</sup>

The tradition of marriage prohibition is very strong in Javanese society, they dare not violate these prohibitions because many people believe that the tradition of prohibition will lead to bad things or disasters such as economic difficulties, illness, divorce, death and so on. So that postponement and even cancellation of marriage becomes a solution to solve these problems. In this case, the prospective married couple is very disappointed by the cancellation, so it is not uncommon for many to be frustrated. Not because of the physical and mental incompatibility between them, but because of the "signs" of marriage prohibition that have become the norm in society.<sup>42</sup> The existence of provisions that are made into traditions is very contrary to Islam, in fact there are no Islamic teachings that regulate the prohibition of marriage based on customary traditions, while the prohibition of marriage in the Islamic context is the prohibition of marriage because of nasab, sepersusuan and because there is a marriage relationship and other *shard'* causes.

### C. The concept of Sakinah Family in Javanese culture

Marriage in Javanese society is a manifestation of all aspects of Javanese cultural beliefs. Historically, Javanese culture experienced significant changes when Islam entered. The changes that occurred affected all aspects of Javanese life even to the concept of building a family / marriage.

The entry of Islam into Java made Javanese culture syncretic, namely the fusion of native Javanese, Javanese Hindu and Islamic elements in one culture. In its development, Javanese culture still remains at its basic essence, namely:

1. Javanese take refuge in the Creator, the Supreme Being, the cause of all life, the God who organises all life in the universe,
2. Javanese people believe that humans are part of the nature that always influences each other, but occasionally humans must be able to fight nature and realise their ideals, fantasies and desires, namely to live safely, prosperously, physically and mentally happy. The result of the struggle against nature means achieving progress. So there is a togetherness called "*goton groyong, tenggang rasa, tepo seliro*", meaning helping each other, respecting each other and realising differences.
3. Harmony and peace means order on the outside and peace on the inside.
4. Javanese people uphold the mandate summarised in the *Sasanti (motto)* "*mamayu hayuning bawana*" which means to maintain the welfare of the world. This mandate is the key to human interaction.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Mahmud Huda and Adella Dewi Nur'aini, , Larangan Menikah Pada Tradisi Kebo Balik Kandang Menurut Ulama, (*Jombang: Journal of Islamic Family Law, April 2022*), Volume 7, Number 1 , pp. 23-24. 23-24

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p 24

<sup>42</sup> Miftahul Huda, Loc.Cit, pp. 383-409.

<sup>43</sup> Ach. Nadhif and M. Fadlan, *Islamic Traditions*, (Surabaya: Al-Miftah, 2015), pp. 3.



All aspects of Javanese life as a manifestation of their creation, taste and work are none other than one of the regional cultures, namely the embodiment of Indonesian national culture based on Pancasila, which is harmonised with the identity of the local community.<sup>44</sup> Marriage as one aspect of life has its own culture to address doubts and solidify intentions by putting aside something that does not need to be the main consideration.<sup>45</sup> The main consideration in Javanese cultural marriage is the goal of building a *sakinah* family in Javanese society.

A *sakinah* family is a family whose members can understand each other, and can carry out their rights and obligations in accordance with the functions and positions of each family, namely in the form of peace with the best ways to deal with every family problem.<sup>46</sup> Javanese society has its own concepts and guidelines to realise a *sakinah* family.

Marriage in Javanese culture is pursued with the guidelines of *anjawit ora krasa lara* (pinching but not painful) as a ritual in order to achieve a peaceful life. In Javanese traditional marriage, there are several things that are highly considered before performing marriage, namely:

1. *Watch*

*Watching* is done to see the *weight of the seed bebet of the* prospective bride and groom. *Weight* is everything related to tenacity, namely the extent to which the beauty of the paras and their economic capabilities, *seeds are* related to matters of pedigree or lineage of the prospective bride and groom. Meanwhile, *bebet* shows the inner quality that underlies the activity, related to the belief or religion adopted.<sup>47</sup>

2. Marriage Restrictions/Challenges

Marriage Restrictions in Javanese society can also be called mate restrictions. Rules that prohibit marriage between a person and a certain person.<sup>48</sup> society that is still thick with traditional traditions, Javanese people still believe in the existence of myths. This is what makes marriage restrictions still applied by most Javanese people, with the aim of getting an ideal mate and being able to become a *sakinah* family.

A *sakinah* family can be understood as a family that is calm, harmonious, happy physically and mentally, which is achieved together to understand each other between spouses and fulfil their rights and obligations as capital to run the wheels of household life.<sup>49</sup> In line with this, Javanese society has a principle to create a calm, harmonious and happy family, namely:

1. *Laksana Mimi lan Mintuna*

A married couple *like mimi lan mintuna* means that every couple in living a married life always applies the principle of *setel kendho* to every will of themselves and their partners so that they are always harmonious, harmonious, peaceful, happy, and never quarrel, as exemplified also in the lives of Kamajaya and Ratih. Both are phenomenal characters in the puppet story whose lives always get along, do not fight or separate.<sup>50</sup>

2. *sigaraning Nyawa*

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<sup>44</sup> Sujamto, *Wayang and Javanese Culture*, (Semarang: Effhar and Dahara Prize: 1983), pp. 16

<sup>45</sup> Prof Dr Amir Syarifuddin, *Hukum Perkawinan Islam di Indonesia: Antara Fiqh Munakahat dan Undang - Undang Perkawinan*, (Jakarta: Kencana, 2009), pp. 140 - 141.

<sup>46</sup> Asep Usman Ismail, *menata keluarga, memperkuat negara dan bangsa kiat mewujudkan keluarga sakinah*, (jakarta : Puslitbang lektur and kazanah agama agency for research and development and training of the ministry of religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011), p. 33.

<sup>47</sup> Bustanul Arifin & Sun Fatayati, *Membentuk Keluarga Sakinah Melalui Kafaah Adat Jawa., (Legitima Journal, December 2019), Volume 2 No. 1, pp. 100*

<sup>48</sup> Ririn Mas'udah, *Loc.Cit*, p. 9

<sup>49</sup> Safrudin Aziz, *Loc. Cit*, p. 26

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, p 27

*Sigaraning Nyawa* in Javanese society generally refers to each married couple after marriage with the term *garwa* (*sigaraning nyawa*). This term in Indonesian means a fraction or half of a life. Life is the source of life. Thus, it can be understood that every household life of a husband and wife must always fill life with *abot entheng disangga bareng* (the same light is carried, the same weight is carried). If the husband and wife in living the household realise their respective roles and positions as *sigaraning nyawa*, it is certain that they will survive in sailing the household ocean, especially in overcoming problems, challenges and obstacles and various temptations that hit them.<sup>51</sup>

3. *Gemi Nastiti*

*Gemi Nastiti* Household life in general is inseparable from the sufficiency of clothing, food and shelter. Without the sufficiency of these three elements, domestic happiness will not be achieved perfectly. Calculatively, the three primary needs above can be fulfilled through proportional and functional management of the household economy (Javanese: *geminastiti*). This means that the character of a spendthrift by squandering his own hard-earned money excessively without taking into account the situation and conditions is contrary to the Javanese principle of life, namely *gemi nastiti*.<sup>52</sup>

4. *Mikul Dhuwur Mendhem Jero*

*Mikul dhuwur mendhem jero* is generally understood to be the attitude of a child to uphold the honour of both parents by saving the disgrace and shortcomings of parents as beautifully as possible while at the same time honouring the merits of parents. In addition to being obligatory for every child, this attitude must also be specifically carried out by husband and wife in the family. This means that a husband must close tightly the disgrace, shortcomings and weaknesses possessed by his wife by displaying his strengths, advantages and greatness. Vice versa, the wife's attitude towards her husband must be *mikul dhuwur mendhem jero* so that the journey of the household is always harmonious physically and mentally.<sup>53</sup>

5. *Pasang Sumeh Ati*

*Pasang sumeh njroning ati* means that husbands and wives in running household life must always be patient, resigned, sincere in accepting all problems faced. In addition, the character of *pasang sumeh njroning ati* can also be interpreted as serving a life partner in a family ideally done with the principle of dedicating oneself wholeheartedly, in addition to serving oneself to obey God's teachings by doing the best to obtain His pleasure, surrendering, sincere, to the destiny that determines it.<sup>54</sup>

#### D. Building a Sakinah Family through Marriage Prohibition

Javanese society has its own way of building a *sakinah* family. The way Javanese people obtain a *sakinah* family is one of them through the concept of marriage prohibition. marriage prohibition in Javanese culture is a tradition of restrictions to get an ideal relationship (*sakinah*) according to Javanese society. Javanese society interprets the prohibition based on several factors, namely:

1. Biological Factors

Forbidden marriages due to biological factors that are meant are marriages that are held from the bride and groom having a biological relationship. This is a taboo for Javanese society, because it will have many negative impacts on the perpetrator. These prohibitions include inbreeding, *pancer wali*, *sedulur mimisan*.<sup>55</sup> The purpose of the

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<sup>51</sup> *ibid*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, p 28

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>55</sup> Wahyu Widodo, *Makna Larangan Perkawinan Adat Jawa di Kecamatan Sooko Kabupaten Ponorogo*, (A Thesis at the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) Ponorogo, 2018) Page. 61

prohibition of marriage due to biological factors is to avoid damage in the household, obtain legal offspring and protect themselves from things that affect household health, especially children.

## 2. Social Factors

The calamity that happens to a person for breaking one of the taboos is considered a punishment that cannot be understood logically, but can actually be understood rationally. Most people consider the calamities that occur cannot be rationalised, but basically someone experiences sickness and even death after committing the prohibition due to social effects. Psychologically, social sanctions can cause an illness, which is what causes the perpetrator of the prohibition to get a disaster or a happy family will never be created.<sup>56</sup>

The purpose of prohibition due to social factors is to avoid slander, gossip and other things that can disrupt household harmony. Like the *adu wwwung* marriage, it can be said that the bride and groom already know all the problems of each other's families during life, so that later when establishing a family it will have an impact on household harmony.

## 3. Natural factors

The prohibition of marriage due to natural factors is basically Javanese people believe in the power of nature, or what is known as natural law, the community believes that everything that happens in every event cannot be separated from the power of Allah SWT. That the impact if you break the rules will be a disaster. The goal is for people to be more careful in marrying, so that later they will always get harmony, safety and prosperity.<sup>57</sup>

The concept of a *sakinah* family embedded in the marriage prohibition is actually a form of caution from the Javanese community. The Javanese customary marriage prohibition has the same goal in forming a *sakinah* family, which is to form a peaceful family, avoiding a bad thing in life, not merely limiting the wishes of individuals or society.

## CONCLUSIONS

Marriage in Javanese society is a manifestation of all aspects of Javanese cultural beliefs. Historically, Javanese culture experienced significant changes when Islam entered. The changes that occurred affected all aspects of Javanese life even to the concept of building a family / marriage. *sakinah* family can be understood as a family that is calm, harmonious, happy physically and mentally, which is achieved jointly to understand each other between spouses and fulfil each other's rights and obligations as capital to run the wheels of household life. Javanese society has a principle to create a calm, harmonious and happy family, namely: *Laksana Mimi lan Mintuna, sigaraning Nyawa, Gemi Nastiti, Mikul Dhuwur Mendhem Jero, Pasang Sumeh Ati*.

Marriage prohibition in Javanese culture is a tradition of restrictions to get an ideal relationship (*sakinah*) according to Javanese society. Javanese society interprets the prohibition based on several factors, namely: *First*, Larangang marriage due to biological factors, which means that the marriage that is held from the bride and groom has a biological relationship. *Second*, Social Factors, namely where violators of the Ban will get social sanctions when carrying out this marriage ban, so that the impact will continue. *Third*, natural factors, basically Javanese people believe in the power of nature, or what is known as natural law, the community believes that everything that happens in every event cannot be separated from the power of Allah SWT. The concept of a *sakinah* family embedded in the marriage prohibition is actually a form of caution from the Javanese community.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid, p. 62

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, p 63

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