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The *Kembar Manten* in Java Majapahit Wedding Traditions in Mojokerto: Perspectives on Natural Law and Anthropology of Islamic Law

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Abstract: Majapahit Java has customary law, namely rules prohibiting "*kembar manten*" marriages, namely two bride and groom couples marrying at the same time and the *walimah* party is held together with the symbol '*kuwade*' in one '*terop*'. This study employs empirical legal methodologies, incorporating a phenomenological and anthropological approach. Meanwhile, the analytical tools encompass notions related to natural law, justice, and the anthropology of Islamic law. The collection of primary data was conducted through interviews of traditional authorities, religious leaders, knowledgeable individuals in the customary laws, and marriage practitioners who perform '*Kembar Manten*' marriages in Mojokerto. The examination was conducted utilizing Thomas Aquinas' theory of natural law and justice, joining with the anthropology of Islamic law. In order to achieve justice in the natural law, it is necessary to have a policy and proportionality when making the *walimah ursy*, which is specifically created for a single wedding pair. In the field of the Islamic law anthropology, the '*Kembar Manten*' refer to customs and customary laws that are regarded obligatory and advantageous. They are intended to promote the welfare of both the bride and groom's families. Neither the Qur'an nor the Hadith provide any instructions suggesting that the *walimah ursy* is meant for more than one couple during a single *walimah*. The ban of '*Kembar Manten*' in the framework of Islamic legal anthropology is a customary practice within the community aimed at achieving well-being and security. Provided that the rules are designed to promote goodness and safety, it is imperative to preserve the values of local wisdom rules as a valuable cultural heritage of the nation. This article aims to enhance understanding of the customary law and local wisdom values in the Indonesian *marital* law.

Keywords: *Kembar manten*, Javanese customary matrimony, natural law, Islamic law

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Abstrak: Jawa Majapahit memiliki hukum adat yaitu aturan larangan perkawinan “kembar manten” yaitu dua pasangan pengantin menikah bersamaan dalam satu waktu (masih ada hubungan saudara) dan pesta walimahya dilakukan bersamaan dengan simbol ‘kuwade’ dalam satu ‘terop’. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode hukum empiris dengan pendekatan fenomenologis dan etnografi. Sedangkan alat analisis adalah teori hukum alam, keadilan serta antropologi hukum Islam. Data primer diperoleh melalui wawancara terhadap tokoh adat, tokoh agama yang memahami hukum adat, dan pelaku perkawinan yang melakukan perkawinan ‘kembar manten’ di Mojokerto. Analisis dilakukan dengan menggunakan teori hukum alam dan keadilan Thomas Aquinas, antropologi hukum Islam. Hasilnya adalah untuk mewujudkan keadilan dalam hukum alam harus ada kebijakan dan proporsional dalam membuat walimah ursy yaitu hanya ditujukan untuk satu pasangan pengantin. ‘Kembar manten’ dalam antropologi hukum Islam dianggap sebagai tradisi dan hukum adat yang mengikat dan memberikan kemaslahatan karena bertujuan untuk mewujudkan tafa’ul keluarga pengantin. Teks keagamaan baik al Quran maupun hadits tidak ada perintah yang menunjukkan walimah ursy ditujukan untuk lebih dari satu pasangan dalam satu walimah. Larangan ‘kembar manten’ dalam konteks antropologi hukum Islam merupakan tradisi masyarakat mendapatkan kebaikan dan keselamatan. Selama aturan ditujukan sebagai bagian ikhtiar manusia menuju kebaikan dan keselamatan, tentunya nilai-nilai aturan kearifan lokal harus dipertahankan sebagai warisan budaya luhur bangsa. Artikel ini bisa menjadi kontribusi literasi hukum adat dan nilai-nilai kearifan lokal dalam hukum perkawinan di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Kembar manten, tradisi perkawinan Jawa, hukum alam, hukum Islam

Introduction

Majapahit was a prominent kingdom that exerted power over the archipelago under the illustrious reign of King Hawam Wuruk. Historically, his kingdom was situated in Trowulan, a district near Mojokerto, East Java, during the period of 1293-1527 AD.¹ Majapahit has achieved a sophisticated civilization by effectively cooperating with kingdoms located on the Malay Peninsula, Thailand, and Singapore.² The ships constructed by Majapahit for overseas

¹ John S. Brownlee, “Maritime Southeast Asia to 1500 (review),” *Journal of World History* 9, No. 2 (1998), p. 281-282. Ali Akbar, “Cultural Resource Management for a Majapahit Kingdom Site in Trowulan, East Java, Indonesia,” *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 16, No. 4 (2014). p. 297-307. Mohamad Abdun Nasir, “Revisiting The Javanese Muslim Slametan: Islam, Local Tradition, Honor and Symbolic Communication, *Al-Jāmi‘ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 57, no. 2 (2019), p.329-358.

² Agus Aris Munandar, “Majapahit and the Contemporary Kingdoms: Interactions and Views,” *Berkala Arkeologi* 40, No. 1 (2020), p. 1-22. Kompas Cyber Media, ‘Majapahit Jajah

expeditions undoubtedly demonstrate the advanced degree of Majapahit civilization during that time. Being a vast kingdom, it naturally possesses a robust system of governance and upholds a commendable set of social norms. The historical account of Majapahit is documented in the *Kakawin Negara Kartagama*, authored by Mpu Prapanca.³ Majapahit is a compelling subject of the study for historians even in the present era.

The community continues to uphold the cultural values and ancestral wisdom of the Javanese Majapahit, which have been transmitted from one generation to the next. The Javanese people, particularly those in Mojokerto and its vicinity, today observe a tradition that emphasizes the importance of values in marriage. Marriage is a revered institution in the Javanese society, and as such, it is accompanied by a substantial set of regulations that govern many aspects, ranging from pre-wedding preparations to the actual marriage proceedings. Pre-wedding customs, such as assessing birth rates and determining the *walimatul ursy* day, have become obligatory practices for the residents of Mojokerto and its neighboring areas to assess the compatibility of potential marriage partners. An enduring tradition that remains strictly observed is the prohibition of "*Kembar Manten*" during the marriage process or marital guardian (*walimatul ursy*). The restriction pertains to the simultaneous marriage of two bridal couples, typically with a familial connection, and the joint celebration of the *walimatul ursy* and the '*kuwade*' symbol in a single '*terop*'.

Islam was introduced to the Majapahit kingdom during the 13th century.⁴ The preceding principles of Hinduism and Buddhism were assimilated into societal dynamics with Islam. This is evidenced by the continued utilization of the Javanese Majapahit regulations by the Javanese populace residing in Mojokerto, the majority of whom adhere to the Islamic faith. Islam acknowledges the adoption of customs as long as they adhere to the principles of *Shari'a* and are widely accepted in the society.⁵ Islam provides guidance on selecting a possible female mate based on several criteria, as mentioned in a *hadith* related by Abu Hurairah. These criteria include income, ancestry, physical appearance, and religious beliefs (Narrated by Imam Buchari No. 4700). In Islam, it is recommended to perform *walimatul ursy*, which involves sacrificing a goat, after the marriage contract. This practice is supported by a hadith reported by Ibn Malik. *Walimatul ursy* desires that a multitude of individuals will beseech for the

hingga Semenanjung Malaya', KOMPAS.com, December 5, 2012, <https://sains.kompas.com/read/2012/12/05>.

³ 'Kakawin Nagarakretagama', in *Wikipedia bahasa Indonesia, ensiklopedia bebas*, 16 July 2023, <https://id.wikipedia.org/w/index.php>.

⁴ Harun Arrosyid, 'Filosofi Dakwah "Banyu Mili" Sang Wali Di Bumi Wilwatikta', *Jurnal Inovasi Penelitian* 3, no. 1 (2022), p. 4393–4402.

⁵ Sirojuddin Sirojuddin and Mohammad Bashri Asyari, 'Tradisi "Nyare Dhina" Dalam Penentuan Hari Pernikahan Perspektif Hukum Islam Di Desa Larangan Badung', *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 9, no. 1 (2014), p. 29.

felicity of the betrothed couple. In Islam, marriage is regarded as a religious institution, thus requiring numerous prayers for the couple being married.

Harun Arrosyid conducted research on the preaching of Syeh Djumadil Kubro in the land of Majapahit in the 14th century or 1399 AD,⁶ Akbar focused on the management of the protection of Majapahit historical remains (archaeology) in Trowulan.⁷ Deny Yudho's research in 2015, provides a detailed description of the history and civilization of Majapahit.⁸ Isnawati examines the enduring significance of traditional herbal medicine recipes from the Majapahit era,⁹ In contrast, Sani Safitri focuses solely on the geomorphology of the Majapahit kingdom,¹⁰ Sartika Intaning Pradhani delves into the maritime history of Majapahit.¹¹ However, none of these studies have explored the local wisdom surrounding the prohibition of the '*Kembar Manten*' traditions within the Javanese Majapahit community.

The study of the restriction against "*Kembar Manten*" throughout the marriage process is intriguing due to the persistence of individuals who challenge this custom, arguing that it lacks regulation according to the Islamic law. This research demonstrates that the Javanese Majapahit tradition, practiced by the Javanese people, particularly in the Mojokerto region, is a human endeavor that encompasses positive ideals aimed at attaining salvation. Islam and the customary law, rooted in indigenous wisdom, synergistically contribute to the establishment of concord in accordance with Islamic principles. This research aims to supplement prior studies on the extensive indigenous knowledge of the Javanese Majapahit heritage. Additionally, it seeks to enhance literacy in local wisdom that can coexist harmoniously with the principles of Islam, which is the predominant religion in Indonesia.

This study employs empirical legal methodologies, utilizing a phenomenological and ethnographic approach. Meanwhile, the analytical tools employed include the idea of the natural law and justice formulated by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274 AD), along with the anthropological study of the Islamic

⁶ Arrosyid, 'Filosofi Dakwah "Banyu Mili" Sang Wali Di Bumi Wilwatikta'.

⁷ Ali Akbar, 'Cultural Resource Management for a Majapahit Kingdom Site in Trowulan, East Java, Indonesia', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 16, No. 4 (2014), p. 297–307.

⁸ Deny Yudo Wahyudi, "Kerajaan Majapahit: Dinamika Dalam Sejarah Nusantara," *Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya* 7, no. 1 (2015), p. 88–95.

⁹ Deby Lia Isnawati and Sumarno Sumarno, "Minuman Jamu Tradisional Sebagai Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Di Kerajaan Majapahit Pada Abad Ke-14 Masehi," *Avatara* 11, no. 2 (2023).

¹⁰ Sani Safitri, 'Telaah Geomorfologi Kerajaan Majapahit', *Criksetra: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah* 4, no. 1 (2015).

¹¹ Sartika Intaning Pradhani, "Sejarah Hukum Maritim Kerajaan Sriwijaya dan Majapahit dalam Hukum Indonesia Kini," *Lembaran Sejarah* 13, no. 2 (2018), p. 186–203.

law.¹² This study focuses on the investigation of the Mojokerto community and its neighboring areas, specifically their adherence to the customary law about the cultural legacy of forbidding '*Kembar Manten*' inherited from the Javanese Majapahit civilization. The research is restricted to the Mojosari District and its adjacent locations within the Mojokerto Regency. The primary data is obtained through interviews conducted with community leaders, religious leaders who possess knowledge of the Javanese customary law, and individuals involved in the practice of '*Kembar Manten*' in the Mojokerto region. The data collection strategies encompassed in this study are interviews, literature review, and observation. Researchers conducted comprehensive interviews and observations from 2002 to 2022, while the literature review involved analyzing journal articles, books, and numerous types of data pertaining to the specific subject. The data was evaluated extensively by aligning Islamic ideals and local wisdom rules that prohibit 'twin *manten*' from the Javanese Majapahit tradition with theories of natural law and justice, legal anthropology, and studies of Qur'anic scriptures and hadiths.

The Uniqueness of *Walimah al-Ursy's* Narrative in Islamic Law

The account of *Walimah al-Ursy* in the Qur'an is indirectly elucidated in QS. An-Nur (24): 32 and other hadiths of the Prophet, included in the book of *al-tis'ah*, expressly affirm this topic. The Prophet recommended that individuals have a *walimah al-ursy*, or wedding feast, following their marriage, even if it is with a little meal. Multiple hadith from the Prophet explicitly mandate a celebration that is treated as mandatory, leading to disagreements among scholars over the legal status of *walimah*. Some scholars consider *walimah* to be an obligatory based on their tradition, while other traditions denounce it as a recommended sunnah. In addition to serving as a platform for announcing marriages, *walimah al-ursy* also serves as a means of exchanging human experiences.¹³ *Walimah* meals are not just designated for the underprivileged, orphaned, or Muslim individuals, but can also be extended to individuals who are on a journey. The instructions for *Walimah al-ursy* can be located in the hadith of Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Daud, and ibn Majah. Upon the marriage of one of Abdurrahman bin Auf's acquaintances, the Prophet commanded him to promptly conduct a *walimah*, even if it included a modest feast with a goat as the main dish.

¹² Simona Vieru, 'Aristotle's Influence on the Natural Law Theory of St Thomas Aquinas', *The Western Australian Jurist* 1 (2010), p. 118. Laurence M. Friedmann, *Teori dan Filsafat Hukum: Telaah Kritis Atas Teori-Teori Hukum (Susunan I)*, translation by Muhammad Arifin (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1996), p. 62. Tajul Arifin, *Antropologi Hukum Islam*, Bandung: Pusat Penelitian dan Penerbitan UIN Gunung Djati, 2016.

¹³ Ali Abubakar, et.al., 'Hukum *Walimah Al-Urs* menurut Perspektif Ibn Hāzm Al-Andalusī', *El-Ussrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 2, no. 2 (2019), p. 155. Mursyid Djawas, et.al., 'The Integration Between *Syara'* and *Ade'* in Marriage Tradition Bugis Bone, South Sulawesi,' *al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial* 18, No. 2 (2023).

عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى عَلَى عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَوْفٍ أَنْزَلَ صُفْرَةَ فَقَالَ: مَا هَذَا؟ قَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إِنِّي تَزَوَّجْتُ امْرَأَةً عَلَى وَزْنِ نَوَاقِثٍ مِنْ دَهَبٍ. قَالَ: فَبَارَكَ اللَّهُ لَكَ. أَوْلِمَ وَ لَوْ بِشَاةٍ. مُسْلِمٌ

Meaning: According to Anas bin Malik, the Prophet PBUH observed yellow stains on 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Auf. He inquired, "What is this?". The man responded, "O Messenger of Allah, I have recently married a woman with a dowry equivalent to the weight of a gold nugget." The Prophet then replied, "May Allah bestow His blessings upon you. Celebrate the marriage by hosting a walimah, even if it is as simple as sacrificing a goat." Narrateds by Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Daud, Ibn Majah, Imam Malik, Ahmad bin Hanbal, and al-Darimi.¹⁴

The word *أَوْلِمَ* is a type of *fiil amr*, which is a command sentence. The use of *fiil amr* might be interpreted as a request to perform an action, however some argue that it implies an order without coercion. Subkhi states that the *fiil amr* has two distinct meanings. The first sense is the essential one, which encompasses the concept of a command. Furthermore, the term "*majazi*" refers to a concept that encompasses a meaning that goes beyond mere command and deviates from the basic meaning of "الأصل في الأمر للوجوب" (the fundamental principle of command is obligation).¹⁵ The term "*majazi*" in this context refers to an invitation or a means of arousing the inclination to engage in a particular activity. Although *imtinan* and *ibahah* share the absence of punishment, they differ in that *ibahah* just grants permission to act, whereas *imtinan* includes a *qarinah*, which is our desire for it.¹⁶

According to the author, the directive to perform *walimah al-usry* in this situation is primarily driven by the concept of *imtinan*, which refers to the suggestion to hold a *walimah* because it is necessary for the bride and groom. This aligns with the aims of the *walimah*, which include providing information on the occurrence of a marriage. Secondly, it serves as a manifestation of appreciation and joy towards the bride and husband. Additionally, it forms a portion of the bride and groom's charitable donations to their family members and the local community. The prophet's statement, "و لَوْ بِشَاةٍ" (even if only with a goat), indicates that hosting a *walimah al-ursy* is permissible. This hadith demonstrates that there are no restrictions on the types of dishes that can be presented by the bride and groom. The term "goat" was aptly employed to describe the capabilities of the companions who were married at that time, as the prophet, upon marrying

¹⁴ Abu Dawud Sulaiman bin al-Asyari al-Sajastani, *Sunan Abi Dawud* (Riyadh: Bait al Afkar, 1420H), p. 240.

¹⁵ Fathi al-Darini, *Al-Manhaj al-Islamiyah Fi Ijtihadi Bi al-Ra'yi* (Damascus: Dar al-Kutub al-Hadis, 1975), p. 704.

¹⁶ Jalaluddin al-Suyuthi, *Al-Itqan Fi Ulum al-Quran*, Beirut: Maktabah Ashriyah, 1998, p. 243.

Zainab bint Jahsy, also performed the act of slaughtering a goat. In an alternate historical account, the Prophet wedded his other wife with a mere two grains of wheat. The Prophet and his companions constantly observed the tradition of *walimah* in every marriage.¹⁷

This is not about the number of food served at the event, but rather about how Muslims express their generosity by offering alms. This practice is based on the living example of the Prophet, who conducted *walimah* (a feast) with various amounts of resources, ranging from a goat to as little as two pieces of wheat. According to a historical account:

عَنْ صَوَيْبَةَ بِنْتِ شَيْبَةَ أَنَّهَا قَالَتْ: أَوْلَمَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَيَّ بِمُدَّيْنِ مِنْ شَعِيرٍ. البخارى

Meaning: According to Shafiyah bint Syaibah, she reported that the Prophet PBUH organized a *walimah* (nuptial feast) for some of his wives, using two mud of wheat. (Narrated by Bukhari).¹⁸

The encouragement of conducting the *walimah* although it is with a small feast is also strengthened by the verse of Qur'an in an-Nur (24): 32.

وَأَنْكِحُوا الْأَيَامَىٰ مِنْكُمْ وَالصَّالِحِينَ مِنْ عِبَادِكُمْ وَإِمَائِكُمْ ۚ إِن يَكُونُوا فُقَرَاءَ يُغْنِهِمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ ۗ وَاللَّهُ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ

Meaning: And marry those among you who are single (i.e. a man who has no wife and the woman who has no husband) and (also marry) the *salihun* (pious, fit and capable ones) of your (male) slaves and in-servants (female slaves). If they are poor, Allah will enrich them out of His Bounty, and Allah is All-Sufficient for His Creatures' needs, All-Knowing (about the state of the people).

The utilization of the imperative verb form (*fiil amr*) in the Quranic Surah An-Nur, verse 24:32, is included in the *imtinan*, which instructs both unmarried men and women to get marriage.¹⁹ This instruction is based on the recognition of the human necessity for such unions, and then the phrase "if they are poor" is commonly interpreted as a manifestation of "anxiety about financial inability" within a family. If this so, unmarried men and women should not be worried about as Allah guarantees to provide nourishment through marriage. Even if *Walimah al-Ursy* is only able to provide two grains of wheat, will serve as the catalyst for the next fortune at home. This verse advises Muslims to engage in marriage and

¹⁷ Dadang Hawari, *Persiapan Menuju Perkawinan Yang Lestari* (Jakarta: Pustaka Antara, 1991), p. 52.

¹⁸ Muhammad bin Ismail al-Bukhari, *Sahih Bukhari* (Damascus: Dar el-Hadith, n.d.), p. 26.

¹⁹ Muhammad Ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Jami Al-Bayan an Ta'wil Ayy al-Quran*, vol. 5 (Beirut: Al-Risalah, 1994), p. 125.

contribute to charitable causes, specifically through *walimah al-ursy*, in order to receive benefits, even if they have financial constraints.

Multiple hadiths and traditions from companions in the *walimah al-ursy* provide evidence that the Prophet conducted and endorsed *walimah* as part of a celebration. This is supported by the practice of having *walimah* at every wedding. Furthermore, a directive was given to Abdullah bin Auf, one of his acquaintances, to promptly organize a personal *walimah al-ursy* after marriage. Nevertheless, the occurrence of the phenomena known as "*walimah Ursy of Kembar Manten*" is understood by some individuals as a means of strategically combining two family relationships into one, with the intention of achieving cost and time efficiency. There is concern that this tendency may undermine the core meaning of the *Walimah* celebration, which is to spread joy via charitable giving and to seek blessings for the gifts exchanged between partners. It is more preferable to celebrate one instance of happiness at a time, rather than attempting to celebrate two instances of happiness simultaneously.

The Prohibition of "*Kembar Manten*" in the tradition of Mojokerto Communities

Mojokerto was a constituent region of the Majapahit Kingdom during the 13th century. The Trowulan District in Mojokerto is an archaeological site that contains remnants of the Majapahit dynasty. It was officially recognized as a UNESCO world historic site in 2009.²⁰ The *Kakawin Negarakartagama*, authored by Mpu Prapanca, elucidates the presence of a refined and distinguished palace culture within the Majapahit kingdom, characterized by its nobility, gracefulness, and the observance of unique religious ceremonies. Majapahit possesses its own revered calendar. The government system and economic system are characterized by their organization and efficiency, with the country being recognized as both an agricultural and trading nation.²¹ This demonstrates a well-structured nature of the laws in place within the Majapahit society during that period, which encompassed restrictions pertaining to the institution of marriage. There are various regulations pertaining to marriage, such as the calculation of the calendar for the marriage contract of the bride and groom, protocols for the marital guardian, and guidelines for maintaining a well-functioning home. One such law is the prohibition of "*Kembar Manten*" marriages, which refers to the simultaneous marriage of two couples (sometimes related) where the *walimah* party is conducted concurrently with the '*kuwade*' sign in one '*terop*'. The Javanese people in Majapahit Java have followed the customary law for many centuries, particularly in Mojokerto Regency and its neighboring areas.

²⁰ 'Situs Trowulan', in *Wikipedia bahasa Indonesia, ensiklopedia bebas*, 25 May 2023, <https://id.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?>

²¹ M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200 Fourth Edition (E-Book Version)* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Mbah Dewi Winarti, a traditional leader in Mojosari District, stated that there are several unrecorded customs passed down by our forebears that remain incomprehensible to us. This guideline is vital and must not be disregarded as it applies to both ancestral figures that are not visible and all individuals currently residing in Java, particularly in the Majapahit area. For instance, there is a prohibition against conducting marriages for many couples (specifically twins) on the same day and month. Moreover, as stated by Winarti, marriage holds great sanctity when the bride and groom solemnly declare their vows in the presence of their parents, relatives, ancestors, and the Divine Creator, with a noble intention. Therefore, the marriage contract must explicitly state that it is between one woman and one man, and not between two women or two men. According to ancestral traditions, it is forbidden for married twins to get married on the same day and month. Violating this rule will result in the occurrence of "*Tasya'um*," which refers to experiencing bad luck or unkindness.²² The *Kembar Maten* marriage, which aims to achieve efficiency and cost savings, cannot be justified as it breaches the contractual order.²³

Mbah Edy Wasno, a traditional Javanese leader originally from Malang, explained that the Javanese community used a unique calculation called "*ringkel jalmo*" to determine the auspicious day for organizing folks to ensure their safety. The counting principles of the Javanese can be likened to the astronomical practices of the Javanese. It is advisable to avoid marriages with "*Kembar Manten*" due to the differing calculations made by each couple, particularly about the distinct cardinal placements of each partner's residence. Moreover, as stated by Wasno, every partnership possesses distinct energy. Therefore, if multiple couples' marriages are combined, it will lead to an energy collision, which is thought to result in unfavorable occurrences during the morning of the bride and groom. Rejecting the existence of natural energy contradicts the belief in the supernatural.²⁴

In response to the introduction of "*Kembar Manten*", Neng Nur Khotijah, a prominent female religious figure, emphasized the importance of considering Javanese calculations with our Islamic beliefs, as we reside in the region of Java. The Javanese calculations involved in conducting marriages serve as a deliberate and cautious measure aimed at ensuring safety. This is due to the fact that, according to observations, couples who have twins often encounter calamities such as financial difficulties, marital dissolution, illness, or even premature mortality.²⁵ Ustad Nugroho stressed the fact that every single thing can be quantified and measured. Even within the context of Islam, zakat is subject to calculation. Javanese marital calculations serve as a precautionary measure to

²² Interview with Dewi Winarti, Traditional figure in Mojokerto, June 27, 2023.

²³ Interview with Eko, Traditional figure in Mojokerto, June 30, 2023.

²⁴ Interview with Edy Wasno, Traditional figure in Mojokerto, July 3, 2023.

²⁵ Interview with Neng Nur Khotijah, Religious figure in Malang, June 25, 2023.

ensure marital security. The union of two couples cannot be considered as one, as each pair has their own distinct calculations according to Javanese tradition.²⁶ Individuals who enter into matrimony are required to adhere to a calculation rooted in Javanese custom, similar to the way in which prayers involve a tally of the amount of *rak'ahs*. Calculations are involved even in the practices of *zakat* and *aqiqah*²⁷.

In addition to the explanation provided by religious and traditional authorities, interviews were also held with chemical practitioners to gain insights from a scientific standpoint. In his interview, Toriq, a chemistry practitioner, stated that the Javanese Majapahit people had a tradition of utilizing authentic natural formulations. The Javanese people employ the scientific method of observation, carefully examining natural phenomena that have been observed and documented over many years. The Javanese Birth Count (*Weton Jowo*) suggests that the union of a man and a woman can be likened to the combination of chemical elements, where each element, when coupled, forms a new compound, such as NaCl and HCl. The prohibition of '*Kembar Manten*' in the *walimah ursy* can be scientifically validated due to its factual nature. This aligns with the principle of entropy. In the realm of thermodynamic theory, entropy, which refers to the measure of disorder, is a well-established concept. It is observed that the world tends to seek balance by increasing its entropy.²⁸

According to interviews conducted with various traditional figures, it is evident that the philosophical foundation behind the prohibition of conducting *Walimah Ursy* of *kembar manten* is rooted in the pursuit of well-being and ensuring a secure marriage that benefits both the physical and spiritual aspects. The goal is to establish a harmonious and content family life while ensuring safety and stability. In Java, particularly in the Majapahit region, there exist numerous customary marriage regulations. This is due to the sacred nature of the institution of marriage, which signifies the joining of a man and a woman within a family, and is observed by Allah, the Supreme Creator, as well as the entire universe.

The Javanese Majapahit group maintains unwritten marital customs that have been down orally from one generation to another and are practiced in their daily lives. The prohibition of '*Kembar Manten*' during the *walimah ursy* is a pre-established regulation that employs a Javanese calculation method rooted on natural science, namely Javanese astronomy/*falak*. The Javanese Majapahit customary law is derived from the principles of the natural law. In cases when there is a breach of marital protocols within society, the individuals responsible for the violation bear the consequences in accordance with the laws of cause and effect. Due to this transgression, individuals are inclined to maintain silence, as it has already occurred. The community strictly upholds moral principles and relies

²⁶ Interview with Nugroho, Religious figure in Mojokerto, July 16, 2023.

²⁷ Interview with Sucipto, Religious figure in Mojokerto, July 13, 2023.

²⁸ Interview with Toriq, an Academic in Mojokerto, July 10, 2023.

solely on oral communication to disseminate information, ensuring that any incidences leading to hazardous situations are not repeated.

Implications of Breaching the Restriction on "Kembar Manten" Matrimony

The applicable laws are unquestionably enforceable, and naturally, there are repercussions for any violations. Legal binding is applicable in the domains of the natural law, the customary law, and the positive law. The customary law, derived from the natural law, is also subject to the laws of the world, known as the universal laws. In the Javanese law, it is required for marriages to hold a *walimah ursy*, which serves as a gesture of appreciation and mutual exchange of prayers for the safety of both spouses. The legal balance is present during the *walimah ursy*. The provided data is derived from interviews conducted with individuals who have engaged in '*Kembar Manten*' marriages within the *Walimah Ursy* ceremony in the Mojokerto region, particularly in the Mojokerto District and its vicinity. The quantity of data acquired is restricted due to the challenging nature of capturing information concerning the delicate circumstances surrounding a family's destiny. Data was acquired from the researcher's personal observations of his own family, as well as from his neighbors and close acquaintances. Interviews were partially done with individuals in close proximity to the '*Kembar Manten*' and the families of the individuals responsible for the marriage. In terms of individuals' readiness to disclose their identities, not all were inclined to do so, therefore necessitating the use of pseudonyms.

Table 1: The Practice of '*Kembar Manten*' in Mojokerto

No.	Spouse	Year of Marriage	Impacts
1.	Ahmad and Hilmi (Sibling)	1985	Hilmi's wife experienced a bad ill and dead young in 1995
2.	Rt and Dw (Sibling: brother and sister)	1988	The wife of the first pair perished in the Mina Tunnel Hajj catastrophe in 1990, while the husband of the second couple met his demise in a separate disaster in 1991.
3.	Ach. and Zen (Sibling: brother and sister)	1992	In the initial year following their marriage, the spouse of the second partner was diagnosed with cancer, and unfortunately, passed away one year later in 1993.
4.	Rini and Wati (twins)	1997	Divorced in 2001 (Rini's spouse and husband) because of sexual affairs

5.	Ika and pasangan Ita (twins)	2002	The younger brother of the first couple divorced in 2010
6.	Izzah and Hani	2007	Izzah divorced 2009, the child is 2 years old
7.	Sit and Fit (sibling: brother and sister)	2011	The second spouse does not have any children for 12 years up to now
8.	Fani and Rani (sibling)	2016	Fani divorced in 2018
9.	Vv and Rh (brother and sister)	2022	Divorce in 2023 (younger sister divorce)

Source: Interview and Observation Data.²⁹

Through data analysis in the field, conclusive evidence was gathered indicating that all those responsible for arranging marriages of '*Kembar Manten*' during *Walimah Ursy* encountered a significant disparity in the level of safety attained by the '*Kembar Manten*' couples. Every relationship of former twins inevitably faces adverse outcomes, such as separation due to infidelity, incompatibility, or death. In addition to that, there are also issues with the financial circumstances of children or the overall financial situation of the family, as well as health ailments.

Reasons for Breaching the Prohibition on Marriage of "*Kembar Manten*"

It is the fact that In Mojokerto, some individuals adhere to the Javanese customs and norms, while others disregard them as there is no specific regulation stipulated in the Islamic principles. There is a belief that Prophet Muhammad did not enforce the regulations that were in place in Java, which was geographically distinct from Arabia during his time. The regulations of the Javanese Majapahit were disregarded and deemed inconsequential in daily life, being seen as mere matters of destiny. Reasons behind the practices of *Kembar Manten* as explained 15 participants including the doers, their relatives, neighbors, and traditional leaders, are as follows: 1) Efficiency; 2) Ovoiding the repetitions of wedding feast or *walimah ursy*; 3) More Practical; 4) Cost reduction ; 5) The fact that the *Kembar Manten* is Twin and 6) Impatience.³⁰

²⁹ Observation data gained between in Mojokerto, 2002-2022 and interviews of the relatives (Mojokerto, Mojosari and Dawarblandong, July 1-15, 2023).

³⁰ Results of interviews with doers in Mojokerto, July 1, 2023.

The interview data suggests that individuals who organize '*Kembar Manten*' during *walimah ursy* have deliberately attempted to save on expenses by engineering *tasyakuran* (*walimah ursy*). Regarding the engineering of marriage contract using Javanese mathematics, it is important to note that despite efforts to integrate the *Walimah Ursy* celebration into one event (one '*terop*' and one '*kuade*'), separations still occur. This demonstrates that the purpose of conducting the *Kembar Manten* in *walimah ursy* is to reduce cost. In Islam, it is customary to hold a *walimah ursy* for each individual wedding couple, rather than for multiple bridal couples simultaneously. Undoubtedly, the deliberate effort to economize by individuals or humans in the *walimah ursy* also yields other repercussions. The hadith regarding 'intention' states that it encompasses one third of knowledge. A servant's behavior is influenced by the acts of their heart, words, and physical gestures, with purpose being one of the three factors. The presence of intention is a crucial determinant of whether an action is deemed acceptable or not. Acts of worship, in particular, will not yield benefits unless they are rooted in intention, as prescribed by Allah Ta'ala. The optimal moment to execute the intention is during the initiation of worship, while its location is inside the depths of one's heart. According to the Prophet's statement, every action is contingent upon the intention behind it. Indeed, each individual will receive rewards based on their intentions. Those who migrated with the intention of seeking the pleasure of Allah and His Messenger, their movement was solely for the purpose of pleasing Allah and His Messenger. "Whoever chooses to migrate due to his worldly desires or because of his desire to marry a specific woman, then the value of his migration will be determined by his original intention." (Narrated by Bukhari and Muslim).³¹ Striving to save money while organizing a *walimah ursy* might undoubtedly affect the level of safety one achieves.

Prohibition of '*Kembar Manten*' Marriages: Perspectives on Natural Law and the Anthropology of Islamic Law

Thomas Aquinas posits that the world, being subject to the provisions set forth by God, is regulated by reason derived from God, hence governing all societies in the universe. The supremacy of God's law is unparalleled. The concept of natural law posits that the cosmos was established with the fundamental principle of justice. Aquinas posited that law is the practical implementation of the *lex naturalis* within the realm of human existence. Humans employ their cognitive faculties to comprehend and apply the principles of the natural law, which are integral to the divine rule, in order to discern between right and wrong. The Javanese people of Majapahit believe the marriage of the '*Kembar Manten*' to be unfavorable for a specific reason. The understanding of Javanese celestial

³¹ Muhyiddin Yahya bin Syaraf Nawawi, *Hadis Arbain Nawawiyah* (Riyadh: al-Maktab al-Taawun li dakwah, 1426 H), p. 5.

computations for matrimonial purposes, as well as the observations made by individuals on the outcomes of the union of "*Kembar Manten*" believed to be divinely ordained, serve as justifications for the occurrence of unkindness (*tasya'um*). The utilization of human reason in comprehending the natural law involves the application of Javanese astronomical calculations and the observation of cause and effect in the case of the *Kembar Manten*.

The marriage of the '*Kembar Manten*' during the *walimah ursy* follows the principle of natural legal justice, which dictates that the same 'day' of the *walimah ursy* should be used for one marriage partner, but adapted to accommodate multiple bride and groom pairs. Cicero asserted that the determination of law and justice is not within the realm of human discretion, but rather in the inherent principles of nature. Human engineering aims to achieve cost savings by harnessing the renewable energy of the same day, known as "*walimah day*." Originally designated for one pair, this energy source is now being sought after by multiple couples. If humans manipulate natural law with the intention of preserving anything, then the natural law will still be in effect and nature will ensure that justice is served.

Thomas Aquinas defines justice as the principle of equality, specifically in terms of proportional equality.³² Proportional justice must be implemented during the *walimah ursy*, which is the wedding feast for the bride and husband. Two types of justice have been violated in the *walimah ursy* '*Kembar Manten*'. Firstly, there is a lack of proportional justice as each couple has a different ground/place/day for their marriage, resulting in unequal treatment. Secondly, the *walimah ursy* itself is being used in an unwise and disproportionate manner, further contributing to the absence of justice.

If this notion pertains to religious principles concerning the *walimah ursy*, it indicates that the *walimah* for each couple should be distinct. It would not be prudent to have one *walimah* intended for two couples in proportion. The *sunnah*, as advocated by the Prophet and his companions, is essentially a concept of exemplary conduct that is practiced via repeated mental and physical deeds.³³ This implies that the directive to perform *walimah al-ursy* towards a single partner is both a prescriptive moral principle and a behavioral rule that might occur once or again. Each recommendation of the prophet (*sunnah*) contains inherent wisdom that can be acquired through implementation. In addition to drawing closer to Allah and the Prophet and receiving rewards, there are also benefits of honor, fortune, and eternal bliss in the afterlife, as mentioned in the Qur'an,³⁴ The verses referred to are QS. al-A'raf (157) and QS. an-Nahl (97): the preceding three lessons must also be taken into account. Optimal outcomes in terms of fortune

³² Vieru, 'Aristotle's Influence on the Natural Law Theory of St Thomas Aquinas', p. 118.

³³ Fazlurrahman, *Membuka Pintu Ijtihad* (Bandung: Pustaka Firdaus, 1984), p. 1.

³⁴ Ibnu Taimiyah, *Majmu' Fatawa*, vol. 18 (Beirut: Dar al-Wafa, 2005), p. 250.

and contentment in the hereafter within the context of marriage can be achieved more effectively by adhering to the prescribed protocols from the very beginning. Conducting a *walimah al-ursy* ceremony for a single couple, even with a modest feast.

The restriction on '*Kembar Manten*' is an established tradition that has acquired the status of the customary law, and has been transmitted verbally throughout centuries. While not universally embraced, it is indeed possible to prevent the inclination towards unkindness (*tasyaum*) that arises from breaking the taboo against '*Kembar Manten*' in order to promote goodness and reap its advantages. In *ushul fiqh*, the principle of "custom becomes law" is applied.³⁵ Therefore, the tradition of outlawing '*Kembar Manten*' in the Javanese Majapahit community has become a customary law that should be followed in order to achieve *tafa'ul* in the lives of the bride and groom's family.

The celebration of the *Kembar Manten* "*Walimah ursy*" should be avoided in order to safeguard religion, spiritual well-being, mental health, lineage, and property, as it aligns with the objectives of *maqashid al-syariah*. If one carefully examines the repercussions stemming from the ex-wife's dual marriage that ultimately led to divorce, unfaithfulness, and an economic decline, it is imperative for the society not to overlook these matters. Partners and children will experience psychological consequences as a result of divorce inside the family. Individuals who are impacted will typically undergo a period of diminished self-assurance, experience intense sorrow, exhibit susceptibility to unfavorable influences, and may even develop melancholy. Instances of marital unfaithfulness can have detrimental effects on both physical and emotional well-being. Challenging economic circumstances significantly affect both family cohesion and the children's schooling. The repercussions resulting from the existence of *Kembar Manten* are often overlooked by the society, since they have adversely affected religion, spirituality, mental well-being, progeny, and even material possessions.

Ensuring the preservation of these five elements is an essential requirement for sustaining human existence. To attain genuine wealth, benefit, and happiness, both in the physical and spiritual realms, it is imperative for humanity to prevent the destruction of religion, soul, inherited intelligence, and property. This encompasses not only material and spiritual well-being in the present world, but also in the afterlife. Essentially, *maslahah* is a method of

³⁵ Inayatillah Inayatillah, et.al., "Social History of Islamic Law from Gender Perspective in Aceh: A Study of Marriage Traditions in South Aceh, Indonesia," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 6, No. 2 (2022). Ali Sodiqin, "Antropologi Hukum Sebagai Pendekatan Dalam Penelitian Hukum Islam," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 7, No. 1 (2013).

determining topics pertaining to human wants and interests. It operates on the idea of maximizing benefits and minimizing harm.

In addition to that, discouraging the marriage of '*Kembar Manten*' instils the practice of consistently offering charitable donations. Engaging in multiple walimah occasions is equivalent to repeatedly giving alms with the intention of spreading joy among others. If one of the objectives of the *Kembar Manten* walimah is to reduce cost, while alms effectively provides access to every available opportunity for prosperity. According to the hadith of the Prophet, donating alms does not diminish one's wealth, and forgiving others only enhances one's honor. Those who humble themselves before Allah shall have their rank elevated by Allah.³⁶

The anomalies in the '*Kembar Manten*' arise due to the absence of proportionality in the walimah ursy practices, prompting nature to naturally restore equilibrium. This process thereafter engenders hostility and insecurity within the families of the bride and groom, resulting in the depletion of vitality for one of them, as per Javanese tradition. Nature has the responsibility of restoring the balance in any manner, which remains a mystery of the creator. The Qur'an, in QS. Ar-Rahman verse 9, elucidates the importance of maintaining a fair and unaltered balance. It emphasizes that the justice established by Allah through the natural equilibrium cannot be diminished. If an individual engages in acts of injustice or creates a state of imbalance, Allah, in accordance with His inherent natural law, will ensure that justice is served and balance is restored.

As the caliph in the world, humans have the ability to exert their utmost efforts in caring for the planet. Regardless of the earth's inherent qualities, mankind exert influence in shaping its transformations. The universe is a manifestation of Allah's divine gift that should be examined with the same reverence and dedication as the study of the Qur'an. Humans can acquire a vast amount of knowledge through their mind by utilizing their five senses. Humans are instructed to engage in cognitive processes and exert energy towards moral excellence and protection. In QS. al-Isra' verse 16, it is stated that Allah does not alter the circumstances of a people until they alter their own circumstances. This is analogous to the technological advancements made by humans today, which resemble the achievements of the Javanese ancestors in the land of Majapahit. These ancestors developed astronomical technology, such as Javanese calendar calculations, and conducted observations of nature to understand its laws. The ancient Javanese forefathers in the Majapahit region discovered natural formulas that are now considered technological knowledge. These formulas have been passed down to us and can be utilized in the present day. It is essential to honor and preserve the knowledge and customs of indigenous wisdom in Java, even if they are generally regarded as myths. This is because the ethical teachings of our

³⁶ Abu al Husain al-Hajjaj al-Naisaburi, *Sahih Muslim* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.), p. 507.

forefathers are not documented but rather transmitted orally. The '*Kembar Manten*' are considered a myth due to their inconsistency with Islamic beliefs, and hence may be disregarded or not utilized.

It is essential for humans to constantly strive for self-improvement in various aspects of their lives, including the sacred institution of marriage. The purpose of marriage should be to seek *Tafa'ul*, which signifies goodness, rather than *Tasya'um*, which signifies unkindness. In order to attain marital harmony, it is important to follow a sound and effective approach. The evidence collected in the field regarding *Walimah Ursy of Kembar Manten* reveals the occurrence of post-marriage cruelty. QS. al-Kahf verse 84 affirms that the individual in question has been bestowed with authority over the globe and has been granted the means to attain all things.

Referring to the study above, it can be emphasized that the tradition of prohibiting "*manten* twins" is part of local wisdom in Javanese society which can coexist and be in harmony with the values of Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia.³⁷ The prohibition of 'immanent twins' in the context of Islamic legal anthropology is a tradition for society to obtain goodness and safety. Likewise, it is customary law that originates from human observation and knowledge of the universe. Allah has provided road access so that humans can choose the best path to obtain goodness and safety in their lives. The goal of humans in life is to always hope to achieve safety in this world and the hereafter. Human efforts to use their minds to make life better is human's duty as caliph on earth. so that Islamic law provides broad benefits for humanity.

Conclusion

The examination of the prohibition on the marriage of "*Kembar Manten*" in Majapahit Java, grounded in natural law as a foundation of customary law in the Javanese society, demonstrates that it is a manifestation of human endeavors to attain moral righteousness and security. The creation of this world was guided by the notion of justice. Justice is an inherent principle that must always be upheld in human existence, serving the goals of moral excellence and protection. According to Thomas Aquinas, proportional justice is ensured by the natural law. If humans fail to uphold justice, the principles of natural law will still be applicable. *Walimah Ursy* is a practice that is both socially and religiously recommended. It is advised for each couple to organize their own *walimah Ursy*. The practice of conducting separate *walimah ursy* ceremonies for each couple on different days and months is considered both customary and fair, rather than being motivated by cost-saving measures. Humans consistently desire positive

³⁷ Roibin, et.al., "A Model for Acculturation Dialogue Between Religion, Local Wisdom, and Power: A Strategy to Minimize Violent Behavior in the Name of Religion in Indonesia," *Journal of Southwest Jiaotong University* 56, No. 1 (2021).

outcomes from beneficial factors in their life following marriage. The ultimate objective of human beings is to perpetually aspire to attain security in both the present world and the afterlife. It is the responsibility of humans, as the stewards of the world, to utilize their intellectual abilities to improve life. In the field of Islamic legal anthropology, the ban of '*Kembar Manten*' is a customary practice within the society aimed at ensuring well-being and security. Similarly, the customary law arises from human observation and understanding of the universe. The Javanese tradition relies on astronomical calculations derived from the observations and knowledge of their ancestors. These calculations serve as strict guidelines for the Javanese people, particularly those residing in Majapahit, in their daily activities, including sacred events like the marriage process. The local wisdom, which is intended to be beneficial, can be considered as excellent when we utilize and regard it as an inheritance of honorable cultural principles that have been transmitted by the ancestors of the Java region, specifically from the Majapahit era, to their descendants up until the present time. The forefathers consistently desired security and protection for their offspring and descendants in the pursuit of their livelihoods.

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