

The Tradition of Traditional Marriage of *Pandhebeh* from the Perspective of Muhammadiyah and NU: A Study in Tapen, Bondowoso

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Article Info	Abstract
Received: 24-02-2025 Accepted: 25-04-2025 Published: 05-05-2025 Keywords: Rokot Pandhebeh; Muhammadiyah; Nahdlatul Ulama; Maqashid al-Shari'ah; Religious Tradition.	<p>The Rokot Pandhebeh tradition represents a cultural practice that has developed within society and possesses a complex religious dimension. However, the absence of explicit legal foundations in Islam regarding this tradition has led to differing perspectives among religious organizations, particularly Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). This study aims to analyze the perspectives of both organizations on Rokot Pandhebeh within the framework of maqashid al-shari'ah, focusing on its permissibility, benefits, and limitations. This research employs a qualitative descriptive method with a case study approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with Muhammadiyah and NU scholars, as well as an analysis of relevant Islamic literature. The findings reveal that Muhammadiyah scholars generally regard Rokot Pandhebeh as mubah (permissible) as long as it does not contain prohibited elements, such as extravagance or polytheistic practices. This tradition may be observed provided that it does not impose a financial burden on the organizers. From the perspective of maqashid al-shari'ah, this tradition can be categorized under the objective of wealth protection (muhafazah al-mal). Conversely, NU scholars classify Rokot Pandhebeh under al-hajjiyyah, a secondary necessity that plays a role in maintaining social and religious balance. This tradition aligns with the five fundamental aspects of maqashid al-shari'ah, namely the protection of religion (muhafazah al-din), life (muhafazah al-nafs), intellect (muhafazah al-'aql), lineage (muhafazah al-nasl), and wealth (muhafazah al-mal). However, NU emphasizes the importance of caution to ensure that the practice does not lead to elements contradicting Islamic beliefs. Thus, the differing views between Muhammadiyah and NU regarding Rokot Pandhebeh reflect a contextual ijtihad approach, where social and religious benefits serve as primary considerations.</p>
Info Artikel	Abstrak
Kata Kunci: Rokot Pandhebeh; Muhammadiyah; Nahdlatul Ulama;	<p>Tradisi rokot Pandhebeh merupakan salah satu bentuk praktik budaya yang berkembang di masyarakat dan memiliki dimensi keagamaan yang cukup kompleks. Namun, belum adanya dasar hukum yang eksplisit dalam Islam mengenai tradisi ini menimbulkan</p>

Maqashid al-Shari'ah;
Tradisi Keagamaan.

perbedaan pandangan di antara organisasi keagamaan, khususnya Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis perspektif kedua organisasi terhadap rokat Pandhebeh dalam kerangka maqashid al-shari' ah, dengan fokus pada aspek kebolehan, manfaat, dan batasan pelaksanaannya. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dengan tokoh Muhammadiyah dan NU, serta analisis terhadap berbagai literatur keislaman yang relevan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa tokoh Muhammadiyah berpandangan bahwa rokat Pandhebeh pada dasarnya bersifat mubah (boleh) selama tidak mengandung unsur yang diharamkan, seperti pemborosan atau unsur syirik. Tradisi ini dapat dilakukan dengan catatan tidak menjadi beban finansial bagi pihak penyelenggara, sehingga dalam perspektif maqashid al-shari' ah, tradisi ini dapat dikategorikan sebagai bagian dari tujuan perlindungan terhadap harta (muhafazah al-mal). Sementara itu, tokoh NU menilai bahwa rokat Pandhebeh termasuk dalam kategori al-hajiyyah, yaitu kebutuhan sekunder yang berperan dalam menjaga keseimbangan sosial dan keagamaan. Tradisi ini memiliki relevansi dengan lima aspek utama maqashid al-shari' ah, yaitu menjaga agama (muhafazah al-din), jiwa (muhafazah al-nafs), akal (muhafazah al-' aql), keturunan (muhafazah al-nasl), dan harta (muhafazah al-mal). Namun, NU menekankan pentingnya kehati-hatian agar tradisi ini tidak mengarah pada praktik yang bertentangan dengan akidah Islam. Dengan demikian, perbedaan pandangan antara Muhammadiyah dan NU dalam menyikapi rokat Pandhebeh mencerminkan pendekatan ijtihad yang kontekstual, di mana aspek kebermanfaatan sosial dan keagamaan menjadi pertimbangan utama.

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country rich in cultural diversity, including its traditional wedding ceremonies (Mutmainnah, 2021; Firdaus, 2022; Khairuddin, 2021) One of the traditions that remains preserved in society is the *Pandhebeh* customary marriage, a distinctive Madurese tradition that is still practiced in Tapen District, Bondowoso Regency. This tradition is a heritage passed down from ancestors, which continues to be upheld and regarded as sacred by the local community. (Kamaruddin, 2022; Nisa et al., 2023). This ceremony is usually held before *walimatul 'ursy*, a wedding feast attended by community leaders, religious scholars, and local residents to offer prayers for the bride and groom. The

presence of all family members in this ceremony reflects the strong sense of togetherness embedded in Madurese customs.

In its implementation, the *Pandhebeh* ceremony involves various traditional elements with symbolic meanings, such as a burial shroud corresponding to the number of *Pandhebeh* children, a thousand types of flowers, water from seven different sources, a dipper made from a coconut shell with a banyan tree branch handle, 21 pieces of *serabi* cake, and live animals such as chickens or goats. This procession reflects the community's deep connection to cultural values and spirituality passed down through generations

However, from the perspective of Islamic law, such traditions often spark debates among Muslims, particularly between Indonesia's two largest Islamic organizations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). These organizations adopt different approaches in understanding and responding to local traditions. Muhammadiyah, which adheres strictly to the principle of Islamic purification, tends to critique cultural practices that lack a clear *shar'i* foundation. In contrast, NU, known for its social *fiqh* approach, is more accommodating toward traditions that have become an integral part of societal identity. Therefore, it is essential to examine the perspectives of Muhammadiyah and NU scholars on the *Pandhebeh* customary marriage tradition in Tapen District, Bondowoso.

Several studies have been conducted on traditional marriage customs in various regions. For instance, Budiawan examined the procession of Malay traditional wedding (Budiawan, 2021); Gegana, Tomi Adam, and Abdul Qodir Zaelani explored the *mitu* tradition in Batak traditional wedding ceremonies (Gegana & Zaelani, 2022). Kamalia, Aryani, Hafizah, Patimah, Rafi'ah, and Efendy examined the traditional marriage customs of the Banjar ethnic group (Kamalia et al., 2024). Although numerous studies have examined traditional marriage customs in Indonesia, research specifically focusing on *Pandhebeh* from the perspectives of Muhammadiyah and NU scholars in Tapen District remains limited. The differing views of these two organizations on cultural traditions often spark intriguing debates, particularly within the evolving discourse of Islamic law.

To address this gap, this article seeks to answer two key questions: How is the *Pandhebeh* traditional marriage ceremony conducted in Tapen District?; How do Muhammadiyah and NU scholars perceive the *Pandhebeh* tradition from the perspective of Islamic law?

This article is based on several key arguments. First, the *Pandhebeh* tradition holds profound social and religious significance for the Madurese community, making it essential to understand how this practice persists in a modern context. Second, Islamic organizations

such as Muhammadiyah and NU play a crucial role in guiding society on matters of Islamic law, highlighting the importance of exploring how these two organizations interpret the *Pandhebeh* tradition. Third, examining the relationship between customary practices and religion in this marriage tradition can provide broader insights into the dynamics of Islamic law within communities that continue to uphold their traditional customs.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study was conducted in Tapen District, Bondowoso Regency, using a qualitative approach with a field study research design. The study aims to understand the phenomenon of the *Rokat Pandhebeh* tradition in Tapen District, Bondowoso Regency, within its natural social context. This approach allows the researcher to engage directly with research subjects to gain a deeper understanding of the cultural practices being examined.

This study employs a descriptive-analytical approach, in which the researcher aims to describe the *Rokat Pandhebeh* tradition and then compare it with the perspectives of Muhammadiyah and NU scholars. This analysis seeks to explore how the tradition is understood from the perspective of Islamic law and its impact on the local community.

In this study, the researcher employs the *Maqashid al-Shari'ah* approach as an analytical framework. This approach highlights the fundamental objectives of Islamic law, which are holistic and not limited to partial legal texts. *Maqashid al-Shari'ah* emphasizes universal principles in Islamic law, such as justice, public welfare (*maslahah*), and the protection of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property. This approach aids in assessing the extent to which the *Rokat Pandhebeh* tradition aligns with or contradicts Islamic values.

Data collection was conducted through observation and interviews. Direct observations were carried out during the *Rokat Pandhebeh* ceremony in Tapen District, Bondowoso Regency. Interviews were conducted with various local informants, including two Nahdlatul Ulama community leaders, two Muhammadiyah community leaders, and one traditional figure and 1 married couple who do the *pendhebeh* tradition.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tradition of Pandhebeh Traditional Marriage Ceremony in Tapen District, Bondowoso Regency

Tapen District is one of the districts located in Bondowoso Regency, East Java Province. It covers an area of approximately 107.65 km², with a topography predominantly

characterized by hills and agricultural land. As an agrarian region, the majority of its population works as farmers, with primary commodities including rice, corn, coffee, and tobacco. The population of Tapen District is approximately 35,000 people, with a relatively balanced composition between males and females. The community is predominantly composed of Javanese and Madurese ethnic groups, who coexist harmoniously in social and cultural life. Geographically, Tapen District borders Wonosari District to the north, Klabang District to the east, Prajekan District to the south, and Tenggarang District to the west. Its location makes it one of the strategic areas in Bondowoso, as it lies along a major interregional connecting route.

One of the customary traditions in Tapen District related to family law is the *Pandhebeh* tradition. Although only a small portion of the community continues to practice and believe in this tradition, its continuity remains preserved. However, the people of Tapen do not have definitive information regarding its origins. According to oral sources, there is information suggesting that the *Pandhebeh* tradition has existed since the era of King Taksoko, the grandson of Prabu Pamiswari in the land of Astina. Kusdimin, a local informant, stated that this tradition has been practiced since his childhood, as he personally witnessed the *Pandhebeh* ritual being performed

When a *Pandhebeh* child is about to get married, family members, neighbors, and the local community who recognize that the bride or groom belongs to the *Pandhebeh* lineage will remind them of the importance of performing *Rokat Pandhebeh*. This ritual is conducted as a form of prayer for the couple's safety and blessings in their future married life. According to Kusdimin, *Rokat Pandhebeh* is held in the courtyard of the house where the wedding celebration takes place. The most favorable time for conducting the ritual is at night, although it may also be performed in the afternoon or evening.

In the traditional community of Tapen District, there exists the concept of *anak Pandhebeh*, which refers to children with specific characteristics within the family structure. Based on the author's findings, there are five categories of *anak Pandhebeh*, each with distinct criteria. The first category is *Pandhebeh Macan*, which is assigned to an only child in the family, whether male or female. Meanwhile, *Pandhebeh Serakit* refers to two children of the same gender, whether both are male or female. Next, there is *Pandhebeh Komantan*, which applies to two children of different genders within a family—one male and one female. Additionally, *Pandhebeh Tang-Anteng* refers to a family with three children, where one of them has a different gender from the other two siblings. For example, if a family has two

sons and one daughter, the daughter is considered a *Pandhebeh* child, and vice versa. Lastly, the *Pandhebeh Rato* category is given to the third child in a family with five siblings (Bakir, 2022).

Each category of *anak Pandhebeh* holds a specific meaning within the social and cultural structure of the local community. This tradition has been passed down through generations as part of the local wisdom that continues to be respected and preserved to this day.

A Taste of *the Wild* in Tapen District

The community generally prepares for *Rokat Pandhebeh* with great care and meticulous planning. Parents, in particular, who are about to marry off their children, strive to ensure that the ceremony proceeds smoothly and solemnly. Every aspect of the ritual's execution is carefully considered to maintain alignment with the tradition that has been passed down through generations.

The preparations encompass various aspects, including determining the necessary ceremonial items, compiling a guest list, and arranging the dishes to be served to the participants. Additionally, all other requirements related to the ceremony are carefully planned to ensure the smooth execution of *Rokat Pandhebeh*, in accordance with the cultural values upheld by the local community.

In the execution of *Rokat Pandhebeh*, there are two main ceremonial stages that must be carried out. The first stage is the ritual bathing of the *anak Pandhebeh*, which takes place in the courtyard of the house and is attended by close family members. This ritual is considered a form of self-purification before entering a new phase of life in marriage. (Bakir, 2022).

After the bathing procession, the ceremony continues with *konjengan*, a communal prayer recited to seek safety, well-being, and Allah's blessings for the *anak Pandhebeh* as they enter married life. This prayer is led by a religious figure or a respected elder who is believed to possess spiritual blessings in their supplications. Beyond being a request for divine blessings, *Rokat Pandhebeh* is also believed to protect the *anak Pandhebeh* from misfortune and adversity in the future. This belief has been passed down through generations and remains preserved by the local community to this day (Sawat, 2022).

The *Rokat Pandhebeh* ceremony consists of two main stages, the first of which is the *siraman* (ritual bathing) procession. Before the ritual begins, the child *Pandhebeh* is prepared

with a designated seat. They then sit on the prepared chair, draped with a shroud as part of a symbolic ritual representing self-purification before entering a new phase of life.

The *siraman* procession begins with a prayer recited by a *kyai* or *tukang rokat* (ritual leader). Following this, the ritual bathing is carried out by the parents of the child *Pandhebeh* as a symbol of their blessing and prayers for their child. The procession is then continued by siblings and other family members, who also offer their prayers and well wishes for the future married life of the child *Pandhebeh*.

In this procession, each participant who performs the *flushing* ritual usually puts a coin or banknote into a container containing bath water before pouring it on the *Pandhebeh* child. This tradition is believed to symbolize the prayers and blessings given by each participant involved in the *siraman ritual* (Habibi, 2022).

After all participants finished flushing, the money that had been collected from the participants was then collected and given to *Pandhebeh's children*. This gift has a symbolic meaning as a form of blessing and hope so that *Pandhebeh's children* get a prosperous life and are kept away from various difficulties in living their home life.

Second, praying for the *Pandhebeh* child is conducted through a communal prayer ritual known as *konjengan*. After the *siraman* procession is completed, this ceremony is held as a supplication for the safety, blessings, and smooth journey of the *Pandhebeh* child as they enter the phase of marriage. This collective prayer is a vital part of the *Rokat Pandhebeh* ritual, as it is believed to bring blessings upon the bride and groom.

The *konjengan* ceremony is typically held in the living room or the front yard of the host's house, depending on the number of guests and the availability of space. This tradition is attended by dozens of people, the majority of whom are men, particularly elder male family members, and community leaders. Their presence in this ritual reflects solidarity and social support for the family of the *Pandhebeh* child (Faylina, 2022).

This communal prayer is led by a religious figure, such as an *ustaz*, *kyai*, or *tukang rokat*, who is believed to have the capacity to recite prayers and bestow blessings. The prayer leader recites a series of special supplications intended to seek protection, well-being, and marital harmony for the *Pandhebeh* child. After the prayer session concludes, the host customarily presents gifts to the guests as a token of gratitude for their presence. These gifts, known as *bherkat*, typically contain food items such as cakes, rice, beverages, and side dishes. This tradition reflects the values of togetherness and gratitude within the community. In addition to distributing gifts, the host also provides meals that guests can

enjoy on-site. The food and drinks are usually served on plates and containers prepared by the host. This act of hospitality signifies respect and appreciation for the attendees of the communal prayer. Through *konjengan*, *rokat Pandhebeh* is not only a religious and cultural ritual but also a means of strengthening social bonds within the community. This tradition continues to be preserved and passed down from generation to generation as part of the local wisdom that holds profound significance for the local society.

Comparative Analysis of the Opinions of Muhammadiyah and NU Leaders on the Tradition of the *Padhebeh* Traditional Marriage Ceremony

A Muhammadiyah figure in Tapen District opines that the traditional wedding ceremony practiced in the region is permissible to continue. Bakti states that a practice not explicitly founded in Islamic teachings is essentially categorized as *mubah* (permissible), provided that it does not contain elements leading to prohibition (Bakti, 2022). This view is based on Surah Al-A'raf: 199.

Be forgiving, command (the people) to the righteous, and turn away from fools. (Al-A'raf/ 7:199)

Moreover, Muhammadiyah figures highlight additional concerns regarding the economic aspects of the *rokat Pandhebeh* ceremony. This tradition is considered financially demanding, making it accessible only to middle-to-upper economic classes, which could potentially create social disparities within the community. Additionally, Muhammadiyah observes a declining belief among the people of Tapen District in the necessity of performing the *rokat Pandhebeh* tradition. This trend may lead to the gradual abandonment of the practice as society continues to evolve.

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is a socio-religious organization that maintains a strong connection with tradition. However, in this context, the tradition referred to is not merely regional customary traditions as they have developed across various areas in Indonesia. (Dahlan, 2020).

The tradition preserved within Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) refers more to religious practices that have been passed down through generations. These traditions include various religious observances such as *tablilan*, *sholawatan*, and other rituals that are considered integral to the expression of Islam in communal life (Syahid, 2019). NU emphasizes the importance of maintaining the continuity of these religious practices as a means of strengthening spirituality and fostering unity within the Muslim community (Saini, 2022).

In addressing the tradition of *rokat Pandhebeh*, religious figures from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah share a common concern regarding the necessity of caution to avoid practices that could lead to polytheism (*shirk*). Both organizations emphasize that the observance of cultural traditions must remain in accordance with Islamic teachings and should not cause any misconceptions regarding *aqidah* (faith). Nevertheless, the traditional *Pandhebeh* wedding ceremony in Tapen District does not deviate from Islamic *shari'ah*. This raises the question: how do Nahdlatul Ulama scholars perceive and respond to this customary marriage ceremony?

Tradition can serve as a legal reference as long as it does not contradict religious teachings, including in the case of *rokat Pandhebeh*. The core essence of this tradition is prayer—seeking Allah’s blessings and protection for the *Pandhebeh* child who is about to enter married life (Bakir, 2022). Therefore, cultural practices that align with religious principles can continue to be preserved while adhering to these fundamental values (Mahbub et al., 2024) as in the method of ushul fiqh, namely "*Customs can be made law (as long as they are not contrary to the sharia)*." (Khalaf, 2003)"

The principle in Islamic law asserts that customs or traditions prevailing in society can serve as a basis for legal rulings, as long as they do not contradict the Qur’an, Hadith, Ijma’ (scholarly consensus), and Qiyas (analogical reasoning) (Syahriar & Hadi, 2019; Khairuddin & Hidayah, 2022). In practice, Islamic law is flexible and adaptive to social changes (La Harisi et al., 2024), So that this rule becomes a guideline in establishing the law for things that do not have explicit provisions in the Nash (Suaib et al., 2025). One example is the *Pandhebeh rokat tradition* that developed in Tapen District, a tradition of wedding ceremonies that has been passed down from generation to generation and is still carried out by some people.

Nevertheless, questions arise regarding the sanctions for a *Pandhebeh* child who does not observe this tradition. In general, there are no specific legal sanctions for individuals who do not perform *rokat Pandhebeh*, as its implementation is primarily cultural and based on local beliefs. Therefore, the decision to adhere to or forgo this tradition entirely depends on the beliefs and agreements within the family and the surrounding community. However, despite the absence of formal legal sanctions, social sanctions exist for *Pandhebeh* children who do not observe the tradition. The surrounding community will inevitably become aware if someone does not perform *rokat Pandhebeh* before their wedding, potentially leading to various social perceptions. This may result in the notion that the individual lacks

respect for local customs or disregards a tradition that has been passed down for generations.

The non-implementation of this tradition then becomes a topic of discussion among the local community, particularly among housewives, and is perceived as bringing less blessing (*barakah*) to the marriage of a *Pandhebeh* child. For those who still uphold this tradition, *rokat Pandhebeh* is considered a customary obligation that must be performed to secure blessings and safety for the marriage. However, it is important to highlight that the majority of the people in Tapen District no longer fully adhere to this belief. The passage of time, advancements in modern knowledge, and the increasing level of education within the Tapen community are the primary factors contributing to the shift in perception regarding this tradition.

As a concrete example, in the author's research, it was found that some residents have begun to question the significance of *rokat Pandhebeh*. In practice, this tradition is often replaced with a *khotmil Qur'an* ceremony, specifically dedicated to the *Pandhebeh* child before their marriage. Additionally, there are also members of the community who choose not to perform either tradition, whether *rokat Pandhebeh* or *khotmil Qur'an*. This decision reflects a shift in the community's perspective on customary practices, in line with social changes and the evolving religious understanding in Tapen District.

Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama Figures in Tapen District, if examined with the theory of *Maqashid al-Shari'ah* (Jauhar, 2023), have several views related to the *Pandhebeh roket* tradition. First, this tradition falls under the category of *al-hajiyyat*, which is a secondary need that functions as a support for benefits and aims to avoid difficulties (*mashaqqah*) (Kurniawan & Hudafi, 2021). If this tradition is not fulfilled, it will not ruin human life as a whole, but will only cause discomfort or difficulty in its implementation.

Second, in the perspective of *kulliyat al-khams* (protection of religion, soul, intellect, lineage, and property) (Alputra, 2024), The *Pandhebeh rokat tradition* is more likely to fall into the category of *muhafazah al-mal* (protection of property). This is due to the large costs that must be incurred by the community in carrying out the tradition, so that it can be a financial burden for Tapen residents who have economic limitations. Third, in terms of conformity with the Qur'an, Muhammadiyah leader, Yusuf, argued that this tradition does not contradict the teachings of Islam as long as there are no elements that are explicitly prohibited. This view is also in line with the opinion of Madzkur Damiri, a Nahdlatul

Ulama figure, who stated that the *Pandhebeh rokat tradition* is still valid to be carried out as long as it does not contradict the principles of sharia.

Fourth, this tradition has been widely practiced in the Tapen District community. Bakir, a local *Nahdlatul Ulama* figure, emphasized that *rokat Pandhebeh* is an integral part of the community's customs, although it has begun to decline and is now rarely performed. Fifth, there is no specific textual evidence explicitly addressing *rokat Pandhebeh*. Bakir stated that although there is no direct scriptural basis for this tradition, the community should still respect those who continue to believe in and practice it. This view is further supported by Yusuf, who highlights the importance of tolerance toward individuals who seek to preserve the tradition.

Based on the perspectives of *Muhammadiyah* and *Nahdlatul Ulama* scholars, it can be concluded that the tradition of *rokat Pandhebeh* falls into the category of *al-hajiyah* (complementary needs), aiming to uphold the five fundamental aspects of *maqashid al-shari'ah*: religion (*muhafazah al-din*), life (*muhafazah al-nafs*), intellect (*muhafazah al-'aql*), lineage (*muhafazah al-nasl*), and wealth (*muhafazah al-mal*). It is undeniable that in various aspects of life, every region and community requires guidance and opinions from trusted figures, particularly in addressing social issues related to knowledge, religion, and culture. Community leaders often serve as primary references in providing direction and guidance on prevailing traditions, including customary marriage practices such as *rokat Pandhebeh*.

In this context, both *Muhammadiyah* and *Nahdlatul Ulama* share a common perspective on the importance of maintaining a balance between religious teachings and cultural traditions. Both organizations agree that as long as a tradition does not contradict Islamic principles, its existence can be accepted.

However, differences arise in their emphasis on certain aspects. *Muhammadiyah* primarily focuses on economic concerns, arguing that the costs associated with performing *rokat Pandhebeh* may pose a financial burden on the community. In contrast, *Nahdlatul Ulama* places greater emphasis on the social aspect and the continuity of the tradition within the community.

This debate illustrates that, in practice, Islam, as a flexible religion, allows room for local customs as long as these traditions do not contradict fundamental Islamic teachings. Therefore, mutual respect and tolerance are essential in addressing traditions such as *rokat Pandhebeh*, both for those who continue to observe it and for those who choose to abandon it.

CONCLUSION

Muhammadiyah scholars argue that any matter without a clear foundation in Islam is essentially classified as *mubah* (permissible), provided that it does not lead to anything prohibited. In the context of *rokat Pandhebeh*, Muhammadiyah emphasizes that this tradition may be observed as long as it does not impose a financial burden on those organizing the event. Therefore, from the perspective of *maqashid al-shari'ah*, *rokat Pandhebeh* falls under the objective of wealth preservation (*muhafazah al-mal*), necessitating consideration of its benefits for the community.

On the other hand, Nahdlatul Ulama scholars view *rokat Pandhebeh* as part of the *hajiyah* category, referring to secondary needs that contribute to maintaining social and religious balance. Within the framework of *maqashid al-shari'ah*, this tradition is relevant to five key aspects: safeguarding religion (*muhafazah al-din*), life (*muhafazah al-nafs*), intellect (*muhafazah al-'aql*), lineage (*muhafazah al-nasl*), and wealth (*muhafazah al-mal*). However, in its implementation, Nahdlatul Ulama underscores the importance of caution to prevent this tradition from incorporating elements that could lead to *shirk* (associating partners with God).

Nevertheless, this study has several limitations. First, its scope is confined to the community of Tapen District, making the findings inapplicable to other regions with similar cultural practices. Second, the study primarily focuses on the perspectives of religious leaders, leaving the viewpoints of the general public and younger generations regarding this tradition yet to be explored in depth. Third, there is a lack of comprehensive analysis regarding the economic impact of *rokat Pandhebeh*, particularly on lower-middle-income groups.

As a recommendation, further research should be conducted with a broader scope, encompassing both a wider geographical area and a more diverse range of community perspectives. Additionally, further studies are needed to examine the relevance of *rokat Pandhebeh* within the context of social change and modernization, including alternative forms of observance that simplify the tradition while preserving its cultural and spiritual values. Local governments and religious institutions are also expected to provide guidance to communities in balancing cultural preservation with adherence to Islamic principles.

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