

The Transition of the Boyongan Tradition Before the Wedding Procession in Central Java

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Abstract

This research investigates the Boyongan tradition's transition before marriage in Gagakan village, Blora Regency, where the bride stays at the groom's house before the consent of Kabul. This tradition is at odds with Islamic teachings due to the mixing of unrelated men and women in one place. Nevertheless, it continues to be practiced by the community. The study focuses on the historical context and current practices of the Boyongan tradition within the Gagakan village community, as well as the community's understanding of the Boyongan custom in pre-marriage settings. The qualitative research method involves direct interviews with various informants, including participants in the Boyongan tradition, elders, religious leaders, and residents of Gagakan village. Findings from the field data reveal that the Boyongan tradition is believed to safeguard the bride and groom's lives from malevolent forces in the afterlife. The Boyongan rule strictly applies only to the bride and groom, determined by the number of market days, the contract date, and the manner in which the woman enters the house. The practice of the Boyongan tradition has undergone notable transitions. While some members of Gagakan Village still adhere to the tradition, others have made adjustments to align with Islamic principles. These adaptations include limiting the duration of the stay, ensuring separate accommodations, and conducting a religious marriage beforehand. This research sheds light on the dynamics of cultural practices and their intersections with religious beliefs within the Gagakan village community. The findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the Boyongan tradition's historical roots and its contemporary adaptations, providing valuable insights for preserving cultural heritage while respecting religious norms in the context of evolving societal values.

Keyword: *Boyongan Boyongan Tradition, Community Practice, Religious Marriage, Village of Gagakan.*

Introduction

Humans, as social beings, act and behave the same s to form patterns of behavior called customs. Custom is defined as cultural values, customary law, and norms that are initiated to be

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carried out by specific local communities¹. Culture and society are containers that will later form a single socio-cultural unit of society that interacts with one another². Each region has a culture preserved to become a tradition carried out by a group of people, the Javanese community. The Javanese people are referred to as a society that still upholds the customs passed down by their ancestors to this day.³ We know this from the trades often performed, such as *mitoni* in pregnancy, lighting candles and kerosene lamps in death, and even weddings.⁴ For example, traditions related to marriage customs in Nengahan Village, Bayat District, Klaten Regency. The people of Nengahan village view marriage as something sacred and sacred. This wedding procession still applies Javanese customs. Even so, the Javanese traditions that are carried out are not complete but still adhere to the standard Javanese wedding rules.⁵ This also happened to the people of Gagakan village who carries out the tradition in the wedding process.

Marriage in the Gagakan community still perpetuates traditional customs,⁶ from pre-wedding to post-marriage. Most people think that traditions that are missed will have an impact on life in the future. The pre-wedding rituals carried out by the Gagakan community are not much different from Javanese customs, such as *tembungan*,⁷ proposing, choosing a wedding day with a *weton*, and bringing the bride to the bride's house until the wedding is over. Even later, the tradition will continue when pregnant, having offspring and building a place of life. Those Muslims who hold the title of Javanese will continue to carry out the rule because they feel it has become commonplace.⁸ The Gagakan community carries out the majority of Javanese traditional pre-wedding traditions. It's just that the Gagakan community adds the *boyongan* rule to the bride's house before the contract procession takes place. Usually, this tradition takes place with the agreement of both parties; it can be done for a week or more.⁹

The *boyongan* tradition, a pre-marriage practice in Gagakan village, Blora Regency, involves the bride staying at the groom's house before the consent of Kabul. Despite being inconsistent with Islamic teachings due to the mixing of unrelated men and women, the tradition persists within the community. This cultural phenomenon has drawn the attention of researchers, prompting an investigation into its historical development and present-day manifestations. Gagakan village, situated in the Blora Regency, is known for preserving its traditional customs and rich cultural heritage. The Boyongan tradition, deeply rooted in local customs, has been an integral part of matrimonial rituals in the region for generations. However, its divergence from Islamic principles has sparked debates and concerns regarding its compatibility with religious norms.¹⁰

¹ Chuzaimah Batubara Dkk, *Metodologi Studi Islam* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2018), 271.

² Ending Komara, *Teori Sosiologi Dan Antropologi* (Bandung: PT. Refika Aditama, 2019), 115.

³ Imam Basthomi, "Millennial Generation's Views on the Mythof 'Jilu Marriage' In Nganjuk East Java," *Dialog* 43, no. 2 (December 21, 2020): 225–34, <https://doi.org/10.47655/dialog.v43i2.390>.

⁴ Helen Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World: Marriage and Sexuality in the Indic Courts of Java and Bali* (Routledge, 2015).

⁵ Bayu Ady Pratama and Novita Wahyuningsih, "Pernikahan Adat Jawa Di Desa Nengahan, Kecamatan Bayat, Kabupaten Klaten," *Haluan Sastra Budaya* 2, no. 1 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.20961/hsb.v2i1.19604>.

⁶ Tradition is defined as customs passed down from generation to generation which is still carried out in society. Depdikbud, "Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia," *Balai Pustaka* 2, no. Jakarta (2021).

⁷ Tembungan is a conversation that occurs between the families of the prospective bride and groom about willingness and agreement in marriage. Muhammad Solikhin, "Tradisi Islam Jawa," *Penerbit Narasi - Jogjakarta*, 2010, 202.

⁸ Muhammad Ali Akbar, *Perbandingan Hidup Secara Islam Dengan Tradisi Di Pulau Jawa* (Bandung: PT. AlMaarif, 1980), 173.

⁹ Bapak Waris (modin, perangkat desa Gagakan), "History of Boyongan Tradition", 2021

¹⁰ Zul Anwar Ajim Harahap and Zulfan Effendi Hasibuan, "The Dominance of Islamic Law over Customary Law in Indonesia in Marriage Law," *IT ALIENIS CH* 12, no. 1 (March 31, 2022): 868–73.

This *boyongan* tradition is believed and carried out to avoid the 'punishment' of life in the future. However, this tradition also fears that adultery will occur before the contract procession occurs, contrary to Islamic teachings. This concerns the value of decency and appropriateness in society. Even so, the people of Gagakan Village, predominantly Muslim, are still firm in preserving this tradition. Based on marriage data for 2016-2021, there are 14 pairs of prospective brides in Gagakan Village, with details of 10 undergoing the *boyongan* tradition by living in one place before the contract is carried out.¹¹ Thus, the *boyongan* tradition before marriage is still considered sacred, which must be carried out as a form of "obedience" in the social order that is formed in society.

The social order of society makes them have a life together with one another. Humans are forced to carry out this social order by repeatedly building a social life to fight against nature and avoid destruction.¹² Based on this tradition, humans have transportation to live life together well. On the other hand, the development of the times "forces" humans to make changes accidentally. For example, traditional activities are no longer based on knowledge from their ancestors but are carried out with the excuse of "just following along" and being ordered by older people. Indirectly, the development of times and the mindset of the people also affect the consistency of tradition according to where it was carried out.¹³

This research aims to shed light on the evolution of the Boyongan tradition over time and its impact on the community's social fabric. By employing a qualitative research method, the study will delve into the historical context of the Boyongan practice and its contemporary adaptations within the village community. Direct interviews with various informants, including participants in the Boyongan tradition, respected elders, religious leaders, and residents, will provide valuable insights into their perspectives and understanding of the tradition.

The findings from the field data are expected to reveal the underlying beliefs and motivations behind the perpetuation of the Boyongan tradition. The tradition's perceived role in safeguarding the bride and groom's lives from malevolent forces in the afterlife adds a fascinating dimension to the study. Additionally, understanding the criteria and considerations for the Boyongan rule, solely applicable to the bride and groom, will provide an in-depth comprehension of the tradition's significance. Furthermore, the research will highlight the shifts in the practice of the Boyongan tradition over time, with some community members choosing to adapt the tradition to align with Islamic values. These adaptations, such as the imposition of time limits for the stay, separate accommodations, and the inclusion of a religious marriage beforehand, demonstrate the evolving dynamics between cultural practices and religious beliefs.

This study's significance lies in its contribution to the broader understanding of cultural heritage preservation and its interaction with religious norms amid changing societal values. The exploration of the Boyongan tradition in the context of Gagakan village community will provide valuable insights into the complexities of cultural continuity and adaptation, emphasizing the delicate balance between upholding traditional customs and respecting religious teachings. By shedding light on this unique cultural practice, the research aims to foster greater appreciation for

¹¹ Waris revealed that most couples who carry out the boyongan tradition live together in one room. There are even those who have had a husband-and-wife relationship. Interview with Waris, Blora, 22 Oktober 2021.

¹² Paul A Ericson & Liam D. Murphy, *History of Anthropological Theory* (Jakarta: Prenanda Media Grup, 2018), 120–21.

¹³ Dessy Artina, "The Existence of Traditional Law on Ethical Marriage in Ganting Village, Salo District Linked to Islamic Law" (2nd Riau Annual Meeting on Law and Social Sciences (RAMLAS 2021), Atlantis Press, 2022), 18–22, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.220406.004>.

the diverse tapestry of traditions that shape local communities and contribute to the preservation of their cultural identity.

Method

This study uses a qualitative approach that is used for natural research on objects¹⁴ with an emphasis on two methods. First, research using ethnographic methods. This method is a description and analysis of society with field research that focuses on the sociological meaning of individuals and their socio-cultural context.¹⁵ The use of ethnographic methods with field observations is used to understand and interpret this *boyongan* tradition by describing the experiences of participants in traditional history and participants in *boyongan* tradition to obtain data related to their perspectives on *boyongan* customs before marriage through intentional interviews. Withdrawal of informants was carried out by purposive sampling (intentionally) based on the details; traditional actors, local religious leaders, parents of perpetrators, village officials, and respected community elders. Second, research using A. Van Gennep's¹⁶ rites of passage. Through Gennep's transition, the author explores the views of the Gagakan village community on this tradition through the social and emotional conditions of the community towards a tradition. With the Van Gennep transfer rites, researchers can see the perceptions of the Gagakan village community towards the practice of the *boyongan* tradition.

As for data analysis, researchers used qualitative data analysis¹⁷ which contained related data based on interviews with informants. After the data was collected, the researcher used a descriptive-analytic method. This method is used to determine the movement of the *boyongan* tradition based on informants. In addition, this method also describes the condition of the informants as actors and figures in the occurrence of traditions and perceptions of the acceptance of these traditions.

Result and Discussion

The Boyongan Tradition

The boyongan tradition before marriage in the village of Gagakan is not a recent invention by the village elders; rather, it has a long historical lineage dating back to the time of the Majapahit Kingdom, possibly as far back as the 300s or 600s. The custom's origin can be traced to the practice of calculating months and days according to the Javanese calendar, known as "nogo dino." This intricate system of timekeeping, along with the influence of the Queen and royal elders, played a pivotal role in establishing and perpetuating the boyongan tradition. During the reign of the Majapahit Kingdom, the boyongan tradition was initiated and embraced by the noble class, particularly by the Queen and influential royal elders. The custom was integrated into the cultural fabric of the society as a series of pre-wedding events, involving the bride's stay at the groom's house before the consent of Kabul. As a result, the tradition became associated with the Javanese calendar and its calculations, further solidifying its cultural significance.

Through successive generations, this pre-marriage custom was passed down from ancestors to the present-day inhabitants of Gagakan Village. The preservation of the *boyongan* tradition reflects the community's deep-rooted respect for their cultural heritage and their commitment to upholding customs that have endured the test of time. As the tradition continued to be practiced

¹⁴ Tatang M. Amirin, *Menyusun Rencana Penelitian* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1995), 134.

¹⁵ T. O. Ihromi, *Pokok-Pokok Antropologi Budaya* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2006), 75.

¹⁶ Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

¹⁷ Amirin, *Menyusun Rencana Penelitian*, 134.

and transmitted across generations, it became an integral part of the village's identity, fostering a strong sense of cultural continuity and pride. The passing down of the *boyongan* tradition not only serves as a connection to the past but also reinforces the cultural values and norms that have shaped the community over centuries.¹⁸ Overall, the historical origins of the *boyongan* tradition in Gagakan Village highlight the long-standing significance of this custom in Javanese culture. Its association with the Javanese calendar and the esteemed figures of the Majapahit era further underscores its cultural importance. The continued observance of this tradition demonstrates the village's commitment to preserving their cultural heritage, fostering a sense of belonging, and upholding the customs that define their community's unique identity.

The *boyongan* tradition before marriage is deeply rooted in the belief that its observance serves as a protective measure for the families of the prospective bride and groom. According to the cultural beliefs prevalent in Gagakan Village, not performing the *boyongan* ceremony may result in various calamities and hardships befalling the families involved. One of the primary dangers believed to be averted through the *boyongan* tradition is the occurrence of life's difficulties, such as severe and incurable illnesses.¹⁹ By engaging in the *boyongan* ritual, the families seek to invoke blessings and protection from potential health crises that could affect their loved ones. This belief reflects the community's strong sense of interconnectedness and responsibility towards safeguarding the well-being of their family members. Furthermore, the *boyongan* tradition is seen as a means to avoid economic hardships. It is believed that failing to conduct the pre-marriage ritual may lead to financial difficulties and a decline in the household's prosperity. By observing the tradition, the families hope to invoke prosperity and abundance in their lives, providing a secure foundation for the newlyweds' future together.²⁰

The tradition also carries implications for family harmony. It is believed that the *boyongan* ceremony fosters understanding between the bride and groom's families. By having the man live with the woman and her family before formalizing the marriage, there is an opportunity for both families to interact, get to know each other better, and resolve any potential conflicts or misunderstandings.²¹ This is seen as crucial for establishing a harmonious relationship between the two families, which is considered vital for the couple's long-term happiness and stability. In essence, the *boyongan* tradition encompasses both practical and symbolic purposes. Practically, it is seen as a means to avoid potential disasters and challenges that may affect the families involved. Symbolically, it represents a time of getting to know and understanding the bride's family, fostering a sense of mutual respect and cooperation between both families.²²

The significance of the *boyongan* tradition is deeply ingrained in the cultural fabric of Gagakan Village, reflecting the community's strong belief in the power of traditional practices to bring blessings, protection, and prosperity to their families. While it may seem contrary to Islamic

¹⁸ Wajib, "History of Boyongan Tradition", 2021

¹⁹ Eko Setiawan, "Larangan Pernikahan Weton Geyeng Dalam Adat Jawa," *Journal of Urban Sociology* 5, no. 2 (October 31, 2022): 81–90, <https://doi.org/10.30742/jus.v5i2.2431>.

²⁰ Kusnul Kholik, "Mitos-Mitos Penghalang Perkawinan Pada Adat Jawa Dalam Prespektif Hukum Islam," *USRATUNA: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 2, no. 2 (2019): 1–26.

²¹ Sai Handari et al., "Implications of Marital Peace in Marriage Counseling: An Ethnographic Case Study," *Pamomong: Journal of Islamic Educational Counseling* 4, no. 1 (June 21, 2023): 56–72, <https://doi.org/10.18326/pamomong.v4i1.56-72>.

²² Fitri Rafianti, Arik Dwijayanto, and Azharuddin Mohd Dali, "The Dialectics of Islamic Law and Customary Law on Marriage Concept of Javanese Muslim in Malaysia," *Justicia Islamica: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial* 18, no. 2 (November 19, 2021): 298–317, <https://doi.org/10.21154/justicia.v18i2.3126>.

teachings due to the mixing of unrelated men and women, the tradition's cultural importance and its role in safeguarding the well-being of the families have sustained its practice throughout generations. The true purpose of the *boyongan* tradition itself, including:²³

1. To avoid the *nass* (bad day) chosen on the day of the marriage ceremony.
2. To avoid bad luck between grooms, women, and both parties.
3. As a form of formality to replace the day when the woman first enters the house.

The *boyongan* custom is a significant pre-marriage tradition carried out after the groom proposes to the bride in Gagakan Village. This custom involves a series of intricate calculations based on Javanese primbon, a traditional Javanese system of knowledge that encompasses various aspects of life, including astrology, numerology, and traditional beliefs. To perform the *boyongan* ritual, several critical classifications must be considered. Firstly, the calculation of the "weton" plays a crucial role in determining the auspicious day for the wedding contract. Weton refers to the Javanese system of determining a person's fate or destiny based on the combination of the Javanese calendar days (Pasaran) and the Javanese calendar months (Wuku) at the time of their birth. The bride and groom's weton are compared, and an auspicious date is chosen based on the alignment of their respective destiny combinations. This selection is believed to bring prosperity and harmony to the couple's life journey.

Secondly, the direction of entry (front door) to the bride's house is another significant aspect of the *boyongan* tradition. The entry direction is carefully considered to ensure it aligns with auspicious directions based on Javanese cosmology and traditional beliefs. Certain directions are believed to be more favorable for starting a new chapter in life, while others are considered less auspicious and may be associated with potential challenges. These calculations and classifications are performed by individuals well-versed in Javanese primbon, such as elders or religious leaders in the community, who hold the knowledge and expertise to interpret the intricate details of the tradition accurately.²⁴

By meticulously following these customs and calculations, the families of the prospective bride and groom believe they can ensure the best possible start to the couple's married life. It is believed that adhering to these cultural and traditional practices will bring blessings and positive energy, leading to a harmonious and prosperous marriage. The *boyongan* custom, with its reliance on Javanese primbon calculations, exemplifies the deeply ingrained cultural heritage and belief systems in Gagakan Village. Through the preservation and continuation of this tradition, the community not only upholds their cultural identity but also reinforces the significance of these customs in shaping the course of major life events like marriage. The *boyongan* custom serves as a tangible expression of the village's cultural pride and demonstrates the profound respect for traditional knowledge that has been passed down through generations.

Javanese Count

Society is a human being whose life is bound by a system of customs.²⁵ Javanese people are still bound by a customary system that has been passed down by their ancestors. All customs and traditions carried out by the Javanese people are inseparable from the *weton* count, both the day of

²³ Waris, "History of Boyongan Tradition", 2021

²⁴ Niken Wahyu Utami, Suminto A. Sayuti, and Jailani, "Math and Mate in Javanese 'Primbon': Ethnomathematics Study," *Journal on Mathematics Education* 10, no. 3 (September 2019): 341–56.

²⁵ Hildred Geertz, *The Javanese Family: A Study of Kinship and Socialization* (Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/cultures/oe05/documents/020>.

birth and the month of birth.²⁶ The Javanese count or so-called *primbon* is often used by Javanese people as a reference for looking for a good day in doing everything.²⁷ This count consists of days and markets. As for the details of the *weton* in general, namely:²⁸

Day	Count	Pasaran
Friday	6	
Saturday	9	Pahing
Sunday	5	Legi
Monday	4	Wage
Tuesday	3	
Wednesday	7	Pon
Thursday	8	Kliwon

In general, lots of people use the day and market calculations as above. But some people also use other calculations that start from 1 to 7.²⁹ Even though people are the same regarding the day count and the market, they have different calculation methods. Indirectly, they have a strong tendency regarding *weton* calculations and their methods.

Counting the days and the market is not a new thing in Javanese society. Long before this calculation existed, there had already been calculations using the *abjadiyyah* letters, which were called *hisab jumal*. This count refers to the letters of the *alif-ba-ta* alphabet, each of which has a nominal value.³⁰ *Hisab jumal* has been known since the time of Prophet Idris, or in today's language, it can be called Gematria (an art of interpreting numbers and letters). Gematria is already known based on Babylonian inscriptions from the time of Sargon II (723-705 SM).³¹ *Hisab jumal* count is often used with various methods.³² The calculation method is used by adding up the letters contained in a person's name. Based on the name, the number obtained is then divided by the number 9. The result determines the condition of a person in the future.³³

Problems related to *weton* and *hisab jumal*, seem to determine someone's good and bad luck in the future. Scientifically, there is a science that studies fortune based on celestial bodies, namely astrology.³⁴ The term astrology is defined as looking at human fortune through the movement of the stars in the sky. The basis of astrology is more an activity of observing the movements of celestial bodies and planets with the function of knowing the laws of astrology based on references to motion in nature and earthly phenomena.³⁵ Astrology is generally defined as an art and science that studies the interrelationships between the movements of the heavenly bodies and human life

²⁶ Clifford Geertz, "Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example," in *Ritual* (Routledge, 2010).

²⁷ "Primbon Jawa Sebagai Tradisi Penentuan Hari Nikah: Telaah Konsep Maqashid Al-Syariah | ISLAMIKA," June 27, 2023, <https://www.ejournal.stitpn.ac.id/index.php/islamika/article/view/3556>.

²⁸ Romo RDS Ranoewidjojo, *Primbon Masa Kini: Warisan Nenek Moyang untuk Meraba Masa Depan* (Bukune, 2009).

²⁹ Wajib, "Javanese Count", 2021

³⁰ Riham H. Miqdadi, "ABJAD Numerals as an Absolute Dating Method: Forts from al-Ain, UAE," *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 20, no. 3 (2020): 273–89.

³¹ Allan W. Atlas, "Gematria, Marriage Numbers, and Golden Sections in Dufay's 'Resvellies Vous,'" *Acta Musicologica* 59, no. 2 (1987): 111–26, <https://doi.org/10.2307/932920>.

³² Riyan Hidayat, "Perhitungan Nama Calon Pasangan Pengantin Menurut Kaidah Abjadiyyah Hisab Jumal Kabir (Studi Pandangan KH. Irfan Zidny Wahab)," *Sakina: Journal of Family Studies* 2, no. 2 (December 29, 2018), <http://urj.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/jfs/article/view/379>.

³³ Durin Farida, "Perhitungan Abjadun Sebagai Bentuk Istikharah Menentukan Jodoh (Kajian Living Qur'an di Pondok Pesantren Fathul 'Ulum Kwagean Kediri)," *Qaf: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir* 4, no. 2 (2022): 160–77, <https://doi.org/10.59579/qaf.v4i2.4071>.

³⁴ Astrology is a branch of astronomy that studies celestial bodies to know human destiny. The branches of astronomy include; Astronomy, astrology, astrophysics, astrometry, aeromechanics, cosmography, cosmogony, and cosmology. Moh. Murtadlo, *Ilmu Falak Praktis* (Malang: UIN Malang Press, 2008), 10–11.

³⁵ Stephen P. Blake, *Astronomy and Astrology in the Islamic World* (Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

in the universe. In general, astrology is used to understand the man himself and his role in the universe.³⁶ Astrology is not for predicting human destiny. Astrology functions more to recognize a person's character and personality based on his horoscope (birth chart).

The form of astrological interpretation is the same as the way of interpreting statistical data. Astrology uses general patterns that occur in every individual in the universe. This general form of the pattern only applies to the majority. It is normal if several individuals are not the same.³⁷ Based on this explanation, astrology has a foundation, namely an observation or observation. This is the reason that astrology has a common ground with science because of something scientific and the existence of statistical data.³⁸ Based on the description above, it is concluded that human destiny in the universe can naturally be known by observing general patterns in individual statistical data. The luck that comes from *weton* is an animist belief in the dynamism that is adhered to by the Javanese people as a reference and an effort to preserve tradition. Although this calculation has been practiced by Prophet Idris through *Abjadiyyah alif-ba-ta* with a nominal sum called *hisab jumal*.³⁹

Boyongan Tradition Rituals

The tradition of *boyongan* before marriage is one of the things that the bride and groom do. However, not all prospective grooms carry out the *boyongan* tradition before marriage. In this traditional process, there is no sort of procession accompanying the prospective groom when he is brought to the woman's house. This was done secretly, unknown to the public, and only closed family corridors. Usually, the prospective groom must participate in the *Boyongan Day* celebration.

The *boyongan* carried out by the prospective groom at the woman's house depends on both parties. This is usually determined by the woman's family because it is the man who lives in the woman's house. This tradition is usually carried out only for one day and one night, three days, or up to five days. After the prospective groom has finished carrying out this tradition, then the consent granted is carried out according to the day chosen.

The *boyongan* tradition carried out by the prospective groom, the people of Gagakan Village say that there are several factors behind it. These factors include the factor of ancestral traditions that are commonly carried out, and obedience to parents and ancestors, there are supporting events so that the people of Gagakan village obey this tradition. This tradition is not only carried out by moving places of residence but several provisions require bringing. Some of the conditions that must exist include:⁴⁰

1. The date of the marriage contract has already been determined. Determining the date usually uses the sum of the *neptu* days and the *neptu* market of the bride and groom until a good date is found for marriage.
2. The direction of entering the bride's house. As stated in the previous chapter, the direction in which the house is entered is one of the factors that determine whether a man will marry or not.

³⁶ James H. Holden, *A History of Horoscopic Astrology* (American Federation of Astr, 2006).

³⁷ Sue Tompkins, *Aspects In Astrology: A Comprehensive Guide to Interpretation* (Random House, 2012).

³⁸ Mladen Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (BRILL, 2007).

³⁹ Indriaty Ismail, "Falsafah Occultisme Dalam Kitab Melayu Klasik Taj Al-Mulk," *Islam: Past, Present and Future* 20 (2004): 1132.

⁴⁰Wajib (community leader of Gagakan Village), "Boyongan Tradition Rituals", 2021

Marriage using *boyongan* performed by the people of Gagakan village is inseparable from Javanese/*primbon* calculations in general. The basic foundation of *boyongan* before marriage is the direction of entering the bride's house. The criteria for the direction of entering the house that determines whether there is a *boyongan* or not, namely:⁴¹

Direction to the house	Day	Count of day + pasaran
Wetan	Friday and Tuesday	Dino temu 9, 13, 17
Kidul	Saturday and Wednesday	Dino temu 10, 14, 18
Ngulon	Sunday and Thursday	Dino temu 7, 11, 15
Ngalor	Monday	Dino temu 8, 12, 16

Based on the description above, the determination of the *boyongan* is based on the day of the wedding ceremony and the direction of the house. For example, in practice, there is a man and a woman who plan to get married. The boy was born on Saturday Pahing, while the girl was born on Wednesday Pon. Saturday Pahing = $9 + 9 = 18$; Wednesday Pon = $7 + 7 = 14$. The two of them add up to $18 + 14 = 32$. As for the day of the contract, for example, Wednesday Paing = $7 + 9 = 16$. The two of them add up, $32 + 16 = 48$. $48 : 9 =$ remaining 3. The remaining 3 mean a good day for the bride and groom.

As for *boyongan*, it can be seen from the direction of the woman's house. It so happened that the entrance to the woman's house was facing *ngidul*. While the number of Wednesday Pahing days is 16. *Dino temu* 16, the bridegroom is not allowed to enter the house facing south (*ngidul*) or the direction of entering the house facing north (*Lor*). Therefore, look for days that do not meet 16 through recalculation. If the entrance to the woman's house is facing south (*ngidul*) or the entrance is facing north (*lor*), then the man does not need to carry around and can go to the house on the day of the contract.

Islam and the Boyongan Tradition

Marriage in Islam is not just consent granted between the groom and the female guardian. But marriage is considered a sacred starting relationship between humans and God as well as humans with humans. The tradition of *boyongan* before marriage is carried out by the people of Gagakan village. The understanding of *boyongan* before marriage, the people of Gagakan village have the same meaning is that before getting married, the groom lives in the woman's house. The purpose of the *boyongan* is to avoid ugliness. The *boyongan* was from the calculation of market days. How is the calculation, suddenly *boyongan*. The people of Gagakan village are used to it because the people also do it. The *boyongan* was done secretly, only the family. If the bride and groom are asked, maybe they don't know because it's the parents' business.⁴²

Meanwhile, other understanding that according to him *boyongan* is staying at the woman's house to replace the *boyongan* day when the consent is granted. The count is in the form of the day of the marriage ceremony, the count of the groom's market, and the direction of entering the woman's house.⁴³ When the day of the consent granted is prohibited from entering the woman's house, then it is replaced by another day. The goal is to avoid bad days. If the day of consent is granted, the groom is not allowed to enter the house, so it is replaced the day before.

Some people have the same meaning regarding boys before marriage. This is indeed not by Islamic law. Islam has rules regarding marriage, including a *khitbah* or proposal before marriage.

⁴¹ Wajib (community leader of Gagakan Village), "Boyongan Tradition Rituals", 2021

⁴² Waris, "Islam and the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

⁴³ Wajib, "Islam and the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

Khitbah comes from the word *khatiba-yakhtibu*, *khitbatan* which means proposal or application. *Khitbah* means when a man asks a woman to make him his wife according to the ways of society. *Khitbah* can be an intermediary to know and get to know one family with another.⁴⁴ Therefore, the *khitbah* is done before the wedding takes place. *Khitbah* is done to provide an opportunity for each family to accept each other based on mature awareness and belief.⁴⁵

Khitbah in Islam is a form of preparation until the wedding day arrives. *Khitbah* is also considered a form of bonding in that the woman already has a candidate for marriage so she is not alone. As for *khitbah* in Islam, there is a limit between men and women. Even though the man and woman are still in the corridor where there is no marriage, the bride and groom are not allowed to interact freely. During the sermon, men are encouraged to look at the woman's face to find out the real situation. However, there are restrictions regarding what men can see.

There are several opinions on the limits of men seeing women when preaching, namely:

1. *Jumbur ulama* explained that the limit for men to see the woman is only the face and palms of the hands. Scholars have reasons related to the face and palms. Based on the face, men can see the looks of women. While the palms, men can see the fertility of the woman.⁴⁶
2. Another opinion says that the limit for men to see the woman during the *khitbah* is her entire body. This opinion is complemented by the condition that when looking at a woman's body one has to go through an intermediary because there is a fear of crossing the line.

If it is based on Islam, the *boyongan* tradition cannot be justified. This can be seen from the statement that *boyongan* is a man who stays in the same house with the woman in the absence of consent granted. Men and women have the freedom to meet and do anything in one house. This is prohibited in Islam because there is no marriage bond and it is not lawful to have a relationship with one another.

In addition, the *boyongan* tradition is like giving freedom to men and women while waiting for consent to be granted. The people of Gagakan village have their presentation regarding *boyongan* in terms of boundaries between men and women. First says that *boyongan* is stays overnight. In the sense that when carrying, the bride and groom are in one room. They are allowed to sleep together. Their parents believed that the two would not overstep their bounds.⁴⁷

But on the other hand, the *boyongan* tradition has also caused other reactions from some communities that explained that when he was found to have had to carry out the *boyongan*, he was immediately married to the prospective husband according to religion first. When the *boyongan* and Kyai's father found out about this, the two of them were married right away. However, they received a message to immediately legalize it by the state so as not to cause unwanted things.⁴⁸ Indirectly, the *boyongan* tradition is carried out by the provisions of each family that it depends on the parents. There are three days to five days staying at the women's house. Both of them sleep in the same room, some don't.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Muhammad Abu Zahrah, *Al-Ahwal al-Syakhsyyah* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.), 29.

⁴⁵ Dahlan Idhamy, *Azās-Azās Fiqh Munakabat Hukum Keluarga Islam* (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlās, 2008), 15.

⁴⁶ Muṣṭafā Bughā Dkk, *Al-Fiqh al-Manhajyyu* (Damaskus: Dar al-Musthafā, 2010), 355.

⁴⁷ Ali, "Islam and the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

⁴⁸ Istiqomah, "Islam and the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

⁴⁹ Waris, "Islam and the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

According to Islam, it is not allowed, so parents who know will not gather in one room. In a sense, some just chat some cross the line (having intercourse). If both of them have crossed the line, everything is normal and only known by the family. Sometimes there are different rooms. Some immediately marry unregistered because they know that it is prohibited in Islam.⁵⁰ There is explain at length that *boyongan* has never gone beyond the limit. When it's like that, only the family knows. Those who do the *boyongan*, sometimes share a room, sometimes different rooms according to the agreement of the family. Those who are not the same as others because of Islamic prohibitions prefer to marry first. It all depends on the parents of the bride and groom.

Law in society consists of 3, namely state law, religious law, and community law. State law is only a formality in taking care of data files for marriage. As for religious law, it must meet the requirements by using two witnesses, a marriage guardian, and a dowry. As for the community law, that is, when a man asks the woman's father and it is approved, then their law is like a marriage bond even though there are no conditions like in the Islamic religion. So when there is a *boyongan* that has exceeded the limit, the law becomes the basis. According to them both asked in front of the marriage guardian.⁵¹

The *boyongan* carried out by the people of Gagakan village is very vulnerable to the occurrence of relationships outside of marriage. This is what causes the prohibition of women and men in one place mixing in Islam. Even so, community law seems to legalize the relationship between men and women outside of marriage. Islam itself explains that marriage can be accepted and valid according to religion by fulfilling several pillars and conditions,⁵² including the presence of a groom,⁵³ presence of a bride,⁵⁴ a guardian, two witnesses,⁵⁵ a dowry, and *sighat (ijab kabul)*. If one of these pillars is not fulfilled, then the marriage in Islamic law can be said to be broken/invalid. On the other hand, the mixing of Islamic religion and culture in Javanese society is certainly not like Islam which is according to its order. However, it is undeniable that Islam can influence a culture that is deeply rooted so that sometimes the Javanese people, especially the Gagakan village who are Muslim, do not heed the standard *syari'at* rules.

Construction of Understanding of the Boyongan Tradition

Islam in Javanese society is mostly understood as a system of beliefs and rituals that are different from previous Islamic traditions. This can be seen from how Islam makes a difference, absorbs and Islamizes the *Kejawen* culture, and socializes the values of the holy book. Of the traditions of the Javanese people can be seen that there is an Islamic side that enters without

⁵⁰ Khairin Niswati, "Islam and the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

⁵¹ Wajib, "Islam and the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

⁵² Muhammad Amin Suma, *Kawin Beda Agama Di Indonesia Telaah Syariah Dan Qanuniah* (Tangerang: Lentera Hati, 2015), 35.

⁵³ Men being one of the legal requirements in marriage have several characteristics, namely Islam, male sex, clearly, the person, not currently on pilgrimage or performing umrah, has no obstacles to marriage. A. Zuhdi Mudlor added that the groom must also have the skills in legal action to base his life as a householder and he does not yet have four wives. A. Zuhdi Mudlor, *Memahami Hukum Perkawinan* (Bandung: Al-Bayan, 1994), 53.

⁵⁴ Women as legal requirements in marriage have several conditions, namely Islam, independence, not being in a state of pilgrimage or umrah, clear person, and no *syara'* obstacles. As for what is meant by no *sharia* obstacles', that is, the bride when she marries is not in a state of still having a husband, is not a mahram with the groom, and is not in a state of iddah period. Dkk, *Al-Fiqhu al-Manhajyyu*, 365.

⁵⁵ One of the conditions for a valid marriage is the presence of two witnesses. The criteria related to the intended witness include Islam, male, mature, reasonable, fair, healthy (not disabled), and understanding the intent of the bride and groom. Dkk, 373-74.

eliminating these traditions. Sometimes the culture is interpreted in a new form without regard to its purity. It is only natural that Islam exists and is practiced in Javanese society gives a different nuance to the acculturation of the culture and traditions of that place.⁵⁶

Historical literature says that Islam came when Hindu-Buddhist culture was firmly rooted in Javanese society. Religion for the Javanese people is a variety of arrangements between faith, doctrine, ritual, and social actualization. The collection was all practiced by local traditions along with its development. In this context, Islam tries to enter through dialogue and absorb the cultural roots believed by the Javanese people.⁵⁷ It is concluded that Islam emerged in Javanese culture because of animism and Hinduism. Therefore, it makes sense that Islam in Javanese society has Hinduism in it.

The Javanese Islamic community has an understanding that emphasizes that religion and customs complement each other. Between religion and customs, there is no difference even though it is blurry. The pragmatic ritualism that is carried out is of course open to criticism from other points of view. An emphasis on meaningless rules and techniques makes the ritual aimless and has no psychological effect. This shows that those who are mystics describe religious behavior with stages like essence. Therefore, the devout Javanese Muslim community has never questioned the standard *syari'at* rules.⁵⁸ This is also done by the people of Gagakan village.

The tradition of carrying before marriage is believed to be a form of savior from bad luck to obtain a peaceful life. This tradition is not just moving house. However, when the Javanese occupy a house, a *selamatan* is held.⁵⁹ Likewise, the *boyongan* before marriage is carried out by the groom. This *selamatan* is believed to be a special honor asking God for salvation in life.⁶⁰ It's as if *selamatan* has a special value in the journey of life that will be passed by the community. So that when *boyongan*, the woman performs the salvation and the bridegroom must participate in the event until it's finished.

On the other hand, traditions that are believed to be a form of the concept of community togetherness certainly experience changes according to the times. Van Gennep has thought that changes that occur in traditions can include several aspects, both changes in place, social status, circumstances, and age.⁶¹ It can be understood that the more the times develop, the place of tradition also changes. The same goes for the age of the actors and the social status of the traditional actors. In addition, the thoughts and understanding of traditional actors are also broadening along with the development of insight. These changes can be known through the *boyongan* tradition.

Changes in tradition also apply to the village children of Gagakan. the *boyongan* tradition is also not widely practiced by the people of Gagakan village at this time. Those who are going to get married and have a boy-boy, do it without knowing what the boy-boy means.⁶² Apart from that, they only do according to the orders of their parents so that the afterlife can go well.⁶³ One of the factors that have changed in the *boyongan* tradition is that it is not permissible in Islam. In recent

⁵⁶ John L. Esposito, *Ensiklopedi Oxford Dunia Islam Modern* (Bandung: Mizan, 2001), 50–51.

⁵⁷ Ahmad Kholil, *Agama Kultural Masyarakat Pinggiran* (Malang: UIN Maliki, 2011), 65–66.

⁵⁸ Simuh, *Mistik Islam Kejawen Raden Ngabehi Ranga Warsita* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1989), 161.

⁵⁹ Ibu Imro'ah (masyarakat desa Gagakan), "Construction of Understanding of the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

⁶⁰ Kholil, *Agama Kultural Masyarakat Pinggiran*, 72.

⁶¹ Y. M. Wartaya Winangun, *Masyarakat Bebas Struktur Liminalitas Dan Komunitas Menurut Victor Turner* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1990), 35.

⁶² Waris, "Construction of Understanding of the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

⁶³ Sumi, "Construction of Understanding of the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

years, the people of Gagakan village, who are predominantly Muslim, have learned a lot about religious issues, including the law on marriage. This is the reason why many leave the *boyongan* tradition. However, there are several perceptions regarding the solution to the *boyongan* tradition. The bride who got the *boyongan* had to do it. As for the size of time, not much. At least the prospective groom stays overnight at the bride's house until the *eslametan* event is over. After that, the boy can return home. This is due to Islam, which does not allow men and women who are not *mabrams* to be in the same room. But the decision is back on the personality of each family.⁶⁴

It was different from other opinion that the *boyongan* tradition was indeed not by Islam. Naturally, some people do not carry out this tradition. If you look at the character and background of the people of Gagakan village in the current era, it is rare for people to carry out this tradition.⁶⁵ Based on Islamic rules that when there are prospective bride and groom who have to do *boyongan*, then both of them can be married first according to religion. Another solution, if it is not permitted, then the places to stay between men and women differentiated. In that sense, the man sleeps in a different room or can sleep with the woman's father.⁶⁶

Based on the exposure of the Gagakan village community regarding boyongan, there is a transition that occurs in a tradition. The *boyongan* tradition, which was originally carried out by the Gagakan community by their ancestral heritage, underwent a transition when this tradition was not carried out. This tradition is not completely erased, but some things are done differently. This shows that the *boyongan* tradition has undergone several changes by the people of Gagakan village. The *boyongan* tradition carried out by the Gagakan village community is only a "requirement" for holding a wedding so that the afterlife can avoid bad things.

Conclusion

The boyongan tradition, practiced in Raven Village, can be traced back to the Majapahit era and involves a series of pre-wedding events. Despite conflicting with Islamic teachings, which emphasize avoiding situations that may lead to adultery, the people of Gagakan Village continue to uphold this custom due to their belief that it safeguards their families from potential disasters and dangers. The boyongan tradition strictly applies to the bride and groom, with its observance determined by the number of market days, the contract date, and the manner in which the woman enters the house. The religious understanding of the boyongan tradition among the people of Gagakan Village is diverse, leading to various interpretations and resulting in changes to the tradition's practice.

Based on the research findings, the boyongan tradition has undergone significant transitions. Firstly, some members of Gagakan Village still adhere to the boyongan tradition, preserving its historical roots and cultural significance. Secondly, the tradition's practice has been adapted to align with Islamic principles, reflecting the community's efforts to reconcile their cultural heritage with religious norms. This adaptation includes measures like limiting the duration of the stay, arranging separate accommodations for the bride and groom, and conducting a religious marriage beforehand. The evolution of the boyongan tradition in Gagakan Village highlights the complexities of cultural preservation amidst religious considerations. The practice of the tradition has become a reflection of the community's willingness to preserve their heritage while

⁶⁴ Wajib "Construction of Understanding of the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

⁶⁵ Waris, "Construction of Understanding of the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

⁶⁶ Khairin Niswati, "Construction of Understanding of the Boyongan Tradition", 2021

accommodating religious sensitivities. The diversity in religious interpretations further emphasizes the importance of dialogue and understanding between cultural and religious perspectives.

In conclusion, the boyongan tradition remains an integral part of Gagakan Village's identity and history, demonstrating the resilience of cultural practices throughout generations. The ongoing transitions in the practice of the tradition reflect the dynamic nature of cultural customs, as communities adapt to changing societal values and religious beliefs. This research contributes to the broader understanding of how cultural heritage can coexist with religious principles, fostering mutual respect and appreciation for the rich tapestry of traditions that shape our communities.

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