

# Legalization of Pre-Marriage Agreement *Pandhābā* from Islamic Law Perspective (A Case Study in Bakeong Village, Sumenep)

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## Abstract

The pre-marriage *pandhābā* legalization in Bakeong Village, Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep is a procession of efforts to free a *pandhābā* child from bad luck and all forms of distress in his life which are carried out before the marriage ceremony procession. There are two objectives in this research; first, to find out the procession of implementing the tradition, and the second how was the view of Islamic law on the tradition. The research used a normative-qualitative approach with a type of case studies. Collecting data through unstructured interviews, non-participant observation and documentation. Data were analyzed using deductions, presentations and conclusions deductively. Data sources were from people who understood and were directly involved in the implementation, and from other records relating to the object of research. The research results were, *firstly*; In the *pandhābā* legalization procession there were several stages, such as attributes (*sesajen*) to be used, *rasolan* and *khatmil Qur'ān*, and bathing the *pandhābā* children with the water of seven wells and *campoan* mixed with flowers. *Second*; this research of Islamic law toward the tradition is not found any deviation. Even this tradition can be said to be *sunnah* to do, because it was full of Islamic teachings such as alms and pray together.

**Keywords:** Islamic Law; *Pandhābā*; Tradition

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## INTRODUCTION

Allah created human with sexual lust. This sexual urge makes human able to have offspring as the next form of regeneration. This is the nature of humans, even by all living things.<sup>1</sup> Marriage is a contract that legalizes association and limits the rights and obligations between a man and a woman who is not the *mahram*. Allah Almighty said in the Koran:

وَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ أَلَّا تُقْسِطُوا فِي الْيَتَامَىٰ فَانكِحُوا مَا طَابَ لَكُمْ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ مَثْنَىٰ وَثُلَّةَ وَرُبُعٍ فَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ أَلَّا تَعْدِلُوا فَوَاحِدَةً أَوْ مَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَانُكُمْ ذَٰلِكُمْ أَزْنَىٰ أَلَّا تَعُولُوا<sup>2</sup>

“If you fear you might fail to give orphan women their ‘due’ rights ‘if you were to marry them’, then marry other women of your choice—two, three, or four. But if you are afraid you will fail to maintain justice, then ‘content yourselves with’ one<sup>1</sup> or those ‘bondwomen’ in your possession.<sup>2</sup> This way you are less likely to commit injustice”<sup>3</sup>

In the view of Islam, marriage is *sunnah* of Allāh and His Rasūl. *Sunnah* of Allāh means according to the *qudrah* and *iradah* of Allāh in the creation of this world. Meanwhile, *Sunnah* of Rasūlullāh means a tradition established by Rasūl for himself and his followers.<sup>4</sup> In carrying out marriage, the Madurese community has never been separated or identical to the customs or

<sup>1</sup>Muhyidin Abdusshomad, *Fiqh Tradisional* (Malang: Pustaka Bayan, 2004), 371.

<sup>2</sup> al-Qur`ān al-Nisā` (4): 3

<sup>3</sup>Departemen Agama RI, *Syaamil al-Qur`an The Miracle 15 in 1* (Bandung: PT. Sygma Examedia Arkanleema, 2009), 151.

<sup>4</sup>Amin Syarifuddin, *Garis-Garis Besar Fiqh* (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2005), 76.

traditions that are always carried out in their respective regions. The term tradition generally refers to values, norms and customs that have long been valid, and are still accepted, followed, and even preserved by certain groups of people.<sup>5</sup>In Indonesia, tradition means everything such as customs, habits, teachings and so on, and is passed down from the ancestors, or everything that is transmitted and passed on from the past to the present.<sup>6</sup>

According to the Madurese community, *pandhābā* is a man who has two sisters or vice versa. According to the residents of Bakeong Village, that *pandhābā* person must be legalized so that his household life is safe, secure, and peaceful. If it is not carried out properly, something bad will happen. According to the villagers of Bakeong Village, it is called “*ngēskēskaartanahtarētannah*” (using up other relatives’ assets).<sup>7</sup>

The implementation of this legalization ritual is also very interesting and identical with the attributes or offerings that must be provided, such as *kocorcake*, skewered pancake or *ēto’or* (in Madurese language) as tall as the person. Then, he is bathed in flower water by the family and covered in a shroud and given money by the person who bathes him with a quantity that begins with “sa” such as *saēbu* (one thousand), *sapoloēbu* (ten thousand), *saēketēbu* (fifty thousand), *saratosēbu* (one thousand), and *sajutah* (one million).

In this research, what needs to be done more deeply is about the procession of implementing the *pandhābā* legalization carried out before the marriage ceremony in Bakeong Village. The time of its execution and implementation procession are very different from other researches on *pandhābā*. Moreover, it is about how Islamic law views the implementation of this tradition. It is because, there are many views of part of the community, that the ancestral traditions which are still preserved by their successors tend to be incompatible with Islamic teachings. Some even think of shirk and making it up in religion (*bid’ah*).

There are several previous researches on the *rokat pandhābā* carried out by the Madurese community. However, the substance of the discussion was different from this research, such as (a) The *Rokat Pandhābā* Ritual Tradition in Pademawu Barat Village, Pademawu Sub-District, Pamekasan District. This research focused more on history, objects, implementation time, and changes in traditional culture.<sup>8</sup>(b) Analysis of *Rokat Pandhābā* Culture in Durbuk Village, Pademawu Sub-District, Pamekasan District, Madura. This writing focused more on local

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<sup>5</sup>M. Zenrif, *Realitas Keluarga Muslim Antara Mitos Dan Doktrin Agama* (Malang: UIN Malang Press, 2008), 21.

<sup>6</sup>Zenrif, 21.

<sup>7</sup>Wawancara langsung dengan Bapak Anwar, 28 April 2019.

<sup>8</sup>Multazam, “Tradisi Ritual Rokot Pandhābā Di Desa Pademawu Barat Kecamatan Pademawu Kabupaten Pamekasan” (Skripsi, Pamekasan, STAIN Pamekasan, 2013).

culture.<sup>9</sup>(c) *Rokat Pandhābā* as a Cultural Performance for the Madurese Community in Sumenep District. The ritual in this Rokat is a more dominant mask performance.<sup>10</sup>(d) The *Rokat Pandhābā* Tradition in Beluk Raja Village, Ambunten Sub-District, Sumenep District, East Java Province. The research was conducted to reveal the background of the implementation of the *rokat pandhābā*, the effect of its value on the pattern of community life and the function of the *rokat pandhābā* in social aspects; religion, economy and culture.<sup>11</sup>(e) *Rokat Pandhābā* Ritual in Slopeng Dhalang Mask Performance “Rukun Pewaras” related to the Study of Form and Function. In this tradition, apart from being a ritual for the family where there is a *pandhābā* child, it is also a *tèngka* tradition with a debt system.<sup>12</sup> and (f) the tradition of *Rokat Pandhābā* in the Madura Community in Kalisat Village, Kalisat Sub-District, Jember District. The results of this research were about rock history and the dynamics of its development which are adapted to the times, environment and entertainment. In practice, each region has a different way of implementing *rokat pandhābā*, such as in Bakeong Village, Guluk-Guluk Sub-District, Sumenep.

This research is expected to open up insights about the various implementations of *rokat pandhābā* by the Madurese community regarding the time of the procession which is slightly different from other regions. Likewise, the legal explanation studied is related to the teaching content contained in it.

The approach used in this research was qualitative normative with the type of case study research. Normative research or also known as doctrinal research is research conducted to trace written regulations or other legal materials (which are not written).<sup>13</sup> Respondents/research informants were taken from community members who were and have carried out the *pandhābā* legalization tradition, community leaders, religious leaders, and village elders. Data collection techniques used in this research consisted of unstructured interviews, non-participant observation, and documentation.

Interviews were used to find out the ins and outs of the *pandhābā* legalization tradition, such as history, attributes/offerings that are obliged to be provided, and the procession of

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<sup>9</sup>Faizzatul Hasanah, “Analisis Kebudayaan Lokal Madura Rokat Pandhaba di Desa Durbuk Pademawu Pamekasan Madura,” *Academia.edu*, n.d., [https://www.academia.edu/36808773/Analisis\\_Kebudayaan\\_Lokal\\_Madura\\_Rokat\\_Pandhaba\\_di\\_Desa\\_Durbuk\\_Pademawu\\_Pamekasan\\_Madura](https://www.academia.edu/36808773/Analisis_Kebudayaan_Lokal_Madura_Rokat_Pandhaba_di_Desa_Durbuk_Pademawu_Pamekasan_Madura).

<sup>10</sup>Eko Wahyuni Rahayu, Wisma Nugraha Ch. R, and A.M. Hermien Kusmayanti, “Rokat Pandhābā Sebagai Pertunjukan Budaya Masyarakat Madura Di Kabupaten Sumenep,” *Gētēr; Jurnal Seni Drama, Tari, dan Musik* 1, no. 1 (Desember 2018), <https://journal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/geter/article/view/3921/2209>.

<sup>11</sup>Zainuddin, “Tradisi Rokat Pandhaba di Desa Beluk Raja Kecamatan Ambunten Kabupaten Sumenep Provinsi Jawa Timur” (Skripsi, Yogyakarta, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2016), <http://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/21138/>.

<sup>12</sup>Peni Prihantini, “Ritual Rokat Pandhābā Dalam Pertunjukan Topeng Dhalang ‘Rukun Pewaras’ Slopeng Kajian Bentuk Dan Fungsi,” *Terob* VIII, no. 1 (Oktober 2017): 54–73.

<sup>13</sup>Jonaedi Efendi and Jhonny Ibrahim, *Metode Penelitian Hukum* (Depok: Prenadamedia Group, 2016), 234.

implementation events. Observations were carried out to find out firsthand the implementation of *pandhābā* legalization and match it with information obtained by researchers. Meanwhile, documentation is used to perpetuate part of the traditional implementation process.

In this research, the data analysis was carried out after a set of information and data were obtained, either by interview, observation or documentation. Then the data was examined and analyzed according to the grouping in order to be reduced to drawing conclusions.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

*Pandhābā* is one of the myths that is adhered to by the Javanese and Madurese societies and must be cleaned by means of *rokat* (*ruwat*) so that it does not interfere with the way of life of people who fall into its category. Then this myth is transformed into a tradition passed down from generation to generation. It is not only *pandhābā* that must be cleansed, but there are many other traditions that must be preserved by the Javanese and Madurese people.

Tradition comes from Latin, *tradition* which means “passed on” or “habit”. In the simplest sense, it is something that has been done for a long time and has become part of the life of a community group. In Indonesian, tradition is defined as; 1) hereditary customs (from the ancestors) that are still practiced in the community, and 2) an assessment or opinion that existing methods are the best and correct.<sup>14</sup> Thus, tradition means everything like; customs, habits, teachings and so on, and carried out from generation to generation from the ancestors, or it can also be interpreted as everything that is transmitted, passed on from the past to the present.<sup>15</sup>

In the teachings of Islam, culture can be called *al-'urf* or habits practiced by a group of people. However, what is recommended is good habits or customs (*hasanah*), while bad habits (*sayyiah*) should be kept away from people's lives.<sup>16</sup> Even the Islamic Sharia in the early days accommodated and recognized customs or traditions as long as they did not conflict with the Qur'an and the Sunnah Rasūlullāh saw. The arrival of Islam does not eliminate traditions that have been integrated with society, but selectively recognizes and preserves traditions that are in accordance with syarī'ah and correct those that are contrary to syarī'ah.<sup>17</sup> Apart from that, Islam is also very tolerant of tradition. As Rasūlullāh saw said:

يَسِّرُوا وَلَا تُعَسِّرُوا، وَبَسِّرُوا وَلَا تُنْفِرُوا<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup>“Tradisi,” in *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Daring/Online)*, Mei 2020, <https://kbbi.web.id/tradisi>.

<sup>15</sup>Zenrif, *Realitas Keluarga Muslim Antara Mitos Dan Doktrin Agama*, 21.

<sup>16</sup>Muyassarrah, “Nilai Budaya Walimah Perkawinan (Walīmatul ‘Urusy) dalam Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Masyarakat (Studi Kasus di Kelurahan Gondorio Ngaliyan Semarang),” *Inferensi; Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 10, no. 2 (Desember 2016): 546, <http://dx.doi.org/10.18326/infsl3.v10i2.539-558>.

<sup>17</sup>Iwan Hermawan, *Ushul Fiqh Metode Kajian Hukum Islam* (Kuningan: Hidayatul Qur'an, 2019), 100.

<sup>18</sup>Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi’ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muhib al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, I, vol. 1 (Kairo: al-Salafiyyah, 1400), 42.

"Make it easy for all of you and don't make things difficult for others, give them good news, and don't make them run away."

The above *hadīs* gives a message that Islam is a religion that gives good news, and does not make others hate it. It makes it easy and does not make it difficult. For example, by accepting a system from outside of Islam that invites goodness. This proves that Islam is not hostile to existing traditions /customs. More than that, Islam accommodates traditions that can bring to the common good. As long as there is no conflict with the Shari'a.<sup>19</sup>

In general, Madurese people/tribes, both those living on Madura Island, and outside Madura Island such as Java, use the term "*Rokat*". While only in Bakeong Village, Guluk-GulukSumenep Sub-District, use the term "*Pengesahan*" instead of the term "*Rokat*". According to the researcher, the term difference is most likely due to some of the rituals being different between Bakeong Village and other villages/regions. In Pamekasan Encyclopedia, *rokat* is defined as a ritual ceremony to dispel or eliminate bad luck or calamity that befalls or threatens a person or group of people.<sup>20</sup>

There are several types of *rokat* carried out by the Madurese community, such as; (1) *RokatBaliuni*, a *ruwatan* ritual that is held to ask for safety and to improve the less fortunate fate person because of the *bengatowanah* (ancestor/*baureksa*) or the guard of the *tanéan* who does not please that person. (2) *Rokat Bhumé*, some call it *RokatDhisa*. (3) *Rokat Dhisa*, a *ruwatan* activity carried out by the village farmers concerned before the rice or secondary crop planting season. (4) *Rokat Pandhābā*, a *ruwatan* held to keep children who are in the *sukerta* (threatened) category from various forms of threats. (5) *Rokat Roma*, a ritual performed by the family when they are about to occupy a new house. (6) *Rokat Senjata*, this *rokat* is carried out once a year, it is when it comes to cleaning heirloom weapons, such as *keris*, spears, machetes and others. The time is usually on 1–10 of the month of *Sora* (*Muharram*). (7) *Rokat Sora*, a ritual that is held to invoke the safety and fertility of the dry land, the yard, and the house and its contents. (8) *Rokat Tanéan*, a *ruwat* activity carried out in settlements and their surroundings, and it is almost the same as the *Rokat Roma*. (9) *Rokat Tasé'*, it is an annual ritual carried out by the fishing community, and (10) *Rokat Bhuju'*, there are also those who say *Rokat Kobhurān*. It is a *Rokat* event which is held in a grave or *asta* where there are many graves and there is one sacred tomb. This rockat is carried out to commemorate the heritage, tradition, and services of the *ulama*/figure/magic person who was

<sup>19</sup>Muhammad Ali, "Muslim Diversity: Islam and Local Tradition in Java and Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 1 (June 1, 2011): 1, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v1i1.1-35>.

<sup>20</sup>Arif Akhyat et al., *Ensiklopedi Pamekasan; Alam, Masyarakat, dan Budaya*, ed. Chairil Basar et al., Pertama (Yogyakarta: Pemerintah Kabupaten Pamekasan, 2010), 314.

sacred to his grave,<sup>21</sup> or with the aim of asking for protection from the spirits of the ancestors/*bhuju*’ so that the villagers will be safe and avoid harm and get bountiful crops.<sup>22</sup>

Among the Madurese community, *Pandhābā* is a word that comes from the Pandawa Javanese language. This word is a term in Sanskrit<sup>23</sup>, which literally means the five sons of Prabu Pandu Dewanata.<sup>24</sup> A King of Astina or Hastinapura<sup>25</sup> in *Wiracarita* (heroic story) of *Mahabharata*<sup>26</sup>. Pandawa consists of five people, including: Yudistira, Bima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sadewa.<sup>27</sup>

Pandawa Lima was performed through a shadow puppet show which was used by the guardians (*wali*) as a means of preaching to spread Islam. An art that was being favored by the community at that time was leather puppet (*wayang kulit*). It is said that when *WaliSongo* were having difficulties in preaching Islam in Java, they saw a leather puppet show. Immediately, the idea emerged to make *wayang kulit* as a means of preaching Islam.<sup>28</sup> Since then, *WaliSongo* began to study *wayang* deeply and tried to create a new play about the Five Pandavas as an integral part of the whole series of stories in the world of *wayang kulit* whose basic essence is a story about a stable cosmos and an unstable Islam.<sup>29</sup>

*Pandhābā*, which originated from Pandawa Lima and is still the belief of the Madurese community, is actually the result of the assimilation of Hindu stories into Islamic *da'wah* stories. This is implemented so that Islam can be accepted by the Javanese people who have previously rooted in Hindu-Buddhist culture. Thus, the efforts in developing leather puppet as a performing art for Islamic *da'wah* means, not only developing the forms of leather puppet images and the completeness of the means of performance, but also efforts to compile the standard of leather puppet stories that do not contradict *Tauhid*, such as the polyandry story involving Drupadi as the wife of the five Pandavas, converted into a monogamous story by depicting the Drupadi character as the wife of Yudistira, Pandu’s eldest son.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>21</sup>Fathol Khalik, “Rokat Bhuju’ Vis-Ā-Vis Kompolan (Metamorfosis Elit Madura Pasca Keruntuhan Orde Baru),” *Karsa* XII, no. 2 (Oktober 2007): 132, <http://dx.doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v12i2.137>.

<sup>22</sup>Syaf Anton WR, “Upacara Adat Rokat Disa ‘Ju’ Kae,” *Lontar Madura* (blog), Mei 2011, <http://www.lontarmadura.com/upacara-adat-rokat-disa-ju-kae-2/>.

<sup>23</sup>B. Setiawan et al., *Ensiklopedi Nasional Indonesia*, 3rd ed., vol. 14 (Jakarta: PT. Delta Pamekasan, 1997), 398.

<sup>24</sup>B. Setiawan et al., *Ensiklopedi Nasional Indonesia*, 113.

<sup>25</sup>B. Setiawan et al., *Ensiklopedi Nasional Indonesia*, 359.

<sup>26</sup>B. Setiawan et al., *Ensiklopedi Nasional Indonesia*, 34–35.

<sup>27</sup>Setiawan et al., *Ensiklopedi Nasional Indonesia*, 1997, 12:106–7.

<sup>28</sup>Multazam, “Tradisi Ritual Rokat Pandhābā Di Desa Pademawu Barat Kecamatan Pademawu Kabupaten Pamekasan,” 14.

<sup>29</sup>Multazam, 15.

<sup>30</sup>Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo; Buku Pertama yang Mengungkap Wali Songo Sebagai Fakta Sejarah*, 1st ed. (Depok: Pustaka IIMaN, 2012), 138.

According to the belief of the Madurese people, *Pandhābā* must be saved by implementing *Rokat*/legalization/*ruwat* (in Javanese) in the course of his life. There are *pandhābā* criteria that must be ratified, including, first; *Pandhābā Rato*, siblings who are all boys or only male children. Second; *Pandhābā Potrè*, siblings who are all girls. Third; *Pandhābā Tang-Antèng*, only daughter. Fourth; *Pandhābā Macam*, a child who has many siblings, but who lives only one person. Fifth; *Pandhābā Mantan*, two siblings consisting of a boy and a girl. Sixth; *Pandhābā Tangès*, three or more brothers, one male and one of his sisters died. Seventh; *Pandhābā Sendāng Apèt Pancoran*; three children, boy, girl and boy. Eighth; *Pandhābā Pancoran Apèt Sendāng*; three children, girl, boy and girl. Ninth; *Pandhābā Amok Dhālangkong*, three children, girl, girl, boy. And tenth; *Pandhābā Lèma`*, all five brothers or sisters.<sup>31</sup>

Bakeong Village is located in the central area and is the western border area of Sumenep District which is part of Guluk-Guluk District. As explained at the beginning of this paper, based on the research data that has been done a lot on *pandhābā*, Bakeong Village has its own term. That is, using the term “Pengesahan” (legalization) instead of “Rokat” as in other areas. So the pronunciation becomes “*Pandhābā Legalization*”, not “*Rokat Pandhābā*”.

Madurese people who uphold the customs of their ancestors will always make efforts to get rid of *bal`* (disaster/danger) and expect *lilla* (blessing) from the *MorbhāJhāghāt* (Lord of the Universe) for what will be carried out. All of which originate and originate from the Qur`an, it's just that with a different technique. This is as stated:

وَقَالَ رَبُّكُمْ ادْعُونِي أَسْتَجِبْ لَكُمْ إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَسْتَكْبِرُونَ عَنْ عِبَادَتِي سَيَدْخُلُونَ جَهَنَّمَ دَاخِرِينَ<sup>32</sup>

“And your Lord says, “Call upon Me; I will respond to you.” Indeed, those who disdain My worship will enter Hell [rendered] contemptible.”<sup>33</sup>

The above verse is an argument which shows that every being must ask his *Khaliq*. Therefore, all ugliness, suffering, pain and downturn must be prevented. Likewise, happiness and prosperity must be requested from the start. One of them is by prayer, because prayer will give a very big suggestion in realizing someone's hopes. The Madurese community is very dominant that reason and revelation will complement each other in their pursuit of happiness and perfection of life in the world. Whether the request is granted depends on Allāh

Swt., because He is the one who has the authority to grant or reject the request of His servant, as the verse states:

<sup>31</sup>Akhyat et al., *Ensiklopedi Pamekasan; Alam, Masyarakat, dan Budaya*, 316. Lihat juga Hasanah, “Analisis Kebudayaan Lokal Madura Rokat Pandhaba di Desa Durbuk Pademawu Pamekasan Madura,” 3.

<sup>32</sup> al-Qur`an Gāfir (40): 60

<sup>33</sup>Departemen Agama RI, *Syaamil al-Qur`an The Miracle 15 in 1*, 945.

وَإِذَا سَأَلَكَ عِبَادِي عَنِّي فَإِنِّي قَرِيبٌ ۖ أُجِيبُ دَعْوَةَ الدَّاعِ إِذَا دَعَانِ ۖ فَلْيَسْتَجِيبُوا لِي وَلْيُؤْمِنُوا بِي لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْشُدُونَ<sup>34</sup>

“When My servants ask you ‘O Prophet’ about Me: I am truly near. I respond to one’s prayer when they call upon Me. so let them respond ‘with obedience’ to Me and believe in Me, perhaps they will be guided ‘to the Right Way’.”<sup>35</sup>

The *pandhābā* legalization carried out by Bakeong Village people is not just a prayer ritual, but it is more than that they provide various attributes as a community in carrying out activities. For example, *sarabhi*, *kocor*, *nyèor*, shroud, grilled chicken, live chicken, *tumpeng* rice, *beddhā* ‘*kembhāng*, *aèngcampoan*, *aèngpèttonsomor*, and *aèngpèttonsombher*.

The implementation of the *pandhābā* legalization ritual carried out by the people of Bakeong Village is not as complicated as the implementation of the *rokatpandhābā* carried out in other areas. Likewise, with the time of implementation, both the date and time,<sup>36</sup> including prayers that must be read is not *macapat/mamaca* as is customary in Madura. There are also no mask performances, and the time for the implementation of the *pandhābā* legalization ritual in Bakeong Village is usually carried out before the *pandhābā* makes the marriage ceremony. This is so that after marriage and crossing the household ark is free from all kinds of dangers and calamities that will befall him in the future. The belief of the people that if a *pandhābā* child is not legalized (*èrokat*) when he reaches adulthood, during his life will not find happiness and is always exposed to disaster. People believe that this doesn’t just happen to him, but it will happen to other siblings if they are still alive.<sup>37</sup>

In the procession of *pandhābā* legalization carried out by the people of Bakeong Village, there are several equipment provided, such as *sarabhi* (pancake/*surabi*) *è to’or* (tied) as tall as the *pandhābā*’s body, *kocor* (bowsprit cake), *beddhā* ‘*kembhāng* (powder mixed with flowers), *ajāmodi*’ (live chicken), *nyèor* (coconut, usually Gading/Kuning coconut), shrouds, *tumpeng* rice, and grilled chicken. Invited people consist of relatives, family and neighbors who heard the crowing of the rooster from the house of the *pandhābā*.

The stages in the *pandhābā* legalization procession are led by a *kyai/ustaz*/religious figure which begins with the recitation of the *Surahal-Fātihah* as a form of *tawassul* to *Rasūlullāh* Saw, friends, *tābiīn*, *wali* and *ṣāhib al-hājat*. After that, the reading of *zikir* together, guided by *kyai/ustaz*/religious leaders, is carried out. After the recitation is finished, it is continued with the 30 *juz* chapters of the Koran which are read by the invitees together based on the division of *juz*. After completing the *Khatmil Qur`ān* followed by a prayer together led by the initial guide.

<sup>34</sup> al-Qur`ān al-Baqarah (2): 186

<sup>35</sup>Departemen Agama RI, *Syaamil al-Qur`an The Miracle 15 in 1*, 53.

<sup>36</sup>Rahayu, Ch. R, and Kusmayanti, “Rokat Pandhābā Sebagai Pertunjukan Budaya Masyarakat Madura Di Kabupaten Sumenep.”

<sup>37</sup>Tim Pakem Maddhu, *Kembhāng Bhābur 3* (Jakarta Timur: Yudhistira, 2012), 18.



The highlight of this *pandhābā* legalization is the procession of bathing the *pandhābā*. The water comes from seven wells, seven sources and *aèngcampoan* mixed with *beddhā 'kembhang*. All of them are put in a bucket or barrel. The umbrella used is coconut shell that has not been dry (in language Java is known as *Siwur*) and its stalk is from a *banyan* tree branch that is still complete with its leaves. The *pandhābā*, wearing clothes covering his genitals, is seated on a chair in his yard, then in turn is bathed by his family, both from his father's and mother's lines and also by his closest neighbors as far as they are able to hear the crowing of the cock from the house of the *pandhābā*. The most important thing is that before bathing, the person concerned must give an amount of money starting with "sa" to the *pandhābā*, such as, *saèbu*, *sapoloèbu*, *saghāmi' èbu*, *saèkètèbu* and *saratosèbu*. After finishing the bath (*siraman*), the last thing is to eat the *tumpeng* rice together that has been prepared.

One of the traditions that is still preserved by the community to this day is the tradition of *rokat*, such as *rokat/pandhābā* legalization by the people of Bakeong Village, Guluk-Guluk Sub-District, Sumenep District. The word "*rokat*" comes from the Javanese language "*ruwat*" which is a Javanese tradition that describes something that may or may not be done. If they are violated, they will receive sin (*sukerta*) and punishment from God and nature. And in another dimension, the person will get the punishment from *BathariKala*, the figure of a sinner hunter and predator. Therefore, the traditional or traditional culture which has been preserved until now is a human controller in maintaining harmony with God, nature, the social environment and the cultural environment.<sup>38</sup>

*Pandhābā* legalization that is preserved by the people of Bakeong Village, Guluk-Guluk Sub-District, Sumenep District is a culture that has long been carried out from generation to generation. Its implementation, which is carried out before the implementation of the marriage ceremony for children who are in the *pandhābā* category, is not a legal requirement for a marriage. There is no indication of this kind of tradition in the Koran nor in the hadīṣ of the prophet, because this culture is a long and continuous process of diffusion, acculturation and assimilation of various cultures originating from various ethnic/racial communities.<sup>39</sup> So according to *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, this tradition (*'urf*) is included in the category of special (*khāṣ*) and good (*ṣaḥīḥ*) because it does not

<sup>38</sup>Samsul Arifin, "Sastra Pesantren Untuk Memperkuat Kembali Kebersamaan (Kajian Teks Dan Konteks Doa Pangrokat)," n.d., [http://repository.kemdikbud.go.id/10065/1/dokumen\\_makalah\\_1540519422.pdf](http://repository.kemdikbud.go.id/10065/1/dokumen_makalah_1540519422.pdf).

<sup>39</sup>Pendapat Masyhur Abadi yang dikutip oleh Mohammad Hidayatullah. Lihat Mohammad Hidayatullah, "Integration of Islam and Local Culture: Tandhe' in Madura," *Miqot* XLII, no. 1 (2018): 197.

contradict Islamic law<sup>40</sup> and is only practiced by the people of Bakeong Village<sup>41</sup>. This is also supported by the rule which states that:

الْأَصْلُ فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ الْإِبَاحَةُ حَتَّى يَدُلُّ الدَّلِيلُ عَلَى التَّحْرِيمِ<sup>42</sup>

“The origin (principal) of an (action) is permissible, so there are arguments that show its prohibition”

So that the derivative rules that are directly related to the traditions/culture in society are:

الْأَصْلُ فِي الْعَادَاتِ الْإِبَاحَةُ فَلَا يَحْرُمُ مِنْهَا إِلَّا مَا وَرَدَ تَحْرِيمُهُ<sup>43</sup>

“The origin (main) in the culture/tradition is permissible, so it is not allowed to prohibit it unless there are arguments against it”.

The determination of these norms is based on observations made by the scholars and did not find specific arguments that discuss issues of tradition/culture that have taken root in society and are not against Islamic law. In general, the scholars base their arguments regarding tradition/culture on the verses of the Koran in surah al-A'rāf (7): 199 and al-Hājj (22) 78. While the basis of *hadīṣ* which is used as evidence is the one narrated by Imām Aḥmad from Ibn Mas'ūd from Zirru bin Ḥubaisy line in the *Minhāj al-Sunnah* book<sup>44</sup> and from another line in the *Muwāfaqah al-Khubra al-Khabar* book with a slightly different editorial<sup>45</sup>. The comments from Ibn Taimiyyah and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī in their respective books, that the *hadīth* is the status of *Mauquf Ḥasan*.<sup>46</sup>:

فَمَا رَأَى الْمُسْلِمُونَ حَسَنًا فَهُوَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ حَسَنٌ وَمَا رَأَوْا سَيِّئًا فَهُوَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ سَيِّئٌ<sup>47</sup>

“What Muslims see is good, so according to Allāh it is also good, and what Muslims see bad is bad according to Allāh.”

Apart from the existence of the tradition/culture, it can also be viewed in terms of the procession of the event. There are three main things that need to be examined to assess whether the implementation of the tradition intersects with Islamic law or not. First; The initial activity carried out is *Khatmil Qur'ān* (chanting the Koran for 30 juz simultaneously). Muslims are

<sup>40</sup> Abd Wahhab Khallāf, *Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, 7th ed. (Kairo: al-Da'wah al-Islāmiyyah Syabāb al-Azhār, 1965), 89. Bandingkan dengan Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (Kairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1965), 274. Lihat juga Wahbah al-Zuhailī, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh al-Islāmī*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Damaskus: Dār al-Fikr, 1986), 830.

<sup>41</sup> Sepanjang pengetahuan penulis bahwa prosesi dengan acara mengkhawatirkan al-Qur'ān hanya ada di Desa Bakeong. Karena belum ada penelitian yang salah satu pelaksanaannya mirip dengan penelitian ini.

<sup>42</sup> Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Asybah wa al-Nazāir fī Qawā'id wa Furū' Fiqh al-Syāfiyyah*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Riyād: Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz, 1997), 102.

<sup>43</sup> al-Suyūṭī, 1:102.

<sup>44</sup> Abū al-'Abbās Taqīyy al-Dīn Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taimiyyah, *Minhāj Al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah*, ed. Muḥammad Rasyād Sālim, 1st ed., vol. 2, 1986, 77–78.

<sup>45</sup> Lihat 'Alī bin Aḥmad bin Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Muwāfaqah Al-Khubra al-Khabar Fī Takhrīj Aḥādīṣ al-Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī and Subḥī al-Sayyid Jāsim al-Sāmīrāī, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Riyād: al-Rusyd, 1993), 435.

<sup>46</sup> Mauquf artinya *hadīṣ* tersebut disandarkan kepada sahabat, bukan sabda nabi secara langsung. Namun demikian *hadīṣ* ini masih digolongkan kepada *hadīṣ* yang baik untuk dijadikan sebuah hujjah.

<sup>47</sup> Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥanbal, *Al-Musnad*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Syākir, 1st ed., vol. 3 (Kairo: Dār al-Ḥadīṣ, 1995), 504–5.

encouraged to always read the Koran so that their life is calm, because reading the Koran is the same as remembering Allāhswt as the Creator. It is as Allāhswt said:

أَلَا بِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ تَطْمَئِنُّ الْقُلُوبُ<sup>48</sup>

“Remember, only by remembering Allah will the heart be at ease”.<sup>49</sup>

In addition, reading the Koran has its own privileges. For those who read the Koran, the reward is given every letter, not every sentence, or even every verse. This is based on what Rasūlullāh saw stated in a hadīṣ:

مَنْ قَرَأَ الْقُرْآنَ عَلَى آيٍ حَرْفٍ كَانَ، كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَهُ عَشْرَ حَسَنَاتٍ، وَمَا عَنْهُ عَشْرَ سَيِّئَاتٍ، وَرَفَعَ لَهُ عَشْرَ دَرَجَاتٍ، وَمَنْ قَرَأَ فَأَعْرَبَ بَعْضًا وَلَحَنَ بَعْضًا كُتِبَ لَهُ عَشْرُونَ حَسَنَةً وَمُحِي عَنْهُ عَشْرُونَ سَيِّئَةً، وَرَفَعَ لَهُ عَشْرُونَ دَرَجَةً، وَمَنْ قَرَأَ فَأَعْرَبَ كُلَّهُ كُتِبَ لَهُ أَرْبَعُونَ حَسَنَةً وَمُحِي عَنْهُ أَرْبَعُونَ سَيِّئَةً وَرَفَعَ لَهُ أَرْبَعُونَ دَرَجَةً<sup>50</sup>

“Whoever reads any letter of the Koran, Allāh will write for him the ten virtues and eliminate ten ugliness and raise them ten degrees. And whoever reads the Koran in arabic which is partially fluent and partly reciting, for him is written twenty virtues, removed twenty ugliness and raised twenty degrees. And whoever reads al-Qur`ān in arabic which is fluent throughout, written for him the forty virtues, eliminated forty ugliness and raised forty degrees “.

The other side is that the implementation of *rokat* in this form is less expensive and works effectively and efficiently, because those who attended were definitely invited. In contrast to other forms such as *mamaca* and mask performances.<sup>51</sup> Even so, the people of Bakeong Village have not been familiar with the implementation of the *rokatpandhābā* with *mamaca* and/or mask performances from the start.

*Second*; food is made and served and given to the invitation. When holding a *pandhābā* legalization, usually *ṣāhib al-hājah* provides food, both of which are a requirement in activities such as; *sarabhi*, *kocor*, and grilled chicken, as well as others such as; Fruits and rice along with side dishes to be eaten together. Those are all to be donated to the relatives and those who are doing the *Khatmil Qur`ān*. In the Koran, giving alms by giving up part of the assets of the work is a command. As He says:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَنْفِقُوا مِنْ طَيِّبَاتِ مَا كَسَبْتُمْ وَمِمَّا أَخْرَجْنَا لَكُمْ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ<sup>52</sup>

“O believers! Donate from the best of what you have earned and of what We have produced for you from the earth.”<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> al-Qur`ān al-Ra`d (13): 28

<sup>49</sup>Departemen Agama RI, *Syaamil al-Qur`an The Miracle 15 in 1*, 501.

<sup>50</sup>Abū al-Qāsim Sulaimān bin Aḥmad al-Ṭabrānī, *Al-Mu`jam al-Ausaf*, ed. Ṭāriq bin Auḍ Allāh bin Muḥammad and ‘Abd al-Muḥsin bin Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusainī, vol. 5 (Kairo: Dār al-Ḥaramain, 1995), 205.

<sup>51</sup>Badrul Chair, “Dimensi Kosmologis Ritual Rokot Pandhaba Pada Masyarakat Madura,” *Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, Dan Tradisi)* 6 (June 29, 2020): 134–35, <https://doi.org/10.18784/smart.v6i1.952>.

<sup>52</sup> al-Qur`ān al-Baqarah (2): 267

<sup>53</sup>Departemen Agama RI, *Syaamil al-Qur`an The Miracle 15 in 1*, 87.

People who like to give charity/invest their property are one of the criteria for those who believe.<sup>54</sup> and the promise of Allāhswt that whoever gives alms/gives information, it will be replaced regardless of the amount.<sup>55</sup> As well as by doing alms/infāq, whatever form of business will not suffer a loss.<sup>56</sup>

Apart from what has been stated in the Koran about alms/infāq, in various hadīṣ it is also stated that alms can prevent a person from disasters in the future. As the hadīṣ:

بَاكِرُوا بِالصَّدَقَةِ، فَإِنَّ الْبَلَاءَ لَا يَتَخَطَّاهَا<sup>57</sup>

“Hasten alms, because disaster will not precede it”

Including the greatness of alms that can save someone from torment in the afterlife.

تَصَدَّقُوا، فَإِنَّ الصَّدَقَةَ فَكَأَنَّكُمْ مِنَ النَّارِ<sup>58</sup>

“Give charity, because almsgiving is your savior from hell fire”.

If on the day of retribution alone, almsgiving can save someone from the torments of hellfire, then based on this *hadīṣ*, all forms of disasters that will befall a person on their way can also be prevented by *sadaqa*. Even Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jauziyyah wrote in his book, that almsgiving is very effective in rejecting various disasters. Even if the person giving alms is an immoral expert, *ẓālim*, even infidels.<sup>59</sup>

*Third*; Bathing the *pandhābā* child. The final procession of the *pandhābā* legalization is bathing him. Usually the *pandhābā* is bathed in his house yard. He is seated on a chair, then bathed by his family, relatives and close neighbors as far as the cock crowing is from the *pandhābā*'s house. When bathed, of course with clothes that cover the genitals, both men and women. So, from the point of view of Islamic law there is no problem, because nothing is violated when bathing the *pandhābā*.

As a result, the tradition of *pandhābā* legalization that has been running in the Bakeong Village community and was carried out before the implementation of the marriage contract for *pandhābā* children, may (*mubāh*) be carried out. It can even be at a highly recommended level (*mustahab*) because it cannot be abandoned. In the end, whatever is done by the community,

<sup>54</sup> al-Qur`ān al-Baqarah (2): 3 الَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْغَيْبِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنْفِقُونَ

<sup>55</sup> al-Qur`ān Sabā` (34): 39 وَمَا أَنتَقِمُ مِنْ شَيْءٍ فَهُوَ يُخْلِفُهُ

<sup>56</sup> al-Qur`ān Fāṭir (35): 29

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَتْلُونَ كِتَابَ اللَّهِ وَأَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَأَنفَقُوا مِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ سِرًّا وَعَلَانِيَةً يَرْجُونَ تِجَارَةً لَّنْ تَبُورَ

<sup>57</sup> Abū al-Qāsim Sulaimān bin Aḥmad al-Ṭabrānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-Ausaf*, ed. Ṭāriq bin Auḍ Allāh bin Muḥammad and 'Abd al-Muḥsin bin Ibrāhīm al-Husainī, vol. 6 (Kairo: Dār al-Haramain, 1995), 9.

<sup>58</sup> Abū al-Qāsim Sulaimān bin Aḥmad al-Ṭabrānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-Ausaf*, ed. Ṭāriq bin Auḍ Allāh bin Muḥammad and 'Abd al-Muḥsin bin Ibrāhīm al-Husainī, vol. 8 (Kairo: Dār al-Haramain, 1995), 90.

<sup>59</sup> Syams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Qayyim al-Jauziyyah, *Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyab Min al-Kalam al-Tayyib*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Arnāuṭ and Ibrāhīm al-Arnāuṭ (Damaskus: Dār al-Bayān, 1973), 50.

especially the community Bakeong Village, Guluk-Guluk Subdistrict must be returned to its intention, because it is the spearhead of an act, it can be said to be good or not. Besides this tradition has become local wisdom that has been cultured, grown and developed and recognized and believed to be an important element capable of strengthening and strengthening social cohesion among residents, in order to maintain a harmonious relationship between society and nature.<sup>60</sup>

The *Pandhābā* legalization which is different in terms of pronunciation and implementation from other regions is a local culture that has taken root in the people of Bakeong Village. Therefore, the local culture should not be neglected as a whole, and the most important thing is that the local culture must be adapted to existing Islamic teachings. In accordance with the rules of *al-Islām Ṣālih fī kullī Makān wa fī kullī Zamān*.<sup>61</sup>

## CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The procession of *pandhābā* legalization which is a tradition of the people of Bakeong Village, Guluk-Guluk Subdistrict, Sumenep, is carried out before the implementation of the marriage contract for children who are in the *pandhābā* category. It begins with a *Rasolan* and *Khatmil Qurʻān* event for the invited neighbors. After that, it was continued with the bathing of the *pandhābā* in the yard of his house by his family, relatives and close neighbors as far as hearing the rooster crowing from the house of the *pandhābā*. The utensils used are *sarabhi* cakes tied (è to 'or) to the height of the *pandhābā* child, roasted chicken, live chickens, *nyèor Ghādding*, shrouds, tumpeng and water for bathing taken from seven wells, seven sources and *aèngcampoon*, which has been mixed with *beddhā 'kembhāng*, and also the ransom money given to the *pandhābā* by the bather.

The research on Islamic law on the tradition of *pandhābā* ratification has no irregularities in it, both in the preparation, implementation and time of bathing the *pandhābā*, so that this tradition can be carried out (*mubāh*) and traditionalized. In fact, it is highly recommended (*mustahab*) in order to do endeavors by giving alms to prevent various kinds of distress that will befall *pandhābā* children in the future. It is necessary to do further research related to the legalization/*rokat pandhābā* which is usually done with *mamaca* and/or mask performances.

<sup>60</sup>Dian Eka Indriani et al., "Traditions: Radical or Peace-Building" (Atlantis Press, January 2019), Proceedings of the International Conference on Religion and Public Civilization (ICRPC 2018), <https://doi.org/10.2991/icrpc-18.2019.3>.

<sup>61</sup>Hermansyah Hermansyah, "Islam and Local Culture in Indonesia," *Al-Albab - Borneo Journal of Religious Studies* 3, no. 1 (June 1, 2014): 55–66, <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v3i1.94>.

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