

## **Temu Manten in Javanese Traditional Marriage: A Socio-Legal Analysis of Customary Law and Islamic Law in Olak-Olak Kubu Village**

**Fitrianingsih\***

IAIN Pontianak, Pontianak, Indonesia  
[fitrianingsih790@gmail.com](mailto:fitrianingsih790@gmail.com)

**Ardiansyah**

IAIN Pontianak, Pontianak, Indonesia  
[ardiansera@iainptk.ac.id](mailto:ardiansera@iainptk.ac.id)

**Husnun Nahdhiyyah**

IAIN Pontianak, Pontianak, Indonesia  
[husnunnurhayati618@gmail.com](mailto:husnunnurhayati618@gmail.com)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.66277/mensrea.1.1.160>

Received: 24-02-2026

Revised: 27-03-2026; 09-04-2026

Approved: 15-04-2026

\* Corresponding Author

### **Abstract**

This article examines the *temu manten* ceremony in Javanese customary marriage practices in Olak-Olak Kubu Village through a socio-legal perspective on the interaction between customary law and Islamic law. While studies of Javanese wedding rituals often emphasize symbolic and cultural meanings, less attention has been given to how such traditions operate within plural legal settings and interact with Islamic legal norms. Using empirical legal research with a qualitative socio-legal approach, this study draws on in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis involving traditional leaders, religious figures, wedding practitioners, and community members. The findings show that *temu manten* is not merely a cultural performance but a socially recognized mechanism of marital legitimacy. The community places the akad nikah as the formal basis of marriage validity, while *temu manten* provides social recognition, strengthens kinship relations, and transmits values of respect, responsibility, and family harmony. The ritual is interpreted as *'urf saħih* because it is socially accepted, does not replace Islamic marriage requirements, and reinforces Islamic ethical principles. This article contributes to socio-legal scholarship by showing how local tradition functions as living law within Muslim communities.

[Artikel ini mengkaji prosesi *temu manten* dalam perkawinan adat Jawa di Desa Olak-Olak Kubu melalui perspektif socio-legal mengenai interaksi antara hukum adat dan hukum Islam. Kajian terdahulu tentang ritual perkawinan

Jawa umumnya menekankan makna simbolik dan budaya, sedangkan pembahasan mengenai bagaimana tradisi tersebut beroperasi dalam konteks pluralisme hukum dan berinteraksi dengan norma hukum Islam masih terbatas. Dengan menggunakan penelitian hukum empiris melalui pendekatan kualitatif socio-legal, penelitian ini bertumpu pada wawancara mendalam, observasi partisipatif, dan studi dokumentasi terhadap tokoh adat, tokoh agama, pelaku prosesi perkawinan, dan anggota masyarakat. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa temu manten bukan sekadar pertunjukan budaya, melainkan mekanisme legitimasi sosial atas perkawinan. Masyarakat menempatkan akad nikah sebagai dasar formal keabsahan perkawinan, sementara temu manten memberikan pengakuan sosial, memperkuat hubungan kekerabatan, serta mentransmisikan nilai penghormatan, tanggung jawab, dan keharmonisan keluarga. Tradisi ini dipahami sebagai *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* karena diterima secara sosial, tidak menggantikan syarat perkawinan menurut Islam, dan memperkuat nilai etika Islam. Artikel ini berkontribusi pada kajian socio-legal dengan menunjukkan bagaimana tradisi lokal berfungsi sebagai *living law* dalam masyarakat Muslim.]

**Keywords:** Temu Manten Ceremony, Legal Pluralism, Living Law, Javanese Customary Law, Islamic Law.

## Introduction

In many Muslim societies, legal practices are not solely shaped by formal norms derived from state law and Islamic law but are also influenced by local traditions that continue to live and develop within the social life of the community.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon reflects the existence of legal pluralism, namely the coexistence of multiple normative systems that interact in regulating social life.<sup>2</sup> In the context of marriage, customary practices often function as social mechanisms that reinforce the legitimacy of family relationships and maintain community cohesion.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the study of customary marriage practices is significant within *law and society* scholarship, as it demonstrates how legal norms are understood, negotiated, and

- 
- <sup>1</sup> See: Inna Fauziatal Ngazizah, "Transformation of Local Norms in Inheritance Division in Pantura: A Sociology of Law Approach," *Malaysian Journal of Syariah and Law* 13, no. 2 (2025): 591–603, <https://doi.org/10.33102/mjssl.vol13no2.1124>; Irawan et al., "Negotiating Legal Pluralism: Syncretism of Islamic Law and Balinese Adat in Pegayaman Village," *El-Mashlahah* 15, no. 1 (2025): 149–164, <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v15i1.9072>; Zaimuariffudin Shukri Nordin et al., "Integrating Islamic Law and Customary Law: Codification and Religious Identity in the Malay Buyan Community of Kapuas Hulu," *Journal of Islamic Law* 6, no. 1 (2025): 89–111, <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v6i1.3410>
- <sup>2</sup> Endah Mustika Pertiwi et al., "The Urgency of Legal Pluralism in Addressing Early Marriage in Indonesia," *Medina-Te: Jurnal Studi Islam* 21, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.19109/medinate.v21i1.27710>.
- <sup>3</sup> Ahmad Sahrul Febriansah Perdana and Qurrotul Ainiyah, "Reimagining Mantenan: The Changing Traditions of Javanese Marriages in Panglungan Village, East Java," *Al-Mujtahid: Journal of Islamic Family Law* 5, no. 1 (2025), <http://dx.doi.org/10.30984/ajifl.v5i1.3605>.

practiced in everyday social life. In Indonesia, the diversity of marriage traditions found across various local communities illustrates that law is not always practiced as a single, unified system, but rather through the interaction of customary norms, religious values, and social practices embedded in society.

In Islamic legal theory, the interaction between social customs and religious norms is often explained through the concept of *'urf*. In the field of *usul al-fiqh*, *'urf* refers to customs or practices that are commonly accepted and practiced by a community and may be recognized as a legitimate consideration in legal reasoning, provided that they do not contradict fundamental Islamic principles. The recognition of *'urf* illustrates the flexibility of Islamic law in accommodating local traditions and social practices. Therefore, examining local wedding traditions such as the *temu manten* ceremony through the perspective of *'urf* allows a deeper understanding of how customary practices can coexist with Islamic legal norms within Muslim societies.

Within Javanese society, one of the customary practices still preserved in wedding ceremonies is the *temu manten* ritual, which symbolically represents the meeting between the bride and groom accompanied by a series of symbolic acts and traditional rituals. This ceremony carries not only cultural meaning but also represents social values such as respect for parents, family harmony, and social legitimacy of the marital union.<sup>4</sup> In Olak-Olak Kubu Village, Sungai Raya District, the *temu manten* tradition is still practiced as an important part of Javanese customary wedding ceremonies performed by the local community. Although the majority of the community is Muslim, these customary rituals continue to be maintained and integrated into their social life. This situation demonstrates the interaction between customary law and Islamic legal norms, which shapes how the community understands and practices marriage in their daily lives. This article argues that the *temu manten* ceremony should not be understood merely as a cultural ritual, but as a form of living law that distinguishes between the religious validity of marriage established through the *akad nikah* and the social legitimacy produced through customary recognition. In this sense, the ritual reveals how Islamic law, customary norms, and community morality interact within everyday marital practices in Muslim society.

Previous studies on the *temu manten* tradition generally emphasize aspects of cultural symbolism, philosophical meaning, and its transformation within society. For example, research by Eka Ermawati et al. shows that the *temu manten* ceremony consists of a series of ritual stages such as *balangan gantal*, *wiji dadi*, and *sungkeman* each of which embodies moral values related to harmony, responsibility, and family unity, while also demonstrating that the tradition has undergone shifts in meaning

---

<sup>4</sup> Tesa Permadani, "Social Value in Panggih or Temu Manten Tradition in Temanggung Wedding," *QURU: Journal of Family Law and Culture* 1, no. 3 (2023): 279-294, <https://doi.org/10.59698/quru.v1i3.107>.

due to social change and modernization.<sup>5</sup> Other studies also argue that *temu manten* functions as a cultural mechanism for transmitting ethical values, social norms, and spiritual expectations within Javanese society, and plays a role in maintaining social cohesion and intergenerational continuity. In line with these findings, several previous studies on Javanese customary marriage have also emphasized the symbolic aspects and cultural values embedded in various wedding rituals. Meanwhile, according to Husnul Khotimah, the *temu manten* ritual is performed to prevent disturbances from evil spirits during wedding ceremonies, to ensure the formation of a harmonious family, to encourage responsibility within the household, and to maintain balance and well-being in both worldly and spiritual life<sup>6</sup>. From this body of literature, it can be observed that existing studies predominantly focus on symbolic and cultural interpretations, while socio-legal dimensions examining the interaction between customary law and Islamic legal norms remain relatively limited.

Responding to this gap, this study employs a socio-legal approach to analyze the practice of the *temu manten* ceremony in Javanese customary marriage in Olak-Olak Kubu Village and to examine how the community interprets the relationship between customary traditions and Islamic legal norms within this practice. The article addresses two main questions: first, how is the *temu manten* ceremony implemented in the social and religious life of the local community; and second, how do customary norms and Islamic legal values interact in shaping the meaning and legitimacy of marriage. By positioning the *temu manten* ceremony as a form of living law and as a socially accepted custom compatible with Islamic principles, this article contributes to law and society scholarship by showing how legal pluralism operates through everyday marital practices in Muslim communities.

### Methodology

This study employs empirical legal research with a qualitative socio-legal approach to examine the practice of the *temu manten* ceremony within Javanese customary marriage in Olak-Olak Kubu Village, Sungai Raya District. The socio-legal approach was selected because the study treats law not only as written legal norms, but also as social practices, moral expectations, and community-based norms that shape marital legitimacy in everyday life. Field data were collected in Olak-Olak Kubu Village through in-depth interviews, participant observation during wedding-related practices, and documentation of relevant customary, religious, and

---

<sup>5</sup> Eka Ermawati et al., "Pergeseran Makna Tradisi Temu Manten pada Perkawinan Adat Jawa di Dusun Wonosari Desa Tebang Kacang Kecamatan Sungai Raya Kabupaten Kubu Raya," *Jurnal Pendidikan dan Pembelajaran Khatulistiwa (JPPK)* 11, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.26418/jppk.v11i1.52052>.

<sup>6</sup> Husnul Khotimah et al., "Analisis Semiotika Prosesi Pernikahan Adat Jawa 'Temu Manten' di Desa Bintang Mas," *Jurnal Pendidikan dan Pembelajaran Khatulistiwa (JPPK)* 11, no. 10 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.26418/jppk.v11i10.58772>.

academic materials. The primary data sources consisted of six informants selected through purposive sampling, including individuals who possessed direct knowledge of, or practical experience with, the *temu manten* ceremony.

Fieldwork was conducted in Olak-Olak Kubu Village in 2025 during the observation of Javanese customary wedding practices. The six informants consisted of one traditional leader, one religious figure, one wedding practitioner, and three community members who had direct experience with the *temu manten* ceremony. Observational data were obtained from wedding-related ritual practices, including the procession, symbolic ritual stages, family participation, and religious guidance delivered during the ceremony. Field documentation, including photographs of selected ritual moments, was used to support the descriptive and analytical discussion of the ceremony.

The number of informants was considered sufficient because the final interviews no longer produced substantially new themes concerning the stages of the ritual, the role of the akad nikah, the meaning of parental blessing, and the community's acceptance of *temu manten*. Data validity was strengthened through source triangulation by comparing statements from traditional leaders, religious figures, wedding practitioners, and community members, as well as method triangulation by comparing interview data with observation notes and documentary materials. The data were analyzed through qualitative thematic analysis consisting of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The coding process focused on recurring themes such as ritual sequence, social legitimacy, Islamic compatibility, moral pressure, and the operation of unwritten customary norms.

The analytical framework of this study is grounded in the theories of legal pluralism and living law. The concept of living law is derived from the work of Eugen Ehrlich, particularly in *Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law*, which emphasizes that law exists not only in formal legislation but also in social norms that regulate everyday life within communities<sup>7</sup>. In this study, the concept of living law is operationalized to analyze how the *temu manten* ceremony functions as a socially recognized normative practice that shapes marital legitimacy and community expectations. Meanwhile, the concept of legal pluralism draws on the work of John Griffiths, who defines legal pluralism as the coexistence of multiple normative systems within a single social field<sup>8</sup>. In this research, legal pluralism is used as an analytical lens to examine how customary norms and Islamic legal values interact, overlap, and are negotiated within the implementation of the *temu manten* ceremony in the local community. The case of *temu manten* extends the idea of living law by showing that unwritten normative force may operate not by

---

<sup>7</sup> Eugene Ehrlich and Klaus A. Ziegert, *Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law* (London: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203791127>.

<sup>8</sup> John Griffiths, "What Is Legal Pluralism?," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 18, no. 24 (1986): 1–55, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.1986.10756387>.

invalidating a marriage, but by determining whether a marriage is socially regarded as complete, proper, and respectful within the community.

In operational terms, the concept of living law is used to assess whether *temu manten* is treated by the community as a socially binding expectation, even without formal legal sanctions. Meanwhile, legal pluralism is used to identify the coexistence of three normative layers in the marriage process: Islamic law as the formal religious basis of validity, customary law as the source of ritual and social meaning, and community morality as the mechanism that encourages compliance. This analytical framework allows the study to move beyond a purely symbolic reading of the ceremony and to examine how the ritual functions as a practical normative order in local Muslim society.

## Results and Discussion

### The Practice of *Temu Manten* in Javanese Customary Marriage in Olak-Olak Kubu Village

The *temu manten* ceremony is one of the most important stages in a traditional Javanese wedding. Literally, *temu manten* comes from the Javanese *krama inggil* language, which means “the meeting of the bride and groom.”<sup>9</sup> This stage is carried out after the marriage contract (*akad nikah* or *ijab kabul*) and symbolizes the union of two individuals along with their respective families. In the context of the community in Olak-Olak Kubu Village, this ceremony does not only possess aesthetic value but also serves as a means of transmitting noble customary values to the younger generation.<sup>10</sup>

At the initial stage of the *temu manten* ceremony, the bride and groom are brought together at the bride’s house. The arrival of the groom is accompanied by a procession of extended family members who bring various customary symbols, such as traditional food, betel leaves and areca nuts (*sirih pinang*), and ritual offerings. This procession is not merely a physical movement from one place to another but also represents the formal arrival of the groom’s family into the social space of the bride’s family. These items not only represent the groom’s readiness to begin married life but also serve as a form of respect toward the bride’s family.<sup>11</sup> In an interview, Mbah Kardi Wiono, a traditional leader in Olak-Olak Kubu Village, stated that “the symbols carried in this procession represent abundance of sustenance and hopes for blessings”.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Esther Kuntjara, “Challenging the Tradition of Javanese Women,” *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies* 3, no. 3 (1997): 77–100, <https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.1997.11665802>

<sup>10</sup> Ardian Al Hidayat, Alfiati Alfiati, and K. Khoirunnisaa’, “Nilai-Nilai Religius dalam Tindak Tutur pada Prosesi Temu Manten Upacara Pernikahan Adat Jawa di Kota Madiun,” *An-Nuha: Jurnal Kajian Islam, Pendidikan, Budaya dan Sosial* 3, no. 2 (2016): 210–231, <https://ejournal.staimadiun.ac.id/index.php/annuha/article/view/101>.

<sup>11</sup> Al Hidayat, Alfiati, and Khoirunnisaa’, “Nilai-Nilai Religius dalam Tindak Tutur,” 210–231.

<sup>12</sup> Kardi Wiono, personal interview, 2025.

**Figure 1**  
**The groom's procession accompanied by family members before the *temu manten* ceremony in Olak-Olak Kubu Village**



Source: Author's field documentation, 2025.

As shown in Figure 1, the procession demonstrates that the *temu manten* ceremony is a collective family event rather than an individual ritual of the bride and groom. The presence of family members and customary objects reflects the social dimension of Javanese marriage, in which marital union is understood as the joining of two extended families.

One of the main elements of the *temu manten* ceremony is the *wijikan* ritual. In this ritual, the bride washes the groom's feet. This act symbolizes respect, humility, and the groom's readiness to become a responsible partner. In addition, *wijikan* also carries a symbolic meaning of purification before entering a new stage of life.<sup>13</sup> In local practice, informants also associate the water used in the ritual with ideas of purity and blessing, reflecting the relationship between humans, nature, and symbolic purification within local traditions.

After the *wijikan* ritual, the ceremony continues with the *lempar sirih pinang*, in which the bride and groom throw betel leaves at each other as a symbol of bonding, affection, and intimacy. Betel leaves and areca nuts, which are traditionally regarded as symbols of love and prosperity, are used to emphasize that a marriage

---

<sup>13</sup> Naila Rohmaniyah et al., "Javanese Traditional Culture Temu Manten: Part of Javanese Acculturation Society in Sumatera," *JUSPI (Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Islam)* 7, no. 1 (2023): 21, <https://doi.org/10.30829/juspi.v7i1.14127>.

should be built upon the foundation of love and mutual respect. Some symbolic interpretations also associate this tradition with protection from misfortune or harmful disturbances, although in local Muslim practice such meanings are often reframed as prayers for safety and household harmony.<sup>14</sup>

Next is the *sungkeman* ritual, in which the bride and groom kneel before their parents to ask for their blessing.<sup>15</sup> This stage highlights the importance of the relationship between parents and children in Javanese society. During this ritual, the parents offer prayers and hopes for a harmonious and blessed married life. The *sungkeman* ritual not only reflects respect for parents but also teaches values of obedience, gratitude, and devotion to the younger generation.<sup>16</sup>

In Olak-Olak Kubu Village, local variations in the *temu manten* ceremony can be seen in the use of offerings and specific prayers. For instance, the offerings often include local agricultural products such as glutinous rice, coconuts, and palm sugar, which symbolize prosperity. The prayers recited during the ceremony also combine Islamic elements with Javanese traditions, such as recitations from the Qur'an accompanied by customary expressions of blessing and advice. This demonstrates how local traditions can adapt to religious influences without losing their cultural identity.

The implementation of these local variations can be observed in the use of ritual objects and the active involvement of family members during the procession. These elements indicate that the *temu manten* ceremony is not only performed as a symbolic sequence but also as a socially meaningful practice through which local values are expressed and transmitted.

---

<sup>14</sup> Prima Hariyanto et al., "Linguistic and Symbolic Meanings in Ethnic Communities: A Case Study of Tedhak Siten Traditional Ceremony," *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language* 12, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.22034/ijsc.2024.2015853.3266>.

<sup>15</sup> M. I. Rahmanto and W. T. G. Putra, "Sungkeman During a Pandemic, What Do We Miss? An Autoethnography," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Language, Literature, and Cultural Studies* (Malang, Indonesia, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.211212.037>.

<sup>16</sup> A. A. Kade Sri Yudari, Ni Wayan Karmini, and Desak Nyoman Seniwati, "Reinterpretasi Makna Budaya Sungkem sebagai Ajaran Budi Pekerti dalam Sloka Sarasamuccaya," *Jurnal Penelitian Agama Hindu* 6, no. 3 (2022): 173–187, <https://doi.org/10.37329/jpah.v6i3.1672>.

**Figure 2**  
**A symbolic stage of the *temu manten* procession involving the bride, groom, family members, and customary ritual objects**



**Source:** Author's field documentation, 2025.

As shown in Figure 2, the presence of ritual objects and family members reflects the collective character of the *temu manten* ceremony. The ceremony is carried out not merely as a cultural performance but also as a medium for transmitting moral values, including respect, responsibility, harmony, and hopes for blessings in married life.

The entire *temu manten* ceremony concludes with a communal meal known as *kembul bujono*. This tradition involves the extended families of both the bride and groom sitting together to enjoy traditional dishes such as *nasi tumpeng*, *ayam ingkung*, and various side dishes. This communal meal symbolizes the union of two families and reflects the spirit of mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), which is characteristic of Javanese society. Furthermore, this moment is also used to strengthen family relationships and emphasize the importance of solidarity in building a harmonious household.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> H. M. Zainuddin, Bagus Waluyo, and Ahmad Saifudin, "Developing Character by Applying the Model of Makan Kembul to Grow Attitudes of Independence, Togetherness, Responsibility, and Respect for Others," in *Proceedings of the 2nd Early Childhood and Primary Childhood Education (ECPE 2020)* (2020), <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.201112.040>.

Based on the field observations and interviews conducted with local traditional leaders, the following table presents the key stages of the *temu manten* ritual as practiced by the Javanese community in the research site.

**Table 1**  
**Temu Manten Ritual**

Stage of Procession	Procedural Description	Symbolic Meaning
<i>Balangan Suruh</i>	The bride and groom throw small bundles of betel leaves at each other	Represents mutual recognition and the union of two distinct individuals into one soul
<i>Wiji Dadi (Injak Telur)</i>	The groom steps on a free-range chicken egg until it breaks	Symbolizes the transition to a new life stage and the hope that all marital obstacles will be overcome
<i>Mbasuh Suku</i>	The bride washes the groom's feet using water infused with various flowers	Signifies respect, humility, and the ethical expectation of mutual care within married life
<i>Gendong Manten</i>	The parents wrap a <i>jarit</i> (traditional batik cloth) around the couple and lead them to the wedding aisle	Represents parental support, guidance, and unconditional love until the children become independent
<i>Kacar-Kucur</i>	The groom pours grains, rice, and coins into the bride's lap	Locally interpreted as a symbol of marital responsibility, particularly the expectation that the husband contributes to household sustenance and security.
<i>Sungkeman</i>	The couple kneels before their parents to ask for forgiveness and blessings	A profound gesture of gratitude, seeking parental prayers and a final blessing for their journey ahead

Source: Observations and interviews.

Through this sequence of highly symbolic rituals, the *temu manten* ceremony is not merely an aesthetic tradition but also a means of transmitting profound life

values. The ceremony instills meanings related to love, responsibility, respect, and harmony—both between individuals, between families, and in relation to God.

Analytically, these ritual stages show that *temu manten* works at two levels. At the cultural level, it preserves inherited Javanese symbols and ritual vocabulary. At the normative level, it teaches the couple and their families how marriage should be socially performed: with parental blessing, mutual responsibility, humility, and collective support. This dual function is important for the socio-legal argument of this article because it demonstrates that the ceremony is not merely decorative, but operates as a social mechanism through which marital legitimacy is recognized by the wider community.

### **Interaction between Customary Law and Islamic Law in the *Temu Manten* Ritual**

The *temu manten* ritual in Javanese wedding traditions demonstrates a close relationship between customary values and Islamic teachings. In practice, these two value systems do not operate separately; rather, they coexist and form a unified whole in the implementation of the wedding ceremony. This occurs because the community views *adat* (customary traditions) as a cultural heritage that must be preserved, while Islamic teachings serve as the primary guideline in religious life. Therefore, the existence of the *temu manten* ritual can be understood as a form of integration between local traditions and the religious values embraced by the community.<sup>18</sup>

The interaction between customary law and Islamic law in the *temu manten* ritual can be observed from the position of each within the sequence of wedding ceremonies. Islamic law serves as the fundamental basis that determines the legal validity of a marriage through the implementation of the *akad nikah* or *ijab kabul* (marriage contract). Meanwhile, customary law is reflected through various symbols and procedures that accompany the meeting of the bride and groom along with their families. The presence of these customary elements is not intended to replace religious law, but rather to enrich the social and cultural meaning of the marriage ceremony.<sup>19</sup>

Field findings indicate that the community of Olak-Olak Kubu Village continues to regard the *akad nikah* as the central element of the marriage process. Only after the marriage contract is conducted in accordance with religious

---

<sup>18</sup> Sisy Istiana, Sarkowi Sarkowi, and Isbandiyah Isbandiyah, “Tradisi Upacara Perkawinan Adat Jawa Temu Manten di Desa Kelumpang Jaya Kecamatan Nibung Kabupaten Musi Rawas Utara,” *JEJAK: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah & Sejarah* 5, no. 1 (2025): 79–87, <https://doi.org/10.22437/jejak.v5i1.45984>.

<sup>19</sup> Sri Nurhayati, Ahmad Fadlan, Ainul Hakim Syukri, Sazali Hassan, and M. A. Maulana Andinata, “Analisis Semiotika terhadap Prosesi Pernikahan Adat Jawa ‘Temu Manten’ di Dolok Ilir I Kecamatan Dolok Batu Nanggar,” *Professional: Jurnal Komunikasi dan Administrasi Publik* 9, no. 1 (2022): 187–192, <https://doi.org/10.37676/professional.v9i1.2577>.

provisions does the series of *temu manten* rituals take place as part of cultural tradition. Within this procession, there are various customary symbols such as the *wijikan* ritual, the throwing of betel leaves (*lempar sirih*), and *sungkeman*, all of which carry meanings related to respect, humility, and hopes for a harmonious household life. In addition, several stages are accompanied by the recitation of prayers derived from Islamic teachings, ensuring that religious values remain an essential component of the ceremony.<sup>20</sup>

This combination of custom and religion demonstrates the community's ability to adjust inherited traditions to align with their religious beliefs. Certain customary elements are maintained as cultural symbols, yet their meanings are often harmonized with Islamic values so that they do not contradict the community's religious principles. This process of adjustment reflects a form of cultural adaptation that allows local traditions to endure despite the increasing influence of religious teachings in community life.<sup>21</sup>

From the perspective of Islamic legal theory, the coexistence between the *temu manten* ritual and Islamic marriage norms can be interpreted through the concept of '*urf*'. As long as a social practice does not contradict the fundamental principles of Islamic law, it may be categorized as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*' (valid custom) that can be tolerated or even recognized within Islamic legal reasoning.<sup>22</sup> In the case of the *temu manten* ceremony in Olak-Olak Kubu Village, the ritual is performed only after the akad nikah, which remains the core determinant of marital validity according to Islamic law.

For the purpose of this analysis, the classification of *temu manten* as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*' is based on four indicators. First, the practice is widely recognized and repeatedly performed by the Javanese Muslim community in the research site. Second, the ritual does not alter the pillars and requirements of Islamic marriage because the akad nikah remains the decisive element of legal validity. Third, the meanings attached to the ritual—respect for parents, responsibility between spouses, prayer, and family harmony—are compatible with Islamic ethical values. Fourth, the practice produces social benefit by strengthening kinship ties and communal solidarity. On this basis, *temu manten* is better understood as a complementary custom rather than an independent legal requirement or a substitute for Islamic marriage law.

Furthermore, several observable elements within the ceremony actively reinforce its compatibility with Islamic values, thereby strengthening its

---

<sup>20</sup> Al Hidayah, Alfiati, and Khoirunnisaa', "Nilai-Nilai Religius dalam Tindak Tutur," 210–231.

<sup>21</sup> Wiwin Fepriyanti, Nilda Elfemi, and Yenita Yatim, "Perubahan Tradisi Temu Manten pada Perkawinan Adat Jawa di Dusun Mulya Bhakti Kecamatan Pelepat Kabupaten Bungo Provinsi Jambi," *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 6, no. 2 (2022): 12072–12076, <https://doi.org/10.31004/jptam.v6i2.4368>.

<sup>22</sup> Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2003), chapter 14.

classification as *'urf ṣaḥīḥ*. Based on field observations, the ceremony begins with a collective prayer and the recitation of Quranic verses prior to the ritual proceedings, and is accompanied throughout by sholawat performed by a rebana group. Following the completion of the *temu manten* procession, the traditional leader delivers religious guidance (*wejangan*) to the couple, including reminders of the pillars of Islam. These elements demonstrate that the community has consciously integrated Islamic expressions into the customary framework, rather than maintaining it in a purely pre-Islamic form. Therefore, the ceremony functions as a complementary cultural expression rather than as a replacement for religious obligations, and the community treats the ritual as an *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* that coexists harmoniously with Islamic law.

This integration can be observed in the moment when customary actors provide advice and guidance to the couple within the ritual setting. The presence of such guidance shows that the ceremony is interpreted not merely as inherited tradition but also as a space for transmitting religious and moral values.

**Figure 3**  
**Religious guidance and customary practice integrated within the *temu manten* ceremony in Olak-Olak Kubu Village**



**Source:** Author's field documentation, 2025.

As shown in Figure 3, religious guidance is delivered within the customary setting of the *temu manten* ceremony. This documentation supports the argument that the community does not treat adat and Islam as opposing normative systems. Instead, both are negotiated and integrated in practice, allowing the ritual to

function as a socially accepted custom that remains compatible with Islamic ethical principles.

In a broader social context, the interaction between customary law and Islamic law within the *temu manten* ritual also serves important functions for the community. This tradition not only acts as a means of preserving cultural heritage but also strengthens familial relationships between the families of the bride and groom. Through the various stages of the *temu manten* procession, values such as respect for parents, togetherness, and responsibility in building a household are instilled in the newly married couple.<sup>23</sup>

In conclusion, the *temu manten* ritual represents a form of integration between Javanese customary law and Islamic values within the community. Islamic law plays the primary role in determining the formal validity of marriage through the akad nikah, while customary law provides symbolic and social dimensions that enrich the meaning of the event. Through integration and natural adaptation, these two normative systems function harmoniously: Islamic law supplies religious legitimacy, whereas custom supplies social recognition and communal affirmation. This relationship is central to understanding the ritual as part of a plural legal order rather than as a contradiction between religion and tradition.

### **Temu Manten as Living Law in the Muslim Community**

The *temu manten* ritual can be understood as a form of living law within Muslim communities because the practice is consistently carried out and recognized as an important part of the wedding process. In the sociology of law, the concept of living law was introduced by Eugen Ehrlich, who defined living law as the law that dominates life itself even though it has not been posited in formal legal propositions<sup>24</sup>. This perspective emphasizes that law is not limited to written regulations but also emerges from social practices that are continuously observed and regarded as binding within society. Traditions maintained across generations often develop into normative expectations that regulate the behavior of community members and shape their understanding of socially acceptable conduct<sup>25</sup>.

Based on field observations, the people of Olak-Olak Kubu Village continue to perform the *temu manten* procession after the marriage contract (*akad nikah*) as part of a wedding tradition that is considered significant. One informant, Siti Rohani, explained that the procession symbolizes the meeting of the bride and groom as well

---

<sup>23</sup> Amilatus Sholikah, Falah Arifbillah Subagio, and Afkar Taswirul, "Leksikon dalam Pernikahan Adat Jawa Kecamatan Trowulan, Kabupaten Mojokerto: Kajian Etnolinguistik," *Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Pendidikan, Bahasa dan Komunikasi* 1, no. 3 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.61132/jkaipbaku.v1i3.110>.

<sup>24</sup> Eugene Ehrlich and Klaus A. Ziegert, *Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law* (London: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203791127>.

<sup>25</sup> Kuswa Endah, "Petung, Prosesi, dan Sesaji dalam Ritual Manten Masyarakat Jawa," *Kejawen* 2, no. 1 (2006), <https://doi.org/10.21831/kejawen.v2i1.70477>.

as an expression of respect for parents and the extended family<sup>26</sup>. This explanation demonstrates that the ritual is not merely ceremonial but also carries normative expectations related to family relationships and social recognition. In this context, the persistence of the *temu manten* ritual reflects the operation of living law within the community, where customary practices function as unwritten norms that regulate social behavior despite the absence of formal legal codification.

The continued existence of *temu manten* also illustrates that tradition retains a meaningful place in the lives of Muslim communities. This persistence occurs because society perceives customary practices (*adat*) as cultural heritage that should be preserved as long as they do not contradict religious teachings. Wedding traditions thus become an important social space in which religious values and local customs interact to shape collective practices. Interview data from Dian indicate that the community regards the *akad nikah* as the central element determining the legal validity of marriage according to Islamic teachings<sup>27</sup>, while customary ceremonies such as *temu manten* function as complementary rituals that enhance the social meaning of marriage. This arrangement demonstrates a normative hierarchy in which religion provides legal legitimacy, while tradition contributes social legitimacy and communal recognition.

The continuation of the *temu manten* ritual may also be understood as a manifestation of *'urf* within the Muslim community. The practice persists because it is socially accepted and does not conflict with Islamic teachings regarding the essential requirements of marriage. In this sense, *temu manten* represents how local customs operate as living law while remaining compatible with Islamic ethical principles. The compatibility between custom and religion strengthens the normative acceptance of the ritual, allowing it to function simultaneously as a cultural tradition and a socially recognized normative practice.

In practice, the *temu manten* ceremony consists of several stages that are rich in symbolic meaning and social value. The procession usually takes place after the marriage contract and involves both the bride and groom along with their respective families. Based on field observations, several stages of the ritual include *wijikan*, *lempar sirih* (throwing betel leaves), and *sungkeman*, a gesture of respect performed by kneeling before parents. Each stage carries symbolic meanings such as humility, respect for parents, and hopes for the formation of a harmonious household. In addition, certain stages are accompanied by prayers as a form of supplication to God for blessings in the couple's married life. These findings indicate that the *temu manten* ritual functions not only as a cultural ceremony but also as a mechanism for transmitting moral and religious values recognized by the community.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Siti Rohani, personal interview, 2025.

<sup>27</sup> Dian, personal interview, 2025.

<sup>28</sup> Sinta Wahidha, Hendra, and Pandapotan, "Analisis Nilai Karakter Religius dalam Tradisi Upacara Panggih pada Pernikahan Adat Jawa di Desa Sungai Merah Kecamatan Pelawan

The community's continued commitment to performing *temu manten* shows that the tradition functions as a social norm that regulates communal life. Although it is not legally obligatory in formal law, the community continues to practice it because it is considered an appropriate and respectful way to conduct a marriage ceremony. According to interviews with local community leaders, particularly Mbah Kardi Wiono, this tradition is viewed as a form of respect for ancestral customs passed down through generations.<sup>29</sup> As a result, most families feel it is necessary to carry out this procession when organizing a wedding. The continuity of this practice indicates that customary norms possess strong social influence in shaping the behavior of individuals within the community.

The normative character of the *temu manten* ceremony is visible in the active involvement of parents, elders, and family members throughout the ritual. Their participation indicates that the ceremony is socially recognized as an important part of marital legitimacy.

**Figure 4**  
**Family and community participation in the *temu manten* ceremony as a form of social recognition and marital legitimacy**



**Source:** Author's field documentation, 2025.

As shown in Figure 4, the *temu manten* ceremony is sustained through collective participation rather than formal legal enforcement. The involvement of family members and local elders confirms that the ritual functions as living law: it is

---

Kabupaten Sarolangun," *Jurnal Pendidikan* 10, no. 2 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.23969/jp.v10i02.26105>.

<sup>29</sup> Wiono, personal interview, 2025.

not codified as a statutory obligation, yet it continues to guide community behavior through moral expectation, respect for tradition, and social accountability.

The binding force of *temu manten* is therefore expressed through a sense of social obligation rather than through formal legal compulsion. Families do not usually describe the ritual as legally required, but they often regard it as socially necessary to conduct a wedding that is proper, complete, and respectful. In this sense, the expression “*kurang afdol*” becomes important because it captures the community’s perception that a marriage without the customary procession may be religiously valid after the *akad nikah*, yet socially incomplete in the eyes of relatives, elders, and neighbors. This shows that the ritual operates through social expectation: families comply not because they fear formal punishment, but because they seek recognition, avoid embarrassment, and maintain their reputation within the community.

This binding force is further reinforced by the social and moral consequences that arise when the tradition is not performed. Although there is no formal legal sanction for omitting the *temu manten* ritual, families who choose not to hold it may experience moral unease and social pressure from their surroundings. They may be perceived as neglecting respect toward parents and ancestors, or as conducting a wedding that is considered “*kurang afdol*,” incomplete, or lacking in proper observance. Such informal stigma functions as a mechanism of normative enforcement that encourages conformity. This dynamic demonstrates that the *temu manten* ritual operates as living law: it is not codified in any statute, yet it exerts practical normative pressure through collective expectations, reputational concerns, and social accountability.

Furthermore, the implementation of *temu manten* also reflects an integration between customary values and Islamic principles in community life. People do not perceive tradition and religion as contradictory elements but rather as aspects that can coexist harmoniously. In practice, customary symbols are preserved while being accompanied by religious elements such as prayers or Islamic marital advice. This process demonstrates cultural adaptation that allows local traditions to survive without neglecting the principles of Islamic teachings embraced by the community.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the *temu manten* ritual functions not only as a cultural tradition but also as a form of living law within Muslim communities. The tradition continues to be practiced because it carries social, cultural, and religious significance for the community. Through the implementation of *temu manten*, family ties between the two families are strengthened, values of respect for parents are emphasized, and social solidarity within the community is maintained. Consequently, the existence of this tradition illustrates that legal practices in society are not solely derived from formal regulations but also from customary values that live and are collectively upheld by the community.

## Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the *temu manten* ceremony functions as a genuine instance of living law in the Muslim community of Olak-Olak Kubu Village. Its normative force does not derive from codified rules or formal legal sanctions, but from collective moral expectations embedded in community practice. Although the legal validity of marriage is established through the akad nikah in accordance with Islamic law, the persistence of *temu manten* after the marriage contract shows that customary traditions contribute to the social legitimacy of marriage. The ritual strengthens kinship relations, affirms respect toward parents, and maintains communal solidarity.

From a socio-legal perspective, this study highlights how Islamic legal norms and customary practices coexist within a plural legal environment. Islamic law functions as the primary legal foundation that determines the formal validity of marriage, while customary practices such as *temu manten* serve as complementary mechanisms that enrich the social meaning of marital unions. The ceremony may be categorized as ‘urf ṣaḥīḥ because it is socially accepted, compatible with Islamic ethical principles, and does not interfere with the pillars and requirements of Islamic marriage. At the same time, its persistence reveals the practical force of living law, since community expectations and informal moral pressure continue to shape marital ceremonies even in the absence of formal sanctions. The main contribution of this study lies in showing that legal pluralism in marriage does not only appear in formal conflict between legal systems, but also in the everyday layering of religious validity, customary symbolism, and social recognition.

Nevertheless, this study has certain limitations because it focuses only on one local community. Future research is recommended to conduct comparative studies across different regions or communities in order to examine broader patterns of interaction between customary law and Islamic law in marriage practices. Such studies would enrich the understanding of legal pluralism in Indonesia and provide deeper insights into how living law continues to shape social and legal dynamics in diverse Muslim societies.

## Generative AI Usage Statement

The author(s) are responsible for the substance, accuracy, citations, and legal arguments in this manuscript. Any use of generative AI or AI-assisted tools, if applicable, was limited to language refinement, structural editing, and formatting assistance, and did not replace the author(s)' scholarly judgment, legal analysis, or verification of sources.

## Bibliography

- Al Hidayat, Ardian, Alfiati Alfiati, and K. Khoirunnisaa'. "Nilai-Nilai Religius dalam Tindak Tutur pada Prosesi Temu Manten Upacara Pernikahan Adat Jawa di Kota Madiun." *An-Nuha: Jurnal Kajian Islam, Pendidikan, Budaya dan Sosial* 3, no. 2 (2016): 210–231. <https://ejournal.staimadiun.ac.id/index.php/annuha/article/view/101>.
- Ehrlich, Eugene, and Klaus A. Ziegert. *Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law*. London: Routledge, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203791127>.
- Endah, Kuswa. "Petung, Prosesi, dan Sesaji dalam Ritual Manten Masyarakat Jawa." *Kejawen* 2, no. 1 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.21831/kejawen.v2i1.70477>.
- Ermawati, Eka, Ika Rahmatika Chalimi, and Haris Firmansyah. "Pergeseran Makna Tradisi Temu Manten pada Perkawinan Adat Jawa di Dusun Wonosari Desa Tebang Kacang Kecamatan Sungai Raya Kabupaten Kubu Raya." *Jurnal Pendidikan dan Pembelajaran Khatulistiwa (JPPK)* 11, no. 1 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.26418/jppk.v11i1.52052>.
- Fepriyanti, Wiwin, Nilda Elfemi, and Yenita Yatim. "Perubahan Tradisi Temu Manten pada Perkawinan Adat Jawa di Dusun Mulya Bhakti Kecamatan Pelepat Kabupaten Bungo Provinsi Jambi." *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 6, no. 2 (2022): 12072–12076. <https://doi.org/10.31004/jptam.v6i2.4368>.
- Griffiths, John. "What Is Legal Pluralism?" *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 18, no. 24 (1986): 1–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.1986.10756387>.
- Hariyanto, Prima, Sri Nardiati, Joni Endardi, Restu Sukesti, and Nanang Heryana. "Linguistic and Symbolic Meanings in Ethnic Communities: A Case Study of Tedhak Siten Traditional Ceremony." *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language* 12, no. 1 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.22034/ijsc.2024.2015853.3266>.
- Irawan et al. "Negotiating Legal Pluralism: Syncretism of Islamic Law and Balinese Adat in Pegayaman Village." *El-Mashlahah* 15, no. 1 (2025): 149–164. <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v15i1.9072>.
- Istiana, Sisy, Sarkowi Sarkowi, and Isbandiyah Isbandiyah. "Tradisi Upacara Perkawinan Adat Jawa Temu Manten di Desa Kelumpang Jaya Kecamatan Nibung Kabupaten Musi Rawas Utara." *JEJAK: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah & Sejarah* 5, no. 1 (2025): 79–87. <https://doi.org/10.22437/jejak.v5i1.45984>.
- Kamali, Mohammad Hashim. *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2003.
- Khotimah, Husnul, Ahmad Rabiâ, and Agus Syahrani. "Analisis Semiotika Prosesi Pernikahan Adat Jawa 'Temu Manten' di Desa Bintang Mas." *Jurnal Pendidikan*

dan Pembelajaran Khatulistiwa (JPPK) 11, no. 10 (2022).  
<https://doi.org/10.26418/jppk.v11i10.58772>.

Kuntjara, Esther. "Challenging the Tradition of Javanese Women." *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 3, no. 3 (1997): 77–100.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.1997.11665802>.

Ngazizah, Inna Fauziatal. "Transformation of Local Norms in Inheritance Division in Pantura: A Sociology of Law Approach." *Malaysian Journal of Syariah and Law* 13, no. 2 (2025): 591–603. <https://doi.org/10.33102/mjssl.vol13no2.1124>.

Nordin, Zaimuariffudin Shukri, et al. "Integrating Islamic Law and Customary Law: Codification and Religious Identity in the Malay Buyan Community of Kapuas Hulu." *Journal of Islamic Law* 6, no. 1 (2025): 89–111.  
<https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v6i1.3410>.

Nurhayati, Sri, Ahmad Fadlan, Ainul Hakim Syukri, Sazali Hassan, and M. A. Maulana Andinata. "Analisis Semiotika terhadap Prosesi Pernikahan Adat Jawa 'Temu Manten' di Dolok Ilir I Kecamatan Dolok Batu Nanggar." *Professional: Jurnal Komunikasi dan Administrasi Publik* 9, no. 1 (2022): 187–192.  
<https://doi.org/10.37676/professional.v9i1.2577>.

Perdana, Ahmad Sahrul Febriansah, and Qurrotul Ainiyah. "Reimagining Manten: The Changing Traditions of Javanese Marriages in Panglungan Village, East Java." *Al-Mujtahid: Journal of Islamic Family Law* 5, no. 1 (2025).  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.30984/ajifl.v5i1.3605>.

Permadani, Tesa. "Social Value in Panggih or Temu Manten Tradition in Temanggung Wedding." *QURU: Journal of Family Law and Culture* 1, no. 3 (2023): 279–294. <https://doi.org/10.59698/quru.v1i3.107>.

Pertiwi, Endah Mustika, Surya Sukti, and Mustar. "The Urgency of Legal Pluralism in Addressing Early Marriage in Indonesia." *Medina-Te: Jurnal Studi Islam* 21, no. 1 (2025). <https://doi.org/10.19109/medinate.v21i1.27710>.

Rahmanto, M. I., and W. T. G. Putra. "Sungkeman During a Pandemic, What Do We Miss? An Autoethnography." In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Language, Literature, and Cultural Studies*. Malang, Indonesia, 2021.  
<https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.211212.037>.

Rohmaniyah, Naila, Mohammad Syawaludin, Abdullah Idi, and Agus Sholikhin. "Javanese Traditional Culture Temu Manten: Part of Javanese Acculturation Society in Sumatera." *JUSPI (Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Islam)* 7, no. 1 (2023): 21.  
<https://doi.org/10.30829/juspi.v7i1.14127>.

Sholikhah, Amilatus, Falah Arifbillah Subagio, and Afkar Taswirul. "Leksikon dalam Pernikahan Adat Jawa Kecamatan Trowulan, Kabupaten Mojokerto: Kajian

Etnolinguistik.” *Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Pendidikan, Bahasa dan Komunikasi* 1, no. 3 (2025). <https://doi.org/10.61132/jkaipbaku.v1i3.110>.

Sri Yudari, A. A. Kade, Ni Wayan Karmini, and Desak Nyoman Seniwati. “Reinterpretasi Makna Budaya Sungkem sebagai Ajaran Budi Pekerti dalam Sloka Sarasamuccaya.” *Jurnal Penelitian Agama Hindu* 6, no. 3 (2022): 173–187. <https://doi.org/10.37329/jpah.v6i3.1672>.

Wahidha, Sinta, Hendra, and Pandapotan. “Analisis Nilai Karakter Religius dalam Tradisi Upacara Panggih pada Pernikahan Adat Jawa di Desa Sungai Merah Kecamatan Pelawan Kabupaten Sarolangun.” *Jurnal Pendidikan* 10, no. 2 (2025). <https://doi.org/10.23969/jp.v10i02.26105>.

Zainuddin, H. M., Bagus Waluyo, and Ahmad Saifudin. “Developing Character by Applying the Model of Makan Kembul to Grow Attitudes of Independence, Togetherness, Responsibility, and Respect for Others.” In *Proceedings of the 2nd Early Childhood and Primary Childhood Education (ECPE 2020)*. 2020. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.201112.040>.