



Reimagining *Mantenan*: The Changing Traditions of Javanese Marriages in Panglungan Village, East Java

Ahmad Sahrul Febriansah Perdana^{1*}, Qurrotul Ainiyah²

^{1,2} Universitas Al-Falah As-Sunniah, Indonesia

*e-mail correspondence: syahrulbrian680@gmail.com

| Submitted: 10-01-2025

| Revised: 15-04-2025

| Accepted: 05-06-2025

Abstract: This research explores the transformation of the *Mantenan* tradition in Panglungan Village, East Java, as it adapts to social, religious, and cultural changes in modern times. *Mantenan*, a traditional Javanese marriage ceremony, is deeply embedded in cultural values and rituals such as *Nontoni*, *Lamaran*, *Tembusan*, *Petung*, *Adeg Tratag*, *Pasang Tarub*, *Kembar Mayang*, *Siraman*, *Midodareni*, *Ijab and Qabul*, *Temu Manten*, and *Walimahan*. Using an ethnographic approach, this study examines how these rituals, rich in symbolism and spirituality, continue to evolve in response to modernization and shifting community structures. Through Geertz's trichotomy theory, the research reveals how the Panglungan community reimagines these rituals, adapting them to contemporary values while preserving their cultural identity. The findings demonstrate how the tradition of *Mantenan* has been reinterpreted to maintain its relevance in the modern era, ensuring the continuity of ancestral heritage while reinforcing the unique cultural identity of the Javanese people of Panglungan. This study also highlights the dynamic nature of cultural traditions and their role in shaping community identity in the face of modernity.

Keywords: *Mantenan* traditional; Javanese Marriages; cultural transformation.

Introduction

Mantenan is a traditional Javanese wedding ceremony that consists of several ritual stages. The first is *nontoni*, a social visit to determine the status of the prospective bride. *Second* is *petung*, which is the process of calculating the weton (birth date). *Third*, *ngelamar* is an intention proposal and a request for blessing to proceed to marriage. After that, *fourth*, *Wangsulan*, the response to the proposal (Yadiana & Faidah, 2020). *Fifth* is *Srab-Srahan*, giving gifts from the groom to the bride as a sign of acceptance of the proposal (Syukur & Aurelia, 2024). *Sixth*, *Pasang Tarub* decorated the house with woven materials like *blakrak* or *janur* (young coconut leaves) in front of the house. *Seventh*, *Siraman*, a ritual performed specifically for the bride, aiming to cleanse both body and soul, is conducted by the elders of the bride's family (Sholikhin, 2010). *Eighth*, *Kembar Mayang*, a decoration made by a fairy or companion beside the bride and groom, symbolizes the universe's prosperity (Fitriyani et al., 2020). *Ninth*, *Midodareni*; a night where the bride is not allowed to leave, intended for her safety. *Tenth*, *Panggih*; the meeting between the bride and groom, marking the public recognition of their legitimate marriage (Syukur & Aurelia, 2024).

A previous study by Kartika (2020) discussed marriage as a sacred ceremony with significant future impacts. Fahmi (2024) stated that traditional marriage ceremonies are inherited cultural practices from ancestors. Permatasari & Wijaya (2018) examined the changes in societal behavior and the factors influencing the organization of traditional weddings in Java. Ruslan et al. (2021) share a similar perspective with Fahmi, asserting that marriage traditions handed down from ancestors remain prevalent today. Pratama & Wahyuningsih (2018) noted that marriage ceremonies are passed down from generation to generation, having long-term effects. Ratna et al. (2021) emphasized that marriage is a sacred and monumental event for couples, provided it is conducted according to the established customs and rules. These previous studies share a common theme in discussing the Javanese *Mantenan* ritual. However, they differ in their focus on transforming the ritual and the symbolic meaning of Javanese marriage in *Panglungan*, viewed through Geertz's trichotomy theory of social structure.

Marriage in Javanese tradition holds strong customs and rituals, but in contemporary times, it faces challenges stemming from the conflict between traditional values and modernization (Dhofier, 1980; Fauzi, 2012; Ishaq et al., 2023). Often, differences emerge between ancestral values and the lifestyle of younger generations, who prioritize simplicity and freedom in their approach to marriage. This includes the ritual complexities of Javanese traditional weddings, which may cause conflicts within the extended family.

This study explores how the *Mantenan* tradition is preserved and transformed in response to the evolving social and cultural context. By studying the transformation of the *Mantenan* tradition, the research seeks to help the *Panglungan* community find a middle ground, adjusting to ongoing changes while maintaining local wisdom and balancing it with elements of modernization. Therefore, this research will conduct an in-depth examination of the transformation of Javanese wedding traditions in *Panglungan*, based on the perspective of the *Panglungan* community in Wonosalam, Jombang.

Method

This study utilizes a field research design as the scope of the research. The ethnographic approach aims to describe and explain the *Mantenan* tradition to prevent it from being eroded by the passage of time and to ensure its continuity for future generations. Therefore, the role of ethnography is to understand people, their cultures, and their way of life to foster harmonious families (Manan, 2021). In data collection, the author gathered information from expert informants those who can interpret the experiences of the *Mantenan* phenomenon in Panglungan, who are credible and able to provide interpretations based on scientific knowledge (Creswell, 2014). Expert informants can recount their experiences but may not necessarily have academic qualifications (Ainiyah, 2018). The informants in this study include village elders, religious leaders, community members, and practitioners of the tradition. Therefore, the ethnography applied here refers to the social phenomena of the *Mantenan* tradition from the perspective of the Panglungan village community. To obtain a comprehensive explanation of the *Mantenan* tradition in the cultural context of Panglungan village, the author employs triangulation to analyze the data (Budianto, 2020).

Results and Discussion

From Nontoni to Walimahan: The Evolution of Javanese Wedding Traditions

Tradition is a long-standing practice that a community observes as a symbol of unity and solidarity (Merlan, 2006). Unity helps reduce conflicts and fosters a harmonious life, particularly in Javanese cultural traditions. *Mantenan* refers to the Javanese traditional wedding ceremony, which is considered sacred and follows a well-established sequence of rituals based on ancestral customs (Firnanda et al., 2024). *Mantenan* is derived from *manten*, which means bride or groom in Indonesian. Specifically, "*Mantenan*" refers to the event where the bride and groom meet, symbolizing their official union (Interview with Mestiah, 2025). This ritual represents the essence of the celebration, where the couple is publicly acknowledged as a family.

Table 1. The *Mantenan* Rituals

Ritual	Meaning & Purpose
Nontoni	Groom meets the bride's family to ensure compatibility.
Lamaran	Engagement, where the groom seeks the bride's family's approval
Wangsulan	Bride confirms acceptance of the groom's proposal.
Adeg Tratatag	The community prepares the wedding venue with symbolic decorations.
Pasang Tarub	Temporary shelter for guests during the ceremony
Kembar Mayang	Symbol of unity and hope for harmony in marriage
Siraman	Bride's ritual bath for protection and blessings
Midodareni	Reflection and spiritual preparation before the wedding
Ijab Qobul	Formal religious ceremony marking the marriage contract
Temu Manten	Public announcement of the marriage, with symbolic rituals

Srah-Srahan	The groom's family presents gifts to the bride's family.
Walimahan	Feast and celebration to thank God and share joy with the community

Source: Data analysis

Based on Table 1, the following are the key rituals in the *Mantenan* ceremony: *First, Nontoni*. This ritual involves the groom visiting the bride's family to familiarize himself with the bride and her family (Safitri & Mustafa, 2021). It serves as a way to assess compatibility and mutual interest between the couple. This process is essential in the *Mantenan* tradition as it helps the couple understand each other and ensures they are ready for marriage (Masudah & Yoenanto, 2023). Before proceeding to the next ritual, the Panglungan community considers various factors when selecting a potential partner, such as character, lineage, and religion, as parents want the best for their children and seek guidance to ensure a successful marriage (Interview with Setia Minayu, 2025). As recommended in Islam, the selection of a spouse is based on wealth, lineage, and religious beliefs (Harahap, 2024), aiming for a successful family life both in this world and the hereafter.

Second, Lamaran (Engagement). In this phase, the groom and his family express their intent to marry the bride and seek the approval of the bride's family. This ritual often includes exchanging tokens, such as rings and offerings of sugar, coffee, and local delicacies, symbolizing strengthening the family bond (Sholikhin, 2010). The engagement signifies that the bride is formally committed to the groom (Interview with Saiman, 2025). *Third, Wangsulun*. In the Panglungan community, this ritual marks the bride's formal acceptance of the groom's proposal. It is followed by the *petung* ceremony, where both parties' birth dates (or weton) are analyzed to determine an auspicious wedding date, ensuring a smooth and prosperous marriage (Sutikno et al., 2022).

Fourth, Adeg Tratatag. This ritual involves relatives and neighbors working together to prepare the house for the wedding by decorating it with traditional symbols, such as banana trees and woven bamboo, to signify the approaching event. It is also believed to invoke blessings for the safety and success of the wedding ceremony (Mijianti et al., 2024). Following this, the bride and groom are secluded (*panggih*) to protect them from bad luck (Interview with Saiman, 2025). *Fifth, Pasang Tarub*. This involves the construction of a temporary structure (*tarub*) at the wedding site to shield guests from the sun and rain (Yusuf, 2023). This structure is typically erected for two days, with the first day referred to as *melekan cilik* and the second as *geng* or *dong* (the peak of the celebration).

Sixth, Kembar Mayang. Alongside the tarub preparation, the community constructs *kembar mayang* (twin flowers), representing the bride and groom's unity. This ritual, made from young banana trees and decorated with coconut leaves, signifies the couple's hope for a harmonious and fruitful life (Wawancara with Saiman, 2025). After the ritual, the kembar mayang is discarded to symbolize the groom raising the bride's social status and to protect the couple from danger during the ceremony (Breliana et al., 2023). *Seventh, Siraman*: The bride undergoes a ceremonial bath with water infused with flowers and coins, a ritual intended to protect her from harm and ensure her safety in marriage (Fathiha, 2022). This ritual is performed the night before the wedding *melekan cilik* and is conducted by family elders (Wawancara with Mestiah, 2025).

Eighth, Midodareni. This is a traditional evening of prayer and reflection, often involving the bride staying awake until midnight. This practice is believed to connect her with angels and benevolent spirits, seeking their blessings for the marriage (Afifah et al., 2024). However, this ritual is becoming rare in Panglungan due to changing societal values and increased religious awareness. *Ninth, Ijab Qobul*. This is the formal ceremony where the marriage is solemnized according to religious rites. In Islam, this involves the groom's acceptance of the marriage contract, typically after a sermon (*khutbah nikah*), which provides marital advice to the couple (Putri et al., 2024). This ceremony signifies the official union of the bride and groom. *Tenth, Temu Manten*. The bride and groom are publicly presented as husband and wife during this ceremony. Traditional rituals such as the exchange of *kembar mayang*, the symbolic tossing of betel leaves (*nyawat suruh*), and the stepping on eggs (*ngidek endok*) follow, each carrying symbolic meanings related to fertility, harmony, and the couple's new life together (Lestary et al., 2024). The bride also washes

the groom's feet as an act of devotion, while the couple shares a meal, symbolizing their partnership in life's challenges.

Eleventh, Srah-Srahan. The groom's family presents gifts to the bride's family, including various symbolic items such as bananas, rice, and household goods, all carrying specific meanings related to prosperity, harmony, and the couple's future life together (Interview with Minem, 2025). *Twelfth, Walimahan.* The final wedding feast is a public celebration, thanking God for the successful union and sharing the joy with family and friends (Rahmawati & Munif, 2023). This event fosters social ties as guests bring gifts of food and money to contribute to the celebration, symbolizing mutual support and community solidarity (Geertz, 1976).

Generational Shifts in the *Mantenan* Tradition

Transformation is the process of making a significant change or shift in form, structure, or character, often resulting in a new and improved state (Poutiatine, 2009). In English, "transform" refers to altering shape or form (Mezirow, 1977; Smalley, 1993). Transformation means gradual change until reaching a particular stage (Kress, 2005). From the above definition, it can be concluded that transformation does not occur instantaneously or entirely, but rather gradually.

Mantenan is an indigenous tradition of the Javanese people that remains extant today, despite experiencing several changes in its ritual processes (Buttenheim & Nobles, 2009; Hull & Hull, 1987). These changes have occurred due to the evolution of time and human thought, making modifications necessary to preserve ancestral traditions (Interview with Minem, 2025). The Panglungan community has transformed gradually, visible through different periods or generational shifts. To facilitate understanding of the Panglungan community, the author utilizes Geertz's trichotomy theory in classifying the community. Geertz (1976) categorizes society into *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi*. The Panglungan community, however, refers to these categories as *kejawen*, *pinter*, and *nduwe*. Although these classifications are similar, they differ slightly in terminology. These groups hold distinct perspectives on the execution of the *Mantenan* tradition.

First, the *abangan* group in the Panglungan community is called *wong kejawen*. They hold firmly to the traditions inherited from their ancestors. This group mainly consists of elders who believe that all the traditions left by their ancestors must be performed and cannot be neglected. They believe that the practices impact the bride and groom and their families. As a result, these traditions are carried out to avoid undesirable outcomes and honor their ancestors. Hence, these traditions must be preserved. The *kejawen* group strongly believes in the spiritual world and adheres to animism. They believe that misfortune will befall the family if any tradition is left out. Therefore, all ritual stages must be performed, from *nontoni* to *walimahan* (Interview with Kariani, 2025).

Based on the depiction of the *Mantenan* ritual practices in Panglungan, there is a transformation in societal perception among the different groups. For example, *wong kejawen* from the X generation and older perform the full *Mantenan* rituals, which include *nontoni*, *lamaran*, *peningsetan*, *tukar cincin*, *tembusan*, *petung*, *adeg tratag*, *pasang tarub*, *kembar mayang*, *siraman*, *midodareni*, *ijab qobul*, *temu manten*, *tukar kembar mayang*, *nyawat surub*, *ngidek endok*, *basuh kaki*, *digendong ke kuade*, *sungkeman*, *dulangan*, *ngesok duweke*, *srah-srahan*, and *walimahan*. They believe that leaving any of these rituals incomplete would result in misfortune for the family. However, millennial and Gen Z generations do not feel the need to perform every single ritual, considering the time and financial costs involved (Interview with Mestiah, 2025).

Second, the *santri* group, or those knowledgeable in religion, are known in Panglungan as *wong pinter*. They disagree with the *kejawen* group because some traditions conflict with Islamic teachings and contain elements of *shirk* (idolatry) in their rituals. Therefore, they propose modifying the rituals, incorporating Islamic values. According to *Wong Pinter*, the *Mantenan* tradition must still be performed as a cultural symbol to preserve ancestral heritage. However, Islam should adapt it (Interview with Supeno, 2025). For *Wong Pinter*, the *Mantenan* tradition is seen as incompatible with Islamic practices, with some ritual stages viewed as containing *shirk*. As a result, *Wong Pinter* modifies the sequence of rituals, incorporating Islamic principles to maintain tradition and religious integrity (Interview with Sumardi, 2025).

Third, the *priyayi* group, known in Panglungan as *wong nduwe*, comprises respected individuals holding positions in government or those focused on their careers and less involved with the *Mantenan* tradition. Due to their lack of understanding and preparation for the traditions, they often delegate the task of performing the rituals to someone familiar with them (Interview with Kariani, 2025). The *Wong Nduwe* group, previously indifferent to cultural and religious practices due to their busy work lives, has transformed, now acknowledging the importance of social and cultural awareness. They carry out the *Mantenan* rituals by entrusting a trusted person to manage the details, following either *kejawen* or *santri* practices, depending on who is appointed to lead the rituals (Interview with Sundari, 2025).

To clarify the perspectives of the Panglungan community, the author classifies the community using Geertz's trichotomy theory, which divides society into three groups: Abangan, Santri, and Priyayi, each with distinct characteristics. The Abangan group believes in mysticism and detailed ceremonial practices, the Santri group emphasizes religion daily, and the Priyayi group comprises individuals with social status based on wealth or lineage (Geertz, 1976). The author presents data on the *Mantenan* tradition in Panglungan in the following table:

Table 2. Transformation of the *Mantenan* Tradition Based on Geertz's Trichotomy Theory

Social Group	Local Term in Panglungan	View on the <i>Mantenan</i> Tradition	Ritual Modifications
Abangan	Wong Kejawen	Firmly adheres to inherited traditions, performing the entire set of rituals without omitting any stages (<i>nontoni</i> to <i>walimahan</i>).	No modifications. Rituals must be performed in full; neglecting any stage would bring misfortune to the family.
Santri	Wong Pinter	Accepts the <i>Mantenan</i> tradition as a cultural symbol but adapts the rituals to align with Islamic teachings, avoiding elements of shirk.	Modifications were made to ensure rituals aligned with Islamic principles, but some stages are incompatible with Islamic beliefs.
Priyayi	Wong Nduwe	Less involved in the rituals, primarily focused on career and social status. Often delegates the execution of rituals to others.	Rituals are carried out by trusted individuals, following either the practices of Wong Kejawen or Wong Pinter, depending on who leads.

Source: Data analysis

Table 2 illustrates the transformation of the *Mantenan* tradition based on Geertz's Trichotomy Theory, categorizing the views and ritual modifications across three distinct social groups. The *Abangan* (*Wong Kejawen*) group firmly adheres to inherited traditions, ensuring that all ritual stages, from *nontoni* to *walimahan*, are carried out without omission. For them, neglecting any part of the ritual is believed to bring misfortune. In contrast, the *Santri* (*Wong Pinter*) group views the *Mantenan* tradition as a cultural symbol but adapts its rituals to align with Islamic principles, eliminating elements of shirk (polytheism). Modifications are made to ensure the rituals comply with Islamic beliefs, although some stages remain incompatible with these teachings. Meanwhile, the *Priyayi* (*Wong Nduwe*) group is less involved in the rituals, placing more emphasis on career and social status. They typically delegate the execution of rituals to others, relying on trusted individuals to perform the rites either according to the *Wong Kejawen* or *Wong Pinter* practices, depending on the leader.

The explanation above highlights how each group's approach to the *Mantenan* tradition is shaped by their social roles, beliefs, and cultural priorities. Despite the numerous changes in *Mantenan* ritual practices among the Panglungan community, this behavior reflects efforts to preserve and maintain the *Mantenan* tradition, albeit in different forms (Ainiyah, 2025). However, the dynamic Panglungan society has transformed its execution of the *Mantenan* rituals, adjusting them to align with modern times and Islamic teachings. This transformation is evident in incorporating Quranic verses, *salawat*, and prayers for divine blessings and safety.

The execution of the *Mantenan* tradition remains culturally significant, despite shifts in values (Biya & Bukido, 2023). This is evidenced by the community's continued practice of the tradition while ensuring it does not conflict with religious teachings (Makka et al., 2024). In line with this, the tradition is carried out with consideration for the public good. Despite differing viewpoints, the Panglungan community prioritizes *mashlahah* (the public interest) to foster strong social bonds and well-being (Kayadibi, 2019). This has led to the transformation of the tradition, which, once in conflict with religious principles, now coexists by respecting social, cultural, and religious contexts. The transformation of the *Mantenan* tradition in the Javanese village of Panglungan reflects society's adaptation to social, religious, and cultural changes, which have evolved. As a result, the community has come to recognize the importance of keeping up with the times. Additionally, the Panglungan Javanese community has altered the *Mantenan* tradition based on different social groups, with each group's ritual sequence reflecting their cultural identity. The transformation of the *Mantenan* ceremonial rituals in Panglungan aims to preserve and protect the cultural heritage of their ancestors so that it does not vanish with time.

Conclusion

The transformation of the *Mantenan* tradition in Panglungan Village highlights the dynamic interplay between cultural preservation and modernization. Through the lens of Geertz's trichotomy theory, this study has shown how different social groups within the community—wong kejawen, wong pinter, and wong nduwe—interpret and adapt the traditional rituals according to their distinct beliefs, religious affiliations, and social positions. The *Mantenan* ceremony, though evolving, remains deeply rooted in Javanese cultural identity, reflecting the community's continued commitment to honoring their ancestors while accommodating contemporary values.

The adaptation of the *Mantenan* ritual, particularly in its modification to align with Islamic teachings and modern social realities, demonstrates the resilience and flexibility of cultural practices. While older generations maintain a strong attachment to the whole ritual sequence, younger generations, influenced by modern lifestyles, seek to simplify the ceremonies to reduce financial and temporal burdens. This generational shift signifies the ongoing negotiation between tradition and modernity, where cultural practices are not abandoned but instead reinterpreted to preserve their relevance.

The *Mantenan* tradition in Panglungan serves as a microcosm of the broader cultural transformations occurring within Indonesian society, illustrating how traditions can evolve in response to social, religious, and cultural changes without losing their foundational essence. The study underscores the importance of understanding cultural practices as living, adaptable elements of community identity, which continue to shape and reinforce social cohesion, even in the face of modern challenges.

Acknowledgement

I sincerely thank all parties who have provided support, guidance, and assistance throughout this research. Special thanks are extended to the supervisors, the Panglungan village community, academic colleagues, and other individuals who contributed in various ways during the preparation of this study. It is hoped that the findings of this research will provide valuable insights and make a meaningful contribution to the relevant field of study.

References

- Afifah, A. Z. W., Nurlaili, R., Halima, O. N., Feronica, D., Sugiantoro, S., & Setyawan, K. G. (2024). Mengungkapkan Makna Simbolis Upacara Pernikahan Midodareni di Daerah Ngawi. *Maharsi*, 6(3), 93–102. <https://doi.org/10.33503/maharsi.v6i3.57>
- Ainiyah, Q. (2018). Ta'aruf Lokalitas: Integrasi Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Adat Terhadap Fenomena Gredoan Di Suku Using Banyuwangi. *Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Plurality*, 3(2). <https://doi.org/10.30984/ajip.v3i2.721>

- Ainiyah, Q. (2025). Acculturation Of Religion And Culture Of The Ngunggah-Ngungahi Proposal In The Colong Marriage Tradition In Banyuwangi. *SAMAWA: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, 5(1), 51–67. <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.53948/samawa.v5i1.165>
- Biya, R. A. S., & Bukido, R. (2023). Tradisi Mangundu Mantu Masyarakat Tanamon dalam Konsepsi Hukum Islam. *Al-Mujtabid: Journal of Islamic Family Law*, 3(1), 51. <https://doi.org/10.30984/ajifl.v3i1.2552>
- Breliana, S. A. P., Budiono, H., & Widiatmoko, S. (2023). Simbolisme Kembar Mayang dalam Pernikahan Adat Jawa di Kabupaten Kediri. *Prosiding SEMDIKJAR (Seminar Nasional Pendidikan Dan Pembelajaran)*, 6, 662–670.
- Budianto, A. (2020). Legal research methodology reposition in research on social science. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*, 9(1), 1339–1346.
- Buttenheim, A. M., & Nobles, J. (2009). Ethnic diversity, traditional norms, and marriage behaviour in Indonesia. *Population Studies*, 63(3), 277–294. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00324720903137224>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Dhofier, Z. (1980). Kinship and Marriage among the Javanese Kyai. *Indonesia*, 29, 47. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3351004>
- Fahmi, R. (2024). Cultural Harmony: East Loloan Traditional Marriage in Jembrana Regency (A Comparative Study of Islamic Law and Customary Law). *QURU': Journal of Family Law and Culture*, 2(1), 48–72. <https://doi.org/10.59698/quru.v2i1.172>
- Fathiha, A. R. (2022). Analisis Tindakan Sosial Max Weber Terhadap Tradisi Siraman Sedudo. *AL MA'ARIEF: Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial Dan Budaya*, 4(2), 68–76. <https://doi.org/10.35905/almaarief.v4i2.2898>
- Fauzi, M. L. (2012). Traditional Islam in Javanese Society: The Roles of Kyai and Pesantren in Preserving Islamic Tradition and Negotiating Modernity. *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM*, 6(1), 125. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2012.6.1.125-144>
- Firnanda, F. I., Setiani, P. P., Sunuyeko, N., & Badar, A. (2024). Bagaimana Dinamika "Tradisi" Mbuak Balak" dalam Manten Jawa di Desa Tirtomartani? *Jurnal Ilmiah Dinamika Sosial*, 8(1), 12–22.
- Fitriyani, F., Adil, M., & Bukhori, K. (2020). Pola Komunikasi Ritual Kembar Mayang: Kajian Etnografi Komunikasi pada Etnis Jawa. *Intizar*, 26(2), 81–94. <https://doi.org/10.19109/intizar.v26i2.7854>
- Geertz, C. (1976). *The religion of Java*. University of Chicago press.
- Harahap, H. U. (2024). Analisis Pendapat Muhyuddin Al Nawawi Yang Menganjurkan Memilih Jodoh Beragama Islam Serta Dapat Menampakkan Permainan Menarik. *El-Abli: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, 5(1), 31–41.
- Hull, T. H., & Hull, V. J. (1987). Changing marriage behavior in Java: The role of timing of consummation. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 104–119. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24491636>
- Ishaq, I., Asmuni, A., & Suparmin, S. (2023). Traditional Marriage Practices of the Javanese Community in Langkat District, North Sumatra: An Islamic Legal Perspective. *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Dan Penelitian Hukum Islam*, 7(1), 119–135. <https://doi.org/10.30659/jua.v7i1.36940>
- Kartika, Y. (2020). *Pernikahan Adat Jawa Pada Masyarakat Islam Di Desa Kalidadi Kecamatan Kalirejo Kabupaten Lampung Tengah*. UIN Raden Intan Lampung.

- Kayadibi, S. (2019). The State As An Essential Value (Ḍarūriyyāt) of the Maqāṣid al-Sharī ‘ah. *Abkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*, 19(1).
- Kress, G. (2005). Design and transformation: New theories of meaning. In *Multiliteracies: Lit Learning* (pp. 149–157). Routledge.
- Lestary, A., Naldo, J., & Yasmin, N. (2024). Kembar Mayang Tradition in Javanese Wedding Ceremony in Dusun VI, Nagur Village, Tanjung Beringin District, Serdang Bedagai Regency. *Warisan: Journal of History and Cultural Heritage*, 5(1), 82–89. <https://doi.org/10.34007/warisan.v5i1.2220>
- Makka, M. M., Djafar, M. A. A., Hasan, F., & Kolopita, A. F. (2024). Midodareni Transformation in Jawa Tondano: Cultural Adaptation and Islamic Integration. *Potret Pemikiran*, 28(1), 42. <https://doi.org/10.30984/pp.v28i1.2881>
- Manan, A. (2021). *Metode penelitian etnografi*. AcehPo Publishing.
- Masudah, H. Z., & Yoenanto, N. H. (2023). Penyesuaian Perkawinan Pada Periode Awal Pernikahan Pasangan Yang Menikah Melalui Proses Taaruf. *Jurnal Ilmu Psikologi Dan Kesehatan (SIKONTAN)*, 2(1), 87–96. <https://doi.org/10.47353/sikontan.v2i1.1145>
- Merlan, F. (2006). Beyond Tradition. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 7(1), 85–104. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442210600554507>
- Mezirow, J. (1977). Perspective Transformation. *Studies in Adult Education*, 9(2), 153–164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.1977.11730750>
- Mijianti, Y., Widodo, S. T., & Rohmadi, M. (2024). Variasi Istilah dalam Upacara Adat Pernikahan Masyarakat Pendalungan: Kajian Semantik di Era VUCA. *Proceedings Series on Social Sciences & Humanities*, 20, 27–36.
- Permatasari, A. F., & Wijaya, M. (2018). Perubahan Perilaku Masyarakat Jawa Dalam Penyelenggaraan Resepsi Pernikahan Di Kota Surakarta. *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi*, 6(1). <https://doi.org/10.20961/jas.v6i1.18134>
- Poutiatine, M. I. (2009). What is transformation?: Nine principles toward an understanding of the transformational process for transformational leadership. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 7(3), 189–208. <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.1177/154134461038524>
- Pratama, B. A., & Wahyuningsih, N. (2018). Pernikahan Adat Jawa Di Desa Nengahan, Kecamatan Bayat, Kabupaten Klaten. *Haluan Sastra Budaya*, 2(1), 19. <https://doi.org/10.20961/hsb.v2i1.19604>
- Putri, A. N., Husnayain, F., Fauziah, F., Nurjannah, K., A’yun, N. Q., Al-Atsariyah, N. H., Rohana, N., Janah, R. R., Hidayat, F., & Khoeruzaad, B. (2024). The Relevance of Weton Calculation Tradition in Javanese Culture in Determining Marriage Contracts: A Sharia Perspective. *Demak Universal Journal of Islam and Sharia*, 2(03), 243–256. <https://doi.org/10.61455/deujis.v2i03.139>
- Rahmawati, Z. D., & Munif, M. (2023). Values of Character Education in The Javanese-Islamic Tradition: Tingkeban. *EDU-RELIGIA: Jurnal Keagamaan Dan Pembelajarannya*, 6(1), 73–88. <https://doi.org/10.52166/edu-religia.v6i1.4809>
- Ratna, E., Zulfikarni, Abdurrahman, & Liusti, S. A. (2021). *Marriage Patterns in Local Minangkabau Novels in the Reform Era*. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.211201.011>
- Ruslan, I., Kartika, Y., Fatonah, F., & Huzaimah, S. (2021). Tradisi Ritual dalam Pernikahan Islam Jawa (Studi di Desa Kalidadi Lampung Tengah). *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 21(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v21i1.8299>
- Safitri, M. A., & Mustafa, A. (2021). Tradisi Perhitungan Weton dalam Pernikahan Masyarakat Jawa di Kabupaten Tegal; Studi Perbandingan Hukum Adat dan Hukum Islam. *Shantuna: Jurnal Ilmiah*

Mahasiswa Perbandingan Mazhab.

- Sholikhin, M. (2010). *Ritual dan Tradisi Islam Jawa: Ritual-ritual dan tradisi-tradisi tentang kehamilan, kelahiran, pernikahan, dan kematian dalam kehidupan sehari-hari masyarakat Islam Jawa*. Penerbit Narasi.
- Smalley, D. (1993). Defining Transformations. *Interface*, 22(4), 279–300. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09298219308570638>
- Sutikno, S., II, H., Kartolo, R., Harahap, R., & Ali, R. (2022). Java Traditional Community Wedding Ceremony Tradition in Bandar Jawa III Huta, Bandar Sub-District, Simalungun Regency. *Sosiohumaniora*, 24(1), 8. <https://doi.org/10.24198/sosiohumaniora.v24i1.34023>
- Syukur, M., & Aurelia, F. (2024). Perubahan Pernikahan Adat Jawa Di Kecamatan Patallasang, Kabupaten Gowa. *Jurnal Kajian Sosial Dan Budaya: Tebar Science*, 8(1), 1–8. <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.36653/jksb.v8i1.183>
- Yadiana, R., & Faidah, M. (2020). Upacara tumplak punjen dalam prosesi panggih pernikahan adat jawa di kota malang. *Jurnal Tata Rias*, 9(2), 465–472. <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.26740/jtr.v9n2.p%25p>
- Yusuf, S. (2023). *Tradisi Larangan Pernikahan Adat Jawa Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam (Study Kasus Adu Batur di Desa Jombang Kecamatan Jombang Kabupaten Jember)*. Universitas Al-Falah As-Sunniyah.