

Negotiating Tradition and Modernity: The Practice of Prohibiting Marriage in the Month of Suro among Javanese Muslims in South Lampung

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Abstract: This study aims to explain the practice of prohibiting marriage in the month of *Suro* within Javanese customs, a tradition deeply rooted in cultural beliefs and social values. The research employs a combination of field study and library research to obtain both empirical and theoretical perspectives. Data collection techniques include interviews, observations, and documentation, allowing for a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. Primary data were gathered from local respondents, while secondary data were obtained from relevant literature and historical sources. To ensure data validity and authenticity, the study utilized source triangulation, and data were analyzed using the Miles and Huberman interactive model. The findings reveal that most villagers, particularly the older generation, continue to uphold the prohibition of marriage in *Suro* as part of their collective cultural identity. They regard this practice as a symbol of respect for ancestral traditions that must be preserved. Conversely, the younger generation demonstrates a gradual shift in perception. Many young couples view the prohibition as merely a myth without rational or religious justification, reflecting a shift in cultural values influenced by education, modernization, and changing social structures. Academically, this study contributes to enriching interdisciplinary discourse among law, culture, and religion in Indonesia. It provides a critical lens for understanding how local wisdom interacts with contemporary rationality, offering insights into the dynamic negotiation between cultural preservation and modernization. This research

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also serves as a reference for future studies exploring the adaptation of traditional customs within modern social realities.

Keywords: Prohibition of Marriage, Suro Month, Javanese Customs

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan praktik larangan menikah pada bulan *Suro* dalam adat Jawa, sebuah tradisi yang berakar kuat pada keyakinan budaya dan nilai sosial masyarakat. Penelitian ini menggunakan kombinasi antara penelitian lapangan dan studi pustaka untuk memperoleh perspektif empiris dan teoretis secara komprehensif. Teknik pengumpulan data meliputi wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Data primer diperoleh dari para responden di lapangan, sedangkan data sekunder bersumber dari literatur dan referensi historis yang relevan. Untuk memastikan validitas dan keaslian data, penelitian ini menerapkan metode triangulasi sumber, dengan analisis data menggunakan model interaktif Miles dan Huberman. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa sebagian besar masyarakat desa, khususnya generasi tua, masih memegang teguh larangan menikah pada bulan *Suro* sebagai bagian dari identitas budaya kolektif. Mereka memandang praktik tersebut sebagai bentuk penghormatan terhadap leluhur yang telah mewariskan tradisi ini. Sebaliknya, generasi muda mulai mengalami pergeseran pandangan. Banyak di antara mereka menganggap larangan menikah di bulan *Suro* hanyalah mitos tanpa dasar rasional maupun religius, mencerminkan transformasi nilai budaya yang dipengaruhi oleh pendidikan, modernisasi, dan perubahan struktur sosial. Secara akademik, penelitian ini berkontribusi dalam memperkaya wacana interdisipliner antara hukum, budaya, dan agama di Indonesia. Kajian ini memberikan perspektif kritis mengenai interaksi antara kearifan lokal dan rasionalitas modern, serta menawarkan pemahaman tentang dinamika negosiasi antara pelestarian budaya dan modernisasi. Penelitian ini juga menjadi rujukan bagi studi selanjutnya yang menelaah adaptasi adat tradisional dalam realitas sosial kontemporer.

Kata Kunci: Larangan Pernikahan, Bulan Suro, Adat Jawa.

Introduction

Marriage is a sacred contract that contains a series of agreements between two parties, namely husband and wife, in which the peace and happiness of both depend on the fulfillment of the provisions of the agreement.¹ Therefore, when planning a wedding, it is highly recommended to base everything on religious norms so that the goal of marriage —bringing benefits to life —can be achieved. The Qur'an has given instructions that having a family is not only for fulfilling physiological, psychological, and other needs, but also requires clarity about the vision and mission of having a family. The Qur'an explains that having a family must begin with good intentions and processes that conform to religious rules.²

¹ Agus Hermanto, *Problematisasi Hukum Keluarga Islam Di Indonesia*, Cetakan I (Malang: CV. Literasi Nusantara Abadi, 2021), www.penerbitlitnus@gmail.com. Page 56.

² Abdul Qodir Zaelani, Is Susanto, and Abdul Hanif, "The Concept of the Sakinah Family in the Qur'an," *UIN Raden Intan Lampung*, No.2, Vol.2 (2021), <http://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/ElIzdiwaj/article/view/10897>. Page 13.

Among the indigenous people of Java, especially in Margakaya Village, Jati Agung District, there is a long-standing tradition: the prohibition of marriage in the month of Suro. The month of Suro is part of the Javanese calendar, which is considered sacred and mystical. In this tradition, the practice of prohibiting marriage in the month of Suro is surrounded by several myths. Although this tradition has been around for a long time, people's views on the ban have changed, especially in the modern era, which is increasingly open to various cultures and norms. On the other hand, the practice of prohibiting marriage in the month of Suro is still firmly held by some people who are rooted in strong spiritual and social beliefs. This customary practice is a distinguishing factor between members of the Margakaya community and other members of the community, who may not have similar provisions. This creates tension between those who want to maintain tradition and those who feel the ban is no longer relevant to current conditions.

The development of the younger generation's mindset, which prioritizes personal freedom and rational thinking, has also brought a new paradigm to this tradition. Then a big question arises about how the tradition is sustainable amid increasingly rapid changes. Therefore, research on the practice of prohibiting marriage in the month of Suro is important for delving deeper into the relationship between traditions, customary values, and social changes in the Margakaya Village community. The results of this study are expected to provide clearer insight into how the tradition is viewed and accepted in modern society.

Method

The methodology of this research is *field research* and *library research*. The approaches used in this study are juridical-normative, sociological, and psychological. The data collection technique is a documentation approach, using scientific journals and book literature as the primary source. The analysis technique used in this study is the Miles and Huberman technique, with three steps: information reduction, information presentation, and determination. Examination of things that are intertwined before, during, and after the collection of information in the same structure. As for the data validity method, the author uses source triangulation. Namely, by comparing various data/information from one source to another, so that valid data is obtained. Data analysis uses deductive and inductive reasoning, which can then be drawn.

Results and Discussion

Meaning and Beliefs About the Month of *Suro*

The term *Suro*, which the Indonesian people have long known, especially Javanese, comes from '*asyura*' (Arabic), which means the tenth (meaning the 10th day of the month of *Suro*). The term was then used as the beginning month of counting in the *Javanese* calendar.³ The Javanese dating system is based on the *Saka* system (traditional Javanese calendar). This month usually coincides with Muharram in the Islamic calendar, though there are differences between the Saka and Hijri calendars. In Javanese culture, the

³ H. Muhammad Zainuddin, 'Tradisi "Suro" Dalam Masyarakat Jawa', *UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang*, Oktober 2015, <https://uin-malang.ac.id/r/151001/tradisi-suro-dalam-masyarakat-jawa.html>. Thing 1.

month of Suro is considered very sacred and has a special meaning related to various myths, spiritual beliefs, and traditional rituals:

1. **The Month is Holy and Full of Spiritual Meaning.** In Javanese tradition, the month of Suro is believed to have 'mystical energy' and mighty spiritual powers. This month is often associated with significant historical events in both Javanese mythology and religious teachings. The Javanese people believe that the month of Suro is a time full of 'spiritual auroras', where supernatural forces or ancestral spirits greatly affect human life.⁴
2. **Specific Prohibitions in the Month of Suro.** Many Javanese people believe that certain activities considered important or sacred, such as marriage, are not allowed during the month of Suro. This is based on the belief that getting married in that month will bring bad luck or disaster to the couple. Therefore, the prohibition of marriage in the month of *Suro* is one of the most famous customs in Javanese tradition.⁵
3. **A Month Full of Reflection and Ancestor Respect.** The month of Suro is also often associated with a time for introspection, reflection on life's journey, and honoring deceased ancestors. Many rituals and traditional ceremonies are held to welcome the month of Suro, including the 'selamatan' ceremony, a joint prayer to ask for safety and well-being for families and communities. This belief reflects the close relationship between humans, nature, and ancestral spirits in Javanese tradition.⁶
4. **A Month Full of Change and Transformation.** In the view of some Javanese, the month of Suro is also one that brings change, both in positive and negative ways. This month marks the beginning of change, when everything new, including aspects of personal and social life, can begin with new enthusiasm and hope, although some events are also believed to contain elements of danger or uncertainty.⁷
5. **Traditional Ceremonies and Rituals.** Some Javanese traditions in the month of Suro involve special rituals, such as *nyadran* (a form of grave pilgrimage ceremony), which is performed to honor the spirits of ancestors. In some areas, there is also a ritual to reject reinforcements that aims to prevent the community from catastrophes or other perceived flaws.⁸

The practice of prohibiting marriage in the month of *Suro*

The practice of prohibiting marriage in the month of *Suro* is one of the traditions that have long been observed by the Javanese people, including in Margakaya Village,

⁴ Sri Rahayu and Budy Rasidi, 'Makna Bulan Suro: Keharmonisan dan Penyucian dalam Tradisi Jawa', *RRI.co.id*, 12 July 2024, <https://www.rri.co.id/lain-lain/810183/makna-bulan-suro-keharmonisan-dan-penyucian-dalam-tradisi-jawa>.

⁵ 'Bulan Suro Adalah Waktu Sakral dalam Tradisi Jawa: Sejarah, Makna, dan Ritual', *Liputan6.com*, 11 November 2024, <https://www.liputan6.com/feeds/read/5774806/bulan-suro-adalah-waktu-sakral-dalam-tradisi-jawa-sejarah-makna-dan-ritual?page=2>.

⁶ Slamet Rohmadi, 'Ritual Masyarakat Jawa Pada Bulan Suro', *Pemerintah Daerah Magelang* (Magelang), 19 July 2023.

⁷ 'Malam 1 Suro yang Penuh Makna dalam Penanggalan Jawa, Ini Tradisi yang Masih Dijalankan', *TEMPO.co.id*, 6 July 2024, 1, <https://www.tempo.co/hiburan/malam-1-suro-yang-penuh-makna-dalam-penanggalan-jawa-ini-tradisi-yang-masih-dijalankan-42527>.

⁸ Abadi Tamrin, 'Larangan-larangan di Bulan Suro, Mitos Atau Fakta?', *DetikSulsel.com*, 19 July 2023, <https://www.detik.com/sulsel/berita/d-6830740/larangan-larangan-di-bulan-suro-mitos-atau-fakta>.

which is believed to be a sacred month full of spiritual meaning. In the view of some people of Margakaya Village, getting married in the month of *Suro* is considered to bring bad luck or catastrophe. This is according to the explanation of Mbah Jilah (88 years old), a Javanese traditional figure who said that: "*The habit of not doing mantu, especially in the month of Suro, has been in the habit of doing it since the beginning of the year. This is not to say that we are not going to be able to do anything about it, because if we want to break this rule, we are going to have to do something about it, or we are going to have to do something about it, or we are going to have to do something about it. Many people are sick or sick, and they are sick and so on.*" ("The habit of not having a wish, especially marrying a child in the month of Suro, has been held/guided since ancient times. That should not be violated, because when we dare to violate it, it will definitely happen during the celebration —either before or after —a large family will experience a calamity. It could be that the parents are sick or even die, the bride is in a trance, and so on.")⁹. Mbah Jilah's statement was also agreed by Mbah Tomo (88), one of the village elders, who said: "*Well, having a wish in the month of Suro is not the same, it is a blessing, because because it is violated, there is often something happening to the bride and groom and the big family.*" ("Yes, having a wish in the month of *Suro* is not allowed, it must be held up, because if it is violated later, there can be various incidents to the bride and her extended family.")

In line with Mustafa's explanation, the Javanese strongly believe that holding a wedding in the months of *Suro* or Muharram can bring bad luck, disaster, or misfortune to the married couple. Therefore, people tend to avoid holding weddings in this month of *Suro* to maintain good luck and honor their ancestors' beliefs.¹⁰ Mustafa's statement is strengthened by the opinion of Masrukan Maghfur and Ahmad Hafid Safrudin, who stated that getting married in the month of Suro is something that the Javanese forbid. This month is considered sacred; any celebration is prohibited during Suro. The impact is that couples who violate marriage and their two extended families are considered to experience catastrophe or disaster if this prohibition is violated. They believe that getting married in the month of *Suro*, or the month of Muharram, is influenced by *sasi ala para ijab ing pengancé* (a bad month for marriage contract), often leading to quarrels and damage, so it is not advisable to get married in this bad month.¹¹ Therefore, according to most members of the community in this village, the tradition of prohibiting marriage in the Month of *Suro* must be upheld as a form of respect for the ancestors and to preserve the local Javanese culture.¹²

⁹ The interview with Mbah Jilah was conducted at his home in RT 03 Dusun II on Sunday, November 3, 2024 at 10.00 WIB

¹⁰ Mustafa, "Getting to Know the Traditions of the Javanese People Who Avoid Marriage in the Month of Suro or Muharram," *IKMAL Online: Islamic Studies* (blog), July 26, 2023, <https://ikmalonline.com/ knowing-traditions-of Javanese-people-that-avoid-marriages-in-months-suro-or-muharram/>.

¹¹ Masrukan Maghfur and Ahmad Hafid Safrudin, 'Pantangan Melakukan Perkawinan Pada Bulan Suro di Masyarakat Adat Jawa Perspektif Hukum Islam', *Institut Agama Islam Faqih Asy'ari Kediri*, Number 2, Volume 4, (June 2023): 153–63.

¹² Ulfa Triana, 'Tradisi Suroan Dalam Perspektif Pendidikan Islam: Studi Kasus di Desa Sumber Agung Kecamatan Sragi Kabupaten Lampung Selatan' (UIN Raden Intan Lampung, 2019), <https://repository.radenintan.ac.id/7291/1/SKRIPSI%20ULFA%20TRIANA.pdf>.

The prohibition on marriage in the month of Suro, although firmly rooted in Javanese cultural beliefs and values, has not been immune to change over time. In this study, it was found that most villagers, especially the elderly, still hold the custom as part of their cultural identity, which they must preserve. They believe that keeping this prohibition is a form of respect for the ancestors who have inherited this tradition.¹³ For this group, the month of *Suro* is considered to have strong energy, so weddings held in that month are believed to bring bad luck to married couples. For them, marriage is not only a personal bond between two individuals but also a deeper connection to nature and the spiritual forces around them.¹⁴

The Social and Psychological Impact of the Marriage Ban in the Month of *Suro*

In recent years, the implementation of this ban has come under questioning by some circles, especially the younger generation, who are more open to modern views and rationality. They disagree with the older adults who still maintain the tradition, while the younger generation wants to change it, feeling it no longer aligns with today's life context. Some young couples in Margakaya Village, who want to have a wedding according to their wishes, feel burdened by this ban. For them, getting married in the month of *Suro* is nothing more than a *myth* that has no rational basis. According to young people, this myth is not a definite truth. They (young people) have a paradigm that a person's luck is not determined by the month or date of marriage, but rather by commitment, hard work, and communication in living a married life. Therefore, when assessing a myth, we should adopt a rational, critical mindset and not simply accept it without a solid foundation.¹⁵

The younger generation, who are more exposed to modern thinking and globalization, tend to prioritize personal freedom and believe that the timing of marriage should be determined by the couple's readiness, not by customary rules they consider irrelevant. This indicates a shift in the way the village community perceives tradition, in which the rational aspect and individual freedom begin to supersede normative collective values.¹⁶ The social impact of prohibiting marriage in the month of Suro is significant, especially for young couples who want to get married. For those who want to stick to tradition, this can be a significant obstacle, even causing anxiety or psychological distress. Some couples feel hampered in planning their wedding because they must wait months other than *Suro* to take it on. This was experienced by the couple, Yudiyanto (26) and Suwarti (25). They said they used to have to wait until the month of Suro passed after both sides of the family approved their marriage plan. They did this to avoid violating

¹³ Herwin Muryantoro, Wakidi, and Ali Imron, 'Tradisi Suroan Pada Masyarakat Jawa Di Kampung Rukti Harjo Kecamatan Seputih Raman', *FKIP Universitas Lampung*, n.d., 1–12.

¹⁴ Orange Almada, "Exploring the Myths and Beliefs of Marriage in the Month of Suro," *MALANGHITS.com* (blog), June 28, 2024, <https://malanghits.pikiran-rakyat.com/nasional/pr-3488262102/peeling-out-myths-and-beliefs-married-in-the-moon-suro?page=all>.

¹⁵ 'Sejarah Mitos Larangan Menikah di Bulan Suro', *Berita Indonesia*, n.d., accessed 11 October 2024, <https://beritaindonesia.hk/2024/04/sejarah-mitos-larangan-menikah-di-bulan-suro/>.

¹⁶ Udin Juhrocin, "Saddu Dzariah's Analysis of the Prohibition of Marriage in the Month of Muharram," *ACADEMLA* (blog), 2021, https://www.academia.edu/50874056/ANALISIS_SADDU_DZARIAH_TENTANG_LARANGAN_MELAKSANAKAN_PERNIKAHAN_DI_BULAN_MUHARRAM.

Javanese customs related to the prohibition of marriage in the month of *Suro*, as believed by their parents from both parties. At the same time, the views of the two of them are not the same. *"If you want to obey the two of us, just get married in any month, but all months are good; that is just the belief of our ancestors in the past."*¹⁷

On the other hand, couples who choose to break customs and get married in the month of *Suro* often face criticism or rejection from the local community, which can trigger social tensions. Of course, this affects the social dynamics in rural communities, where there is tension between those who want to maintain traditions and those who prefer to move forward without being tied to those customs. The psychological impact is also felt by individuals who choose to defy customs, as they feel isolated or unwelcome in their communities. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that this tradition still holds important cultural values for the people of Margakaya Village. For most residents, this custom is a symbol of collective power that maintains social balance. In their view, the prohibition of marriage in the month of *Suro* is not just a matter of myth or belief, but also part of an effort to maintain social harmony and stability. However, as rational thinking develops and the times advance, this tradition may undergo adjustments or even changes in the future. This depends on how the village people respond to social change and how they can align indigenous values with the demands of modern life. This is in accordance with the explanation of Mr. Zamzani, 55 years old, as a village official (Head of Hamlet I). He said that *"Obeying not to marry in the month of Suro is not only a Javanese custom, but it is also an effort to maintain conditions so that people can still live 'guyup' and 'get along' with each other. Because the wedding celebration will involve relatives and neighbors. Here, there are values of cooperation and helping each other, so that the celebration can be smooth and successful. So if someone violates, the surrounding neighbors do not want to help with the wedding celebration process because they are afraid of being hit by a disaster. The consequences will affect the division within the community, especially if there is a split among the closest family members. This is certainly what we need to take care of always."*¹⁸

Mr. Sukimin, the Head of Margakaya Village, expressed the same. He said that the people of Margakaya Village still observe the practice of prohibiting marriage in the month of *Suro* to prevent conflict among community members, both those who still uphold the custom and those who no longer do. It is hoped that the people here will continue to foster harmony and familiarity, help one another, and coexist calmly and comfortably.¹⁹ Overall, the practice of prohibiting marriage in the month of *Suro* in Margakaya Village reflects the dynamics between tradition and modernity. This is as expressed by Suyitno (22 years old), who said: *"If we are young, what about the prohibition of marriage in the month of Suro? If, according to our parents, we are not allowed to get married in the month of Suro as long as we can follow. Even though, in our opinion, it is an 'old-fashioned' tradition, it is not in line with the times. That is just custom. According to the religion I believe in (Islam), to my*

¹⁷ The interview with Yudiyanto and Suwarti was conducted at their home in RT.04 Dusun II, Margakaya Village, Jati Agung District, South Lampung Regency on Sunday, November 3, 2024 at 16.30 WIB.

¹⁸ The interview with Mr. Zamzani (55 years old) was conducted at his home RT.01 Dusun I on Thursday, October 31, 2024 at 20.00 WIB.

¹⁹ The interview with Mr. Sukimin was conducted at the Margakaya Village Head Office on Monday, November 4, 2024 at 10.00 WIB.

knowledge, all days are good; the important thing is that those who want to get married are ready, and the family agrees. That is all."

The same thing was expressed by Handoko (20 years old): "*Grandma kulo jane does not believe these myths, that there is no disaster. Why is she afraid that she will be in a trance, when sometimes it is just a feeling of worry? However, I must admit that I am a bit of a slacker when it comes to following my parents. "We want to make sure that our parents do not have to worry about their health."* ("If I do not believe in the existence of these myths, which are said to be catastrophic, what will I be afraid of if the bride is in a trance? Sometimes, it is worrying; however, if it can be obeyed (the will of the parents), so that the parents do not worry or become the subject of gossip among their neighbors. "This is in accordance with the opinion of Nabil Malik Hidayat and Masrokhin, who stated that when the local community wants to decide, there is a sense of caution in carrying out the marriage procession because this will be the subject of public discussion, which is often called *kolo mengo* (speech is prayer).²⁰

This study shows that there is a shift in views among the people of Margakaya Village, especially among the younger generation, who are beginning to question the relevance of the ban during growing social changes. Although most people still maintain this tradition, the emergence of social and psychological tensions among young couples who want to marry suggests a need to revisit how these customs are applied in a more open and plural context. Therefore, there is a need for dialogue between the old and young generations to find a balance that maintains traditional cultural values of Java while allowing individual freedom to determine their future.

However, alongside social and cultural changes, especially among the younger generation, views on the prohibition of marriage during the month of *Suro* began to shift. Some young couples in Margakaya Village, who want to have a wedding according to their wishes, feel burdened by this ban. For them, getting married in the month of *Suro* is nothing more than a myth that has no rational basis. The younger generation, who are more exposed to modern thinking and globalization, tend to prioritize personal freedom and believe that the timing of marriage should be determined by the couple's readiness, not by customary rules they consider irrelevant. This indicates a shift in the way the village community perceives tradition, in which the rational aspect and individual freedom begin to supersede normative collective values.

Juridical Discourse on the Practice of Prohibiting Marriage in the Month of *Suro*

A local religious leader also conveyed a normative view from the perspective of Islamic law. Ustadz 'Ali (38) said that "*from the point of view of Islamic teachings, there is no bad day, no bad month to hold a wedding, because actually it is a good day. However, the people here lack religious knowledge, so belief in 'myths' and customs remains quite strong. Actually, we teachers and ustadz never get tired of conveying religious guidance, including the customs (customs) of marriage issues in this month of Suro, but yes, there are still many rejections, especially from our elders (@tua).*"²¹

²⁰ Nabil Malik Hidayat and Masrokhin, 'Pandangan Tokoh Masyarakat Terhadap Pernikahan Di Bulan Suro Tinjauan Hukum Islam: Studi Kasus di Desa Dragan Kecamatan Tamansari Kabupaten Boyolali', *Universitas Hasyim Asy'ari*, Nomer 1, Volume 4 (January 2024): 24–36, <https://doi.org/10.53948/samawa.v2i1.xx>. Item 5.

²¹ The interview with Ustadz 'Ali was conducted in the foyer of the Al-Furqon Mosque in Margakaya Village on Friday, November 1, 2024 at 13.00 WIB.

In Islamic perspectives, the month of *Suro* is full of special days, commonly called Muharram. This month is a month filled with peace and blessings.²² The same was conveyed by Ani Mardiantari et al., who stated that under Islamic law, there is no prohibition on marrying children in the month of *Muharram*. Islam also does not recognize a specific time as unlucky, because, in essence, every time, day, month, and year has blessings from Allah SWT. However, in our society, a custom is implemented in a descending order, and people worry that violating it will bring bad luck. In fact, everything that happens to all creatures is by the will of Allah SWT.²³

In addition, Islam also teaches its people not to worry too much about disasters that will occur based on the prophecies of their ancestors, because Allah subhanahu wata'ala destines the calamities that occur in this universe. As stated in the words of Allah subhanahu wata'ala QS Al Hadid (22), which means: "*There is no calamity that befalls the earth or (nor on yourselves) unless it has been written in the book (Laubul Mahfuzh) before We created it. Indeed, that is easy for Allah.*"²⁴ Islam teaches that all days are good and have their own glory. However, it would be beneficial if the wedding day were based on mutual consideration, which is suitable for *the shahibul hajat* and the guests who will be invited.²⁵ Thus, it can be concluded that, in Islam, there is no need to wait for a specific day, month, or year to hold a marriage. Moreover, according to Islamic law, getting married in the month of Suro or Muharram is neither prohibited nor allowed.²⁶

Traditions in Islamic law are known as '*urf*' and '*adab*' (custom). Etymologically, '*urf*' means something known. Kata '*urf*' is synonymous with the word '*adab*' (custom), which means habit or practice. That means, these two terms ('*urf*' and '*adab*') have the same meaning (*al-'urf wa al-'adab bi ma'na wahid*), which is something that is habituated by the public or a group of people. According to Abû Zahrah, '*urf*' ('*adab*') is something that people are accustomed to in the affairs of mu'amalah.²⁷ The meaning of custom ('*urf*') among fiqh scholars is as a norm that has been inherent in the heart due to repetition, so that it is accepted as a rational and worthy reality according to the judgment of

²² Lufaeli, "Why is the Suro Moon Known as a Sacred Moon? This is Islam's response to this understanding," *AKURAT.Co.* (blog), July 10, 2024, <https://www.akurat.co/hikmah/1304846674/why-month-suro-known-as-sacred-month-this-Islamic-response-to-understanding-it>.

²³ Ani Mardiantari et al., 'Tradisi Masyarakat Adat Jawa Terhadap Pantangan Pernikahan Di Bulan Muharam Perspektif Hukum Islam', *Institut Agama Islam Ma'arif NU Metro Lampung*, Nomer 2, Volume 10 (September 2022): 69–78.

²⁴ Yahyana Maulin Nuha, Subarkah, and Dwiyanu Achmad Hartanto, 'PERSEPSI MASYARAKAT TERHADAP PERKAWINAN PADA BULAN MUHARRAM DALAM ADAT JAWA (Studi Kasus di Desa Medini Kecamatan Undaan Kabupaten Kudus)', *Fakultas Hukum Universitas Muria Kudus*, Nomer 2, Volume 20 (Oktober 2019): 173–87.

²⁵ Aneka Tri Puji Lestari Lestari, 'Tinjauan 'Urf Terhadap Adat Larangan Menikah Pada Bulan Selo Di Desa Ngasinan Kecamatan Jetis Kabupaten Ponorogo' (IAIN Ponorogo, 2019), <https://etheses.iainponorogo.ac.id/8016/1/SKRIPSI%20ANEKA%20TRI%20PUJI%20LESTARI.pdf>. Item 6.

²⁶ 'Begini Pandangan Islam Tentang Menikah di Bulan Suro atau Muharram, Bolehkah?', *DOMPET DUAFa*, Agustus 2024, <https://www.dompetdhuafa.org/menikah-di-bulan-suro-muharram/>. Item 2.

²⁷ Agus Hermanto, *Al-Qawa'id Al-Fiqhiyyah: Dalil dan Metode Penyelesaian Masalah-Masalah Kekinian*, Cetakan 1 (Malang: Literasi Nusantara Abadi, 2021). Pages 75-76

common sense. For example, individual norms such as sleeping habits, eating and drinking, and others. Meanwhile, social norms are general truths created, agreed upon, and carried out by a community, thereby becoming a social obligation that must be obeyed.²⁸

If viewed from Islamic family law, an *'urf* (custom) can still be used as the basis of fiqh law as long as it does not contradict the existing *nash-nash*.²⁹ This is in accordance with Sulfan Wandî's explanation that, in order to make *'urf* (custom) as a shari'i postulate, the conditions are formulated, including: *First*, the *'urf* (either in the form of *'urf 'âm* or *'urf kbâsh*, deeds or words) applies in general. This means that the *law* that applies in most cases that occur within society and its enforceability are accepted by most of that society. *Second*, the *'urf* has become a community when the problem to be determined by law arises. That is, the *'urf* that will be used as a legal basis exists first before the case that will be determined by law. In the rules of *ushûliyyah*, it is stated "*la 'ibrata lil'urfi al-thariy*" (*'Urf* that comes later cannot be used as a legal basis for a long-standing case). *Third*, the *'urf* does not contradict what is clearly expressed in a transaction. This means that, in a transaction, if both parties have clearly determined what must be done. *Fourth*, *'urf* is not contrary to *nash*, thus causing the law contained by *nash* to be unenforceable. *'Such an urf* cannot be used as a postulate of sharia', because the argument of *'urf* can be accepted if there is no *nash* that contains the law of the problem at hand.³⁰

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that this tradition still holds important cultural values for the people of Margakaya Village. For most residents, this custom is a symbol of collective power that maintains social balance. In their view, the practice of prohibiting marriage during the Javanese traditional month of Suro is not only a matter of myth or belief, but also part of an effort to maintain social harmony and stability. However, as rational thinking develops and the times advance, this tradition may undergo adjustments or even changes in the future. This depends on how the village people respond to social change and how they can align indigenous values with the demands of modern life.

In addition, cultural values serve as a guideline for the community to act to address various problems in their lives, so that, in the end, the concept of culture is more of a framework for assessing the symptoms understood by the cultural actor. The meaning includes assessments of the perpetrators within the culture. In culture, meaning is not individual but public, and the system of meaning then becomes the collective property of a group. Culture becomes a pattern of meaning transmitted historically through symbols. Culture is also an inherited conceptual system expressed in symbolic forms through which people communicate, preserve, and develop their knowledge and

²⁸ Fatmah Taufik Hidayat and Mohd Izhar Ariff Bin Mohd Qasim, *Kaedah Adat Muhakkamah Dalam Pandangan Islam: Sebuah Tinjauan Sosiologi Hukum*, Nomer 1, Volume 9 (2016): 67–83.

²⁹ Sofyan A.P. Kau and Kasim Yahiji, *AKULTURASI ISLAM DAN BUDAYA LOKAL (Studi Islam tentang Ritus-Ritus Kehidupan dalam Tradisi Lokal Muslim Gorontalo)*, Edisi 1 (Malang: Inteligensia Media, 2019), <https://journal.iaingorontalo.ac.id/index.php/buku/article/download/3454/1665>. Page 31.

³⁰ Sulfan Wandî, *Eksistensi 'Urf dan Adat Kebiasaan Sebagai Dalil Fiqh*, Nomer 1, Volume 2 (2018): 181–96.

attitudes about life.³¹ The phenomenon of social life is evident in the interrelated realms of religion and culture, which are sometimes misunderstood by those who lack the knowledge to assess the relative roles of each in society. Religion and culture in human existence are not isolated phenomena; on the contrary, they have a strict dialectic in which they produce and then contradict each other. Religion is a guide to living the life that God has designed for us. Culture, on the other hand, is a traditional way of life developed by the community because of creativity, taste, and intention bestowed by Allah SWT.³²

Overall, the practice of prohibiting marriage in the traditional Javanese month of *Suro* in Margakaya Village reflects the dynamic between tradition and modernity. This research shows a shift in views among rural communities, especially among the younger generation, who are beginning to question the relevance of the ban during growing social changes. Although most people still maintain this tradition, the emergence of social and psychological tensions among young couples who want to marry suggests a need to revisit how these customs are applied in a more open and plural context. Therefore, there is a need for dialogue between the old and young generations to find a balance that maintains traditional cultural values of Java while allowing individual freedom to determine their future.

According to the author's analysis, although respected and preserved by many people, the practice of prohibiting marriage in the month of *Suro* is, in general, inseparable from controversy and criticism. Some of the author's critical views on the tradition of prohibiting marriage in the Javanese traditional month of *Suro* include:

1. Superstition and heresy, where some religious groups, especially puritanical Islam, criticize the mystical aspects of the celebration of the month of *Suro* as a form of superstition or *bid'ah* that must be avoided.
2. The strengthening of feudalism, where some critics see the practice of prohibiting marriage in the month of *Suro* as a means of preserving a feudal system that is no longer relevant in the era of modern democracy.
3. Strengthening stereotypes, where the prominence of mystical aspects in the *Suro* month tradition can reinforce negative stereotypes about Javanese society as an irrational community.
4. Conflict with modernity, where some see that beliefs related to the month of *Suro* can hinder progress and modern mindsets, especially if applied rigidly.

These controversies and criticisms show that the tradition of prohibiting marriage in the month of *Suro* in Javanese customs, like many other cultural traditions, continues to face challenges in adapting and negotiating its position in an ever-changing society.

³¹ Nashruddin, 'Kebudayaan dan Agama Jawa dalam Perspektif Clifford Geertz', *Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Sunan Ampel, Surabaya*, Nomer 1, Vol.1 (March 2021): 33–46.

³² Cindy Artika, Sakti Ritonga, and Ismail, "The Ritual Tradition of the Month of *Suro* in an Islamic Perspective in Telaga Jernih Village, Secanggang District, Lalat Regency," *State Islamic University of North Sumatra*, Number 2, Volume 5 (April 2024): 187–97, <https://doi.org/10.59059/tabsyir.v5i2.1158>.

Conclusion

From the discussion, it can be concluded that the prohibition of marriage during the month of Suro, although deeply rooted in Javanese cultural beliefs and values, is not immune to the influence of social change and modernization. The findings reveal that most villagers—particularly the older generation—continue to uphold this custom as an integral part of their cultural identity, deserving preservation. For them, maintaining the prohibition represents a moral and spiritual tribute to their ancestors who passed down the tradition. In contrast, the younger generation exhibits a noticeable shift in perspective. Many young couples in Margakaya Village who wish to determine their wedding date according to personal preference perceive the Suro prohibition as a mere cultural myth lacking a rational or religious foundation. Exposed to modern education, technological development, and global cultural interactions, they tend to emphasize individual autonomy and pragmatic considerations over customary norms. This generational divergence reflects a broader transformation in how tradition is perceived within the community. The collective adherence to inherited customs is gradually being reinterpreted through a rational, individualistic lens, in which personal choice and contextual reasoning begin to outweigh communal expectations. Ultimately, the Suro marriage prohibition serves as a microcosm of the dynamic negotiation between cultural preservation and the evolving values of a modern, pluralistic society.

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Authors Contribution

Supriyadi conceived the research idea, designed the study framework, and conducted the data collection. Nik Abdul Rahim Nik Abdul Ghani provided theoretical guidance, contributed to data analysis, and critically reviewed and refined the manuscript. Both authors read and approved the final version of the manuscript.

Conflict of Interest

The author states that there is no conflict of interest in the research and writing of this journal. All data and analysis are presented objectively without any influence from any party that may affect the results of the research.

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