

A Bad-Luck Myth: *Salep Tarjhe* Marriage among the Madurese of Jember

Qurrotul Ainiyah*, Ahmad Zuhairuz Zaman*

* Universitas Al-Falah Assunniyyah, Jember, Indonesia

Email: ainishomad27@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study elaborates the perceptions of Jember Madurese on *salep tarjhe*, a customary marriage taboo believed to bring misfortune. This research provides some evidence with an ethnographic approach. First, the Madurese in Jember categorizes *salep tarjhe* as interbreeding in *sataretanan* and *sepopoh* marriage. This type of *salep tarjhe* marriage is avoided because the people will have unfortunate situations, such as *odik sosah* (economic crisis), *ke'sakean* (sick), and even die. Second, *salep tarjhe* mythical transformation by Jember Madurese can be seen in the ancient Madurese community mindset and the modern Madurese community. The ancient Madurese claim that practicing *salep tarjhe* as a *noro reng sepuh* (following the ancestors) tradition, while the modern Madurese view *salep tarjhe* myth with logical thinking based on science. *Salep tarjhe* traditions still exist even with changes in line with social developments in the modern era.

[*Salep tarjhe* adalah tradisi perkawinan antar kerabat dekat pada suku Madura. Mitos yang beredar pada suku Madura, perkawinan ini mengakibatkan petaka pada kehidupan rumah tangga pelaku. Dengan pendekatan etnografi penelitian ini menghasilkan: pertama, suku Madura di Jember mengkategorikan *salep tarjhe* sebagai perkawinan silang antar *sataretanan* dan pernikahan *sepopoh*. Jenis pernikahan *salep tarjhe* ini kini dihindari karena pelaku dipercaya mendapat kesialan berupa *odik sosah* (kesulitan ekonomi), *ke'sakean* (sakit-sakitan) dan bahkan meninggal dunia. Kedua, transformasi mitos *salep tarjhe* pada suku Madura di Jember terlihat pada pola pikir suku Madura generasi lama dan suku Madura generasi lebih modern. Generasi lama beranggapan bahwa melaksanakan tradisi *salep tarjhe* *noro reng sepuh* (mengikuti nenek moyang), sedangkan suku Madura modern memandang mitos *salep tarjhe* dengan nalar yang berdasarkan ilmu pengetahuan. Tradisi *salep tarjhe* masih eksis walau dengan perubahan-perubahan yang sesuai perkembangan sosial di era modern.]

KEYWORDS

Madurese community, close-relatives marriage, *salep tarjhe*

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received: 6 November 2023

Approved for Publication: 30 June 2026

TO CITE THIS ARTICLE

Qurrotul Ainiyah, Ahmad Zuhairuz Zaman, "A Bad-Luck Myth: *Salep Tarjhe* Marriage among the Madurese of Jember" *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 19, no. 1 (2026): 83-102, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2026.19104>.



Copyright © 2026 by Author(s)

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

A. Introduction

Marriage for the Madurese is not merely a legal bond between a man and a woman; it also serves to expand and strengthen kinship relations.¹ Kinship is useful as an institution for organizing networks of social ties based on affinity (marriage) and consanguinity (descent).² For this reason, marriages between close relatives, such as *salep tarjhe*,³ are prohibited because they restrict the kinship affinity of the Madurese people. Additionally, those who engage in *salep tarjhe* are believed to invite disaster, which will have an unfortunate impact on the future life of the household.

Previous studies on *salep tarjhe* have largely been limited to theoretical and normative analyses, particularly within the framework of Islamic law. For instance, Fathul examines *salep tarjhe* through the lens of Al-Shatibi's concept of *maqasid al-shari'a*.⁴ Anam argues, from the perspective of *sadd al-dhari'ah*, that cousin marriage does not inherently contain harmful elements, and that the associated myths are merely inherited beliefs without factual basis.⁵ Rohmah discusses *salep tarjhe* in relation to Islamic law and Indonesian marriage law,⁶ while Faiq interprets it as a symbolic prohibition constructed by the Madurese community, limiting its scope to marriages between *sataretanan* (cross or stacked in-law

¹ Nor Hasan, *Persentuhan Islam Dan Budaya Lokal: Mengurai Khasanah Tradisi Masyarakat Populer* (Duta Media, 2018).

² Beni Ahmad Saebani and Encup Supriatna, *Antropologi Hukum* (Pustaka Setia, 2017), 149

³ Marriage with cousins and intermarriage between two siblings for example, A and B are female sisters while C and D are male siblings, then A marries C and B marries D. This term in the Madurese tribe is called *sataretanan* or *se'eparan*. Hasan, *Persentuhan Islam Dan Budaya Lokal: Mengurai Khasanah Tradisi Masyarakat Populer*.

⁴ Fathul Ulum, "Larangan Tradisi Perkawinan 'Salep Tarjhe' Perspektif Maqosid Syariah Al-Syatibi" (Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2020).

⁵ Saiful Anam, "Pamali Dalam Pernikahan Salep Tarjhe Perspektif Teori Sadd Al-Dzariah (Studi Di Desa Campor Kecamatan Geger Kabupaten Bangkalan Madura)" (Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2020).

⁶ Siti Rochmah, "Perkawinan Salep Tarjha Pada Masyarakat Kecamatan Pangarengan Kabupaten Sampang Madura Ditinjau Dari Hukum Islam" (Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2011).

relationships) and excluding cousin marriages.⁷ In contrast to these studies, this research focuses on the transformation of the *salep tarjhe* tradition among the Madurese community in Jember often referred to as the Pandalungan community. This unique socio-cultural setting provides a fertile ground for examining how traditions evolve in response to intercultural exchange.

The transformation of *salep tarjhe* in the Pandalungan context is influenced, in part, by Javanese beliefs in mystical and supernatural phenomena. Among the Madurese, generational differences shape perceptions of this tradition. The older generation tends to view *salep tarjhe* marriages as sources of misfortune and as practices that restrict kinship expansion. In contrast, younger or more modern individuals often perceive such marriages as a way to strengthen familial bonds across dispersed kinship networks.

From a religious perspective, the prohibition of *salep tarjhe* appears to diverge from Islamic teachings, particularly as outlined in Al-Nisā verse 23, which does not prohibit marriage between cousins or cross or stacked in-laws (*sataretanan*).⁸ Islamic law clearly forbids marriage only among *mahram* (non-marriageable relatives), both vertically and horizontally,⁹ with some prohibitions being permanent¹⁰ and others temporary.¹¹ These restrictions are generally understood to align with natural human instincts and to prevent potential biological and social harm.¹² From a scientific standpoint, however, cousin marriage may increase the likelihood of recessive genetic disorders, including conditions such as albinism, with an estimated risk of 1 in 64 births.¹³ Viewed through the lens of scientific view, which seeks to harmonize religious teachings with scientific knowledge, such considerations suggest a preference for avoiding close-kin marriages.

To strengthen the analytical foundation of this study, the transformation of the *salep tarjhe* tradition is examined through an interdisciplinary theoretical framework that integrates myth theory, functionalism, and symbolic interactionism. Drawing on the perspective of Baigent, myth is understood not merely as folklore but as a sacred narrative that originates from accounts of

⁷ Muhammad Faiq, "Tradisi Perkawinan Salep Tarje Studi Analisis Dan Respon Masyarakat Desa Larangan Dalam Pamekasan Madura Jawa Timur" (UIN SUNAN KALIJAGA YOGYAKARTA, 2016).

⁸ Bustainah as-Sayid al- Iraqy, *Asrar Al- Jawaz al Sa'id, Terj. Kathur Suhardi* (Pustaka Azzam, 2002).

⁹ Abi Abdullah bin Idris al- Syafi'i, *Al-Umm*, Juz 5 (Dar al- Fikr, 1990).

¹⁰ Imam Shafi'i forbids consensual marriage because of lineage relationships (such as brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and grandmothers), marriage (in-laws), and siblings. Syafi'i, *Al-Umm*.

¹¹ Some Shafi'ites forbid marrying sisters at the same time, adults who have not repented, wives who have had three divorces, polygamists of more than four, and marriages of people of different religions. Muhammad Ibn Qosim al- Ghazālī, *Fath Al-Qarīb al-Mujīb* (al-hidayah, n.d.), 45–46. lihat juga taklimatnya dalam Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh As-Sunnah*, Juz 2 (Dar al-Fikr, 2006), 48–71.

¹² M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbah: Pesan, Kesan Dan Keserasian al- Qur'an* (Lentera Hati, 2002).

¹³ Lajnah Pentashihah Mushaf Al-Qur'an and Kemenag RI, *Tafsir Ilmi: Seksualitas Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an Dan Sains*, in *Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an* (Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, 2012).

supernatural events, becomes socially legitimized as truth, and is manifested in ritual practices and patterns of behavior within a community. In this sense, the *salep tarjhe* myth operates as a culturally embedded system of meaning that guides social conduct. From a functionalist standpoint, Durkheim views rituals as mechanisms that reduce collective anxiety and reinforce social cohesion; thus, the performance of *salep tarjhe* rituals is interpreted as a communal strategy to manage uncertainty and maintain harmony within kinship structures. Furthermore, the theory of symbolic interactionism as articulated by Charon explains how meanings are continuously constructed and reconstructed through social interaction. This perspective is particularly useful for understanding how different generations of the Madurese community reinterpret the *salep tarjhe* myth in light of changing social, religious, and scientific contexts.

This study employs an ethnographic approach to explore the transformation of the *salep tarjhe* tradition in Jember. This research captures local understandings, cultural values, and behavioral patterns as they are experienced by the community.¹⁴ Data were collected through in-depth interviews and participant observation involving individuals engaged in *salep tarjhe* practices, including married couples and community leaders, using a snowball sampling technique. To obtain authentic data, the author presents *salep tarjhe* myth using taxonomic analysis¹⁵ which functions to focus more on the domain, namely how the *salep tarjhe* tradition is carried out by the Madurese in Jember Regency and the transformation of the Madurese community beliefs in Jember Regency in this modern era. The findings are then analyzed to interpret the evolving patterns of belief, ritual practice, and social meaning associated with this tradition.¹⁶

This article presents both the traditional processes of *salep tarjhe* and the transformation of its associated myths within the Madurese community in Jember. While some individuals who engage in marriages categorized as *salep tarjhe* report experiences of misfortune, others lead stable and successful lives, suggesting that such outcomes are not deterministic. This study argues that the *salep tarjhe* myth has not disappeared in the face of modernization; rather, it has been reinterpreted and institutionalized as a flexible socio-cultural mechanism. It continues to mediate between Islamic legal permissibility, scientific reasoning, and ancestral authority, thereby sustaining its role in regulating marriage practices and maintaining social cohesion.

¹⁴ James P. Spradley, *Metode Etnografi*, Terjem. Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth (Tiara Wacana, 1997).

¹⁵ Spradley, *Metode Etnografi*, Terjem. Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth.

¹⁶ John W. Cresswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (Sage Publications, 2013).

B. *Salep Tarjhe* Marriage Ceremonies

The Madurese in Jember Regency are Javanese people who speak the Madurese language and culture with their wisdom. Regional differences give rise to new traditions. The traditions of the original Madurese experience shifts due to social interactions or the social realities of the surrounding community. If there is a difference in the perception of the Madurese in Jember with the Madurese in other places, then it would not be right if there was misinformation.

Salep tarjhe referred specifically to marriages between close relatives, particularly first cousins. Such marriages have traditionally been avoided by the Madurese community because the kinship ties are considered excessively close.¹⁷ The term *salep tarjhe* evolved to encompass a broader prohibition against marriages between relatives as defined by parental kinship norms.¹⁸ This type of marriage is traditionally avoided by the Madurese community because it is believed to bring misfortune, including economic instability within the family and adverse outcomes for offspring, such as intellectual disabilities and weakened immunity, rendering them more susceptible to disease.

Beliefs on *salep tarjhe* marriages have gradually evolved into mythological narratives within Madurese society. As explained by Hariri, *salep tarjhe* is a myth transmitted orally from ancestors, prohibiting marriages between close relatives, such as cousins. The Madurese avoid cousin marriages because they fear it would threaten the continuation of the Madurese lineage, which was relatively small in the past.¹⁹ Consequently, the belief has developed that committing a *salep tarjhe* marriage will bring economic hardship and the birth of children who are physically weak or prone to illness.

The belief among the Madurese community in Jember that marriages between cousins may bring misfortune appears to have been influenced by Javanese cultural traditions. To avert the perceived misfortune associated with *sataretanan* and *sepopoh* (cousin marriages), the *salep tarjhe* tradition is accompanied by ritual ceremonies derived from Javanese customs. One such ritual involves preparing seven varieties of *polo pendem* (underground crops), which are boiled and used as symbolic offerings believed to ward off misfortune associated with *salep tarjhe* marriages.²⁰ This ritual of *selamatan* (communal thanksgiving ceremony) is

¹⁷ Ratih Nara Winda and Imanuddin Abil Fida, "Tradisi Larangan Perkawinan Salep Tarjhe Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Kecamatan Kuripan Kabupaten Probolinggo)," *USRAH: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 4, no. 1 (2023): 117–33.

¹⁸ Faiq, "Tradisi Perkawinan Salep Tarje Studi Analisis Dan Respon Masyarakat Desa Larangan Dalam Pamekasan Madura Jawa Timur."

¹⁹ Interview with Mohammad Hariri, the Headmaster of Islamic Boarding School, on 28 April 2023.

²⁰ Interview with Maisunah, Community of Cousin Marriages, on 3 April 2023.

intended to seek Allah's blessing and protection in order to prevent calamity and ensure the well-being of the couple and their future family.

Like many customary marriage traditions, *salep tarjhe* tradition consists of a sequence of ceremonial stages. These include *nyabe' oca'* (marriage proposal), *mowang sangkal* (a ritual to dispel misfortune), *nele'e pagher* (wedding procession), *sandingan* (exchange of wedding gifts), the *akad nikah* (marriage contract), the wedding reception, and *metoro'a dheging sekerra'* (a symbolic ceremony of entrusting the bride to her in-laws). These rituals are conducted over a relatively short period. The *nyabe' oca'* and *mowang sangkal* ceremonies are typically held within one to three months of each other. Prior to the *mowang sangkal* ritual, both families prepare for the event by inviting relatives, neighbors, and friends, as well as arranging the necessary food and other ceremonial requirements. The *mowang sangkal* ritual is usually held at the bride's residence, with the associated costs shared by both families. The *nele'e pagher* and *sandingan* ceremonies are performed one day before the marriage contract, followed by the wedding reception. Usually one week later, the *salep tarjhe* marriage sequence concludes with *metoro'a dheging sekerra'*, a symbolic ritual representing the formal entrustment of the bride to her in-laws. The sequence of *salep tarjhe* traditional rituals is summarized in the following table 1.

Table 1. *Salep tarjhe* traditional ceremony

<i>Salep tarjhe</i> stages	Activities
<i>Nyabe' oca'</i> (marriage proposal) and <i>mowang sangkal</i> (dispelling misfortune)	<i>Metuju' tande</i> (make a mark); <i>topa' toju'</i> (upright ketupat); <i>selametan</i> (communal thanksgiving ceremony); <i>maca burdah</i> (reciting burdah)
<i>Nele'e pagher</i> (wedding procession) and <i>sandingan</i> (exchange of wedding gifts)	<i>Lepet</i> (a snack made from glutinous rice); <i>lambing penyengset</i> (traditional engagement gift); <i>sandingan</i> (exchange of wedding gifts); <i>polo pendem</i> (edible tubers)
Marriage contract and reception	Marriage ceremony
<i>Metoro'a dheging sekerra'</i> (a symbolic ceremony of entrusting the bride to her in-laws)	Leaving the bride to the groom's family

The *salep tarjhe* ritual begins with *nyabe' oca'*, a meeting between the families of the prospective bride and groom to reaffirm their mutual intention to proceed with the marriage. During this stage, both families discuss and determine the arrangements for the *salep tarjhe* ceremony, which constitutes a long-standing tradition within the Madurese community. Once an agreement has been reached regarding the timing and costs of the rituals, the families perform the *metuju*

tandhe (marking) ceremony, a symbolic act signifying the formal consent of both parents and the prospective couple to the marriage. This ceremony is accompanied by the presentation of *topa' toju'*, a symbolic offering representing solidarity and mutual support. The *topa' toju'* signifies the collective commitment of both families to provide assistance and guidance in times of hardship or misfortune, with the ultimate aspiration of fostering a harmonious and prosperous marital life for the newlyweds.

The second stage of the *salep tarjhe* tradition is the *mowang sangkal* ritual, which is intended to ward off misfortune associated with the marriage. Among the Madurese community in Jember, this ritual is performed through a *selametan* accompanied by the recitation of the *diba'* and *qaṣīdah al-burdah*, both of which constitute essential elements of the ceremony. The ritual is intended to seek Allah's blessings so that the bride and groom's wishes may be fulfilled, they may be protected from illness, and they may be safeguarded from the disturbance of jinn, evil spirits, and other supernatural forces. The belief in the protective efficacy of the Burdah recitation as a means of averting the perceived misfortune associated with the *salep tarjhe* myth is rooted in Islamic devotional tradition. This belief is reinforced by interpretations such as those of Habib Muhammad Fauzi bin Ismail bin Yahya of Cirebon, who explains that, in addition to its spiritual merits, the recitation of *qaṣīdah al-burdah* serves as a form of spiritual protection for villages, homes, and other places against harm caused by any evil creature.²¹

The *diba'* and *qaṣīdah al-burdah* occupy a central place in the *mowang sangkal* ritual. *Qaṣīdah al-burdah* was composed by Imam Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Būṣīrī and consists of 160 verses arranged into ten chapters.²² The poem encompasses several major themes, including: (1) the author's spiritual experience; (2) praise of the Prophet Muḥammad; (3) the account of the Prophet's birth; (4) the miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad; and (5) the majesty of the Qur'an.²³ According to Islamic tradition, Imam al-Būṣīrī composed the poem after experiencing a dream in which the Prophet Muḥammad instructed him to write it while he was suffering from paralysis. Prior to this, despite seeking treatment from several physicians in Egypt, his condition had shown no improvement. After completing the poem, Al-Būṣīrī reportedly experienced a second dream in which the Prophet covered him with a burdah. Upon awakening, he found that he had been cured of his paralysis. This account gave rise to the title *qaṣīdah al-burdah*, which is also associated with the

²¹ Muhammad Syukron Maksum, *Sembuh Berkah Sholawat: Terapi Ampuh Mencegah Dan Mengobati Penyakit* (Best Publisher, 2013).

²² Muhammad bin Sa'īd al-Busyiri, *Majmu'ah Mawalid Wa Ad'iyah* (Kharisma Anda, n.d.).

²³ Busyiri, *Majmu'ah Mawalid Wa Ad'iyah*.

term *bur'ah* (healing), reflecting its perceived curative and protective virtues.²⁴ Drawing upon this narrative, the Madurese community has developed a strong belief in the spiritual efficacy of reciting *qaṣīdah al-burdah* as a means of seeking divine protection and averting misfortune.

The third stage of the *salep tarjhe* tradition consists of the *nele'e pagher* and *sandingan* ceremonies. This stage is marked by the presentation of traditional market cakes, particularly *lepet*, tied with *penengset* (a symbolic binding or dowry token), together with *sandingan* in the form of seven varieties of *polo pendem* prepared for consumption. Each of these items carries symbolic meaning within the Madurese cultural tradition. The presentation of *lepet* embodies the philosophy of *atoreh totop engkang rapet* (to close and seal tightly), signifying the moral obligation to preserve family privacy by concealing internal conflicts, personal shortcomings, and domestic disputes. In this understanding, family problems should be resolved within the household and should not become the subject of public discussion or social gossip. Likewise, the *penengset* binding, traditionally made from thin strips of bamboo, symbolizes the enduring bond between generations and is associated with the proverb *menongsah a ninggel lanjeran*,²⁵ which conveys that individuals inherit not only the lineage but also the moral character of their ancestors. Accordingly, descendants are expected to emulate the honorable conduct of their forebears in order to lead a virtuous and secure life.²⁶ For the Madurese community, the symbolic bond represented by the *penengset* serves as a reminder of the enduring importance of preserving ancestral values and transmitting them across generations, thereby ensuring that these teachings continue to guide Madurese descendants wherever they reside.

The next stage of the *salep tarjhe* tradition consists of the marriage contract and the wedding reception. These ceremonies are conducted either on the same day or on separate occasions, depending on the financial capacity of the bride and groom's families. Within the *salep tarjhe* tradition, the performance of these rituals is believed to protect the couple from the misfortune traditionally associated with such marriages. The Madurese community in Jember maintains that the complete sequence of ceremonial practices serves to avert the negative consequences attributed to the *salep tarjhe* myth. As one religious leader explained:

Sometimes we as followers of Islamic teachings view the myth of *salep tarjhe* marriage as being able to bring disaster, whether we are sure or not. According to Islamic teachings, marriage with a cousin or marriage between two brothers is permissible. Then which one will we believe between religious

²⁴ M. Syukron Maksum, *Rahasia Sehat Berkah* (Best Publisher, 2009).

²⁵ This proverb comes from *Serat Wedhatama* by Mangkunegoro the IV which was later used as a wise sentence by Madurese tribal elders who live in Jember. K. G. P. A. A. Mangkunegara IV, *Serat Wedatama* (Pradnya Paramita, 1979), 11.

²⁶ Mangkunegara IV, *Serat Wedatama*.

teachings and inherited traditions? Clearly what comes first is religious teachings. However, we cannot immediately ignore the belief in the traditional heritage of our ancestors. Therefore, if you want to marry a cousin or two brothers, you must carry out *salep tarjhe* ritual correctly and be sure that *salep tarjhe* myth marriage disaster will not befall us. For example, I married my maternal cousin, I performed *salep tarjhe* ritual as per the rules of our elders. Thank God our children are healthy and we are financially well off.²⁷

Following the completion of the marriage contract and wedding reception, the *salep tarjhe* tradition concludes with the *metoro'a dheging sekerra'* ceremony, a symbolic ritual marking the formal transfer of responsibility for the bride from her family to that of the groom. This ceremony is typically held at the groom's residence. Within the Madurese tradition, *metoro'a dheging sekerra'* signifies the bride's family's acceptance of the marriage and their entrustment of their daughter, whom they have raised and cared for over many years, to her husband and his family. The term *metoro'* itself conveys the act of entrusting or handing over responsibility. Because the bride and groom generally belong to the same extended kinship network, the bride's family expresses confidence and reassurance in the transition, believing that their daughter is joining a family whose character and background are already well known to them.

In practice, the perceived consequences associated with the *salep tarjhe* myth are believed to affect anyone, regardless of whether they personally believe in the myth. Accordingly, the following chapter examines how the Madurese community in Jember interprets and reconstructs the *salep tarjhe* tradition and its associated myth over time. The analysis seeks to preserve the authenticity of the informants' perspectives without privileging one interpretation over another or evaluating the validity of their beliefs. Such an approach is consistent with anthropological research, which aims to understand beliefs and practices from the participants' own perspectives rather than to determine their objective truth. Furthermore, external researchers should not assume a superior understanding of a cultural tradition than the individuals who actively practice and experience it.

C. The Madurese Community's Perspective on the *Salep Tarjhe*

To examine the intergenerational shift in the mindset and attitudes of the Madurese community in Jember toward the *salep tarjhe* myth, this study classifies the community into two broad groups: the traditional and the modern generations. The traditional generation comprises Generation X and older individuals, as well as some millennials, who tend to sense the teachings and advice of their elders as inherently valid, even in the absence of scientific justification. Members of this group generally observe *salep tarjhe* traditions as sacred ancestral practices that

²⁷ Interview with Muallim, the Islamic Religious Counselor, on 20 May 2023.

have been transmitted across generations with minimal modification, reflecting a strong commitment to preserving their cultural heritage in its original form.²⁸ In contrast, the modern generation primarily consists of younger millennials and Generation Z, who are more likely to evaluate traditional beliefs through the lens of scientific reasoning and empirical evidence. For this group, the authority of ancestral teachings is acknowledged only insofar as it can be reconciled with rational or scientific explanations. Consequently, while they continue to value and preserve traditional practices, they tend to reinterpret and adapt them to contemporary social conditions, technological developments, and modern lifestyles. As a result, *salep tarjhe* traditions are maintained in a more flexible and dynamic manner, allowing for innovation while preserving their cultural significance.²⁹

The traditional Madurese community in Jember believes that marriages between close relatives may result in economic hardship, premature death, and illness among their descendants. This belief is rooted in the principle of *noro reng sepo* (following the teachings of one's elders) and is not regarded merely as folklore devoid of empirical value. Indeed, studies conducted in Nigeria have suggested that cousin marriages, in certain contexts, contribute to economic resilience by strengthening kinship networks and consolidating family resources.³⁰ Moreover, scholars have argued that the beliefs embedded in cultural myths should not be dismissed as entirely false. Rather, myths constitute culturally meaningful systems of knowledge that shape social behavior and provide moral guidance for community life.³¹

In contrast, the modern Madurese community in Jember interprets the myths associated with the *salep tarjhe* tradition as oral narratives whose underlying meanings should be understood through scientific reasoning. For example, the traditional belief that marriages between close relatives may result in illness or premature death among offspring is considered to have a scientific basis. Medical research has demonstrated that consanguineous marriages increase the risk of inherited genetic disorders in children. As noted by Dr. Shadana Ghaisas, children born to closely related parents are more likely to inherit recessive genetic mutations due to shared ancestry.³² As a result, they face an elevated risk of

²⁸ Philip Smith, *Durkheim and After: The Durkheimian Tradition, 1893-2020* (Polity Press, 2020).

²⁹ Smith, *Durkheim and After: The Durkheimian Tradition, 1893-2020*.

³⁰ Saul Estrin et al., "The Cousin Marriage Tradition and Performance of Businesses during the Economic Crises in Nigeria," *World Development* 188, no. December 2024 (2025): 106910.

³¹ Hildred GEERTZ and Hersri, *Keluarga Jawa Hildred Geertz ; Penerjemah, Hersri*, 2nd ed. (Grafiti perss, 1983).

³² Sandhya Raghavan, "Consanguineous Marriage: Can Marriage between Cousins Cause Birth Defects?," *The Healthsite.Com*, 2023, <https://www.thehealthsite.com/news/consanguineous-marriage-can-marriage-between-cousins-cause-birth-defects-k1217-545618/>.

several health conditions, including: (1) congenital disabilities such as heart defects and cleft lip, (2) mental disorders such as bipolar disorder, also known as manic-depressive illness, (3) autosomal recessive diseases, (4) infertility, and (5) mental retardation or intellectual disability.³³

Although both the traditional and modern Madurese communities recognize the potential risks associated with *salep tarjhe* marriages, some continue to practice this tradition to strengthen kinship ties and to adhere to the Prophet's teaching of selecting a spouse from a family of good lineage. Among the Madurese community in Jember, marriages between close relatives are also valued because they enable prospective spouses and their families to know one another well, thereby reducing uncertainty regarding family background, personal character, and economic circumstances. To examine the transformation of the *salep tarjhe* myth, this study first explores the perspectives of the Madurese community in Jember based on the generational classification outlined above, namely the traditional and the modern generations.

Table 2. The Madurese community's perspective on the *salep tarjhe* myth

Generation X and older	Millennial
They believe in the <i>salep tarjhe</i> myth as their ancestors did, with a <i>double-blind</i> conviction	The <i>salep tarjhe</i> myth is regarded merely as an oral narrative passed down from generation to generation
The occurrence of misfortunes strengthens their belief that the myth represents an unavoidable reality	The occurrence of misfortunes changes their perception, leading them to view the myth as a mystical behavior beyond human reasoning
To prevent the myth from manifesting, individuals must perform the <i>salep tarjhe</i> tradition exactly as their ancestors did	They attempt to prevent the myth by instilling religious beliefs

The table above shows that traditional and modern Madurese communities hold markedly different perspectives on the *salep tarjhe* myth. First, the traditional Madurese community believes that marriages between *sataretanan* and *sepopoh* bring misfortune to the family, reflecting long-standing ancestral beliefs. In adhering to this myth, members of the traditional community tend to accept inherited knowledge from their ancestors without critical scrutiny. According to

³³ Sadhana Ghaisas, "Ramai Dibicarakan, Kenali 5 Risiko Menikah Dengan Sepupu," CNN Indonesia, 2023, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/gaya-hidup/20230411123546-255-936168/ramai-dibicarakan-kenali-5-risiko-menikah-dengan-sepupu>.

the hallucinogen theory, this uncritical acceptance of ancestral beliefs is described as double blindness.³⁴

In contrast, the modern Madurese community regards the *salep tarjhe* myth as merely an oral tradition whose validity has not been empirically verified. Members of this generation tend to accept the myth only when they personally experience or directly observe tangible manifestations of misfortune associated with a *salep tarjhe* marriage. Rather than accepting the belief uncritically, they seek to rationalize it through scientific reasoning that accords with their understanding of logic. For instance, the belief that marriages between *sataretanan* and *sepopoh* result in children experiencing frequent illnesses and families facing economic hardship is considered credible only when supported by scientific evidence that provides a rational explanation for these outcomes.

Second, the occurrence of misfortune among families involved in *sataretanan* or *sepopoh* marriages reinforces the traditional Madurese community's belief in the *salep tarjhe* myth. Consequently, avoiding *salep tarjhe* marriages is regarded as a cultural imperative. When such marriages are considered unavoidable, the couple and their families are expected to perform the traditional *salep tarjhe* ritual. This phenomenon has been explained in previous studies as a response to fears of social stigma and the violation of cultural taboos, both of which are perceived as socially and morally unacceptable.³⁵

Meanwhile, the younger generation does not fully subscribe to the *salep tarjhe* myth. Many members of the modern Madurese community regard it as a form of superstition (*tahayyul*) that is inconsistent with Islamic teachings. Nevertheless, when they encounter misfortunes associated with the *salep tarjhe* myth, they tend to seek scientific explanations rather than accepting supernatural causation. For example, Arifah, who married her cousin and has experienced prolonged infertility, attributes her condition to the genetic risks associated with consanguineous marriage. She understands that the close genetic relationship between spouses may adversely affect reproductive health and contribute to infertility.³⁶ Arifah acknowledges that, from a spiritual perspective, there exists a supernatural (*ghaib*) realm beyond the limits of human understanding, which cannot be fully explained through rational or scientific inquiry.³⁷

³⁴ Frank Laroi et al., "Culture and Hallucinations: Overview and Future Directions," *Schizophrenia Bulletin* 40, no. SUPPL. 4 (2014): 213–20.

³⁵ Olympia L. K. Campbell et al., "Genetic Markers of Cousin Marriage and Honour Cultures," *Evolution and Human Behavior* 45, no. 6 (2024): 1–11.

³⁶ Sam Il Myoung Hwang et al., "Health Effects of Cousin Marriage: Evidence from US Genealogical Records," *American Economic Review: Insights* 7, no. 3 (2025): 396–410.

³⁷ Interview with Arifah, the Headmaster of Islamic Boarding School, on 25 April 2023.

Third, when a *salep tarjhe* marriage is considered unavoidable, whether because of circumstances requiring the couple to marry or concerns related to preserving family honor, the perceived means of averting the misfortunes associated with the *salep tarjhe* myth is to perform a series of *mowang sangkal* rituals. These include *nyabe' oca'*, *mowang sangkal*, *nele'e pagher*, *sandingan*, the *akad nikah*, the wedding reception, and *metoro'a dheging sekerra'*. Most members of the traditional Madurese community perform the *mowang sangkal* ritual in the belief that it can prevent or eliminate the potential misfortunes associated with the *salep tarjhe* myth. From the perspective of Émile Durkheim's functionalist theory, this belief functions as a social mechanism that alleviates anxiety and provides individuals with a sense of control over life's uncertainties.³⁸

Traditions that were once believed to be sacred ancestral legacies, full of taboos and passed down from generation to generation, are now viewed more critically and rationally by the younger generation. Many young people see *salep tarjhe* as part of their cultural identity, but they no longer fully believe in the mystical or mythical elements associated with it. Nevertheless, if misfortune happens to coincide with the violation of the myth, some members of the Madurese community in Jember still respond with fear or anxiety. They tend to interpret such occurrences as a "warning" or "punishment," even though not everyone immediately believes this to be the case. Others, however, use these moments for cultural introspection or as an opportunity to strengthen social values and solidarity within the community. Thus, the Madurese community's response to the myth is dualistic: on one hand, they strive to preserve their cultural heritage; on the other, they seek to reinterpret it through a more logical and contextual perspective.

From generation to generation, the Madurese community has regarded the *salep tarjhe* myth as an inseparable part of their cultural heritage and spiritual values, deeply embedded in their social lives. The myth is believed to possess magical powers that bring either blessings or misfortunes, depending on how faithfully the community adheres to the unwritten rules associated with it. In oral tradition, *salep tarjhe* is passed down as a sacred narrative that instills respect, fear, and pride toward their ancestors and customs. However, with the rise of modernization, society's view of the myth has begun to transform. A belief once held as absolute is now subject to critical questioning and modern logic. The

³⁸ M. Muhlis Imran and Shaleh, "Analyzing the Development of Structural-Functional Theory in the Sociological Approach to Primary School Education," *International Journal of Basic Educational Research* 1, no. 1 (2024): 47–51.

following discussion examines the forms of transformation that the *salep tarjhe* myth has undergone within the Madurese tradition in Jember.

D. Transformation of the *Salep Tarjhe* Myth among the Madurese Community in Jember

In relation to the *salep tarjhe* ceremonial tradition discussed in the previous section, it is evident that the Madurese people in Jember cannot be separated from their belief in mystical elements. Indeed, myths are closely linked to mysticism, as both remain abstract in nature. According to Baigent, myths possess several structural characteristics: (1) they originate from historical accounts of supernatural actions; (2) these accounts later come to be regarded as true and sacred; (3) myths manifest in human behavior and patterns of action; (4) myths are enacted ceremonially through rituals; and (5) one way of living with myths is by believing in things beyond human reason.³⁹

Based on Baigent's mythological framework, the *salep tarjhe* myth can be interpreted as a cultural narrative that guides human behavior toward achieving harmony with the universe, the surrounding environment, and the wisdom inherited from previous generations. In Jember, the Madurese community expresses its belief in this myth through a series of ritual practices. Among these ritual sequences, *abueng sangkal* (a ritual for dispelling misfortune) and the *akad nikah* (Islamic marriage contract) are considered indispensable. The *abueng sangkal* ritual is believed to ward off or eliminate the potential misfortunes associated with the *salep tarjhe* myth. This phenomenon demonstrates that social change, scientific knowledge, and technological advancement play significant roles in reshaping cultural beliefs and ritual traditions while allowing certain core practices to persist.⁴⁰

The transformation of the *salep tarjhe* myth arises from internal actions within the Madurese community of Jember or from external disturbances (as a reaction) originating from supernatural beings, or when both internal and external forces converge at a triggering point. Regarding the *salep tarjhe* tradition that has been transmitted across generations within the Madurese community, it is evident that both traditional and modern communities maintain beliefs in supernatural forces. They share the conviction that the misfortunes associated with *sataretanan* and *sepopoh* can be averted through sacred means, particularly by performing the *salep tarjhe* ritual tradition. Nevertheless, while these two generations share

³⁹ Michael Baigent et al., *The Messianic Legacy* (Jonathan Cape, 1986).

⁴⁰ Stephen Castles, "Studying Social Transformation," *International Political Science Review/ Revue Internationale de Science Politique* 22, nos. 13–32 (2001).

certain fundamental beliefs, their ritual practices also exhibit notable differences. Their primary similarity lies in their continued adherence to Islamic religious values. This is reflected in their common practice of reciting verses from the Qur'an, offering *shalawat* (blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad), and reciting supplications (*doa*) taught by Islamic scholars (*ulama*).

On the other hand, significant differences exist between traditional and modern Madurese communities in the ways they perform the *salep tarjhe* rituals and interpret the beliefs associated with the tradition. The traditional community adheres closely to the ritual procedures and customary norms inherited from their ancestors, whereas the modern community tends to modify and adapt these practices in response to changing social conditions and contemporary values. The following discussion illustrates the evolution of *salep tarjhe* ritual practices and the accompanying mythic beliefs as they have been transmitted and transformed across generations.

The principal ritual, regarded as indispensable, is *nyabe' oca'*, a ceremonial gathering in which representatives of both families meet to discuss and agree upon the arrangements for the wedding. Another essential ritual is *mowang sangkal*. This ceremony takes the form of a *selametan*, during which participants recite verses from the Qur'an, offer *shalawat*, and recite *doa*. Through the recitation of the Qur'an, members of the Madurese community believe that individuals can strengthen their spiritual connection with God, transcend worldly concerns, and cultivate a deeper awareness of the divine. They believe that reciting the Qur'an enables believers to draw closer to Allah and deepen their spiritual relationship with Him, reflecting the Qur'anic concept that God is "closer to him than his jugular vein".⁴¹

The *nele'e pagher* and *sandingan* rituals were traditionally performed by the older Madurese community in Jember as offerings to their ancestors and as a form of *shodaqoh* (charitable giving) from the bride and groom. In contrast, modern Madurese society carries out the *nele'e pagher* and *sandingan* rituals solely as acts of *shodaqoh*, without abandoning the essential values of the rituals passed down by their ancestors. They believe that *shodaqoh* can help prevent misfortune. In addition to being encouraged in Islam, *shodaqoh* is seen as a form of social responsibility toward those in need. Psychologically, *shodaqoh* also provides peace of mind and serves as a means of repelling calamities.⁴² Thus, it is not surprising that the *nele'e pagher* and *sandingan* rituals, originally regarded as practices to

⁴¹ QS. Qaf ayat 16. *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya* (Jaya Sakti Surabaya, 1997). 852.

⁴² Ainur Rofiq, "Tradisi Slametan Jawa Dalam Perspektif Pendidikan Islam," *Attaqwa: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Islam* 15, no. 2 (2019): 93–107.

ward off mythical misfortunes, have now been reinterpreted by modern Madurese society as acts of charitable giving intended to protect themselves from harm and adversity in life, especially within the context of marriage. The culmination of the *salep tarjhe* ceremony is the *akad nikah* and the wedding reception. The *akad nikah* and *salep tarjhe* reception are conducted in accordance with Islamic teachings, which state that the validity of a marriage lies in the *akad nikah*. Meanwhile, the wedding reception (*walimah al-‘urs*) is optional.

As for the final ritual, known as *metoro’a dheging sekerra’*, it was traditionally performed at the groom’s house, funded solely by the groom’s family. However, this practice has now undergone a significant transformation. Today, the ritual is no longer restricted to the groom’s household nor financially dependent only on the groom’s side. Instead, it is carried out based on mutual agreement between both families. Either the groom’s or the bride’s family may *metoro’* (formally hand over) their child. In some cases, the groom is symbolically handed over to the bride’s family, or vice versa, depending on the couple’s circumstances and family considerations for a better future.

The transformation of the *salep tarjhe* myth and its associated beliefs across generations reflects a dynamic process of symbolic interaction.⁴³ Charon explains, interaction is a form of communication that gives meaning, creates, and transforms objects, whether in thought or in action.⁴⁴ The actions referred to in this study are social actions rooted in individuals’ interpretations and understandings (both internal and interpersonal) of their surrounding environment, in this case, the Madurese community in Jember. Through such social interactions, the community is able to adapt, adopt, or selectively integrate surrounding cultural practices without violating the Islamic teachings they adhere to. This study therefore illustrate the trajectory of the *salep tarjhe* tradition’s transformation among the Madurese people in Jember, beginning with the shifts in mindset regarding mythic beliefs and rituals. The following schematic diagram presents the evolution of the *salep tarjhe* myth across generations.

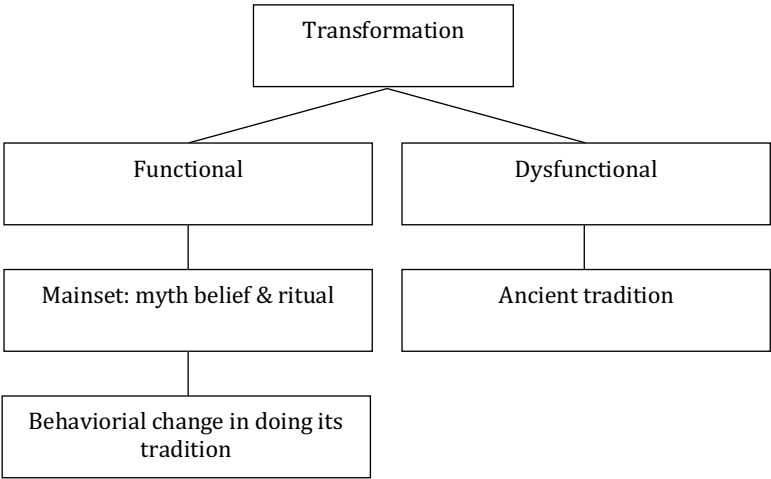
The figure 1 below illustrates that the transformation of the *salep tarjhe* tradition in Jember would not be possible if the Madurese community continued to adhere strictly to the old ways, namely *noro’ butek reng sepoh* (blindly following ancestral customs). A genuine transformation can only occur when there is a shift in mindset regarding both the belief in the myth and the ways rituals are performed. As the Madurese community becomes more open-minded and gains easier access to

⁴³ Joel M. Charon, *Symbolic Interactionism An Introduction, an Interpretation, an Integration* (Prentice-Hall, 1979).

⁴⁴ Charon, *Symbolic Interactionism An Introduction, an Interpretation, an Integration*.

information, their belief in the *salep tarjhe* myth is no longer based on unquestioned acceptance but is instead grounded in knowledge and rational understanding. From this perspective, the transformation of the *salep tarjhe* tradition serves a broader social function: it acts as a medium for fostering togetherness, strengthening solidarity, and uniting the Madurese people in Jember. If the myth remained confined solely to its traditional belief system, it might not be embraced by all members of the community.

Figure 1. The transformation of the *salep tarjhe* myth within the Madurese community in Jember



This shift reflects a larger process of modernization and rationalization within Madurese society, where belief in myths such as *salep tarjhe* is no longer viewed as an absolute truth but rather as a cultural narrative with deep symbolic and historical value. Nevertheless, the persistence of fear or anxiety when misfortune occurs—often interpreted as a consequence of violating the myth—indicates that the magical elements of the tradition continue to exert psychological and social influence. It means that myths serve not merely as ancestral stories but also as a mechanism of social control, shaping collective norms and behaviors and helping to maintain social order and customary law. Consequently, the community’s response to the *salep tarjhe* myth reflects their ongoing effort to balance the preservation of cultural identity with adaptation to modern rationality.

E. Conclusion

The Madurese community in Jember Regency possesses unique local wisdom. Within this cultural framework, the *salep tarjhe* tradition is understood as a form

of consanguineous marriage, specifically involving marriages between cousins or cross-marriages between two closely related family lines. Such marriages are traditionally avoided because they are believed to bring about various misfortunes, such as economic hardship, chronic illness, or even death. The transformation of the *salep tarjhe* myth among the Madurese community in Jember is most clearly reflected in the shift of mindset between the older and younger generations. While many still uphold and practice traditional values, an increasing number have begun to interpret *salep tarjhe* not as an unquestionable supernatural truth but as a cultural symbol that carries historical and social significance. This transformation marks a critical point for understanding how myths in traditional societies can persist, evolve, or even disappear in the face of changing times. It illustrates how communities negotiate between preserving ancestral heritage and adapting to contemporary knowledge, values, and rational perspectives, ensuring that cultural identity remains relevant and meaningful in the modern era.

Acknowledgment

We would like to express our gratitude to all participants including, Madurese figure at Jember Regency, subject of *salep tharje* marriage tradition and the Faculty of Sharia and Islamic Law, State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga, as the organizer of The 7th Annual International Conference on Law and Sharia (AICoLS) held on November 7, 2023. The conference provided significant academic contributions in the making of this paper. We also extend our appreciation to the anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments in the last three years on the methodology and the details of data, which significantly enhanced the academic value of this paper.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya*. Jaya Sakti Surabaya, 1997.
- Anam, Saiful. "Pamali Dalam Pernikahan Salep Tarjhe Perspektif Teori Sadd Al-Dzariah (Studi Di Desa Campor Kecamatan Geger Kabupaten Bangkalan Madura)" Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2020.
- Baigent, Michael, Richard Leigh, and Henry Lincoln. *The Messianic Legacy*. Jonathan Cape, 1986.
- Busyiri, Muhammad bin Sa'id al-. *Majmu'ah Mawalid Wa Ad'iyah*. Kharisma Anda, n.d.
- Campbell, Olympia L. K., Cecilia Padilla-Iglesias, Grégory Fiorio, and Ruth Mace. "Genetic Markers of Cousin Marriage and Honour Cultures." *Evolution and Human Behavior* 45, no. 6 (2024): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2024.106637>.

- Castles, Stephen. "Studying Social Transformation." *International Political Science Review/ Revue Internationale de Science Politique* 22, nos. 13–32 (2001).
- Charon, Joel M. *Symbolic Interactionism An Introduction, an Interpretation, an Integration*. Prentice-Hall, 1979.
- Cresswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Sage Publications, 2013.
- Estrin, Saul, Tomasz Mickiewicz, and Tolu Olarewaju. "The Cousin Marriage Tradition and Performance of Businesses during the Economic Crises in Nigeria." *World Development* 188, no. December 2024 (2025): 106910. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2024.106910>.
- Faiq, Muhammad. "Tradisi Perkawinan Salep Tarje Studi Analisis Dan Respon Masyarakat Desa Larangan Dalam Pamekasan Madura Jawa Timur." UIN SUNAN KALIJAGA YOGYAKARTA., 2016.
- GEERTZ, Hildred, and Hersri. *Keluarga Jawa Hildred Geertz ; Penerjemah, Hersri*. 2nd ed. Grafiti perss, 1983.
- Ghaisas, Sadhana. "Ramai Dibicarakan, Kenali 5 Risiko Menikah Dengan Sepupu." CNN Indonesia, 2023. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/gaya-hidup/20230411123546-255-936168/ramai-dibicarakan-kenali-5-risiko-menikah-dengan-sepupu>.
- Ghozi, Muhammad Ibn Qosim al-. *Fath Al-Qarib al-Mujib*. Al-hidayah, n.d.
- Hasan, Nor. *Persentuhan Islam Dan Budaya Lokal: Mengurai Khasanah Tradisi Masyarakat Populer*. Duta Media, 2018.
- Hwang, Sam Il Myoung, Deaglan Jakob, and Munir Squires. "Health Effects of Cousin Marriage: Evidence from US Genealogical Records." *American Economic Review: Insights* 7, no. 3 (2025): 396–410. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aeri.20230544>.
- Imran, M. Muhlis, and Shaleh. "Analyzing the Development of Structural-Functional Theory in the Sociological Approach to Primary School Education." *International Journal of Basic Educational Research* 1, no. 1 (2024): 47–51. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ijber.2024.11-06>.
- Iraqy, Bustainah as-Sayid al-. *Asrar Al- Jawaz al Sa'id, Terj. Kathur Suhardi*. Pustaka Azzam, 2002.
- IV, K. G. P. A. A. Mangkunegara. *Serat Wedatama*. Pradnya Paramita, 1979.
- Lajnah Pentashihah Mushaf Al-Qur'an, and Kemenag RI. *Tafsir Ilmi: Seksualitas Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an Dan Sains*. In *Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf A-Qur'an*. Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, 2012.
- Laroi, Frank, Tanya Marie Luhrmann, Vaughan Bell, et al. "Culture and Hallucinations: Overview and Future Directions." *Schizophrenia Bulletin* 40, no. SUPPL. 4 (2014): 213–20. <https://doi.org/10.1093/schbul/sbu012>.

- Maksum, M. Syukron. *Rahasia Sehat Berkah*. Best Publisher, 2009.
- Maksum, Muhammad Syukron. *Sembuh Berkah Sholawat: Terapi Ampuh Mencegah Dan Mengobati Penyakit*. Best Publisher, 2013.
- Raghavan, Sandhya. "Consanguineous Marriage: Can Marriage between Cousins Cause Birth Defects?" The Healthsite.Com, 2023. <https://www.thehealthsite.com/news/consanguineous-marriage-can-marriage-between-cousins-cause-birth-defects-k1217-545618/>.
- Rochmah, Siti. "Perkawinan Salep Tarjha Pada Masyarakat Kecamatan Pangarengan Kabupaten Sampang Madura Ditinjau Dari Hukum Islam." Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2011.
- Rofiq, Ainur. "Tradisi Slametan Jawa Dalam Perspektif Pendidikan Islam." *Attaqwa: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Islam* 15, no. 2 (2019): 93–107.
- Sabiq, Sayyid. *Fiqh As-Sunnah*. Juz 2. Dar al-Fikr, 2006.
- Saebani, Beni Ahmad, and Encup Supriatna. *Antropologi Hukum*. Pustaka Setia, 2017.
- Shihab, M. Quraish. *Tafsir Al-Misbah: Pesan, Kesan Dan Keserasian al- Qur'ān*. Lentera Hati, 2002.
- Smith, Philip. *Durkheim and After: The Durkheimian Tradition, 1893-2020*. Polity Press, 2020.
- Spradley, James P. *Metode Etnografi, Terjm. Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth*. Tiara Wacana, 1997.
- Syafi'I, Abi Abdullah bin Idris al-. *Al-Umm*. Juz 5. Dar al- Fikr, 1990.
- Ulum, Fathul. "Larangan Tradisi Perkawinan 'Salep Tarjhe' Perspektif Maqosid Syariah Al-Syatibi." Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2020.
- Winda, Ratih Nara, and Imanuddin Abil Fida. "Tradisi Larangan Perkawinan Salep Tarjhe Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Kecamatan Kuripan Kabupaten Probolinggo)." *USRAH: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 4, no. 1 (2023): 117–33. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.46773/usrah.v4i1.640>.