

The flexibility of Islamic law in the *Ganjur* tradition in Lamongan, Indonesia

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This article demonstrates the flexibility of Islamic family law in the *Ganjur* tradition in Lamongan, Indonesia, considered unique for allowing women to propose to men. Despite its uniqueness, the *Ganjur* tradition carries important moral teachings in the context of realizing humanistic and egalitarian family relations. This study is a legal-sociological study using a grounded research model to find evidence of the flexibility of Islamic law in determining the status of the law of the *Ganjur* tradition. The data required include the history of *Ganjur*, *Ganjur* practice, and people's views on *Ganjur*, which were explored through interviews with twenty informants and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with three traditional leaders, three religious leaders, and five traditional actors. To evaluate the data, the *maqāsid syari'ah* approach was utilized. The results indicate that the *Ganjur* tradition stems from the legend of Panji Laras and Panji Liris (male figures), who received a proposal from Andansari and Andanwangi (female figures). The act of proposing to a man (*ngganjur*) is considered a source of glory for a woman. Meanwhile, being proposed to by a woman (*diganjur*) denotes that a man is respected as a companion to his wife rather than dominated by her. The wedding ceremony is fully financed and organized by the woman's family. Following the event, the couple resides with the woman's family for an indefinite period, until they have acquired sufficient resources to establish their own independent household. The husband and wife hold equal ownership of the family unit and collaboratively manage the household; the wife is not subordinate nor a complement to the husband (*koncowingkeng*). This study found that Islamic law's flexibility could uphold the legitimacy of the *Ganjur* tradition with accurately proposed sharia.

Artikel ini mengungkap fleksibilitas hukum keluarga Islam dalam tradisi *Ganjur* di Lamongan-Indonesia yang dianggap unik karena perempuan melamar laki-laki. Namun, tradisi *Ganjur* mengandung ajaran moral yang signifikan dalam konteks mewujudkan relasi keluarga yang humanis dan setara. Kajian ini bersifat yuridis-sosiologis dengan menggunakan model *grounded research* untuk menemukan bukti-bukti keluwesan hukum Islam dalam menetapkan status hukum tradisi *Ganjur*.

Data yang dibutuhkan meliputi sejarah *Ganjur*, praktik *Ganjur*, dan pandangan masyarakat tentang *Ganjur* yang digali melalui wawancara dengan dua puluh informan dan melakukan *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) bersama tiga tokoh tradisi, tiga tokoh agama, dan lima pelaku tradisi yang selanjutnya dianalisis dengan pendekatan *maqāsid syari'ah*. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa tradisi *Ganjur* muncul dari legenda Panji Laras-Panji Liris (laki-laki) yang dilamar oleh Andansari-Andanwangi (perempuan). Bagi perempuan, melamar laki-laki (*ngganjur*) adalah memuliakannya. Sedangkan bagi laki-laki, dilamar perempuan (*diganjur*) berarti dihormati untuk menjadi (suami) pendamping istri, bukan untuk didominasi. Pesta pernikahan dilaksanakan dan ditanggung oleh keluarga perempuan dengan seluruh biayanya. Setelah itu, kedua pengantin hidup bersama di lingkungan keluarga perempuan dalam waktu tak terbatas. Setelah memiliki cukup kemampuan, keduanya diizinkan membangun keluarga baru yang mandiri. Suami-istri berkedudukan sama sebagai pemilik keluarga; keduanya bermitra dalam mengelola rumah tangga; istri tidak menjadi pelengkap suami (*konco wingkeng*) dan tidak menjadi bawahan suami. Kajian ini menemukan keluwesan hukum Islam yang terbukti telah mampu mendasari keabsahan tradisi *Ganjur* dengan dalil syariah yang akurat.

Keywords: *Ganjur tradition; husband-wife relationship; Islamic law flexibility; women proposing*

Introduction

The doctrine of male leadership over women has been ingrained for centuries, predating even the revelation of the Qur'an (Albughayl, 2022; Konner, 2022). This belief has become widely accepted, with some even claiming that men are born as natural protectors and leaders of women (Ibn Kathīr, 1986, p. 503). These patriarchal views have solidified as a way of life in countries where Islam originated (Khaḍīr, 2018), in particular Saudi Arabia (Shakiba, Ghaderzadeh and Moghadam, 2021, pp. 616-642). In these patriarchal countries, laws have been implemented to determine men as the leaders of women (Seymour, 2005), where the process of building a family typically involves the pattern of 'men proposing to women'.

The tradition of men proposing to women has gained prominence in Indonesia as it aligns with sharia law, emphasized in the Qur'an (4:34), which positions men as women's leaders (Ja'far and Hermanto, 2021). However, there is an intriguing phenomenon in Lamongan, specifically in the sub-districts of Laren and Brondong, where engagement (*kehibal*) is carried out by women, and such a model is called *Ganjur* (Ummam, 2014; Pujiati, 2016; Fatmaningtyas, 2022). The Lamongan community recognizes the *Ganjur* tradition as an ancestral heritage that requires preservation due to its strong foundation in Islamic teachings (Awaliyah and Darmalaksana, 2020). Meanwhile, some deem it as un-Islamic and deviant, necessitating its correction. It appears that there is disagreement regarding the implementation of the *Ganjur* tradition. Thus, conducting a thorough exploration of

Islamic law's flexibility to validate the implementation of *Ganjur* tradition is essential.

This study examines whether the *Ganjur* tradition conflicts with sharia or vice versa. The primary objective is to provide insights into the implementation of the *Ganjur tradition* and its embedded wisdom values that promote a harmonious and humanistic household. This is crucial as unequal husband-wife relationships result in many instances of household conflict and divorce (Zaitov and Teshayev, 2022). Such conflicts hinder the achievement of household harmony (Eryigitova, 2022, pp. 4-5).

Studies on the *Ganjur* tradition have been carried out by several researchers. Prihatini (2021), for example, documented that the response of the millennial generation to the *Ganjur* tradition varied, with some showing support, some not, and some remaining neutral. Meanwhile, according to Hidayah (2021), the *Ganjur* tradition in Dempel Village, Lamongan, was gradually disappearing due to the community's decreased attention on its values, leading to its neglect, and modern culture, which tended to evaluate things rationally, had also regularly interfered the tradition. Another study conducted by Firliyana (2017) indicated that the implementation of *Ganjur* created confusion and failed to properly position men and women, leading some individuals to refrain from participating in the tradition. The studies above solely provide a descriptive account and disregard the moral principles outlined by *Ganjur* teachings regarding spousal ethics within households. Additionally, the studies tend to overlook the legal arguments that either validate or reject the tradition.

This study aims to address gaps in previous research by examining the status of Islamic law on the *Ganjur* tradition. The results demonstrate the development of a harmonious family concept that begins with the proposal process (*ngganjur*). This is essential to critically examine patriarchal proposal patterns that perpetuate unequal husband-wife interactions (Al-Alawi et al., 2021) and potentially lead to divorce (Maksymova et al., 2021; Narzullaevna, 2022, pp.1523-1528).

Method

This study uses a *grounded research* model to explore the reality of the *Ganjur* tradition practiced in Lamongan, particularly in Brondong and Laren sub-districts. It investigates the Islamic legality of the tradition while seeking to elucidate the significance of local knowledge and practices (Prasiwi, 2019). For this reason, this study is legal-sociological in nature (Huda, 2021, p. 21), as it examines the aspects of Islamic law that underlie the *Ganjur* tradition. The

necessary data comprises the history of the *Ganjur* tradition, the procedure for implementing *Ganjur*, and the wedding procession details gathered through interviews with twenty informants. In addition, data were obtained from written documents, including research reports, articles, and manuscript. Data collection was also conducted through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with three religious leaders, three traditional leaders, and five *Ganjur* actors to explore in-depth insights into the *Ganjur tradition*. The data analysis process involved multiple stages. First, the data obtained from the interviews were read and reread. During this stage, the researchers created initial notes consisting of descriptive comments on the content conveyed by the participants. Second, the relationship between certain pieces of information was mapped. Third, relevant statements were grouped according to the study's focus category. The *maqāṣid shari'ah* analysis method was specifically utilized to determine legal decisions by referencing the objectives of sharia, *al-darūrit al-khams*, which contain values and orders that promote justice, freedom, equality, and humanity (‘Awdah, 2011).

Understanding the emergence process of the *Ganjur* tradition requires employing Berger and Luckmann's (2023) framework, which asserts that humans are simultaneously products and creators of social traditions/institutions. Therefore, actions must be viewed coherently in a three-moment dialectical scheme, namely internalization, externalization, and objectivation (Hjelm, 2019, p. 9). The results of data analysis are organized systematically as cultural knowledge in the form of Islamic law-based *Ganjur* tradition practices (i.e. *kitabab* law) with significant values of local wisdom.

The origin of *Ganjur* and its institutionalization

Between 1640 and 1665, Lamongan was ruled by a regent named Raden Panji Puspokusumo, the son of Cakraningrat of Madura (Winoto, 2006, p. 5). Puspokusumo was the father of two identical twin sons, Panji Laras and Panji Liris, who were interested in cockfighting. The Wirosobo area, now known as Kertosono, was a favorite spot for the brothers' hobby, where the Regent of Wirosobo had two beautiful daughters named Andansari and Andanwangi. Both daughters fell in love with Panja Laras and Panji Liris and one day they became ill. To cure their illness, the Regent of Wirosobo immediately went to Lamongan to propose to Panji Laras and Panji Liris, despite it being against the custom at the time. The

proposal was initially accepted, but when Andansari and Andanwangi and her entourage arrived in Lamongan, it was ultimately rejected. This resulted in strained relations between Lamongan and Wirosobo (Winoto, 2006, pp. 6-11).

The Regent of Wirosobo mobilized his troops to attack Lamongan by enlisting additional troops from Kediri and Japaran regions. Meanwhile, Ki Sabilan, Lamongan's warlord, led the standby troops to face Wirosobo's forces. In the ensuing battle, Panji Laras-Panji Liris and Andansari-Andanwangi were killed alongside Ki Sabilan. The Regent of Lamongan and the Regent of Wirosobo then confronted each other. The Regent of Wirosobo was fatally stabbed by the Regent of Lamongan with the dagger of *Kyai Jimat*, causing all soldiers of Wirosobo and their allies scattered and retreated to their homes (Winoto, 2006, p. 11).

The Lamongan community commemorates the tragic story above, which has become a collective awareness that women must propose to Lamongan men. This tradition is known as *Ganjur* and has been institutionalized as a living tradition. Furthermore, it is believed that the *Ganjur* tradition emerged from the fishermen's tradition. In the fishing community system, cooperation between bosses and their crew, known as '*blab*' (splitting or sailing the sea), exists uniquely. Most bosses seek a son-in-law who can replace them when they age. Consequently, the bosses with a daughter typically observe the '*blab*' who works diligently to become a suitable match (Supriyanto, 2022).

***Ganjur* tradition practices, symbolization, and meaning**

Ganjur is generally carried out in three stages. First is the '*babat alas*' or '*babat dalam*' stage, where the female family gathers their relatives, both male and female, to visit the male family and inquire about his status. The usual items/gifts brought at this stage are sugar, coffee, rice, and fruits. The male family responds by visiting the woman's home to '*nembung omong*' (give an answer). Second is the *nggemblong* or *ngganjur* stage, where the female family formally proposes to the man to become her husband. Items/gifts brought are in the form of ready-to-eat food (Hambali, 2021), namely; *wingko*, colorful glutinous rice *salak* (consisting of seven colors) (Syaifur, 2022), *gemblong*, and *lemet* (Muhlisah, 1995, p. 43). *Gemblong* is a dish consisting of white glutinous rice mashed with grated coconut and salt. Its presentation symbolically marks the man who has received it as bound to the woman's family. Over time, *Gemblong* became a term associated with the tradition

of women proposing to men. *Lemet*, on the other hand, is a dish made of white glutinous rice blended with grated coconut and brown sugar, sometimes dyed green and wrapped in banana leaves. The size of the *lemet* brought during the proposal is different from that generally sold in the market. In this case, the *lemet* has a large size, suitable for two people to consume. The sticky food symbolizes the bride and groom's bond, akin to the stickiness of glutinous rice-based food. Third is the *teges dino* stage, in which the female family visits the male family to finalize the wedding date and plan the ceremony. The wedding ceremony and reception are arranged by the bride's family with a set schedule. Subsequently, the newlyweds reside with the bride's family to learn how to live together for a while. When they have enough experience and knowledge of living together, they are allowed to form a new household.

In general, people who carry out the *Ganjur* tradition may not fully comprehend its significance, as it has evolved into a customary practice passed down through generations. Deviating from this practice may cause others to view them as peculiar due to their disregard for ancestral customs (Dimiyati and Muliana, 2021). Historically, marriage was arranged through parental selection and guidance from religious leaders (*keiai*), with parents responsible for finding suitable matches for their daughters (Alifin, 2021; Azmi, 2021). Ultimately, the practice of arranging marriages for daughters became entrenched and institutionalized in communal existence, even though younger generations now have the autonomy to seek out their own partners apart from parental influence.

Selvia (2021), a proponent of *Ganjur*, dreamt of a man who could guide her, be the leader of the family, and comfort her heart in times of trouble. Similarly, Mulani (2022) expressed her happiness in practicing the *Ganjur* tradition, which was based on idea that women were under the power of men. According to religious law, men must propose because they are the head of the household. According to Mulani, although men were proposed to, they were still regarded with respect as they led women.

Sus Aini, another practitioner of the *Ganjur* tradition, stated that she carried out the *Ganjur* without objection. Moreover, she was matched with a community-revered village leader, and she clarified that proposing to the man was not intended to belittle him but rather signified her readiness to uphold the tradition of selecting a household leader. Sus Aini pointed out that parents were delighted when their daughters found a partner, so they willingly proposed

to men. Indeed, matching a girl with a suitable partner could be challenging, especially if she was only involved in activities within her village (Aini, 2022). Thohir (2021) posited that discovering a suitable partner for a woman was a moral imperative. Furthermore, due to the institutionalization of *Ganjur* in society, men who proposed to women were viewed with disdain since they were considered to be unmarketable, lack possessions, and possess no self-esteem (Thohir, 2021). This assumption does not apply to women, therefore it is commonplace for women to propose to men as a form of adhering to tradition.

It is often believed that a man's family will never propose to a woman even if the man loves her more, unless a third party is found to encourage the woman's family to initiate the marriage proposal (*ngganjur*). Thus, according to Syaifur's (2022) assertion, the occurrence of *Ganjur* tradition in Brondong sub-district could be attributed to two reasons. Firstly, men in Brondong sub-district were deemed more valuable than women. Secondly, since men were responsible for bearing the maintenance of women, female family members ought to propose to men by presenting them with *gemblong* and other gifts, which Syaifur considered as bribes.

According to Abdullah (2021), men who received proposals from women experienced an increase in self-esteem, resulting in feelings of happiness, sentimentality, and pride. These men felt appreciated and valued. Kholis (2021) and Suyanto (2022) similarly reported positive emotions upon receiving proposals from women. Suyanto added that men in Brondong were more highly valued than women. This statement aligns with Muhazim's view (2022) that women were expected to propose to men in order to show respect for them as the leaders of their families. According to Mujudi's (2022) understanding, men were considered more valuable than women in Brondong village due to their economic capabilities. As a result, women sought out men who could provide for their needs. Some believed that women proposed to men because they felt physically vulnerable and required protection. This suggests that women offered themselves to men for protection. Furthermore, the tradition of women proposing to men aims to prevent girls from being late to marry (Thohir, 2021). Thohir's opinion was consistent with Syaifur's (2022), who stated that the *Gemblong* or *Ganjur* tradition aimed to empower women by preventing them from solely waiting for men's proposal, as women had a shorter reproductive lifespan compared to men.

Nasikh highlighted that the woman's parents proposed to the man to safeguard their

daughter. However, some argued that the *Ganjur* tradition demonstrated the readiness of the woman's family to marry off their daughter (Nasikh, 2022). According to Qamaruddin (2021), many men often believed that they were not prepared to enter marriage, usually due to a lack of stable employment or other concerns. However, when a woman's family proposed to a man, he may suddenly feel compelled to wed and committed himself to working under the guidance of his in-laws.

Suyanto (2022) recounted his experience as a community practitioner of the *Ganjur* tradition as follows:

“As a man who was proposed to, I did not feel anything, because it was the tradition, custom, and culture of my ancestors that I had to live with” (Suyanto, 2022).

Suyanto disagreed with the notion that men in Lamongan were expensive and women should propose to them. The above explanation clarifies that *Ganjur* serves as a means for women to find a suitable household leader by inquiring about the man's readiness for marriage, since men tend to feel unprepared for it. Therefore, *Ganjur* aligns with Islamic teachings that require men to guide women in the household and does not contradict them (*al-Rjāl qanwāmīn ‘alā an-nisā’*) (‘Uthmān, 2001, p. 16).

The *Ganjur* engagement model suggests that women are more likely than men to express a desire to marry. However, from a philosophical perspective, *Ganjur* represents a meaningful dialogue between men and women in which women can openly inquire about a man's willingness to enter into a marital relationship. As a result, the man, as a prospective husband, is moved and appreciates the woman who has proposed to him. Based on this understanding, *Ganjur* has the advantage that its philosophical principles specifically promote a sense of gender equality in family communication with the potential to promote household harmony (Stalans, 1996, pp.433-448; Abdurakhmanova, 2022, pp.188-193). The *Ganjur* tradition teaches the value of mutual respect between spouses. The lack of such respect poses a threat to households, often resulting in breakdowns, conflicts, and even divorces (Shastri, 2014, pp. 27-30).

The *Ganjur* tradition values women within the household without subjugating them to their husbands. However, it does not grant them a higher position in which they dominate their husbands, as in the Minangkabau tradition of women proposing to men, known as *Bajapuike* (Nuroniyah and Maula, 2022). Within the *Ganjur* tradition, the proposed man

is the wife's companion, rather than the dominant leader as in the patriarchal tradition (Muassomah, Habibi and Ngarifah, 2022).

In the *Ganjur* tradition, women and men share the responsibility of managing the household. This promotes a sense of awareness and togetherness in family life, referred to as *garwo* in Javanese, meaning soulmate. This implies that the husband and wife form an unbreakable bond (*garwo*), where each becomes an integral part of the other (Octarina, 2022). The recognition of being *garwo* affects the development of a comprehension that spouses should work together as a cohesive unit to create a household vision and accomplish household objectives.

The *garwo* spirit can help establish household harmony (Wieringa, 2015), preventing the emergence of male dominance in the family and enabling wives to actively participate in household affairs. This practice opposes patriarchal culture, where husbands handle all household matters and disallow women to take any initiative. Consequently, wives are limited to mere household ornaments (Seymour, 2005; Al-Alawi et al., 2021). This communication pattern within households dehumanizes women and ultimately fails to bring happiness to wives. Regardless of a husband's wealth or income, a wife may find it challenging to feel content if she is perceived as having no contribution to the household (Ngulya et al., 2022, pp.130-136; Maksymova et al., 2021).

The *Ganjur* tradition, which originated the notion of egalitarian leadership within households, differs from the concept of household leadership outside *Ganjur*, although both designate the husband as the family's leader. Outside of the *Ganjur* tradition, women are viewed as subordinate to their husbands, lacking the autonomy to take initiative. Additionally, within patriarchal traditions, there exist those who regard wives as the property of their husbands, resulting in the transfer of ownership of the fruits of the wife's labor to the husband (Bimantara and Zuhriyah, 2022). Ironically, some traditions prevent wives from providing advice or possessing greater intelligence than their husbands (Adifa, 2022). Such patterns within the household are unlikely to bring fulfillment to wives.

Household relationship patterns of *Ganjur* practitioners

The household relationships within the *Ganjur* traditional community were characterized by mutual cooperation between husband and wife, as outlined by Hambali (2021) in regards

to household relations in the Sendangharjo region, specifically in the Mencorek village. Together, they provided economic support for the family, as evidenced by the involvement of women in farming activities during the planting season, including sending food to the fields and participating in fieldwork. If women were not engaged in farming, they typically worked in their areas of expertise, such as fish processing factories, trade, and other industries. Dimiyati's statement further supported Hambali's assertion.

"My wife here is also involved in farming. I am not sure about other farmers. However, when my wife sends (food) to the fields, she also plants chilies, corn, and rice, even though there are farm workers who already do that. The outcomes of our collective efforts are shared; for example, when I harvest a few tons of corn and sell it, I give the money to my wife because she is the one who manages the money. Sometimes, the proceeds from the sale are split. For instance, if we receive two million, my wife receives one million and I receive the other million?" (Dimiyati and Muliana, 2021).

According to Dimiyati, men in his village hold the position of head of the family or household, but not as dominant leaders. Dimiyati provides an illustration where he cleans and helps his wife with domestic tasks when necessary. He argues that if men solely hold power in the family, it could be detrimental as it would mean that women are being enslaved (Dimiyati and Muliana, 2021).

Azmi (2021) asserted that income was shared between spouses, as what belonged to one also belonged to the other. According to Azmi, household chores needed not be agreed upon, and if both partners worked, they should share responsibility for them. He added that for meals, purchasing from a street vendor was an option. He also said that someone else could take care of young children and wash the dirty laundry. According to Said (2021), if a woman was employed while a man was not, the man should perform household chores on a voluntary basis and with mutual agreement. It is worth noting that the *Ganjur* family tradition's principle of *gotong-royong* (mutual cooperation) supported this statement. Consequently, the wealth distribution system should apply the *gono-gini* (dispute) pattern of sharing.

In the *Ganjur* tradition, a new family participates in an educational moment where they learn how to live within a household (Eika, Mogstad and Vestad, 2020). This custom, which cannot be found in any educational system globally, emphasizes the cultural importance of household learning. Therefore, it is crucial to recognize and incorporate the value of household learning in building a harmonious household. The reality is that a person's

intelligence and the level of education attained do not necessarily equate to proficiency in household management. Therefore, it is essential to respond positively to and reinforce household learning in the *Ganjur* tradition to establish a culturally significant asset for the Lamongan community (Nawas et al., 2022), which may be adopted by related parties as part of developing a harmonious and humanistic family dialogue.

The *Ganjur* family adopts a democratic leadership style that offers ample opportunities for the wife to enhance her skills and capabilities in household management. In case the husband is employed, the wife attends to the children's needs until it is time for them to attend school, and vice versa. Whenever the wife is employed, the husband takes care of the children. This way, the household chores are carried out through partnership. The benefit of this principle is that if one spouse is unable to work due to unforeseen circumstances, such as being laid off during the Covid-19 pandemic, as was the case previously (Musyafaah, Novitasari and Rahmawati, 2022), the other can assume additional household economic responsibilities (Pereira et al., 2021). This household pattern contrasts with patriarchal family patterns that exclude wives from work opportunities. If the husband falls ill and is unable to work, his housewife may be caught off guard, putting the household's continuity at risk and potentially leading to divorce (Vinotorchali & Santhanalakshmi, 2022; Tamara, 2022).

In the framework of social construction theory, Berger and Luckmann (2023) posited that humans function as the primary agents in shaping socio-cultural reality via internalization (a manifestation of subjective experience), externalization, and objectivation (Poloma, 2004, p. 302). Consequently, humans are simultaneously the products of and the producers or creators of socio-cultural institutions.

According to this theory, the tradition of women proposing to men, or *Ganjur*, may be attributed to the objectification of an intersubjective reality wherein Lamongan men are deemed superior, thereby creating an expectation for women to propose to them. This reality originates from the externalization of a collective consciousness that upholds the superiority of Lamongan men, which is embedded in collective memory. The collective memory is formed by internalizing the legend of Panji Laras-Panji Liris. Through objectivation, *Ganjur* attains an objective reality and is recognized as a living tradition. To preserve the tradition and ensure its continuity, the community undertakes concrete

actions to objectify the values and norms of the *Ganjur* tradition. This includes promoting equal relations between husbands and wives in managing household affairs (Hermanto and Ismail, 2020), where neither spouse dominates the other, fostering a harmonious environment. This indicates that tradition serves a beneficial purpose in individuals' lives (Kusmaningtyas et al., 2023).

The tragic story of Andansari's proposal to Panji Laras-Liris has been internalized by the Lamongan community into knowledge within the mental structure of the community in the form of a value system or way of life. This viewpoint is then externalized in the tradition of establishing a household, which women must propose to men if they wish to settle down. The custom of women proposing to men, known as *Ganjur/Ngganjur*, is explained objectively in this study. The terminological dynamics of this custom, including *nggemblong* and *ndudut mantu*, are also examined (Thohir, 2021; Iskan, 2022).

Ganjur* and husband-wife relationship patterns from the perspective of *maqāṣid as-sharī'ah

Ganjur refers to the *khūṭbah*, a proposal ritual in Islamic family law theory. In Islamic law, *khūṭbah* is a man's expression of desire (*al-khātib*) to marry a woman (*al-makḥṭūbah*) (Zahrah, 1997, pp. 29-30). Examples of *khūṭbah* include a man stating, "I intend to marry you," and the guardian or suitor accepting the proposal. Thus, *khūṭbah* is the suitor's expression, either in person or by a representative, to request the suitor, also either in person or by a representative, to enter into marriage (Zahrah, 1999, p. 51). The hadith's description of *khūṭbah* is primarily in the context of a man proposing to a woman, with almost all *fiqh* books explaining *khūṭbah* as a man proposing to a woman. While *fiqh* often describes the patriarchal norm of men proposing to women, women have the right to initiate a proposal to a man as well (Uthmān, 2001, p. 29). This right exists for women despite the predominance of patriarchal *fiqh* (Wathani, Ismail and Abdillah, 2022), although it may still feel uncomfortable. A *khūṭbah* conducted by a woman seeking a man of noble descent is in accordance with sharia (Husain, 2011, pp. 95-96). Some jurists even explain that it is a religious recommendation (من الأمور المستحبة) (al-Samaluthi, 1991, p. 199).

The evidence supporting the practice of women proposing to men is compelling. For example, the sahih hadith of an-Nasa'i number 3249 records a woman who offered herself to be the Prophet's wife. In another hadith of Bukhāri number 4728, Umar ibn al-Khattāb

offered his daughter, Hafsa, to some companions, and when there was no answer, the Prophet himself accepted her. Additionally, the Prophet's marriage to Khadijah is an instance where Khadijah was the one who proposed to him (Ridha, 2003, pp. 39-40). Based on its ability to promote the benefits of building a harmonious household in accordance with human interests, the practice of *Ganjur* carries strong sharia legality (al-Muhsin, 1997, p. 25; 2021, p. 7; Nurjanah et al., 2022).

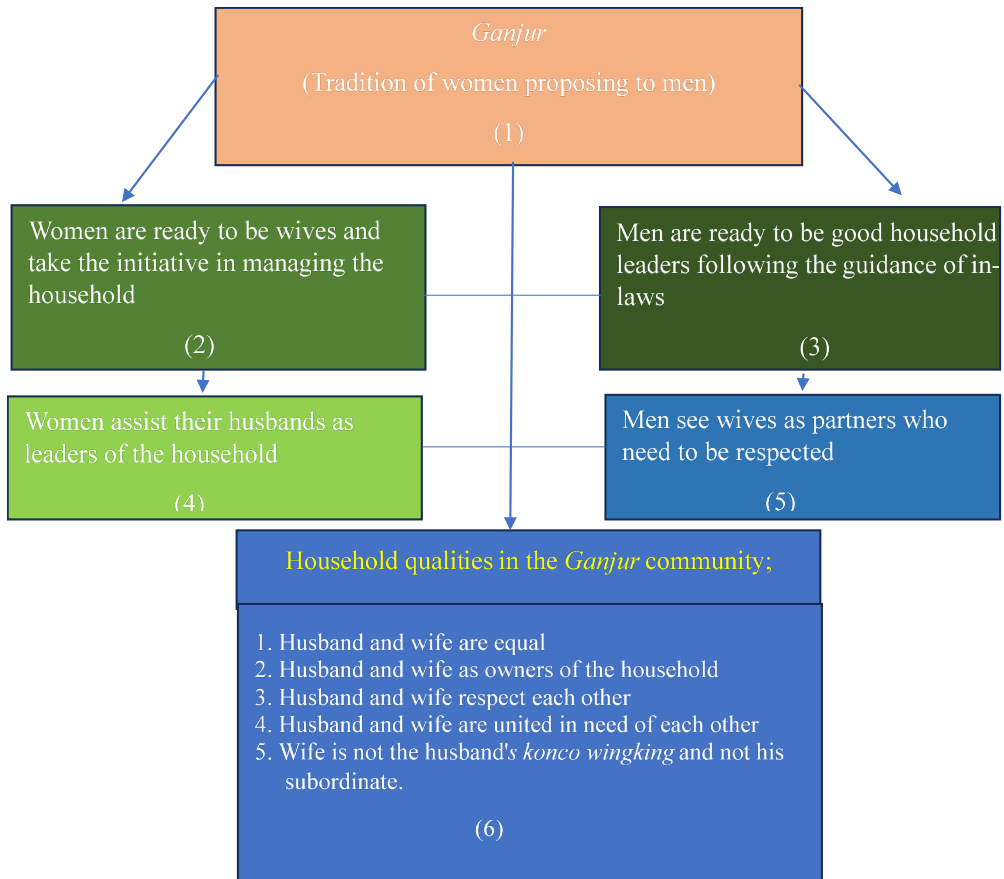
The *Ganjur* tradition teaches the importance of equality and cooperation between spouses in the family. This is achieved through the practice of women proposing to potential husbands, and the preparation undertaken by women in finding suitable partners. Such practices align with sharia law, as they are based on the marriage proposal made by Prophet Muhammad's first wife, Khadijah (Husain, 2011).

When women desire to get married, they typically consult with their parents and do not make the decision alone. Such consultation periods consist of preparing to manage a household life. The process involves selecting a potential husband, proposing to the man (*ngganjur*), preparing costs and equipment necessary for marriage, and creating a plan to live with their spouse under the guidance of their parents' family. This enables women to learn how to live with their future spouse and to build a successful household in the future.

During the post-marriage period, it is essential for the husband and wife to reside with their parents' family in order to acquire skills for settling down, managing household affairs effectively, and fostering a healthy and positive husband-wife relationship. The husband must fulfill his moral obligation by treating his wife with respect and consideration during this time. In the second stage of the *Ganjur* tradition, the wife receives guidance from her parents to treat her husband kindly, in turn, leading the husband to reciprocate. This cycle fosters mutual respect between the spouses. The duration that couples spend with their in-laws does not have a predetermined timeframe; parents approve separation once they feel that both parties have acquired sufficient knowledge to establish their own families.

The previous explanation affirms that the *Ganjur* tradition instructs on the significance of indigenous knowledge in daily life. Specifically, it emphasizes the ethical aspects of spousal relationships, culminating in mutual respect and support. The presented diagram elucidates these core principles.

Diagram 1.
Local Wisdom Roots of *Ganjur* Tradition *Ganjur* local wisdom



Schematic Explanation

→ : The arrowed line shows the causal relationship

— : A straight line indicates a relationship of mutual influence

Box 1 : is the concept of the *Ganjur* tradition

Box 2-3 : is the concept of a woman's desire to marry and a man's willingness to fulfill a proposal to become a husband

Box 4-5 : is the *garwo* concept where the wife is the husband's partner and the husband respects the wife as the husband's partner.

Box 6 : is the concept of a humanist-harmonized family as a result of the *Ganjur* tradition

The diagram displays four connected stages of box relationships. Initially, box 1 relates to boxes 2 and 3, then progresses to boxes 4 and 5, ultimately leading to box 6 and causing a consequential impact. This indicates that the *Ganjur* tradition (box 1) affects the matriarchal *kebijab* process (women proposing to men/boxes 2-3) as a legal-sharia traditional process. This tradition positively impacts the establishment of an equal and unified bond between husband and wife as *garwo*, where they cannot be separated as partners within the household. This mutual partnership awareness forms a harmonious *Ganjur* family style, as outlined in box 6, where husbands and wives are equal as family owners with mutual respect and needs. It is emphasized that wives are not subservient or subordinate to their husbands. Thus, in the *Ganjur* traditional family, the husband and wife collaborate to manage the household affairs.

Conclusion

According to Peter L. Berger's theory of social construction, the tradition of *Ganjur*, in which women propose to men, is a social institution of the Lamongan community as a result of the objectification of the collective perception that Lamongan men are honorable. This perception constitutes an inter-subjective reality, originating from the externalization of subjective reality in the form of the value of the glory of Lamongan men. The value is ingrained in the collective memory of the iconic male characters Panji Laras and Panji Liris, who are proposed to by the female characters Andansari and Andanwangi. However, this practice has received criticism regarding its religious legitimacy, leading to opposition from certain groups. The opposition to implementing *Ganjur* stems from a social critique of its religious legality. Opponents contend that *Ganjur* contradicts sharia law as set forth in the Qur'an (4:34), which emphasizes men's leadership of women and requires men to initiate proposals. On the other hand, *Ganjur* practitioners assert that their practices are aligned with sharia, citing a particular interpretation of the verse and pointing out that the Prophet Muhammad was proposed to by Khadijah. The practice of *Ganjur* is substantiated by the teachings of the Prophet's hadith, which urge parents to arrange matches for their

daughters. In the field of *fiqh* studies, marriage contracts follow the *ijāb-qabūl* pattern. *Ijāb* refers to a guardian or parent offering their daughter to a man for marriage, while *qabūl* is the acceptance of the offer by the man.

The *Ganjur* phenomenon exemplifies the adaptability of Islamic law in reconciling divergent perspectives, thus legitimizing the *Ganjur* tradition in accordance with sharia. The flexibility principle in Islamic law is derived from the sharia philosophy of *maqāṣid as-ṣyari'ah*, which aims to achieve benefits. The *Ganjur* tradition serves *maslahat* points in the form of women's empowerment. The tradition enables the bride to take the lead in establishing a home. Following the wedding ceremony, the couple learns to live harmoniously with the bride's family, honing important skills necessary for managing a household via partnership. Accordingly, the *Ganjur* tradition aligns with *maqāṣidī* principles as a sharia tradition and does not contravene Islamic law.

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