
The use of kemeyan in the khitan tradition from the perspective of the Shafi'i school

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Abstract: Indonesia is a country with extraordinary cultural richness, where various indigenous traditions and local religious rituals remain alive and are still practiced today. This diversity becomes even more intriguing to study when Islamic values intersect with a cultural heritage rooted in pre-Islamic beliefs. One practice that is the focus of this study is the use of powdered incense in the circumcision ritual among Javanese communities. This study aims to analyze the forms and procedures of incense use in the Javanese traditional circumcision tradition, while also examining how the Shafi'i school views this practice from the perspective of Islamic law. This study employs a qualitative approach using juridical-empirical methods. The results indicate that incense is used in two stages of the circumcision ceremony: before and after the procedure. The incense is placed in a small container and then blessed by traditional elders and parents as a prayer for divine favor, ensuring the circumcision ceremony proceeds smoothly. From the Shafi'i school of thought, this practice can be categorized as 'urf shahih, that is, a custom that is legally acceptable under Islamic law, provided it does not contain elements that are medically harmful or contrary to theological principles. Thus, this study concludes that the tradition of using incense in Javanese traditional circumcision falls within the bounds of valid Islamic law and reflects the community's efforts to harmoniously align cultural identity with religious identity.

Keywords: Kemeyan, Circumcision, Shafi'i School of Thought.

Introduction

Indonesia is a country rich in cultural traditions and local wisdom that are deeply rooted in the lives of its people. One phenomenon that is particularly interesting for academic study is the fusion of Islamic religious practices with local customs that have been passed down through generations. One such tradition is circumcision. Circumcision, as defined by Islamic law for males, involves removing all the skin covering the glans (head of the penis) so that the entire glans is exposed (Azhari, 2025)

Circumcision for boys is one of the hallmarks of Islam that has long been practiced by Muslims around the world, including in Indonesia. From the perspective of Islamic jurisprudence, circumcision has a strong legal basis and is recognized as part of human nature. Scholars from various schools of thought, including the Shafi'i school, have paid significant attention to this practice. The Shafi'i school specifically views circumcision as an obligation (*wajib*) for males, distinguishing it from other schools of thought that classify it as a *sunnah*. This makes circumcision not merely a social ritual, but an integral part of a Muslim's religious obligations (Adam Jakrinur, 2024).

This issue is urgent to examine for several reasons. First, the practice of powdered frankincense in circumcision ceremonies is still widely preserved in rural Javanese communities, yet it is rarely accompanied by adequate religious literacy among practitioners, so the line between legitimate cultural expression and practices that may conflict with Islamic legal principles (*tauhid*, *bid'ah*, and *sadd al-dzari'ah*) remains unclear to the community itself. Second, without a clear and contextual legal study, local religious leaders (*kyai*, *ustadz*, *modin*) lack an authoritative reference when responding to questions from the community about the permissibility of this practice, which risks either the uncritical perpetuation of practices with problematic elements or the unnecessary abandonment of cultural heritage that could otherwise be reframed in a sharia-compliant manner. Third, as younger generations increasingly question the rationale behind inherited rituals, documenting and evaluating this tradition

now while it is still actively practiced is essential before the underlying meanings and practices shift or disappear. These considerations underscore the need for a focused, school-specific (*Shafi'i*) legal examination of the *kemenyan* practice in *khitan* ceremonies, rather than treating it merely as a general cultural curiosity.

Interestingly, the circumcision ceremony in Munggu Village, Bungkal Subdistrict, is not merely performed as a religious rite but is also accompanied by a number of traditional practices deeply rooted in the local culture. One of the most prominent traditions and a focus of this study is the use of powdered frankincense as part of the circumcision ritual. Frankincense is a resin or sap derived from trees of the *Styracaceae* family, commonly used as an ingredient in incense or perfumes. It is an aromatic resin that has historically played a significant role in various ritual practices, both religious and related to local beliefs, across the Indonesian archipelago (Siman Suwadi Yuslinawari, 2025)

The use of incense in Javanese traditions and Indonesian society in general has a wide range of applications. In some contexts, incense is used in rituals related to animism and dynamism, including practices such as summoning spirits or communicating with ancestral spirits. In Islamic legal studies, particularly in the fields of *fiqh muamalah* and *fiqh ibadah*, there are provisions governing the validity of a contract or practice based on intention, object, and method of execution (Mubarok, 2004). The use of certain objects in religious ceremonies can be evaluated from several aspects, including the aspect of *tauhid* (purity of faith), the aspect of *bid'ah* (innovation in religion), and the aspect of *sadd al-dzari'ah* (blocking the path to impermissibility). Therefore, the practice of using incense in circumcision ceremonies requires an in depth and comprehensive study from the perspective of Islamic law so that the public has clear guidance.

Several previous studies have touched on related themes, though none has examined the same focus as this research. First, a study on *kemenyan* and *bukhur* among Indonesian Muslims used Mary Douglas's anthropological theory to map the social functions of incense-burning across various life-cycle rituals, including circumcision ceremonies, framing the practice primarily as a symbolic medium of communal prayer rather than evaluating it through the lens of a specific *fiqh* school (Ainun Imtihan, 2025). Second, a study on customary fines in child circumcision in Rambah Village, Bungo Regency, analyzed *khitan*-related customary practices from an Islamic legal perspective, but its object of analysis was the customary monetary sanction attached to circumcision ceremonies, not the use of incense (Riski Hariyadi, 2022). Third, a study on the Selimpat tradition in Ngayau Village examined a broader ritual complex covering illness, marriage, pregnancy, and circumcision in which *kemenyan*-burning is one component among many offerings, and assessed it from a general Islamic law perspective without focusing specifically on circumcision or applying a single school's (*mazhab*) framework (Santri, 2022).

From these three studies, it is evident that existing research has approached *kemenyan*-related rituals either through anthropological theory detached from *fiqh* analysis, or through Islamic legal review of *khitan* customs unrelated to incense use, or through a broad multi-ritual lens in which circumcision is only incidental. None has specifically and systematically examined the use of powdered frankincense in male circumcision ceremonies through the analytical framework of a single, clearly defined *fiqh* school. This gap constitutes the novelty of the present study, which narrows its focus to the *kemenyan* practice within *khitan* ceremonies in Munggu Village, Bungkal Subdistrict, and evaluates it specifically through the *Shafi'i* school's principles regarding *tauhid*, *bid'ah*, and *sadd al-dzari'ah*.

The existence of this tradition indicates a long-standing process of cultural acculturation between Islamic values and local customs. This process is often not accompanied by an adequate understanding of the law among the people who practice it, leading to ambiguity in the assessment of these practices under Sharia law.

This study aims to fill a gap in academic research by specifically examining the practice of using incense in male circumcision ceremonies as a customary tradition in rural Java, particularly in the village of Munggu, Bungkal District. By employing an Islamic legal approach based on the *Shafi'i* school of

jurisprudence as an analytical framework, this study is expected to make a significant scholarly contribution to the development of contextual *fiqh* studies in Indonesia, while also providing legal guidance that can serve as a reference for the local community and religious leaders in addressing this tradition.

Method

This study uses a qualitative juridical-empirical approach to examine both the normative (Moleong, Lexy J., 2018) rules of the Shafi'i *fiqh* concerning circumcision and incense use, and the lived practice of powdered frankincense (*kemenyan*) in circumcision ceremonies in Munggu Village, Bungkal Subdistrict. The method frames law as both text and social practice, so the research simultaneously traces classical and contemporary Shafi'i sources to build a normative framework (principles such as *tauhid*, *bid'ah*, and *sadd al-dzari'ah*) and undertakes fieldwork to document how the *kemenyan* ritual is actually performed and understood by the community

Operationally, the study proceeded in two iterative stages normative and empirical that were integrated through systematic confrontation: elements observed in the field (timing, materials, intentions, recitations, actors) were coded and compared against the normative criteria derived from the Shafi'i tradition to produce a grounded legal assessment rather than a mere description or abstract ruling (Mamudji, 2018). Primary data were gathered via purposive sampling for in-depth interviews and participant/non-participant observation of ceremonies, while secondary sources included classical and modern Shafi'i texts plus relevant village documents and prior studies. (Kau, 2013) informants were drawn from three groups religious leaders, traditional circumcisers and parents/families of circumcised children with data collection continuing until informational consistency and saturation were achieved

Analysis followed a qualitative descriptive-analytical model (interactive stages of reduction, display, and conclusion drawing) in which empirical findings were categorized, then normatively coded against the *fiqh* principles to identify which aspects of the *kemenyan* practice align with, deviate from, or require reinterpretation under Shafi'i jurisprudence. To ensure credibility the study used source triangulation cross-checking interviews, observations, and documentary material and re-examined discrepancies through follow-up clarification, accepting findings only when supported by at least two independent sources.

Results and Discussion

The Meaning and Practice of Using *Kemeyan* in the Circumcision Tradition

In the traditional circumcision tradition of Munggu Village, Bungkal Subdistrict, the use of incense (powder) is part of a cultural practice that is alive and thriving within the customary law community. Its presence can be understood as a manifestation of local values that carry symbolic, spiritual, and social dimensions, which have been preserved from generation to generation as part of the community's cultural identity. From a customary law perspective, this practice reflects the existence of unwritten norms governing the procedures for performing rites of passage, particularly in marking a child's transition to a more mature phase of life.

In the Javanese cultural context, the use of incense in circumcision traditions is intended to invoke safety and blessings for the child who is about to be circumcised. Incense is not merely used as a fragrance, but as an accompaniment to the prayers offered by parents and traditional elders. This aligns with the role of incense in Javanese rituals in general as an accompaniment to prayers and a symbol of solemnity in life-cycle ceremonies, as well as a means of purifying the ritual space so that the proceedings unfold harmoniously. In practice, powdered incense is not burned conspicuously as a separate part of the ritual, but is present quietly as an integral part of the circumcision ceremony itself. Thus, circumcision in Munggu Village is understood not merely as a medical procedure, but also as a moment of spiritual transition in which the family seeks protection and blessings for the child, with

incense serving as a supporting symbol rather than the central element of the ritual. The scent and presence of incense in a small container are believed to serve as a conduit for the family's prayers to God and the spirits of ancestors, so that the child may be granted safety, courage, and protection from evil influences during the ceremony and throughout his future life (Karyadi, 2022). In local belief, incense also symbolizes spiritual purity, an effort to purify the space and environment so that harmony is not disturbed, while simultaneously complementing the physical "cleansing" through the circumcision ritual itself (Anisa, 2018).

In practice, observations in Munggu Village indicate that powdered frankincense is not intentionally burned as incense, but rather serves as a complement and an integral part of the circumcision tradition, particularly in Munggu Village. Thus, circumcision is understood not merely as a health ritual but also as a sanctified social and spiritual transition symbolized by the scent and the gentle yet deeply meaningful presence of frankincense.

The Tradition of Traditional Javanese Circumcision

Circumcision is indeed one of the most important rites of passage for boys in Javanese tradition, not only because it is considered a religious obligation, but also because it marks the transition from childhood to an age considered more mature. In the Javanese social context, this ceremony is often presented in a spirit of celebration and family togetherness, making it a moment when relatives, neighbors, and even community leaders gather in the same space. (Ilyas, 2025). In this context, circumcision is not merely about the physical act of circumcision, but also about how kinship ties and community solidarity are actualized and strengthened through concrete gatherings.

Upon closer examination, the practice of circumcision in Java almost always blends Islamic teachings with local values and practices that have been deeply rooted for a long time. The ceremonial sequence typically includes the recitation of prayers and specific verses, combined with traditions such as *slametan*, *siraman*, or *ngabekten*, which clearly have a local flavor. (Lalu Muhammad Salikurrahman, 2024). Here, the role of religious institutions and community leaders is quite prominent in shaping both the procedures and the meaning of the ritual, so that circumcision can be understood as a concrete arena where Islam is not merely applied as is, but where acculturation with the local cosmology including respect for ancestors and values of propriety manifests tangibly.

In the traditional circumcision ceremony in Munggu Village, local elements are not merely "visible" but are felt in the way people handle powdered incense, recite communal prayers, and position the elders within a structured sequence of events. Incense is not regarded as the center of the ritual, but rather as a supporting element that lends a sense of sacredness to the atmosphere a purpose filled with intention and prayer. From this, it is evident that the local community does not merely preserve old traditions but actively interprets and adapts them in accordance with the Islamic understanding they have internalized, so that custom and religion do not appear as two opposing poles but as parts of a single procession that are both considered valid and meaningful.

This is reinforced by a statement from a community leader who explained the fundamental purpose of using *kemeyan* powder:

"The kemeyan is used by the Javanese people to ensure the safety of a child who is about to undergo circumcision, by seeking blessings and prayers from parents and traditional elders for the child" (Jemani, 2026)

In this context, it is stated that *kemeyan* powder is used to seek the well-being of the child who is about to undergo circumcision by offering prayers before the procedure takes place.

From this informant's statement, *kemeyan* is not treated as a neutral or merely decorative object, but is closely tied to the family's effort to seek safety and blessing for the child through the

prayers of parents and traditional elders. The informant's emphasis on "seeking blessings and prayers" suggests that, within this community's own understanding, *kemenyan* accompanies and reinforces an act of supplication rather than functioning as an independent ritual requirement.

This local understanding can be read alongside the broader symbolic role of incense in Javanese cosmology described in the literature, where incense is associated with communication between humans and the spiritual realm, including ancestral spirits. It should be noted, however, that the informant's own statement frames the practice specifically around prayers from parents and elders for the child's safety, rather than explicitly describing communication with ancestral or local spiritual entities that broader framing comes from the literature. Thus, the use of incense in circumcision ceremonies in Munggu Village not only fulfills religious needs but also reinforces a sense of security and social trust in the continuity of values passed down through generations.

Meaning and Implementation

In traditional circumcision ceremonies in Munggu Village, the incense powder is usually prepared before the main event begins and placed on a plate or small, easily accessible container. This container is usually placed in a somewhat central position, near the seats of the traditional leaders or the parents presiding over the ceremony, so that it is not merely an accessory but also signifies that this ritual is not just a technical procedure, but a procession imbued with symbolic elements and a sacred atmosphere leading up to the moment the child is circumcised.

It is made clear that the incense is then used by a traditional leader or a family member who is considered experienced and trusted by the community. When the incense is presented, it is often accompanied by the recitation of a prayer or short incantation that is not merely spoken, but is intended as a form of symbolic communication with God and, in the local context, also with the ancestors. By involving such figures, this procession transforms from a mere family affair into an event recognized by the community, while simultaneously affirming that the child's status is being "elevated" within the social hierarchy (Olfin Anuke, 2026)

This is reinforced by a statement from one of the traditional elders, who said:

"Here, incense is used twice during a circumcision. First, before the child leaves, the powdered incense is given to the parents or elders to ask for their blessings; then, after the prayers, the incense is placed in a small container and given to the child who is about to be circumcised. Second, after the child returns from the circumcision, a thanksgiving ceremony is held. During this ceremony, the incense is placed in a container or plate, prayers are recited by several elders, then it is mixed with water and given to the child to drink so that he may recover quickly and have a smooth life. The remainder is saved, and seven days later it is brought out again and given to the child to drink as a symbol of prayer for the child's continued growth and a better life in the future" (Sutrisno, 2026)

The use of incense on two separate occasions during the circumcision ceremony in Munggu Village indicates that this ritual is understood not merely as a medical procedure, but also as a series of social and spiritual events that are deliberately preserved. In the first stage, before the child departs, powdered incense is given to the parents or traditional elders to ask for prayers and blessings; then, after the prayers are recited, the incense is placed in a small container and given to the child. In this context, incense serves as a symbol that the child has been "endowed" with prayers, hopes, and protection before entering a crucial stage in his life, while also acting as a symbolic bridge between the family's intentions, the prayers of traditional leaders, and the presence of the child undergoing this transition.

In the second stage, after the circumcision is complete and a celebration has been held, the incense is used again by placing it in a container; several elders then recite a prayer over it, after which

it is mixed with water and given to the child to drink according to local beliefs, this practice is thought to help children recover quickly; this view is also expressed directly by the traditional elders and leaders there, lead a smoother life, and avoid difficulties following the circumcision ceremony. The remaining incense, which is saved and brought back seven days later, is understood as a symbol that the prayers and hopes for the child's smooth life are continually renewed and bound within tradition, thereby simultaneously strengthening cultural identity and reinforcing social bonds within the Munggu Village community.

This ritual is intended to provide a sense of calm, bolster courage, and boost the self-confidence of children who are about to undergo circumcision, an event that is typically viewed as tense and nerve-racking. In the local community's view, incense that has been blessed with prayers is understood as a medium that carries "inner strength," and is thus expected to help the child cope with pain and anxiety. Consequently, incense is not treated merely as a ritual item, but is also regarded as a means of strengthening the child's resolve and inner fortitude.

More broadly, this practice marks the symbolic rite of passage for a child from one status to another namely, from childhood to the position of a pre-teen who is expected to be more socially and spiritually mature. Drinking the incense over which prayers have been recited serves as a sign that the child has symbolically "absorbed" the collective blessings and prayers of the family and community. In the context of Munggu Village, this form of practice indicates that incense remains positioned as a sacred symbol, but its meaning has been simplified so that it no longer relies on excessive mystical rituals, but rather aligns with the Islamic understanding held by the local community. This is not an unfamiliar phenomenon, as incense is often positioned as a marker of the beginning of a ritual with a deeper spiritual awareness, rather than merely a routine ceremonial activity (Noor Fadli Marh Alde Vira, 2025)

Upon closer examination, this practice turns out not to be a recent development. The tradition of using incense in circumcision ceremonies in Munggu Village has existed for a long time and has been passed down from generation to generation. This is also confirmed by interviews with local residents, who stated that:

"The tradition of using incense in circumcision ceremonies in Munggu Village has been around for a long time, passed down to us by our ancestors. We are simply continuing and preserving the traditional culture that has existed since ancient times so that it does not disappear or be lost for future generations" (Kiswanto, 2026).

From this, it is evident that the continuity of tradition does not stand alone but is supported by the collective awareness of the community regarding the importance of the cultural identity they possess. Ultimately, the use of incense in traditional circumcision ceremonies in Munggu Village can be understood in a broader context, not merely as a symbol of purification or protection. It also embodies an element of respect for ancestors and local values that are still upheld to this day. This practice also serves as a way for the community to preserve collective memory and ensure that inherited traditions remain alive amidst the changing times. Thus, the use of incense (powder) in the Javanese traditional circumcision ceremony in Munggu Village is not merely symbolic but also reflects the integration of religious and cultural values, as well as efforts to preserve culture, which reinforce the sacred significance of the entire ceremony.

This finding is consistent with the principle of *urf shahih* in the Shafi'i school of thought, as incense is understood merely as a cultural element that enhances the atmosphere of prayer, not as a means possessing independent power. Compared to previous research, this study is more analytical because it not only describes the symbolic function of incense but also assesses the limits of the permissibility of this practice within the framework of Shafi'i *fiqh*.

The Shafi'i School's View on the Practice of Using *Kemeyan* in Circumcision Traditions

From the perspective of the Shafi'i school of thought, as emphasized by Imam Shafi'i in *Al-Umm* and Imam Nawawi in *Al-Majmu'*, male circumcision is obligatory, not merely a strongly recommended sunnah or a common cultural practice. This obligation derives directly from the hadith regarding the five human *fitrah* as well as the interpretation of Surah *Al-Baqarah*, verse 124, concerning the perfection of Prophet Ibrahim's (peace be upon him) obedience in fulfilling Allah's test (Kurniawati, 2026). As an expression of religious devotion and a symbol of Islamic identity, circumcision plays an essential role in purifying oneself from impurity to ensure the validity of worship; its performance is recommended as early as childhood for the sake of ease and flexibility before the absolute obligation takes effect at puberty (Ghazali, 2021).

Given its status as a legally defined act of worship, the primary literature of Shafi'i *fiqh* strictly focuses its discussion only on validity, the sharia-compliant procedure (circumcision of the foreskin), and the medical essence of the act itself. Therefore, the use of powdered *kemeyan* in traditional circumcision ceremonies, such as those practiced in Munggu Village, is rarely discussed explicitly by classical scholars. The primary focus of this school of thought is on substantive aspects of Sharia law; consequently, ceremonial elements beyond the medical-religious act are considered outside the scope of the fundamental legal principles governing circumcision.

The presence of powdered *kemeyan* continues to hold a secondary significance as a complementary element of the local culture (*'urf*) that thrives within the community (Rahimi, 2021). Symbolically, the burning of *kemeyan* serves to create a sacred, peaceful, and devout atmosphere to accompany prayers for safety and spiritual purification for the circumcised child. From this perspective, the Shafi'i school of thought indirectly distinguishes between absolute sharia obligations and traditions of local wisdom, establishing that the use of *kemeyan* falls within the realm of neutral custom as long as it is not considered a determining factor in the validity of the circumcision ritual itself.

Nevertheless, in religious social practice, *kemeyan* can be understood as part of *'urf*, or the living traditions within society. In *usul al-fiqh*, *'urf* can essentially be considered a legal factor as long as it does not contradict the principles of sharia. This means that a custom remains acceptable as long as it does not contain prohibited elements, such as beliefs in shirk, rituals considered to possess their own supernatural power, or actions that cause harm to the person performing them.

From this perspective, the use of incense in circumcision is not automatically prohibited. Its ruling may shift to being permissible if the incense is viewed merely as a cultural custom for example, to create a certain atmosphere without the belief that it possesses spiritual power or independent efficacy. However, if the amulet is accompanied by the belief that the object can bring salvation, ward off calamities, or exert a special influence beyond the will of Allah, then the practice enters a realm that is problematic from a doctrinal standpoint and cannot be justified.

Therefore, when analyzed from the Shafi'i school of thought, the role of *kemeyan* in circumcision is more accurately understood as a customary element whose legal status is determined by its content and purpose. As long as it serves merely as a complement to tradition and does not conflict with Islamic law, it does not affect the legal ruling on circumcision itself. In other words, what is considered primary in the Shafi'i school remains the performance of circumcision in accordance with the prescribed guidelines, while customary elements such as *kemeyan* are only considered to the extent that they do not violate the principles of Islamic law.

When examining this phenomenon from the perspective of Shafi'i *fiqh*, it must be acknowledged that classical literature contains no specific references regarding the use of *kemeyan* in circumcision. However, the absence of explicit textual evidence actually opens the door for jurists to engage in *ijtihad* through the more general principles of *usul al-fiqh*. The Shafi'i school itself is known for being highly

accommodating of social dynamics, particularly in weighing public interest and preventing harm when Islamic law intersects with local traditions

As long as the use of *kemeyan* does not lead people into practices of shirk or mystical beliefs that deviate from Islamic doctrine, it can legally be categorized as '*urf shahih* (a valid custom). From the Shafi'i perspective, the primary focus remains on the validity of the circumcision itself, while supplementary customary elements are evaluated based on the extent to which they provide benefit without undermining the essence of the religious act. In other words, as long as there are no elements of medical or theological harm, this practice remains within the bounds of lawful practice.

The synergy between the traditions of the village of Munggu and Islamic law actually converges at the point of moderation. The use of *kemeyan* can be understood as a cultural practice aimed at promoting the physical and mental well-being of children, provided it is not accompanied by intentions that undermine the oneness of Allah SWT. This flexibility is a hallmark of the Shafi'i School; it is capable of embracing social realities as long as the foundational principles of Islamic law remain firmly upheld. As long as the purpose is purely an effort and is not accompanied by beliefs that undermine monotheism such as regarding *kemeyan* as possessing independent supernatural powers this practice cannot automatically be deemed deviant.

If we examine this through the principles of *usul al-fiqh* in the Shafi'i school of thought, this practice can be approached using the following principle in Islamic jurisprudence:

الأَصْلُ فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ الْإِبَاحَةُ حَتَّى يَدُلَّ الدَّلِيلُ عَلَى التَّحْرِيمِ

"Hukum asal segala sesuatu adalah boleh (mubah) selama tidak ada dalil yang melarangnya".

This principle is based on the understanding that Islamic law is flexible and not rigid when it comes to regulating matters of a technical or customary nature, provided that there is no explicit text in the Qur'an or Hadith that prohibits them (Khanifah, 2008). Regarding the status of *kemeyan*, Shafi'i scholars often refer to the concept of '*urf* (custom), which is acceptable if it meets certain criteria: it must not contradict the principles of Islamic law and must not cause harm. Then this practice falls under the category of '*urf shahih* (valid custom) (Amaliyanah, 2014). In this context, *kemeyan* is positioned as a *wasilah* (means) to achieve public interest, not as the religious act itself.

Therefore, as long as the practitioner's intention remains solely to aid the healing process, the use of *kemeyan* in traditional Javanese circumcision in the village of Munggu remains permissible. The Shafi'i school of thought allows for this local *ijtihad* to ensure that Islamic law remains relevant and applicable amidst the rich cultural diversity of Indonesian society. The key lies in moderation: utilizing tradition as a form of effort, while still placing Allah SWT as the sole source of benefit and healing.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis, the use of *kemeyan* in the traditional circumcision ceremony in Munggu Village can be understood in the Shafi'i perspective as a form of '*urf shahih* (valid custom). Its legal status depends on intention, meaning, and how the practice is understood theologically. The main finding shows that Shafi'i jurisprudence does not focus on cultural elements surrounding circumcision, but rather on the validity of the circumcision itself. This allows space for local traditions to exist, as long as they do not contradict the principle of *tawhid*. In this context, the use of *kemeyan* is permissible (*mubah*) when it is only seen as a symbolic element, cultural complement, or psychological support, and not believed to have independent supernatural power. However, if *kemeyan* is believed to have its own power to bring protection or prevent harm, then it becomes theologically impermissible.

Theoretically, this study shows that the concept of '*urf* in the Shafi'i school is flexible and able to accommodate local traditions without violating Islamic principles. It also strengthens the understanding that Islamic law is adaptive, especially through the principle that the original ruling of all matters is permissibility. Practically, this research provides guidance for the community to preserve their

traditions while staying within Islamic teachings, by correcting intentions, placing kemeyan as a symbolic practice, and ensuring that all prayers and hopes are directed only to Allah SWT. In this way, tradition and religion can coexist in a balanced and harmonious manner.

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