



Prohibition of Marrying Maternal Cousins from the Perspective of Islamic Law

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Article Information:

Received October 9, 2025

Revised November 15, 2025

Accepted December 8, 2025

Keywords: *Prohibition of marriage, first cousins, Islamic law*

Abstract

The prohibition of marriage between first cousins by the community in the village does not include women who are forbidden to marry. However, there are strong customary laws that have been passed down from generation to generation by ancestors that prohibit marriage between first cousins. This is due to strong family ties and concerns that the offspring will suffer from severe physical and mental disabilities. Using a descriptive qualitative research method with an empirical legal approach, the data analysis used empirical methods such as interviews, field notes, and other personal documents. The primary data sources were *ninik mamak*, *buya/ustadz*, and *wali nagari*. Meanwhile, the secondary data sources were theses, journals, books, and other materials related to the discussion. The Rumbai River community's understanding of the prohibition against marrying cousins from the same mother is due to several reasons, namely: because it has become a rule or custom in the area; to avoid conflict between communities within the clan; and to avoid unwanted genetic similarities. The prohibition against marrying first cousins is a deeply ingrained custom or culture. If someone is found to have married a first cousin, they will be expelled from the community. From an Islamic legal perspective, marrying a cousin is not prohibited, as they are not considered mahram or people who are forbidden to marry. However, it is also important to note that the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) recommended that Muslims marry people who are not too closely related. This recommendation may be intended to expand family ties and avoid the possibility of breastfeeding.

INTRODUCTION

Marriage is not only a relationship between two individuals but also a relationship between the families of the husband and wife (Munawaroh, 2023). Married couples live in a community where they are subject not only to Islamic teachings but also to the rules of local customs, even if these sometimes conflict with Islamic law (Fauziah, 2022). Islam has regulated marriage in such a way as to form

How to cite:	Gunawan, H., Rahmita, R., Nafian, Z. I. (2025). Prohibition of Marrying Maternal Cousins from the Perspective of Islamic Law. <i>Samara: Journal of Islamic Law and Family Studies</i> , 3(2), 88-95.
E-ISSN:	3032-0062
Published by:	LP2M STAI Balaisalasa YPPTI Pesisir Selatan Sumatera Barat

an ideal community. A marriage is valid if it is considered good by both religion and the state, complies with all the pillars and requirements, and does not violate the prohibitions of marriage (Hidayat, 2023). This is also reinforced by the words of Allah in Q.S. Al-Ahzab/50:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِنَّا أَحْلَلْنَا لَكَ أَزْوَاجَكَ اللَّائِيَّاتِ آتَيْتِ أَجُورَهُنَّ وَمَا مَلَكَتْ يَمِينُكَ مِمَّا أَفَاءَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ وَبَنَاتِ عَمِّكَ وَبَنَاتِ عَمَّاتِكَ وَبَنَاتِ خَالَاتِكَ اللَّائِيَّاتِ هَاجِرَاتٍ مَعَكَ وَامْرَأَةً مُؤْمِنَةً إِنْ وَهَبَتْ نَفْسَهَا لِلنَّبِيِّ إِنْ أَرَادَ النَّبِيُّ أَنْ يَسْتَنْكِحَهَا خَالِصَةً لَكَ مِنْ دُونِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۗ قَدْ عَلِمْنَا مَا فَرَضْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ فِي أَزْوَاجِهِمْ وَمَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَانُهُمْ لِكَيْلَا يَكُونَ عَلَيْكَ حَرَجٌ ۗ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ غَفُورًا رَحِيمًا

Meaning: *O Prophet, indeed We have made lawful to you your wives to whom you have given their due compensation and those your right hand possesses from what Allah has returned to you [of captives] and the daughters of your paternal uncles and the daughters of your paternal aunts and the daughters of your maternal uncles and the daughters of your maternal aunts who emigrated with you and a believing woman if she gives herself to the Prophet [and] if the Prophet wishes to marry her, [this is] only for you, excluding the [other] believers. We certainly know what We have made obligatory upon them concerning their wives and those their right hands possess, [but this is for you] in order that there will be upon you no discomfort. And ever is Allah Forgiving and Merciful.*

The Fiqh view on cousin marriage, several schools of thought in Islam also have similar views on cousin marriage (Suryani & Kurniawati, 2023). The Hanafi school of thought permits marriage between cousins and does not even have provisions prohibiting marriage between relatives as long as they are not included in the mahram category (Rahmawati, 2022). This school of thought considers marriage between cousins to be acceptable from a Sharia perspective. The Maliki school of thought also permits marriage between cousins, provided that the marriage does not cause harm or damage to the couple or their offspring (Rachman, 2021). If there is a potential health risk that can be prevented, it is recommended to consult a doctor first. The Shafi'i and Hanbali schools of thought also share the same view as other schools of thought regarding cousin marriage, namely that they do not prohibit marriage between cousins. Both emphasize that it is permissible to enter into this marriage as long as there is no clear danger to the offspring (Yuliani, 2023).

In Indonesian positive law, rules related to marriage in Islam are contained in the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) (Karimah, 2023). Marriage between cousins is not included in the provisions of Article 39 of the KHI. Marrying a cousin is permissible in Islam if it is the child of an uncle and aunt or cousin, whether from the father's or mother's side (Fitriani & Mulyani, 2022; Rahmawati, 2022; Taufik, 2017). This is because cousins are not considered mahram. Mahram are all people who are forbidden to marry forever due to descent, breastfeeding, and marriage in Islamic law. Marriage between cousins is permissible as long as they are not included in the established mahram category. Furthermore, those categorized as *mahram* or people who are forbidden to marry are mothers, daughters, sisters, aunts or sisters from the father's or mother's side, nieces, foster mothers, stepchildren, and daughters-in-law (Subhan, 2021).

Based on the author's observations on May 13, 2022, in the field located in Sungai Rumbai Village, Basa Ampek Balai Tapan District, Pesisir Selatan Regency, the prohibition of marriage between cousins from the same mother by the community in Sungai Rumbai Village does not include women who are forbidden to marry. However, there is a strong customary law that has been passed down from generation to generation by ancestors that prohibits marriage between first cousins in Kampung Sungai Rumbai, Basa Ampek Balai Tapan District, Pesisir Selatan Regency.

This is due to the strong family ties and concerns that such marriages will produce offspring with severe physical and mental disabilities.

In accordance with the agreement and deliberations of each party, those who violate or marry their first cousins will be subject to sanctions (fines) and expulsion from the village. This shows how strictly the custom of marrying first cousins is prohibited in the traditional laws of Sungai Rumbai Village. Two people have violated this custom and been expelled from the village.

METHODS

This study was conducted using a qualitative approach, employing a descriptive method that describes phenomena or events, phenomena, and data that occur in the field as they are, in accordance with the existing reality (Amin et al., 2022; Engkizar et al., 2024; Khalidi, 2022; Maslan, 2023). This study uses empirical legal research. The data analysis technique used in empirical legal research is to create a systematic and factual description (Amin, Lendrawati, et al., 2022; Amnda et al., 2020; Nurjanah et al., 2025). The data collected is not in the form of numbers but comes from interview transcripts, field notes, personal documents, and others. Thus, the purpose of this qualitative research is to describe reality in depth, in detail, and thoroughly. Therefore, this study uses descriptive qualitative research to describe or illustrate the prohibition of marrying siblings from the same mother from an Islamic law perspective (a case study in Kampung Sungai Rumbai Nagari Riak Danau).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Marriage is one of the most important things for human survival (Lestari, 2023). Through marriage, which is legal, men and women interact respectfully in accordance with their position as noble and honorable beings (Hanafiah, 2022). Every religion also recognizes marriage as a sacred act. Therefore, every religion regulates and upholds the institution of marriage (Azizah, 2023). Sheikh Mahmud Syaltut, an Egyptian Islamic law scholar, argued that marriage is the formation of a family, and according to him, the family is the building block of a nation (Marzuki & Sari, 2021). Therefore, when the building blocks are solid and strong, the building will also be solid and strong, and vice versa, if the building blocks supporting the building are fragile, the building will inevitably collapse, and in fact, a nation consists of a collection of these families (Arifin, 2022).

Syaltut's opinion above informs us of the importance of marriage, so as Muslims, it is only natural that we should pay special attention to the family, which is the result of marriage. This is because the purpose of marriage is none other than to form a happy, peaceful, loving, and eternal family. Therefore, if there are things that could potentially damage the marriage relationship, they need to be given special attention and a solution must be sought, such as the case of marriage between cousins that occurred in the village of Sungai Rumbai, Basa Ampek Balai Tapan District, South Pesisir Regency (Rahmah, 2022).

The marriages of Mr. P to Mrs. D and Mr. W to Mrs. C, residents of Sungai Rumbai village, are examples of marriages that occur between family members. From the perspective of Islamic law, this type of marriage is permissible, because siblings of the same grandfather and grandmother, as well as cousins, are not included in the category of mahram (women who are forbidden to marry). However, from the perspective of customary law, this type of marriage is controversial, with some saying it is permissible and others saying it is prohibited.

Opinions supporting marriage with cousins. In Islam, marrying a cousin from the mother's side is permitted as long as they are not milk siblings (Amin, 2023). This is in accordance with the views of classical fiqh scholars and is confirmed in the Quran. In the Quran and Hadith, there are no rules stating that cousins are

considered mahram (Syahrin, 2023). Meanwhile, those who oppose it argue that marrying a maternal cousin is precisely to avoid genetic problems that can occur if two people with the same lineage marry (Latifah & Hidayah, 2023). In addition, this tradition also aims to maintain family and community unity (Fadhilah, 2022).

Both the pro and con opinions above have their own truths. In other words, these arguments can be categorized as positive and negative impacts (Siregar, 2023). The issue here, according to the author, is that in Islam, marrying a cousin from the mother's side is permissible as long as they are not milk siblings. This is in accordance with the views of classical fiqh scholars and is confirmed in the Quran (Mahfudz, 2021). In the Quran and Hadith, there are no rules stating that cousins are mahram. However, in the tradition of this village, marrying a maternal cousin is prohibited in order to avoid genetic problems that can occur if two people with the same lineage marry. Additionally, this tradition also aims to maintain family and community unity (Hasanah, 2023).

In the previous chapter, it was revealed that the marriage between P and C (his wife) could take place on the basis of mutual consent. Because they loved each other, they got married. According to their parents, this marriage took place because they were both ready for the consequences, they loved each other, and also to avoid adultery. W and C also experienced marriage with their cousins. Although initially they married based on mutual consent, according to their parents, marriage with relatives would preserve their wealth so that it would not fall into the hands of others, who they feared would spend their wealth.

The two cases above are a new phenomenon, because marriage between cousins according to the customs of the village of Sungai Rumbai, Basa Ampek Balai Tapan District, is something that has never happened before. The opinion of the community that has emerged as a result of marriage between cousins is that they tend to disapprove, but that does not mean they prohibit it. However, this is to avoid genetic problems that can occur if two people with the same lineage marry.

In Islamic law, marriage between cousins is not prohibited, but it is important for every Muslim to pay attention to what the Prophet Muhammad SAW recommended, which is to marry a Muslim man or woman who is not too closely related (Mubarak & Wahyuni, 2023). This recommendation may be intended to expand family ties and avoid the possibility of breastfeeding (when children are breastfed by the same mother), in addition to other reasons such as health factors or expanding family ties, etc. (Ningsih, 2024). Article 8 of the Marriage Law mentions the prohibition of marriage, namely: Marriage is prohibited between two people who: Are related by blood in a direct line of descent, either upward or downward (Rosidah, 2022). Are related by blood in a collateral line of descent, namely between siblings, between a person and a sibling of a parent, and between a person and a sibling of a grandparent. Are related by marriage, stepchildren, in-laws, and stepmothers/stepfathers (Basri, 2023). Are related by breastfeeding, namely foster parents, foster children, foster siblings, and foster aunts/uncles. Relationships between siblings and their spouses, or as aunts or nieces of their spouses, in cases where a husband has more than one wife. Having a relationship that is prohibited from marriage by religion or other applicable regulations.

Basically, laws are necessary to maintain order in communal life, although on the other hand, laws also mean restrictions on individual rights and force people to compromise their interests. It can also be said that there is a reduction in justice in the formulation of laws (Mubarak, 2023). These interests can be economic, political, cultural, or even religious. Similarly, with customary law, Van Vollenhoven states that customary law can be realized as a result of actions and behaviors that are

considered appropriate and binding by customs or society, and there is a general feeling that these regulations must be upheld by traditional leaders and other legal officials, so that customary regulations are binding (Sholihah, 2024).

In agreement with Van Vollenhoven, Holleman said that legal norms are legal norms accompanied by sanctions and, if necessary, can be enforced by the community or relevant agencies so that they are obeyed and respected by citizens. In Islam, sharia or Islamic law is the concrete manifestation of Allah's will in society (Zain & Fitri, 2023). However, sharia, as the essence of Islamic teachings, has developed in various situations, conditions, and aspects of space and time.¹⁷ This is also stated in a rule:

“Customs or traditions can be used as law.” Another fiqh rule also states: “Changes in law depend on changes in time and place (situation and conditions).”

The rule comes from the hadith of the Prophet SAW, that if Muslims consider something to be good, then in the sight of Allah it is also good. It should be noted here that customs or traditions are used as a basis in fiqh, because most of what is found in fiqh is taken from customs and traditions, such as menstruation and puberty. The above principle explains that Islamic law, which originates from Allah, is intended for humans on earth. Therefore, if there are customs established by society, they can also be used as law, provided that they do not contradict the texts of the Quran and Hadith (Marzuki & Sari, 2021).

Returning to the practice of cousin marriage in the village of Sungai Rumbai, if we examine it closely, we find that the main reason or basis for this practice is to avoid genetic problems that can occur if two people with the same lineage marry. In addition, this tradition also aims to maintain family and community unity. Marriage has rules/regulations that must not be violated. If someone dares to violate the rules of marriage, then the marriage becomes invalid. Among the things that are prohibited is marrying a mahram, as Allah SWT mentions in His Word Q.S. An-Nisa/4:23.

حُرِّمَتْ عَلَيْكُمْ أُمَّهَاتُكُمْ وَبَنَاتُكُمْ وَأَخَوَاتُكُمْ وَعَمَّاتُكُمْ وَخَالَاتُكُمْ وَبَنَاتُ الْأَخِ وَبَنَاتُ الْأُخْتِ وَأُمَّهَاتُكُمُ اللَّاتِي أَرْضَعْنَكُمْ وَأَخَوَاتُكُمُ مِنَ الرَّضَاعَةِ وَأُمَّهَاتُ نِسَائِكُمْ وَرَبَائِبُكُمُ اللَّاتِي فِي حُجُورِكُمْ مِمَّنْ نِسَائِكُمُ اللَّاتِي دَخَلْتُم بِهِنَّ فَإِنْ لَمْ تَكُونُوا دَخَلْتُم بِهِنَّ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ وَخَالَاتُكُمُ الَّذِينَ مِنْ أَصْلَابِكُمْ وَأَنَّ يَحْمَلُوا بَيْنَ الْأُخْتَيْنِ إِلَّا مَا قَدْ سَلَفَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ غَفُورًا رَحِيمًا ۝

Meaning: *Prohibited to you [for marriage] are your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your father's sisters, your mother's sisters, your brother's daughters, your sister's daughters, your [milk] mothers who nursed you, your sisters through nursing, your wives' mothers, and your step-daughters under your guardianship [born] of your wives unto whom you have gone in. But if you have not gone in unto them, there is no sin upon you. And [also prohibited are] the wives of your sons who are from your [own] loins, and that you take [in marriage] two sisters simultaneously, except for what has already occurred. Indeed, Allah is ever Forgiving and Merciful.*

From the above verse, it is clear that cousins are not considered mahram. Therefore, it is permissible for a person to marry their cousin. This is also reinforced by Allah's words in Q.S. Al-Ahzab/50.

Essentially, laws are necessary to maintain order in society, although on the other hand, laws also limit individual rights and force people to compromise their interests. It can also be said that there is a reduction in justice in the formulation of laws. These interests can be economic, political, cultural, or even religious (Fadhilah, 2022).

The importance of more intensive education and socialization about Islamic law, especially regarding cousin marriage, to the people of Kampung Sungai Rumbai, so that they have a deeper understanding and are not trapped in narrow views regarding customary prohibitions. This can be done through religious counseling and

seminars involving religious leaders and local communities. To further understand the influence of tradition on marriage decisions, interdisciplinary research between sociology, anthropology, and Islamic law needs to be conducted to provide a more holistic insight into the cultural and social background of the community.

Further research into the potential genetic risks of partnership marriages is crucial for communities concerned about the potential health impacts on offspring. When providing counseling regarding cousin marriages, a culturally sensitive approach should be adopted, involving traditional and religious leaders to ensure that the advice provided balances respect for tradition and a sound understanding of Islamic law.

CONCLUSION

The prohibition against marrying maternal cousins in Kampung Sungai Rumbai, located in Basa Ampek Balai Tapan District, Pesisir Selatan Regency, is a deeply rooted cultural tradition. Anyone found to have married a maternal cousin will be expelled from their clan. From the perspective of Islamic law, marrying a cousin is not forbidden, as cousins are not considered mahram (those whom one is religiously prohibited from marrying). However, it is important to note that the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) encouraged Muslims to marry individuals who are not closely related by blood. This recommendation may aim to broaden social ties and avoid potential issues related to milk kinship (*radā*). The prohibition of maternal cousin marriage in Kampung Sungai Rumbai is based on strong kinship principles, close blood relations, and efforts to preserve the purity of lineage. This prohibition is not merely a customary rule but also reflects noble values upheld by the local community. In general, Islamic law permits cousin marriage as long as certain conditions are met, such as mutual consent and the absence of any religious impediments. Nevertheless, in some communities, people choose to avoid cousin marriages due to cultural considerations or concerns about potential genetic risks to offspring.

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First publication right:

Samara: Journal of Islamic Law and Family Studies

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