



Negotiations on Mashlahah and Customary Prohibitions on Praying for Dead Unpraying in Nagari Andaleh, Lima Puluh Kota Regency

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<i>Recieved</i>	17-06-2025	<i>Revised</i>	19-01-2026	<i>Accepted</i>	10-02-2026
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Abstract: In the Nagari Andaleh community, Luak District, Lima Puluh Kota Regency, there is a rule that prohibits people from praying for the bodies of those who never prayed. This customary rule certainly raises widespread questions among the community about its applicability in general and specific contexts. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to describe the customary prohibition against praying for the bodies of people who did not pray, along with its limitations, and to examine the mashlahah (benefits) behind this customary rule. The research method used in this article is field research, in which primary research data was obtained directly from the local community through direct interviews. Secondary data was sourced from books, journals, and so on. The results of the study show that the customary rules that apply in Nagari Andaleh to people who do not pray when they die are that their bodies are not prayed over in congregation at the mosque and are not led by local scholars or authorities, but are still prayed over in a limited manner by their immediate family. From the perspective of mashlahah, this prohibition is in accordance with mashlahah mu'tabarah (mashlahah supported by nash) with the aim of protecting and preserving religion (hifzh al-din) at the dharuriyah (significant) level.

Keywords: Mashlahah, Customary prohibitions, Funeral prayer, Islamic legal negotiation.

Introduction

Indonesia, as a country rich in culture and tradition, has a diversity of value systems that coexist with religious teachings. In some indigenous communities, local rules are often part of the social and religious life of the community (Muslim 2017). One form of customary law that is quite controversial is the provision that a person who did not pray during their lifetime will not have their body prayed over when they die. This type of rule is often understood as a form of social sanction (Akbar 2022) which aims to uphold religious values in the community (Al-'Adawy 2010). From an Islamic perspective, every Muslim has another obligation, which is to perform the funeral prayer as a form of fardhu kifayah (Hasibuan 2022).

This was conveyed by scholars such as Wahbah al-Zuhayli. According to him, if someone abandons prayer because they deny its obligation, they should not be prayed for. If they abandon it out of laziness, they may be prayed for, but it is



better if community leaders do not participate in the prayer to serve as a warning to the community (Zuhayli, n.d.). A similar view is expressed by Sayyid Sabiq in his *Fiqh Sunnah*, stating that if a person abandons prayer because they deny its obligation, then it is clear that they will not be prayed for. If it is due to laziness, then according to the stronger opinion (in Sayyid Sabiq's view), they are also not prayed for. However, this depends on the belief of the person performing the prayer; if they are uncertain or follow the opinion that states they are still Muslim, then it is permissible to pray for them (al-Zuhayli, n.d.). Judging from the history of the Prophet Muhammad, there are a number of accounts that indicate that the Prophet Muhammad did not pray over the bodies of people who had abandoned prayer. One of the most well-known accounts is that of Abu Talib, his uncle, who despite being very close to the Prophet, was not prayed over because he died without praying, as well as people who had debts, and hypocrites. When linked to the customary rules in Nagari Andaleh, Luak District, there seems to be a similarity with what was practiced by the Prophet SAW.

Research related to funeral arrangements, at least ten studies discussing and researching funeral arrangements can be grouped into three categories; first, funeral arrangements according to customs and traditions, this research was conducted by Purnayanti (2021), Yolanda Putri (2023), and Darwis (2016). Second, religious understanding of the community. Related articles were written by M. Rizal (2015), Yusuf et al. (2023), Muhammadong and Susiwati (2021). Third, problems in funeral arrangements were written about by Zurifah Nurdin (2016), N. Siregar (2023), and Zihra (2018). Research on the negotiation of customs and *mashlahah* for people who do not pray and whose bodies are not prayed over when they die has not yet been conducted by previous researchers.

To focus more on the objectives of this study, the author has framed it in two research questions. First, to what extent can customs be used as a basis for determining religious sanctions? Second, are these actions in accordance with the principles of *mashlahah*? Therefore, it is important to review the implementation of these rules through a *mashlahah* approach, which is a concept in Islamic law that means interest or benefit, with the aim of maintaining the objectives of sharia and achieving benefits while preventing harm (Herlinawati et al., 2024). In a broader context, *mashlahah* can also be interpreted as the good or benefit felt by a person or group towards another party (Ardi 2017). These two questions will guide the author in obtaining data and conducting analysis.

This research is important so that Muslims in Nagari Andaleh do not easily abandon prayer, which is an obligation that is *fardhu*. According to Qurays Shihab, in the case of praying for the deceased who did not pray explicitly, he said to still pray for the deceased who was lazy in praying, but he emphasized not to pray for people who denied the obligation to pray, but to prioritize compassion and forgiveness (Shihab, n.d.). As for Buya Yahya, the leader of LPD al Bahjah, the deceased must still be prayed for (Yahya, 2025). Unlike the two experts above, Ustadz Adi Hidayat emphasizes the importance of discussing not praying for the deceased who never prayed because this prohibition only applies to people who truly know that the deceased was a hypocrite. According to Adi Hidayat, this prohibition also applies to participating in the burial and offering prayers (Hidayat, n.d.).

Method

This research is qualitative research with a research background in Nagari Andaleh, one of the regions in Lima Puluh Kota District, West Sumatra, Indonesia. The data sources came from community leaders, religious scholars, and the community in the research location. Data collection was conducted through interviews and observation. Interviews were conducted directly by asking questions related to the research questions. The questions in the interview were well prepared, but if the informant's answers led to something that the author had not thought of before, the author would explore the answer further with new questions. Observing the research location to obtain additional data that led to the imposition of customary sanctions, such as not praying for the bodies of people who did not pray, so that their bodies were not prayed for in the mosque, and the community's reluctance to pray for them, so that only their close family members prayed for them.

After the data is collected, the author will group it according to data categories and then organize it systematically. In analyzing the data, the author uses descriptive and inductive methods. The descriptive method is used to describe and explain the data more thoroughly, while the inductive method is used to draw general conclusions from the subjective data obtained from each research informant. In addition, data analysis is also carried out by connecting one event with another, one tradition with another, so as to be able to find the relationship between the traditions that exist in the region and the shift in the implementation of funeral prayers from the mosque to the home.

Result and Discussions

Customary Prohibition on Praying for People Unpraying

This customary rule began when the scholars saw that many people seemed reluctant to perform their religious duties, especially the command to pray. Efforts to encourage the community to never abandon their obligation to pray, which is one of the pillars of Islam, began with a lecture delivered by Buya H. Janani Tamim, Buya Ali Amran, and Buya Bakhtiar Legan on the prohibition of praying for the bodies of non-believers (Desembri, 2025) as stated in the Qur'an, Surah at-Taubah verse 84, which means: And never pray for any of them who dies, nor stand at his grave. Verily, they have disbelieved in Allah and His Messenger, and they have died in a state of disobedience.

The three scholars interpreted that people who did not perform prayers during their lifetime were infidels, and this interpretation was then followed by other members of the Nagari Andaleh Ulama Council in their lectures and sermons. Similar to previous events, when members of the Andaleh Nagari Ulama Council delivered sermons in the form of prohibitions that required the involvement of many parties, the community gradually responded positively. For almost two years, this material was delivered repeatedly on various occasions.

In 1982, a man passed away, and to the knowledge of the Nagari Andaleh community, throughout most of his life, he was never seen performing prayers, either individually (*munfarid*) or in congregation (*jama'ah*). This immediately caused the community to whisper about his death in relation to the preaching of the members of the Nagari Andaleh Ulema Council about the prohibition of praying for the bodies of non-believers. The fear of sinning by violating such religious commands was reinforced by the fact that the members of the Nagari Andaleh

Ulama Council remained silent when asked whether the body would be prayed over or not, resulting in no one daring to take the body to the mosque. This incident then reinforced the prohibition, which was originally only conveyed by members of the Andaleh Nagari Ulama Council through lectures during recitation sessions or sermons, into a prohibition that was then conveyed publicly by scholars, traditional leaders, Quran teachers, and the nagari government on various occasions. Since then, an unwritten rule has been reinstated in Andaleh village, prohibiting the funeral prayer for a person who never performed prayers during their lifetime (Desembri, 2025).

People who do not pray are judged based on their behavior during their lifetime and the knowledge of the Nagari Andaleh community about them, where they were never seen praying throughout most of their lives, either alone (*munfarid*) or in congregation (*jama'ah*). When a member of the community dies, the community begins to discuss their death. If the deceased never prayed during their lifetime, according to the preaching of the members of the Nagari Andaleh Ulama Council, the community will not pray for them because they are considered to be like the bodies of non-believers. The fear of sinning by violating religious commands is supported by the situation in which the members of the Nagari Andaleh Ulama Council remain silent when asked whether the body will be prayed for or not. Not praying for the deceased (not participating in washing, shrouding, praying, or burying them according to Islamic law) for people who died while neglecting to pray is a contemporary fiqh issue that is disputed by scholars because there is another hadith narrated by Abu Dawud that the Prophet SAW said: "Pray for the deceased who said *La ilaha illallah*." (HR. Abu Dawud). However, some scholars make an exception for those who openly abandon prayer.

According to Desembri (Head of the Nagari Andaleh Ulama Council), people who pray during their lifetime should not be taken to the mosque for prayers, and the community should not pray for them, except for their immediate family, who may do so at home. This has become a strong customary rule that applies in Nagari Andaleh, Luak District, Lima Puluh Regency (Desembri, 2025). Masdelfi (2025), secretary of MUNA, responded that there is a reluctance among the community to perform funeral prayers for people who do not pray, and that this is a social and religious sanction. One member of the community, Agusti Ramli (2025), explained that there is no need to perform funeral prayers for people who do not pray. He even added that this had happened to his mamak (mother's brother), who had never prayed or fasted during his lifetime. His mamak had no desire to worship and had never asked for forgiveness or repented. As a family member, he admitted that he did not participate in praying for his mamak (Ramli, 2025).

Traditional leader of Nagari Andaleh, J. DT. Marajo Tan Adie (2025), revealed that people who did not pray during their lifetime will still be prayed for when they die, but there is a customary law that applies in Nagari Andaleh called kurenah law. Kurenah law refers to unwritten rules or norms that govern manners and daily behavior in social life. Kurenah in the Minang language itself means behavior or conduct. So, kurenah law is more about rules of etiquette and customs that have developed from community habits. As stated by MUNA and the traditional leaders above, the former Wali Nagari Andaleh, Harmen Sastra, also confirmed the existence of customary rules that apply to people who do not pray. He added that this is a form of social sanction for the community because community life has religious and social dimensions (Sastra, 2025). According to

the results of interviews conducted by the author in Nagari Andaleh, data shows that since 1970 to the present, there have been three cases of people who died and whose bodies the community refused to pray over and did not allow to be taken to the mosque, and the families could not do much about the customary sanctions they received.

The Mashlahah Perspective Does Not Pray for Those Who Do Not Pray

In the Hanbali school of thought, the Hadith of the Prophet SAW which states that those who commit adultery and those who commit suicide will not be prayed for (HR. Ahmad), is analogized to those who abandon prayer because they disregard Islamic law. This behavior is not caused by a valid excuse (not due to forgetfulness or illness) and they never repent until they die. According to Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal and Ibn Taymiyyah, such people are considered disbelievers, so they are not prayed for. In the Shafi'i, Maliki, and Hanafi schools of thought, the above Hadith does not change a person's status from believer to disbeliever. Therefore, they are still prayed for, but when alive, they are always given warnings (ta'zir). Meanwhile, Yusuf al-Qaradawi states that they are still prayed for, but the imam leading the prayer is not a scholar or local authority. This serves as an education for the community not to neglect prayer.

Customary law can be used as a basis for determining religious sanctions, provided that it does not conflict with the basic principles of Islam (Djaenab 2021). Customary law can be a source of inspiration or reference for determining sanctions, especially in matters that are not specifically regulated in religious law (Usman et al., 2021). As one of the sources of law in Indonesia, customary law can provide examples or inspiration in determining religious sanctions, especially in matters that are not explicitly regulated in Islamic law (Syafitri et al. 2024). This is because customary law often reflects the social values and customs of the community that may be relevant to the principles of justice and law enforcement in Islam (Mokoagow et al., 2024).

In Islam, customary law can be considered part of the concept of mashlahah (public interest), which is also a basic principle in determining the law. As long as customary law does not conflict with the core principles of religion, it can be used as a basis for determining religious sanctions (Rais, 2023). The same is also stated by Zahid (2019) that customary law used as a basis for determining religious sanctions must meet the requirement that it does not conflict with the basic principles of Islam, including not conflicting with the Quran, Hadith, and the principles of fiqh (Zahid 2019).

In this context, customary law can be one of the factors considered in the process of ijtihad (legal reasoning), which is the process of determining new laws or interpreting existing laws based on Islamic principles. For example, in cases of land or inheritance disputes, customary law applicable in a particular region can be used as a basis for resolution, as long as it does not conflict with Islamic principles regarding property rights and inheritance (Nova, 2021). Thus, it can be concluded that customary law can be used as a basis for determining religious sanctions, but with the main condition that it does not conflict with Islamic law. Customary law can be a source of inspiration and reference in determining sanctions, especially in matters that are not specifically regulated in Islamic law. The principle of maslahah (public interest) in every legal ijtihad (judgment) is key in the process of determining the law.

In the concept of *mashlahah*, every law or action of sharia must consider the benefits and avoid harm to the people (Hanifa, 2025). This *mashlahah* is an important principle in determining the law, whether something brings benefits (good) or harm (bad), including in relation to not praying for the funeral of a person who never prayed during his lifetime. As one of the pillars of Islam, every Muslim is obliged to perform it (Al-Zuhayli 2010). People who deliberately abandon prayer without a valid excuse (such as illness or insanity) are considered by many scholars to have committed a major sin, and some even consider them to have left Islam (*kafir*) (Sumiati, 2017). On the other hand, prayer is the main pillar of religion (the pillar of religion), abandoning it is like destroying the religion itself. From the perspective of *mashlahah*, not praying for people who openly abandon prayer has a social lesson, namely to deter other people who are still alive, so that they realize the importance of prayer, maintain the purity of Islam, that Muslims respect the basic values of their religion, distinguish between the positions of those who are obedient and those who are rebellious in religious matters, so that not all deeds are viewed as the same, and respecting Allah's law that prayer is a minimum requirement of faith.

However, there is an important nuance here: Some scholars (such as those in the Shafi'i school of thought) still allow ordinary people to pray for the deceased, but religious leaders (such as imams and senior scholars) do not participate in the prayers as a form of moral reprimand (Tuasikal, 2011). Even if the funeral prayer is not performed publicly, there is still an obligation to take care of the body (washing, shrouding, burying) because he is still legally a Muslim, unless he has openly renounced his faith. It is understandable that in the context of *mashlahah*, not praying for the body of someone who does not pray is intended to maintain the sanctity of Islamic teachings and educate the community, not solely because of hatred towards that individual.

Actually, in the history of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, there is no record showing that he did not pray for someone's body specifically because they did not pray. However, there are several incidents where the Prophet did not want to pray for someone's body because of their grave sins, and this became the basis for analogy by scholars for cases of people who abandon prayer. For example, the case of someone who died in debt. In one of the hadiths (HR. Bukhari and Muslim), it is narrated that the Prophet Muhammad SAW once refused to pray for the funeral of a person who died while still having unpaid debts, even though he was able to pay them off during his lifetime, but he still told the Muslims to pray for him (Imron 2024). The same applies to the case of the death of a hypocrite. In accordance with QS al-Taubah verse 84, which prohibits praying for hypocrites and standing at their graves, on the grounds that they are enemies of Islam (Nabilah, n.d.). Many scholars consider the act of not praying to be a form of hypocrisy. Therefore, scholars analogize that if the Prophet SAW did not pray for a hypocrite, and prayer is the main sign of faith, then someone who deliberately abandons prayer can be treated similarly.

Thus, in the case discussed in Nagari Andaleh, there is no direct example from the Prophet SAW of not praying for a corpse because of not praying. But from the cases of people in debt and hypocrites, the Prophet SAW showed that it is permissible not to pray for certain people for the benefit of the community. This tradition is followed by some scholars for people who abandon prayer. From a *maslahah* perspective, not praying for the funeral of someone who does not pray

falls under the category of *maslahah hifzh al-din* (preserving religion). The principle of *hifzh al-din* (preserving religion) aims to protect the purity of religious teachings, uphold the symbols of Islam, and foster awareness of the importance of worship (especially prayer, as the pillar of religion) (Arifin 2020). By not performing funeral prayers for those who openly abandoned prayer during their lifetime, the community receives a strong message that prayer is not a trivial matter, but the foundation of faith.

The division of *maslahah* in *usul fiqh* can be done based on several criteria. Based on the aspect of change in *maslahah*, there is *al-maslahah al-tsabitah* (fixed *maslahah*) and *al-maslahah al-mughayyarah* (changing *maslahah*). Based on the existence of *maslahah* according to *sharia*, there is *al-maslahah al-mu'tabarah* (*maslahah* supported by *nash*), *al-maslahah al-mulghah* (*maslahah*, but contrary to *nash*), and *al-maslahah al-mursalah* (*maslahah*, but no explicit argument supports or invalidates it) (Nasution et.al, 2024). Viewed from the perspective of this division of *maslahah*, not praying for someone who does not pray is included in *al-maslahah al-mu'tabarah* (benefit supported by *nash*) and its level of protection for religion is in the position of *daruriyyah* (very significant). Therefore, not praying for the deceased who did not pray is included in *maslahah hifzh al-din* (preserving religion). The aim is to protect the sanctity of the *Sharia*, reinforce the importance of prayer in the lives of the *ummah*, and warn the community (Hasan et.al., 2024).

Conclusion

The customary sanction imposed on people who do not pray when they die in Nagari Andaleh, whereby they are not prayed for in congregation and are not allowed to be taken to the mosque, is an unwritten customary rule. This customary rule is very strong and deeply rooted in the community, so that people who never pray will never have a place in social relations, as evidenced by the fact that the community at large does not pray for their bodies. However, their bodies are still prayed for by their immediate family. From the perspective of *maslahah*, the customary sanction imposed on people who do not pray when they die, by not praying for them in the mosque and not being attended by religious leaders and local authorities, includes *maslahah al mu'tabarah* (*maslahah* supported by *nash*) and the *maslahah* to be achieved is at the *daruriyyah* (significant) level in protecting religion. Therefore, religious leaders and authorities are prohibited from performing funeral prayers for such a body. Other benefits of this prohibition include social education, namely to deter those who are still alive, to raise public awareness of the importance of prayer, to distinguish between those who are obedient and those who are rebellious in religious matters within the community, and to respect the law of Allah SWT that prayer is a minimum requirement of faith.

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