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Maqasid al-Shariah in the Hajj Tanazul Policy: Public Maslahah for Elderly Indonesian Hajj Pilgrims

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Abstract

The rising share of elderly and high-risk pilgrims has made mobility management at Mina a central problem of Indonesian Hajj governance. This study aims to analyze the implementation of the Tanazul policy, the scheme that permits pilgrims to return to their transit hotels in Makkah rather than stay overnight in the Mina tents, and to assess the extent to which the policy aligns with maqasid al-shariah. The study used qualitative document-based library research combined with a juridical-normative reading of policy documents, and traced the scheme from its codification in Director General Decree Number 137 of 2025, through its postponement during the 1446/2025 season, to its full implementation for 76,412 pilgrims in 1447/2026. The findings showed that Tanazul served as a valid instrument of priority jurisprudence, in which the preservation of life was advanced to secure the preservation of religion, and that participation left the pilgrimage's validity intact. The 2025 postponement was itself consistent with maqasid reasoning because individual benefit was subordinated to preventing wider public harm. The study contributes to maqasid scholarship by showing that the framework legitimizes not only the granting of a concession but also its justified deferral, and it offers Hajj administrators a criterion for judging when a concession is safe to exercise at scale.

Keywords: *maqasid al-shariah, tanazul, hajj governance, elderly pilgrims, maslahah.*

INTRODUCTION

The organization of the Hajj is simultaneously a religious obligation and one of the largest recurring public service operations undertaken by the Indonesian state. Law Number 8 of 2019 on the Organization of Hajj and Umrah assigns to the government the duties of guidance, service, and protection for every pilgrim, which places the safety of pilgrims within



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the domain of state responsibility rather than individual piety alone.¹ In the 1447 H/2026 M season, Indonesia received a quota of 221,000 pilgrims, consisting of 203,320 regular and 17,680 special pilgrims, who were dispatched in 527 flight groups from embarkation points across the archipelago.² An operation of this magnitude converts questions that were once purely ritual into questions of logistics, risk management, and administrative law.

The demographic composition of that operation has shifted decisively. Because the waiting period for regular Hajj registration now spans decades in most provinces, a large share of Indonesians depart only after reaching an advanced age.³ In the 1447/2026 season, roughly 170,000 pilgrims were classified as elderly, more than 44,000 were categorized as high risk, and several hundred were persons with disabilities or wheelchair users.⁴ The trend is not an anomaly. Records for the preceding season show 47,384 elderly pilgrims within a regular quota of 203,320, or 23.30 percent, compared with 21.41 percent in 2024.⁵ Aging has therefore become a structural feature of Indonesian Hajj management rather than a temporary consequence of the pandemic backlog.

The physical burden of the pilgrimage is concentrated during the peak phase at Arafah, Muzdalifah, and Mina, collectively known as Armuzna. Mina is the most constrained segment of that sequence. The valley cannot be extended geographically, yet the number of pilgrims accommodated within it continues to grow, and the walking distance between the Indonesian encampments and the Jamarat complex can approach three kilometers in each direction. Field reporting during the 1447/2026 season identified the Mina phase as the most exhausting stage of the entire journey, with elderly pilgrims frequently disoriented on the return leg, prompting the Makkah working area office to be designated as a safe house for pilgrims who became lost or exhausted.⁶ The problem is thus not the legal status of the overnight stay, which is settled, but the physiological cost of performing it under conditions of extreme density and heat.

Two mitigation schemes have emerged in response. Murur allows vulnerable pilgrims to cross Muzdalifah aboard a moving bus without alighting, proceeding directly to Mina. Tanazul, the subject of this article, allows pilgrims to return to their transit hotels in Makkah after stoning Jamrah Aqabah, rather than remaining overnight in the Mina tents. Both were formalized for the 1446/2025 season through Decree of the Director General of Hajj and Umrah Organization Number 137 of 2025, which established three special services for the

¹ Republic of Indonesia, *Undang-Undang Nomor 8 Tahun 2019 Tentang Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji Dan Umrah* (Jakarta, 2019).

² Madalia Faza, 'Legal Noncompliance in Indonesia Additional Hajj Quota Allocation', *Academia Open*, 11.1 (2026), 1–9 <<https://doi.org/10.21070/acopen.11.2026.13134>>.

³ Fathurrohman Husen and Mukhlisin, 'Balancing Faith and Fairness: A Maqāṣid Al-Sharī'ah Perspective on Regulating Repeated Hajj in Indonesia', *Al-Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Hukum*, 9.2 (2024), 171–94 <<https://doi.org/10.22515/alahkam.v9i2.10540>>; Mohammad Jailani and Miftachul Huda, 'The Motivation of People Going to Hajj Repeatedly: Discussion about Experience and Awareness of Religion as Islamic Culture in Yogyakarta, Indonesia', *Al Banjari: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Ilmu Keislaman*, 23.1 (2024), 51–72 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18592/albanjari.v23i1.12695>>.

⁴ Rustika Rustika and others, 'An Evaluation of Health Policy Implementation for Hajj Pilgrims in Indonesia', *Journal of Epidemiology and Global Health*, 10.4 (2020), 263–68 <<https://doi.org/10.2991/jegh.k.200411.001>>.

⁵ Didin Chonyta and Mohammad Jainuri, 'Integrasi Maqasid Klasik Dan Kontemporer Dalam Pelayanan Haji Untuk Lansia, Difabel, Dan Jemaah Risiko Tinggi: Studi Maqasid Perspektif Ibn 'Ashur Dan Jasser Auda', *IMTIYAZ: Jurnal Ilmu Keislaman*, 9.3 (2025), 521–36 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.46773/imtiyaz.v9i3.2370>>.

⁶ Badrah Uyuni and Mohammad Adnan, 'A Dynamic Hajj Fiqh for Elderly: A Study of Indonesian Pilgrims', *International Journal of Emerging Issues in Islamic Studies*, 4.1 (2024), 54–68 <<https://doi.org/10.31098/ijeis.v4i1.2325>>.

Armuzna phase: special Safari Wukuf, Murur at Muzdalifah, and Tanazul at Mina.⁷ The structured Tanazul program was nevertheless suspended days before the peak of the 1446/2025 season and was implemented in full only in 1447/2026. These changes in the characteristics of the pilgrims indicate that the administration of the Hajj no longer requires only fiqh-based legitimacy but also a policy framework that integrates Islamic law, public safety, and the governance of public services.

Existing scholarship has addressed adjacent questions without covering this one. A substantial body of work examines Murur: Fahreza, Patahuddin, and Dzul Fadli analyzed the fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council permitting Murur and concluded that it aligns with Shafi'i and Hanbali positions while implicitly serving the preservation of life,⁸ and Khaeruddin and Yuni treated ritual moderation across Armuzna as a maqasid problem.⁹ A second cluster studies elderly-friendly Hajj as public administration: Mu'minah and colleagues evaluated the 2024 program through New Public Management categories,¹⁰ while Dewi and Qodarsasi mapped the collaborative governance that produced it.¹¹ A third cluster is doctrinal: Chonyta and Jainuri synthesized Ibn 'Ashur and Jasser Auda into a framework for inclusive Hajj services,¹² and Sudarto, Nita, and Cahyono read Hajj management as a whole through the primary objectives of the law.¹³ In general, previous research has tended to develop along three main lines: the fiqh justification for Armuzna services, the evaluation of Hajj service governance, and the development of a maqasid framework for the administration of the Hajj. None of these lines, however, has followed a single concession through a complete cycle of codification, suspension, redesign, and execution.

The second of these lines reaches well beyond the Armuzna phase. Samsudin and colleagues, Aripin, and Setiawan and Soewarno read the financial and protective dimensions of the pilgrimage through the lens of the law's objectives, from the management of Hajj funds to the safeguarding of pilgrims against fraudulent operators.¹⁴ Abdurrohman,

⁷ Niswatul Islamiyah and others, 'Implementasi Kebijakan Skema Murur Dalam Penyelenggaraan Haji: Analisis Manajemen Operasional Berdasarkan Model Van Meter–Van Horn', *Fastabiq: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 6.2 (2025), 185–201 <<https://doi.org/10.47281/fas.v6i2.254>>.

⁸ Ahmad Herdian Fahreza, Askar Patahuddin, and M Dzul Fadli S., 'Analisis Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Nomor 11/Ijtima' Ulama/VIII/2024 Tentang Hukum Pelaksanaan Mabrit Di Muzdalifah Dengan Cara Murur Perspektif Maqasid Al-Shari'ah', *AL-MABSUTH: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Bahasa Arab*, 2.1 (2026), 73–97 <<https://doi.org/10.36701/mabsuth.v2i1.2609>>.

⁹ Khaeruddin and Lilik Andar Yuni, 'Problematisasi Moderasi Haji: Suatu Tinjauan Maqashid Untuk Memudahkan Dan Menyempurnakan Ritual Haji Armuzna', *Jurnal Kolaboratif Sains*, 6.12 (2023), 1881–92 <<https://doi.org/10.56338/jks.v6i12.4556>>.

¹⁰ S Mu'minah and others, 'Public Service Innovation Hajj Pilgrimage Elderly Friendly 2024 Kemenag RI', *Celebes Journal of Community Services*, 4.1 (2025), 140–52 <<https://doi.org/10.37531/celeb.v4i1.1866>>.

¹¹ Siti Malaiha Dewi and Umi Qodarsasi, 'Collaborative Governance in the "Elderly Friendly Hajj" Policy in Indonesia', *KnE Social Sciences*, 2024, 342–51 <<https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v9i7.15514>>.

¹² Didin Chonyta and Mohammad Jainuri, 'Integrasi Maqasid Klasik Dan Kontemporer Dalam Pelayanan Haji Untuk Lansia, Difabel, Dan Jemaah Risiko Tinggi: Studi Maqasid Perspektif Ibn 'Ashur Dan Jasser Auda', *IMTIYAZ: Jurnal Ilmu Keislaman*, 9.3 (2025), 521–36 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.46773/imtiyaz.v9i3.2370>>.

¹³ Aye Sudarto, Mesta Wahyu Nita, and Kuku Cahyono, 'Maqashid Syariah Dalam Manajemen Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji', *Multazam: Jurnal Manajemen Haji Dan Umrah*, 3.1 (2023), 34 <<https://doi.org/10.32332/multazam.v3i1.7059>>.

¹⁴ Samsudin and others, 'Hajj Funds Management Based on Maqāṣid Al-Sharī'ah; A Proposal for Indonesian Context', *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial*, 18.2 (2023), 544–67 <<https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v18i2.7268>>; Jaenal Aripin, 'Hajj Fund Investment: A Comparative Contemporary Fiqh Study on Maslahah and Public Policy Perspectives in Indonesia', *MIL.Rev: Metro Islamic Law Review*, 4.1 (2025), 360–88 <<https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v4i1.10424>>; Nanang Setiawan and Noorlailie Soewarno, 'Protection of Hajj and Umrah Pilgrims from Fraud: Evidence from Indonesia', *Share: Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Keuangan Islam*, 13.1 (2024), 276–98 <<https://doi.org/10.22373/share.v13i1.22865>>.

Nurcholis, and Daulay assess service delivery at the district level, while Masse, Aderus, and Halidin compare the Indonesian and Malaysian arrangements against the five primary objectives.¹⁵ Closer to the present subject, Marjanah and colleagues document how local scholars in Grobogan received the Murur and Tanazul schemes during the 2024 season, though their concern is the policy's reception rather than its juridical construction.¹⁶ Valuable as this work is, it treats maqasid either as a yardstick for financial and administrative propriety or as a survey of opinion. What is absent from all of it is sustained attention to a concession that alters the performance of an obligatory rite rather than the financing and administration that surround it.

Three gaps remain. First, Tanazul has received far less doctrinal attention than Murur, even though it interferes with a *wajib* of the Hajj rather than with a ritual whose minimum threshold is already relaxed in classical fiqh. Second, no study has analyzed a complete policy cycle in which a scheme was codified, suspended, redesigned, and then executed, which is precisely the sequence that Tanazul underwent between 2025 and 2026. Third, and most importantly, the existing literature treats maqasid reasoning as a justification for granting concessions but rarely for withholding them; the 2025 postponement is therefore theoretically interesting because the same framework that legitimizes the concession also explains its temporary refusal. This study addresses those gaps. Its objectives are to reconstruct the juridical basis and operational typology of Tanazul, to trace the regulatory dynamics of the scheme across the 1446/2025 and 1447/2026 seasons, and to assess the public benefit implications of both its implementation and its postponement using classical and contemporary maqasid al-shariah.

The argument advanced here is that Tanazul is best understood not as a relaxation of the pilgrimage but as an instrument of priority jurisprudence, and that the same maqasid reasoning which legitimizes the concession also accounts for its temporary refusal in 1446/2025. Theoretically, the study contributes to maqasid scholarship by extending the function of the framework from the legitimation of a rukhsah to the justified deferral of one, and by showing that maqasid analysis of state regulation must operate simultaneously at the level of the individual pilgrim and at the level of the system in which the pilgrim moves. Practically, it provides Hajj administrators with a criterion for judging when a concession is safe to exercise at scale: namely, the prior existence of the logistical arrangements without which a concession merely relocates the hardship it was designed to remove.

RESEARCH METHOD

In terms of type, this study is a qualitative, document-based library research study, in which the entire body of data was obtained from written sources rather than from fieldwork.¹⁷ Its design combines a juridical-normative approach with religious public policy analysis. The juridical-normative component treated Indonesian Hajj regulations as legal

¹⁵ Abdurrohman, Hanif Nurcholis, and Pardamean Daulay, 'Analisis Kebijakan Pelayanan Haji Pada Kantor Kementerian Agama Kabupaten Lingga Provinsi Kepulauan Riau', *Syntax Literate: Jurnal Ilmiah Indonesia*, 7.9 (2022), 15121–33 <<https://doi.org/10.36418/syntax-literate.v7i9.14201>>; Rahman Ambo Masse, Andi Aderus, and Ali Halidin, 'Developing Sharia Economic Instrument for Indonesia-Malaysia Hajj Service System: Maqâshid Al-Syari'ah Perspective', *Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman*, 25.2 (2021), 195–208 <<https://doi.org/10.29300/madania.v25i2.5031>>.

¹⁶ Luk Luul Marjanah and others, 'Pendangan Ulama Kabupaten Grobogan Terhadap Pelaksanaan Murur Dan Tanazul Pada Musim Haji 2024', *Kamaya: Jurnal Ilmu Agama*, 8.2 (2025), 77–90 <<https://doi.org/10.37329/kamaya.v8i2.4152>>.

¹⁷ Milya Sari and Asmendri, 'Penelitian Kepustakaan (Library Research) Dalam Penelitian Pendidikan IPA', *Natural Science: Jurnal Penelitian Bidang IPA Dan Pendidikan IPA*, 6.1 (2020), 41–53 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15548/nsc.v6i1.1555>>.

texts to be interpreted against the sources and objectives of Islamic law, while the policy component treated the same documents as administrative instruments whose implementation could succeed, fail, or be deferred. Combining the two was necessary because the object of analysis is neither a fatwa nor an ordinary administrative rule, but a state regulation that converts a juristic concession into an operational service.

The population of documents consisted of three tiers. The first tier comprised primary legal instruments: Law Number 8 of 2019 on the Organisation of Hajj and Umrah, Decree of the Director General of Hajj and Umrah Organisation Number 137 of 2025 concerning technical guidelines for special services during the Arafah, Muzdalifah, and Mina phase, and Decision Number 11/Ijtima' Ulama/VIII/2024 of the Fatwa Commission of the Indonesian Ulema Council on performing the overnight stay at Muzdalifah by way of Murur.¹⁸ The second tier comprised official statements and evaluation records issued by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Hajj and Umrah, the Hajj Financial Management Agency, and the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs between June 2025 and July 2026. The third tier comprised classical works of *usul al-fiqh* and *maqasid*, together with peer-reviewed articles published between 2023 and 2026 on Murur, Tanazul, and elderly Hajj services.

Sampling was purposive. Documents were included when they satisfied one of three criteria: they established or amended the legal basis of Tanazul; they reported an implementation decision, a suspension, or an evaluation outcome for the 1446/2025 or 1447/2026 seasons; or they supplied the doctrinal apparatus required to assess those decisions. News reports were admitted only when they conveyed an attributable statement by a named official and when that statement could be corroborated by at least one other outlet or an official portal. Aggregator sites and undocumented uploads were excluded.

Data were analyzed through directed content analysis. Each document was coded against an *a priori* framework drawn from two layers of *maqasid* theory. The first layer was the classical hierarchy of *daruriyyat*, *hajiyyat*, and *tahsiniiyyat*, together with the five primary objectives as systematized by al-Ghazali and al-Shatibi.¹⁹ The second layer was the systems approach developed by Jasser Auda, whose features of interrelated hierarchy, openness, and purposefulness were used to evaluate decisions taken at the level of the operation as a whole rather than at the level of the individual pilgrim.²⁰ Codes were then grouped into three analytical categories: the juridical construction of the concession, the regulatory trajectory of the scheme, and the distribution of benefit and harm across individual and collective levels.

Validity was pursued through source triangulation. Every empirical claim about the design, suspension, or execution of Tanazul was verified against at least two independent documents, with priority given to government portals over media reporting where the two diverged. The study has two acknowledged limitations. It relied on documentary sources and did not include interviews with pilgrims or field officers, so the lived experience of Tanazul participants is not represented. It also could not obtain disaggregated operational data isolating the effect of Tanazul from other concurrent interventions, which restricts the analysis to interpretive rather than causal inference.

¹⁸ Zakaria Syaifei, 'Tracing Maqasid Al-Shari'ah in the Fatwas of Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI)', *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 11.01 (2017), 99–124 <<https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2017.11.1.99-124>>.

¹⁹ Saim Kayadibi, 'The State as An Essential Value (Daruriyyat) of The Maqasid Al-Shariah', *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah*, 19.1 (2019), 1–18 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v19i1.6256>>.

²⁰ Jasser Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (London: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvkc67tg>>.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The discussion is organized according to the three research foci. Each subsection first presents the findings drawn from the documents and then interprets them through the lens of maqasid al-shariah, so that the empirical record and its juridical reading remain distinct. Each subsection also places the finding in explicit dialogue with prior research and states whether it confirms this study's argument. The section closes with a conceptual synthesis of the Tanazul cycle's contributions to maqasid theory and Hajj governance.

Disentangling Two Meanings of Tanazul

The term 'Tanazul carries two distinct operational meanings in Indonesian Hajj administration, and conflating them has produced avoidable confusion in the literature. The first meaning is repatriation, Tanazul, under which a sick pilgrim is detached from the original flight group and returned to Indonesia earlier or later than that group. It is initiated by the flight group physician, assessed by the Indonesian Hajj Health Clinic, referred to the relevant specialist, and executed only after the pilgrim is declared fit to fly and has given consent.²¹ During the second repatriation wave of the 1447/2026 season, the Madinah clinic handled fifty-one sick pilgrims, of whom forty-one were repatriated through this mechanism.²²

The second meaning, and the one analyzed here, is Mina Tanazul. This is a movement scheme, not a medical evacuation. After completing the stoning of Jamrah Aqabah on 10 Dhu al-Hijjah, participating pilgrims travel from the Jamarat complex to their transit hotels in Makkah rather than returning to the Mina tents, and they repeat this pattern until the stoning obligations of the days of tashriq are discharged. Where a pilgrim is physically unable to perform the stoning, the act may be delegated to a proxy, and no expiatory sacrifice is due because the omission rests on a recognized excuse.²³ The distinction matters juridically: repatriation Tanazul affects the timing of travel and raises no question about the validity of the rites, whereas Mina Tanazul touches an obligatory element of the pilgrimage and therefore requires a substantive legal justification.

The Juridical Basis of the Concession

The permissibility of Mina Tanazul rests on three interlocking principles: facilitation, the removal of hardship, and the preservation of life. These are not ad hoc accommodations but structural features of the legal system, and the texts on which they rest are general enough to govern ritual detail without being confined to any particular era.

²¹ Ityan Nuril Sofia Imamah, Lucky Radita Alma, and Hartati Eko Wardani, 'A Study of the Risk Factors Associated with the Death of Surabaya Embarkation Hajj Pilgrims in 2023', *Medical Technology and Public Health Journal*, 9.2 (2025) <<https://doi.org/10.33086/mtphj.v9i1.6245>>.

²² Ninda Devita and others, 'Post-Hajj Acute Respiratory Infections: Proportion and Associated Factors Pilgrims from an Indonesian Hajj Guidance Group', *Jurnal Kedokteran Dan Kesehatan Indonesia (International Journal of Medicine and Health)*, 17.1 (2026), 61–71 <<https://doi.org/10.20885/jkki.vol17.iss1.art7>>.

²³ A.Z. Misbaahuddin Asyuari, 'Contemporary Ijtihād in Islamic Law: A Comparative Fiqh Analysis of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) Fatwa on the Stoning of the Jamārāt during the Days of Tashriq', *Jurnal Mahkamah: Kajian Ilmu Hukum Dan Hukum Islam*, 10.2 (2025), 607–20 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.25217/jm.v10i2.7073>>.

Table 1. Scriptural Foundations of the Tanazul Concession

Source	Text	Juridical Relevance to Tanazul
Q. al-Hajj: 78	وَمَا جَعَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ مِنْ حَرَجٍ (He has not placed upon you any hardship in religion)	Establishes that no obligation of the law, including the details of a ritual, may be enforced in a manner that generates extreme hardship for the person obliged.
Q. al-Baqarah: 185	يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ بِكُمُ الْيُسْرَ وَلَا يُرِيدُ بِكُمُ الْعُسْرَ (God intends ease for you and does not intend hardship)	Supplies the epistemological ground for the category of concession as a permanent instrument of the law rather than an exceptional derogation from it.
Hadith reported by al-Bukhari from 'A'ishah	The Prophet, when given a choice between two matters, chose the easier of the two so long as it involved no sin.	Indicates that where two lawful arrangements are available to an administrator, the one that is safer and less burdensome carries a presumption of preference.
Reports on the exemption of al-'Abbas and the herdsmen	The Prophet permitted his uncle al-'Abbas to remain in Makkah during the nights of Mina to supervise the provision of water, and granted a comparable dispensation to camel herdsmen.	Furnishes an a fortiori argument: if the overnight stay may be waived to protect a logistical service and livestock, it may be waived with greater reason to protect human life.

The final row deserves emphasis because it converts a general principle into a specific precedent. The exemptions granted to al-'Abbas and to the herdsmen are transmitted in the standard collections and are treated in the Shafi'i and Hanbali literature as evidence that the overnight stay at Mina admits excused omission.²⁴ The interests protected in those precedents were the supply of drinking water and the safeguarding of property. Within the classical hierarchy of objectives, the protection of property ranks below the protection of life. If the law tolerates omission of the overnight stay for the sake of the lower interest, it must tolerate omission for the sake of the higher one. The Ministry of Religious Affairs has advanced precisely this reasoning in its public exposition of the concession,²⁵ and the Tarjih Council of Muhammadiyah has reached a parallel conclusion for Muzdalifah by invoking the maxim that where the original ruling becomes impracticable, recourse is had to its substitute.²⁶

²⁴ Muhammad Ridwan, Muhammad Ikhsan, and Sirajuddin, 'Legal Parameters Of The Shariah Concession For Passing Through Muzdalifah: A Comparative Fiqh Study', *Al-Fikrah: Jurnal Kajian Islam*, 3.2 (2026), 458–89 <<https://doi.org/10.36701/fikrah.v3i2.2485>>.

²⁵ Fathurrohman Husen and Mukhlisin, 'Balancing Faith and Fairness: A Maqāṣid Al-Sharī'ah Perspective on Regulating Repeated Hajj in Indonesia', *Al-Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Hukum*, 9.2 (2024), 171–94 <<https://doi.org/10.22515/alahkam.v9i2.10540>>.

²⁶ Muhammad Adib and Achmad Beadie Busyroel Basyar, 'Skema Murur Sebelum Tengah Malam : Analisis Epistemologis Terhadap Ijtihad Kementerian Agama RI Dalam Fikih Haji', *Maqashid: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 7.2 (2024), 11–25 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.35897/maqashid.v7i2.1802>>.

Codification and Suspension in the 1446/2025 Season

Decree Number 137 of 2025 translated the concession into an administrative program. It defined three services for the Armuzna phase and set the target for Mina Tanazul at a maximum of 95 flight groups, equivalent to 37,497 regular pilgrims, to be accommodated in the Syisyah and Raudhah districts, to be executed between 10 and 13 Dhu al-Hijjah.²⁷ One technical provision proved consequential: participating pilgrims were not to be provided with transport between the Jamarat complex and their transit hotels, so the journey was to be completed on foot. For a scheme designed around pilgrims whose defining characteristic is limited mobility, the requirement embedded a contradiction at its center.

The scale of the intended movement can be expressed simply. If N denotes the number of pilgrims allocated to a given encampment and A the usable floor area of its tents, occupancy density is $D = N / A$. Where the effective allocation approaches 0.8 square meters per pilgrim, density approaches 1.25 pilgrims per square meter, a figure that leaves almost no circulation space and compounds the risk of heat exhaustion for older pilgrims. This calculation is offered as the authors' illustrative estimate rather than a measured value, and is presented only to indicate the order of magnitude of the constraint the policy was designed to relieve.

On 3 June 2025, the head of the Indonesian Hajj Organizing Committee in Saudi Arabia announced that the structured Tanazul program would not proceed that season. The decision originated with the Saudi Ministry of Hajj and Umrah and was framed explicitly in terms of pilgrim safety, with the program deferred to later seasons to allow for more thorough preparation.²⁸ The operative concern was pedestrian congestion. Mina admits no geographical expansion; other national delegations were adopting comparable arrangements, and the simultaneous movement of some thirty-seven thousand Indonesian pilgrims between Jamarat and hotels in Syisyah and Raudhah was projected to produce dangerous accumulation on narrow routes. Pilgrims accordingly remained in the tents allocated by the service companies, with consumption supplied there, while individual Tanazul remained available to those with pressing need through direct coordination with their service company.²⁹ In the same season, the Murur scheme moved in the opposite direction, expanding from an initial 25 percent of pilgrims to 33 percent after negotiation with the Saudi authorities.

Read against previous research, this sequence extends rather than repeats what is already known. Fahreza, Patahuddin, and Dzul Fadli established the maqasid legitimacy of Murur as a concession that was granted; the present finding shows that the same reasoning also governs a concession that was withheld, since the 2025 suspension was justified in the identical vocabulary of pilgrim safety. Khaeruddin and Yuni approached Armuzna as a problem of easing ritual performance, yet the Tanazul case indicates that easing performance can itself generate hardship once a concession is executed simultaneously by tens of thousands of pilgrims on foot. The finding, therefore, confirms this study's argument that maqasid reasoning operates in two directions rather than one.

²⁷ Directorate General of Hajj and Umrah Affairs, *Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji Dan Umrah Nomor 137 Tahun 2025 Tentang Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Layanan Khusus Jemaah Haji Indonesia Selama Fase Arafah, Muzdalifah, Dan Mina Tabun 1446 H/ 2025 M* (Jakarta, 2025).

²⁸ Abdelrahman Sheta, 'AI-Driven Risk Management Framework for Hajj Seasons: Predictive Models for Proactive Safety and Resilience', *International Journal of Science and Research Archive*, 17.2 (2025), 196–206 <<https://doi.org/10.30574/ijrsra.2025.17.2.2994>>.

²⁹ Redho Slamet Pribadi, 'Evaluation of Indonesian Hajj Services: Unraveling the Problems of Overcrowding, Transportation, and Data Inconsistency in the Implementation of the Hajj Pilgrimage', *Jurnal Ilmiah Gema Perencana*, 4.2 (2025), 1873–94 <<https://doi.org/10.61860/jigp.v4i2.290>>.

Table 2. Tanazul across Three Policy Moments

Dimension	Design, Decree 137/2025	Field outcome, 1446/2025	Implementation, 1447/2026
Target coverage	Maximum 95 flight groups, 37,497 regular pilgrims	Structured program suspended in full; individual Tanazul retained	76,412 pilgrims across 196 flight groups
Eligible districts	Syisyah and Raudhah	Not applicable	Syisyah, Raudhah, and Aziziyah
Mobilisation method	Coordinated movement under the committee and flight group leaders, on foot from Jamarat	Standard overnight stay in the Mina tents	Participating flight groups are designated before departure and coordinated with service companies
Principal constraint	Physical capacity of pilgrims walking from Jamarat to transit hotels	Projected pedestrian gridlock on the narrow routes of Mina	Distance and heat during the Mina phase; accompaniment of elderly pilgrims is still noted as inadequate

Institutional Redesign and Implementation in 1447/2026

The 1447/2026 season differed from its predecessor in three respects. First, operational leadership was transferred to a newly established Ministry of Hajj and Umrah, which served as the principal organizer of the Indonesian operation for the first time.³⁰ Second, the scale and eligibility of the movement schemes were settled early and announced publicly. At a working meeting with Commission VIII of the House of Representatives on 8 April 2026, the Minister of Hajj and Umrah stated that 100,930 pilgrims, approximately half of the regular quota, would follow the Murur scheme, and that the Tanazul programme would involve 76,412 pilgrims drawn from 196 flight groups, with priority given to those accommodated in Syisyah, Raudhah, and Aziziyah because of their proximity to Makkah.³¹ Third, protection was relocated upstream. The government tightened health capability screening, monitored comorbidities, and delivered fitness education before departure, while proposing that medical personnel be stationed along the routes to Jamarat so that emergencies during the stoning could be met quickly.³²

The comparison between the two designs is instructive. In 2025, the scheme was conceived as a movement to be organized in the field during the peak days; in 2026, the participating flight groups were identified before departure, which allowed service companies

³⁰ M. Rizal Qosim, Dwi Surya Atmaja, and Prihantono, 'Fiqh Al-Mu'assasāt in Contemporary Muslim Society: A Socio-Political Analysis of the Establishment of Indonesia's Ministry of Hajj', *Journal of Islamic Law*, 7.1 (2026), 84–112 <<https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v7i1.5947>>.

³¹ Suci Annisa and Laode Rudita, 'Organizational Readiness of the Ministry of Hajj and Umrah in Reforming the Governance of Hajj Pilgrimage Management in Indonesia', *International Journal of Educational Review, Law And Social Sciences (IJERLAS)*, 6.1 (2026), 107–15 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.18902633>>.

³² Mahmoud A. Gaddoury and Haroutune K. Armenian, 'Epidemiology of Hajj Pilgrimage Mortality: Analysis for Potential Intervention', *Journal of Infection and Public Health*, 17 (2024), 49–61 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jiph.2023.05.021>>.

and hotel managers to prepare accommodation and catering in advance and removed the improvisation that had made the earlier design fragile. Coverage roughly doubled, from a planned 37,497 to an executed 76,412, yet the congestion that had justified the 2025 suspension did not recur. The difference lay less in the doctrine than in the sequencing of administrative preparation.

Evaluation of the season was mixed but, on balance, positive. At the national evaluation meeting convened on 8 July 2026, the Director General of Hajj and Umrah Development reported general improvement in transport, accommodation, catering, and health services, and recorded a decline in pilgrim deaths from 447 in the preceding season to 367, while noting that the figure remained high and that health capability governance in Indonesia required further strengthening. The Indonesian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia assessed the implementation of Tanazul at Mina as having successfully reduced crowding during the peak of the pilgrimage and recommended further refinement.³³ Countervailing evidence should be recorded. Members of the House of Representatives observed after the season that the accompaniment of elderly and high-risk pilgrims still required improvement and should extend beyond administrative processing to encompass safety, health, mobility, and officers' readiness for emergencies. Field reporting likewise identified the Mina phase as the most demanding stage of the journey despite the schemes in force. It should also be stated plainly that the available data do not permit attributing the decline in mortality specifically to Tanazul, since health screening, the Makkah Route facility, and improved transport were introduced or strengthened in the same season.

These findings speak directly to the governance literature. Unlike Mu'minah and colleagues, who evaluated elderly-friendly Hajj services through the categories of New Public Management, and unlike Dewi and Qodarsasi, who mapped the collaborative governance that produced those services, this study shows that the effectiveness of such services depends less on administrative design in the abstract than on the sequencing that connects juridical legitimacy to operational readiness. The doctrine authorizing Tanazul was identical in 2025 and 2026; only the preparation differed, and so did the outcome. The finding confirms this study's argument that fiqh-based legitimacy is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a workable religious public service.

Priority Jurisprudence and the Interface of Two Objectives

Under ordinary conditions, the overnight stay at Mina is an obligatory element of the pilgrimage, and its performance is considered part of the preservation of religion. Where the tents exceed safe capacity, however, compelling elderly pilgrims to remain exposes them to a risk that belongs to the preservation of life. The two objectives, which normally reinforce one another, come into tension. Islamic legal theory resolves such tension through an established ranking rather than through discretion. Al-Ghazali and al-Shatibi place the preservation of life immediately after the preservation of religion within the necessities, and both treat the necessities as a graded order in which the lower may be sacrificed to secure the higher.³⁴

³³ Rustika Rustika and others, 'An Evaluation of Health Policy Implementation for Hajj Pilgrims in Indonesia', *Journal of Epidemiology and Global Health*, 10.4 (2020), 263–68 <<https://doi.org/10.2991/jegh.k.200411.001>>.

³⁴ Edi Kurniawan and others, 'Recent Studies on the Maqāṣid Al-Sharī'ah of Abū Ishāq Al-Shāṭibī: A Systematic Literature Review', *AJIS: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies*, 10.1 (2025), 1–26 <<https://doi.org/http://doi.org/10.29240/ajis.v10i1.11282>>; Ibnu Amin and others, 'Stratification of Al-Maqashid Al-Khamsah (Preserving Religion, Soul, Reason, Heredity and Property) and Its Application in Al-Dharuriyah, Al-Hajiyah, Al-Tahsiniyah, and Mukammilat', *AJIS: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies*, 9.1 (2024), 264–81 <<https://doi.org/http://doi.org/10.29240/ajis.v9i1.8941>>.

Two further considerations govern the resolution. The first is the maxim that averting harm takes precedence over securing benefit,³⁵ which places the avoidance of fatality above the attainment of ritual completeness in its optimal form. The second is the standing of the person obliged. Legal responsibility attaches to a living subject; where life is lost, the obligations that constitute the preservation of religion lapse with it. The preservation of life is therefore not merely ranked above the preservation of religion in this instance but is its precondition. Tanazul consequently does not subordinate religion to safety. It secures the continued existence of the subject in whom religious obligation inheres, which is why the scheme should be read as serving both objectives rather than trading one against the other.

This is the domain of priority jurisprudence, the discipline concerned with ordering competing goods when they cannot all be realized simultaneously. Al-Qaradawi frames it as the obligation to weigh benefits and harms according to their rank, magnitude, and probability, rather than treating every prescription as equally urgent.³⁶ Applied to Mina, the ranking is unambiguous: the completeness of the overnight stay is a benefit of high but not absolute rank, whereas the death of an exhausted pilgrim is a harm of the highest rank and of demonstrable probability given the density and temperature recorded in the valley.

This reading both draws on and departs from earlier work. Sudarto, Nita, and Cahyono applied the law's primary objectives to Hajj management as a whole and established their general relevance; the present analysis narrows the focus to a single obligatory element of the rite and shows how the hierarchy of objectives is applied when two of them come into direct conflict. Fahreza and colleagues reached a comparable conclusion for Muzdalifah, where the minimum threshold of the overnight stay is already attenuated in classical fiqh. Mina is the harder case because the obligation is not similarly relaxed, and the finding that priority jurisprudence still resolves it in favor of preserving life confirms this study's argument that the ranking of objectives, rather than administrative discretion, carries the day.

Concession as an Instrument of Benefit, not a Relaxation of the Law

The dispensation embodied in Tanazul should not be characterized as a dilution of the pilgrimage. In *usul al-fiqh*, the concession is a designed component of the legal architecture, activated by hardship and calibrated to it, and its exercise is an act of compliance with the law rather than a departure from it. Al-Shatibi treats the removal of hardship as one of the constant purposes for which the law was instituted, which is why concessions do not require separate justification once their occasioning cause is established.³⁷ On this reading, a pilgrim who follows the Tanazul scheme performs a valid pilgrimage; the concession preserves the substance of the rite while relieving the body of a burden it cannot safely carry. The absence of any expiatory sacrifice confirms the point, since expiation attaches to unexcused omission rather than to excused substitution.

Two boundary conditions follow from the doctrine and should be observed in administration. First, the concession is contingent on the excuse: it is properly extended to elderly, high-risk, and disabled pilgrims, and to those accompanying them, not to the population at large, since generalizing a dispensation beyond its cause would dissolve the rule

³⁵ Syaza Shukri and Meor Alif Meor Azalan, 'The Application of Maqasid Al-Shariah in Multicultural Malaysia: Developing Strong Institutions for Interethnic Unity', *Contemporary Islam*, 17.3 (2023), 433–50 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-023-00528-7>>.

³⁶ Teguh Ifandi and Idaul Hasanah, 'Maslahat (Benefits) in Fiqh Awlâwiyât: A Comparison between Yûsuf Al-Qarâdhawî's View and Abdus Salam Alî Al-Karbulî's', *Al-'Adalah*, 21.1 (2024), 1–23 <<https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v13i2.1183>>.

³⁷ Ammar Abdullah Naseh Alwan, 'Nazariyyah Al-Tarakhus Wa 'Tatbiqatiha 'Inda Al-Imam Al-Syatibi', *Jurnal Fiqh*, 7 (2010) <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22452/fiqh.vol7no1.11>>.

it was designed to protect.³⁸ Second, the concession must be accompanied by adequate substitute arrangements. A dispensation from the overnight stay that leaves an eighty-year-old pilgrim to walk several kilometers unaccompanied in extreme heat does not remove hardship; it relocates it. The transport provision in the 2025 design failed precisely this test, which is one reason the scheme was not viable as originally drafted.

Previous studies have tended to justify the concession and stop there. Chonyta and Jainuri, for instance, derive an inclusive framework for Hajj services from Ibn ‘Ashur and Auda but do not specify the conditions under which a concession ceases to serve its purpose. The two boundary conditions identified here supply that specification: a concession detached from its occasioning cause dissolves the rule it was designed to protect, and a concession unaccompanied by substitute arrangements relocates the hardship it was meant to remove. This finding confirms the study's argument that the legitimacy of a rukhsah in public policy is contingent on its operational design rather than settled once its juridical basis has been established.

A Systems Reading: Karamah, Scale, and the Rationality of Postponement

Contemporary maqasid theory extends the analysis beyond the individual. Auda criticizes the classical formulation for its individualist and largely protective orientation and proposes reconceiving the objectives as developmental and rights-oriented, with human dignity treated as a substantive purpose of the law rather than a by-product of protecting life.³⁹ Ibn ‘Ashur had already moved in this direction by grounding the objectives in the law's natural disposition towards ease, mercy, and the honoring of the human person.⁴⁰ Read through that lens, Tanazul is not merely a technical response to medical risk but an expression of the state's obligation to ensure that its citizens may discharge a religious duty without being reduced to conditions that degrade them.⁴¹ Crowding an elderly pilgrim into 0.8 square meters of tent floor for three consecutive nights raises a question of dignity that the language of medical risk alone does not capture.

The systems approach also supplies the framework within which the 2025 postponement becomes intelligible rather than anomalous. Auda's features of interrelated hierarchy and openness require that a rule be evaluated in relation to the whole system in which it operates and to the environment on which that system depends.⁴² Tanazul at the level of the individual pilgrim produces an unambiguous benefit. Tanazul, executed simultaneously by thirty-seven thousand pilgrims on foot along routes shared with other national delegations pursuing similar arrangements, alters the environment itself and generates projected harm that falls on the entire multinational population of the valley. The relevant comparison is therefore not between benefit and no benefit, but between a particular benefit accruing to a defined group and a general harm distributed across all pilgrims.

³⁸ Necmeddin Güney, 'Maqāsid Al-Sharī'a in Islamic Finance: A Critical Analysis of Modern Discourses', *Religions*, 15.1 (2024) <<https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15010114>>.

³⁹ Jasser Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (London: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvkc67tg>>, 24-28, 248-50.

⁴⁰ Ulul Umami and Abdul Ghofur, 'Human Rights in Maqāsid Al-Sharī'ah Al-Āmmah: A Perspective of Ibn 'Āshūr', *Al-Ahkam: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam*, 32.1 (2022), 87–108 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2022.32.1.9306>>.

⁴¹ Zaprul Khan, 'Maqāsid Al-Shariah in the Contemporary Islamic Legal Discourse: Perspective of Jasser Auda', *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 26.2 (2018), 445–72 <<https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.26.2.3231>>; Syaza Shukri and Meor Alif Meor Azalan, 'The Application of Maqasid Al-Shariah in Multicultural Malaysia: Developing Strong Institutions for Interethnic Unity', *Contemporary Islam*, 17.3 (2023), 433–50 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-023-00528-7>>.

⁴² Jasser Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (London: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvkc67tg>>, 45-55.

Classical theory subordinates the particular to the general where the two conflict, and the postponement is best understood as an application of that rule rather than as an administrative failure.

This yields the study's principal theoretical claim. Maqasid reasoning is ordinarily invoked to justify granting a concession; the 2025 sequence demonstrates that the same framework can require withholding one. A concession whose aggregate execution endangers the population it is meant to serve is not a concession at all, and deferring it until the supporting infrastructure exists is the maqasid-consistent decision. The 2026 outcome supports this reading: the identical scheme, executed at twice the planned scale after the participating flight groups had been designated in advance and the service companies had been prepared, was assessed as reducing crowding rather than intensifying it. The variable was not doctrine but administrative capacity.

Read against the maqasid literature that draws on Auda, the present study makes its sharpest departure. Chonyta and Jainuri, and likewise Khaeruddin and Yuni, deploy the systems approach to broaden the range of pilgrims whom the law can accommodate; the Tanazul case shows that the same approach can also justify narrowing what the law authorizes at a given moment. The finding confirms the argument of this study that maqasid reasoning in religious public policy is not a one-way instrument of accommodation but a method for allocating benefit and harm across levels, and that the postponement of 1446/2025 becomes intelligible only when the analysis is conducted at the level of the system rather than that of the individual pilgrim.

Table 3. Maqasid Mapping of the Tanazul Components

Policy component	Primary objective served	Level of necessity	Analytical note
Exemption from the overnight stay at Mina for vulnerable pilgrims	Preservation of life, supporting the preservation of religion	Necessity	Excused substitution; no expiation is due, so the validity of the pilgrimage is unaffected
Delegation of the stoning to a proxy	Preservation of religion	Necessity	Preserves the performance of the rite where the body cannot perform it directly
Health capability screening before departure	Preservation of life	Necessity, exercised preventively	Shifts protection upstream and reduces the number of pilgrims who require concessions in the field
Advance designation of participating flight groups	Preservation of life and property	Need	Converts an improvised movement into a planned one and is the operational difference between 2025 and 2026

Policy component	Primary objective served	Level of necessity	Analytical note
Medical posts along the routes to Jamarat	Preservation of life	Need	Supplies the substitute arrangement, without which the concession would relocate rather than remove hardship
Suspension of the structured scheme in 2025	Prevention of general harm	Necessity, at the level of the system	Particular benefit subordinated to general harm; consistent with, not contrary to, maqasid reasoning

Implications and Limitations

Three implications follow. For policy, the decisive variable in the Tanazul cycle was preparation rather than permission, which suggests that future refinements should concentrate on the logistics that make a concession safe to exercise at scale: guaranteed transport between Jamarat and transit hotels, negotiated movement windows with the Saudi authorities and other delegations, and continuous accompaniment for pilgrims classified as high risk. For doctrine, the case indicates that maqasid analysis of state regulation must operate at two levels simultaneously, since a measure that is plainly beneficial for an individual may be harmful when aggregated.⁴³ For scholarship, the persistence of parliamentary criticism regarding the accompaniment of elderly pilgrims, despite a season deemed successful, suggests that the effectiveness of these schemes cannot be inferred from their adoption alone.

The limitations stated in the method bear repeating here because they bound the strength of these claims. The analysis rests on documents rather than on field observation, and the decline in recorded mortality cannot be attributed to Tanazul in isolation from the other measures introduced in the same season. Future research should pursue pilgrim-level data comparing outcomes between Tanazul participants and non-participants within comparable risk categories and incorporate the perspectives of pilgrims and field officers, which documentary sources cannot provide.

Taken together, the Tanazul case demonstrates that the success of innovation in religious services is determined not only by Islamic legal legitimacy but also by the institutional capacity to translate that legitimacy into a secure operational system. Maqasid al-shariah, therefore, functions not only as a basis for legal flexibility but also as an ethical framework for the design of public policy oriented towards safety, human dignity, and the collective good. That is the lesson carried by the movement from suspension in 1446/2025 to implementation in 1447/2026: doctrine authorizes a concession, but administration determines whether the authorization can be exercised without harm.

CONCLUSION

The Tanazul policy is a regulatory instrument with a secure foundation in Islamic law. Its permissibility rests on the principles of facilitation, the removal of hardship, and the preservation of life, and it is supported by a specific prophetic precedent in which the overnight stay at Mina was waived for interests ranked below human life, which yields an a

⁴³ Ali Muhammad Bhat, 'Maqasid Al-Shari'ah Is a Divine Shield of Islamic Policy', *Journal of Islamic Thought and Philosophy*, 2.2 (2023), 128–50 <<https://doi.org/10.15642/jitp.2023.2.2.128-150>>.

fortiori argument for waiving it where life itself is at stake. Read through priority jurisprudence, the scheme places the preservation of life ahead of the optimal physical performance of an obligatory rite, not to subordinate religion to safety, but because legal responsibility presupposes a living subject. The concession at issue is an instrument internal to the law rather than a relaxation of it, which is why participation leaves the pilgrimage's validity intact and incurs no expiation.

The trajectory of the scheme between 2025 and 2026 carries a lesson that extends beyond Hajj administration. The suspension of the structured program in 1446/2025 was not a repudiation of the concession but an application of the same reasoning at the system level, in which a benefit accruing to a defined group was deferred because its aggregate execution threatened harm to the wider population of the valley. When the identical scheme was executed in 1447/2026 at roughly twice the planned scale, after flight groups had been designated before departure and service arrangements had been prepared in advance, the national evaluation found it reduced crowding at the peak of the pilgrimage. What changed was administrative capacity, not doctrine. A concession is legitimate in principle and safe in practice only when the supporting logistics have been built first.

Two theoretical implications follow. First, the case extends maqasid theory by showing that the framework serves a dual function in religious public policy: it legitimizes granting a concession and, on precisely the same reasoning, legitimizes deferring that concession where aggregate execution would cause harm. The postponement of a rukhsah is therefore a maqasid act rather than a departure from maqasid. Second, the case indicates that maqasid analysis of state regulation must be conducted at two levels simultaneously, because a measure that is unambiguously beneficial to an individual may become harmful when multiplied across a population confined to a fixed space. Taken together, these points position maqasid al-shariah as an evaluative framework for religious public policy rather than only as a source of juristic permission.

On this basis, the study advances three recommendations. Bilateral coordination with the Saudi authorities should produce an agreed-upon movement blueprint for vulnerable pilgrims, including guaranteed transport between the Jamarat complex and transit hotels, since the absence of this provision was the central flaw in the 2025 design. Health capability governance should be treated as the primary instrument of protection and administered continuously in Indonesia rather than verified only at the point of departure. Finally, digital monitoring of pilgrim health should be developed to the point where eligibility for concessions can be determined by individual condition rather than by district of accommodation, so that the schemes reach the pilgrims who most need them. Beyond these policy recommendations, the empirical claims advanced here remain provisional because they rest solely on documentary sources. Subsequent research should therefore move towards empirical and comparative investigation: pilgrim-level data comparing outcomes for Tanazul participants and non-participants within matched risk categories; interviews with pilgrims and field officers; and comparisons with the mobility schemes adopted by other national delegations facing the same spatial constraint at Mina.

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