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**Rifa'iyah Pre-Marriage Tradition in Dialectics of Interpretation by  
 Tabyin al-Islah in Nusantara**

(Tradisi Pra Nikah Rifa'iyah dalam Dialektika Interpretasi Kitab Tabyin al-Islah di Nusantara)

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**Abstract**

Rifa'iyah has a unique tradition in preparing prospective brides or pre-wedding teenagers to build readiness both in terms of spiritual, emotional, intellectual, and social aspects for the realization of a *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah* family. This article discusses (1) how is the dialectic of society with the Rifa'iyah premarital tradition which refers to the interpretation of the Tabyin al-Islah?; (2) how is the development and shift of Rifa'iyah pre-wedding tradition since the time of K.H.A Rifa'i until now?; The method used in this research is a qualitative research with a phenomenological approach and analysis of Hermeneutics J.E. Gracia. The results of this study are as follows (1) the pre-wedding tradition in Rifa'iyah still continues to have a dialectic with the community through the necessity of studying the Tabyin al-Islah book until khatam before marriage in order to make the marriage eternal and happy; (2) There is a development and a shift in tradition in the *tajdid* of Rifa'iyah marriage. At the time of K.H.A. Rifa'i marriage contract occurred twice, at the KUA and at home by the kyai. This is because the majority of the *penghulu* are not just *murshid* who are under the orders of the pagan-colonial government but now Rifa'iyah's marriage does not have a marriage *tajdid* meaning that it involves the *penghulu* directly but the task is only to record the marriage and the marriage contract is only done once by prioritizing Rifa'iyah kyai as guardian and marriage witness.

**Keywords:** Pre-Marriage Tradition, Rifa'iyah, Dialectical Interpretation, Tabyin al-Islah, Nusantara

**Abstrak**

Rifa'iyah memiliki tradisi yang unik dalam mempersiapkan calon pengantin atau remaja usia pranikah untuk membangun kesiapan baik dari segi spiritual, emosional, intelektual, dan sosial demi terwujudnya keluarga yang *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah*. Artikel ini membahas (1) bagaimana dialektika masyarakat dengan tradisi pra nikah Rifa'iyah yang mengacu pada penafsiran Kitab Tabyin al-Islah?; (2) bagaimana perkembangan dan pergeseran tradisi pra nikah Rifa'iyah sejak masa K.H.A Rifa'i hingga saat ini?; Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi dan analisis Hermeneutika J.E. Gracia. Hasil penelitian ini sebagai berikut (1) tradisi pra nikah dalam Rifa'iyah masih terus berdialektika dengan masyarakat melalui keharusan mempelajari kitab Tabyin al-Islah sampai khatam sebelum menikah bertujuan agar pernikahannya kekal dan bahagia; (2) Adanya perkembangan dan pergeseran tradisi dalam *tajdid* pernikahan Rifa'iyah. Pada masa K.H.A. Rifa'i terjadi dua kali akad nikah, di KUA dan di rumah oleh kyai. Ini karena mayoritas *penghulu* belum adil *mursyid* yang berada dalam perintah pemerintahan kafir-kolonialisme tetapi sekarang pernikahan Rifa'iyah tidak ada *tajdid* nikah artinya melibatkan *penghulu* langsung tetapi tugasnya hanya mencatat pernikahan dan akad nikah hanya dilakukan satu kali dengan memprioritaskan kyai Rifa'iyah sebagai wali dan saksi nikah.

**Kata Kunci:** Tradisi Pra-Nikah, Rifa'iyah, Dialektika Interpretasi, Tabyin al-Islah, Nusantara

## Introduction

Marriage is a lifetime commitment. For someone who thinks that marriage is a sacred thing that is done once in a lifetime, they see marriage as a form of commitment that must be held and cannot be betrayed (Yuniardini, 2012). In Indonesia, marriage or marriage is explained in law number 1/1974 article 1 which states that marriage is an inner bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the aim of forming a happy and eternal family based on Belief in the One Supreme God (Iqbal ), (2019). A relationship does not only rely on physical bonds but also relates to the mind.

In the Qur'an, marriage is referred to as *mithaqān ghalīzan*, namely a legal bond. As prescribed by religion, the word marriage has *ubudiyah* values with noble aims and objectives. Where a marriage should form a family based on religious values so as to create *sakinah, mawaddah and rohmah* (Aspandi, 2017). Besides, marriage is the principle of life in the association. Marriage is said to be valid if the implementation is in accordance with religious law and beliefs that have fulfilled the pillars and conditions of marriage.

The Qur'an also explains that the purpose of legalizing marriage is for the bride and groom to have peace in it (*litaskunu ilaiha*). This means that marriage is not just about channeling sexual needs, but more than that. Marriage also promises peace of life for humans. Where every human being can build a heaven on earth in it. In addition to obtaining peace, marriage can also protect offspring (*hifdzu al-nasli*) (Atabik, 2014).

As a plural country, Indonesia has various traditions, cultures, tribes and ethnicities. Human daily life cannot be separated from tradition and culture, starting from small things such as eating, drinking, clothing and so on (Hartini, 2022). In KBBI tradition is defined as a hereditary custom (from their ancestors) that is still running in society. One tradition that is still often found is in terms of marriage.

To be precise, in Jetis Village, Bandungan District, Semarang Regency, the wedding tradition that is still running in the present era is by *Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah*. *Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah* is a group of people who follow the teachings of *Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i*. Since its inception, which was around the mid-19th century in Kalisalak, Kec. Limpung, Kab. Batang, *Rifa'iyah* had played an important role in spreading Islamic teachings and opposing the Dutch government and native bureaucrats who collaborated with the Dutch, especially in the Batang Regency and Pekalongan City areas. The congregation of *Kiai Ahmad Rifa'i* is called *Rifa'iyah*. The name is attributed to *K.H.A. Rifa'i* as the name of the founder and leader of the congregation namely *Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i bin Muhammad Marhum* (Anam, 2018)

As a figure with a *pesantren* background, *K.H.A.* wrote the book *Tabyin Al-Islah* as a guide for prospective brides in which it discussed marriage issues related to it. The *Tabyin Al-Islah* book is actually the same as other books. However, there is an explanation in the *Tabyin al-Islah* book that distinguishes it from the traditions of Islamic society in general, namely that *Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah* cannot legitimize the marriage contract performed by the prince or someone outside the *Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah* because the parties involved involved in marriage such as guardians and marriage witnesses are considered not fulfilling the legal requirements described in the *Tabyin al-Islah* book. To become a marriage guardian and witness, *Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah* has a tradition of selecting and determining each time there is a marriage, so that the legal requirements for guardian and witness qualifications are met.

So important is studying the Tabyin al-Islah book for the bride and groom, Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah has the principle that studying the Tabyin al-Islah book is a legal requirement in fiqhiyah and the marriage is considered authentic and those who do not study the Tabyin al-Islah book will be ostracized from the Jama'at. 'ah Rifa'iyah. Because they are guided by the fact that it is not legal according to fiqhiyah to do something without being based on their knowledge (Saifuddin, 2015).

As with the background described above, the author wants to examine how the wedding tradition takes place at Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah and what factors are behind the Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah wedding tradition in Jetis Village, Bandungan District, Semarang Regency.

### **Biography of K.H.A. Rifa'i**

K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i is a well-known scholar in Central Java who has a strong influence both among his own students and the wider community who lived in the 19th century AD after the Diponegoro War. He has the full name KH. Ahmad Rifa'i bin Muhammad Marhum, his name is known by the people of Central Java with KH. Ripangi. He was born on Thursday, 9 Muharram 1200 H or 13 November 1786 AD, in the village of Tempuran, which is located south of the Great Mosque of Central Java Regency. KH.A's father Rifa'i is a prince named KH. Muhammad Marhum bin Sujak Wijaya and his mother named Siti Rahmah.

In 1792, K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i, who was still 6 (six) years old, had been left by his father in 1207 H/1792 M. Since then, K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i was raised by his father's brother-in-law named K.H. Asy'ari, a well-known cleric who is the caretaker of a boarding school in the Kaliwungu area (Head of the Rifa'iyah Center: 1). Under the tutelage of K.H. Asy'ari, Ahmad Rifa'i received various Islamic religious education that are commonly taught in the world of Islamic boarding schools, such as science of sharaf, nahwu, fiqh, badi', bayan, 'ulum al-hadits, ulum al-Qur'an, mantiq, science' arudl and lughah al-'arabiyah (Amin, 1996: 19).

K.H.A. Rifa'i married a girl of his choice in Kendal. From that marriage, five children were born, each named K.H. Khabir, K.H. Junaidi, Nyai Zaenab, Kyai Jauhari, Nyai Fatimah alias Umrah. As someone who is thirsty for knowledge, K.H.A. Rifa'i, who has become a scholar and has a family, is not satisfied if he has not studied until he reaches the holy land of Mecca. On that basis, he decided to perform the pilgrimage and settle in Mecca in 1833 AD, when he was approaching half a century (47 years old). He lived in Mecca for 8 years, from 1833 to 1841 AD to study with the scholars there, both native Middle Eastern scholars and al-Jawi scholars. Among his teachers (Djamil, 1996: 54) were Sheikh Abdurrahman, Sheikh Abu Ubaidah, Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Sheikh Usman and Sheikh Abdul Malik. In addition, he also studied with Shaykh Isa Al-Barowi (1235 H), and Shaykh Faki Muhammad Ibn Abdul Aziz al-Jaizi (Ambari, 1982: 7). In all likelihood, K.H.A. Rifa'i also studied with al-Jawi scholars in Makkah such as Shaykh Dawud al-Fattani and Shaykh Ahmad Khatib as-Sambasi (Suprpto, 2009: 207-208).

The influence of K.H.A. Rifa'i to reaffirm the authority of fiqh, forcing him to return to continue his studies in a country known for being thick with the thoughts of the Shafi'i school of thought, namely Egypt. Ahmad Rifa'i's move to Egypt also had the intention of expanding his religious knowledge to teachers affiliated with the Imam Syafi'i school of jurisprudence, because he was also aware that most of the Islamic community in Indonesia,

especially in Java, adherents of this ideology. During the twelve years of living in Egypt, K.H.A. Rifa'i studied with well-known scholars there. Among his teachers was Shaykh Ibrahim alBajuri.

While studying in Mecca, K.H.A. Rifa'i has close friends who both come from Indonesia. Among his best friends are Shaykh Nawawi al-Bantani and Shaykh Kholil al-Maduri. These two people became close friends of K.H.A. Rifa'i until his return to Java later. K.H.A. Rifa'i returned to Indonesia with his two close friends on a merchant ship going to Indonesia. On the ship they had the opportunity to make an agreement which they would do after settling in Java. The agreement in question is an agreement to uphold amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar, translate Arabic books as media for propaganda, act fairly in expelling Dutch colonialism and establish educational institutions. As for the agreement, there is also an assignment between the three of them with the following details:

a. Shaykh Kholil Bangkalan, compiled a book of translations with concentration and orientation on the subject matter of Sufism.

b. Shaykh Nawawi al-Bantani, compiled a translation book with an orientation to the problems of ushuluddin.

c. Shaykh Ahmad Rifa'i, compiled a translation book that was oriented towards the subject matter of fiqh.

Ten days after the return of Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i who settled in Kaliwungu, his wife died. After the death of his wife, he spent his time taking care of the K. Asy'ari Islamic boarding school. K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i did the translation of Arabic books into Javanese which later became known as Ahmad's Tarajumah book. This proves that the learning outcomes of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i produced results. At the pesantren, K.H.A. Rifa'i carried out his da'wah activities. The model used for preaching was adapted to his existence and the situation of the times that accompanied it, namely Dutch colonialism. Apart from teaching the Islamic teachings he had studied, he also inflamed the spirit of opposition to Dutch colonialism. He protested a lot against the Dutch and the officials he appointed. For his attitude of protest, he was seen as disrupting the work of the Dutch government. Finally, the government finds out that K.H.A. Rifa'i is a radical cleric and is anti-Dutch, so he is one of those whose steps must be monitored by government officials. On the basis of his strong attitude towards the colonial government, KH. Rifa'i was imprisoned for a year from 1849-1850 in Kendal and Semarang.

After getting out of prison, K.H.A. Rifa'i left Kaliwungu, Kendal and moved to the Batang region. There he married Sujainah, a widow of Demang (Village Head), in Kalisalak, Mertowijoyo and produced a son. Since then, K.H.A. Rifa'i lives in Kalisalak Village, Limpung District, Batang Regency. This place is far from the crowds, located southeast of Batang City, south of Alas Roban, so that the Dutch government security forces did not get too much surveillance.

In this new place, KH.A. Rifa'i teaches and educates the community by establishing Islamic boarding schools that are able to attract students from various remote areas, such as Wonosobo, Batang, Pekalongan, Kendal, to Pati. Through his preaching and fatwas he was able to mobilize people to oppose the Dutch, not through weapons but with the attitudes and behavior of non-cooperation which were passed on to his next generation.

Even though he lives in a village far from the crowds, he is still being spied on by the government (government). On the basis of a radical religious attitude and has quite a strong

influence and even tends to be fanatical among the people, making enemies such as Tumenggung Ario Puspodiningrat (Regent of Batang), Haji Pinang, Francisco Netscher (Resident of Pekalongan) and several another bureaucrat reported KH. Ahmad Rifa'i to Governor General Duemeer Van Twist in Batavia (Jakarta). His enemies asked the governor to exile Haji Ripangi in 1856, but the request was rejected due to a lack of strong evidence. Even though he was rejected, his enemies used various methods, up to four times they were refused to submit a request to alienate KHA. Rifa'i. Finally, after various proofs were requested, Governor General Pahut granted their request until KH. Ahmad Rifa'i was brought before the Pekalongan Court on Friday, 6 May 1859 and was found guilty. With Governor General Pahut Decree No. 35 dated May 19, 1859, this 73 year old cleric was exiled to Ambon.

For 16 years living in exile, KH. Ahmad Rifa'i, who is accompanied by his family and a small number of his students, continues to preach, recite the Koran and write several books. In fact, the books he wrote were able to be sent to Java to Santri Tarjamah through Kyai Maufuro (his son-in-law) who kept in constant contact even though it was very difficult. KH. Ahmad Rifa'i died in 1876 in exile at the age of 90 and was buried in Ambon (Suprpto: 209-210).

### **Sekilas Tentang Tabyin al-Islah**

The Tabyin al-Islah book is a book written by K.H.A. Rifa'i. This book measures 21 x 17 cm, about 11 koras or 220 pages, this book was completed on Saturday for 24 days to coincide with the month of Shawwal 1264 H. The book was written in Javanese with Arabic script or known as the Pegon script which is neat and easy to read. The distinctive feature of this book lies in the appearance of the book. K.H.A. Rifa'i uses red ink for the arrangement of sentences originating from the Qur'an, hadith, opinions of scholars, Arabic writing and each chapter is written as the original (Nurani, 2017). As for comments or explanations from K.H.A. Rifa'i uses black ink. Another distinctive feature is the black cover of the front and back of the book.

The background for writing the book Tabyin al-Islah was the situation and condition of the Indonesian people at that time, especially in the communities around Central Java. Where the princes who were appointed and assigned by the Dutch colonial government argued that people who carried out marriage contracts that lacked the conditions were legally punished. This opinion is dismissed because of their inability to understand fiqh books in Arabic, so that they can mislead ordinary people (Rifan, 2010).

The manuscript of the K.H.A. Rifa'i who explained that this marriage has several names. First, named Nadzam Tabyin. Nadzam Tabyin's writing can be seen in the writing on the cover page, apart from that reason because the text is in the form of a nadham (poem), if the author gives the name Tabyin al-Islah, this can be seen in the text. Second, Tabin. The name Tabyin al-Islah is more familiar among the Tarjumah/Rifa'iyah group, so it will be easier to remember when asking about the Tabyin book than Nadzam Tabyin or Tabyin al-Islah. Third, the name of the book, even though it has the same meaning, namely the book that describes marriage written by K.H.A. Rifa'i but the author more precisely refers to the designation contained in the text of the book, namely Tabyin al-Islah li-Murid al-Nikah bi al-

sawab which is abbreviated as Tabyin al-Islah. Because the name is the name that the author mentions as in the text (Ridlo, 2015).

The Tabyin al-Islah book is not a book that specifically discusses the interpretation of the Koran. However, in the Nusantara style, especially in Java, this book can be said to be a practice of interpretation. K.H.A. Rifa'i in this book seeks to unite the interpretation of the Qur'an with social relations and societal rules in accordance with the demands of the conditions at that time which required the liberation of Muslims from the domination of the leadership of the infidels.

The style of interpretation of this book is included in the category of fiqh-style interpretation (al-tafsir al-fiqhi) as practiced by the companions after the death of the Prophet (Al-Farmawi, 1994). It is called the interpretation of al-fiqhi because K.H.A. Rifa'i tries to draw conclusions using hermeneutic principles to find hidden meanings and clues. Whereas in sharia law K.H.A. Rifa'i is based on ijtihad and pragmatic law originating from the Qur'an, hadith and other sources on new issues for which there are no legal provisions from previous scholars based on the circumstances of the time (Nurani, 2018).

This book can be categorized as included in the maudhu'i (thematic) interpretation. This is because the book Tabyin al-Islah was written by compiling several verses of the Koran according to a certain predetermined theme, in this case the theme of marriage. This thematic interpretation model provides many advantages including being able to answer the challenges of the times, its interpretation can be directly practiced practically, dynamically and systematically by the Muslim community, so that the understanding becomes whole and comprehensive.

This book consists of two chapters, each of which has its own scope of discussion. And each chapter consists of several sub-chapters (articles) which discuss the pillars of marriage, kafa'ah, dowry, walimah, rotating and nusyuz, and khulu'. While the second chapter discusses divorce, which also consists of sub-chapters (articles) which discuss ila', li'an and qadzaf, 'iddah, istibra', and 'iddah raj'i, nafaqoh and hadhonah then on the sidelines of the chapter there is the sentence "tanbih/warning, i'am/know, and faidah" (Anas, 2008)

### **Interpretation of Tabyin al-Islah in Jama'ah Rifa'iyah**

It has become one unit when it comes to carrying out a marriage, it is required to fulfill the conditions so that it is considered valid by the Islamic religion and the marriage law that has been established by the government.

In the case of a Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah marriage, it must be preceded by a tradition that must be followed in its implementation so that the marriage can be considered valid according to the Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah ulema. So a marriage for Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah must be preceded by studying the Tabyin al-Islah book by the two brides who will be married. In the book Tabyin al-Islah explains matters related to married life, so that married life can be happy.

In the view of the Rifai'iyah scholars, someone who is going to marry or have a muamalah relationship with fellow human beings must study and understand the aims and objectives to be achieved, so that the worship performed is not in vain. And in this way we will know how to worship and all things related to worship itself. This was not simply concocted by the Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah cleric, but based on hadith.

“Barangsiapa yang beramal tanpa ilmu, maka segala amalnya akan sia-sia di tolak”.

In terms of selecting wedding witnesses, Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah has its own qualifications, namely by appointing and selecting wedding witnesses. Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah Jetis Village, Bandungan District, Semarang Regency made its own election and selection. The community proposes several names of residents who are considered to meet the qualifications of a marriage witness. Then it is the leaders of Jam'yah Rifa'iyah who have the right to determine whether to be crowned as witnesses to the marriage. The number of wedding witnesses varies, on average there are 6. So these 6 people will be witnesses in the village. However, not infrequently these 6 witnesses are also invited to be wedding witnesses in other villages because there is still a family relationship between the bride and groom and the wedding witness (Rifan, 2010)

### **Dialectics of Pre-Marriage Tradition in the Rifa'iyah Congregation**

In Islamic law, the conditions for the validity of a marriage are conditions which, if fulfilled, then the entire contract law (marriage) is assigned to it. The first requirement is the lawfulness of a woman for her husband-to-be who will be her companion. That means, it is not permissible to marry a bridegroom whose status is muhrim for any reason, be it temporary or permanent (Uwaidah, 2006).

The scholars agree that a new marriage will be considered valid if a contract is carried out, which concerns the consent of the qobul between the woman who is proposed and the man who proposes to her or between parties who replace them such as representatives and guardians, and is considered not only based on likes and dislikes without any contract. (Mughniyah, 2011).

The scholars of the madhhab also agree that: having reason and being mature is a condition in marriage, unless it is carried out by the guardian of the bride and groom. It is also implied that the bride and groom must be released from circumstances that prevent them from marrying, both because of family relationships and other relationships, both permanent and temporary (Mughniyah, 2011).

If examined from the point of view of Usul Fiqh science, there is study of the book Tabyin al-Islah by Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah as a condition for the validity of marriage, it is included in the valid Urf' category, where human habits do not conflict with the propositions of Syara', do not justify what is forbidden and does not cancel the obligation.

The reason why Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah imposes a requirement to study the Tabyin al-Islah for prospective brides is to provide an understanding of marriage and the ins and outs of marriage. Because Jam'yah Rifa'iyah thinks that worship without knowledge will be in vain (rejected).

Apart from that, the repetition of the marriage or shihah tradition at that time was still being carried out. This is because the guardian of the judge and the prince during the K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i committed fraud and the princes only thought of their own interests in the name of religion for personal gain. Conditions like this, according to K.H.A. Rifa'i is very irrelevant in meeting the fair qualifications. Consequently, the marriage is considered invalid. Then shihah was initiated to overcome the invalidity of the nukah contract. It is hoped that the marriage will be valid.

The shihah tradition is not a must, K.H.A. Rifa'i in the book *Tabyin al-Islah* mentions ghalib qadhi (the majority of princes) which means that there are still princes who still adhere to the Shari'ah, but it is difficult to find.

Over time, there has been a shift in the understanding of Jama'ah Rifa'iyah. That the fatwa issued by K.H.A. Rifa'i is a legal product that is not binding on its followers forever. Even though the fatwa on the invalidity of the marriage contracted by the prince is considered a final decision. And petrified and frozen in the logic of thinking at Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah for some time. Pemahaman Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah mulai mengalami pergeseran setelah memasuki masa kemerdekaan. Pergeseran ini seiring berjalannya waktu mulai mulai ada kesadaran bahwa negara Indonesia ini meskipun bukanlah negara berasaskan islam namun bukanlah negara kafir. Umat islam di Indonesia bebas beribadah, , bebas dari tekanan orang kafir dan tidak dipaksa menjalankan maksiat oleh negara. Kondisi sosial-politik yang berubah mendorong perubahan kadar maslahat bagi bangsa ini. Bila Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah masih mempertahankan pandangan bahwa penghulu itu anak buah pemerintah kafir, maka hal ini tidak akan membawa maslahat, bagi Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah sendiri maupun bagi bangsa.

In the current era, most of the princes have a qualified educational background. Many of them come from the pesantren circles. Therefore, the marriage contract entered into by the prince is considered valid. It is this kind of shift that makes Jam'iah Rifa'iyah more modern and moderate. Even though Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah had not completely happened yet. In fact, the marriages that were entered into by the princes can still be counted on the fingers.

The shihah tradition is more aimed at tabarukan, hoping for blessings from the teacher. That's the first. Second, it is carried out within the framework of tajdid, renewing marriage. Third, within the framework of a marriage ceremony or beautifying a marriage. (Saifuddin, 2015)

## Conclusion

The pre-marital tradition in Rifa'iyah still continues to have a dialectic with the community with the obligation to study the *Tabyin al-Islah* book until khatam as a condition for marriage according to Rifa'iyah Jama'ah with the aim that the marriage will be eternal and happy. In the tradition of selecting witnesses, the qualifications for wedding witnesses in the *Tabyin al-Islah* book are careful and difficult to fulfill by an ordinary wedding witness. After Indonesia's independence, the repetition of marriage or the shihah tradition in Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah has experienced a shift because the princes have been ruled by non-pagan rulers, the princes are considered to have pious characteristics and most of the princes have a sufficiently qualified background in religious education. However, in Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah there are still those who still maintain the Shihah tradition with a different understanding during the time of KH. Ahmad Rifa'i.

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