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Endogamous Marriage of Prophet's Descendants on the Perspective of Sociology of Islamic Law

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Abstract:

This study aims to comprehensively describe the endogamous marriages of the Prophet Muhammad's descendants from the perspective of the sociology of Islamic law. The marriage mainly occurs in *syarifah* (the female descendants); they are required to marry the prospectives from *habib* (male descendants) groups only. Endogamous marriage will be explored holistically by clarifying the reciprocal relationship between social change and Islamic law among *syarifah*. This field research examines the enactment of the law in social life. It used a sociological Islamic law approach to reveal the facts

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about endogamous marriage in Bangil, East Java, Indonesia, because many of the Prophet's descendants live there. Data collection techniques were interviews and literature search, while the analysis technique used is Miles and Huberman's analytical procedure. After conducting in-depth research, a conclusion was found that endogamous marriage among *syarifah* in Bangil is a form of obedience to customs passed down across generations since their ancestors, namely the tradition of marrying someone of equal lineage. Endogamous marriages have been maintained to this day due to religious teachings, the spirit of protecting the Prophet's family, and the social conditions of those who support its preservation.

Keywords:

Endogamous; Islamic Law; Marriage; Sociological; Prophet's Descendants

Introduction

In Islam, marriage as a sacred agreement, worship to Allah, and a *sunna* of the Prophet is based on sincerity and responsibility.¹ It is carried out with the intention that humans have a legitimate family to achieve a happy life in this world and the hereafter.² In addition to the rules in Islam to help achieving this goal of marriage, there are other rules living in society, including not to marrying other people from different ethnicity or those out of the inner tribe. This rule is known as endogamous marriage.³

Endogamous marriage requires people to find a mate in their inner social environment, for example, in the same family line, social

¹ M. Anwar Nawawi et al., "Harmonization of Islam and Human Rights: Judges' Legal Arguments in Rejecting Child Marriage Dispensation in Sukadana, Indonesia," *Ijtihad : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 22, no. 1 (September 1, 2022): 126, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v22i1.117-134>.

² Aisyah Ayu Musyafah, "Perkawinan dalam Perspektif Filosofis Hukum Islam," *CREPIDO* 2, no. 2 (November 29, 2020): 111-22, <https://doi.org/10.14710/crepido.2.2.111-122>.

³ Muhammad Rizwan Safdar et al., "Socioeconomic Determinants of Caste-Based Endogamy: A Qualitative Study," *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies* 8, no. 2 (February 10, 2021): 39, <https://doi.org/10.29333/ejecs/697>.

class, or residential setting.⁴ Sunarto said that it is a marriage between ethnicity, clan, tribe, or kinship in the same environment. It is usually carried out to keep wealth circulating among themselves, strengthen the clan's defense from enemy attacks, maintain bloodline, or for other more exclusive motives.⁵

This form or system of endogamous marriage is adopted by several ethnic groups, tribes, or community clans in Indonesia; one of which is among *syarifah*. *Syarifah* refers to women descended from the Prophet Muhammad.⁶ They generally perform endogamous marriages based on ethnicity or clan of the Prophet. The purpose of this is to preserve the lineage of the Prophet as stated by research conducted by Fathur Rohman Azhari.⁷ It raises relevant questions on, for instance, whether an *ahwāl* (non-descendent of the Prophet) man can marry a *syarifah*. Aren't all humans equal before God? Isn't a noble person before Allah the most pious one? Some of the questions are worth mentioning because there are several assumptions that *syarifah* may not marry an *ahwāl* man in order to protect offspring. Meanwhile, A H Bittles conducted another study titled "Endogamy, Consanguinity and Community Genetics," which indicate that the purpose of endogamous marriage for women of Arab descent from the Ba'alwi group tends to be socially oriented toward traditional values and actions.⁸

Based on the literature review above, it is evident that previous research(es) on *syarifah*'s endogamous marriage mainly

⁴ Duwi Nuryani, Setiajid, and Puji Lestari, "Latar Belakang dan Dampak Perkawinan Endogami di Desa Sidigde Kabupaten Jepara," *Unnes Civic Education Journal* 1, no. 2 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.15294/ucej.v1i2.1011>.

⁵ Dewi Puspitasari Sari, "Kajian Fenomena Perkawinan Endogami di Kelurahan Condong Campur Kecamatan Pejawaran Kabupaten Banjarnegara," *E-Societas* 5, no. 5 (October 12, 2016), <https://journal.student.uny.ac.id/ojs/index.php/societas/article/view/4003>.

⁶ "Arti Kata Syarifah - Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) Online," accessed March 2, 2023, <https://kbbi.web.id/syarifah>.

⁷ Fathurrahman Azhari Zainal Muttaqien Sulaiman Kurdi, "Motivasi Perkawinan Endogami Pada Komunitas Alawiyyin dxi Martapura Kabupaten Banjar," *Muadalah* 1, no. 2 (February 14, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.18592/jsga.v1i2.677>.

⁸ A H Bittles, "Endogamy, Consanguinity and Community Genetics," *Journal of Genetics* 81, no. 3 (2002): 91–98, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02715905>.

concerned with the motivation and reasons beyond this type of marriage. This differs from what we have done in this present research because here, we also examine endogamous marriage among *syarifah* through sociological Islamic law approach. Therefore, the conclusions obtained are wished to describe social facts related to the practice not only from a legal standpoint but also from a societal standpoint or a practice that occurs. The next difference is that we chose Bangil as the place of research where many of the Prophet's descendants live there. Bangil is a city where *habībs* and *syarifahs*, who follow either Sunni or Shia sects,⁹ gather and often discuss Islamic issues in current phenomena. With so many *habībs* and *syarifahs* living in Bangil, it makes very much sense that social interaction among them is still maintained following the values inherited by their ancestors, let alone in the matter of marriage.

Therefore, the novelty side of this research is that the endogamous marriage of the Prophet's descendants is seen holistically, not only in terms of motivation and reasons beyond, but also the legal aspects and causes beyond *syarifah's* endogamous marriage along with the series of process. Furthermore, we also discuss impacts of endogamous marriage rule violation among *syarifah* then portray it using sociology of Islamic law through the explanation on the surrounding community's response to this type of marriage.

Method

This study was a field research. Data collection techniques used interviews and literature search (relevant scientific books and journals). The Informants consist of fifty people, including *habīb*, *syarifah*, religious leaders, traditional leaders, community leaders, and Bangil town residents. In determining informants, we used a purposive sampling technique to make the data more accurate and right on target. The criteria for informants were (1) those who understand the concept of *syarifah's* endogamy marriage; (2) those who have observed the series of endogamous *syarifah's* or *habīb's* wedding, and (3) those who live in the city of Bangil.

⁹ Habib Ahmad, Interview, 2022.

The approach used in this study is a sociological juridical approach because this is a legal study that looks at social reality.¹⁰ This approach is used to discover and describe facts related to the endogamy of *syarifah* marriage in Bangil. The data analysis techniques used various stages, including data reduction, presentation, and conclusion.¹¹ At the same time, the data validity technique used in this study is source triangulation, namely comparing data obtained from several sources or informants.¹²

Result and Discussion

***Kafā'ah* as The Main Reason for *Syarifah's* Endogamous Marriage at Bangil and its Stages of Process**

The goal of marriage will be easily achieved if the marriage is built on a solid foundation; one of which is the existence of *kafā'ah* between husband and wife.¹³ *Kafā'ah* means comfort, commensurate, and mate. It means that men and women who will form a household should get balanced in everything.¹⁴ Furthermore, it implies that a husband is equal to his wife, meaning that he has the same and proportional position as his wife regarding social, moral, and economic levels.¹⁵ Rusdaya Basri believes that *kafā'ah* in marriage is a factor that can encourage the happiness of the wedded couple and guarantee women's safety from failure or household turmoil. With

¹⁰ Muhammad Chairul Huda, *Metode Penelitian Hukum (Pendekatan Yuridis Sosiologis)* (Semarang: The Mahfud Ridwan Institute, 2022), <http://e-repository.perpus.iainsalatiga.ac.id/14262/>.

¹¹ Matthew B Miles and A. Michael Huberman, *Analisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Sumber tentang Metode-Metode Baru* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 2014).

¹² Lexy J Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2018).

¹³ Anwar Hafidzi, Rusdiyah Rusdiyah, and Nurdin Nurdin, "Arranged Marriage: Adjusting Kafa'ah Can Reduce Trafficking of Women," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 5, no. 2 November (November 30, 2020): 180, <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v5i2.1991>.

¹⁴ "Arti Kata Kafaah - Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) Online," accessed March 3, 2023, <https://kbbi.web.id/kafaah>.

¹⁵ Imam Subchi, "Kafa'ah among the Hadrami Arabs in the Malay World (Anthropology of Law Approach)," *Jurnal Cita Hukum* 8, no. 2 (August 1, 2020): 417, <https://doi.org/10.15408/jch.v8i2.16574>.

more equal positions of men with women, the successful husband and wife's life is increasingly secure and more maintained from any loss.¹⁶

Apart from it, *kafā'ah* is not a condition for marriage,¹⁷ although the marriage guardian (*walī*) may reject the proposal of a man who is not equal (*kufū'*) to his daughter. According to the stronger opinion, *kafā'ah* only applies to matters of faith and religion, such as Muslims and infidels or pious and evil people. In this case, the scholars differ on whether *kafā'ah* is one of the legal requirements in marriage. The first opinion puts *kafā'ah* as not a legal requirement in marriage. It is the opinion of most scholars; among them are Abu Hanifah, Malik, and As-Syafi'i. They argue that *kafā'ah* is considered very important in the continuation of a marriage, although it is not one of its legal requirements. The second opinion assumes that *kafā'ah* is a legal condition of marriage. This is according to Imam Ahmad, Ats-Tsauri, and some *Hanafiyyah* scholars.¹⁸

The term *kafā'ah* is also known among the *syarifah* in Bangil Pasuruan. *Habā'ib*, a plural word of *ḥabīb*, like to make this lineage factor to determine particular criteria in seeing someone worthy to accompany their daughter in the future. This eligibility is a benchmark for whether or not the person is compatible with *syarifah*. In implementing the *kafā'ah* concept among *syarifah* in Bangil, Pasuruan, some *syarifah*(s) have argued that it is included in the pillars of marriage. Some said that *kafā'ah* is only limited to the validity of the marriage although mostly, *syarifah* agree to have *kafā'ah* for the reason beyond this type of marriage. The results of the following interviews strengthen this.

Syarifah Hindun said as follows:

¹⁶ Rusdaya Basri, *Fiqh Munakahat: 4 Mazhab Dan Kebijakan Pemerintah* (Parepare: CV. Kafaah Learnig Center, 2019), 64.

¹⁷ Syukron Mahbub, "Menakar Kafa'ah (Praktek Perkawinan Kyai Di Madura)," *Jurnal Al-Ihkam* 6, no. 2 (2011): 233. <http://ejournal.iainmadura.ac.id/index.php/alihkam/article/view/311>

¹⁸ Nadiyah Nadiyah, Norlaila Norlaila, and Anwar Hafidzi, "Does Kafa'ah Apply To The Descendants Of The Prophet Muhammad. Examine The Concept Of Kafaah Towards The Alawites In Martapura, Banjar," *JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC AND LAW STUDIES* 5, no. 2 (January 12, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.18592/jils.v5i3.5985>.

"We are responsible for protecting our descendants' lineage so that it continues with the origin of the Prophet Muhammad. If we marry ahwāl, our children will no longer be related to the Prophet Muhammad".¹⁹

Accordingly, Habīb Muhammad said so:

"Endogamous marriages among syarifah are not only at Bangil but worldwide; Syarifah can only marry habīb. Every habīb who wants to propose to marry a syarifah will be tested first to see if his lineage status is valid through the Rabiṭah 'Alawiyah (institution for the registrar of the Prophet Muhammad's lineage in Indonesia). If the habīb status has been proven genuine, there will be the discussion about marriage. The purpose of this endogamous marriage is to maintain the sanctity of the origin of our children and grandchildren so that it continues in its lineage with the Prophet Muhammad SAW."

20

Based on the two interview results above, it can be seen that the reason for endogamous marriage among *syarifah* is to keep the lineage in the Prophet Muhammad's line. *Syarifah* is deemed only in the same league as *habīb*, and there is already legal standing for this type of marriage. According to Islamic law, marriage is valid if it meets the requirements and pillars.²¹ However, other rules require the concept of *kafā'ah* or the equivalence between males and females in various matters. In this context, there are mainly two consequences for breaking the rule. *First*, a *syarifah* is considered to destroy or break the lineage of the Prophet's descendants and *second*, there is generally

¹⁹ Syarifah Hindun, Interview, 2022.

²⁰ Habib Muhammad Bin Yahya, Interview, 2022.

²¹ Dri Santoso et al., "Harmony of Religion and Culture: Fiqh Munākahat Perspective on the Gayo Marriage Custom," *Ijtihad : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 22, no. 2 (December 5, 2022): 202, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v22i2.199-218>.

no blessing from the guardian when a *syarifah* marries a man outside *habīb* circle.²²

In a broader context, the concept of *kafā'ah* is found in the descendants of the *Alawiyyīn* and other groups, such as the descendants of the sultanate, Kiagus, Kemas, and Raden; they do not allow marriage with other than them because their bloodline will be cut off.²³ If a daughter married a commoner, she would lose royal blood, and they would not be recognized as part of a noble family. Likewise, the descendants of the *Alawiyyīn* are very careful about their family. Although some consider *kafā'ah* to be a must (*luzūm al-'aqdi*); there is an opportunity to choose (*khiyār*) among fellow *Alawiyyīn* as well as to either maintain or ignore the privilege for having endogamous marriage when the *kafā'ah* in lineage can't be fulfilled.²⁴

Endogamous marriages carried out by *syarifah* in the city of Bangil have several stages, almost the same as the stages of marriage in general. The differences are only in terms of steps, not the substance. An example of this difference is in the long series of the *syarifah* endogamous wedding procession compared to the general one which is more straightforward and concise. The cause of this long march of the endogamous *syarifah* marriage is claimed as a form of practicing Islamic teachings as a whole. The results of following interview describe it well;

Marriage is worship, and everyone should go through all the process perfectly. It ranges from looking for a prospective wife;

²² Nurul Fattah, "Hukum Pernikahan Syarifah Dengan Laki-Laki Nonsayyid: Perspektif Jam'Iyyah Rabithah Alawiyyah Yogyakarta," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 6, no. 2 (February 5, 2021): 129–44.

²³ Rusmini Rusmini et al., "Hadrami's Leadership in Islamizing Jambi: Managerial Psychology Perspective," *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, no. 1 (December 31, 2023): 2203550, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2203550>.

²⁴ Rahmat Pulungan, "TRADISI MERASI DALAM ADAT PERKAWINAN MELAYU RIAU (STUDI ANALISIS TERHADAP PENENTUAN KAFAAH CALON PENGANTIN DI KELURAHAN BAGAN BATU)," *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic & Social Studies* 2, no. 2 (December 20, 2016): 179, https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v2i2.188.

*you must follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. In the following stages, you must still follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. The wedding reception must also follow the instructions of the Prophet Muhammad"*²⁵

Those principles of marriage are still held by the families of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad when marrying off their sons and daughters. Meanwhile, the stages of endogamous *syarifah* marriage have ten steps as shown in Figure 1 below.

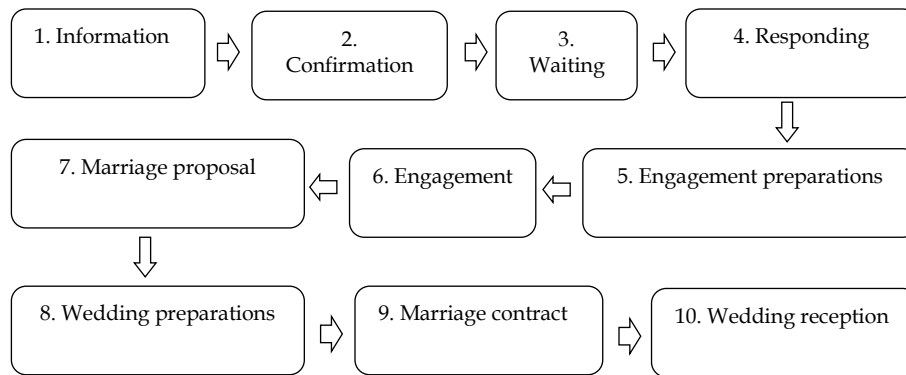


Figure 1. Stages of *Syarifah's* Endogamous Marriage Process

Based on Figure 1 above, it can be known that *syarifah* endogamous marriage has 10 stages.

The *first* is a visit to the prospective wife's parents' home to inquire about their daughter's status and let them know that a man is interested in marrying her. *Second*, when it is known that the girl is available, the intermediary and the prospective groom, along with his parents and relatives, visit the residence of the future wife aiming to propose her.

Third, for four to seven days, the prospective husband waits for an answer from the prospective wife. On the sidelines of these four to seven days, the future wife's parents investigate the situation as well as the morals of their son in law to be.

²⁵ Habib Soleh, Interview, 2022.

Fourth, the prospective wife's family provides answers to the intermediary to be conveyed to the prospective husband's family. *Fifth*, if the proposal is accepted, both parties set the engagement date. *Sixth*, both parties carry out the engagement but the prospective husband is not allowed to participate in the event. Parents of prospective husband bring offerings such as coffee, sugar, chocolate, flowers. They also bring a ring to put at the finger of their son's future wife. Additionally, the date of the marriage proposal was determined at this stage.

Seventh, at the marriage proposal ceremony, the prospective husband's family (also without the presence of the prospective husband) makes another visit bringing a set of jewelry tools, make-up tools, toiletries, cloth, sandals, bags, and money as present to the future wife.²⁶ According to Habib Soleh, this aims to foster a sense of mutual love.²⁷

Eighth, pre-wedding preparation is held which begins with seclusion; the prospective wife is not allowed to meet the future husband. On the night before, at bride's home, they hold a *burdahān* (reading the Prophet's *ṣalāwāt*) which is attended by the bride's friends.

Ninth, the wedding ceremony is carried out, namely the marriage contract (*'aqd an-nikāh* or *ijāb qabūl*). Before the marriage contract declaration, there held a wedding sermon by reciting verses from the holy Quran.

Tenth, at night, the peak event arrives, namely, a wedding reception attended specifically for Muslim guests. Until now, the stages above are still held firmly and carried out by the *habāib* and *syarifah* in the marriage process. Following the predetermined stages is considered a form of obedience and following the Sharia brought by the Prophet Muhammad.²⁸

²⁶ Muhammad Khusna Amal and Nawirah Ali Hajjaj, "Pernikahan Nasbiyah Sayyid Dan Syarifah (Studi Living Hadits Di Kampung Arab, Kademangan, Bondowoso)," *Al-Manar: Jurnal Kajian Alquran Dan Hadis* 7, no. 1 (November 4, 2021): 23, <https://doi.org/10.35719/amn.v7i1.5>.

²⁷ Habib Soleh, Interview, 2022.

²⁸ Habib Ridho Baraqbah, Interview, 2022.

The Impact of Endogamous Marriage Violation among the Prophet's Descendants at Bangil City

The marriage of a *syarifah* with a *habīb* as a fellow descendant of the Prophet is not a debate. However, *syarifah* marriage with *ahwāl* or so-called exogamy leads to different opinions. The first opinion thinks that a *syarifah* is prohibited from marrying any *ahwāl*. It belongs to the majority and is supported by many *habībs*, including Habīb Idrus (a prominent *habīb* in Bangil). Habīb Idrus's opinion was based on the view of Mufti Tarim Sayyid 'Abdurrahmán bin Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin Husein Al-Masyhūr in the book of *Bughiyyatul Mustarsyidin* as follows: "I do not see the permissibility of marriage (between *syarifah* and *ahwāl*) even though she and her guardian are pleased with this matter. The glory of lineage should not be contaminated, and every close or distant relative has the right to the descendants of Fatimah Az-Zahra; that is the pleasure of what she is doing".²⁹

The prohibition of exogamous marriage is mainly because assumption that the two are not equal. Most of the descendants of the Prophet are relatively strong in maintaining their traditions. They tend to marry fellow descendants of the Prophet. However, it is common for *habīb* to marry '*ajami*' women. It has happened many times, and there is no debate over legal issues. However, even though this marriage did not cause a break in lineage because the child's line was still related to their father, some of the *habā'ib* did not want to attend the wedding reception of this type of marriage. According to them, the marriage is not equal because the *habīb* is supposed to marry *syarifah* instead of *ahwāl*.³⁰ Meanwhile, if a *syarifah* marries an *ahwāl*, there will be a lot of debate and conflict because the child will be cut off (not considered anymore) as a descendant of the Prophet. Therefore, *syarifah* tend to maintain cross-generational traditions, especially among their own descendants.

The second opinion says that a *syarifah* is allowed to marry an *ahwāl*. This is considered weak because most scholars think that

²⁹ Sayyid Abdurrahman bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Husein Al-Masyur, *Bughiyyatul Mustarsyidin* (Kediri: PP Hidayah at-Thullab, 1995), 132.

³⁰ Habīb Idrus, Interview, 2022.

kafā'ah is also found in lineages.³¹ Only a few *ḥabīb* follow the second opinion. One of them who is Habib Hasan whose idea is as follows:

*There is no difference between ḥabīb and syarīfah with ahwāl/'ajam people. All humans before Allah are equal, except for their piety. Therefore, differences in lineage, clan, education, and property will not be a problem in marriage between fellow Muslims because no one can guarantee that the marriage of a fellow ḥabīb syarīfah will bring blessings to the marriage afterward.*³²

Based on the interview results above, the presence of *riḍa* (willingness or blessing) and approval for exogamous marriage is an absolute requirement because *kafā'ah* is the right of the *syarīfah* and her guardian. It means that if they agree to waive their rights (by not requiring *kafā'ah*), there will be no problem. However, if they reject the proposal of the prospective husband and demand that there should be *kafā'ah* in this account, the marriage will not take place.

Several *syarīfah* groups are known to marry *ahwāl* due to contamination or the influence of cultural trends on the pretext of human rights and gender equality. Another reason is educational and socio-economic factors. For *syarīfah* who choose this, it was seen as not maintaining the traditions that already existed in her group. Moreover, this differs from men from the *ḥabā'ib* circle in which they are free to choose partners outside their community because kinship relations are still attached to the man (father) whomever they marry to.

Apart of it, the violation of endogamous marriage rule in *syarīfah* gives psychological and sociological impacts.³³ The

³¹ Abdurrahman Al-Juzairi, *Al-Fiqh 'Alá al-Mazāhib al-Arba'ah*, 4 (Bairut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiah, 2000), 732; Hafsa Pirzada, "Understanding the Divergences: The Legal Implications of Divergence between Law and Culture," in *Islam, Culture, and Marriage Consent: Hanafi Jurisprudence and the Pashtun Context*, ed. Hafsa Pirzada (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 227–65, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-97251-6_8.

³² Habib Hasan, Interview, 2022.

³³ Fahmi Ridlol Uyun, "Perkawinan Endogamy Bagi Syarifah Perspektif Sosiologis Dan Maqashid Syari'ah (Study Kasus: Adat Perkawinan Endogamy Di

psychological impact that *syarifah* feels is discomfort along with other sociological implications. This is clear from the interview result below:

*The impact of syarifah marriage to ahwāl is that her children would lose the hereditary lines. She would also be exiled from the family because she was not recognized as a family with the lineage of Muhammad pbuh anymore. She was even considered to have cut off kinship relations, so they did not reach the Messenger of Allah hereditarily.*³⁴

The interview result shows that once the *syarifah* violates the marriage tradition, she would be ostracized by her extended family and relatives. A *ḥabīb* even said that there is not even the most effective medicine as an antidote to the pain caused by insulting the pride of the family whose daughter violated this tradition. Violation of this rule is deemed as tarnishing her family's dignity at most. It can be said that there is nothing more valuable to protect *ḥabīb-syarifah*'s extended family in this world other than maintaining the tradition of endogamous marriage.³⁵

The violation impacts of the endogamous marriage among *syarifah* can be clearly seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The Comparison of Sociological and Psychological Effects of Endogamous Marriage Violation on *Syarifah*

No	Aspects	Sociological Effects	Psychological Effects
1	<i>Syarifah's</i> status	Will be lost and no longer recognized	Feeling inferior and uncomfortable
2	The <i>nasab</i> (lineage)	Children from the marriage cannot be hereditarily linked to Prophet	Feeling inferior as losing <i>ḥabīb</i> or <i>syarifah's</i> status

Kampung Arab Kelurahan Kademangan Bondowoso),” *IJLL: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Law* 1, no. 2 (August 26, 2019): 1–15.

³⁴ Habib Zahir, Interview, 2022.

³⁵ Dewi Ulya Rifqiyati, “Dinamika Perkawinan Endogami pada Keturunan Arab di Yogyakarta,” *Khuluqiyya: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Dan Studi Islam* 2, no. 1 (January 29, 2020): 25–44, <https://doi.org/10.56593/khuluqiyya.v2i1.38>.

3	Muhammad Will be excommunicated from the family	Self-esteem and dignity have been damaged and tarnished
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Table 1 above shows that *syarifah* will endure both sociologically and psychologically impacts for breaking endogamous marriage rule. The same thing happened among *syarifahs* in other cities, not only in Bangil. The results of the interviews reinforce this:

*My aunt married an ahwāl and as a result, our extended family ostracized her. Actually, this punishment also occurs in other areas.*³⁶

To maintain endogamous marriage tradition and anticipate its violation, Prophet's descendants in Bangil form groups or communities among their fellows to strengthen kinship and find a mate for their children. This is through undertaking an *arisan* (regular social gathering) for *syarifah*(s) or Qur'anic recitation activities and religious issue discussion for *habib*. Particularly in this modern era, this Prophet's descendent community tries not to be collapsed so that their tradition of endogamous marriage can be well maintained.³⁷

Endogamous Marriage of Prophet's Descendants on Sociological Islamic Law Perspective

Equality or *kafā'ah*, especially in the case of marriage, has a powerful binding force on *syarifah*. *Syarifah* is not said to be equal to her spouse if she marries *ahwāl*. For them, implementing this principle of *kafā'ah* is not deemed as discriminating between one Muslim and another, but protecting their family from 'shame' in their inner circle. Regarding *maqāsid ash-Syarī'ah*, this marriage prohibition contains

³⁶ Syarifah Rahmah, Interview, 2022.

³⁷ Aribowo and Almasitoh, "Disparity of the Arabic Name: The Spotlight on Children of Endogamous and Exogamous Marriages among Hadrami-Arabs in Indonesia." *Arabiyat: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Arab dan Kebahasaaraban* 6, no. 1 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.15408/a.v6i1.9384>

maslāhat, namely maintaining offspring (*hifzu an-nasal*).³⁸ The stipulation of such equality in this marriage should be responded wisely and responsibly so that the principle of *kafā'ah* in lineage can bring benefits while building a household.³⁹

The majority of *syarifah* agree with endogamous marriage on the basis that equality in the lineage is fundamental because it is a part of preserving efforts of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. *Kafā'ah* will minimize the potential for quarrels and conflict in the family.⁴⁰ The results of this following interview reinforce this data.

*In judging something, when differences of opinion are found among the scholars, then it is better to follow the idea of most scholars. In endogamous marriages, the most potent argument of many Islamic scholars supports it. The legal basis is also clear which leads to the concept of kafā'ah.*⁴¹

Meanwhile, groups that disagree with endogamous marriage argue that *kafā'ah* is not required for a legal marriage. *Kafā'ah* is a right that belongs to a *syarifah* and her guardian, so they may choose whether to fulfill it or not. The results of other interviews strengthen this data.

*Kafā'ah is a right, not an obligation. If the guardian and syarifah want to accept ahwāl as her husband, then the marriage is considered valid because the terms and pillars of marriage have been fulfilled.*⁴²

For more details, the response to this sort of exogamous marriage of *syarifah* is shown by Table 2 below:

³⁸ Haya Zabidi and Rifky Noor, "Tinjauan Maqasid Asy-Syari'Ah Asy-Syatibi Terhadap Larangan Perkawinan Syarifah Dengan Laki-Laki Non Sayyid," *Syariah Darussalam: Jurnal Ilmiah Kesyarifan Dan Sosial Masyarakat* 5, no. 1 (January 9, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.58791/sydrs.v5i1.101>.

³⁹ Said Syaripuddin and Andi Banna, "Kafa'ah Nasab Sebagai Syarat Utama Bagi Pernikahan Wanita Syarifah Di Kecamatan Lau," *Al-Tafaqquh: Journal of Islamic Law* 3, no. 2 (July 31, 2022): 73–87, <https://doi.org/10.33096/altafaqquh.v3i2.171>.

⁴⁰ Syarifah Umi Kulsum, Interview, 2022.

⁴¹ Habib Muhammad Bin Tohir, Interview, 2022.

⁴² Syarifah Maiymunah, Interview, 2022.

Table 2. The Response of *Syarifah* 's Marriage with *Ahwál*

No	The Response	Explanation
1	Total Rejection	This group wholly rejects <i>syarifah</i> 's marriage to <i>ahwál</i> . <i>Kafā'ah</i> is believed as requirement for a valid marriage, including in the context of lineage.
2	Allowing with Conditions	This group does not entirely reject <i>syarifah</i> 's marriage with <i>ahwál</i> on condition that the guardian and her family do not dispute the marriage. <i>Kafā'ah</i> is believed as a right belonging to the <i>syarifah</i> and her guardian. ⁴³

Table 2 shows that the internal rule among the prophet's descendants has become a distinct social phenomenon where marriage, in the view of society in general, is allowed with anyone in terms of religion and ceremonial law. Nevertheless, a *syarifah* woman is different as apparent and firmly embedded in their everyday social and cultural life.. The Prophet's descendant community turns to still hold firmly to the sacredness and existence of the endogamous marriage rule due to the effort to maintain lineage. They give the best effort to maintain the marriage pattern using the selection of a future spouse through the system they believe in and use since their ancestors. This type of marriage is therefore an agreement influenced by culture, daily social life, and especially beliefs which are the primary basis for the existence of their community.⁴⁴

According to Sayyid Alwi, *kafā'ah* for *syarifah* is obligatory. He even said that no one is equal (*kufū'*) with the descendants of *Sayyidah* Fatimah except for the Hasyim clan. Sayyid Alwi also revealed that their daughter (*syarifah*) must marry their son (*ḥabīb*). It is in line with

⁴³Imam Syafi'i, "Konsep Kafaah dan Keluarga Sakinah (Studi Analisis Tentang Korelasi Hak Kafa'ah terhadap Pembentukan Keluarga Sakinah)." *Asy-Syari'ah: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 6, no. 1 (2020): 31–48. <https://doi.org/10.55210/assyariah.v6i1.266>

⁴⁴ Abd Asis, "Pola Perkawinan Islam Alawiyyin Di Kabupaten Maros," *Gema Kampus IISIP YAPIS Biak* 12, no. 2 (October 30, 2017): 74–80, <https://doi.org/10.52049/gemakampus.v12i2.46>.

opinion of *Rabīṭah 'Alawiyyah* that the Alawiy family carries out the basic implementation of *kafā'ah* exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad pbuh when marrying his daughter Fatimah to Ali bin Abi Talib. This certainly excluded some of the Prophet's daughters who did not marry into the Hasyim clan.⁴⁵ Based on the hadith when the Prophet married his daughter to Ali, there should be no more opposition or rejection of *syarifah's* endogamous marriage. However, some still question the legal standing of this endogamous marriage because some of the Prophet's daughters did not marry to the Hasyim clan's descendant. Therefore, some people from the *habá'ib* community disagree or reject endogamous marriage's necessity.

On the contrary, there are several reasons why *syarifah* generally accept the endogamous marriage. Most of them live or are in the environment of the *Alawiyyin* family group; they can indirectly understand and accept endogamous marriages. The pattern of religious education coming from internal families, especially parents who teach and ensure that endogamous marriage becomes a tradition that should neither be omitted nor violated, also matters. External influences, such as fellow relatives and friends, continue to educate and support the strength of endogamous marriages. Respect for parents and close relatives makes them reluctant to violate the rule. The result of another interview reinforces this;

*Family, relatives, and friends of syarifah play an important role in instilling the noble value that they always protect the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad so that it does not break. An explanation about the importance of protecting lineage must be conveyed frequently, so it sticks in the heart of syarifah.*⁴⁶

Accordingly, based on informants' information, those who reject endogamous marriage have several causes.

⁴⁵ Mustika Sari Wulandari et al., "Cucu Nabi Muhammad Menikah dengan Orang Makassar : Studi Pernikahan Perempuan Islam Sayyid di Cikoang, Takalar," *Jurnal Tamaddun: Jurnal Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam* 7, no. 2 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.24235/tamaddun.v7i2.5499>.

⁴⁶ Syarifah Barsiyah, Interview, 2022.

Firstly, the pattern of settlement or residence is scattered and not settled in the *Alawiyyīn* community. *Second*, being influenced by modern Westernized education.

Third, lack of socialization or teaching about the values of marriage from the family, especially parents. *Fourth*, there is less external influence, especially from the *Alawiyyīn* study center institution which routinely provides education through social media and other activities related to the development of the *Alawiyyīn* family, especially for the younger generation.

The results of these following interviews reinforce the following data.

*Syarifah, who is married ahwāl, usually has minimal religious knowledge and is influenced by modern Westernized education. The essential religion and teachings of the Alawiyyīn ancestors were not firmly entrenched in her heart, so she was easily influenced by the currents of modern thought.*⁴⁷

*Gatherings among syarifah are significant for transferring religious knowledge, especially marriage knowledge and kafa'ah issue. One of the reasons why syarifah dares to marry ahwāl is because of the wrong association; syarifah rarely associates with fellow syarifah and the habīb community. Instead, they associate a lot with modern society which promotes freedom in marriage.*⁴⁸

Those who reject the internal rules in *Alawiyyīn* typically use the argument of al-Hujurāt: 13. They believe that clan matters are crucial, but the Quran and Hadith exemplify that the quality of a servant is not measured by his/her lineage, but rather by his/her piety and deeds.⁴⁹ The verse states so:

إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ

⁴⁷ Barsiyah, Interview, 2022.

⁴⁸ Bin Tohir, Interview, 2022.

⁴⁹ Abu Yazid Adnan Quthny and Ahmad Muzakki, "Urgensi Nasab Dalam Islam Dan Silsilah Nasab Habaib Di Indonesia," *Asy-Syari'ah: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 7, no. 2 (June 25, 2021): 131–51, <https://doi.org/10.55210/assyah.v7i2.592>.

"Indeed, the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you"

They furthermore argue that *kafā'ah* is only in religion, not in descent matters, so it is permissible to marry someone who is not out of *habā'ib* circle. The following hadith of the Prophet also reinforces this opinion.

إِذَا خَطَبَ إِلَيْكُمْ مَنْ تَرْضَوْنَ دِينَهُ وَخُلُقَهُ فَرَوْجُوهُ، إِلَّا تَفْعَلُوا تَكُنْ فِتْنَةٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ
وَفَسَادٌ عَرِضٌ

When someone comes to you who can accept his religion and morals (to marry your daughter), then marry him (to your daughter). Because if it is not done, it will become slander on Earth and become severe damage (Hadith by Tirmidzi).⁵⁰

The following interview result strengthened the Quranic verse above;

*I agree that the barometer of kafā'ah is only in faith and piety. The measure of a person's quality is not in his lineage, but rather in his faith and piety. So what is more appropriate is that a syarifah may marry an ahwāl; the important thing is that the ahwāl has faith and fear in Allah. In addition, the marriage must obtain the consent of both parents. The parents' blessing is essential so that the marriage can be blessed.*⁵¹

The data above implies that *syarifah*'s endogamous marriage in Bangil is not entirely accepted by *syarifah* themselves. Some *syarifah*(s) disapprove this type of marriage. To find out the reasons for accepting or rejecting endogamous marriage, see Table 3 below.

Table 3. Reasons for Accepting or Rejecting Endogamous Marriage for the Descendants of the Prophet in Bangil

⁵⁰ Muhammad bin Isa bin Saurah At-Tirmizi, *Al-Jami' as-Sahih Sunan at-Tirmizi*, 3 (Bairut: Dar Ihya' at-Turas al-Arabii, 1997), 394.

⁵¹ Rahmah, Interview, 2022

No	Aspect	Reason for Receiving	Reason for Rejecting
1	Community	<i>Syarifah</i> lives in the community of <i>Alawiyyin</i> family groups.	<i>Syarifah</i> does not live in the <i>Alawiyyin</i> community and gets a modern education then prioritizes exogamous marriage.
2	Education	Religious education from parents who teach endogamous marriage as a tradition	<i>Syarifah</i> lacks of education, socialization, and support from her family about endogamous marriage
3	Friendship	The influence of relatives and friends to maintain endogamous marriages	<i>Syarifah</i> was influenced by the opinion of her friends who believed that the measure of a servant's quality is not measured by lineage
4	Respect and obedience	Respect for parents and close relatives	<i>Syarifah</i> does not respect her parents and relatives.

Table 3 shows that there are four factors related to the reasons for *syarifah* to either accept or reject endogamous marriage, namely (1) the surrounding community factor, (2) the education factor, (3) the friendship factor, and (4) the respect and obedience factor. However, it is known that most of *syarifah* follow the internal rules of endogamous marriage as shown in the following interview result:

*Endogamous marriage rule breaker number is no more than ten percent of total. Sometimes, these violations occur due to ignorance that in religion, a syarifah is required to marry equals, so that the lineage of their children is maintained.*⁵²

⁵² Baraqbah, Interview. 2022

Most *habib* also support and adhere to this internal rule. The regulations of endogamous marriage profoundly impact Muslim society in general. This is because it provides certainty and clarity to the descendants of the Prophet so that the Muslim community, in general, will more easily recognize and glorify the descendants of the Prophet.

Conclusion

Endogamous marriages among the Prophet Muhammad's descendants aim to preserve and maintain the lineage. Most *habibs* prohibit *syarifah* from marrying non-*sayyids* because they are deemed not equal. They argued that the type of marriage would cut off the genealogy connecting to the Prophet. However, and interestingly, if a *habib* or *sayyid* marries an *ahwāl* or non-*syarifah*, the continuation of Prophet's genealogy will not be interrupted because the genealogy will flow the father's line; this could be one of suggestion for further research in the future. It is also known that sanction for *syarifah*'s law breaking is mainly for prevention and security so they do not violate the rules. Another limitation of this study is that it only analyzes one object of study, so it does not provide comprehensive insights into *syarifah* endogamous marriage in a broader locus, including studying gender equality and women's emancipation. Other than that, a wise solution is needed to maintain women's rights to marry if *syarifah*, for instance, does not find a fiancé from *habib* circle.

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