

Reaffirming Javanese Patriarchy: Gender Roles and Cultural Identity in K.H. Bisri Musthafa's *Tafsīr al-Ibrīz*

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Abstract: This research examines the intersection between Qur'anic interpretation and Javanese culture, focusing on K.H. Bisri Musthafa's *Tafsīr al-Ibrīz*, a commentary written in Javanese using *pegon* script. The study employs an in-depth analytical approach, addressing two key aspects: the representation of verses concerning gender relations (men and women), and the dynamic interplay between the interpreter's perspective and the Javanese cultural framework. As a library-based study, this research adopts a descriptive-analytical method, utilizing hermeneutic theory to analyze the triad of text, interpreter, and socio-cultural context. The findings reveal that *al-Ibrīz* positions men as the leaders of the household, asserting their authority over women, who are expected to submit to male guardianship. The commentary emphasizes biological determinism: men are portrayed as physically strong and resilient, thus assigned the role of providers and protectors, while women are associated with gentleness and confined to domestic spheres—summarized in the Javanese culture as *macak* (grooming), *masak* (cooking), and *manak* (childbearing). Additionally, the interpretation highlights women's reproductive functions, including menstruation, menopause, and breastfeeding obligations. The analysis confirms a cultural-textual synergy: the interpreter's model aligns with traditional Javanese patriarchy, where men dominate household governance, and women occupy a subordinate position.

Keywords: Tafsir al-Ibrīz, relations between men and women, Javanese culture, affirmation of identity

Abstrak: Penelitian ini membahas hubungan tafsir Al-Qur'an dengan budaya lokal (Jawa). Penelitian akan menggunakan karya K.H Bisri Musthafa yakni tafsir *al-Ibrīz* yang menggunakan bahasa Jawa dengan huruf Arab *pegon*. Untuk mencapai analisis yang mendalam, penelitian akan menekankan pada representasi ayat-ayat tentang relasi laki-laki dan perempuan dan analisa model inter-relasi penafsir dengan konteks budaya Jawa. Jenis penelitian ini adalah *library research* dengan pendekatan deskriptif-analitis. Analisis data dilakukan dengan teori hermeneutika hubungan antara teks, penafsir, dan lingkungannya. Hasil penelitian

menunjukkan bahwa dalam tafsir *al-Ibrīz* laki-laki adalah penguasa rumah tangga. Derajat laki-laki dalam rumah tangga lebih tinggi dibandingkan perempuan, sehingga kedudukan perempuan berada di bawah kekuasaan laki-laki harus patuh kepada laki-laki. Laki-laki juga memiliki ciri biologis yang kuat dan tangguh, sehingga laki-laki bertugas mencari nafkah dan melindungi keluarganya. Sebaliknya, perempuan cenderung bersifat lemah lembut sehingga tugasnya hanya di dalam rumah yakni *macak*, *masak*, dan *manak*. Perempuan juga memiliki kodrat reproduksi yakni mengalami masa *menstruasi*, *menopause*, dan berkewajiban menyusui anak-anaknya. Model hubungan antara penafsir *al-Ibrīz* dengan konteks budaya Jawa adalah meneguhkan budaya Jawa yang menempatkan laki-laki sebagai penguasa dalam rumah tangga dan perempuan sebagai pihak yang dikuasai.

Kata Kunci: Tafsir *al-Ibrīz*, relasi laki-laki dan perempuan, budaya Jawa, peneguhan identitas



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INTRODUCTION

The interpretation of the Qur'an in Indonesia has evolved, as evidenced by the diverse range of exegetical works produced, each reflecting the interpreters' unique perspectives. The interpreters' inclinations are manifested in their choice of language, methodology, and interpretive style. The commentaries authored by Indonesian scholars are distinctive, deeply shaped by their socio-cultural context.¹ These locally nuanced interpretations take form in regional languages and scripts. Linguistic diversity is apparent in the use of translations in Indonesian regional languages such as Sundanese, Bugis, and Javanese, while script variations include *pegon* and Latin writing systems.

The writing of Al-Qur'an commentaries in Indonesia has also experienced developments in various ways. *First*, the socio-political-based interpretation of the Qur'an. The work of this interpretation is *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd wa 'Abd ar-Rauf as-Sinkilī*. *Second*, the interpretation of the Qur'an that was born from the social environment of the pesantren (Kraton), namely the *Book of Al-Qur'an Tarjamah Jawi Language* by Raden Muhammad Adnan and the interpretation of *Al-Balagh* by Kiai Imam Ghazali.² *Third*, local interpretation with a variety of local languages and scripts, namely Tafsir *Rauḍātul 'Irf ān fī Ma'rifatil Qur' ānis*, the work of Kiai Ahmad Sanusi, who shows the *pegon* edition of the Sundanese interpretation. The Bugis script can be seen in AG's work.³ HM Yunus Martan (d. 1986 M) entitled *Tafsir Al-Qur'an al-Karim bi al-Lughah al-Bugisiyyah*, *Tafsese Akorang Bettuwang Speaks Ogi*. In addition, in the

¹ Fejrian Yazdajird Iwanebel, "Mystical Patterns in the Interpretation of KH Bisri Mustafa (Analytical Study of Tafsir al-Ibrīz)," *Rasail Journal* 1 (2014): 2

² Islah Gusmian, *Treasures of Indonesian Al-Qur'an Interpretation from Hermeneutics, Discourse to Ideology*, Third (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Salwa, 2021).

³ Gusmian, 3.

environment of Coastal Java and Islamic boarding schools, interpretations of the Javanese pegon script, namely interpretation, are also *growing Iklil fi Ma'ānī al-Tanzīl* by K.H Misbah Zainul Mustofa and tafsir *al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'ān al-'Aziz* by KH Bisri Musthafa.⁴

Tafsir *al-Ibriz* by K.H Bisri Musthafa was born with a style that is influenced by the interpreter's scientific background as Kyai of a traditionalist pesantren.⁵ Writing interpretations in *pegon* Javanese is a form of cultural strategy for interpreters and interpreters. This cultural strategy aims to facilitate Islamic teaching, and socio-political expression, reinforce traditional Islamic thought patterns, and efforts to preserve Javanese Islamic cultural identity. Tafsir *al-Ibriz* also shows the hierarchy of a work of interpretation in the sociocultural context of Javanese society.

The presentation in *al-Ibriz's* interpretation shows local cultural identity, which can be seen from the meaning of the verses of the Al-Qur'an that use the Javanese pegon script.⁶ Another characteristic is the existence of a traditional context in the meaning of the verses of the Qur'an with regional (Javanese) nuances because it was written and intended for the Javanese Muslim community and Islamic boarding schools. The traditional nuances of the Javanese people create politeness and harmony, which also fill the space for meaning in *al-Ibriz's* interpretation.⁷

So far, research on the interpretation of *al-Ibriz* has developed from research on the background of writing and elements of local wisdom in it.⁸ Subsequent research has a connection with the locality of *al-Ibriz's* interpretation in the form of the use of local language, symbols, and Javanese cultural traditions.⁹ A different study of *al-Ibriz's* interpretation, namely gender relations through the meaning of Q.S an-Nisā' (4): 34 concerning the position of men and women.¹⁰ Gender relations can also be seen from the interpretation of K.H Bisri Musthafa, who explained the division of inheritance between men and women.¹¹

This research focuses on the relationship between the interpretation of the Qur'an and Javanese culture. The research also aims to strengthen previous research that *al-Ibriz's* interpretation affirms Javanese cultural identity. In this regard, the

⁴ Al Fikri Irsyad, "Speciality and Diversity of Languages in Local Interpretation in Indonesia," *Journal of Faith and Spirituality* 1 (2021): 3.

⁵ Alfin Nuri Azriani, "Inter Relations of the Qur'an and Javanese Culture in Tafsir *al-Ibriz* by Bisri Mustofa," *Digilib UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya*, 2020, 6.

⁶ Abu Rokhmad, "A Study of the Characteristics of Arab Interpretation-Pegon *al-Ibriz*," *Analysis* 18 (3 June 2011): 7, <https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v18i1.122>.

⁷ Abdul Rouf, "Al-Qur'an in History (Discourse Around the History of Al-Qur'an Interpretation)," *Al Amin: Journal of Islamic Studies and Culture* 3 (2020): 2.

⁸ Audi Yuni Mabururi, "Local Wisdom in the Book of *al-Ibriz li Ma'rifah Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-'Aziz* by KH. Bisri Mustofa," *Repository UIN Satu*, 2018, 17, <http://repo.uinsatu.ac.id/11252/>.

⁹ Izzul Fahmi, "Locality of the Book of Tafsir *al-Ibriz* by KH. Bisri Mustofa," *Islamika Inside: Journal of Islam and Humanities* 5, no. 1 (7 June 2019): 19, <https://doi.org/10.35719/islamikainside.v5i1.36>.

¹⁰ Mayola Andika, "Reinterpretation of Gender Verses in Understanding Male and Female Relations (Contextual Study of Q.S an-Nisā' Verse 34)," *Harkat Journal: Gender Communication Media* 14, no. 1 (January 22, 2019): 95.

¹¹ Faiqoh, "Bisri Mustofa's Interpretation of Verses about Women in the Book of Tafsir *al-Ibriz*" (Thesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2013), 35–36, <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/7662/>.

researcher sees that there have not been many studies on the pattern of relations between men and women in the context of Javanese culture through the lens of Al-Qur'an interpretation. The study of gender relations in the household becomes interesting when associated with Islamic studies. This relationship develops to form reflections and values on Javanese society, which are socially and culturally constructed.¹²

This research is important because today, in a new formalistic and radical understanding of religion, contextual understanding through the representation of the verses of the Qur'an in *al-Ibriz's* interpretation is urgently needed. Contextual understanding of the relationship between the interpretation of the Qur'an and Javanese culture regarding the suitability of the roles of men and women will create a social and cultural reconstruction of Javanese society. Therefore, research on the confirmation of Javanese cultural identity regarding the relationship between men and women in the household according to *al-Ibriz's* interpretation in this study is important to do.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a library research type through a descriptive-analytical approach with qualitative data in the form of words (writing), not numbers. The data source in this study is the interpretation of *al-Ibriz* on verses on the relationship between men and women in the household. This study is library research with data sources in the form of primary and secondary data. The primary data in the study is the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an on the relationship between men and women in the household, totaling 13 verses, namely Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 222, 228, 233, and 282; Q.S an-Nisā' (4): 1, 11, and 34; Q.S al-Aḥzāb (33): 33 and 59; Q.S an-Nūr (24): 31 and 60; Q.S at-Talāq (65): 4; and Q.S Luqmān (31): 14. The secondary data used are books, e-books, journals, and other relevant literature, both in the form of theories and methods that specifically analyze the object of this research.

The data used in this study will be collected in stages: (1) Searching for verses of the Qur'an on the relationship between men and women in the household; (2) Reading in depth the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an on the relationship between men and women in the household; (3) Sorting research data, namely the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an on the relationship between men and women in the household. The research data is analyzed in the following stages: (1) Finding conclusions about the meaning of the verses of the Qur'an on the relationship between men and women in the household; (2) Finding an analysis of the meaning of the verses of the Qur'an on the relationship between men and women in Javanese culture through the hermeneutic theory of the relationship between texts, interpreters, and their environment; and (3) Drawing conclusions from general to specific matters from the

¹² Andik Wahyun Muqoyyidin, "Discourse on Gender Equality: Contemporary Islamic Thoughts on the Islamic Feminism Movement," *Al-Ulum Journal (Journal of Islamic Studies)* IAIN Gorontalo 13 (2013): 19.

meaning of the verses of the Qur'an regarding the relationship between men and women in the household.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

K.H Bisri Musthafa and the Book of Tafsir *al-Ibrîz*

K.H Bisri Musthafa was born with the small name Mashadi, in the village of Pesawahan, Alley Palen, Rembang, Central Java, in 1915 AD, or coinciding with 1334 H. K.H Bisri Musthafa spent his life for *chandhak kulak* (learning while teaching). At the age of adulthood, K.H Bisri Musthafa founded a boarding school called *Rauḍatut Tālibîn*. In Boarding school K.H Bisri Musthafa began teaching and creating works by writing books and religious scriptures. It is recorded that there are around 176 books written by K.H Bisri Musthafa, including the book of interpretation *al-Ibrîz lima'rifati Tafsîr al-Qur'an*.

The background for writing the book of interpretations of *al-Ibrîz* is that it started with the recitation activities conducted by K.H Bisri Musthafa every Tuesday and Friday. In the *muqaddimah* section of the book of *al-Ibrîz*, a description of the source of the writing of *al-Ibrîz's* interpretation is also included, namely quoting the commentary of al-Manar by Muhammad Abduh and Rasyid Ridho, the commentary *Fî Zilâlil Al-Qur'an* by Sayyid Qutb, *Tafsiral-Javâhir* by Tanthawi Jawhari, the book *Mayaza Al-Qur'an* by Abu Su'ud, and the book *Mahāsîn al-Ta'wil* by Al-Qasimi.¹³

The presentation of the interpretation of *al-Ibrîz's* interpretation is quite simple because it originates from the interpretations of *bi al-ma'tsûr* and *bi al-ra'y*, both using references to the Qur'an, Prophetic Hadith, *atsar* of Companions, as well as *isrâiliyyât*. K.H Bisri Musthafa also sometimes quotes the *qoul* of his friends. Tafsir *al-Ibrîz* was first printed by Menara Kudus in several editions. The early edition of *al-Ibrîz's* Tafsir consists of three volumes (each volume consists of 10 chapters). The writing system used by K.H Bisri Musthafa in *al-Ibrîz's* interpretation is systematic *muṣāfi*. The interpretation in *al-Ibrîz* is written verse by verse or from letter to letter, sometimes by explaining *mufradât* hisif deemed necessary. K.H Bisri Musthafa explains the name of the letter, the number of verses, the place where the letter was revealed (*makiyyāh* or *madaniyyāh*), and the verse number in each interpretation, and sometimes puts the word at the end of the interpretation. The translation in *al-Ibrîz* interpretation is also equipped with notes through the signs, namely *Tanbîh*, *Faidāh*, *Muhimmāh*, and *Qissāh*.

K.H Bisri Musthafa refers to the *tahlili* method, which is known through K.H Bisri Musthafa's expression that all the verses of the Al-Qur'an he wrote are by rasm guidelines *'ustmāni* and use sources of interpretation from classic commentary books. Therefore, the interpretation of *al-Ibrîz* is called the interpretation *Tahlilî Ijmālî al-Wājiz*.¹⁴ On the other hand, in interpreting the Qur'an, K.H Bisri Musthafa does not lead to the use of one style that is specific and absolute. The interpretation in *al-Ibrîz's*

¹³ Lilik Faiqoh, "Javanese Cultural Interpretation: Study of the Interpretation of Luqman's Letter according to KH. Bisri Musthofa," *Kalam* 10, no. 1 (30 June 2016): 7, <https://doi.org/10.24042/klm.v10i1.160>.

¹⁴ Imtyas, "Tafsir *al-Ibrîz li Ma'rifat* Tafsîr al-Qur'ân al-'Azîz by KH Bisri Mustafa," 6.

interpretation also tends to explain the required verses in a general, proportional manner and is rarely accompanied by a lengthy analysis.¹⁵

Tafsir *al-Ibriz* has several advantages, namely, 1) For readers who can read and interpret the book of *gandhul* it will be easy to understand the contents of *al-Ibriz*'s interpretation, 2) The language in *al-Ibriz*'s interpretation is effective and close to the community, and 3) A lot of special information is used to support the explanation of the interpretation. As for the shortcomings of *al-Ibriz*'s interpretation, among others, 1) It is limited, or can only be understood by people who can speak Javanese), 2) It does not include a translation of the interpretation into Indonesian, and 3) Rarely does the pure opinion of K.H Bisri Musthafa be presented so that the interpretation *al-Ibriz* looks like a translation only.¹⁶

Verses of Male and Female Relations

Tafsir *al-Ibriz* mentions verses about the position of men and women in the household. Based on a search in the book *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li alfadz Al-Qur'an* and literature on major themes in the Qur'an, Verses about the relationship between men and women in the household include, Q.S an-Nisā'(4): 34 concerning men who dominate the household; 2) Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 228 concerning men who are one degree above women; 3) Q.S an-Nisā'(4): 1 concerning the origin of the creation of women; 4) Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 282 and Q.S an-Nisā'(4): 11 concerning the expression "two to one" between men and women; 5) Q.S al-Aḥzāb (33): 33 concerning women who must remain at home; 6) Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 222, Q.S an-Nūr (24): 60 and Q.S at-Talāq (65): 4 regarding the biological activity of women; 7) Q.S Luqmān (31): 14 and Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 233 concerning the nature of female reproduction; and 8) Q.S al-Aḥzāb (33): 59 and Q.S an-Nūr (24): 31 regarding the headscarf.

Relations between Men and Women in Local Culture (Javanese) according to KH Bisri Mustafa in Tafsir *al-Ibriz*

In Q.S an-Nisā'(4): 34, K.H Bisri Musthafa states the position of men through his expression, *utawi piro-piro wong lanang iku nguwasani ing ngatase wong wadon-wadon*.¹⁷ This expression shows the Javanese cultural identity that men are the rulers of the household. Men who have this power are related to the biological condition of men who are stated to be stronger and tougher, so they can carry out big and heavy tasks. Q.S an-Nisā'(4): 34 also mentions that *qawwāmūna* shows men who are reflected based on the characteristics of *al-qawwāmah* that are perfect in reason and religion.¹⁸

The power of men in the household is then related to K.H Bisri Musthafa's explanation in Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 228 namely, *lan iku keduwe wong-wong lanang ing*

¹⁵ Sholikhah, "Fiqh Views of KH Bisri Mustafa in Tafsir *al-Ibriz* (Study of Verses of Worship)," 59.

¹⁶ Suparni, Suparni, "Bisri Mustafa's Interpretation of the *Muqatha'ah* Letters in Tafsir *al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz*," 59.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 210.

¹⁸ Najib Amrullah et. al., "Men are Leaders for Women (Study of Thematic Interpretation of the perspective of Mutawalli Al-Sya'rawi in Tafsir Al-Sya'rawi)," *Al-Tadabbur: Journal of Al-Qur'an Science and Tafsir*, tt, 12, <https://doi.org/10.30868/at.v6i01.1336>.

ngatase muthollaqot utawi tingkatan.¹⁹ The meaning of K.H Bisri Musthafa in this verse implies that the position of men in the household is one degree above women because men have advantages. In Zubaidi's article entitled *Understanding Misogyny in the Qur'an: (Analysis of Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sya'rawi's Method of Interpretation)*, when it is related to Arabic culture, the advantages possessed by men are an excess of reason, determination, strong faith, and physical strength. Abu Hanifah further explained that men also have advantages because they play a role in *hudud*, *dam*, *qishash*, marriage guardian, giving divorce, expressing reconciliation, the right to polygamy, responsibility for themselves, children, wives, and property, and giving dowry.²⁰

Darwin and Tukiran (2001) described the position and role of men side by side with women, in the writings of *Gender Roles in Javanese Culture*, that the ideal male figure in the imagination of the Javanese people is the sacred *lelaning jagad*, namely a handsome man who always wins in all fields. Men also show portraits of *benggol* (money) and *bonggol* (sexual virility). In addition, women are described as equal to *bondo* (treasure), *griyo* (palace), *turonggo* (vehicle), *kukilo* (bird or pet), and *pusoko* (weapon, supernatural powers).²¹

Men, through their traits and characteristics, show implications related to Javanese cultural identity that in the household, men have to protect, provide for, and prosper their families. The task of men is to give tendencies to women, so that the characteristics of women are the opposite of men. Women tend to be sensitive, patient, and gentle, so women have enough duties at home.²² In connection with this position, Javanese culture mentions women's advice not to leave the house. This recommendation is explained in Q.S al-Ahzab (33): 33, *lan tetepono siro kabeh ing ndalem omah-omah iro kabeh. Lan ojo podo ngideng siro kabeh. Koyo olehe podo ngideng perempuan Jahiliyyah kang dingin*.²³ K.H Bisri Musthafa, in this verse, gives advice as well as a warning for women in general, not only for the wives of the Prophet, that women should minimize their activities outside the home. Women are required to keep active in the house and are obliged to obey the orders of men (husbands).²⁴

Quoting Naili Fauziah's article entitled *Women's Rights in Surat al-Aḥzāb verse 33: A Hermeneutic Approach*, according to the commentary of the Ministry of Religion, Q.S al-Aḥzāb (59): 33, informs that:

¹⁹ Mustafa, "Tafsir al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz bi-Lughah al-Jawiyah," 1960, 84–85.

²⁰ Zubaidi, "Understanding of Misogyny Verses in the Qur'an: (Analysis of Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sya'rawi's Method of Interpretation)," Yudisia: Journal of Islamic Law and Legal Thought 12 (2021): 6.

²¹ Qurotul Uyun, "Gender Roles in Javanese Culture," Psychology 13 (tt): 8, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308705147_Peran_Gender_dalam_Budaya_Jawa.

²² Erviena, "Women's Leadership in the Qur'an: Reinterpretation of M. Quraish Shihab's Thoughts on the Concept of al-Qawwamah with the perspective of Qir'ah Mubadalah," E-Thesis Institut PTIQ Jakarta, 2021, 77.

²³ Mustafa, "Tafsir al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz bi-Lughah al-Jawiyah," 1960, 1456.

²⁴ Faiqoh, "Bisri Mustofa's Interpretation of Verses about Women in the Book of Tafsir al-Ibriz," 41.

Women's place is at home; they are not freed from work outside the home, except that they are always at home quietly and respectfully, so that they can carry out household obligations. Meanwhile, if they need to go out, then they are allowed to leave the house with the condition that they pay attention to the aspect of self-purity and maintain a sense of shame (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2012: 77).²⁵

M. Quraish Shihab also gives meaning to the verse, but it does not lie in whether or not there is a woman's right to work, but implies that Islam does not encourage women to leave the house except for very necessary jobs. Conditions will be different, for example, the family's economy can be said to be less than adequate, so women are not mistaken if they work to help meet their needs and their families.²⁶

The position of women who must be in the house is related to the origins of their creation. These origins were disclosed by K.H Bisri Musthafa in Q.S an-Nisā' (4): 1, *he eling-eling manungso podo wedio siro kabeh ing Pangeran iro kabeh kang nitahaken iyo Alladzi ing siro kabeh saking awak-awakkan (Adam) kang siji. Lan nitahaken iyo Allah saking nafsin, ing bojone nafsin lan ambeber iyo Allah saking karone Adam Hawa ing piro-piro wong lanang kang akeh, lan piro-piro wong wadon.*²⁷ The interpretation of K.H Bisri Musthafa shows that the first human being created by Allah Swt. was Adam (the first male). After that, Allah Swt. created Hawa (the first woman). Hawa was created from Adam's rib. Aside from the meaning of K.H Bisri Musthafa, most of the commentators understand the verse that God created man from the *nafs wahidah*. *Nafs wahidah* is interpreted as a single self, namely Adam, then Hawa (Adam's wife), created from him.²⁸

Women's duties are limited in the house and are supported by the origins of creation, then states that women are subordinated (lower position). Subordination to women is explained according to Dede Wiliam de Vries and Nurul Sutarti (2006) in Lilis Karwati's article entitled *Rejecting Gender Subordination based on the Importance of the Role of Women in National Development Towards the 2035 Demographic Bonus*, that positioning women from the male point of view creates a gap where women's position is considered not important. Women's subordination almost makes women in the household worthless.²⁹

In Qurotul Uyun's article entitled *Gender Roles in Javanese Culture*, subordination to women is expressed through the statement that women, according to their roles, are labeled as indicating Javanese cultural identity.³⁰ Women (wives) in the household are

²⁵ Naili Fauziah, "Women's Rights in Surat al-Aḥzāb verse 33: A Hermeneutic Approach," *El-Tarbawi: Journal of Islamic Education* 10 (2017): 12, <https://doi.org/10.20885/tarbawi.vol10.iss2.art5>.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁷ Mustafa, "Tafsir al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz bi-Lughah al-Jawiyah," 1960, 197.

²⁸ Nasaruddin Umar et. al., *Understanding of Islam and Challenges to Gender Justice*. Cet. 1. Yogyakarta, [Semarang]: Gama Media; Center for Gender Studies (PSJ) IAIN Walisonggo, 2002, 162–65.

²⁹ Lilis Karwati, "Rejecting Gender Subordination based on the Important Role of Women in National Development Ahead of the 2035 Demographic Bonus," *PLS Scientific Scholars Journal* 5 (December 2020): 3.

³⁰ Uyun, "Gender Roles in Javanese Culture," 7.

male *konco wingking* (back friends). Women as *konco wingking* cannot be separated from domestic affairs (behind), namely *macak* (dressing up), *masak* (cooking), and *manak* (giving birth) or being in the *dapur*, *sumur*, and *kasur*. In addition, women (wives) are *suwarga nunut neraka kathut* is interpreted that women's obedience to men will get heaven or hell. *Suwarga nunut neraka kathut* is also related to women who are expected to be able to emulate *priyayi* women, namely gentle, loyal, obedient, patient, and so on.³¹

According to Javanese custom, women are also required to have feelings of *wedi and bekti ing laki* (fear of and devotion to their husbands). In Serat Centhini, three things that must be remembered by women in the household are *gemi* (thrifty), *wedi* (fear), and *gumati* (affection) for their husbands and children. As a form of respect for the wife towards her husband, the wife is prohibited from disclosing her husband's secrets and disgrace (*aja miyak ing wewadine wong kakung*). Wives are also required to accompany their husbands, as in the terms *yen awan dadi theklek, yen bengi dadi melek* (a woman wears shoes during the day while sleeping at night).³²

Quoting Bodley's expression in an article entitled *Konco Wingking from Time to Time*, in a cultural value, the idea of the role of women is seen in stages, namely from the perspective of expectations, values, and society. In this perspective, the nature of women is formed and influenced by various discourses, including religion, and local and global culture. These dimensions through nature are contextualized, and women believe that *konco wingking* has an impact on the way women play their roles in the household.³³

Women who have to stay at home are also related to the biological activity experienced by women, namely menstruation. K.H Bisri Musthafa described women who found menstruation in Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 222, *dawuhe siro Muhammad utawi haid iku reged, mongko podo yingkriho siro kabeh ing piro-piro wong wadon ing dalan nalikane haid lan ojo podo marek-marek siro kabeh ing wong nisa*'.³⁴ The verse explains that the *menstrual* period is a time when the discharge of blood is dirty, unpleasant, unpleasant to look at, and causes pain to women.

In terms of biology, *menstruation* is a reproductive cycle that marks a woman who has entered her fertile period and the functioning of the female reproductive organs. *Menstruation* marks the sexual maturity of a woman in that a woman's egg (*ovum*), which is ready to be fertilized, begins the process of preparing a woman's body for

³¹ Permatasari, "Communication and Perceptions of Women's Leadership in Javanese Society (The Role of Communication as Forming Perceptions of Women's Leadership in Javanese Society)," 9.

³² Maulana, *Konco Wingking from Time to Time* (Yogyakarta: Diva Press (IKAPI Member), 2021), 96, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/350546570_Konco_Wingking_dari_Waktu_ke_Waktu/link/6065aa70299bf1252e1d86ea/download.

³³ *Ibid.*, 105.

³⁴ Mustafa, "Tafsir al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz bi-Lughah al-Jawiyah," 1960, 82–83.

pregnancy.³⁵ Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 222 also emphasizes the Javanese cultural context regarding the importance of men's involvement in *menstruating* women. This affirmation for men is intended so that men have empathy and naturally support women. If this cannot be done, then the reproductive cycle will potentially hinder women from their domestic and public duties.³⁶

Another biological activity of women is experiencing *menopause*. *Menopause* experienced by women is explained in Q.S an-Nūr (24): 60 and Q.S at-Talāq (65): 4 through the expression of K.H Bisri Musthafa, *utawi wong kang lungguh saking wong-wong wadon kang ora ngarepaken iyo allati ing nikah*,³⁷ *wong wadon muthollaqot kang wus podo luwas saking haid*.³⁸ *Menopause* is biologically defined as the absence of *menstrual* periods for 12 months due to the inactivity of the egg follicles. It becomes a transitional period from the reproductive period to the non-reproductive period.³⁹ *Menopause* experienced by women is related to their role in managing household life. *Menopause* signifies that women will no longer be able to have children. Therefore, menopause can indirectly create a decline in the role of women in carrying out their domestic duties.

Furthermore, women also experience the nature of reproduction. K.H Bisri Musthafa revealed the reproductive nature of women in his commentary on Q.S al-Luqmān (31): 14, *lan wasiat ingsun ing manungso kelawan wong tuwo lorone iyo al-Insan ngandut ing iyo al-Insan sopo ibune iyo al-Insan*.⁴⁰ The verse states that the reproductive nature of a woman is to experience pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding, which, of course, is not experienced by men. Women of this nature are equipped with self-characteristics in the form of compassion, fortitude, and patience. As is known, the period of a woman's pregnancy is not an easy time, but a tiring period. In Q.S al-Luqmān (31): 14 through the verses of *hamalathu ummuhū wahnān 'alā wahnin*, it is described that the period of pregnancy is a period of hardship for a mother. The period of childbirth is an event that risks the lives and the safety of the mother and the baby. Allah promises the same reward as the *martyrs*, because of the very noble nature of women.

Women also must breastfeed as explained by K.H Bisri Musthafa through the interpretation of Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 233, *utawi piro-piro wong wadon iku nusoni sopo walidat ing piro-piro anakke walidat ing ndalem mongso rong taun kang sampurno karone tumeraping wong kang ngarepake iyo man ing yen to nyampurnoaken iyo man*

³⁵ Nurdeni Dahri, "Women's Reproduction in an Islamic perspective (Review of Menstruation, Nifas and Istihadhah)," *Marwah: Journal of Women, Religion and Gender* 11, no. 2 (November 2, 2012): 3–4, <https://doi.org/10.24014/marwah.v11i2.504>.

³⁶ Nafisatul Mu'awwanah, "Gender Analysis of Reproductive Verses of Women in the Qur'an," *Ijouds: Indonesia Journal of Gender Studies* 2 (yy): 3–4.

³⁷ Musthafa, "Tafsir al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz bi-Lughah al-Jawiyah," 1960, 1163.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2088.

³⁹ chumSyayfi, "Awra of Menopausal Women (Comparative Study of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion's Translation of the Qur'an and Muhammad Thalib's Tafsiriyah Translation)," *PTIQ Repository*, 2021, 49.

⁴⁰ Mustafa, "Tafsir al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz bi-Lughah al-Jawiyah," 1960, 1409.

ing suson lan iku wajib ingatase bapakke bocah.⁴¹ About breastfeeding, citing Hidayatullah Ismail's article entitled *Shari'a Breastfeeding from the perspective of the Qur'an*, Imam Ibn Kathir stated that women (mothers) should breastfeed their children for two years.⁴² Breastfeeding is the duty of every mother to her baby. Breastfeeding is giving breast milk to babies to meet their food needs at a young age. In addition to these benefits, breastfeeding also builds the baby's immune system, which creates an inner bond between mother and child, can protect the mother from dangerous diseases, and can reduce the mother's excessive weight.⁴³

About these natures, Javanese culture emphasizes that men (husbands) still fulfill obligations towards their wives and give their wives various goodness to prepare for the growth and development of the fetus they contain. The woman's reproductive responsibility must involve the man (husband), for example, during the period when the wife is breastfeeding. In this case, the husband is obliged to provide alimony to his wife related to breast milk to then give it to his child.⁴⁴ Women who experience biological activity and reproductive nature are associated with the context of maintaining a woman's body image. This is associated with the importance of completely covering the genitals for women. The interests of women in covering their genitals, one of which concerns the existence of the headscarf for women.

The discussion on the headscarf is written in K.H Bisri Musthafa in Q.S al-Aḥzāb (33): 59, *lan wadon-wadonne kang mukmin. Mongko mesti ngelingake bojo iyo azwajih wabinatuka wa nisa' al-mukminun ingatase iyo azwajik wabinatuka wa nisa' al-mukminun saking piro-piro melaya iyo azwajik wabinatuka wa nisa' al-mukminun*.⁴⁵ The meaning of K.H Bisri Musthafa is that Muslim women are required to wear a headscarf to cover their genitals. According to Q.S al-Aḥzāb (33): 59, the headscarf is an arrangement for women. In this regard, there are two views, *first*, the verse was revealed regarding the appearance of women outside the home, and *second*, this stipulation applies to all Muslim women, not just the wives of the Prophet Muhammad. in ancient times. If analyzed through the legal side, an interpretation is found that expands the meaning of the headscarf. *First*, the headscarf is connected with the "law of clothing" in that the headscarf is a term for the clothes (covering the genitals) worn by women outside the home, and *secondly*, the Qur'an has stipulated that the headscarf for women is an obligation.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Mustafa, "Tafsir al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz bi-Lughah al-Jawiyah," 1960, 87–88.

⁴² Hidayatullah Ismail, "Shari'a on Breastfeeding in the Qur'an (Study of Surah al-Baqarah Verse 233)," *At-Tibyan Journal: Journal of Qur'anic Studies and Interpretation* 3, no. 1 (9 August 2018): 8, <https://doi.org/10.32505/tibyan.v3i1.478>.

⁴³ Ratna Dewi, "The Concept of Women's Reproductive Health in the Qur'an," *Mawa'izh: Journal of Dakwah and Social Human Development*, December 2019, 16, <https://doi.org/10.32923/maw.v10i2.920>.

⁴⁴ Mu'awwanah, "Gender Analysis of Reproductive Verses of Women in the Qur'an," 13.

⁴⁵ Mustafa, "Tafsir al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz bi-Lughah al-Jawiyah," 1960, 1476.

⁴⁶ Barbara Freyer Stowasser, *Gender Reinterpretation: Women in the Qur'an, Hadith, and Interpretation*, 1 ed. (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 2001), 230–31.

The headscarf worn by women is recommended to cover the neck and chest. Through the expression of K.H Bisri Musthafa in Q.S an-Nūr (24): 31, *lan podo ngrekso iyo mukminat lan parji-parjine iyo mukminat lan ojo ngadepake iyo mukminat lan ojo ngadepake iyo mukminat ing perhiasanne iyo mukminat. Kajaba barang kang dzohir iyo ma*.⁴⁷ K.H Bisri Musthafa's interpretation of this verse is related to the previous verse, which contains three main contents, namely the command to restrain the eyes and genitals, the command to be *khumur*, and the prohibition to reveal jewelry.⁴⁸

Based on these three contents, K.H Bisri Musthafa, through his Javanese cultural identity, prohibits women from doing *tabarruj* (excessive facial decoration). Women are also prohibited from wearing clothes that make them look beautiful in front of *ajnabi* (foreign) men, including immodest clothes (thin and tight). In connection with this prohibition, the order to extend the headscarf so that it covers the neck and chest is recommended for women who have reached puberty (adults), for the good of women.⁴⁹

These two verses lead to the purpose of wearing the veil against the Shari'a. The headscarf, in terms of Sharia, aims to mean that a woman who wears the headscarf is not limited to understanding that wearing the headscarf is good and it is her duty, but she must also be aware that the headscarf is part of protecting herself (her honor). A hijab that can cover a woman's nakedness (body shape) perfectly leads to the goal of glorifying and saving women.⁵⁰ This goal leads to religious hope for inner and outer peace in women and other people who look at them.⁵¹ Based on an analysis of the relationship between men and women in the household, K.H Bisri Musthafa, on the other hand, stated that women have roles outside of their domestic duties. The role of women is mentioned in Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 282 and Q.S an-Nisā' (4): 11. These two verses describe women's role in witnessing and inheritance.

Women have the right to testify through the meaning of K.H Bisri Musthafa in Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 282, *lan naksikno siro kabeh ing saksi loro saking piro-piro wong lanang iro kabeh mongko lamun ora ono iyo syahidaini iku lanang loro saking lanang siji lan wadon loro saking wong kang ridlo siro kabeh ing man piro-piro saksi kerono yen to lali sopo salah sawijine imroataini saking biso ngelingake sopo salah sawijine imroatan*.⁵² This meaning is understood textually K.H Bisri Musthafa, in Javanese culture, places men and women in a ratio of *two to one*. As stipulated, the parties who become witnesses are a man or two men, or can be replaced by two women (which is just and following *riḍo*). Determination of two female witnesses to replace one male witness, on the basis that if one female witness forgets, the other female witness can remind her.

⁴⁷ Mustafa, "Tafsir *al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz bi-Lughah al-Jawiyah*," 1960, 1143.

⁴⁸ Sharifah Ilmi, "Moral Education Contained in Surah an-Nur verses 30-31," ETD IAIN Padang Sidempuan, 2013, 65.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 67.

⁵⁰ Abu Syuqqah and Abdul Halim, *Women's Freedom*. Cet. 1. Jakarta: Echoes of Human Press, 1997.275-76.

⁵¹ Hidayat, "The Hijab Perspective of the Qur'an (Comparative Study of Tafsir *fī Zilāl al-Qur'an* by Sayyid Quṭb and Tafsir *al-Misbah* by M. Quraish Shihab)," 49-52.

⁵² Mustafa, "Tafsir *al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Aziz bi-Lughah al-Jawiyah*," 1960, 115.

Concerning the meaning of K.H Bisri Musthafa, this is supported by the *ijtihad* views of classical scholars, such as Muhammad Abduh and Rasyid Ridla, that the necessity of two female witnesses as substitutes for a man is not due to weak minds, but because women have little knowledge about religion (*mu'amalah*).⁵³

Q.S al-Baqarah verse 282 also reveals the guidance of Allah Swt. to His people who do *mu'amalah*, not in cash (debt), then they must record it. In giving testimony against the writing of these debts, one should also return to the meaning of Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 282, that two independent people must testify. These two people are two male witnesses; if there are none, then it may be one man or two women.⁵⁴ As for Q.S an-Nisā' (4): 11, it contains the expression of K.H Bisri Musthafa, *ngutus ing siro kabeh sopo Allah ing ndalem piro-piro anak iro kabeh kaduwe wong lanang utowo padane bagihane wong wadon loro*. K.H Bisri Musthafa's statement also emphasized the Javanese culture that, in terms of inheritance distribution, the female inheritance share is half that of the male portion.

In addition, Mishbah Mustafa gave the same comment that the distribution of inheritance between men and women is a *two-to-one* formula. Misbah Mustafa's understanding is that men are considered to have bigger and heavier obligations. Therefore, it is natural that men get more shares than women.⁵⁵ In the same vein, Sayyid Qutb also gave the meaning of this provision, because it has become a balance and justice in Islamic law. Men as leaders are responsible for meeting all the needs of their families. As for a woman, she only bears herself; she is not obliged to support her family.⁵⁶

K.H Bisri Musthafa's Interrelation Model as an Interpreter with the Local Culture (Javanese) context in Tafsir *al-Ibriz*

K.H Bisri Musthafa's interrelationship model is analyzed through the hermeneutic theory of the relationship between text, context, and interpreter. Through this relationship, the steps of understanding are carried out namely: associating the meaning *lafaz-lafaz* which characterizes Javanese cultural identity in the verses of the relationship between men and women (according to the subjectivity of the interpreter) with the interpreter's socio-cultural environment through Javanese cultural values regarding domestic life which have become a hereditary tradition.

Q.S an-Nisā' (4): 34 and Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 228 mention the words that characterize Javanese culture, namely "*qowwmūna*" and "*walirrijāli 'alaihinna darajah*". Through these words, K.H Bisri Mustafa stated that men are the rulers of the household. In Javanese culture, men as rulers are indeed related to their main duties

⁵³ Nasaruddin Umar et. al., Understanding Islam and Challenges to Gender Justice, 68–70.

⁵⁴ Zamzami, "Women's Testimony in the Qur'an (A Review of Opinions of Mufasssir)," Repository UIN Suska, 81, 49, http://repository.uin-suska.ac.id/217/1/2011_201110.pdf.

⁵⁵ Reza Pratama Aunillah, "Women's Rights in Tafsir *al-Ibriz* and Tafsir *Tāj al-Muslimin*," Jurnal Suhuf, December 2018, 17–18, <https://doi.org/10.22548/shf.v11i2.359>.

⁵⁶ Shukri Syamaun, "The Concept of Equality in Al-Qur'an Discourse (Relationship of Men's and Women's Rights and Obligations)," Journal of Al-Bayan: Media Studies and Development of Da'wah Science 22, no. 2 (27 December 2016): 5, <https://doi.org/10.22373/albayan.v22i34.882>.

as heads of the family. This meaning refers to the assumption of the advantages (*fadhal*) possessed by men.

Men with their advantages are supported by their degree, which is indeed above women in Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 228. Men have a physical shape and stronger and tougher traits that are considered capable of carrying out heavy and large tasks. Therefore, men have the responsibility of earning a living, being a protector, and providing for the welfare of their families.⁵⁷ Javanese culture also emphasizes that men have a position above women in Q.S an-Nisā' (4): 34 and Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 228, related to the origin of the creation of women in Q.S an-Nisā' (4): 1 K.H Bisri Musthafa, in this verse, mentions the meaning of the words that characterize Javanese culture, namely, "*wākhidatiw wakholaqo minhā zaujahā wabatha minhumā*" that woman was created from the rib of a man (Adam). A woman (Hawa) is the second creature created after a man (Adam).

These origins are related to K.H Bisri Musthafa through the Javanese cultural identity that women with traits that tend to be weak, gentle, patient, and sensitive are positioned as those who are controlled or as *konco wingking*. Women as *konco wingking* carry out household duties, namely *macak*, *masak*, *manak*, or are in the *dapur*, *kasur*, *sumur*. Women also have advantages related to their reproductive nature that men do not have, namely experiencing *menstruation* (Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 222), *menopause* or the cessation of *menstruation* (Q.S an-Nūr (24): 60 and Q.S at-Talāq (65): 4), experiencing pregnancy (Q.S Luqmān (31): 14), giving birth and breastfeeding their children (Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 233).⁵⁸

The verses about the reproductive nature of women show the words that characterize Javanese culture, namely "*qulhuwa aẓ an fa 'tazilun nisā'i fil maḥid, wal qawā'idu minannisā'il lātī lā yarjūna nikāhan*" and "*wawaṣṣoinal insāna biwālidaiḥ, hamalathu ummuhū, walwālidātu yurḍi'na*". Through these recitations, in Javanese society, women with their reproductive nature are certainly equipped with qualities such as compassion, fortitude, and patience. As you know, pregnancy is a tiring period. Likewise, the period of giving birth is a difficult event, because it risks the life between the safety of both the mother and the baby. Women also breastfeed their children, which is recommended for two years. These verses also state that Javanese culture emphasizes that men in the household have empathy and support women who are going through the reproductive cycle. If this cannot be done, then the reproductive cycle will potentially hinder women from their domestic and public duties.⁵⁹

K.H Bisri Musthafa in Javanese culture also strengthens women through Q.S al-Aḥzāb: (33), to maximize the implementation of domestic tasks and the reproductive nature they experience. Based on this, understanding pronunciation, which characterizes it in another verse, namely "*waqorna fī buyū tikunna walā tabarrajna*

⁵⁷ Erviena, "Women's Leadership in the Qur'an: Reinterpretation of M. Quraish Shihab's Thoughts on the Concept of *al-Qawwamah* with the perspective of *Qirā'ah Mubādalāh*," 77.

⁵⁸ Maulana, *Konco Wingking From Time to Time*, 82–83.

⁵⁹ Mu'awwanah, "Gender Analysis of Reproductive Verses of Women in the Qur'an," 3–4.

tabarrujal jāhiliyyatil ūlā ", confirms that women are encouraged to remain in their homes (Q.S al-Aḥzāb (33): 33). This recommendation is related to women who are required to wear the hijab in QS al-Aḥzāb (33): 59 and Q.S an-Nūr (24): 31.

Women are required by K.H Bisri Musthafa to stay at home and use the headscarf to cover their private parts, aiming to prevent women from ugliness and crime. As for pronunciation that characterizes Javanese culture, namely, "*wanisā' il mu'minīna yudnīna 'alaihinna*" in Q.S an-Nūr (24): 31, it gives the meaning that women are encouraged to wear the hijab perfectly, with a headscarf cloth that is recommended to cover the neck and chest. The purpose of the perfectly veiled is not just to find that veiling is an obligation, but also to be aware that veiling is good and a guard for oneself (honor).

K.H Bisri Musthafa mentioned that women in the household are *konco wingking* and are under the power of men, on the other hand, they have roles outside the home, namely in the realm of testimony and inheritance which are also based on Javanese culture in Q.S al-Baqarah (2): 282 and Q.S an-Nisā'(4):11. The role of women in witnessing and inheritance is understood through pronunciation which characterizes Javanese culture in the two verses namely "*wastashhidū shahīdaini mirrijālikum, faillam yakūna rajulaini farajuluw wamra atāni mimman tarḍouna*" and "*yūṣikumullāhu fīulā dikum lidhdhakari mitslu ḥazzil unthayaini, fain kunna nisā' an fauqathnataini falahunna thuluthā mā taraka*".

In the second pronunciation in this regard, K.H Bisri Musthafa stated textually that Javanese culture mentions that regarding witnesses and heirs, between men and women are in the ratio of *two to one*. The provisions in the testimony took into account the conditions and assumptions of the Javanese people, that one man is equal to two women, because women are considered to be lacking in reason and forgetful. As for inheritance, this stipulation takes into account the obligatory role of men who are stated to be bigger and heavier than women in the household.

Through this inter-relationship, K.H Bisri Musthafa, in the verses of the relationship between men and women in the household, shows his confirmation of Javanese cultural identity. Affirmation that men are rulers with strong and tough characteristics so that they are tasked with providing for and protecting the family, while women are in positions of control with traits that tend to be patient and gentle, considered to have quite a role in the house, as *konco wingking* men. The steps to find these inter-relationships certainly show that the Qur'an as a written text is a tool for interpreters to freely dialogue its contents (according to the current reality). This step shows the relationship between the interpreter and his work of interpretation dynamically and synergistically.

CONCLUSION

K.H. Bisri Musthafa's Tafsir al-Ibriz presents a patriarchal framework for gender relations, positioning men as the undisputed leaders of the household. The interpretation asserts men's superior status over women, placing women in a subordinate position that requires obedience to male authority. This hierarchy is

justified through biological essentialism: men are portrayed as physically strong and resilient, thus bearing the responsibility of providing for and protecting the family. Conversely, women are characterized by gentleness and are consequently confined to domestic roles. The commentary further emphasizes women's reproductive functions - including menstruation, menopause, and breastfeeding obligations - as natural determinants of their domestic confinement. This gendered paradigm in *al-Ibriz* reflects and reinforces traditional Javanese cultural norms, particularly the *macak, masak, manak* (grooming, cooking, childrearing) for women. Significantly, Musthafa's exegesis serves to sanctify rather than challenge Javanese patriarchy, demonstrating how Qur'anic interpretation can function to validate existing cultural power structures rather than transform them.

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