

Pre-Marital Seclusion (Kahiya) from the Perspective of Islamic Law (Study of Wambuloli Village, Central Buton)

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Received: 24/06/2026

Revised: 20/07/2026

Accepted: 15/08/2026

Abstract

The tradition of seclusion (kahiya) prior to marriage is still practiced by the community of Wambuloli Village, Central Buton Regency, as part of customary norms aimed at preserving the honor and preparedness of prospective brides. However, in its implementation, several customary practices raise concerns regarding their conformity with the principles of Islamic law. This study aims to analyze the forms of implementation of the seclusion (kahiya) tradition and to examine these practices from the perspective of Islamic law. This research employs a qualitative method with a normative-empirical approach. Data were collected through observation, structured interviews, and documentation involving traditional leaders, religious figures, and women who underwent the seclusion process. The data were analyzed using descriptive-analytical techniques through the stages of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing. The findings indicate that the seclusion tradition contains positive values, including the preservation of honor and the mental preparation of prospective brides; however, certain practices such as the neglect of religious obligations and specific symbolic beliefs potentially conflict with the principles of Islamic law. This study concludes that the seclusion tradition may continue to be preserved provided that adjustments are made to ensure alignment with the principles of public benefit (maslahah) and the fundamental values of Islamic law. This research emphasizes the importance of dialogue between customary traditions and religion in maintaining a balance between cultural preservation and the application of Islamic law.

Keywords

Seclusion (Kahiya); Islamic Law; Pre-Marital Tradition; 'Urf; Wambuloli Village.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Marriage in Islam is understood as an institution that carries the value of worship while also serving an important social function in creating order and harmony within society. Islam positions marriage as a means of preserving honor, building peace of life, and continuing lineage lawfully in accordance with the provisions of Islamic law (Shihab, 2022). For this reason, the social practices that



accompany the marriage process, including pre-marital traditions, need to be reviewed so that they do not conflict with the fundamental principles of Islamic teachings.

In the context of Indonesian society, which is culturally diverse, customary traditions still play an important role in regulating social life, including in marriage practices. Custom functions as a behavioral guideline that binds members of society socially and morally. In Islamic law, custom or 'urf may be taken into legal consideration as long as it does not conflict with the nash (textual sources) and the fundamental values of Islamic law, as reflected in the legal maxim al-'adah muhakkamah (Zuhaili, 2018). Thus, the existence of custom is recognized as long as it does not override religious obligations and does not contain elements that undermine the faith (aqidah).

One form of pre-marital custom still practiced in Wambuloli Village, Central Buton Regency, is the seclusion tradition known as kahiya. This tradition is carried out by restricting the activities of the prospective bride for a certain period before marriage, accompanied by a series of customary rituals believed to be a process of preparation for married life. In the view of the local community, kahiya carries symbolic value as a means of preserving women's dignity and fulfilling customary demands that have been passed down through generations (Taufik, 2021).

However, in reality, the practice of kahiya raises problems when several customary elements carried out are not in line with religious obligations. The prohibition on performing prayer (salat) during the seclusion period, for example, conflicts with the basic principle of Islam that requires the five daily prayers without exception, except for a clear syar'i (Islamic legal) reason. Neglecting this obligation contradicts the objective of Islamic law in safeguarding religion (hifz al-din) as the primary foundation of religious life (Nurhayati, 2022).

In addition, there is also the practice of eyebrow shaving as part of the kahiya sequence, which raises differing views within Islamic law. Most scholars regard this act as impermissible because it involves altering God's creation, except under certain conditions supported by a strong syar'i reason (Fatimah, 2023). Moreover, belief in certain symbols associated with fate or a marriage partner has the potential to lead to superstitious practices that are inconsistent with the principle of tawhid (the oneness of God) in Islam (A. Amin, 2022).

Nevertheless, the kahiya tradition does not entirely conflict with Islamic values. This tradition contains positive elements, such as efforts to preserve women's honor, cultivate patience, and prepare the mental and social readiness of the prospective bride before entering married life. These values are in line with the objectives of Islamic law, particularly in safeguarding honor (hifz al-'ird) and intellect (hifz al-'aql). In several other regions of Buton, the seclusion tradition has even undergone adjustments in line with Islamic teachings without eliminating the inherent cultural identity (I. Nur, 2024).

This condition points to the need for a contextual Islamic legal study of the kahiya tradition. This research is important for objectively assessing the boundary between customs that can be maintained as 'urf sahih (valid custom) and customs that need to be corrected because they conflict with the principles of Islamic law ('urf fasid, invalid custom). Through this approach, it is hoped that harmony can be achieved between the preservation of local culture and the application of Islamic values oriented toward the public benefit of the community (Auda, 2018).

Based on the background described above, the research problems in this study are formulated as follows: (1) How is the seclusion (kahiya) tradition prior to marriage implemented within the community of Wambuloli Village, Central Buton Regency? (2) How does Islamic law assess the seclusion (kahiya) tradition prior to marriage within the community of Wambuloli Village, Central Buton Regency?

Referring to the research problems formulated above, the objectives of this study are to identify the forms of implementation of the seclusion (kahiya) tradition prior to marriage within the community of Wambuloli Village, Central Buton Regency, and to examine the Islamic legal assessment of the seclusion (kahiya) tradition prior to marriage within the community of Wambuloli Village, Central Buton Regency.

2. METHOD

This research employs a qualitative approach with the aim of gaining an in-depth understanding of the practice of the seclusion (kahiya) tradition prior to marriage and its assessment from the perspective of Islamic law. This approach was chosen because the research focuses on the meaning, process, and social reality that lives within the community, rather than on quantitative measurement. The method used is normative-empirical research, namely examining the tradition's practices in the field and analyzing them using relevant norms of Islamic law.

The research subjects included traditional leaders, religious figures, and women who had undergone the kahiya tradition in Wambuloli Village, Central Buton Regency. The research object was the implementation of the seclusion (kahiya) tradition prior to marriage along with its accompanying practices. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, direct observation, and documentation, with the aim of obtaining a factual picture of the stages of the tradition, the meanings attached to it by the community, and its implications for the fulfillment of religious obligations (Moleong, 2021).

Data analysis was conducted using descriptive-analytical techniques through the stages of data organization, thematic grouping, and inductive conclusion drawing. The empirical data obtained from the field were analyzed by comparing them against the principles of Islamic law in order to assess their conformity. This analytical process was carried out continuously from the data collection stage through

to the drawing of conclusions, so that the research results reflect both the empirical conditions and a comprehensive normative analysis.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Implementation of the Pre-Marital Seclusion (Kahiya) Tradition within the Community of Wambuloli Village, Central Buton Regency

According to Rajlun Fahiran, the Posuo customary ceremony is a traditional ceremony performed by the community of Buton, Southeast Sulawesi. This ceremony is carried out when a woman transitions in status from kabuabua, or teenage girl in the Buton language, to kalambe, or adult woman. This tradition lasts for eight days and eight nights inside the suo, or special room (Fahrian & Yunus, 2024).

The seclusion culture is one of the traditions that lives on and continues to develop within Indonesian society and can be found in various regions, such as Java, Sumatra, and Sulawesi. One form of this seclusion culture is found among the community of Wambuloli Village, East Mawasangka Subdistrict, Central Buton Regency.

Among the Wambuloli community, the seclusion culture is known as Kahiya. This tradition is held periodically, once every three years, precisely after Eid al-Fitr. The implementation of Kahiya lasts for four days and four nights, the count of which begins with the sound of the traditional drum marking the start of the activity, and is adjusted according to the customary lunar calculation known as the "three months" or tualono wula. During the implementation of Kahiya, the woman undergoing seclusion is placed and confined inside the traditional house called sabua as part of the mandatory customary procession (Afamery, 2021).

Based on the description above, the seclusion (Kahiya) referred to in this study denotes a series of customary processions with specific provisions and stages, namely:

1. In the first stage, seclusion participants are placed in a special location called the confinement, or sabua. This stage is mandatory and aims to limit interaction and visibility from outside parties. While inside the sabua, the seclusion participant may not be seen by many people, particularly men, pregnant women, women who are menstruating, and women who have never undergone the seclusion tradition. Prayer (salat) may not be performed inside the sabua during Kahiya. This provision forms part of the customary rules believed in and carried out from generation to generation by the local community.
2. The second stage in the implementation of the seclusion tradition is the bathing procession for the woman undergoing seclusion. This bathing cannot be carried out by just anyone, but only by specific parties designated according to customary provisions. The party authorized to perform the bathing is the kabindu, or the woman's parent, particularly those who understand the procedures and prayers used in the procession. Before the bathing procession is carried out, the water to be used is first blessed

with prayer by a customary elder. This blessing of the water is an inseparable part of the seclusion tradition and is believed to hold spiritual meaning for the woman undergoing seclusion. The water that has been blessed is then used by the kabindu, or the woman's parent, in the bathing procession in accordance with prevailing customary provisions.

According to one informant, not everyone is permitted to bathe the woman undergoing seclusion (Kahiya). Only certain individuals with customary knowledge who understand the procedures and specific prayers are allowed to carry out this procession. Within the Wambuloli Village community, the parties trusted and considered to meet these criteria are limited to two people, namely Ibu Army and Ibu Nurita, who have actively performed the bathing procession in the seclusion (Kahiya) tradition.

3. The third stage in the implementation of the seclusion tradition takes place after the seclusion participant completes the bathing procession. At this stage, the female traditional healer, referred to locally as bhisa, plays a primary role in carrying out a number of customary provisions. One such provision is the giving of rice to the seclusion participant in a limited amount, namely one handful. This giving of rice is symbolic and is carried out only after the seclusion participant fulfills the established customary requirements.

After this procession is carried out, the woman's parent is then permitted to take over the responsibility of providing food to the seclusion participant. Nevertheless, the provision of food remains within the limits and provisions determined by the bhisa as part of the local customary rules.

In addition, the seclusion participant is also subject to a customary requirement of having red turmeric powder applied for two nights and white turmeric powder applied for two nights. This procession is carried out by the bhisa as part of the series of purification and customary symbolism. Once all these requirements are fulfilled, the role of the bhisa comes to an end, and subsequent responsibility is handed over entirely to the parent of the woman undergoing seclusion.

Furthermore, the bhisa also has the specific task of measuring out four liters (ganta) of rice and preparing four free-range chicken eggs, along with Rp 50,000 in money. This process of measuring the rice cannot be performed by just anyone, as it is accompanied by the recitation of specific prayers in accordance with the customary provisions believed in by the community of Wambuloli Village.

According to one informant, the bathing procession in the seclusion tradition can only be carried out after the traditional drum is sounded in the hambi tutura pattern, whose drumbeat is described as the "sound of flowing water," sakonduno ganda sakosapano oe. This drumbeat serves as a marker for the start of the bathing and must not be stopped before the procession is complete. The drum player must be a customary elder possessing special skill in playing the drum for the Kahiya tradition, in accordance with prevailing customary provisions.

4. The fourth stage of the seclusion tradition takes place on the third day of the Kahiya implementation. At this stage, a shaving procession referred to in customary terms as kabindu is carried out, namely the shaving of the eyebrows of the seclusion participant as part of fulfilling a customary requirement that has been carried out from generation to generation. On the same day, a chicken-slaughtering procession is also carried out, involving two types of chickens, namely a rooster and a hen. The rooster is handed over at the location where Kahiya is held as part of the series of customary rituals, while the hen is returned to the house of the woman undergoing seclusion in accordance with local customary provisions. Besides fulfilling a ritual requirement, this chicken-slaughtering procession also carries a customary belief, namely that the direction and distance the chicken flies after being released is believed to symbolize the closeness or distance of the seclusion participant's future spouse; if the chicken flies far, the spouse is believed to come from a distant place, whereas if it flies only a short distance, the spouse is believed to come from a nearby area.

According to one informant, in local customary belief, the direction and distance a chicken flies after being released is believed to be a sign related to the seclusion participant's future spouse. A chicken that flies far is believed to indicate a spouse from a distant place, while a chicken that flies only a short distance is believed to indicate a spouse from the surrounding area. This belief is part of the customary oral tradition trusted by the community and derived from experience passed down through generations, as conveyed by the informant interviewed.

5. The fifth stage is carried out on the fourth and final day of the seclusion tradition sequence, referred to in the Wambuloli language as Kafofolimba. At this stage, the seclusion participant is bathed thoroughly from head to toe. The bathing procession is carried out by the designated kabindu as required by the customary elders. Procedurally, this stage resembles the earlier bathing stage, with the bathing accompanied by the traditional drumbeat pattern sakonduno ganda sakosapano oe, marking the closing of the seclusion tradition sequence.

6. After the bathing procession is complete, the clothing to be worn by the woman undergoing seclusion is first blessed with prayer by a customary elder in accordance with prevailing provisions. This clothing is then worn in the closing sequence, in which the seclusion participant is brought out of the traditional house (sabua) through a procession known as Kafindaino Wite. This procession is accompanied by the traditional drumbeat rhythm hambu mohansa, which serves as a marker of the conclusion of the entire seclusion tradition sequence. According to Ibu Army, the clothing worn in the seclusion tradition has changed over time. In the past, seclusion participants wore the traditional katula garment, which was handmade by the elders of that era. However, in current practice, this garment has been replaced by kaboroko, a more commonly used traditional Buton garment. This change reflects the adaptation of the seclusion tradition to cultural developments without losing its underlying meaning.

Based on the results of an interview with a woman who had undergone the seclusion tradition, it is known that during the seclusion period there are a number of customary prohibitions that must be observed. One such prohibition is that prayer (salat) may not be performed during the seclusion period. In addition, the amount of food consumed is also limited according to prevailing customary provisions.

During the seclusion period, there are several customary rules and prohibitions that must be observed, including not making noise, not eating in large quantities, not being seen by men, and not being seen by pregnant women or women who have never undergone the seclusion tradition.

According to informants, the main purpose of the seclusion tradition is to mark that a woman has reached maturity. This maturity is marked by the onset of menstruation, so that a woman who has undergone seclusion is considered to have reached adulthood and to be ready to enter the next stage of life according to local custom.

3.2. Islamic Legal Review of the Pre-Marital Seclusion (Kahiya) Tradition within the Community of Wambuloli Village, Central Buton Regency

In the study of Islamic law, customs that develop and are practiced in community life may be used as a basis for legal consideration as long as they do not conflict with the provisions of the *syar'i nash* (textual sources) and the fundamental values of Islamic teachings. This principle is in line with the *fiqh maxim al-'adah muhakkamah*, which affirms that a community's customs may have normative force if they qualify as *'urf sahih*, namely custom that does not contain elements that violate the faith (*aqidah*), acts of worship (*ibadah*), or morals (*akhlaq*) (Syarifuddin, 2021).

The seclusion (*kahiya*) tradition carried out by the community of Wambuloli Village is fundamentally intended as a means of preserving women's dignity, marking the stage of maturity, and preparing the prospective bride psychologically and socially before entering married life. Conceptually, this purpose is consistent with *maqasid al-shari'ah*, particularly in efforts to protect honor (*hifz al-'ird*) and intellect (*hifz al-'aql*) (Auda, 2021).

Nevertheless, an assessment of a tradition from the perspective of Islamic law cannot be based solely on the normative purpose it seeks to achieve, but must also take into account the actual practices that accompany it. Based on the results of field research, several elements in the implementation of the *kahiya* tradition were found that require critical examination because they have the potential to conflict with the principles of Islamic law.

First, the customary provision prohibiting the performance of prayer (*salat*) during the seclusion period is a practice inconsistent with Islamic teachings. The five daily prayers constitute an individual obligation (*fard 'ayn*) that remains binding upon every Muslim and may only be omitted for a clear *syar'i* reason, such as menstruation or postpartum bleeding. Therefore, prohibiting prayer for customary reasons has no basis of legitimacy in Islamic law and contradicts the primary objective of

Islamic law in safeguarding religion (hifz al-din) (Nurhayati, 2022). This practice can thus be categorized as 'urf fasid, which cannot be justified from a syar'i standpoint.

The prohibition against abandoning prayer is clearly affirmed in the Qur'an, where prayer is positioned as a fundamental obligation that cannot be abandoned without a syar'i reason. Allah SWT states:

إِنَّ الصَّلَاةَ كَانَتْ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ كِتَابًا مَوْقُوتًا ١٠٣

Translation: "Indeed, prayer has been decreed upon the believers a decree of specified times." (Q.S. An-Nisa: 103).

This verse shows that the obligation of prayer is binding on every Muslim and is bound to specific times, and therefore cannot be nullified by customary or traditional reasons. Accordingly, the practice of prohibiting the performance of prayer during the seclusion period (kahiya) has no basis in Islamic law and clearly conflicts with maqasid al-shari'ah in safeguarding religion (hifz al-din). This customary provision therefore falls within the category of 'urf fasid, which must be abandoned.

According to one informant, custom should be carried out in harmony with Islamic teachings. Abandoning prayer for someone who has reached puberty (baligh) is a forbidden act with a clear textual basis. Therefore, customary practices that cause the neglect of the obligation to pray need to be reviewed so that they do not conflict with the principles of Islamic law.

Second, the practice of eyebrow shaving carried out as part of the kabindu procession requires special attention from the perspective of Islamic law. Most contemporary scholars hold that the act of shaving or thinning the eyebrows for aesthetic purposes without a medical reason is a prohibited act, as it involves altering God's creation (taghyir khalq Allah). Therefore, if this practice is carried out solely to fulfill a customary symbol without regard for Islamic law, it cannot be justified in Islamic law (Fatimah, 2023). The practice of eyebrow shaving in the kabindu procession conflicts with the provisions of Islamic law as affirmed in the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, which explicitly prohibits this act. The Messenger of Allah SAW said:

لَعَنَ اللَّهُ النَّامِصَاتِ وَالْمُتَنَمِّصَاتِ

Translation: "Allah has cursed the women who pluck eyebrow hairs and those who have their eyebrows plucked." (HR. Bukhari and Muslim).

This hadith affirms that eyebrow shaving is a prohibited act because it constitutes an alteration of God's creation (taghyir khalq Allah) without a syar'i reason. Therefore, the practice of eyebrow shaving carried out merely as a customary symbol without medical consideration cannot be justified in Islamic law.

According to one informant, eyebrow shaving should not be performed because it conflicts with Islamic teachings. Therefore, customary practices should follow and not violate the provisions

established in Islam.

Third, the symbolic belief associating the direction and distance a chicken flies with the closeness or distance of a future spouse reflects a belief with the potential to lead to superstitious practice. In Islamic teachings, matters of a marriage partner and fate rest entirely within the decree and will of Allah SWT. Therefore, mystically linking cause and effect without rational or syar'i grounds conflicts with the principle of tawhid and needs to be corrected so as not to undermine the purity of faith (aqidah) (M. Amin, 2022). The symbolic belief regarding the direction and distance a chicken flies as a determinant of the closeness or distance of a future spouse is a form of belief with the potential to lead to superstition and conflicts with the principle of tawhid. In this regard, the Messenger of Allah SAW said:

مَنْ تَعَلَّقَ تَمِيمَةً فَقَدْ أَشْرَكَ

Translation: *"Whoever wears an amulet has committed an act of shirk (associating partners with Allah)."* (HR. Ahmad).

This hadith affirms the prohibition against placing one's belief in symbols, objects, or particular omens believed to influence one's fate or future. In the context of the seclusion tradition, associating a future spouse with the symbol of a flying chicken has no rational or syar'i basis, and therefore conflicts with the principle of tawhid, which affirms that a marriage partner and destiny rest entirely within the will of Allah SWT.

According to one informant, Muslims are not permitted to associate partners with God, including by believing in matters that have not been determined by Allah. Therefore, customary beliefs and practices with the potential to lead to belief outside the divine decree need to be reviewed so that they remain consistent with the teaching of tawhid in Islam.

Nevertheless, not the entire sequence of the seclusion tradition conflicts with Islamic values. The restriction of interaction with the opposite sex, the cultivation of patience, and the involvement of family in accompanying the prospective bride are positive values consistent with Islamic ethics in building a *sakinah* (harmonious) family. These values reflect a preventive effort against deviant behavior as well as the strengthening of moral responsibility before entering married life (A. Nur, 2024).

Thus, from the perspective of Islamic law, the seclusion (*kahiya*) tradition in Wambuloli Village can be classified as a *mukhtalat* (mixed) custom, namely one that contains elements consistent with Islamic law alongside elements that conflict with it. This tradition can still be preserved as long as a process of selection and adjustment is undertaken, retaining the values that bring public benefit (*maslahah*) while eliminating practices that conflict with the principle of tawhid, the obligation of worship, and the primary objectives of Islamic law (Hakim, 2021).

Therefore, efforts to harmonize custom and religion are an unavoidable necessity so that the preservation of local culture can proceed in step with the application of Islamic values. The *maqasid al-*

shari'ah approach can serve as an analytical framework for assessing and reconstructing the seclusion tradition so that it remains relevant, valuable, and consistent with the guidance of Islamic law in facing the dynamics of modern society.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The seclusion (kahiya) tradition in Wambuloli Village is a customary practice aimed at preserving honor and preparing women before marriage. In terms of its values, this purpose is consistent with Islamic teachings. However, in its implementation there are several practices inconsistent with the principles of Islamic law, such as the prohibition of prayer, eyebrow shaving without a syar'i reason, and symbolic beliefs with the potential to lead to superstition. Therefore, the seclusion tradition can be categorized as a mixed custom (mukhtalat) that needs to be selected and adjusted so as to align with maqasid al-shari'ah. This research was conducted at only one location and relies on field data, so its findings cannot yet be broadly generalized. This research strengthens the study of the relationship between custom and Islamic law by emphasizing the importance of the maqasid al-shari'ah approach in assessing local traditions. Collaboration between traditional leaders and religious figures is needed to adjust the seclusion tradition to Islamic values. Further research is recommended to examine similar traditions in other regions in order to obtain a broader perspective.

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