



Digital Tabarruj: The Phenomenon of Muslim Women Adorning Themselves on Social Media from a Contemporary Tafsir Perspective (Analysis of QS. Al-Ahzab/33:33 and QS. An-Nur/24:31)

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Abstract

The phenomenon of digital tabarruj has become a pressing social phenomenon in the modern visual era because it reveals the tension between religious piety and online self-expression. Contemporary tafsir studies attempt to address this issue by recontextualizing the prohibition of tabarruj as a moral ethic for digital culture. This research aims to reinterpret QS. Al-Ahzab/33:33 and QS. An-Nur/24:31 through a combination of Tafsir Al-Maraghi and Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement theory, which methodologically allows for a connection between the normative meaning of the text and the current social context. The research method uses a qualitative approach based on literature studies and digital literature. The research findings indicate that the moral principles of the verse, from the context of the Jahiliyyah era to the digital age, emphasize simplicity, honor, and self-control in adornment. The novelty of this study lies in the application of double-movement hermeneutics to articulate the ethics of Muslim women's adornment in digital space, while also offering theoretical implications for the development of contextual interpretation and practical implications for the formation of digital ethics literacy based on Islamic values of modesty.

Keywords: Digital, Social Media, Muslimah, Tabarruj, Contemporary Interpretation

Abstrak

Fenomena tabarruj digital telah menjadi gejala sosial yang mendesak di era visual modern karena memperlihatkan ketegangan antara kesalehan religius dan ekspresi diri daring. Kajian tafsir kontemporer berupaya menjawab masalah ini dengan merekontekstualisasi larangan tabarruj sebagai etika moral bagi budaya digital. Penelitian ini bertujuan menafsirkan ulang QS. Al-Ahzab/33:33 dan QS. An-Nur/24:31 melalui perpaduan Tafsir *Al-Maraghi* dan teori *Double Movement* Fazlur Rahman, yang secara metodologis memungkinkan pertautan antara makna normatif teks dan konteks sosial masa kini. Metode penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif berbasis studi pustaka dan literatur digital. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa prinsip moral ayat, dari konteks Jahiliyyah hingga era digital, menekankan kesederhanaan, kehormatan, dan kontrol diri dalam berhias. Kebaruan studi ini terletak pada penerapan hermeneutika gerak ganda untuk mengartikulasikan etika berhias muslimah di ruang digital, sekaligus menawarkan implikasi teoretis bagi pengembangan tafsir kontekstual dan implikasi praktis bagi pembentukan literasi etika digital yang berlandaskan nilai kesopanan Islam.

Kata kunci: Digital, Media Sosial, Muslimah, Tabarruj, Tafsir Kontemporer



A. INTRODUCTION

The pervasive phenomenon of digitalization has fundamentally reconstituted social reality for Muslim women, positioning social media platforms as crucial arenas for identity representation, aesthetic expression, and the performative signaling of piety. However, beneath the dominant narrative of digital empowerment lies a significant and concerning paradox: the pursuit of idealized self-image through excessive beautification practices and online presentations frequently intersects with and potentially transgresses the established boundaries of Islamic ethics. This tension is substantiated by empirical studies such as those conducted in South Africa, which highlight how social and religious factors interact to exacerbate gender inequality and contribute to forms of symbolic violence against women (Naicker, 2025). This pattern illustrates that established social and religious norms exert considerable pressure on the female body, a pressure that is now extended and amplified within the digital sphere. Consequently the virtual domain facilitates the emergence of new forms of *tabarruj* (ostentatious display), transforming the online self-image into a site for novel ethical scrutiny.

Recent academic discourse underscore a profound shift in the conceptualization of piety and Muslim women's identity, catalyzed by the convergence of digitalization and contemporary Islamic gender politics. Akmaliah (2023) introduced the concept of "digital piety," arguing that social media facilitates hybridity between religious devotion and popularity through online practices of hijrah (religious change), proselytization, and the meticulous construction of religious self-images (Akmaliah, 2023). In a broader context, Jati (2024) highlighted the dynamic interaction between spirituality and public engagement observed in Indonesian women's piety movements, such as Muslimat Wahdah Islamiyah and Srikandi Lintas Iman, demonstrate a new dynamic between spirituality and public engagement (Jati et al., 2024). Historical findings cited from Lambert-Hurley reinforce this by highlighting women's reforms in the colonial era, a pattern of negotiating piety within the public sphere, a negotiation now being replicated and amplified in the digital realm (Minault, 2007). Furthermore, Ansor (2015) illustrated how the bodies and expressions of piety of Acehnese women serve as an arena of resistance against prevailing patriarchal interpretations of Sharia (Ansor, 2015). Collectively, these four studies confirm a critical research gap, namely the absence of a

contemporary Quranic interpretation framework that systematically and specifically examines the phenomenon of digital tabarruj as a complex, multifaceted expression encompassing religious, social, and moral dimensions within the context of the media age.

From the perspective of tafsir studies, Tafsir al-Manar became a pioneering milestone in the development of progressive tafsir, which sought to contextualize the message of the Quran in relation to social change. Through a rational and moral approach, al-Manar opened the chance for the reinterpretation of Islamic values amidst technological advancements and modern visual culture (Pratama, Jahid, et al, 2025). This progressive perspective, pioneered by Tafsir al-Manar and later developed by its students including Ahmad Musthafa Al-Maraghi, became an important foundation for building a framework of interpretation responsive to contemporary social realities. The interpretive methodology of Al-Maraghi, characterized by its moderate and contextual interpretation style, provides a crucial foundation for understanding the Quranic message in an applied manner. This perspective is vital for conceptualizing the prohibition of *tabarruj*, not merely just a static moral command, but as a universal ethical principle amenable to reinterpretation within the contemporary digital context. This approach is further bolstered by the insights of contemporary feminist hermeneutics, which critically cautions against perpetuating interpretive frameworks prone to patriarchal biases. Such biases often risk marginalizing or overlooking women's agency in actively negotiating and articulating their identities within modern, complex public sphere, including the now-ubiquitous virtual space. (Fatah, 2023).

This study's central objective is to analyze the phenomenon of digital *tabarruj* among Muslim women by employing Fazlur Rahman's double movement theory. This approach allows for a contextual reinterpretation of QS. Al-Ahzab/33:33 and QS. An-Nur/24:31 to ascertain the moral relevance to modern social media culture. The purpose of this research is not merely to describe the theological meaning of *tabarruj*, but to articulate the implementation of Islamic ethics of adornment in digital practices, upholding the core values of modesty and honor. Ultimately, this study is intended to broaden the discourse of progressive interpretation and contribute to the development of digital ethics literacy for Muslim women amidst the era of increasingly intensive religious visualization.

B. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research employs qualitative research design combining a literature review with digital content analysis approach to obtain empirical data. This methodological integration facilitates a hermeneutic interpretation to explore the contemporary social relevance of QS. Al-Ahzab:33 and QS. An-Nur:31. Consistent with qualitative principles prioritizing socio-cultural context (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). The research utilizes the works of Al-Maraghi's and Fazlur Rahman's double movement theory as the main conceptual framework to examine the ethics of adornment and religious expression in digital media.

The data sources for this research consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from classical and modern tafsir books, particularly Tafsir Al-Maraghi and Fazlur Rahman's work *Islam and Modernity*, while secondary data came from journal articles, books, and digital content. The use of this secondary data aims to enrich the contextual analysis of *tabarruj* in digital society. The digital content sources in this study were used to trace, record, and enable data verification and triangulation across various sources (Lau & Bratby, 2024). Thus, this study maintains data accuracy through the selection of credible and academically oriented sources.

Data collection techniques were carried out through the analysis of interpretation texts and relevant digital literature. This process includes the identification, classification, and interpretation of Quranic verses and the socio-cultural context related to the phenomenon of digital *tabarruj*. The hermeneutic approach is used to understand the meaning of the verses historically and applicatively, in accordance with Fazlur Rahman's double movement theory. Researchers interpret the text by tracing the initial meaning within the context of the verse's revelation, and then connecting it to current social situations. In line with van Dijk's view, hermeneutics is not merely interpreting text, but a dialog between the past and present that produces new understanding (van Dijk, 1979). This methodical process significantly enhances the hermeneutical validity of interpreting the concept of *tabarruj* within the framework of digitalization and modern religiosity.

Data analysis was conducted using a descriptive-analytical method, which involves describing the content of the interpretation and linking it to social phenomena

through the processes of reduction, display, and conclusion drawing. The analysis model used by (Pratama, Sihabudin, et al., 2025) is employed to maintain the systematic nature and credibility of the research findings, with the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and thematic verification. Data validity is strengthened through source triangulation techniques and cross-interpretation of interpretive literature, ensuring that the analysis results are not only subjective but also reflect relevant scientific consensus. The analysis results are critically interpreted to uncover the theological and ethical meaning of Muslim women's adornment in the digital context.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

1. Analysis of *Tabarruj*

Tabarruj linguistically comes from the word "*baraja*," which means to be born, to be high, or to appear. *Tabarruj* is displaying beauty such as makeup and bodily attractiveness in a way that violates Islamic law and showing it to non-mahram individuals, as well as wearing jewelry on the body to be admired. Like showing off, she displayed the jingling bracelets, necklaces, and anklets on her body, highlighting her facial beauty and alluring body parts. In Islamic teachings, women are encouraged to cover their bodies and not display their physical beauty openly to men who are not their *mahram* (Rohmawati, 2021).

Tabarruj jahiliyah refers to the behavior of women during the Jahiliyyah period, which involved excessive and ostentatious display of beauty in public, without regard for the boundaries set by Islamic law (Sya'rowi, 1995). Islam does not forbid beautifying oneself because it has become an instinctive habit of women. This means it is forbidden to show body jewelry or excessive beauty makeup that should be covered, which is usually not displayed by good women. It can also be interpreted as dressing excessively and showing off one's body parts, such as walking with a swaying gait. Revealing something that should not be revealed except to her husband, Islam forbids this action because it will arouse men's lust and lead to ignorant disturbances or even sin (Asikh, 2018).

In Surah Al-Ahzab: 33, Sheikh Mutawalli As-Sya'rawi interprets *tabarruj jahiliyah* as adorning oneself or showing off, similar to what was done during the *Jahiliyah* era. In pre-Islamic times, female slaves would display their bodies' allure, even appearing half-naked, and they did not feel ashamed of this because slaves in the *Jahiliyah* era did not have families or a good reputation to protect. According to Wahbah az-Zuhaili in Tafsir Al-Munir, *tabarruj* is including transparent clothing, walking with a swaying gait that reveals body parts that can arouse the lust of non-mahram men (Az-Zuhaili, 1991). Ibn Kathir explains in his commentary that he defines the *tabarruj* of the *Jahiliyyah* as how the women of the *Jahiliyyah* would walk with their chests uncovered, without anything covering them, among men. Sometimes they would wear a hijab, but their necks, bosoms, or some of their hair, as well as their earrings, would be exposed (Katsir, 1998).

If beauty is emphasized with the intention of attracting attention without covering the body, then it is considered Tabarruj Jahiliyah, which is forbidden because it can arouse lust and cause temptation for non-mahram men. In Surah An-Nur:31, Allah clarifies the limits of who is allowed to see women's adornments. The term "jewelry" here includes not only accessories like necklaces or bracelets, but also glamorous, body-hugging clothing and excessive makeup.



Figure 1. Highlighting Jewelry

Source: Tiktok Candra Saktiawan (2021), accessed on August 18, 2025

<https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSDasSRVE/>

Walking in a seductive manner or showing off the body, and artificial ways of walking, such as swaying with the intention of attracting attention, are also condemned

in Islam because they are considered a form of *jahiliyyah tabarruj* (Sofa, 2021). In Surah Al-Ahzab: 33, Allah SWT forbids women from imitating the behavior of women in the pre-Islamic era of ignorance who were fond of showing off their body. Body language or walking styles that reveal parts of the body that should be covered can arouse lust and invite inappropriate gazes from non-mahram men (Prasasti, 2021).



Figure 2. Dressing Very Tight

Source: *Tiktok Islam Populer* (2022), accessed on August 18, 2025

<https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSBMxooMb/>

2. Digital *Tabarruj*

Digital *tabarruj* is a term that refers to the excessive display of adornment and self in the virtual world, particularly through social media. In the context of Muslim women, this phenomenon is often related to ways of dressing that highlight the *awrat* (private parts), leading to various debates and concerns. Social media platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, Snack Video, and YouTube have become the primary platforms where this phenomenon is rapidly developing, with many Muslim women openly sharing content of themselves adorned and made up (Erwani & Siregar, 2024). In addition, social media has become a space for interaction between users that often deviates far from norms of decency and religious values, even leading to patterns of disassociation that trigger flaming (verbal attacks, blasphemy, insults) and the spread of hate speech. This behavior contrasts with the teachings of the Quran regarding the command to speak well, be honest, avoid hoaxes, and be polite and gentle in speech (Fatah et al., 2022).

The connection between the *Jahiliyah* practice of excessive display and the current digital phenomenon on social media is where Muslim women excessively flaunt their physical appearance through photos, videos, or live streams that highlight their private parts or body curves that are required to be covered. This behavior is similar to the *Jahiliyah* practice, which can attract attention and lead to wider slander because it spreads quickly on social media platforms. Muslims are encouraged to avoid such content in order to preserve their own dignity. In Islam, the *awrat* has become a part of the body that is protected and must be covered according to the provisions of Islamic law. However, in reality, some content circulating on social media clearly or excessively displays nudity, which can be considered a form of digital *tabarruj* (Sya'rowi, 1995).

The impact of digital *tabarruj* phenomenon is very widespread, both individually and socially. Individually, Muslim women who excessively display their bodies on social media are at risk of negative judgement, psychological distress, and even online harassment. Additionally, they also risk losing their sense of modesty, which is one of the important values in Islamic teachings, thus affecting their personality, daily behavior, and potentially damaging their dignity (Amat, 2010). Furthermore, the phenomenon of digital *tabarruj* also contributes to unrealistic changes in beauty standards. Social media often presents an idealized image that emphasizes physical appearance and sexual attractiveness, putting pressure on Muslim women to fit these standards. As a result, many feel dissatisfied with themselves and try to exposed their bodies in order to gain attention and recognition (Pradita Rahmalia & Purwo Saputro, 2025).

It's important to understand that adorning oneself and dressing up are not forbidden in Islam, as long as it's done within clear boundaries and doesn't cause fitnah (discord). Therefore, education on how to dress according to Islamic law is very necessary, especially in this digital age. Muslim women must be equipped with the correct understanding so they can use social media positively without violating religious rules (Mafrukha et al., 2025). Muslim women are taught to cover their bodies and express themselves in an Islamic manner, making their presence on social media a good and inspiring example (Pratama, Annuha, et al., 2025).

3. *Tabarruj* in Tafsir Al-Maraghi

Tafsir Al-Maraghi is one of the major works in the world of Quranic interpretation, written by Ahmad Musthafa Al-Maraghi, a prominent scholar from Egypt who lived in the 20th century. He was born in Al-Maraghah, Sohag Governorate, Egypt, in 1881 AD and passed away in 1945 AD. His work on interpretation is notable for its modern and rational approach, making Tafsir Al-Maraghi highly sought after by students and academics. This is because it is written in easy-to-understand language and is relevant to the social conditions of society. This work consists of 30 Juz and explains the interpretation of each verse of the Quran using thematic and contextual methods, while still being rooted in classical interpretations. The prohibition of *Tabarruj* has been explained in the verses of Allah SWT QS. Al-Ahzab/33:33 and QS. An-nur/24:31 in the Al-Maraghi interpretation as follows:

a. QS. Al-Ahzab/33:33

وَقَرْنَ فِي بُيُوتِكُنَّ وَلَا تَبَرَّجْنَ تَبَرُّجَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ الْأُولَىٰ وَأَقِمْنَ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتِينَ الزَّكَاةَ وَأَطِعْنَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ ۚ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا

“Settle in your homes, and do not display yourselves as women did in the days of (pre-Islamic) ignorance. Establish prayer, pay alms-tax, and obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah only intends to keep (the causes of) evil away from you and purify you completely, O members of the (Prophet’s) family!”

Al-Maraghi interprets *tabarruj* as women intentionally displaying parts of their bodies’ beauty that should not be shown and must be covered. As for the phrase “الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ الْأُولَىٰ”, it does not only refer to the pre-Islamic era of ignorance. According to Al-Maraghi, *Jahiliyyah* is divided into two categories: first, the ancient *Jahiliyyah*, which was the era of disbelief before the arrival of Islam; and second, the era of wickedness after the introduction of Islam. Then the word الرِّجْسَ, which comes from the word for something dirty, Al-Maraghi interprets that what is meant by dirty is the sin that defiles honor (Al-Maraghi, 1946).

In the verse “وَقَرْنَ فِي بُيُوتِكُنَّ”, Allah commands women to remain in their homes. This order requires you to stay indoors at all times and not go outside without urgent

necessity. This command is specifically addressed to the Prophet's wives, and it also applies to other women. In a narration from Ibn Mas'ud, the Prophet said that women are a source of shame, so when women leave their homes, they become targets of the devil. Therefore, the best women closest to God's mercy are those who are in their homes.

In the verse *وَلَا تَبَرَّجْنَ تَبَرُّجَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ الْأُولَى*, it means that women should not display their ornaments and parts of their bodies that can attract men, just as in the pre-Islamic era of ignorance, when the Prophet's wives were commanded by Allah to abandon negative behavior, they were then directed to do good deeds. In those days, people lived in a state of bad habits, full of ignorance and sin. After the arrival of Islam, Allah explicitly forbade the public, especially the Prophet's wives, from engaging in reprehensible acts.

Sheikh Muhammad Mutawalli Asy-Sya'rawi, in his Tafsir As-Sya'rawi, explains, “*وَلَا تَبَرَّجْنَ تَبَرُّجَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ الْأُولَى*”, defining the meaning of *tabarruj* as coming from the word “*buruj*,” meaning fortress. Therefore, what is meant by *tabarruj* is leaving the fortress of concealment that must be covered and not shown to non-mahram individuals. “Do not appear like the first era of ignorance” means what happened before Islam, not free women, but rather slaves who displayed their bodies' allure, even appearing half-naked, and they were not ashamed of it, because slaves in the era of ignorance did not have families or a good reputation to protect. Meanwhile, free women during the Jahiliyyah period had honor and dignity (Sya'rawi, 2011).

Because Allah gave these commandments and prohibitions, as stated in His verse: “Indeed, Allah intends to remove sin from you, O people of the house, and to purify you with a thorough purification.” Meaning, Allah removes from you all evil and abomination, O people of the house, and purifies you from filthy dirt and sin. Here, what is meant by “*ahlul bait*” are those who have a close relationship with the Prophet Muhammad, including various groups such as his wives, men, women, household servants, and close relatives who were often in the Prophet's family environment. And those who have the closest, most deserving, and tightest relationship with the Prophet are the ones who are entitled to be declared as “*ahlul bait*” (Al-Maraghi, 1946).

b. QS. An-Nur Ayat 31

وَقُلْ لِّلْمُؤْمِنَاتِ يَغْضُضْنَ مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِنَّ وَيَحْفَظْنَ فُرُوجَهُنَّ وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلَّا مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا وَلْيَضْرِبْنَ بِخُمُرِهِنَّ عَلَىٰ جُيُوبِهِنَّ وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلَّا لِبُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ آبَائِهِنَّ أَوْ أَبْنَاءِهِنَّ أَوْ إِخْوَانِهِنَّ أَوْ بَنِي إِخْوَانِهِنَّ أَوْ نِسَائِهِنَّ أَوْ مَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَانُهُنَّ أَوِ التَّابِعِينَ غَيْرِ أُولَى الْأَرْبَةِ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ أَوِ الطِّفْلِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يَظْهَرُوا عَلَىٰ عَوْرَتِ النِّسَاءِ وَلَا يَضْرِبْنَ بِأَرْجُلِهِنَّ لِيُعْلَمَ مَا يُخْفِينَ مِنْ زِينَتِهِنَّ وَتُوبُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا أَيُّهَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ

“And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and guard their chastity, and not to reveal their adornments except what normally appears. Let them draw their veils over their chests, and not reveal their (hidden) adornments except to their husbands, their fathers, their fathers-in-law, their sons, their stepsons, their brothers, their brothers’ sons or sisters’ sons, their fellow women, those (bondwomen) in their possession, male attendants with no desire, or children who are still unaware of women’s nakedness. Let them not stomp their feet, drawing attention to their hidden adornments. Turn to Allah in repentance all together, O believers, so that you may be successful.” (QS. An-Nur [24]: 31)

Ahmad Mustofa Al-Maraghi, in his commentary Al-Maraghi, defines the vocabulary word *al-khumur* as the plural form of the word *khimar*, which means a head covering or cloth for women. While the word *al-juyub* is the plural of *jaib*, which means the open part at the top of the garment that then reveals a portion of the body. The word “*at-tiflu*” can mean plural or singular, with the meaning of “small child.” The word “*lam yazharu*” means someone who doesn’t yet understand the boundaries of a woman’s private parts because they are still young (Al-Maraghi, 1946).

In the explanation of this verse, Allah SWT forbids entering houses without permission and requires giving greetings to the occupants, to prevent backbiting, seeing what is forbidden to see, and not looking at the secrets of others. Therefore, Allah SWT commands His Messenger to guide the believers to lower their gaze from things that are forbidden to see, because this can have negative consequences and lead the Muslim community into sin and religious corruption, and can damage purity

The above verse explains that Allah commands every Muslim to guard their gaze from looking at things that Allah has forbidden, and to not look at anything other than what is permissible for you to see. If you unintentionally see something forbidden, then hasten to turn away your gaze. Therefore, it is forbidden to look at the private parts of women and men that are not permissible to look at. For men, the limit is between the navel and the knee. If seeing these things is accompanied by lust, then it is forbidden. If seeing is without lust and without negative thoughts, then it is not forbidden. However, it is better for them to lower their gaze from foreign men. “فُرُوجَهُنَّ وَحَفَظْنَ” means “And they protect their private parts (from what is not permissible for them, such as adultery and lesbianism), and they cover them so that no one sees them.”

From the verse fragment “وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ”, followed by the phrase “إِلَّا مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا”, the meaning of this verse is that a woman is not permitted to show her adornments to non-mahram individuals, except for adornments that are naturally visible and difficult to conceal, such as rings, eye makeup, or henna on the hands. On the other hand, it is not permissible to display adornments that are usually hidden, such as necklaces, bracelets, anklets, head coverings, shawls, or earrings, as these adornments are located on covered parts of the body such as the arms, legs, neck, head, chest, and ears.

Then, regarding the meaning of the verse “وَلْيَضْرِبْنَ بِخُمُرِهِنَّ عَلَى خُيُوثِهِنَّ”, it is defined that Allah commands women to cover their hair, necks, and chests by letting their headscarves hang down over their upper chests and covering their necks so that no part of them is visible. Nowadays, there are not a few women who wear the hijab correctly and neatly. Many women wear the hijab only partially, extending it to their backs so that it doesn't cover their necks and part of their chests.

The phrase “وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلَّا لِبُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ آبَائِهِنَّ” indicates that women are not allowed to display hidden ornaments that should not be seen by others, except to their husbands. This is because ornaments are intended only for their husbands, as women are commanded to do for them, or they may also be shown to their fathers, their husbands' fathers, or their sons, as well as their brothers' sons. Because slander is rare among them since they are often used to being together and are still relatives.

In the verse “وَلَا يَضْرِبْنَ بِأَرْجُلِهِنَّ لِيُعْلَمَ”, the meaning is that they are forbidden from stamping their feet on the ground so that their ankle bracelets are heard. This can arouse lust and desire in men, especially with noisy ankle bracelets that make a distinctive sound when walking, as this can attract attention and arouse men’s lust. So repent and obey Allah in what He has commanded and forbidden you, such as lowering your gaze, guarding your private parts, not entering other people’s homes without permission, and not giving greetings, so that you may attain happiness in this world and the Hereafter. Among the conditions for repentance are stopping the sin, regretting the past, resolving not to repeat it, and returning rights to their owners.

As for the *asbabun nuzul* (the background for the revelation of the verse), it is narrated by Ibn Jarir through the narration of Hadhrami. In the story, it is told about a woman wearing two silver anklets adorned with beautiful beads. As the woman walked past a group of people, she deliberately stomped her foot hard so that the jingling of her bracelets would be heard by those around her. This action is a display of hidden jewelry so that others can see it. So Allah revealed a verse instructing them not to stamp their feet with the intention of revealing their hidden ornaments to others (Al-Maraghi, 1946).

4. Tabarruj According to Fazlur Rahman in the Theory of Double Movement

Fazlur Rahman’s Double Movement Theory provides a dynamic, two-stage hermeneutical methodology for Quranic interpretation, designed to ensure the scripture’s perennial relevance. The theory dictates a process that first entails moving from the contemporary context back to the original-socio-historical conditions of the revelation to meticulously discern the underlying general moral-legal principle or the universal ethical intent of the specific verses. This dual process ensures that the resulting interpretation is not only historically anchored but also critically engaged with modern social developments, thereby grounding the application of Islamic law in universal moral values and the ultimate objectives of the faith (Rahman, 2024).

Within the framework of the first movement of Fazlur Rahman’s Double Movement theory, the interpretation of QS. Al-Ahzab/33:33 and QS. An-Nur/24:31 begin with a careful historical reading of the social realities of 7th-century Arabia. These verses were revealed in the context of a society that still inherited the patriarchal patterns of the

Jahiliyyah period, where women's bodies were often used as symbols of tribal status and representations of collective honor (Hafizah, 2018). The practice of conspicuous adornment, displaying jewelry and fragrances in public spaces, is not merely an esthetic act, but rather part of a performative culture linked to visual dominance and social stratification. Historiographical studies confirm that Islam did not come to repress women, but to reconstruct public ethics so that gender relations are no longer based on the objectification of the body, but on moral honor and human dignity (Mirza, 2017). In this case, the prohibition of *tabarruj* serves as an ethical regulation of social practices that could potentially lead to slander and imbalances in power relations.

Furthermore, for example, the interpretation of underwear in Islam often leads to disagreements. The opinions of scholars differ regarding the limits of women's clothing that should not be visible. According to Al-Maraghi, *tabarruj* is defined as women's behavior that displays jewelry or parts of the body that can attract men's attention (Al-Maraghi, 1946). Meanwhile, Sayyid Quthb explains that *tabarruj* is excessive facial adornment with the aim of attracting men's attention (Qutb, 1973). As for Abu Bakar Jabir Al-Jazairi, he defines *tabarruj* as the condition where a woman leaves her home with a striking appearance, wearing perfume, and excessive makeup (Al-Jazairi, 2001).

More specifically, the micro context of the verse's descent indicates the deliberate practice of visual display by some women, such as the story of a woman stomping her foot to make her bracelet jingle so that the men around her would notice (Puteri, 2022). This kind of practice reflects a culture of "body exposure" as a strategy for attracting social attention, something that Islam considered problematic because it has the potential to disrupt the stability of the new social relationships being built in Medina. Contemporary studies on *asbāb al-nuzūl* confirm that this kind of historical approach is important for understanding the Quranic text responds to concrete situations, not merely formulating abstract norms (Wati & Saputra, 2018). By tracing this sociological background, interpreters can grasp that the main message of the verse is the moral transformation of society from a culture of ostentation toward an ethic of modesty based on spiritual awareness (*ḥayā*).

Thus, the first movement does not stop at describing historical events, but attempts to extract the normative principles that the Quran seeks to realize in that

context, such as protecting women's dignity, preventing sexual exploitation, and regulating public relations in a civilized manner. These principles serve as an ethical bridge for understanding contemporary dynamics such as digital *tabarruj* (Ali, 2009). Without adequate historical mapping, modern interpretations will lose their anthropological roots and potentially fall into an ahistorical morality that is normative but epistemologically fragile. Therefore, tracing the historical context not only enriches interpretation but also preserves the integrity of the double movement methodology itself as a scientific, reflective, and responsible approach.

As for the second movement framework, a contemporary analysis is conducted. In an era where many women are busy working, whether through social media as Instagrammers, YouTubers, or Vloggers, which is currently experiencing rapid growth and generating significant income, one example is beauty vlogging, whose content focuses on makeup, beauty, and self-grooming techniques. Therefore, in Islam, Muslim women are required to understand the boundaries within Islamic law, are commanded to cover their bodies, and to be modest, simple individuals without the intention of attracting the attention of the opposite sex who are not their mahram.

The obligation to maintain appearance in a professional work environment according to Islam instructs its followers to appear clean and tidy, as a form of noble character. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was known for being very clean and tidy. In the context of work, such as in an office, education, or public service, dressing fashionably yet respectfully is part of professional etiquette. The word of God in Surah Al-A'raf: 31 emphasizes the importance of dressing beautifully during worship, which can also be interpreted as an encouragement to maintain a decent appearance. Therefore, as long as the clothing does not violate Islamic law, dressing fashionably in the workplace is a form of respect for one's profession and oneself (Umar & Yusra, 2020).

Islam does not permit styles of dress that aim to attract excessive attention, especially if the goal is to attract the opposite sex in an un-Islamic manner. This concept is known as *Tabarruj*, which means dressing or wearing clothes in a conspicuous way that causes fitnah (temptation). Allah forbids adornment that resembles the lifestyle of the *Jahiliyyah*. This means that although Islam values beauty, such expression must remain within the boundaries taught and should not be used for showing off, seduction, or

excessive display of luxury (Alfedha, 2018). As long as it doesn't deviate from religious rules, dressing fashionably is still permissible in Islam. As long as the modesty is covered, it's not excessive, and it doesn't imitate a lifestyle that contradicts Islamic teachings, then dressing attractively is not a problem. In Surah Al-A'raf: 32, Allah reminds us that good ornaments and sustenance are His creations that are permissible to enjoy. Islam emphasizes the balance between physical beauty and morals, so an elegant and Sharia-compliant appearance can reflect a good Muslim character.

Therefore, as Muslims, we must be wise in dealing with FYP trends and online appearances. Islam has already taught the importance of preserving a woman's dignity. It is important for Muslims not to follow suit in creating excessive content or content that is not in accordance with the teachings of Islam, as this will damage the religion, lead to moral decline, and could arouse men's lust. If it is only used for showing off and seeking attention, then such content falls into the category of modern *Tabarruj* (Almunadi & Zulfikar, 2023).

5. Similarities and Differences in Opinion Regarding *Tabarruj*

The similarity between Fazlur Rahman and the interpretation of Al-Maraghi in interpreting the concept of *tabarruj* (women's adornment) is that they both agree that *tabarruj* is a form of conspicuous adornment or self-display that can have negative consequences in public space. They both emphasized the importance of women maintaining modesty and not revealing their bodies or jewelry that could arouse non-mahram men. The main goal of this view is to maintain public morality and affirm that Islam does not prohibit women from appearing in public, but rather sets boundaries to ensure they remain within the framework of ethics and decency. Here is a table of differing opinions on *tabarruj* according to Al-Maraghi and Fazlur Rahman:

Table 1. Comparison of the Concept of *Tabarruj*

No.	<i>Tabarruj</i>	Al-Maraghi	Fazlur Rahman
1.	Definition	Showing jewelry and parts of the body to non-mahram	Excessive self-beautification that leads to social inequality.

		individuals. Referring to the literal meaning of the Quran.	
2.	Interpretive approach	Textual and normative, explaining the literal meaning without reaching modern social dimensions.	Historical-contextual, understanding the verse according to the social conditions when the revelation was revealed and applying it to the present day.
3.	Consideration of the times	Emphasizing fixed laws that are not influenced by cultural or temporal developments.	Adapting to the modern context of today while still maintaining the goals of Islamic law.
4.	Gender roles	More emphasis is placed on women's responsibility to cover their bodies and maintain their behavior.	Emphasizing that men should also guard their gaze and morals, not just women who are burdened.
5.	The purpose of Sharia	Maintaining morality, social integrity, and avoiding slander through women's outward appearance.	Maintaining dignity, justice, and mental health across genders.
6.	The law on adornment in public spaces	Beautifying oneself in front of non-mahram individuals is forbidden, except to the maximum extent, as it can be tempting and disrupt social order.	If the goal is not to show off or exploit social status, and personal and social honor is maintained, modern women can appear professional and neat.

Source: Analysis by the Author

The difference between the two lies in their approach to interpreting verses. Fazlur Rahman uses a contextual approach with the double movement method, interpreting *tabarruj* within the modern social context, including the realities of social

media and the working world. He views adornment as permissible as long as it is not intended to seduce or sexually exploit (Umar & Yusra, 2020). Meanwhile, Al-Maraghi adopted a textual approach, understanding *tabarruj* literally as the display of the body and jewelry, so women needed to maintain their appearance strictly without much adaptation to the changing times.

In the context of the digital age and social media, Fazlur Rahman's views is considered more relevant in understanding the concept of *tabarruj*, or women's adornment. Rahman uses a contextual approach with the double movement method, which interprets verses of the Quran not only from the text but also within the current social context (Maisurah et al., 2024). He emphasized that adorning oneself is not always synonymous with wrongdoing, as long as it is not intended to arouse lust or self-exploit. In the digital world, where women need to be visually present for work, education, or religious purposes, Rahman's approach provides space for women to appear professional and dignified without violating the principles of Islamic modesty (Salamah, 2024).

Nevertheless, the principle of caution from Al-Maraghi's interpretation remains important as a reminder to prevent women from falling into behaviors that could lead to self-objectification. Al-Maraghi's normative approach provides moral boundaries that are still needed to maintain self-awareness while beautifying oneself (Anggraini, 2022). The combination of these two approaches (Rahman's contextualism and Al-Maraghi's emphasis on values) can serve as a balanced guide for women in presenting themselves in public and digital spaces in an Islamic manner.

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that the phenomenon of digital *tabarruj* among Muslim women, which is the behavior of displaying one's attractiveness or beauty through social media in front of non-mahram, does indeed emerge with a complex pattern in the digital era. Some Muslim women use platforms like Instagram or TikTok to showcase their eye-catching hijab, makeup, and fashion styles, while simultaneously identifying as devout Muslim women. The findings indicate that this content is often not merely esthetic, but is related to personal branding, social branding, and public interaction. This result aligns with previous research showing that social media

interaction has a significant impact on the religious participation of millennial Muslim women (Zain et al., 2024). It was also found that there is an awareness that such behavior can affect perceptions of Muslim identity, particularly between being a “devout Muslim woman” and being a “celebrity figure.”

Reflection on these findings reveals an interesting paradox: on the one hand, Muslim women appear to use social media as a space for expressing religious identity and a modern Muslim lifestyle; on the other hand, overly explicit visual exposure or image-oriented presentation can approach the concept of *tabarruj*, which is forbidden in classical Islamic tafsir traditions. For example, contemporary interpretations state that *tabarruj* is not merely physical adornment but “displaying one’s nakedness or attractiveness to non-mahram,” which has ethical implications in the digital context (Darzi et al., 2021). Additionally, the research findings also indicate that motivations for using social media, such as wanting to showcase personal achievements or gain followers, interact with religious and social norms, rather than simply being about “sharia awareness”. Thus, this phenomenon demands deeper reflection on how the identity of modern Muslim women is changing and how Islamic norms are practiced in the digital realm.

The interpretation of these results is that digital *tabarruj* can be understood as a form of reconfiguring public space for Muslim women in the digital age: social media allows visual displays that were previously limited to physical space to now enter the online realm, with the affordances of algorithms, likes, followers, and a wider audience. Within the framework of contemporary interpretation, this behavior signifies a blend of religious intention (as a hijab-wearing Muslim woman) and aesthetic-commercial practice (becoming a style influencer). For example, semantic studies show that *tabarruj* includes the act of displaying oneself to non-mahrams (Taleb, 2023). Therefore, in the digital context, displaying content with a hijab but with an “attention-grabbing” orientation can be seen as a modern form of *tabarruj*. This poses a challenge for Muslim women to maintain a balance between legitimate self-expression and the required boundaries of Islamic law.

Compared to other literature on Muslim women and social media, the results of this study are consistent with studies showing that Muslim women's identities to

Instagram are constructed through the hijab symbol, endorsement choices, and esthetic content. For example, research by Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman found that Muslim influencers construct their identities through three categories: adherence to Sharia, selecting endorsements in accordance with Islamic values, and social aspiration motives (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018). However, this research expands by focusing on a specific aspect of “digital *tabarruj*”: not just the hijab-aesthetic identity, but how visual appeal and public interaction (likes, comments) can be both a means and a test of religious norms. Thus, this study adds a dimension that social media is not only a space for expressing identity, but also has the potential to reproduce *tabarruj* in a new form.

As a follow-up, this study suggests several directions: first, there needs to be larger quantitative research to measure the prevalence and predictor factors of digital *tabarruj* across various platforms (Instagram, TikTok). Second, practical recommendations for the practice of da'wah and education for Muslim women: for example, a digital literacy module highlighting visual ethics, modesty, and social algorithm attention. Third, intervention programs for Muslim women's communities that facilitate alternative narratives: strengthening the identity of Muslim women who are digitally active but remain within the framework of Islamic law, without neglecting halal esthetics. Thus, the phenomenon of digital *tabarruj* is not only understood as a visual issue, but as a normative and educational challenge that requires a strategic response in the age of social media.

D. CONCLUSION

This research concludes that the phenomenon of digital *tabarruj* constitutes a significant transformation in the behavioral manifestation of adornment within contemporary context, positioning social media as a novel space for Muslim women's self-identity projection. Through an analysis of QS. Al-Ahzab/33:33 and QS. An-Nur/24:31 using a contemporary interpretation approach and Fazlur Rahman's double movement theory, this research reveals that *tabarruj* is not merely an issue of esthetics or self-expression, but also an issue of ethics, intention, and social impact. This

phenomenon highlights the tension between the need for self-actualization in the digital public sphere and the obligation to maintain sharia boundaries in visual expression.

The main contribution of this research lies in its attempt to bridge classical tafsir studies with the rapidly evolving digital social phenomena among Muslim women. This research expands the understanding of the concept of *tabarruj* beyond a mere prohibition against excessive adornment, to a moral reflection on how Muslim women present their self-identity in virtual space. Thus, this study contributes theoretically to the development of contextual interpretation, while also offering practical guidance for Muslim women to remain active on social media without violating the principles of modesty and honor taught by Islam.

However, this study still has some limitations, primarily because its approach is qualitative, focusing on text analysis and a limited number of case studies. There is no quantitative measurement yet of the extent to which the digital *tabarruj* phenomenon occurs and the social factors that influence it. Therefore, further research is suggested using a mixed methods approach that combines interpretive analysis, social media behavior surveys, and psychological studies on the motivation for digital self-adornment. Future research could also explore creative da'wah strategies to educate Muslim women about visual ethics and digital literacy based on the values of the Quran.

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