

Endogamous Marriages in Kiai Sukorejo's Family: Sufi Social Fiqh Transformation and Implications for Islamic Jurisprudence

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ABSTRACT

Marriage with the principle of endogamy in the context of arranged marriages, as observed within the family of Kiai Sukorejo in Situbondo, is influenced by religious, cultural, and Sufi tradition factors. The research uses the phenomenological method to delve into the meaning behind the phenomenon. Marriage is regarded as a means to follow the Sunnah of the Prophet, strengthen religious devotion and Faith, reinforce family bonds, and preserve the existence of the Islamic boarding school (Boarding School). Aspects of lineage, religious commitment, and scholarly qualifications take precedence in arranged marriages as an implementation of the concept of kafa'ah in Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh). The mystical understanding derived from Sufi teachings also affects perspectives and actions in accepting arranged marriages. This research provides a significant contribution to understanding social Sufi jurisprudence (Fiqh) and the practice of endogamous marriages within the context of Islamic boarding schools. The study's findings offer valuable recommendations for developing social fiqh understanding, remarkably grounded in Sufi teachings. It is important to note that this study has a limitation in that it did not involve female informants, which should be a crucial consideration in analyzing and exploring the meaning of arranged marriages.

Keywords: Social Fiqh; tasawuf; matchmaking; endogamous marriage; Kiai.

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INTRODUCTION

The issue of the practice of arranged marriages has become a controversial topic of discussion among experts in sociology, anthropology, and religion. Some experts believe that arranged marriages can be a medium to hold families together and help maintain local traditions and wisdom that have been preserved for generations (Swallow et al., 2016). Meanwhile, others consider that arranged marriages can hinder individual development and narrow one's life choices (Apostolou, 2017). More than that, arranged marriages are assumed to eliminate romance in marriage (Nelson & Jankowiak, 2021).

In addition, the practice of arranged marriages by groups of people who adhere to the principles of endogamous marriage. According to the Encyclopedic Dictionary of Archaeology, endogamy is a marriage practice considering the similarity of tribes, clans, or local groups (Leroy-Prost, 2001). Socially, endogamy is the habit of marrying only within the boundaries of a particular community, clan, or group similarity (Montolio et al., 2013). The close relationship between arranged marriages and endogamous marriages is shown by the dominance of the role of a third person or based on the size of a community group as the primary support for the occurrence of endogamous marriages. At least three factors are driving endogamous marriage: individual preferences, third-party roles, and group size. *First*, Individuals have preferences for a particular set of characteristics they look for in a partner. *Second*, there is parental control. *Third*, the level of a tendency to choose a partner based on a similar social background (Utomo & McDonald, 2021). In order to maintain kin affiliation, solidarity, and the ability to ensure that resources remain within the control of the group, arranged marriages are seen as capable of realizing the goals of endogamous marriage (Omoye & Monica, 2019). Without exception, arranged marriages were chosen as a strategy to maintain groups in conflict-prone areas, such as what happened in the Uzbek community in the city of Osh, Kyrgyzstan (Ismailbekova, 2020).

Arranged marriage is a practice that is still widely practiced in several cultures, especially among traditional societies. According to Pradhan (2018), alternative marriage options have facilitated social change in India. However, doing things differently from cultural norms can have negative consequences, especially for women involved in choice marriages because they have to go against the gender roles prescribed by Indian society. Allendorf & Pandian's (2016) report analyzing data from the 2005-2006 and 2011-2012 India Human Development Survey suggests that the practice of traditionally arranged marriages is still dominant in India, although there have been some changes in marriage practices over the past few decades.

In the Indonesian context, the practice of arranged marriage can still be found in several areas, especially in the Kiai family environment at Islamic boarding schools. The term Kiai depends on the individual having extensive religious knowledge and; or managing an Islamic boarding school (Dhofier, 2019). The use of this term is similar to the use in Madura. It is related to the formal

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structure of the Islamic boarding school and the depth of religious knowledge possessed by the individual (Endang, 2003). Generally, the practice of arranged marriages takes place based on the Kiai's blessing and authority (Kuswandi & Ridwan, 2023). The standards used to assess whether a couple is compatible or not are usually aligned with the concept of kafa'ah in Fiqh (Hafidzi et al., 2020). Meanwhile, the main factor that is the basis for the continuity of arranged marriages is the doctrine of obedience to Kiai, which is deeply rooted as a culture in Islamic boarding schools (Amna, 2020). The doctrine of obedience is a form of implementation of the Sufism concept of the relationship between a student and a teacher (Irham & Basith, 2018). This means that the practice of arranged marriages in Kiai's family environment, apart from being related to Fiqh, is also intertwined with Sufistic traditions. In this case, examining the extent of the relationship between Fiqh and Sufistic traditions in the phenomenon of arranged marriages in the Kiai family environment is interesting.

This research took samples from arranged marriages in Kiai Sukorejo Situbondo's family environment. This area is vital in the values of Fiqh and Sufism. This research is needed to explore the meaning of arranged marriage in endogamous marriage according to Sufistic social Fiqh. This research focuses on two main issues: how Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school environment interpret arranged marriages in endogamous marriages and the implications for the concept of Sufistic social Fiqh.

This research uses a Sufistic social fiqh approach as a theoretical framework. Fiqh is a practical Islamic legal discipline and originates from detailed references (Khalāf, 2014). Fiqh is also related to the legal aspects of human actions, whether a contract is valid or not and is related to times of worship (Al-Ghazāli, 2020). As a result of ijihad, Fiqh is between human rules and religious provisions so that it has elements of theological and social values (Muhajir, 2018). In this unique position, Fiqh not only accommodates legal and normative aspects of religion but also brings together elements of deep values with theological and social dimensions (Asmani, 2016). Through interpretation and analysis of primary sources, the Koran and hadith, Fiqh plays an essential role in guiding individual and societal behavior following principles and ethics (Darna, 2021). During the journey and development of its interpretation, Fiqh began to seep into the spiritual realm (Masburiyah, 2011). The Sufistic nuance in Fiqh emerges by emphasizing a deep understanding of religious teachings that inspire a deeper connection with God (Islamy, 2020). In this context, understanding Fiqh can bring individuals closer to the spiritual dimension, leading to a search for deeper meaning and awareness of divine reality (Ismail, 2012). Thus, the content of Fiqh is not only limited to aspects of formal rules but is closely related to spiritual nuances (Sufistic social Fiqh).

METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach with an interpretive phenomenological design (Fatchan & Arifillah, 2016; Kuswarno, 2009) to gain an understanding of the essential meaning of a phenomenon experienced by several

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individuals (Creswell, 2014; Singh et al., 2019). This research was carried out for approximately six months, from July to December 2022. Data sources were obtained through observation techniques and in-depth interviews with key informants. The key informants in this research were several Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school who were married endogamous. They are Kiai Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy, Kiai Afifuddin Muhajir, Kiai Moh. Kholil Abdul Jalil, Kiai Aso Syamsuddin and Kiai Moh. Jufri. As a figure with solid religious knowledge and strong traditions, there is information from the intersection of the two that will give birth to Islamic Law that lives as local wisdom. Islamic law that lives in the endogamous marriage tradition is explored in more detail. The data was then analyzed using an interactive model and tested for validity using several techniques, such as data triangulation and member checking (Fatchan & Arifillah, 2016).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The pattern of arranged marriages based on lineage (genealogy) between families of fellow Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school environment has certain motives and goals. This motivation can arise from internal or external factors of the actor, such as religion, social factors, and culture (Jones, 2003). The motives and background factors are essential to understanding and analyzing the marriage practice's dynamics and social significance. However, before explaining the motives and factors for endogamous marriage, researchers need to explain the general picture of marriage patterns between relatives within the Kiai Islamic boarding school in Sukorejo.

Based on the data found by researchers, it can be ascertained that the Kiai of the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school adheres to the principle of endogamous marriage. Kiai As'ad married his first daughter, Nyai Zainiyyah As'ad, to KHR. Dhofier Munawwar. Regarding social genealogy, Kiai As'ad and Kiai Dhofier still have a family relationship; The lineages of the two meet at Kiai Ruham. Syekh Dhofier is the youngest son of Kiai Munawwar bin Ruham, while Nyai Zainiyyah is the daughter of Kiai As'ad bin Syamsul Arifin bin Ruham (Buletin Santri Ma`had Aly, 2012; Putra & Suryadinata, 2020). This endogamous marriage alliance continues to this day. The marriage of Kiai Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy to Nyai Nur Sari, with his current central position as leader or caretaker of the Sukorejo cottage, Kiai Azaim was married to Nyai Nur Sari As'adiyah. Regarding the family tree, Kiai Azaim and Nyai Sari are still close relatives and cousins. Likewise with Kiai Moh's marriage. Jufri with Nyai Ukhtul Istifada in the position of deputy caretaker of the branch lodge, Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Nurul Makkiyah. Likewise, the marriage of Kiai Afif which is currently the scientific center of the Sukorejo Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic boarding school. Likewise, with the marriage of Kiai Khalil Abdul Jalil to Neng Afwan Maqbulah in his position as deputy administrator of the Madrasatul Qur'an Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo branch. Likewise, Kiai M. Syamsuddin and Neng Ukhtul Iffah are in their positions as assistant managers of

the Nurul Qani` Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo boarding school (Buletin Santri Ma`had Aly, 2011).

Understanding Matchmaking Motives in Endogamous Marriage

Arranged marriages in endogamous marriages or marriages between individuals from the same group, such as between families of fellow Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school environment, can be caused by various motives, one of which is religious advice. Table 1 contains a detailed description of the research findings.

Table 1. Meaning of Formulation Based on Important Statements

Informant Statement	Meaning of Theme	Formulation
1) Kiai Azaim: we intend to enter the institution of marriage wanting ittiba`, to follow the Prophet's sunnah, to get the Prophet's love, to get Allah's approval as a process of perfecting oneself, making the target the goal of someone who is blessed with Faith. We want to continue the Faith of Yazid wala <i>yankush</i> , so one way to increase Faith is through marriage. (W/Situbondo/12/12/22)	To follow the sunnah of the Prophet, To enhance diversity, So that our Faith becomes stronger, So that Faith increases,	Marriage as the Sunnah of the Prophet, Marriage can perfect religion, Marriage can strengthen Faith, Marriage as a medium to increase Faith,
2) Kiai Afifuddin Muhajir: What does it mean to be beautiful? What does it mean to be rich if we do not have a religion? Marrying someone because he is rich is fine, but the latter is emphasized: <i>fadzfar bidzāt al-dīn</i> , "We should get a religious woman." So, we use these criteria. (W/Situbondo/10/11/22)	To follow the Prophet's advice To be happy in the afterlife	To follow the sunnah of the Prophet, The religious aspect as a partner criterion
3) Kiai Khalil Abdul Jalil: However, if we look at the Prophet's father, his lineage is clear. It is stated that the Prophet's kanjeng lineage did not contain idol worshipers. That is why we chose a partner from the Kiai family. (W/Situbondo/10/10/22)	To follow the sunnah of the Prophet, To confirm lineage	Following the sunnah of the Prophet Lineage quality
4) Kiai Moh. Jufri: Marriage is <i>hifdz an-nasl</i> , protecting offspring. That is why marriage in our family adheres to preserving offspring by connecting distant	To look after offspring To continue kinship	<i>Hifdz al-Nasl</i> is a destination wedding, Marriage as a medium to

relatives. (W/Situbondo/15/10/22)		strengthen family relationships
5) Kiai Syamsuddin: In our family tradition, the element of <i>nasab</i> is very much considered. Besides knowledge requiring sanad, hereditary problems also require sanad. The scientific principle in matters of heredity is more about maintaining Faith. If marriage looks at lineage, it is rare for one (line of) descent to have different beliefs. (W/Situbondo/12/10/22)	The <i>nasab</i> standard is intended to determine the religious background of a prospective partner,	The importance of paying attention to social background, Avoid conflict, Ease of adaptation between partners
6) Kiai Khalil Abdul Jalil: It is easier to live with and understand when we get partners with the same cultural traditions in our family. (W/Situbondo/10/10/22)	Marriage is intended so that in living a domestic life, there is not much conflict,	Ease of adaptation between partners
7) Kiai Azaim: When a family of knowledge meets a family of knowledge, the hope is that they will adhere firmly to the guidance of teachers from `ahl al-`ilm ulama. (W/Situbondo/12/12/22)	Marriage is meant to be easy to adapt to	The urgency of equalizing the family's vision, Regeneration
8) Kiai Khalil Abdul Jalil: Marriage is between men and women and between one family and another family, between one cultural form and another culture. (W/Situbondo/10/10/22)	So that the relationship between in-laws' families becomes closer so that they can quickly adapt to each other	The importance of paying attention to social background, Avoid conflict, Ease of adaptation between partners
9) Kiai Khalil Abdul Jalil: In fact, family marriages only want certainty. Want certainty about who is on top of it? A kind of genealogy or sanad. Sanad his knowledge and then how his worship performance is. If those above are experts in worship, then there is great potential for those below them to be worship experts. Why? If he were an expert in knowledge and worship, he would pray for and teach knowledge to his children and continue to do so for generations. (W/Situbondo/10/10/22)	Lineage standards are intended to ensure the level of religiosity and scientific knowledge of the couple, Lineage standards are intended to find the suitability of the couple's vision in running a family, The <i>nasab</i> standards are intended to create a family of experts in knowledge and experts in worship.	The importance of paying attention to the social background, Religious and scientific orientation, Quality Generation

Source: Interview with informan, 2023

Table 1 shows that the motive for marriage in Kiai Sukorejo Situbondo's family environment is to explain the importance of getting married or finding a life partner. For Kiai, in the family environment of the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school, marriage is not only seen as a biological need but also as part of a religious requirement. First, marriage is seen as a way to follow the Sunnah of the Prophet. In this case, marriage is considered a way to improve and perfect one's religious beliefs and strengthen one's Faith.

Furthermore, marriage is also seen as a way to obtain complete happiness (in this world and the hereafter). According to Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo neighborhood, marriage is considered a form of worship that can bring blessings from Allah. Therefore, in marriage, it is essential to pay attention to aspects of the couple's lineage so that there will be no conflicts resulting from unequal social backgrounds, misunderstandings, and differences in determining the direction of the goal of starting a family. It is considered to hinder the birth of a quality generation.

Based on the description above, a new proposition can be built as follows.

Proposition 1: "Marriage is a medium for following the Sunnah of the Prophet so that religion and Faith can be maintained. The orientation of complete happiness is the goal of marriage practice, so it is necessary to pay attention to aspects of the couple's lineage that can minimize the possibility of conflict due to misunderstandings. The harmony of the couple will give birth to a quality generation."

Exploration of Proposition 1

In the Islamic boarding school environment, the Kiai views marriage as part of the Prophet's Sunnah. Their religious beliefs are closely related to the messages contained in the Koran and are enshrined in the form of the Prophet's Sunnah. The verse of the Qur'an states, "And marry those who are alone among us..." (Q.S. Nur: 32). while the Prophet's hadith states, "Will I not pray, sleep, fast, and marry women? So whoever does not like my sunnah actions, he is not included in my group" (Hajjāj, 2011). Thus, marriage is considered a way to follow the Prophet's teachings and obtain blessings from Allah. Therefore, Kiai views marriage as very important as proof of love for the teachings of their religion.

For Kiai, marriage is a way to maintain one's religion and Faith. Through the institution of marriage, the Kiai hope that a person's Faith can be strengthened and maintained. The theological concept of Faith suggests fluctuations in a person's beliefs, which can be overcome through marriage. In the Qur'an, it is stated, "So that those who are given the book may be convinced and so that those who believe may increase in faith" (Q.S. al-Mudassir: 31). Other verses also emphasize the existence of fluctuations in Faith. However, Kiai believes that through marriage, a person can strengthen his beliefs and even increase his Faith.

Based on these two verses, Muslim scholars conclude that Faith will likely increase or decrease. Imam Abu al-Hasan Al-Ash`ari, a founder of the Ahlusunah waljamaah school, stated in his book al-Ibānah that "Indeed, faith is an expression and action, which can increase and decrease". Faith is initially a belief in the heart, which is then manifested in the form of confession and action. For Kiai, real action as a form of representation of their Faith is trying to carry out marriages following religious guidance. Through marriage, they hope to strengthen their confidence and Faith in themselves to continue growing and developing.

Apart from having religious motives, Kiai's marriage orientation is also to achieve complete happiness. Creating a happy family is the primary goal of marriage (Shihab, 1996). This goal is reflected in the Qur'an; "And among the signs of His power, He created for you mates from your kind, so that you may feel at ease with them, and He put affection between you" (Q.S. al-Rūm: 21). According to Kiai's view, a marriage carried out with complete confidence will bring happiness not only in this world but will also last forever until the afterlife. Therefore, Kiai considers marriage a form of worship with equally essential spiritual and material values.

To achieve the desired goal of marriage, the Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school environment have set standards in choosing partners for their sons and daughters. In choosing a partner, Kiai refers to their religious understanding, such as considering aspects of lineage. Even though the hadith of the Prophet states, "Marry a woman because of four factors, namely because of her wealth, heredity, her beauty, and her religion..." (Al-Baiḥakī, 1993) is a reference, the Kiai do not put it into practice radically.

From a fiqh perspective, the recommendation standard for choosing a marriage partner is kafa'ah. According to Al-Zuhaili (1989) in his monumental work, 'al-Fiqh al-Islamy wa Adillatuhu', *kafa'ah* refers to equality or equality between potential partners to avoid inequality, which could result in reproach. Even though the discussion of *kafa'ah* in classical fiqh books often questions its marriage relationship, discussions by scholars on this matter continue. The main question that often arises is whether *kafa'ah* is a condition for the validity of a marriage or a condition that must be fulfilled for a couple to continue their marriage. Some scholars state that kafa'ah is a legal requirement, so it can cause the marriage to be annulled if it is not fulfilled. However, other groups state that *kafa'ah* is a *luzum* condition, which means a couple can continue their marriage or cancel it later if this prerequisite (equivalence) is not met (Syarifuddin, 2006).

However, although some fiqh provisions offer several standards, Kiai practically applies various additional attributes in choosing a marriage partner. Apart from nasab standards, Kiai also uses scientific and religious standards as the main requirements in choosing a partner. This scientific standard refers to the level of education and religious knowledge the prospective partner possesses. In contrast, the religious standard refers to the depth and perseverance in worship and understanding religious teachings. Kiai hopes to create balanced, harmonious

couples and build happy and successful families by applying broader and holistic standards.

Kiai, who married based on lineage similarities, believed their partner's orientation would not be much different from their own. They argue that if a couple has a similar socio-cultural background, their character will certainly not differ significantly from their immediate family. In Kiai's view, this can help minimize the possibility of conflict within the household because the couple has the same understanding of their family's local wisdom and culture. Therefore, lineage is one of the critical indicators considered by Kiai when choosing a marriage partner.

From a psychological perspective, a person's personality is influenced by genetic and environmental factors (Mufidah, 2013). Therefore, the actions of Kiai who marry couples based on similar lineages and socio-cultural backgrounds are not irrational. On the contrary, this is a rational and measured action because it considers the factors influencing a person's personality. In the Islamic boarding school environment, children are taught to know the branches of Islamic knowledge and are sent to Islamic boarding schools, where the knowledge emphasized is sound and blessed knowledge (Dofier, 2011). Therefore, the Kiai believe that by marrying partners with similar social backgrounds and diversity, the partner's orientation will not be much different. It is expected to reduce the risk of conflict in marital relationships.

As is known, manners and politeness customs in Islamic boarding school environments are generally formed based on internalization between knowledge values, religious norms, and social reality. In its form, the traditional culture of Islamic boarding schools is used as a cornerstone in the lives of Kiai. If the marriage has different cultures, the lightest implication is that feelings of awkwardness between one family and another are very likely to occur. Even if a habit turns into a norm, the consequences will be more significant, namely triggering ridicule from fellow community members (Rahmaniah, 2014). Kiai marry their sons and daughters based on similar lineages to avoid conflict. With this choice, it is hoped that the families run by their sons and daughters will run harmoniously, thereby increasing the chances of obtaining higher-quality offspring.

The Kiai determine the criteria for couples to create a harmonious family and give birth to the best generation. They pay attention to lineage, scholarship, and religiosity to realize the continuity of generations of believers. The Prophet's Sunnah motivates Kiai with a hadith that mentions being proud of many people on the Day of Judgment (Al-Hasani, n.d.). For them, the Prophet's pride is not only in the quantity of the people but also in the quality of Faith and piety in each generation. Therefore, the Kiai tried to make the Prophet's wishes come true.

Endogamous Marriage Factors: Understanding the Act of Accepting an Arranged Marriage

Endogamous marriages between Kiai families in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school environment are often carried out through arranged marriages. This matchmaking practice is often based on considerations of Islamic boarding schools' social and cultural factors, such as kinship factors, social status, and group interests. It is hoped that solid social relations will be established between families and that the continuity of Islamic boarding school values and traditions will be maintained through matchmaking. Table 2 contains a detailed description of the research findings.

Table 2. Meaning of Formulation Based on Important Statements

Informant Statement	Meaning Formulation	Theme
1) Kiai Syamsuddin: We saw marriages within the family because of arranged marriages. Yes, including Kiai Afif. People like Kiai Afif also need a companion to care for them to remain culturally part of the Islamic boarding school family. (W/Situbondo/12/10/22)	Arranged marriages between relatives aim to ensure that those who care for the family remain from close relatives, Marriage between relatives is intended to strengthen kinship relationships, Marriages between relatives are aimed at benefiting the Islamic boarding school.	Arranged marriage as a family bonding medium, Accepting arranged marriages between relatives for the benefit of the Islamic boarding school
2) Kiai Afif: We feel that marriage in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school environment is political for the benefit. Why did he have to get him? Just like the Prophet's marriage, almost all political marriages. (W/10/11/22)		
3) Kiai Khalil Abdul Jalil: I'm unsure what message was behind when my father set me up on a date. Because this process is quite complicated to explain, it is just that Isyaroh is behind it all. I caught Isyaroh. (W/Situbondo/10/10/22)	Accepting an arranged marriage is meant to be filial to both parents, Accepting an arranged marriage is intended to obtain blessings in having a family	Accepting an arranged marriage as a sign of devotion to parents
4) Kiai Azaim: I have decided that my life path will follow my teacher's guidance, including marriage. More than that, there are those we know to think about the future. Even more specifically for certain people al-kasf, mukasyafah. So you can see	Accepting an arranged marriage between relatives is intended to get blessings from the teacher or Kiai, Kiai's choice is seen as a message from God,	Accepting an arranged marriage because of the charismatic Kyai or accepting an arranged

<p>future information, a gift from Allah SWT, from the people he chooses. By the standards of piety, a wise person has high spirituality. (W/Situbondo/12/12/22)</p> <p>5) Kiai Khalil Abdul Jalil: The Madurese language is "<i>arapa mak akabin bik, because you are sure ben reng toana etapae, lah bede reng seppoen se atapa</i>". (W/ Situbondo/10/10/22)</p>	<p>marriage because of mystical beliefs</p> <p>Accepting an arranged marriage is intended to obtain a flow of blessings from the ancestors,</p> <p>Accepting an arranged marriage because of mystical beliefs</p>
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Source: Interview with informan, 2023

Table 2 shows that the factor in the occurrence of endogamous marriages in the Kiai environment at the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school in Situbondo is arranged marriages. For Kiai, in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school environment, arranged marriages are seen as a way to maintain good relations between families. In Islamic boarding school culture, arranged marriages are considered an effective way to strengthen ties between families because arranged couples may share the same values and traditions. Also, marriage between relatives through arranged marriage is a priority because it can strengthen family relationships and benefit Islamic boarding schools.

On the other hand, accepting an arranged marriage by parents is also seen as a vital sign of devotion in traditional culture, especially in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school environment. Obeying parents' wishes is a form of respect children must show their parents. Apart from that, Kiai or spiritual teachers are seen as figures with authority and wisdom in matters of marriage. Therefore, when a Kiai recommends a couple for matchmaking, the Kiai in the Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding school environment tend to accept the recommendation as positive.

Based on the description above, a new proposition can be built as follows.

Proposition 2: "Arranged marriages are seen as a way to strengthen family relationships. Arranged marriages are intended to maintain the existence of Islamic boarding schools. Accepting an arranged marriage shows respect and reverence for parents. Because of mystical beliefs, they accept an arranged marriage to obtain blessings from a teacher or Kiai."

Exploration of Proposition 2

The Kiai used the method of arranged marriage. The Kiai view is that arranged marriage is about finding a life partner and building solid and harmonious family relationships. In their view, arranged marriages can guarantee that the chosen life partner meets specific criteria such as knowledge, religiosity, and lineage. In this way, it is hoped that it can give birth to the Khairah Ummah

generation (the best generation) who have high Faith and piety. Therefore, arranged marriage is considered an effective way to achieve this goal.

Kiai view arranged marriages as an effective strategy to maintain the continuity of Islamic boarding schools, which are the center of their activities and media for preaching. In practice, Kiai chooses life partners for their sons and daughters based on predetermined criteria, such as lineage, knowledge, and religiosity. Considering these factors, it is hoped that the chosen life partner will be able to work together to maintain and develop the Islamic boarding school and give birth to a generation with good character and abilities. In this case, arranged marriages are not only a way to strengthen family relationships but also an effort to protect and strengthen Islamic boarding school institutions as educational and religious centers.

In the context of arranged marriages, Kiai tends to accept arranged marriages due to several factors, including Islamic boarding school culture and traditions. In the Islamic boarding school environment, being obedient and obedient to parental advice is considered a highly valued tradition. Therefore, when Kiai arrange marriages between their sons and daughters, they usually accept it without much objection as a form of respect for the culture and traditions. It also hopes this can strengthen family ties and ensure the Islamic boarding school's continuity of traditions and values.

Kiai, who accept arranged marriages, consider that there is a profound blessing in following the instructions of their spiritual teacher. It is related to the tradition in the Islamic boarding school environment, which views the importance of the relationship between spiritual teachers (Kiai) and students (*santri*) as being bound forever. According to Dhofier (2019), this relationship includes physical and mental attachment. A student is expected always to be respectful and obedient to the teacher's orders, and this level of respect can even continue to his descendants.

Culturally, feelings of respect and submission to the teacher's orders are a manifestation of construction in the world of Sufism. In Islamic boarding school scientific traditions, Kiai is known to be close to Sufism, especially al-Ghazali's concept of Sufism. In almost all Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, Imam Al-Ghazālī (2013) monumental work, 'Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn', is a mandatory reference for Kiai. One of the doctrines in the book states that a student must not boast of his knowledge to oppose the wishes of his teacher. They must submit and obey their teacher's advice, just as a patient obeys a doctor. A student must be humble (*tawadu*) to his teacher. A student hopes for reward and glory due to serving his teacher.

Al-Ghazali's teachings are concepts that are firmly embedded in the minds of Kiai. Therefore, it is not surprising that Kiai accepts arranged marriages from their spiritual teachers. In the Kiai environment at the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school, arranged marriages are filled with elements of al-Ghazali's mysticism. The Kiai's trust in their teachers exceeds the general public's understanding. They believe that their teacher's decisions contain meaning that goes beyond the limits of

logic. Kiai believes that a pious teacher can reach heavenly messages by performing rituals.

The Kiai's submission to a teacher's instructions did not arise by chance or because of despair at their situation. On the contrary, this attitude results from careful consideration and maximum effort. The Kiai realize that their decisions should not be based solely on personal choices because they realize that the potential for lust can be hidden and disguised in the form of goodness. Therefore, they choose to follow the advice of pious and spiritually established people to avoid the influence of lust, which might influence their minds.

The Kiai's thought construction in accepting an arranged marriage reflects the characteristics of the concept contained in Sufism books. Al-Ghazali's concept of Sufism is the basis for the behavior of Kiai, which explains the various potentials found in humans. According to al-Ghazali, humans have spiritual potential which allows them to control and direct actions regarding several aspects, namely rabbaniyah, syaithaniyah, sabuiyyah, and bahimiyah. This spiritual potential encourages Kiai to choose a life partner recommended by their spiritual teacher to avoid the potential for lust, which is sometimes disguised as goodness.

The obedient and obedient attitude of the Kiai towards their teachers is based on efforts to get rid of destructive prejudices and always prioritize good prejudices in their daily actions. Efforts to raise good prejudices become the support for this obedience, a theme often touched on by the Kiai in each of their lectures and guides their daily actions. The concept of khusnudhan (be kind) is a value promoted in Sufism. As the expression says, "Bad prejudices, even if they are following reality, are not rewarding, and if prejudices differ from reality, they can lead to sin" (Al-Aṣḥabānī, 2009). It shows that Kiai's decisions manifest social ethics in the Sufism paradigm. This moral message comes alive in the hands of the Kiai and becomes a guide in their lives.

Kiai, who accept arranged marriages, believe that there are people who can receive information directly from Allah (Dhofier, 2019). This belief is based on the beliefs and values contained in the doctrine of Sufism. One of these beliefs is the belief in future information (*ilmu al-mukasyafah*), which can only be obtained by those who have the qualifications of a wise and pious person. Kasyf is the highest level of a person who undertakes a spiritual journey (*sālik*) where there is no veil (hijab) between him and his God. This achievement is only possible for someone who has gone through the stages of *takhalli*, *tahalli*, and *tajalli* (Suluk K.H. Ach. Hariri Abdul Adhim, *Pilar Spiritualitas Ma'had Aly Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Situbondo*, 2019). This belief shows the connection between arranged marriages and the spiritual path of Kiai.

The strength of the Sukorejo Kiai's belief in mystical knowledge cannot be separated from the influence of their social environment. Kiai As'ad, the founder and caretaker of the two Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic boarding schools, is known as a Kiai with particular expertise in religion and Sufism. According to Mujib Ridwan,

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Kiai As'ad has obtained 17 tarekat diplomas and was given permission to practice them (Hasan, 2011). This shows the level of knowledge and spiritual experience possessed by Kiai As'ad. However, the Sukorejo Kiai's belief in mystical knowledge is not only based on the influence of Kiai As'ad. However, it is also formed from a social environment thick with Sufism values and trust in Sufi scholars.

The information above shows the legitimacy of irrational sciences developing in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school. So it is not surprising that the Kiai in the Sukorejo area believe in and are looking for a teacher who can guide them to information about the future, including the issue of accepting an arranged marriage. One Kiai said he accepted the arranged marriage because he hoped for blessings from his future partner's great-grandfather, Kiai Syamsul Arifin.

Kiai Syamsul Arifin is a Sufi Kiai with a special closeness to Allah (Ainun Najib, 2016). In the Sukorejo environment, Kiai believes that Kiai Syamsul is a scholar who is very close to the Creator. Therefore, they did not hesitate to accept the arranged marriage and become members of Kiai Syamsul's family because it was believed that they would receive blessings from the prayers of scholars who were close to Allah. They believe marriage to Kiai Syamsul's family can be an intermediary for joining the group of people who receive blessings from the Sufi's prayers.

CONCLUSION

Overall, from the long explanation above, a conclusion can be drawn that marriages that apply the principle of endogamy through an arranged marriage, as occurred in the family environment of Kiai Sukorejo Situbondo, are influenced by religious, cultural, and Sufism traditions. Marriage is considered a medium for following the Sunnah of the Prophet, strengthening religion and Faith, strengthening family relationships, and maintaining the existence of Islamic boarding schools. Aspects of lineage, religion, and science are essential concerns in arranged marriage as a form of implementation of the concept of *kafa'ah* in Fiqh. Mystical beliefs resulting from understanding Sufism also influence views and actions in accepting an arranged marriage.

This study contributes to understanding Sufistic social Fiqh and matchmaking in endogamous marriages in Islamic boarding school environments and suggestions for understanding social Fiqh, especially those with Sufistic nuances. As discussed from start to finish, the weakness of this study is that there are no female informants who should be considered when analyzing and exploring the meaning of arranged marriage.

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