

Critical Analysis on the Thoughts of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabari about *Jilbāb* in the Quran Surah al-Aḥzab Verse 59

Rohmansyah

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia
rohmansyahummy@gmail.com

Abstract

When viewed from the aspect of the definition of the *jilbāb* (long, loose-fit outer garment worn by some Muslim women), the issue of *jilbāb* is a social-religious problem that is often used as a material for discussion among experts of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *tafsir* (exegesis, interpretation), both classic and contemporary. This research focuses on the interpretation of the *jilbāb* in the Quran Surah al-Aḥzab verse 59 based on the view of al-Ṭabari. The researcher conducts a critical study of his thoughts by using the library research method and the sociological-historical approach. The findings proved that al-Ṭabari was a very careful person in interpreting the Quran based on the *hadith* (the record of the words, actions, and the silent approval of the Islamic prophet Muhammad) and the *atsar* (the words or actions) of the *sahabah* (the companions of the prophet). The *jilbāb*, according to him, was something that covered the head, face, and one of the eyes (the left one). Such interpretation of al-Ṭabari certainly cannot be separated from the aspects of socio-historical phenomena that occurred in the past where the Abbasid Caliphate's seizure of territory took place to have implications for human freedom, especially for women. Such a condition of insecurity for a woman that made al-Ṭabari interpreted *jilbāb* as such in order to protect women. However, if the definition of *jilbāb* is contextualized today, then it is no longer relevant because the conditions are safe, and women are free to fulfill their needs. Still, a woman must maintain her honor and cover her *aurat* (intimate parts in Islam), except for something that can be seen which are the palm of the hands, and the face.

Keywords: *jilbāb; al-Aḥzab; thoughts of al-Ṭabari*

Abstrak

Persoalan *jilbab* merupakan masalah sosial-kegamaan yang disering menjadi bahan perbincangan di kalangan ahli *fiqh* dan *tafsir* baik klasik maupun kontemporer, jika dilihat dari aspek definisi *jilbab*. Penelitian ini difokuskan pada penafsiran *jilbāb* dalam surat al-Aḥzab ayat 59 dalam pandangan al-Ṭabari. Penulis melakukan studi kritis atas pemikirannya dengan menggunakan metode penelitian *library research* dan pendekatan sosiologi-historis. Hasil temuan membuktikan bahwa al-Ṭabari seorang yang sangat hati-hati dalam menafsirkan Alquran yang didasarkan kepada *hadis* dan *atsar* *sahabat*. *Jilbāb* menurutnya adalah sesuatu yang menutupi kepala, wajah dan salah satu mata yang sebelah kiri. Penafsiran al-Ṭabari yang demikian, tentu tidak lepas yang aspek gejala sosio-historis yang terjadi di masa lalu, di mana pada Abbasiyah terjadi perebutan daerah kekuasaan hingga berimplikasi pada kebebasan manusia terutama bagi perempuan. Kondisi ketidakamanan bagi seorang perempuan itulah yang menjadikan al-Ṭabari menafsirkan *jilbāb* demikian dalam rangka melindungi perempuan. Namun, jika definisi *jilbab* tersebut dikontekstualisasikan pada hari ini, maka

sudah tidak relevan lagi disebabkan kondisinya telah aman dan perempuan bebas untuk memenuhi kebutuhannya. Akan tetapi sekalipun demikian, bagi seorang perempuan tetap harus menjaga kehormatannya dan menutup auratnya kecuali sesuatu yang boleh terlihat yakni telapak tangan dan wajah.

Kata kunci: *jilbab; al-Aḥzāb; pemikiran al-Ṭabari*

INTRODUCTION

The issue that is often discussed and is debated among classical and contemporary ulama (Muslim scholars) is *jilbab*. Majority of people understand that *jilbab* is a clothing which women use to cover their heads. Ibn Kaṣīr said that *jilbāb* is a shawl for the head, or covering the face, the head, and opening the left eye.¹ The same thing was expressed by Abu Ḥātim,² which is different from al-Ṣaʿlabi's opinion.³ Al-Baiḍāwī said that *jilbāb* was *milḥafah* or a wide cloth to cover the face and the whole body because there was a need (necessity).⁴ Ibn Abbās said that *jilbāb* was *mukena* and shawl. Al-Khāzin was more inclined to armor and veil.⁵ Ibn Taymiyyah said that *jilbāb* was a woman's long clothes or a kind of clothing that ran down from the top of a woman's head so there were no visible parts except the eyes and the face cover called *chadaree*.⁶

Those differences also continue to contemporary Muslim scholars where they also argue about the issue of *jilbab*, in fact, to the application of *jilbab* in the field. Ṭhabaṭṭabaʿī said that *jilbāb* was a clothing that could cover the entire body, or a veil that covered a woman's head and the face. While al-Syaʿrawī said, the scholars disagreed, they said that *jilbāb* was a clothing used to cover underwear, shirts, pants, or short underwear. Others said that *jilbāb* was a veil that was used to cover the head.⁷ Ibn Ashur defines *jilbāb* as a clothing that is larger in size than a shawl, veil, and *mukena*.

¹ In this case he also mentioned other opinions with the opinions of Ibn Mas'ūd, Abidah, Qatādah, Hasan Bashri, Sa'id bin Jubair, Ibrahim al-Nakha'i, Atha 'al-Khurasani, and others said that *jilbāb* was interpreted with *al-Izār* that is a type of loose clothing, covering the entire body from the head to the whole body. Al-Jauhari said that *milḥafah* was a wide cloth that was used to cover the body. Imāduddīn Abu al-Fida Ismā'īl bin Kaṣīr Al-Dīmsyiqī, *Tafsīr Tafsīr Qur'an Al-Azīm*, vol. 4 (Kairo: Muassasah al-Qurṭubah, 2000), 481.

² *Jilbāb* is something that covers the face and part of the top of the head with *jilbāb*. Muhammad bin Idris al-Razi bin Abi Ḥatīm, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'an Al-Azīm Musnadān 'an Rasūlillah wa al-Ṣahabati wa al-Ṭabi'in*, vol. 10 (Riyāḍ: Makah al-Mukarramah, 1997), 3154.

³ Al-Sa'alabi said that *jilbāb* meant a clothing that was larger in size than a veil. See Abdurrahman bin Muḥammad bin Makhlūf Abi Zaid al-Ṣaʿlabi al-Māliki, *Tafsīr Al-Ṣaʿalabi Al-Musamma bi Al-Jawahir Al-Hisan fī Tafsīr Al-Qur'an*, vol. 3 (Beirūt: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāṡ al-Arabi, 1997), 326.

⁴ Muḥammad Ali Al-Baiḍāwī, *Tafsīr Al-Baiḍāwī*, vol. 1 (Beirūt: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2001), 386.

⁵ Al-Khāzin said that *jilbāb* was also called *milḥafah* and all that covered it from the types of clothing and others. See Al-Khāzin, *Tasīr Al-Khāzin Al-Musamma Libāb Al-Ta'wīl fī Ma'an Al-Tanzīl*, vol. 7 (Beirūt: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1995), 276.

⁶ Ibnu Taimiyah, *Jilbab Dan Cadar Dalam Al-Qur'an Al-Sunnah* (Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu jaya, 1994), 5.

⁷ Zainal Arifin, "Asy Syaikh Mutawwalli Asy Sya'rawi wa Afkaruhu Ḥaula Ayat Al-Jilbāb fī Tafsīrihi al-Ma'rūfī wa Aṡaruhu fī Indunisia," *Heritage of Nusantara International of Religius Literature Anda Heritage* 3, no. 2 (2014): 313.

The wearing of *jilbāb* certainly varies according to the habits practiced by women with the intention of sharia so they are better known and not disturbed.⁸

Jilbāb has become a trend for Indonesian Muslim societies until many research have discussed *jilbāb* as in several previous research, including: Dadi Ahmadi and Nova Yohana in “Kontruksi *Jilbab* sebagai Simbol Keislaman”.⁹ Similar one done by Lina Meilinawati Rahayu in “*Jilbab: Budaya Pop dan Identitas Muslim di Indonesia*”.¹⁰ Umar Sidiq in his research, “*Diskursus Makna Jilbab dalam Surat Al-Aḥzab Ayat 59: Menurut Ibnu Kathir dan M. Quraish Shihab*”.¹¹ Qowim Musthofa in “*Jilbab sebagai Identitas Organisasi Islam di Perguruan Tinggi*”.¹² Then the no-less interesting, Wening Udasmoro in “*Discourse Subaltern dalam Masyarakat Interkultural: Mencermati Relasi Gender Jilbab dan Perempuan Berjilbab di Prancis*”.¹³

⁸ Muhammad Thahir bin Asyur, *Al-Ṭabir wa Al-Ṭamir*, vol. 22 (Tunisia: Dar al-Tunisiyah, 1984), 106-107.

⁹ Both of them conducted field research on Female Students at Universitas Islam Bandung by using the motive theory. The findings showed three motives namely the theological motive that showed wearing *jilbāb* due to the religious obligation, the psychological motive that showed wearing *jilbāb* due to comfort, and the fashionable motive that showed wearing *jilbāb* due to the fashion trend or simply style. See Dadi Ahmadi dan Nova Yohana, “Kontruksi *Jilbab* Sebagai Simbol Keislaman,” *MEDIATOR* 8, no. 2 (2007): 235–248.

¹⁰ *Jilbāb* has become a trend of Indonesian Muslim society, and has become a diverse form of identity. Research with the Barthes' theory shows the signs of Indonesian Muslim clothing as part of the pop culture and forming a new identity. The *jilbāb* model of Muslim women in Indonesia adopts the local and global culture because the use of the *jilbāb* negotiates with the local culture so that it becomes a hybrid identity in wearing *jilbāb*. See Lina Meilinawati Rahayu, “*Jilbab: Budaya Pop Dan Identitas Muslim Di Indonesia*, Jurnal Ibdā’: *Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam* 14, no. 1 (2016): 139–155.

¹¹ His research used the *muqarrin* method or comparison. In his research he concluded that according to Ibn Kathir, the whole body of a woman was *aurat*, while Quraish Shihab tends not to oblige that a woman's *aurat* is her whole body. See Umar Sidiq, “*Diskursus Makna Jilbab Dalam Surat Al-Aḥzab Ayat 59: Menurut Ibnu Kathir Dan M. Quraish Shihab*,” *Kodifikasia* 6, no. 1 (2012): 162– 182.

¹² In his research using the field-research-nuanced qualitative approach, said that the research results from existing organizational data at UGM (Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta), namely KAMMI (Unit of Indonesian Muslim Students' Action), IMM (Association of Students of Muhammadiyah) and KMNU (Family of Students of Nahdlatul Ulama), showed that some students who wore *jilbab* were not only motivated by the theological and organizational aspects, but also because of the aspects of their identity which were influenced by the psychological aspects and the problems of existence-identity which were influenced by the intellectual development and the accumulated experiences that were influenced by the psycho-social of each individual. See Qowim Musthofa, “*Jilbab Sebagai Identitas Organisasi Islam Di Perguruan Tinggi*,” *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 2, no. 2 (2017): 143–155.

¹³ In his research using the Critical Discourse Analysis method with the Norman Fairclough model. The research results indicated that *jilbāb* and the wearers became a quite long polemic in which various views expressed from the French political elite and non-elite said that c was a new symbol that subordinated women from men. While Muslim women say that their choice of wearing *jilbāb* has nothing to do with the subordination of men, until somebody in Lyon, wearing *jilbab*, said that *jilbab* was from her religion and until the end of time *jilbab* was not revoked. On another occasion, French President, Nicolas Sarkozy, in the Barack Obama's post-visit to Cairo, Egypt, issued a rule: *jilbab* may be worn on two conditions, first, outside the administration office and public schools. In fact, other parliamentarians said, "It is not France who has to adapt to Islam, but Islam is the one that must adapt to France." Some of them said that "*Jilbab* is also a threat to our community life, and it becomes a tool for the activists who want to attack the foundations of our Republic." Furthermore, another party discourse emerged from the party members, "*Jilbab* is a symbol of oppression, female subordination, and a collective way to perpetuate sexual injustice." For these reasons, *jilbab* is contrary to the French values, the state of justice, and the human rights. Meanwhile, women wearing *jilbab* prefer to defend (being defensive) against the labels that are often directed at them, namely as subaltern (subordination) in the

The issue of *jilbāb* is quite complex in its discussion, when *jilbāb* is interpreted as a veil that covers the head and the face as al-Ṭabari's understanding in his tafsir agrees with Ibn Kathir, he interpreted that *jilbāb* was not only as something that covered the head, but also covered the face and the right eye opened while the left eye was closed. This understanding of al-Ṭabari is the same as Ibnu Taimiyah's expression above, but it is different from other tafsir of other Muslim scholars. This certainly raises issues that need to get very serious attention, and is very important to conduct a research to find out the reason why he interpreted as such.

Based on the background of these problems, several questions can be formulated which will be answered in a research, namely: *First*, what is the biography of Ibnu Jarīr al-Ṭabari? *Second*, what is Ibn Jarir al-Tabari's interpretation of *jilbāb* in the Quran Surah al-Aḥzab verse 59? *Third*, what is the critical analysis of the Ibnu Jarīr al-Ṭabari's interpretation of *jilbāb* in the Quran Surah al-Aḥzab verse 59?

To answer the problems above, researcher uses the method of library research, namely a research based on literature and supporting books related to the research being studied, using the sociology of knowledge approach which is a new science, that is a branch of sociology which studies the interrelationship between thought and society. The sociology of knowledge focuses on social conditions or the existence of knowledge. Scholars in this field are not limited to the sociological analysis on the area of cognition as it appears in its terms, but also to practically observe intellectual products such as philosophy, ideology, political doctrines, and theological thoughts. Therefore, the sociology of knowledge seeks to relate ideas to the reality of society, and examines the historical setting in which these ideas are studied and accepted.¹⁴ Those approaches cannot be separated from the historical approach which is an approach that discusses an event by looking at the elements of place, time, object, background, and historical actors. This is really needed in understanding religion, because religion itself descends in a concrete situation related to the social conditions of society. This is very related to the verses of the Quran that descended to the heavens of the world related to events that occurred (micro *asbab al-wurud*), but this is very limited so it needs a new theoretical approach namely the socio-historical approach (macro *asbab al-wurud*) which is broader and not limited to the *hadith* of the Prophet. Waryono Abdul Ghafur said that issues relating to social issues really needed to use new social science approaches such as sociology, history, anthropology, and

French context. See Wening Udasmoro, "Discourse Subaltern Dalam Masyarakat Interkultural: Mencermati Relasi Gender Jilbab Dan Perempuan Berjilbab di Prancis," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 14, no. 1 (2010): 1–22.

¹⁴ Muhyar Fanani, *Metodologi Studi Islam: Aplikasi Sosiologi Pengetahuan Sebagai Cara Pandang* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), 32.

others.¹⁵ One approach raised by researcher is the sociological-historical approach in order to get a more comprehensive and complete understanding.

According to Fazlur Rahman, the historical approach must be accompanied by a sociological approach that specifically captures the social conditions that occurred during the time the Quran was revealed. In this historical realm, the understanding of the Quran shows the elasticity of development without eliminating its historical elements so that the Quran will always be accepted anytime and anywhere. Thus, the elements of universality and flexibility of the Quran are also preserved.¹⁶

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Biography of Ibnu Jarīr al-Ṭabari

Al-Ṭabari, his full name is Muhammad bin Jarīr bin Yazīd bin Khalid al-Ṭabari. His nickname is Abu Ja'far. He was born in Amal, which is the capital of Thibristan, in 224 Hijriyah or the beginning of the 225th year of Hijriyah. Al-Ṭabari is a person who has brownish eyes, sweet face, tall body, and fluent words¹⁷ who grows up and start learning various kinds of science. At the age of seven, he was able to memorize the Quran, at the age of decades he had become a prayer leader (*imam*), and at the age of nine he was able to write hadith. Al-Ṭabari, apart from being a *mufassir* (writer of a commentary on the Quran), is also well-known as a prominent historian of his time with his highly monumental book, *Tarikh al-Rasul al-Malik* or *Tarikh Ṭabari al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, which is a universal history book.¹⁸ Muḥammad bin Jarīr al-Ṭabari died in Baghdad on 26 Shawwal 310 H/16 February 933 AD, during the reign of al-Muqtadir Billah, the 18th caliph of the Abbasid Dynasty.

At the age of 17 he went to Ray and studied with Abu Muqātil Salamah bin al-Faḍl al-Maghazi, Sirr, Ibnu Ḥumaid al-Razi, Ahmad bin Hammad al-Dawladi, and others. Then he traveled to Basrah and studied with al-Harsyi, al-Qazzar, and Muhammad bin Abd al-A'la al-Ṣan'ani. In Kufa he studied Qirā'at with Sulaimān bin Khalad al-Ṭalahi, and Abu Kuraib Muhammad bin al-A'la al-Ḥamdzani. In Baghdad he studied with Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Taghlībi al-Muqri, then lastly, he went to Egypt and met some of the Shafi'i followers such as al-Muzini, Rabai' bin Sulaimān, and Muḥammad bin Ḥakam. He lived in Egypt in 253 AH and met with prominent ulama leaders. Then

¹⁵ According to him, this research is likely to produce findings that are justification and discovery. See Waryono Abdul Ghafur, "Trend-trend Studi al-Qur'an," delivered in a lecture in the Postgraduate Program of Doctor of Islamic Studies, Department of Study of Quran and Hadith, Yogyakarta: Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, 2018.

¹⁶ Sibawaihi, *Hermenutika Alquran Fazlur Rahman* (Bandung: Jelasutra, 2007), 53.

¹⁷ Ibnu Katsir, *Al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah*, vol. 11 (Jizah: Dār al-Hijr, 1998), 165.

¹⁸ Jamil Ahmad, *Seratus Muslim Terkemuka* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1984), 415.

he returned to Baghdad and remained there forever, then he wrote various works. He spoke of important matters in the Quran relating to his interpretation, the neatness of the meanings of the composed Quran and the logical meaning of the servant who revealed the Quran to him.

Al-Ṭabari initially was in *madhhab* (school of thought within *fiqh*) of Syāfi'i, then came out of it and founded the mazhab of Jarīriyah, but it did not last long because he died, and his followers returned to the madhhab Shafi'i.¹⁹ His famous tafsir is 'Tafsir al-Ṭabari or Jami 'al-Bayan' Ta'wil Ay al-Qur'an.' Whereas the recommended hadith book is the hadith al-Tirmizi and al-Nasa'i. Al-Zahabi said that he was the sixth *ṭabaqat* (hadith composer). The hadith book that is composed is *Tabḥīḥ al-Aṣar*. The *qira'at* (recitation of Quran) used is the Hamzah *qira'at*.²⁰

Some positive views towards Ibn Jarir al-Ṭabari, Abu Hamid said, if a traveler entered China and finding Ibnu Jarīr al-Ṭabari's book, it was not something strange. Al-Qurṭubi said, the tafsir had never been seen as big as the book of Ibnu Jarīr al-Ṭabari, and nothing was more useful than the book. Al-Suyuṭi said that the commentary of Ibn Jarir al-Ṭabari was the most noble and greatest essay, the book contained the opinion of the most tattooed scholars who had not previously composed such a book.²¹

Al-Ṭabari in his interpretation pattern uses the scientific method which combines *dirāyat* (analysis of hadith), *riwāyat* (narration of hadith) and *aṣālah* (origin of hadith). From the perspective of *riwāyat* which he obtained from his studies of history, sirah-nabawiyah (Prophetic biography), language, poetry, *qira'at* and the opinions of the formers. As for the *dirāyat* which he obtained from the comparison of the opinions of the *fuqaha* (Islamic jurists, experts in *fiqh*), and he knew the *dalil* (proofs) of each of them were later *tarjih* (published). Then the steps used by al-Ṭabari in all of his books: First, establishing and limiting the term law discussed in the form of verse and its interpretation using the hadith explanation, then concluding from various opinions about akidah (creed), *fiqh* law, opinion and/or problem at dispute. Second, collecting maximum scientific materials associated with the material discussed. Third, explaining in detail the opinions of the ulama accompanied by the *dalil* of the Quran and the hadith of the Prophet. Fourth, using the deductive

¹⁹ Taufik Abdullah, *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam Pemikiran dan Peradaban* (Jakarta: Ichtisar Baru Van Hoeve, 2002), 272.

²⁰ Abu Ja'far bin Muḥammad bin Jarīr al-Ṭabari, *Tarikh Al-Ṭabari Tarikh Umam wa Al-Muluk* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣadir, 1863). ii-xii.

²¹ Mani' Abdul Halim Mahmud, *Metodologi Tafsir: Kajian Komprehensif Metode Para Ahli Tafsir* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2006).

method then comparing with *sanad* (deed) or other *dalil* by explaining the weaknesses of *sanad* and the opinions of the ulama, then concluding a more appropriate opinion.²²

His work is *Tafsīr al-Ṭabari* or *Jāmi 'al-Bayān fī Ta'wīl al-Qur'an*. This book was written at the end of the third Hijri century. In the introduction of the book, he began with the hadith of the Prophet and ended with a discussion of the opinions of the ulama. Then al-Ṭabari wrote a book in the field of history namely *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk* which was completed in 303 H/915 AD. This book has two stages, namely: First, starting from the creation, until before the arrival of Islam. Second, since the emergence of Islam until 302 H/904 AD. And then, the book *Iktibāl al-Fuqāhā* or *Iktibāl al-Ulamā' al-Amṣār fī Ahkāmī Syarā'i al-Islām*, the contents of which explain the sale and pawn; then the book *Ẓail al-Muḥīl, Laṭīf al-Qawli fī Ahkām Syarā'i al-Islām, al-Khaṣī fī Ahkām Syarā'i al-Islām, Adab al-Qudhāt, Adab al-Nufūs al-Jayyidah wa al-Akhlāq 'an al-Nafīsah, Tabḥīl al-Aṣar wa Taf'īl al-Ṣābit 'an Rasūlillah min al-Akbbār, al-Qirā'at wa Tanzīl al-Qur'an*, and *Basīth al-Qawl fī Ahkām Syarā'i al-Islām*.

***Jilbāb* on The Quran Surah al-Aḥzab Verse 59 According to al-Ṭabari**

Jilbāb in language, if seen from the form of *fī al-Ṣulās al-Mujarrad*, comes from the word *jalaba-yajlibu* or *yajlibu-jalban*, has the meaning of carrying or bringing.²³ When viewed from the form of *fī 'mulḥaq al-Ṣulās al-Mujarrad*, it becomes *jalbaba-yujalbibu-jalbabat wa jilbāban*, meaning long brackets and a kind of robe. According to Ibnu Arabi that *jilbāb* is interpreted as underwear that is worn while sleeping and covering the entire body. In contrast to Ibn Asyir, he said that *jilbāb* means doing *ḡubud* (having no love for the material world) in the world life, and be patient in poverty and limitations. Another opinion says that *jilbāb* is *mukena* which is used to cover the head, the back and the chest.²⁴ *Jilbāb* is also taken from the word *al-Jalbu* which means to pull or bring as in poetry: "*The answer brings something far away*". Or taken from the word *jalābib* itself which means veil and shirt.²⁵ In the KBBI (the standard dictionary of Indonesian language), it is mentioned that *jilbāb* is a loose clothes brackets, equipped with a veil that covers the head, part of the face, and the chest.²⁶

The word *jilbāb* is mentioned in the Quran Surah al-Aḥzab verse 59 in the form of *isim jama 'jalābibihina* from the word *al-Jilbāb*:

²² Abu Ja'far Muḥammad bin Jarīr al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabari*, terj. Ahsan Askan, ed. Besus Hidayat Amin dan Mukhlis B Mukti (Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam, 2011), 36-37.

²³ Ahmad Warson Munawwir, *Al-Munawwir Kamus Arab-Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Progressif, 1984), 214.

²⁴ Al-'Allamah Ibnu Manzhur, *Lisān al-Arab* (Beirut: Dār Ihyā al-Turaṣ al-Arabi, t.t.), 317.

²⁵ Al-Raghib Al-Asfahani, *Mu'jam Mufradat al-Aḥqāb al-Qur'an* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2008), 107-108.

²⁶ Tim Penyusun Kamus Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1989), 363.

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ قُلْ لِأَزْوَاجِكَ وَبَنَاتِكَ وَنِسَاءِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِنْ جَلَابِيبِهِنَّ ذَلِكَ أَدْنَى أَنْ يُعْرَفْنَ فَلَا يُؤْذَيْنَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ غَفُورًا رَحِيمًا

“O Prophet, tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to bring down over themselves [part] of their outer garments. That is more suitable that they will be known and not be abused. And ever is Allah Forgiving and Merciful.”

Al-Ṭabari said that Allah *subhānahu wa-ta’ālā* (may He be praised and exalted) said to the Prophet Muhammad *sallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam* (peace be upon him), “O Prophet say to your wives, your daughters, and all the believing women so that they do not liken their clothes to female slaves, where they go out to relieve themselves, they open their hair and face.” Then the *Mukmin* (believer) women should hold their *jilbāb* so that they are not disturbed by hypocrites with hurtful words in order to be known that they are freewomen. What is mentioned by al-Ṭabari is related to *asbab al-Nuzūl* (occasions of revelation) of the Quran Surah al-Aḥzab verse 59 as mentioned by al-Wahidi as follows:

أخبرنا سعيد بن محمد المؤذن قال: أخبرنا أبو علي الفقيه قال: أخبرنا أحمد بن الحسين بن الجنيد قال: أخبرنا زياد بن أيوب قال: أخبرنا هشيم عن حصين، عن أبي مالك قال: كانت نساء المؤمنین يخرجن بالليل إلى حاجاتهن وكان المنافقون يتعرضون لهن ويؤذونهن، فنزلت هذه الآية.²⁷

“Sa’id ibn Muḥammad al-Mu’azzin informed us Abu Ali al-Faqih informed Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusain ibn al-Junaid informed Ziyad ibn Ayyub informed Ḥasyīm informed Ḥusain Abu Mālik, who said: “The believing women were in the habit of going out at night to relieve themselves, but the hypocrites used to approach and malign them. This verse (Quran Surah al-Aḥzab verse 59) was revealed about this.”

On another occasion, al-Sudi said, “The houses of Medina used to be narrow. For this reason, women used to wait until nightfall in order to go out to relieve themselves. The corrupt of Medina also used to go out at night. Whenever they saw a woman with a cover, they said: 'This is a free woman', and they left her alone. But whenever they saw a woman without cover, they said: This is a slave', and tempted her to commit adultery. Allah, exalted is He, revealed this verse about this matter.

Quraish Shihab added that this verse was talking about the designation of identity that distinguished Muslim women from women in general including slaves. Muslim women, at the beginning of Islam in Medina, wore the same clothes as the clothes worn by women in general,

²⁷ Ahmad al-Wahidi Al-Naisāburi, *Asbab al-Nuzūl al-Qur’an* (al-Dammam: Dār al-Iṣlāḥ, 1992).

including female prostitutes and slave servants. They generally wore clothes and veils, and even *jilbāb*, but their necks and chests were easily visible. It was not uncommon for them to wear a veil but the ends are stretched so that their ears, neck, and chest, were open. Such conditions were used by hypocrites to tempt and annoy women including the believing women. And when they were rebuked, they said that they thought those women were slaves. This shows that their identity as Muslim women were not clearly obvious, so in such circumstances the al-*Aḥzab* verse 59 was revealed.²⁸

According to al-Ṭabari, that *ta'wil* (allegorical interpretation) experts had different opinions on the nature of *al-Idna'* (holding out) which Allah commanded. Some of them argued that *al-Idna'* was covering the face and the head so that they were invisible except one eye (*'ainan waḥidatan*).²⁹ In simple language, holding out the *jilbāb* is assumed by covering all the heads including the face, except the right eye.

Al-Ṭabari explained about holding out the *jilbāb* by quoting several opinions from *aṣar* (the remnants), namely:³⁰

First, the *aṣar* from Ibnu Abbās

حدثني عليّ، قال: ثنا أبو صالح قال ثني معاوية عن علي عن ابن عباس، قوله (يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ قُلْ لَأَزْوَاجِكُمْ وَبَنَاتِكُمْ وَنِسَاءَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِنْ جَلَابِيبِهِنَّ) أمر الله نساء المؤمنين إذا خرجن من بيوتهن في حاجة أن يغطين وجوههن من فوق رؤوسهن بالجلابيب ويبدن عينا واحدة.

“Ali informed me, he said, Abu Salih informed us, he said, Mu'awiyah of Ali of Ibnu Abbās informed us, that His words: "*Yā Ayyub al-Laḥḥāna to min Jalābibihinna ...*", it was the command of Allah to all believing women, if they went out of the house to relieve, they should have covered their faces from the top of their heads with *jilbāb* and showed one eye.”

Second, the *aṣar* from Ubaidah

حدثني يعقوب قال ثنا ابن عليّة عن ابن عون عن محمد عن عبدة في قوله (يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ قُلْ لَأَزْوَاجِكُمْ وَبَنَاتِكُمْ وَنِسَاءَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِنْ جَلَابِيبِهِنَّ) فلبسها عندنا ابن عون قال: ولبسها عندنا محمد قال محمد: ولبسها عندي عبدة قال ابن عون بردائه فتقنع به، فغطى أنفه

²⁸ M. Quraish Shihab, *Wawasan Al-Qur'an: Tafsir Tematik Atas Pelbagai Persoalan Umat* (Bandung: Mizan, 2014), 227-228.

²⁹ Abu Ja'far Muḥammad bin Jarīr al-Ṭabari, *Tafsir al-Ṭabari al-Musamma bi Jāmi'i al-Bayān fi Ta'wil al-Qur'an*, vol. 10 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1999), 331.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 20, 324.

وعينه اليسرى وأخرج عينه اليمنى، وأدنى رداءه من فوق حتى جعله قريبا من حاجبه أو على الحاجب.

“Ya'qūb informed me, he said, Ibnu 'Aliyah informed me, from Ibn 'Aun of Muḥammad of Ubaidah, that His words "Yā Ayyub al-Laṣṣina to min Jalābībīnna ...", that Ibn 'Aun gave an example of wearing the jilbāb in front of us, Muhammad gave an example of wearing the jilbāb in front of us, and Ubaidah gave an example of wearing the jilbāb in front of us. Ibn 'Aun said: with her shawl she used for *mukena*, then she covered her nose, her left eye, and showed her right eye, and stretched her shawl from the top of his head to make it close to her eyebrows or over her eyebrows.”

Third, the *aṣar* from Ibnu Ubaidah

حدثني يعقوب قال ثنا هشيم قال أخبرنا هشام عن ابن سيرين قال: سألت عبيدة عن قوله (قُلْ لَأَزْوَاجِكُمْ وَبَنَاتِكُمْ وَنِسَاءَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِنْ جَلَابِيبِهِنَّ) قال: فقال بثوبه، فغطى رأسه ووجهه، وأبرز ثوبه عن إحدى عينيه.

“Ya'qūb informed me, he said, Ibnu 'Aliyah informed us, from Ibnu Sīrīn said, Ubaidah, that His words "Yā Ayyub al-Laṣṣina to min Jalābībīnna ...", that Ibn 'Aun gave an example of wearing the *jilbāb* in front of us, Muhammad gave an example of wearing the *jilbāb* in front of us, and Ubaidah gave an example of wearing the *jilbāb* in front of us. Ibn 'Aun said: with her shawl she used for *mukena*, then she covered her nose, left eye, and showed her right eye and stretched her shawl from the top of her head to make it close to her eyebrows or over her eyebrows.”

On another occasion al-Ṭabari mentioned that the woman was ordered to tie her *jilbāb* over her eyebrows. In this case al-Ṭabari quoted the opinions of the ulama who came from some of the *aṣar* of the *sahabah* to provide a knowledge that among them there were differences of opinion, specifically the meaning of the *jilbāb* used to cover the head and the face, namely:

First, the *aṣar* from Ibn Abbās

حدثني محمد بن سعد قال ثنا أبي قال ثنا عمي قال: ثنا أبي عن أبيه عن ابن عباس، قوله يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ قُلْ لَأَزْوَاجِكُمْ وَبَنَاتِكُمْ وَنِسَاءَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِنْ جَلَابِيبِهِنَّ ... إلى قوله وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَزْمًا رَحِيمًا. قال: كانت الحرة تلبس لباس الأمة فأمر الله نساء المؤمنين أن يدنين عليهن من جلابيبهن. وإدناء الجلباب: أن تقنع وتشد على جبينها.

“Muhammad bin Sa'ad informed me, he said, my father informed me, my uncle informed me, he said, my father from the father of Ibn Abbas informed me, as for His words "Yā Ayyub al-Laṣṣina to min Jalābībīnna ...," he said, once freewomen dressed in slave clothing, then Allah told

believing women to hold out their *jilbāb*. To hold out the *jilbāb* was meant to wear a veil (*mukena*) and tying it on their eyebrows.”

Second, the *aṣar* from Qatādah

حدثنا بشر قال ثنا يزيد قال ثنا سعيد عن قتادة قوله (يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ قُلْ لَأَزُوجِكُمْ وَبَنَاتِكُمْ وَنِسَاءَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ) أَخَذَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِنَ إِذَا خَرَجْنَ أَنْ يَقْنَعْنَ عَلَى الْحَوَاجِبِ (ذَلِكَ أَذْنِي أَنْ يُعْرَفْنَ فَلَا يُؤْذَيْنَ) وقد كانت المملوكة إذا مرت تناولوها بالإيداء، فنهى الله الحرائر أن يتشبهن بالإماء.

“Bushr informed us, he said, Yazīd told us, he said, Saʿīd of Qatadah informed us, as for His words “*Yā Ayyuh al-Laḏīna to wa Nisā 'al-Mu'minin...*” was Allah made them for when they left the house they should have been veiled up to their eyebrows so that they were closer to be known so as not to be annoyed. Formerly, when slave women passed in front of hypocrites, they always interfered, then Allah forbid freewomen to wear the *jilbāb* as used by the slave women.”

Third, the *aṣar ar* which has sources

حدثنا ابن حميد قال ثنا حكام عن عنبسة عمن حدثه عن أبي صالح، قال: قدم النبي صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ المدينة على غير منزل، فكان نساء النبي صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وغيرهن إذا كان الليل خرجن يقضين حوائجهن. وكان رجال يجلسون على الطريق للغزل. فَأَنْزَلَ اللهُ (يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ قُلْ لَأَزُوجِكُمْ وَبَنَاتِكُمْ وَنِسَاءَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِنْ جَلَابِيبِهِنَّ) يَقْنَعْنَ بِالْجَلَابِيبِ حَتَّى تَعْرِفَ الْأُمَّةُ مِنَ الْحَرَّةِ.

“Ibn Humaid informed us, he said, Hikam of 'Anbasah informed us from the person who informed him from Abu Salih, he said that the Prophet PBUH had visited a place in Medina besides the shelter, then the wives of the Prophet and other women, when the night came, they left the house to relieve, while the pervert men (*masher*) were sitting on the road. Then Allah sent down the verse “*Yā Ayyuh al-Laḏīna to the end of the word min Jalābibibinna ...*”. They covered their heads with *jilbāb* until the slaves were recognized amongst the freewomen (it can be distinguished between the slaves and the freewomen).”

Al-Ṭabari reiterated that the phrase “*Zālika Adna an Yu'rafna fala Yu'zaina*” mentioned by Allah was for them to extend their *jilbāb* because they were closer and better known than the women who did not extend their *jilbāb*. Thus, they were known as the freewomen of faith. It was intended that they were not hurt by words that were not liked or something dangerous.

Those opinions of the ulama were quoted by al-Ṭabari in his book of *tafsir* indicated that he agreed with their opinions, so that according to him, *jilbāb* was a cloth used by a woman to cover the head, the face, and the eyes on the left side. Al-Ṭabari's interpretation is certainly not parted from the socio-historical aspects that influence his thinking. He lived during the reign of Abdullah bin Ṭāhir or the al-Ṭāhiriyyah Dynasty, and Muqtadir Billah, an 18th caliph of the Abbasid Dynasty.

At that time there was a seizure for territory. In 827 AD al-Ma'mun moved his center of power from the east to Baghdad. He tried to end his rebellion, and he regained control of the provincial government. From the West Baghdad, the caliph al-Ma'mun gave credence to Abu Ishak al-Mu'tasim to lead, while in the Khurasan area it was left to Abdullah bin Tāhir.³¹

In reading such situation and condition, al-Ṭabari as a *mufassir* who lived at that time, felt the need to protect women from bad men so they did not feel disturbed and annoyed, as well as they were not equated with slaves where slaves were concerned and became the lust for the wicked and the hypocrites. Therefore, he interpreted the Quran Surah al-Aḥzab verse 59 so that women covered their heads, faces, and left eyes. In addition to what influenced his thought pattern was the doctrines of religious and mazhab adopted by al-abari which can provide a spiritual power (faith) in carrying out the commands of Allah in the Quran. Hence, al-Ṭabari tended to be careful in interpreting the verses of the Quran, he would not interpret things according to his own opinion without a clear basis of the Prophet's *hadith* and the opinions of sahabat, and he concluded himself from the opinion that was considered the most powerful.³² As seen in his interpretation above, generally in his interpretation, he used several methodologies, namely: going through and/or doing *ta'wil*, interpreting verse by verse by seeing the existence of *munāsabah* (correlation) as an application of the thematic interpretation norm of *al-Qur'an yufassiru ba'duhū ba'dhan* (different parts of the Quran explain one another), interpreting the Quran by referring to al-Sunnah or hadith, relying on language analysis for the disputed history, exploring Arabic poetry and prose by explaining the meaning of vocabularies and sentences, paying attention to the aspects of *i'rab* (systems of nominal, adjectival, or verbal suffixes of Classical Arabic) with analogical thinking for *tashīh* (process of looking for and choosing the most correct and most authentic of the two we have) and *tarjih* (process of finding the strongest of two evidences/opinions), explaining the opinions of the *fiqh* ulama in the Islamic law theory, examining the correlation between the previous verses and the after, synchronizing between verses, compromising some opinions of the ulama if it can be compromised so that there was no *ta'arud* (contradiction).³³

³¹ Lathiful Khuluq, "Perkembangan Peradaban Islam Masa Daulah Abbasiyah," in *Sejarah Peradaban Islam Dari Masa Klasik Hingga Modern*, ed. Siti Maryam, dkk (Yogyakarta: LESFI, 2009), 103.

³² According to Quraish Shihab that this al-Ṭabari's interpretation was one of the interpretations that cited the *hadith* and opinions of the previous ulama, then he concluded and commented from those opinions. See Quraish Shihab, *Membumikan al-Qur'an* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 47.

³³ Muḥammad Yusuf, "Jami' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an Karya Ibnu Jarīr al-Ṭabari," in *Studi Kitab Tafsir*, ed. Ahmad Rofiq (Yogyakarta: Teras, 2004), 33.

During the Abbasid Dynasty, the development of culture and science had progressed which brought a positive impact on general science and religion science until there emerged two *tafsir* developed at that time, namely the *tafsir bi al-Ra'yi* and the *tafsir bi al-Ma'sūr*. The predominance of *tafsir* at that time was the *tafsir bi al-Ra'yi* because it was strongly influenced by philosophical thought and science. The development of *madhhab* also improved until the four mazhab were born, namely the Hanafī, the Maliki, the Syāfi'i, and the Hanbali. Many *mujtabid* (people accepted as an original authority in Islamic law) were free to issue *fatwa* (rulings on points of Islamic law given by recognized authorities) but did not develop and were left by the followers,³⁴ one of them was the mazhab Jarīri which was founded by al-Ṭabari, he was in mazhab Syāfi'i and then left it and established a new one called the Jarīri or the mazhab al-Ṭabari.

Socio-historical conditions greatly influence the mindset of an interpreter in doing all the words and deeds so that they cannot avoid being influenced in their interpretation. He was a person who was consistent in giving interpretation or *fatwa* by expressing an opinion which was based on the *hadith* and opinions of the sahabat, even though at that time there were many people aware of his opinions based on reason itself. Al-Ṭabari seemed to give a kind of different statement from other *tafsir* ulama about the definition of *jilbāb* that was interpreted as *niqāb* (*chadaree*) might have been defending his own mazhab, the *Jarīri*, which was different from the *madhhab* Shafi'i. The mazhab Syāfi'i has different interpretation about *jilbāb* from the *madhhab* Jarīriyah as mentioned in the book of *al-Hawi fi fiqh al-Syāfi'i*, it is stated that *jilbāb* is an additional clothing that is used to cover the body such as pants, cloth, veil, shirt, and light clothing.³⁵

When viewed from several references cited, one of which is the opinion of Ibnu Abbās about *jilbāb*, showing that Ibnu Jarīr al-Ṭabari agreed with Ibnu Abbās's opinion quoted by him from the book *Fatawa al-Islam Soal wa Jawab* by Syaikh Muḥammad Ṣalih bin al-Munjid. If so, then the al-Ṭabari's *jilbāb* interpretation in the context of back then in the past was very suitable, but it becomes very narrow when brought to the conditions of society that occurs at the present time. Accordingly, the context of Surat al-Aḥzab verse 59 was due to the interference from the hypocrites and the wicked people who wanted to do some evil deeds to the slave women who left the house without wearing veil by showing their hair and the *aurat*, therefore, Allah revealed this verse so that the believers (believing women) held out their *jilbāb* to be recognized by the hypocrites and wicked people if they were not the slave women whom they would prey on.

³⁴ Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo, 1998), 56-57.

³⁵ Al-Mawardi, *Hawi al-Kabir fi Fiqh Mazḥab Imam al-Syāfi'i*, vol. 2 (Beirūt: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1994), 162.

In the current context, holding out the *jilbāb* does not have to be interpreted as to close the left eye and open the right eye, but rather covers the head and shows the face based on the reason that the present conditions are different from the conditions in the past, and the present conditions are considered to be safe and there is not the so-called slave women anymore. The issue of *jilbāb* cannot be separated from the female aurat limitation in which the ulama of each mazhab have different opinions. In the most correct opinion, the whole body and hair of freewomen are the aurat, except for the face, both palms, and soles of the feet, inside and outside, based on the Quran Surah al-Nur verse 31 with the phrase “*illa mā ḡabara minba*” interpreted by Ali ibn Abi Talīb and Ibn Abbas as the face and both palms.³⁶ The *Syāfi’iyah* (people of the mazhab Syāfi’i) and Ḥanabilah (people of the mazhab Ḥanbali) say that all freewomen's bodies are the aurat, except the faces and both hands, therefore a woman must not reveal the part of her body before foreign men unless there is an urge to do so (*darūrat*), such as health treatment, *khiṭbah* (marriage proposal), testimony before the judge, and *muāmalat* (transaction) such as buy-and-sell, and others. Meanwhile, according to Hanafiyah (people of the mazhab Hanafi) and the second opinion for the Syāfi’iyah and the Mālikiyah (people of the mazhab Maliki) circles that the females’ aurat is the entire body except the face and the palms, so that it is permissible to show the faces and both hands in public places, and before foreign men, in conditions, it is safe from slander.

The ulama of all mazhab agree that females’ *aurat* is the face and the palms. Therefore, the opinion expressed by al-Ṭabari seems to contradict the opinion of the ulama mazhab and his own opinion because he said that *jilbāb* was like *niqāb* (*chadaree*). However, he said that females’ *aurat* was the whole body, the face, and the hands. When viewed in terms of its interpretation in the Quran Surah al-Nur verse 31, in the phrase “*ma ḡabara minba*” interpreted by him as ‘clothing’ (الثياب), he based it on the majority of the *aṣar* of the saḡabat. One of the *aṣar* quoted by al-Ṭabari is:

حدثنا علي بن عبد العزيز ثنا أبو نعيم ثنا سفيان عن أبي إسحاق عن أبي الأحوص عن عبد الله
: ولا يبدین زینتهن إلا ما ظهر منها قال: الثياب (رواه الطبرانی)³⁷

“Ali bin Abd al-Azīz informed us, Abu Na’īm informed us, Sufyān of Abi Ishāq of Abi al-Aḡwaṣ of Abdullah informed us: "And do not show their jewels except for something visible from them." He said, what was meant was clothing.” (HR. Al-Ṭabrāni).

³⁶ Wahbah Al-Zuhaili, *Al-Fiqh al-Islāmi wa Adillatuhu*. vol. 1 (Damaskus: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), 155.

³⁷ Al-Hafīz Abu Sulaimān bin Aḡmad Al-Ṭabrani, *Al-Mu’jam al-Kabīr li al-Ṭabrani*, vol. 9 (Kairo: Maktabah Ibnu Taimiyyah, t.t.), 228.

On the same occasion he also interpreted the phrase "*ma ḡabara minba*" from the opinions of ulama quoted from the hadith and the *aṣar* of the *sahabab* were kohl, rings, bracelets, covers, and faces and palms. This is clear, al-Ṭabari's interpretation of the female aurat turns out to be very diverse. According to him, among the correct opinions of *ulama* is that what is meant by "*mā ḡabara minba*" (something visible yet not the aurat) is the face and both palms, kohl, rings, bracelets, and covers. Al-Ṭabari's opinion is based on *ta'wīl*. In the context of salat (the 5-time-a-day obligatory prayer), all ulama agree that everyone who performs salat must cover his/her aurat except the face and the palms. Thus, women are allowed to show both hands and faces as men, and are not forbidden for them.³⁸

Based on the interpretation of the Quran Surah al-Nur verse 31 with the interpretation pattern of al-Ṭabari which is based on the hadith and opinions of the *sahabat*, provides a space of knowledge for readers, that when an author or *muffasir* interprets *jilbāb* by covering the head, face, and the right eye, not necessarily suspected that he considered the face as a part of aurat. Thus, al-Ṭabari's interpretation of *jilbāb* does not mean that he includes the face as part of the aurat, because if faces were seen as aurat, of course he interpreted the Quran Surah al-Nur verse 31 on "*mā ḡabara minba*" was only clothing.

Historically this *jilbāb* was seen as part of the cultural elements as Nasaruddin Umar expressed, he said that if the *jilbāb* was meant as a head covering (veil) for women, then *jilbāb* had become a discourse in the Code of Bilalama (3000 BC), then continued in the Code of Hammurabi (2000 BC), and in Assyria (1500 BC). In the year 500 BC, *jilbāb* had even become an honorary attire for the noble women in the Persian Empire.³⁹ According to Nava Bakhsh, *jilbāb* is part of a tradition found in the upper-middle-class aristocrats in the Syrian state among Jews and Christians and Sassanians.

The terms of the use of the word *jilbāb* in some of the oldest cities are known such as Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Assyria. In the city of Assyria, according to Maxime Rodinson, a French Islamologist, said that there was a ban on *jilbāb* wearing for prostitutes, while respectable women were allowed to wear *jilbāb* in public spaces.⁴⁰ From here the development of *jilbāb* became developed to become a symbol in the upper society.

³⁸ Al-Ṭabari, *Tafsir al-Ṭabari al-Musamma bi Jam'i'i al-Bayān fi Ta'wīl al-Qur'an...*, vol. 19, 156.

³⁹ Nasaruddin Umar, "Antropologi Jilbab," *Jurnal Ulumul Qur'an* VI, no. 5 (1996): 39.

⁴⁰ Husein Muhammad, *Fiqh Perempuan, Refleksi Kiai Atas Wacana Agama dan Gender* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2002),

Nasaruddin Umar asserted that the use of *jilbāb* had become a Hellenistic-Byzantine tradition that penetrated geo-cultural boundaries, not least in the north and east of the Arabian-peninsula such as Damascus and Baghdad which both became the capital cities of two dynasties namely the Umayyad and the Abbasid. These two dynasties greatly dominated the birth of the books of hadith and tafsir, one of which was the tafsir of al-Ṭabari. Therefore, in this period, *jilbāb* became the clothing of choice, and in the end, it got legal certainty that it became a mandatory dress for a woman.⁴¹

Jilbāb was previously also required by two religions: Judaism and Christianity; long before the *jilbāb* verse came down. It is on this basis that the verses about *jilbāb* speak of the context of the local society which emphasizes the issues of ethical, law, and security in which the verses revealed. This verse revealed in the 3rd and 7th year of Hijriyah. In this 7th year there were Uhud War and other sporadic wars which disturbed the security of the Muslim people in Medina. Even so, this does not mean that the use of *jilbāb* is abandoned because the condition is safe, because it is a religious doctrine that emphasizes the function of *jilbāb*, covering the aurat which covers the whole body which is considered vulnerable and causing slander, except the face and the palms.

If the emphasis of religious doctrine is not on *jilbāb*, but on its function which is to cover the aurat, then *jilbāb* can be defined in various ways depending on the fashion of a region or country, in condition that it does not show the shape of the body curves and others. Therefore, it is natural among ulama to have differences on their opinions because the emphasis is not on the issue of the word *jilbāb*, but on its function of covering the aurat.

Based on that matter, al-Ṭabari's opinion which said in his interpretation that *jilbāb* was to cover the head and the face, and also to close the left eye, was very reasonable because the conditions at that time were in a state of insecurity due to political war and territorial seizure carried out by Umayyads and Abbasids, including during the time of the Prophet PBUH when during the Uhud War. However, today, that definition emphasizes on covering the face and the left eye is no longer relevant, especially the face and the eyes are not parts of the aurat. When viewed from the aspect of the mazhab – *fiqh*, he has his own mazhab and is not bound by any others, and even it is said he had his own mazhab book as an introduction to the mazhab al-Ṭabari which contained ijma' (consensus of ulama on a point of Islamic law) which aimed to refute other mazhab that excluded it. This mazhab continued to live until it was recognizable and practiced until the middle of the 5th

⁴¹ Nasaruddin Umar, *Mendekati Tuhan dengan Kualitas Feminin* (Jakarta: Alex Media Komputindo, 2014), 38-39.

century. This period was the period of *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) and there is was influence of *taqlād* (imitation).⁴² On the other hand, there were quite a number of Sunni ulama who criticized Ibnu Jarīr al-Ṭabari, such as the ulama of mazhab Ḥanbali who deplored his attitudes and statements which tended to smell like the mazhab Muktaẓilah, even though al-Ṭabari himself opposed and refuted the Muktaẓilah's thoughts.⁴³ This can be seen from the opinion of al-Zamakhsyari, as the author of al-Kasyaf, he defines *jilbāb* as something that covers the face and around it such as the head, nose, eyes, eyebrows, and ears.⁴⁴ In this case, al-Ṭabari's thoughts are also influenced by al-Zamakhsari's thoughts, especially in interpreting the *jilbāb* issue in addition to the social security conditions that occurred at that time.

CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that al-Ṭabari was a well-known *mufassir* during the reign of the Abbasid Dynasty with a very monumental tafsir: the tafsir of al-Ṭabari. He explained the word *jilbāb*, in the Quran Surah al-Aḥzab verse 59, was the cloth that covered the head, the face, and the eyes on the left. The interpretation cannot be separated from the social and historical influences that occurred in the past where at that time, due to political games and power struggles or territorial seizure that affected the security and harmony of human beings, which was feared had an impact on the harassment of women, so it was obliged to protect their souls by wearing headscarves such as *jilbāb*. In addition, the mazhab al-Ṭabari's smelled like the mazhab Mu'tazilah which led to the implication for al-Ṭabari's thought which is influenced by the al-Zamakhsari's thought model in interpreting the verses about *jilbāb*. Nowadays, the *jilbāb* interpretation as described by al-Ṭabari seems no longer relevant since the conditions are already safe so that women are free to leave the house to relieve. Consequently, women have to maintain their honor; one way is by wearing clothes like *jilbāb* which can cover their aurat throughout their body, except the palms and the faces.

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⁴² Hudhari Bik, *Tarjamah Tarikh al-Tasyri' al-Islami (Sejarah Pembinaan Hukum Islam)* (Indonesia: Daarul Ihya, 1980), 458.

⁴³ Ahmad Asy-Syirbashi, *Sejarah Tafsir Al-Qur'an* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1994), 84.

⁴⁴ Mahmūd bin Umar al-Zamakhsyari al-Khawārizmi, *Tafsir Al-Kasyaf 'an Haqāiq al-Tanzil wa 'Uyūn al-Aqāwil fi Wujūb al-Ta'wil* (Beirūt: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 2009), 864.

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