

***Panaik* Money of Bugis' Customary Marriage in the Perspective of Islamic Law and Positive Law in Indonesia**

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the giving of *panaik* money to the Bugis marriage customs outside of the dowry obligation. This culture has long been carried out at traditional Bugis weddings. The custom of giving *panaik* money has become a topic of discussion among academics because it is not included in the pillars and conditions of marriage in Islam or positive law. This is a custom that is sometimes considered burdensome to the prospective groom to cause the marriage to be annulled. This research is library research with a normative approach. It uses a qualitative method, namely, observing and reviewing the obligation to give money for traditional Bugis marriages outside of the dowry. The results of the *panaik* money research in the study of Islamic law do not conflict with the terms and pillars of marriage. As for the positive legal view, in this case, Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage concludes that *panaik* money does not conflict with formal or material requirements, namely in articles 6 to 10, which explain the existence of cultural fusion between customary law and Islamic law in Indonesia which has been recognized. As part of the source of material law in Indonesia. As for the cultural pattern of Bugis ethnic marriage, *panaik* money is a form of respect and appreciation from the male family to the female family.

Keywords: *Panaik* Money, Islamic Law, Positive Law, Cultural Customs

INTRODUCTION

Marriage is a dream for men and women to form a *sakinah* family and is an important event in social life (Olga Sandrela Mahaendra, Tetti Solehati, 2019:206-2015). Because marriage is actually a sacred bond between two people who long for each other to realize the happiness of the world and the hereafter. So that marriage should run without burdening the men or women. The bride and groom's family must help each other in carrying out the sacred ceremony of their son and daughter. However, marriage in Indonesia is remarkably diverse, because of the many Indonesian cultural customs, this certainly affects the wedding customs in each region. One of them is the custom of marriage carried out by the Bugis indigenous people, which is the obligation for the groom to give *panaik* money before the wedding (Huda & Evanti, 2018:133). The giving of *panaik* money according to the Bugis people is a tradition that must be maintained because they consider that *panaik* money is a reward for women according to their education and social status. The high cash flow certainly has an impact on prospective grooms who are not able to provide *panaik* money, so that men prefer to marry other women or even the emergence of many old virgins.

The obligation to give *panaik* money to prospective brides is not regulated in Islamic law or positive law. In Islam and positive law, marriage can be said to be valid if it has fulfilled the requirements and pillars of marriage. One of them is the obligation to give a dowry in marriage. Related to this *panaik* money is the giving of money outside the dowry. The difference between dowry and *panaik* money lies in the amount and the family agreement. In Islamic religious rules, the amount of the dowry is not determined and is submitted based on the sincerity of the two prospective brides. Meanwhile, the amount of this *panaik* money is determined according to the social status of the wedding couple as well as the agreement of the families of the two prospective brides (Pattiroy & Salam, 2008:90). This difference is important to be an object of research because it is a unique tradition and also gives rise to interpretations from various disciplines and is also related to the position and function of *panaik* money in traditional Bugis marriages.

Studies of *panaik* money have been carried out in recent years. The study of *panaik* money in the marriage customs of the Bugis tribe written by Syarifuddin with the title "*Story of Bride Price: Sebuah Kritik atas Fenomena Uang Panaik Suku Makassar.*" The result of this research that uses critical ethnographic methods is that the high *panaik* money in the Bugis marriage custom exceeds the Islamic concept, so that the custom

needs to reflect on Islamic Sharia which makes it easier (Syarifuddin, 2015:79-98). Then the research conducted by Nadia Ananda Putri et al “*The Position of Panaik Money as a Marriage Requirement in Bugis Tradition According to Islamic Law*” where research on *panaik* money is studied from the perspective of Islamic law and results in the law of granting *panaik* money in Bugis customary marriages is *mubah* (allowed) as long as does not burden the prospective groom and if the giving of *panaik* money is burdensome for the men so that it causes the marriage to be canceled and elopement then the law is haram (Nadia Ananda Putri, Kasuwi Saiban, Sunarjo, 2021:131).

In addition to the study above, there is also a study that discusses *panaik* money with an analysis of the cultural pattern of marriages of Bugis traditional marriages in Lamallongeng’s opinion entitled “*Uang Nai’: Antara Cinta dan Gengsi*” This research, written by Sri Rahayu Yudi, concluded that the high *panaik* money was considered a transaction by young people and the laity was a mistake, because *panaik* money was a social status award for the bride’s family for educating her daughter well (Yudi, 2015:224). Then, a study conducted by Asriani Alimuddin entitled “*Makna Simbolik Uang Panai’ Pada Perkawinan Adat Suku Bugis Makassar di Kota Makassar*” whose research results concluded that *panaik* money is a symbol of appreciation, honor, sincerity, sincerity and being willing to work hard for the woman he loves. So that before the wedding, the groom prepares panicked money so that he can marry the woman who is his sweetheart (Alimuddin, 2020:117).

From the several studies above, it can be concluded that the study of *panaik* money has been carried out with various analytical tools, ranging from Islamic law, customary law, critical ethnography, and the opinions of figures so as to produce a conclusion either in the form of a law or an interpretation of the cultural reality of *panaik* money in the customary marriage of the Bugis tribe. However, there is no research that looks at *panaik* money in terms of Islamic law and positive law in Indonesia, so this research focuses on the urgency of giving *panaik* money to the marriage customs of the Bugis tribe which will be analyzed using Islamic legal theory, positive law in this case Law No. 1974 concerning marriage, the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) and patterns of customary law culture. So that this research can produce laws that can overshadow customs and culture, so that customs and sharia can still be carried out without negating rights and obligations, both social and individual, as well as cultural values that are symbols of appreciation for the bride’s family.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is library research, namely a study that goes through various data related to research topics which include primary data in the form of data about *panaik* money as one of the customs in Bugis ethnic marriages, both data sourced from books, holy books and supporting data in the form of news online, *YouTube*, magazines, newspapers and so on that have a direct or indirect relationship with the object of research, namely the provision of *panaik* money at traditional Bugis marriages (Noeng Muhajir, 1996:157). This type of research is normative research, namely by collecting detailed data and information, thus enabling an accurate picture of the past, present and future (Musri Yusuf, 2017:346). This means that the study of the culture of giving *panaik* money outside of the dowry before the wedding is an interesting study because the culture is not regulated in Islam but the practice of giving *panaik* money must be carried out by the Bugis Muslim community. So that for some Muslim men it becomes a burden to propose to the woman he loves.

The method used in this research is qualitative, namely seeking a deep understanding of a symptom, problem, fact, or reality which includes actions and their consequences in social life relationships (J.R Raco, 2010:9)., namely by observing the customary marriage practices of the Bugis tribe in Indonesia, especially those on the island of Sulawesi. The Bugis tribe currently does not only live on the island of Sulawesi but has migrated to various regions in Indonesia. The data used in this study are primary and secondary data, namely data obtained from the results of documentation, photos and so on which are then analyzed using data reduction steps, data presentation or display and conclusions or verification (I Lexy Moleng, 1995:178). Namely selecting and presenting data related to the focus of research related to the custom of giving *panaik* money in the customary marriage of the Bugis tribe in the form of cases from various media, books, and scientific works, then analyzing from a legal perspective, both Islamic law and positive law, and customary law in Indonesia. Next, make conclusions about the urgency of giving *panaik* money in the Bugis marriage custom.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Dowry in Islamic Law and Positive Law

A dowry or what is usually called a dowry is the gift of something that must be given by the prospective groom to the prospective bride (H. Damis, 2016:19). The word dowry comes from Arabic, namely the word *mahara*, while etymologically the

word *al-mahr* means *al-sadaq* or can be referred to as “dowry” in Indonesian, and there are also several similar words about dowry, namely *al-sadaq*, *nihlah*, *faradhah*, *ajr*, *ujr*, *hayya’ hiba*, *ugr*, *aqar*, *‘ala’iq*, *thaul* and marriage (al-Zuhaili, 1985:343). According to Imam Syafi’i, the term dowry is something that must be carried out because of the marriage contract and intercourse that will damage the honor of women (Al- & Mahally, 2001:275) The scholars agree that it is obligatory for a man to give a dowry to a married woman. This shows that the dowry is particularly important in marriage. The dowry mentioned in a valid contract is circumcision. The Sunnah is to mention the dowry during the marriage and determines it to avoid any conflict. So, it is permissible to mention and determine the dowry after the marriage contract (Iqbal, 2015:191). From some of the definitions above, it can be concluded that the dowry is the gift of something valuable from the groom to the bride as a form of appreciation and respect for a woman. In addition, the dowry is a marriage requirement that must be met in the implementation of marriage.

The legal basis that requires the giving of a dowry in marriage has been established in the Qur’an and hadith. In the Qur’an, it is stated in the letter an-Nisaa verse 4, namely:

وَأْتُوا النِّسَاءَ صَدُقَاتِهِنَّ نِحْلَةً ۚ فَإِنْ طِبْنَ لَكُمْ عَنْ شَيْءٍ مِّنْهُ نَفْسًا
فَكُلُوهُ هَنِيئًا مَّرِيًّا

The meaning: And give the women [upon marriage] their [wedding] gifts graciously. But if they give up willingly on you anything of it, then take it in satisfaction and ease. (QS: An-Nisa:4)(D. A. RI, 2009)

This verse explains the obligation of a man to give a dowry to a woman he wants to marry, while the dowry is the absolute right of a woman, not the right of her father or brother (Sabiq, 1983:553). In addition to the Qur’an, the obligation to give a dowry in marriage is also explained in the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad as follows:

“From Ibn Abbas he said: when Ali married Fatima, the Messenger of Allah said to Ali: give something to Fatima, Ali said: I do not have anything. The Prophet said: “where is your armor?””. (H.R Abu Dawud).(Dawud, 2007:448)

“From Abu Salamah bin Abdurrahman R.A. In fact, he said: “I once asked Aisyah R.A.: “How much is the dowry of the Messenger of Allah? He replied that the dowry of the Prophet Muhammad to his wives was twelve “uqiyah” or one “nasy.” Aisha R.A. asked: “Do you know one nasy?” Abu Salamah replied: “no.” Aisha R.A. said: “That is half uqiyah equal

to 500 dirhams. That is the dowry of the Prophet Muhammad to his wife.” (H.R Muslim)(Al-Hajjaj, 2008:1827)

In a hadith narrated by Imam Abu Dawud explained that the Prophet strongly recommended to Ali bin Abi Talib to give Fatimah a dowry in her marriage, even if it was only in the form of armor. Meanwhile, in the hadith narrated by Imam Muslim, it is explained that the Apostle always gave dowries to his wives. Giving a dowry from a prospective husband to a prospective wife is proof of love and respect (Al-Kurdiy, 1995). So that the *fuqaha* agreed to make the dowry a condition of the validity of the marriage and forbid the existence of an agreement to eliminate the dowry in marriage (Rusyd, 2007:432).

The dowry in Imam Shafi'i's view can be in the form of an item that can be traded (Al- & Mahally, 2001:276). Meanwhile, according to Wahbah Zuhaili, a property can be used as a dowry if it has benefits and has a selling value. This means that the dowry in marriage must be in the form of property that has value or price and contains benefits. So, if in a marriage there is a dowry that is not valuable such as a grain of rice, a stalk of wheat, a date seed, then the dowry is considered invalid and the marriage contract is said to be *fasid*, because the dowry mentioned has no value and benefit (Al-Najar, 1997:93).

Marriage dowry regulations are also not explicitly regulated in law number 1 of 1974 concerning marriage, in the marriage law it is only stated that marriage can be said to be valid, if it is carried out in accordance with each religion and belief of the Indonesian people (Republik, 1974). However, the dowry provisions are discussed in full in the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) articles 30 to 38. In this article the discussion on dowry has been regulated starting from the provisions on the obligation to give a dowry to the prospective bride, procedures for giving a dowry, procedures for settlement in the event of a dowry dispute and the condition of the dowry is disabled or not (Presiden, 1991).

The provisions of the dowry in marriage, both in Islamic law and positive law in Indonesia, have been regulated very completely. So that Muslims should obey the regulations that have been determined by religion and by the state as a form of worship and obedience to religion and the state. In addition, giving a dowry to the prospective bride includes the conditions and pillars of marriage. This means that marriage in Islam can be said to be valid if it meets the requirements and pillars determined by

religion. This is in accordance with Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage in Article 1 which states that marriage is valid if it is carried out in accordance with religion and belief.

2. Dowry and *Panaik* Money in Bugis Marriages

Fiqh scholars agree that the dowry in Islamic marriages is obligatory (Faidhullah, 2018:239). Giving a dowry by a prospective husband to a prospective wife as a form of respect for women in Islam. This dowry is mandatory because of the history of Jahiliya which has robbed and shackled women's freedom. Even a guardian can regulate and use his daughter's property arbitrarily (Saleh, 2020:33). So, Islam regulates the concept of dowry, namely by stipulating the obligation to give a dowry for a prospective husband and full dowry rights for a wife, without any family intervention to take part of the slightest dowry except with the permission of the woman (Sabiq, 1983:554).

In other terms, the dowry is *al-sadaq, al-ujur, farida* which can be interpreted as a dowry or giving a prospective husband to a prospective wife in a marriage contract upon the agreement of both (Zahrah, 1957:401). In another opinion, dowry is the gift of a prospective husband to a prospective wife that is not contrary to Islamic law in the form of goods, money, or services. The two opinions regarding dowry show that dowry is a gift from a husband to his wife which is obligatory. However, the obligation of dowry is limited to something that does not burden the man, according to the needs and ways to get closer to husband and wife. So that at the time of the Prophet Muhammad he forbade Ali bin Abi Tahlid to have contact with Fatima before giving the dowry (Saleh, 2020:33).

The giving of dowry at Islamic weddings in Indonesia has many variations, for example in the marriage custom of the Kendari muna community, the dowry or usually called as *bhoka*. The dowry that should be the full right of a wife, the dowry is distributed to the family and even to community leaders who witnessed the wedding (Muhammad Alifuddin, Suhiat, 2020:221). This is certainly contrary to the concept of dowry in Islam, namely the dowry is the full right of a wife, family or relatives who do not have the right to the dowry except for the pleasure of it. The tradition of dowry also occurs in Sundanese society, where the dowry and *seserahan* must be submitted before the marriage contract. This is considered not contrary to Islamic law because there is *mashlahah*, namely providing a living for the prospective wife (Irfani

& Hamidah, 2020:103). In the West Manggarai community, East Nusa Tenggara, the *belis* (dowry) tradition is determined by the bride-to-be and the amount of the dowry is also in accordance with the social aspects of the community. The higher a person's social status, the higher the dowry that must be given to the prospective bride (Marniati Dwiputri Sudirman, Fathurr Rahman Alfa, 2019:21).

In contrast to the Bugis community, the dowry in Bugis marriage customs is like the dowry in the concept of Islamic law, meaning that the prospective husband is obliged to give a dowry to the prospective wife in marriage. However, in addition to the dowry, the Bugis men who want to get married must give *panaik* money to the prospective bride's family. Giving *panaik* money is a prerequisite for marriage. The amount of *panaik* money is determined by the social status of the bride-to-be. As for the process of determining the amount of the *panaik* money, it is carried out through deliberation between the two families until an agreement is reached (iman Nur Hidayat, 2019:16).

The history of *panaik* money is Bugis culture, *panaik* money culture occurs because a noble's son is beautiful and handsome and there is a young man from the Netherlands who is interested and wants to propose to her, but the noble person does not want his daughter to be touched by any man. In the end, the noble person placed heavy requirements on the man who had to give *panaik* or shopping money before the marriage took place. In Bugis society, the culture of *panaik* money aims to respect the status of Bugis women. Meanwhile, in terms of religion, *panaik* money is the gift of a prospective husband to a prospective wife within acceptable limits. This gift has the value of worship because it facilitates the process of uniting two people in marriage (Indra, 2019:1).

The Bugis traditional wedding procession is carried out in several stages, namely: *Mabbaja laleng Mabbaja* (the approach process to find out before the event to propose to know the character and physique of women), *Mappesek-pesek* (looking for information related to the status of whether a woman has proposed or has been betrothed to another man), *Mammanu-manu* (This stage is the initial discussion stage of spending money or *panaik* and dowry in accordance with the agreed amount), *Madduta* (the wedding proposal procession which is carried out officially from the male side and the female party accepts the wedding proposal procession by bringing his family), *Mappasiarekeng* (has the meaning of a strong bond, in practice the men

and women make promises as an agreement from the results of the previous deliberation). At this stage, several things will be determined, including: *Tanra esso*: determining the day, *dui menre/dui balanca*: spending money, *sompa*: dowry (Al-Habibi, 2013:1).

The giving of *panaik* money in the traditional Bugis wedding procession begins at the *Mammanu-manu*, *Madduta* and *mappasiarekeng* stages. *Panaik* money for the Bugis tribe has become a phenomenon, especially for young people. Although the amount of *panaik* money has become a family agreement. However, the high amount of money that exceeds the high dowry has distracted attention because the money is also a main requirement before getting married (Alimuddin, 2020:117). The development of information technology does not have a major influence on the Bugis ethnic marriage culture. The giving of *panaik* money is still carried out because *panaik* money is a hereditary tradition that contains noble values as a respect for women's families. So that culture must always be preserved (Sudirman, 2019:99).

3. Legal Analysis of *Panaik* Money Custom in Bugis Marriages

Indonesia is a country rich in ethnicity, customs, and culture. The diversity of Indonesian customs and culture certainly has a major influence on the practice of traditional marriages in each region. One of them is a marriage custom that has long been carried out by the Bugis tribe, namely *panaik* money, giving *panaik* money in Bugis traditional weddings is something that must be carried out. The provision of *panaik* money in traditional Bugis marriages is not strictly regulated like the regulations on dowry in Islamic law. Although it is not regulated in Islamic law, the giving of *panaik* money has become a custom for the Bugis tribe. So that habits that are considered good by Bugis people, if not implemented, will get insulted because they are considered to violate the customs of the Bugis tribe (Ikbal, 2016:191).

In the Bugis marriage custom, the giving of *panaik* money and dowry occupies the same position for the Bugis people. This means that both *panaik* money and dowry are equally obligatory to be given to the bride. Only time makes the difference in its implementation, namely the *panaik* money that must be given before the marriage takes place and the dowry given at the time of the marriage (M. Damis, 2020:17). The law of giving a dowry in Islamic marriages is obligatory while giving *panaik* money is a habit in social life and is also a cultural heritage from the ancestors.

So, it will be exceedingly difficult to leave the tradition that has been rigidly attached to society.

Islam is a religion that is *rahmatan lil 'Alamin*, which means it is a religion that gives mercy to the entire universe. In terms of dowry, Islam recommends making it easier for men. Likewise, with *panaik* money. If the dowry is recommended to make things easier, then in fact the *panaik* money should also not be burdensome. Because marriage as one of the sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad should be carried out with holy intentions with full sincerity, simplicity and not excessive. So that in marriage there is no element of waste that contradicts the word of Allah SWT, namely Surah al-Isra' verse 27 (K. RI, 2006).

إِنَّ الْمُبَذِّرِينَ كَانُوا إِخْوَانَ الشَّيْطَانِ ۖ وَكَانَ الشَّيْطَانُ لِرَبِّهِ كَفُورًا

The meaning: Verily, the spenders are the friends of Satan and the devil is very disbeliever in his Lord.

The verse above explains that a spendthrift who likes to squander wealth is a friend of Satan. While the devil is a creature who denies the favors that have been bestowed by Allah SWT. In relation to the obligatory *panaik* money, it is better not to give a nominal or an amount that exceeds the ability of the groom's family and to use the *panaik* money for useless purposes, such as a wedding party outside of traditional customs. So that making the benefits of *panaik* money become a redundant thing.

The provision for *panaik* money because of deliberation between the families of men and women considers many things related to social strata. However, this modern tradition of giving *panaik* money can be done by bargaining, so that it does not burden the men in marriage. In Islam this is known as the principle of convenience (*raf' at-taysir*). The tradition of giving *panaik* money does not conflict with Islamic law if it is not burdensome. However, if it is considered burdensome in the implementation of marriage, it will certainly be against the principles of Islamic law, because Allah Almighty wants ease in life, as explained in the letter al-Baqarah verse 185:(K. RI, 2006)

يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ بِكُمْ الْيُسْرَ وَلَا يُرِيدُ بِكُمْ الْعُسْرَ

The meaning: Allah wants ease for you and does not want difficulty.

The times that are increasingly causing many changes require the law to be ready to respond to the changes that occur due to the times while still prioritizing human welfare. Regarding the tradition of giving *panaik* money at Bugis traditional weddings, it has indeed become a habit, carried out continuously and is considered good by the Bugis people. So that this tradition cannot be forbidden under Islamic law

because custom is one of the sources of Islamic law, according to Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqiy's opinion, namely, custom is justified by common sense and is accepted, carried out repeatedly and is general in nature, custom has been and is in progress, not a customary plan, there is no other agreement that is different from the custom and does not conflict with the texts of the Qur'an (Ash-Shiddieqiy, 1993:475).

In Islam, customs that have been rigidly attached to the community can be made into a law in each region with the stipulation that the custom (*panaik* money) does not conflict with Islamic law. As the rules of *fiqhiyyah Al'aadah al muhakkamah*, it means that the determination of a law must be in accordance with Islamic law. This rule comes from Ibn Mas'ud RA, "What is considered good by Muslims is also good in the sight of Allah, and whatever is considered bad by Muslims, according to Allah is classified as a dreadful thing." (HR. Ahmad).(Zarroq, 1989:219)

The tradition of giving *panaik* money at traditional Bugis marriages is mandatory. The marriage will remain valid without giving any cash, but this will lead to social sanctions, namely insults and violations of the tribal customs of the Bugis tribe. The giving of *panaik* money is a transaction in marriage which if in its implementation there is a principle of agreement and willingness then *panaik* money does not conflict with Islamic marriage law (iman Nur Hidayat, 2019:15-28). In addition, the cooperation between Islamic and customary law in Indonesian society has its own impact, namely when the obligation to give *panaik* money is not fulfilled, the bride has the right to cancel the marriage. Because *panaik* money is one of the requirements for marriage for the Bugis people.

When viewed from the point of view of law number 1 of 1974 concerning marriage, marriage annulment is regulated in article 22 paragraph 1 *Panaik* money is also not contrary to positive law in Indonesia. "A marriage can be annulled if the parties do not meet the conditions for marriage" related to the custom of giving *panaik* money as a condition for Bugis marriage, if it cannot be fulfilled by the men, the marriage can be annulled. Because the validity of marriage is not only contained in articles 6 to 10 of the marriage law, which includes formal and material requirements. However, the validity of a marriage must also refer to Article 2 of the Marriage Law, it is *that the validity of marriage must also be legal according to their respective religions and beliefs* (Republik, 1974). So that giving *panaik* money does not contradict the positive law that applies in Indonesia, namely Law Number 1 of 1974

concerning Marriage. Because *panaik* money is a custom and belief in the life of the Bugis people which is considered good and must be preserved.

Provisions for giving *panaik* money is an unwritten customary law, but the law lives in Bugis community spread throughout Indonesia (living law) (Rahmatiar et al., 2021:89). In Bugis customary marriages, there are several social behaviours that contain human values in culture in the procedure for carrying out traditional beliefs, including: strengthening kinship relations, showing social status, giving respect and respect to women, mutual cooperation in helping both in terms of energy and funds in marriage is a form of concern for fellow human beings in social life (Syuhada & Rahman, 2019:131). Some of the values contained in the traditional marriage of the Bugis tribe are closely related to Islamic values, namely strengthening the ties of friendship (Ady & Idris, 2019:94). This custom of *panaik* money is certainly incredibly good because in fact humans as social beings cannot live without the help of other humans (Tang, 2017:541).

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of giving *panaik* money in traditional Bugis marriages is something that must be given by the groom to the bride's family. *Panaik* money for the Bugis people is considered to have the same position as the dowry in marriage. In the view of Islamic law, giving *panaik* money does not conflict with Islamic law if it does not burden the family of the man because in fact both *panaik* money or a good dowry is what makes it easy according to the word of Allah SWT Al-Baqarah verse 185. Meanwhile, from a positive legal perspective, it is also not contrary to marriage law in Indonesia, namely Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning marriage. Because marriage is considered valid if it is carried out in accordance with their respective religions and beliefs. In addition, giving *panaik* money which aims to give appreciation and respect to women, giving *panaik* money in traditional Bugis marriages also contains human values in culture that are in accordance with Islamic values, namely strengthening friendship relations.

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