

## THE TRADITION OF UANG PANAI' IN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN TONROKASSI VILLAGE, TAMALATEA DISTRICT, JENEPONTO REGENCY: AN 'URF PERSPECTIVE

Faisal<sup>1a\*</sup>, Lomba Sultan<sup>2b</sup>, St. Halimang<sup>3c</sup>

<sup>123</sup>Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia

<sup>a</sup>E-mail: [faisalfurqani01@gmail.com](mailto:faisalfurqani01@gmail.com)

<sup>b</sup>E-mail: [lombasultan456@gmail.com](mailto:lombasultan456@gmail.com)

<sup>c</sup>E-mail: [halimang@uin-alauddin.ac.id](mailto:halimang@uin-alauddin.ac.id)

(\*) Corresponding Author

[faisalfurqani01@gmail.com](mailto:faisalfurqani01@gmail.com)

### ARTICLE HISTORY

Received : 12-07-2026

Revised : 13-08-2026

Accepted : 17-09-2026

### KEYWORDS

Busy Box;  
Problem-Solving Skills;  
Early Childhood  
Education;

### ABSTRACT

This study examines the tradition of *uang panai'* in customary marriage in Tonrokassi Village, Tamalatea District, Jeneponto Regency, from the perspective of '*urf*'. It aims to identify how the local community understands this tradition, examine its impact on the continuity of marriage, and analyze its standing within the framework of '*urf*' in Islamic law. Using a qualitative field research design with a normative-sociological approach, data were gathered through semi-structured in-depth interviews with customary leaders, religious figures, married couples, and village officials, complemented by participant observation and documentation, and analyzed through an interactive model of data reduction, display, and conclusion drawing. The findings show that *uang panai'* is understood as a form of respect toward the bride's family and a marker of the groom's seriousness, distinct from the *mahar*. While the tradition offers genuine benefits financing weddings and strengthening family ties an excessively high amount, often driven by social prestige rather than economic capacity, can lead to debt, delayed marriage, or cancellation. Based on this analysis, the study argues that *uang panai'* may be classified as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*' when it generates benefit (*maṣlaḥah*) and remains proportionate to the couple's economic capacity, but shifts toward '*urf fāsid*' when it produces hardship (*mafsadah*), pointing to the need for its practice to be reconstructed toward greater deliberation and economic fairness.

*This is an open access article under the CC-BY-SA license.*



### INTRODUCTION

The practice of *uang panai'* in Tonrokassi Village, Tamalatea District, Jeneponto Regency, remains deeply entrenched and continues to function as an almost inseparable requirement in the marriage proposal process. The local community regards *uang panai'* not merely as a material gift, but as a symbol of respect toward the bride and her family and a measure of the groom's seriousness an understanding consistently shared across young couples, religious counselors from the Office of Religious Affairs, religious leaders, youth figures, and village officials, who uniformly distinguish it from the dowry (*mahar*): the *mahar* is a religious obligation constituting the wife's personal right, whereas *uang panai'* is a customary contribution financing the wedding celebration and the bride's family needs.

The amounts demanded, however, continue to rise ranging from tens to hundreds of millions of rupiah shaped by factors such as education, employment stability, family lineage, and social prestige, with a higher *uang panai'* widely

believed to uphold the honor (*siri'*) of the bride's family. While some families in Tonrokassi show flexibility toward grooms who demonstrate genuine commitment despite being unable to meet the full amount, the tradition as a whole continues to function as a powerful social instrument regulating relations between families, even as escalating amounts increasingly risk becoming an economic burden capable of delaying or preventing marriage altogether.

This condition stands in tension with the normative ideal within Islamic teaching. Al-Qaraḍāwī asserts that Islamic sharia is oriented toward ease and rejects hardship that contradicts the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* (al-Qaraḍāwī, 1995), a principle reinforced by the hadith narrated by Abu Dawud encouraging that dowries and marriage-related gifts remain light rather than burdensome (Abu Dawud, in Sunan Abi Dawud). Within *uṣūl al-fiqh*, a custom (*'urf*) is accepted as valid (*'urf ṣaḥīḥ*) only if it does not contradict sharia and does not give rise to harm (Khallāf, 2001; al-Zuhaylī, 1986); a custom that shifts into a heavy economic burden leading to the postponement or cancellation of marriage should instead be evaluated and reformulated to remain consistent with sharia's objective of facilitating, rather than hindering, marriage (al-Zuhaylī, 1985; al-Qaraḍāwī, 1997). The gap between this normative ideal (*das sollen*) and the social reality in Tonrokassi (*das sein*) where the tradition remains firmly upheld and even intensifies despite its potential to burden the groom's side raises the central problem examined in this study: how the community interprets and sustains *uang panai'*, and how the tradition stands when assessed through the lens of *'urf*, in which customary values (*siri' na pacce*) appear to weigh more heavily than considerations of religious ease in determining the amount of marriage gifts.

Previous studies on *uang panai'* have examined its social meaning and the shifting of its value from a symbol of responsibility toward a marker of prestige and status, linking it to the broader value of *siri'* in Bugis-Makassar society (Mustafa, 2021; Ahmad, 2015; Baharuddin, 2016); others have offered literature-based reviews of *uang panai'* in Bugis-Makassar marriage customs without a specific research locus, or examined the relationship between *siri'* culture and *uang panai'* amounts among the Bugis more broadly (Muttaqin, 2022; Rafli & Syukur, 2024). Studies from a legal and *fiqh* perspective have largely compared *uang panai'* and *mahar* from Islamic legal or sociological viewpoints, though these tend to remain normative-textual and are not substantially reinforced by in-depth field data from a specific region (M. Asy'ari, 2019; Rahman, 2017; Harun, 2014). Based on the studies reviewed, research on *uang panai'* that integrates community perceptions, its impact on the continuity of marriage, and analysis through the *'urf* framework within a single study particularly with Tonrokassi Village as its locus appears to remain limited, with prior work tending to stop at descriptive accounts or normative comparisons rather than examining how communities at the grassroots level interpret, sustain, and negotiate this tradition in daily practice. This gap forms the basis for the present study's contribution: integrating community perceptions, the tradition's social impact, and *'urf* analysis within a single, cohesive framework, with a specific research locus that has not been extensively addressed in prior studies on *uang panai'*.

Beyond its academic contribution, this study carries practical urgency given the tangible impact of *uang panai'* on marriage decisions including postponement or cancellation due to high demanded amounts which may in turn encourage outcomes contrary to the objectives of Islamic sharia. Its findings may also hold relevance for discussions of gender equality and equitable access to marriage across economic backgrounds, resonating with concerns reflected in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goals 3, 5, and 10; this connection, however, is understood here as a potential implication of the study's findings rather than a primary analytical framework. Accordingly, this study is expected to provide a more comprehensive understanding of *uang panai'*'s standing within the framework of *'urf*, while serving as a reference for communities, religious leaders, and policymakers in restructuring the practice so that it continues to honor cultural values without disregarding the principles of ease and justice at the heart of Islamic teaching.

Based on the background outlined above, this study aims to: (1) examine how the community of Tonrokassi Village perceives the *uang panai'* tradition; (2) explore its impact on the continuity of marriage within the local community; and (3) analyze the tradition's standing from the perspective of *'urf* in Islamic law.

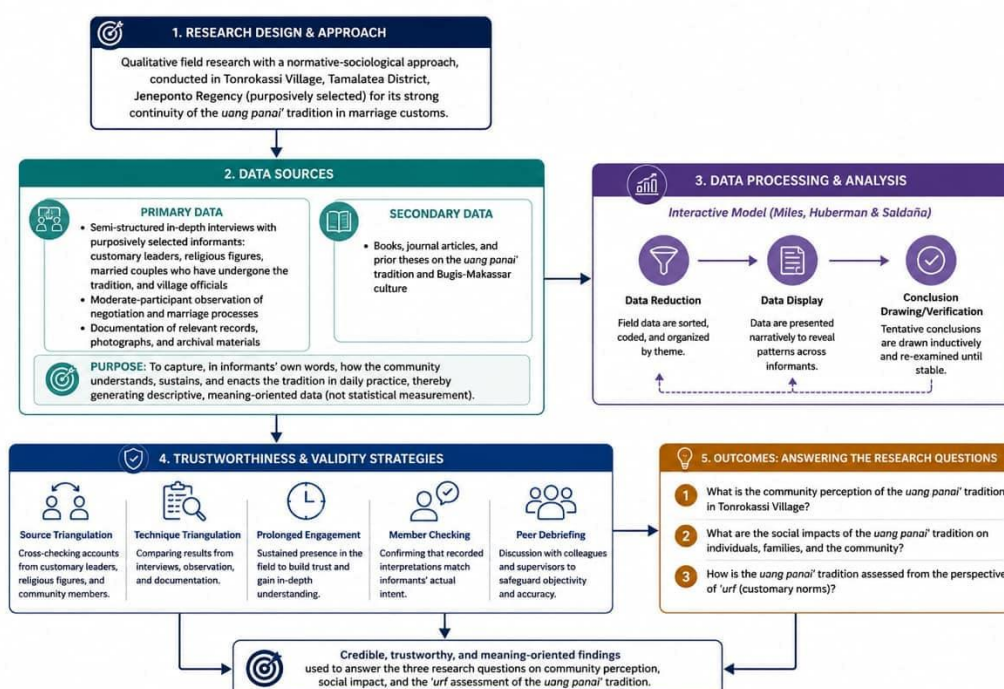
## METHODS

This study employs a qualitative field research design using a normative sociological approach, conducted directly in Tonrokassi Village, Tamalatea District, Jeneponto Regency, an area selected purposively for retaining a strong hold on the *uang panai'* tradition within its marriage customs. Fieldwork was carried out over [insert duration, e.g., "a period of X months"], from [insert start date] to [insert end date], during which the researcher engaged directly with informants and observed relevant customary activities as they occurred.

Data were drawn from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained through semi-structured in-depth interviews with purposively selected informants customary leaders, religious figures, married couples who had

undergone the tradition, and village officials each interview guided by a set of open-ended questions covering the three research foci (community perception, social impact, and 'urf assessment), while allowing flexibility to probe emerging themes. Interviews were conducted face to face in Indonesian and/or the local Makassar language, audio-recorded with informants' consent, and subsequently transcribed verbatim to preserve the accuracy of informants' own words prior to analysis. Interviewing continued with additional informants until data saturation was reached that is, the point at which subsequent interviews no longer yielded substantially new themes or perspectives relevant to the research questions at which point data collection was considered adequate.

Primary data collection was complemented by moderate-participant observation of the negotiation and marriage processes, in which the researcher was present and engaged in ongoing interactions with community members during customary activities such as informal conversations and attendance at relevant events without assuming an active role in the negotiation or decision-making itself; this position allowed the researcher to observe the tradition as it naturally unfolded while maintaining the analytical distance necessary for objective interpretation. Observation was further supported by documentation of relevant records, photographs, and archival materials. Secondary data were drawn from books, journal articles, and prior theses on the *uang panai* tradition and Bugis-Makassar culture. This combination of sources was applied to capture, in the informants' own words, how the community understands, sustains, and enacts the tradition in daily practice, thereby generating the descriptive, meaning-oriented data this study requires rather than statistical measurement.



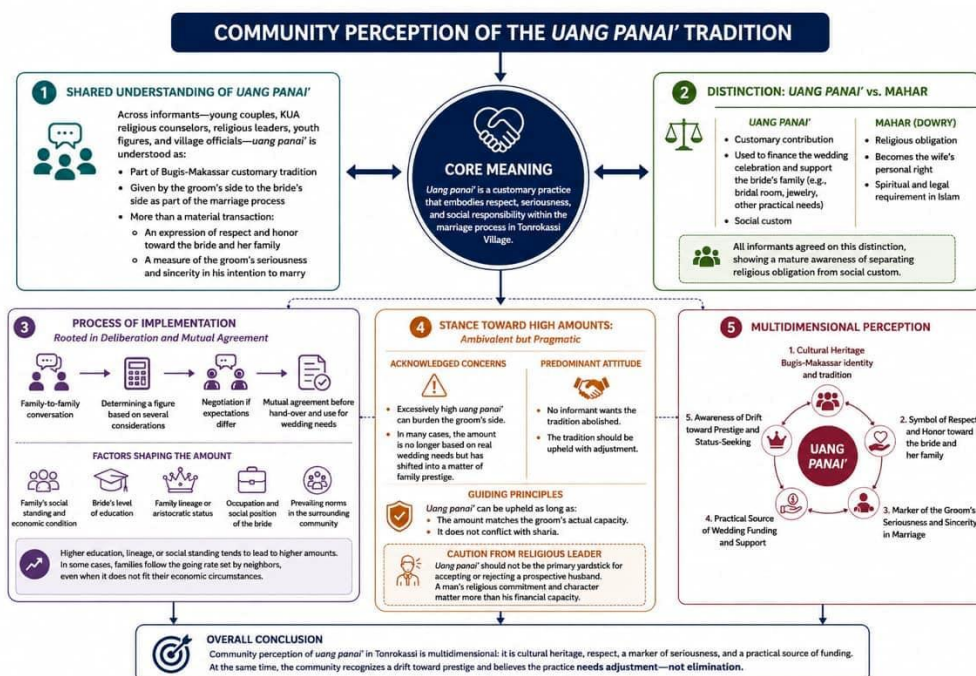
**Figure 1. Research Methodology Framework**

Data collected through these instruments were processed following the interactive model of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification, whereby field data were first sorted and organized by theme, then presented narratively to reveal patterns across informants, before tentative conclusions were drawn inductively and re-examined until stable. To ensure the trustworthiness of these findings, the study applied source and technique triangulation, cross-checking accounts from customary leaders, religious figures, and community members against one another and against interview, observation, and documentation results, alongside prolonged engagement in the field, member checking to confirm that recorded interpretations matched informants' actual intent, and peer debriefing with colleagues and supervisors to safeguard the objectivity and accuracy of the analysis before it was used to answer the three research questions on community perception, social impact, and the 'urf assessment of the tradition.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Community Perception of the Uang Panai' Tradition

The findings show that the people of Tonrokassi Village hold a fairly consistent understanding of what uang panai' means, even though it is expressed differently by different informants. Young couples, KUA religious counselors, religious leaders, youth figures, and village officials alike describe uang panai' as part of Bugis-Makassar customary tradition, given by the groom's side to the bride's side as part of the marriage process. This understanding goes beyond a purely material transaction: the community also views uang panai' as an expression of respect and honor toward the bride and her family, and, at the same time, as a measure of how serious the groom is in his intention to marry. The effort a man puts into meeting the agreed amount is widely read as evidence of his sincerity before entering married life.



**Figure 2. Community Perception of the Uang Panai' Tradition**

One point on which every informant agreed without exception is the distinction between uang panai' and the mahar (dowry). The mahar is understood as a religious obligation that becomes the wife's personal right, whereas uang panai' is understood as a customary contribution used to finance the wedding celebration and to help the bride's family meet the practical needs of the event, such as furnishing the bridal room or providing jewelry for the bride. This consistent distinction shows that the Tonrokassi community has a fairly mature awareness of separating religious obligation from social custom, even though both are woven into the same sequence of events leading to marriage.

In terms of how it is carried out, uang panai' is never fixed unilaterally; it follows a process rooted in deliberation. The process typically begins with a family-to-family conversation between the groom's and bride's sides, moves to determining a figure based on several considerations, continues through negotiation when expectations differ, and ends with a mutual agreement before the money is handed over and used for the wedding needs. The amount ultimately agreed upon is shaped by several factors: the family's social standing and economic condition, the bride's level of education, her family lineage or aristocratic status, her occupation and social position, and even the prevailing norms within the surrounding community. The higher a bride's education, lineage, or social standing, the higher the amount tends to be, and in some cases families simply follow the going rate set by neighbors without regard to whether it actually fits their own economic circumstances.

Regarding high amounts of uang panai', the community shows an ambivalent but ultimately pragmatic stance. On one hand, several informants acknowledge that an excessively high uang panai' can burden the groom's side, and that in many cases the figure is no longer driven by the real needs of the wedding but has shifted into a matter of family prestige.

On the other hand, not a single informant wants the tradition abolished outright. The prevailing attitude leans toward accepting the tradition while calling for adjustment, both the youth figure and the religious leader maintain that uang panai' can still be upheld as long as the amount is matched to the groom's actual capacity and does not conflict with sharia. The religious leader adds an important caution: uang panai' should not become the primary yardstick for accepting or rejecting a prospective husband, since a man's religious commitment and character ought to matter more than his financial capacity alone.

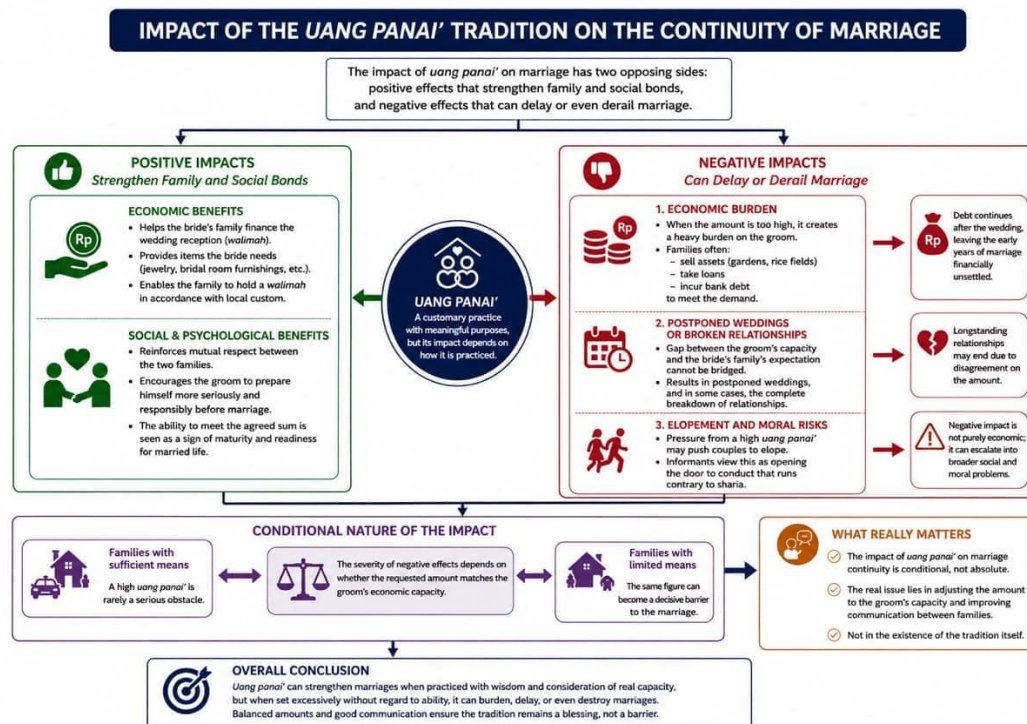
Taken together, community perception of uang panai' in Tonrokassi is multidimensional. The tradition is understood simultaneously as Bugis-Makassar cultural heritage, as a symbol of respect toward the bride and her family, as a marker of a groom's seriousness, and as a practical source of wedding funding. Yet alongside this positive framing, the community is also aware of a drift toward prestige and status-seeking, which has produced a shared sense that the practice needs adjustment, without needing to disappear altogether.

### **Impact of the Uang Panai' Tradition on the Continuity of Marriage**

The findings on impact reveal two opposing sides: positive effects that strengthen family and social bonds, and negative effects that can delay or even derail a marriage altogether. On the positive side, uang panai' genuinely helps the bride's family finance the wedding reception, supplies items the bride needs, and allows the family to hold a walimah befitting local custom. Beyond the economic benefit, the tradition also reinforces mutual respect between the two families and pushes the groom to prepare himself more seriously and responsibly before marriage, since his ability to meet the agreed sum is often read as a sign of maturity and readiness for married life.

On the negative side, the research shows that the core problem does not lie in the existence of the tradition itself but in figures set without regard to the groom's actual economic capacity. When the amount is too high, the most common consequence is a heavy economic burden on the groom, which in some cases forces his family to sell valuable assets such as gardens or rice fields, take out loans, or go into bank debt just to meet the demand. This economic consequence does not necessarily end once the wedding takes place, couples who married under such debt still carry the repayment burden afterward, leaving the early years of married life financially unsettled.

A more serious consequence arises when the gap between what the groom can afford and what the bride's family expects cannot be bridged: this frequently results in postponed weddings, and in some cases the complete breakdown of relationships that had lasted a long time, simply because the two sides could not agree on a figure. In certain instances, the pressure created by a high uang panai' has even pushed couples toward eloping, which informants view as opening the door to conduct that runs contrary to sharia. This shows that the negative impact of uang panai' is not purely economic, left unmanaged, it can escalate into a broader social and moral problem.

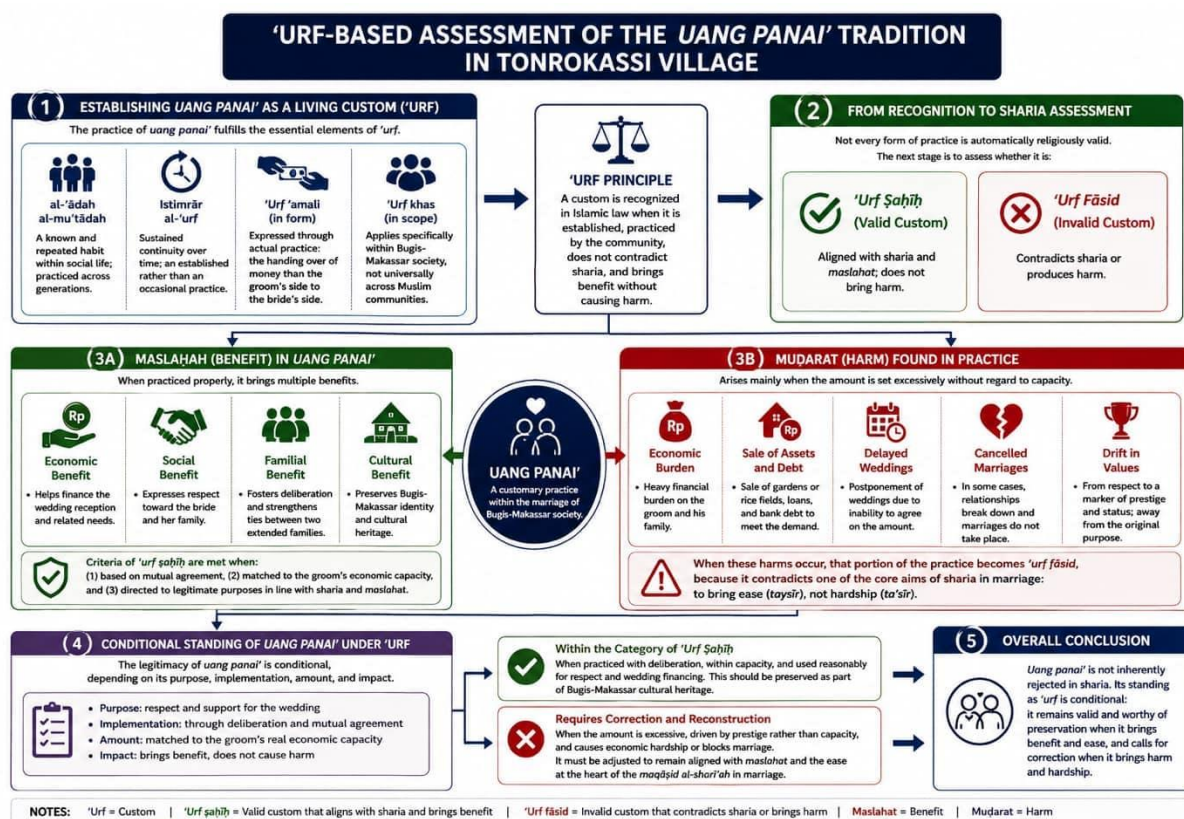


**Figure 3.** *Impact of the Uang Panai' Tradition on the Continuity of Marriage*

Notably, the findings also show that the severity of these negative effects depends heavily on whether the requested amount matches the groom's economic capacity. For families with sufficient means, a high *uang panai'* is rarely a serious obstacle; for families with limited means, the very same figure can become a decisive barrier to the marriage going forward. The impact of *uang panai'* on marriage continuity is therefore conditional rather than absolute, the real issue lies in adjusting the amount and improving communication between families, not in the existence of the tradition as such.

### 'Urf-Based Assessment of the Uang Panai' Tradition in Tonrokassi Village

The assessment of *uang panai'* from an 'urf perspective begins by establishing its standing as a living custom. The findings confirm that *uang panai'* has been practiced across generations and passed down consistently, satisfying the element of *al-'adah al-mu'tadah*, a habit that is known and repeated within social life. Its sustained continuity over time also fulfills the requirement of *istimrār al-'urf*, meaning it is an established rather than an occasional practice. In form, *uang panai'* is best classified as 'urf 'amali, since it is expressed through an actual practice, the handing over of money from the groom's side to the bride's side, rather than through spoken convention alone. In scope, it counts as 'urf khas, since it applies specifically within Bugis-Makassar society rather than universally across Muslim communities.



**Figure 4.** 'Urf-Based Assessment of the Uang Panai' Tradition in Tonrokassi Village

Recognizing *uang panai* as a form of 'urf, however, does not automatically make every version of its practice religiously valid, since 'urf theory requires that a custom neither contradict sharia texts nor generate harm. This leads to the next stage of the assessment: whether the practice qualifies as 'urf ṣaḥiḥ (valid custom) or has drifted into 'urf fāsid (invalid custom). On the side of benefit (*maṣlaḥat*), *uang panai* delivers several concrete gains, economic benefit in helping finance the wedding, social benefit in expressing respect toward the bride and her family, familial benefit through the deliberation it fosters between two extended families, and cultural benefit in preserving Bugis-Makassar identity. As long as it is arrived at through mutual agreement, matched to the groom's economic capacity, and directed toward legitimate purposes, the practice satisfies the criteria of 'urf ṣaḥiḥ, since it aligns with *maṣlaḥat* and does not conflict with sharia.

At the same time, the findings reveal real elements of harm (*mudarat*) in how *uang panai* plays out on the ground, particularly when the amount is set excessively without regard for the groom's capacity. This harm shows up as heavy economic burden, the sale of family assets, debt and borrowing, delayed weddings, and, at worst, the outright cancellation of marriages that had already been planned. A subtler but equally significant form of harm is the drift in underlying values, from an expression of respect toward a marker of prestige and status, which pulls the tradition away from its original purpose. Where these harms become evident, that portion of the practice can no longer be upheld as 'urf ṣaḥiḥ; it shifts instead into 'urf fāsid, because it works against one of the core aims of sharia in marriage, which is to make things easier rather than harder.

Drawing all of this together, the standing of *uang panai* under 'urf is conditional and cannot be judged solely from the fact that it exists as a community custom. What is actually being evaluated is not whether *uang panai* exists, but its purpose, the manner of its implementation, the amount involved, and the effects it produces. *Uang panai* arrived at through deliberation, calibrated to the groom's real economic capacity, and used reasonably for respect and wedding financing remains within the category of 'urf ṣaḥiḥ and deserves to be preserved as part of Bugis-Makassar cultural

heritage. Conversely, when the amount is set excessively, driven more by prestige than by genuine capacity, and ends up causing economic hardship or blocking marriage altogether, the practice calls for correction and reconstruction so that it stays aligned with the principle of *maslahat* and the ease that lies at the heart of the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* in marriage.

## CONCLUSION

This study set out to examine three questions: how the community of Tonrokassi Village perceives *the uang panai*' tradition, what impact it has on the continuity of marriage, and how the tradition stands within the framework of *'urf*. Regarding the first question, the community understands *uang panai*' as a form of respect toward the bride's family and a marker of the groom's seriousness, distinct from the *mahar*, a meaning consistently upheld across generations as part of Bugis-Makassar cultural identity. Regarding the second question, the tradition carries a dual impact: it strengthens family ties and helps finance wedding celebrations, yet an excessively high amount often driven by social prestige rather than economic capacity can produce debt, delay, or even the cancellation of marriage plans. Regarding the third question, the assessment through *'urf* shows that the tradition is conditional in nature: it remains valid as *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* when reached through deliberation, matched to the groom's real economic capacity, and directed toward legitimate purposes of respect and reasonable wedding financing, but shifts into *'urf fāsid* when set excessively and driven by prestige rather than genuine capacity. The core issue, therefore, does not lie in the existence of the tradition itself, but in a practice that needs to be brought back to the spirit of *maṣlahah* and ease intended by the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the discourse on *'urf* by demonstrating, through field-based evidence, how a single customary practice can shift between *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* and *'urf fāsid* depending on the manner and intent of its implementation, rather than being fixed permanently in one category. This offers a more dynamic, practice-sensitive application of the *'urf* framework than the largely normative-textual treatments found in prior studies.

Practically, these findings suggest that reconstructing the practice of *uang panai*' around deliberation, mutual agreement, and genuine economic capacity would allow the preservation of local culture to proceed in step with principles of family welfare and equitable access to marriage concerns that resonate with the Sustainable Development Goals, particularly those relating to poverty reduction, family well-being, gender equality, and reduced inequality. The findings may thus serve as a reference for religious leaders, customary leaders, and policymakers seeking to harmonize cultural preservation with these broader welfare and justice considerations.

This study is subject to several limitations. First, it was conducted in a single research locus, Tonrokassi Village, and its findings should be understood as context-specific rather than directly generalizable to Bugis-Makassar society as a whole, given that the practice and interpretation of *uang panai*' may vary across regions. Second, the number of informants, while sufficient to reach data saturation for the purposes of this study, remains relatively limited, and a broader range of informants across multiple villages could yield a more comprehensive picture of the tradition's variation. Future research is therefore encouraged to extend this inquiry to other Bugis-Makassar communities through comparative studies, in order to examine the extent to which the patterns identified here hold across different socio-economic and geographic contexts.

## REFERENCES

- A. Makkulau, *Sejarah Perkawinan Kerajaan Gowa*. Makassar: Balai Sejarah Sulsel, 2009.  
A. Zainuddin, *Sosiologi Perkawinan Bugis*. Makassar: Universitas Hasanuddin, 2013.  
Abdul Karim Zaidan, *Al-Wajiz fi Ushul al-Fiqh* (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-Risalah, 1998).  
Abdurrahman, *Kompilasi Hukum Islam dan Perundang-Undangan Perkawinan di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Akademika Pressindo, 2007.  
Abu Dawud Sulaiman bin Al-Asy'ats, *Sunan Abi Dawud*, Kitab an-Nikah, Bab fi Takhfif as-Sadaq, No. Hadis 2117  
Abu HLMasan Ali Saifuddin, *al – Ihlmkam Fi Ushlmul al – Ahlmkam*  
Abu Sunnah, Ahmad Fahmi. *al-‘Urf wa al-‘Ādah fi Ra’yi al-Fuqahā’*. Kairo: Dār al-Basâir, 2004  
Ahmad, *Makna Uang Panai dalam Pernikahan Adat Bugis Makassar*. Makassar: CV. Nurani Sejahtera, 2015.  
Al-Asqalani, Ibnu Hajar, *bulugh al-maram min adillati al-ahkam*. Riyadh : Dar Al-Qudsi, 1435/2014 M.  
Al-Bukhari, Muhammad bin Ismail, *Shahih al-Bukhari*. Beirut : Dar Ibn Katsir, 1987.  
Al-Ghazālī, Abu Hamid, *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, Jilid 2. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2005.  
al-Jawziyyah, Ibn al-Qayyim, *I’lām al-Muwaqqi’īn ‘an Rabb al-‘Ālamīn*, Jilid III. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1991.



- Al-Jazirī, Abdul Rahman, *al-Fiqh 'ala al-Mazāhib al-Arba'ah*, Jilid 4. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2003.
- Al-Jurjānī, *At-Ta'rifāt*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1985.
- Al-Nawawī, *al-Majmū' Syarh al-Muḥaḥḥab*, Jilid 17. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1997.
- Al-Qaradāwī, Yusuf, *al-Halāl wa al-Ḥarām fī al-Islām*. Kairo: Maktabah Wahbah, 1997.
- Al-Qaradāwī, Yusuf, *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyāt*. Kairo: Dār al-Syurūq, 1995.
- Al-Qaradāwī, Yusuf, *Kayfa Nata'āmal ma'a al-Sunnah*. Kairo: Dār al-Syurūq, 1995.
- Al-Qarāfī, *Al-Furūq*, Jilid I. Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1998.
- al-Raysūnī, Ahmad, *Naẓariyyat al-Maqāsid 'inda al-Imām al-Shātibī*. Rabat: Maṭba'ah al-Najāh, 1992.
- Al-Sarakhsī, *Al-Mabsūt*, Jilid XXII. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1993.
- Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Asybah wa al-Nazā'ir*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1998.
- Al-Zuhaylī, Wahbah, *al-Fiqh al-Islāmī wa Adillatuhu*, Jilid 7. Damaskus: Dār al-Fikr, 1985.
- Al-Zuhaylī, Wahbah, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh al-Islāmī*, Jilid 1. Damaskus: Dār al-Fikr, 1986.
- Alfa Syahriar, Soni Syamsul Hadi, *Studi Tentang Tradisi Amongan Dalam Perspektif Al-'Urf*, ISTI'DAL, 2019
- Ali, Mohammad Daud, *Hukum Islam: Pengantar Ilmu Hukum dan Tata Hukum Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2002.
- Amir Syarifuddin, *Ushul Fiqh*, Jilid II (Jakarta: Kencana, 2014).
- A. Amirullah. *Adat dan Perkawinan Masyarakat Bugis-Makassar*. Makassar: Balai Budaya Sulawesi Selatan, 2008.
- Āsyūr, Ibn ' , *Maqāsid al-Syarī'ah al-Islāmiyyah*. Tunis: Dār al-Suhūn, 1946.
- Azis, R. *Perkawinan Adat dan Modernitas: Studi Kasus di Sulawesi Selatan*. Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2021.
- Azra, Azyumardi, *Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Ulama dan Kosmopolitanisme*. Jakarta: Mizan, 2002.
- Baharuddin, A. *Uang Panai dalam Perspektif Hukum dan Budaya*. Makassar: Lentera Hati, 2016.
- Bakar, M. Y. A., Firmansyah, E., & Abdeljelil, M. B. (2024). Legal framework analysis of Islamic religious education policy implementation. *International Journal of Law and Society*, 3(3), 217-237.
- Bungin, Burhan, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: Aktualisasi Metodologis ke Arah Ragam Varian Kontemporer*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2019.
- Danial & Beni Ahmad Saebani, *Sosiologi Hukum*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2010.
- Dg. Malik, S. *Simbolisme Adat dalam Tradisi Bugis Makassar*. Makassar: Pustaka Timur, 2018.
- Djafar, St. Aminah. *Nilai-Nilai Budaya Bugis dalam Perspektif Gender*. Makassar: Al-Qalam Press, 2012.
- Fahmī, Aḥmad, *Al-'Urf wa al-'Ādah fī Ra'y al-Fuqahā'*. Kairo: Dār al-Turāth, 1980.
- Firmansyah, E. (2023). Various Paradigms in Islamic Educational Thought: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and Liberalism. *International Journal of Health, Economics, and Social Sciences (IJHESS)*, 5(2), 139-145.
- Firmansyah, E. (2026). Determinants of Social Inclusion from a Gender Perspective Among Vulnerable Populations. *SUNDANO: International Journal of Education, Society and Cultural Transformation*, 1(01).
- Firmansyah, E., & Idris, A. (2024). Moderation as a Solution to Religious Harmony in Poso Central Sulawesi. *International Journal of Law and Society*, 3(1), 1-9.
- Firmansyah, E., & Ikwan, A. (2026). Inclusive Education as a Catalyst for Social Transformation: A Systematic Literature Review. *SUNDANO: International Journal of Education, Society and Cultural Transformation*, 1(01).
- Firmansyah, E., Anwar, S., & Khozin, K. (2023). Anthropological Approach to Islamic Education: Establishing Noble Spirituality in Overcoming Social Conflict. *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education*, 7(1), 163-172.
- Geertz, Clifford, *The Religion of Java*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Gunawan, Imam, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif Teori dan Praktek*. Jakarta: PT. Bumi Askara, 2015.
- H. Amran, *Islam dan Kearifan Lokal*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2018.
- Harun, Syamsul, *Mahar dan Uang Panai dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam*. Makassar: Alauddin Press, 2014.
- Idrus, Muhammad, *Adat dan Budaya Suku Bugis-Makassar*. Makassar: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010.
- Idrus, N. *To Take Each Other: Bugis Practices of Gender, Sexuality and Marriage*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2003.
- Ismawati, Esti, *Ilmu Sosial Budaya Dasar*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2012.
- Jufri, Nur. "Uang Panai sebagai Penjaga Harga Diri." *Jurnal Keluarga dan Budaya*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2021.
- Kamal, Abu Malik, *Fiqh Sunnah Wanita*. Jakarta: Pustaka Imam Syafi'i, 2006.
- Kementerian Agama R.I, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya*. Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashih Mushaf Al-Qur'an (LPMQ), 2019.
- Khallāf, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Kairo: Dār al-Qalam, 2001.

- Kompilasi Hukum Islam (KHI), Pasal 2, dalam Instruksi Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1 Tahun 1991.
- M. Asy'ari, *Perbandingan Mahar dan Uang Panai dalam Perspektif Islam*. Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel Press, 2019.
- M. Latief, *Islam dan Tradisi Lokal*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 2012.
- M. Nasir, *Tradisi Pernikahan di Sulawesi Selatan*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2010.
- Majelis Ulama Indonesia Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan. *Fatwa Nomor 02 Tahun 2022 tentang Uang Panai*. Makassar: MUI Sulsel, 2022.
- Miles, Matthew B. dan A. Michael Huberman, *Analisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Sumber tentang Metode-Metode Baru*. Jakarta: UI Press, 2014.
- Moleong, Lexy J., *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2017.
- Mustafa, *Pergeseran Makna pada Nilai Sosial Uang Panai' dalam Perspektif Budaya Siri'*, Jurnal Yaqhzan Vol. 5, No. 1, 2021.
- Muttaqin, Darmawan. *Studi Literatur Uang Panai' dalam Adat Pernikahan Suku Bugis Makassar*, Sinestesia : Jurnal Ilmiah Vol. 12, No. 2. 2022.
- Nasir, Muhammad, *Kajian Budaya Lokal Sulsel*. Makassar: Unismuh Press, 2020.
- Nawir, Hamzah, *Urf dan Hukum Islam di Indonesia*. Bandung: Alfabeta, 2016.
- Nujaym, Ibn, *Al-Asybah wa an-Nazā'ir*, Jilid I. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1985.
- Nuruddin, Amiur & Azhari Akmal Tarigan, *Hukum Perdata Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2004.
- Paturusi, M. Idrus. *Uang Panai dalam Tradisi Pernikahan Bugis-Makassar*. Makassar: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015.
- Rafli, Muhammad dan Muhammad Syukur, *Bdaya siri' dan Besaran Uang Panai' dalam Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis*, Jurnal Discours : Journal of Social Studies and Education, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2024.
- Rahim, L. *Transformasi Nilai dalam Adat Pernikahan Bugis*. Bandung: Humaniora Press, 2020.
- Rahman, A. *Uang Panai: Kajian Sosiologis dan Hukum Islam*. Makassar: Alauddin University Press, 2017.
- Rahman, Syarifuddin, *Tradisi Pernikahan dalam Adat Bugis-Makassar*. Makassar: Fajar Inti Media, 2011.
- Sabiq, Sayyid, *Fiqh al-Sunnah*, Jilid 2. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1983.
- Satria Effendi, *Ushul Fiqh* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2017), hlm. 153–156.
- Simanjuntak, Daniel, *Hukum Islam dan Adat Nusantara*. Yogyakarta: Lkis, 2021.
- Soekanto, Soerjono, *Pokok-Pokok Sosiologi Hukum*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2012.
- Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif, Kuantitatif dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta, 2017.
- Sugiyono, *Metodologi Penelitian*. Bandung: Alfabeta, 2010.
- Syamsuddin, Amir, *Hukum Perkawinan Islam di Indonesia Antara Fiqh Munafakat dan Undang-Undang perkawinan*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2006.
- Tim Penyusun, *Kompilasi Hukum Islam*. Jakarta: Dirjen Bimas Islam, 2001.
- Tobroni, T., & Firmansyah, E. (2022). Tipologi manajemen tradisional dan modern dalam perkembangan pendidikan pesantren. *Research and Development Journal of Education*, 8(1), 333-338.
- Wahbah Az-Zuhaili, *Ushul al-Fiqh al-Islami*, Jilid II, Damaskus: Dar al-Fikr, 1986.
- Yusuf, *Dinamika Sosial dalam Tradisi Pernikahan Bugis Makassar*. Makassar: Universitas Hasanuddin Press, 2014.
- Zahrah, Muhammad Abū, *Al-Aḥwāl al-Syakhṣiyyah*. Kairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1998.
- Zahrah, Muhammad Abū, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1997.
- Zaidan, Abdul Karim, *Al-Wajīz fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Beirut: Mu'assasah ar-Risālah, 2000.
- Zaydān, 'Abd al-Karīm, *Al-Wajīz fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-Risālah, 1997.