Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam
Volume 10 No. 2. July 2026
ISSN: 2549 – 3132; E-ISSN: 2549 – 3167
DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

Dui menre in the Bugis Wedding Tradition: *Anregurutta* Daud Ismail's Perspective in *Tafsir Al-Munir*

Mursalim Junaid
Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Aji Muhammad Idris Samarinda, Indonesia
Moh. Arief Sah
Universitas PTIQ Jakarta, Indonesia
Nelly Ayu Apriliani
Universitas PTIQ Jakarta, Indonesia
Abdul Hafid
Universitas PTIQ Jakarta, Indonesia
Syahrul Rahman
Universitas PTIQ Jakarta, Indonesia
Email: mursalim21270@gmail.com

Abstract: *Dui menre*/dui balanca is an important marriage tradition in Bugis society that often gives rise to tensions between customary practice and Islamic law, especially when its amount becomes a social and economic burden. This study aims to analyze the response and intellectual position of AGH. Daud Ismail as a prominent Bugis scholar and mufassir towards the *Dui menre* tradition through his Bugis-language exegesis, Tafsir al-Munir. Employing a qualitative approach, this study draws on the frameworks of hermeneutics and Islamic legal anthropology, in particular, the concepts of al-'urf (custom) and al-maslahah (public benefit), as analytical lenses. Hermeneutics is used to reveal the meaning contained in Tafsir al-Munir in the socio-cultural context of Bugis society while Islamic legal anthropology is used to study the practice of *Dui menre* as a local custom. The data were collected through literature review and in-depth interviews. The main source analyzed was Tafsir al-Munir by AGH. Daud Ismail, supported by journal articles, books and other relevant scientific works. In-depth interviews were carried out with a number of informants, including ulama (Islamic scholars) who had studied directly under AGH. Daud Ismail, academics, and religious figures. The findings reveal that AGH. Daud Ismail is of the opinion that the tradition of uang panai is permissible (mubah) based on the principle of al-'adah al-muhakkamah so long as it does not conflict with the values of sharia and does not cause harm. From the perspective of hermeneutics and anthropology of Islamic law, this interpretation is a symbol of a pattern of integration (tahmil) between adat and sharia through accommodative-critical negotiation based on the principles of assimaturuseng (agreement), asitinnajang (propriety), assicocokong (compatibility), assiwollong pollongeng (close social interaction), and sipakalebbi (mutual respect). This study thus confirms the relevance of Tafsir al-Munir as a model for harmonizing Islamic law and local culture.

Keywords: *Dui menre*, Bugis Marriage, Bugis Tafsir, Daud Ismail, Anthropology of Islamic Law

‖Submitted: February 21, 2026 ‖Accepted: June 15, 2026 ‖Published: June 16, 2026

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

Abstrak: *Dui menre/dui balanca adalah tradisi pernikahan penting dalam masyarakat Bugis yang sering menimbulkan ketegangan antara praktik adat dan hukum Islam, terutama ketika jumlahnya menjadi beban sosial dan ekonomi. Studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis tanggapan dan posisi intelektual AGH. Daud Ismail sebagai seorang cendekiawan dan mufassir Bugis terkemuka terhadap tradisi Dui menre melalui tafsirnya dalam bahasa Bugis, Tafsir al-Munir. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, studi ini mengacu pada kerangka hermeneutika dan antropologi hukum Islam, khususnya konsep al-'urf (adat) dan al-maslahah (manfaat umum), sebagai lensa analitis. Hermeneutika digunakan untuk mengungkap makna yang terkandung dalam Tafsir al-Munir dalam konteks sosial-budaya masyarakat Bugis, sedangkan antropologi hukum Islam digunakan untuk mempelajari praktik Dui menre sebagai adat setempat. Data dikumpulkan melalui tinjauan pustaka dan wawancara mendalam. Sumber utama yang dianalisis adalah Tafsir al-Munir karya AGH. Daud Ismail, didukung oleh artikel jurnal, buku, dan karya ilmiah relevan lainnya. Wawancara mendalam dilakukan dengan sejumlah informan, termasuk ulama (cendekiawan Islam) yang belajar langsung di bawah bimbingan AGH. Daud Ismail, akademisi, dan tokoh agama. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa AGH. Daud Ismail berpendapat bahwa tradisi uang panai diperbolehkan (mubah) berdasarkan prinsip al-'adah al-muhakkamah selama tidak bertentangan dengan nilai-nilai syariat dan tidak menimbulkan bahaya. Dari perspektif hermeneutika dan antropologi hukum Islam, interpretasi ini merupakan simbol pola integrasi (tahmil) antara adat dan syariat melalui negosiasi akomodatif-kritis berdasarkan prinsip assimaturuseng (kesepakatan), asitinnajang (kesopanan), assicocokong (kesesuaian), assiwollong pollongeng (interaksi sosial yang erat), dan sipakalebbi (saling menghormati). Dengan demikian, studi ini menegaskan relevansi Tafsir al-Munir sebagai model untuk menyelaraskan hukum Islam dan budaya lokal.*
Kata kunci: *Dui menre, Pernikahan Bugis, Tafsir Bugis, Daud Ismail, Antropologi Hukum Islam*

Introduction

The integration between Islamic law and culture occurs dynamically in Indonesia, a nation with diverse ethnic groups, peoples, languages, and customs.[1] Islamic law has become a *living law* within society in almost all aspects of life, including marriage traditions. The Bugis community is one of the ethnic groups that demonstrates the relationship between Islamic law and culture, especially in the marriage process through the tradition known as *Dui menre/dui balanca* (*uang*

[1] Mursyid Djawas, et al., "The Integration between Syara' and Ade' in Wedding Tradition of Bugis Bone, South Sulawesi: Islamic Law Perspective," *al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial* 18, no. 2 (2023), p. 342–64. Syarifuddin Syarifuddin. et al., "Integration of Religion and Culture in Hadrah Nurun Nabi in Aceh: Perspective of Symbolism and al-'Urf," *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 29 No. 2 (2025).

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

panai in the Makassar language), which is one of the customary elements holding a highly important social position.[2] This practice functions as a symbol of sincerity, respect toward the bride's family, and as a support for honor (*siri'*) within the social structure.[3]

However, in contemporary practice, *Dui menre* often gives rise to legal and social problems, especially when the determined amount is considered burdensome and has the potential to hinder the implementation of marriage. As a result, some members of society perceive it as a form of buying and selling or as the commercialization and profit-oriented transaction of marriage. There have been numerous cases in which marriage proposals were canceled, even leading to practices such as *silariang* (elopement), *rilariang* (being taken away by force), and *ripattampuki* (premarital pregnancy) as alternative solutions.[4] As such, the practices often contradict the objectives of Islamic in maintaining the welfare (*maslahah*) of families and society. This condition also causes tension between customary demands that maintain symbols of honor and the principles of Islamic *sharia*, which are characterized by ease and the prevention of *mafsadat* (*harm)* in marriage. In this context, Islamic family law cannot be separated from the socio-cultural realities of the society in which the law is practiced.[5] Therefore, the views and authority of local *ulama* (Islamic scholars) play an important role in bridging the relationship between *adat* (custom) and *sharia* (Islamic law) so that the two are not positioned dichotomously.

The Bugis community is known as a religious society with a strong tradition of Islamic scholarship. One of the central figures in this tradition is *Anregurutta* H. Daud Ismail (*Anregurutta*, abbreviated as AG, refers to a senior

[2] Wardana Said, et al., "Marriage Traditions and Family Resilience in Bugis Bone Society: A Study of Islamic Law and Islamic Education," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 3 (2024), p. 1372–90. Mathias Jebaru Adon, "Perkawinan Lili Di Manggarai," *Dharmasmrti: Jurnal Ilmu Agama Dan Kebudayaan* 21, no. (2021), p. 40–52.

[3] Suharno Auliah Safitri, "Budaya Siri' Na Pacce Dan Sipakatau Dalam Interaksi Sosial Masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan," *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Buday* 22, No. 01 (2020), 102–11. Sri Rahayu and Yudi, "Uang Nai': Antara Cinta Dan Gengsi," *Jurnal Akuntansi Multiparadigma* 6, no. 2 (2015), p. 224–36.

[4] Juhansar, et al., "Relasi Agama Dan Budaya Dalam Tradisi Dui Menre' Pada Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis," *Dharmasmrti: Jurnal Ilmu Agama Dan Kebudayaan* 21, no. 2 (2021), p. 15–28. Hisam Ahyani and Nurlaila Harun, "The Transformation of Elopement: From Social Stigma to Practical Solution: A Comparative Study of Elopement Practices Among Indonesian Youth," *Kawanua International Journal of Multicultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (2024), p. 255~270,

[5] Illy Yanti, et al., "Negotiating Sharīʿah and Customary Law: Legal Pluralism in Familial Relationships among the Suku Anak Dalam in Jambi," *Journal of Islamic Law* 6, No. 2 (2025). Rusdaya Basri and Fikri, "Sompa and Dui Menre in Wedding Traditions of Bugis Society," *Ibda'; Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 16, no. 1 (2018).

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

ulama, similar to a *kyai* in Java or a *Buya* in Minangkabau). [6] AGH. Daud Ismail was a Bugis *ulama* and *mufassir* (Islamic exegete) who wrote *Tafsir al-Munir* in the Bugis language using the Lontara script.[7] *Tafsir Al-Munir* not only functions as a medium for transmitting the teachings of the Qur'an into the local language (vernacularization),[8] but also as an interpretive medium that is responsive to the social and cultural context of the Bugis community. Through his exegesis, AGH. Daud Ismail often provides normative foundations for customary practices, including matters related to dowry and marriage traditions.

The tradition of *Dui menre* or *dui balanca* within Bugis society has attracted the attention of various academic disciplines, ranging from anthropology, sociology of law, gender studies, to Islamic family law. In general, the existing literature can be mapped into three main tendencies: anthropological-cultural approaches, socio-economic criticism, and normative approaches in Islamic law. In classical anthropological studies of Bugis society, the practice of *uang panai* is understood as an integral part of the value system of *siri'* (honor), which forms the foundation of the social structure. Early anthropological research showed that *uang panai* is not merely an economic transaction, but also a symbol of respect toward the bride's family as well as a mechanism of social legitimacy for the prospective groom.[9] This tradition therefore signifies the readiness to take social and economic responsibility in building a household. From this point of view, *uang panai* is a symbolic expression that strengthens kinship networks and maintains the balance of relations between families.

However, recent studies have shown that the meaning of the practice of *Dui menre* has changed. Several sociological studies have noted the increasing amount of *uang panai* because of the competition for social status, education, and family prestige.[10] This phenomenon has led to *uang panai* no longer being understood only as a symbol of respect but also as an indicator of social

[6]Mursalim, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Dalam Tradisi Masyarakat Bugis: Telaah Pemikiran Tafsir MUI SulSel*, ed. Abd. Majid (Samaridan: P3M STAIN Samarinda, 2010). Nur Inayah Daud, *Anregurutta Haji (AGH) Daud Ismail Dalam Kenangan Sang Putri* (Yogyakarta: Mata Kata Inspirasi, 2024).

[7] Idil Hamzah, "Interelasi Alqur'an Dan Budaya Bugis Dalam Tafsir Al-Munir Karya Daud Ismail" (Pascasarjana Universitas PTIQ Jakarta, 2024).

[8] Mursalim, "The Vernacularization of Quran Interpretation in Bugis Land," *Al-Mashdar* 6, no. 1 (2024), p. 75–92.

[9] Nur Masthura, et al., "Evolving Traditions: The Contemporary Dynamics of Uang Panai' in Bugis- Makassar Wedding Ceremonies," *Tamaddun LIFE, Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra Dan Budaya* 23, no. 1 (2024), p. 51–60.

[10] Asfi Manzilati Suhaily Sudarman, M. Umar Burhan, "Economic and Social Dimensions of Uang Panai in the Bugis Tribe," *Journal of International Conference Proceedings (JICP* 6, no. 1 (2023), p. 305–12. Mutakhirani Mustafa and Irma Syahriani, "Pergeseran Makna Pada Nilai Sosial Uang Panai' Dalam Prespektif Budaya Siri'," *JURNAL YAQZHAN: Analisis Filsafat, Agama Dan Kemanusiaan* 6, no. 2 (2020): 217..

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

stratification.[11] As a consequence, this practice often causes economic pressure on the male party and has the potential to delay or even prevent marriage from taking place. Several field studies have also recorded the growing practice of *silariang* (elopement) as a response to the high demands of *uang panai*, which ironically contradicts the social objectives of Bugis *adat* itself.

From a gender perspective, several studies view *uang panai* as an ambivalent practice. On the one hand, this tradition is considered to provide symbolic appreciation for women because it places the bride's family in an honorable position within the marriage negotiation process.[12] On the other hand, feminist critiques argue that the practice may reproduce the objectification of women when the monetary amount becomes the primary measure in determining the "social value" of the prospective bride. Thus, gender studies stress the need to reinterpret the practice of *uang panai* in the context of modern social change, particularly in relation to women's education and social mobility.

In the discourse of Islamic law and Muslim family law in Indonesia, *uang panai* is typically discussed along with the concept of *'urf* (customary practice). Islamic legal scholars are of the opinion that *adat* is normatively valid as long as it does not contradict the core principles of *sharia*. The legal maxim *al-'adat al-muhakkamah* opens spaces for local practices to be acknowledged as legal considerations.[13] In this context, *uang panai* is positioned differently from *mahar* (dowry),[14] which has a direct normative basis in the textual sources of the Qur'an and hadith. *Mahar* constitutes a *sharia* obligation attached to the marriage contract, whereas *Dui menre* belongs to the socio-cultural sphere and is therefore conditional in nature.[15]

A number of studies on Islamic family law also indicate the implications of the *uang panai* practice with regards to *maqasid al-shari'ah* (objectives of Islamic law), especially with regard to the protection of lineage (*hifz al-nasl*) and religion (*hifz al-din*). When *Dui menre* leads to delays in marriage or causes relationships outside of marriage, the practice is deemed to have the potential to

[11] Sailela Syarifuddin and Ratna Ayu Damayanti, "Story of Bride Price: Sebuah Kritik Atas Fenomena Uang Panai Suku Makassar," *Jurnal Akuntansi Multiparadigma*, no. 2018.

[12] Misda Mulya and Subaidi, "Gendered Cultures: Economi Capital Dalam Budaya Siri' Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis Di Tanah Melayu," *Gemi Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengabdian* 3, no. 1 (2023), p. 1–14.

[13] Asni, et al., "Sompa and Doi Menre in Bugis Bone Marriage and Its Settlement in the Religious Court from the Perspective of Maslahah," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 9, no. 2 (2025), p. 1012–33. Defel Fakhyadi and Muhammad Adib Samsudin, "Islamic Law Meets Minangkabau Customs: Navigating Forbidden Marriages in Tanah Datar," *El-Mashlahah* 14, No. 1 (2024).

[14] Musyaffa Amin Ash-Shabah, Nahrowi Nahrowi, and Masyrofah Masyrofah, "Dowry Amount in Aceh-Indonesia and Selangor-Malaysia: Between State Regulations and Customs," *AHKAM : Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 21, no. 2 (2021).

[15]Mursyid Djawas, et al., "The Integration between Syara' and Ade' in Wedding Tradition of Bugis Bone, South Sulawesi, p. 342–64.

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

produce *mafsadat*. Therefore, some *ulama* and scholars of Islamic law advocate for the reinterpretation of *adat* through the approach of *maslahah*, namely by placing the economic capability of the prospective bridegroom as the primary consideration.

On the other hand, studies of Nusantara *tafsir* (exegesis) concerning local traditions remain relatively limited. Most research on local *tafsir* focuses more on aspects of language, methodology, and the biography of the *mufassir* (exegete), while the reading of *tafsir* as an instrument of negotiation between *adat* and *sharia* has not been widely developed. In fact, local *tafsir* has significant potential as a normative mediator because it emerges from the social experiences of Muslim communities themselves. In the Bugis context, the thought of local *ulama* such as AGH. Daud Ismail through *Tafsir Al-Munir* opens up new possibilities for understanding how customary practices, including *uang panai*, may be positioned within an integrative framework of Islamic law.

Based on this mapping, it can be seen that most studies still position *Dui menre* within separate social or normative frameworks. Studies that specifically connect the practice of *uang panai* with the tafsir of Bugis *ulama* as a source of legitimacy for Islamic family law remain very limited. Therefore, this study seeks to fill this gap by examining AGH. Daud Ismail's exegetical response to the practice of *uang panai* through the approaches of hermeneutics and the anthropology of Islamic law. This study addresses that gap by examining the tradition of *uang panai* through a hermeneutic reading of *Tafsir Al-Munir* by *Anregurutta* Daud Ismail. The main focus of this study is to analyze how the Bugis *ulama* constructed a pattern of integrative negotiation between *adat* and *sharia* in responding to the practice of *Dui menre*, as well as its implications for the construction of Islamic family law within Bugis society. Thus, this study is expected to enrich the discourse on the relationship between *adat* and *sharia* in the context of Islamic family law in Indonesia, particularly through the perspective of contextual Nusantara *tafsir*.

Employing a qualitative approach, this study draws on the frameworks of hermeneutics and Islamic legal anthropology.[16] The hermeneutic approach is used to interpret the text of *Tafsir al-Munir* by AGH. Daud Ismail, which is written in Bugis Lontaraq script, as an intellectual product born from the dialogue between the Qur'anic text, the *mufassir*, and the socio-cultural realities of Bugis society. Under this framework, *tafsir* is not only a linguistic explanation of verses but also a construction of meaning that takes into account the horizon of Islamic values

[16] Abdulloh Labib, "Pendekatan Hermeneutik Dalam Studi Islam, *Qolamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 8, No. 1 (2022), p. 16-29. Ali Sodiqin, "Antropologi Hukum sebagai Pendekatan dalam Penelitian Hukum Islam," *Al-Manahij Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 7, No. 1 (2013), p. 115-126.

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

and the horizon of local culture.[17] This approach enables the researchers to discover the implicit meaning contained in AGH. Daud Ismail's interpretation of dowry, *adat*, and marriage practices, although the term *uang panai* is not explicitly mentioned in the *tafsir* text.

The anthropology of Islamic law is used to analyze *uang panai* as a customary practice (*'urf*) that is still alive and functioning within the life of the Bugis community.[18] This approach considers *adat* as a social fact with normative power provided that it does not conflict with the fundamental principles of Islamic *sharia*.[19] In addition, *ushul fiqh* (principles of Islamic jurisprudence) concepts such as *al-'adat al-muhakkamat* and *al-maslahah* were the analytical tools to examine the legitimacy and limits of the practice of *uang panai* in Islamic family law.

Here, the primary data source was *Tafsir Al-Munir* by AGH. Daud Ismail, which concerns with the interpretation of verses on dowry, marriage, and social relations within the family. The secondary data were obtained from relevant literature such as books, journal articles, and previous studies discussing *Dui menre*, Islamic marriage law, and the relationship between *adat* and *sharia* within Bugis society. Interviews were conducted selectively with direct students of AGH. Daud Ismail, academics, religious leaders, and customary leaders in order to obtain an empirical understanding of the practice of *uang panai* and the authority of *tafsir* in the social life of Bugis society.

Furthermore, data analysis technique was done descriptively and analytically through data reduction, thematic categorization and contextual interpretation stages. The analysis was directed toward connecting the *tafsir* text with the social reality of *Dui menre*, so that a comprehensive understanding could be obtained regarding the position of the practice within the framework of Islamic family law based on the *tafsir* of Bugis ulama. This study is expected to provide a practical contribution by demonstrating that traditions are values worthy of preservation while also remaining open to adaptation in accordance with changing circumstances, as long as such traditions bring *maslahah*, since Islamic law is ultimately oriented toward the welfare of humankind.

---

[17] Mubasirun, "Values of Tepo Seliro in Bakri Syahid's Tafsīr Al-Hudā and Bisri Mustofa's Tafsīr Al-Ibrīz," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 11, no. 2 (2021), p. 351–76. Husna Amin, et al., "Environmental Paradigm Transformation through Integrative Interpretation: Perspective of Quranic Ecological Hermeneutics," *International Journal of Islamic Though* 28, No. 2 (2025).

[18] Nofialdi et al., "'Urf, Gender, and Customary Law: Negotiating Women's Participation in Boar Hunting in Minangkabau, Indonesia," *Ijtihad : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam DanKemanusiaan* 25, no. 2 (2025), p. 279–303.

[19] Nur Taufiq Sanusi, et al., "Cultural Marginalization of Bride Price (Uang Panai) in Bugis-Makassar Society, Indonesia: A Case Study of MUI Fatwa," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun,* 20, no. 1 (2025). Abu Haif, et al., "Uang Pannai In The Bugis Marriage Custom: Islamic Legal Perspective On Local Traditions," *Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Islam* 9, no. 1 (2025), p. 291–99.

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

Dui menre in the Bugis Marriage Tradition

In the marriage tradition of the Bugis community, there are two terms related to gifts given to the prospective bride, namely *mahar* (*sompa/sunra*) and *Dui menre*. It is acknowledged that some members of Bugis society still equate the position of *Dui menre* with *mahar* (*sompa/sunra*), considering dowry and *uang panai* as an inseparable unity. In fact, many people place *uang panai* in a far more important position than *mahar* in the marriage process, giving rise to a popular Bugis expression: "Without *uang panai*, there is no marriage."[20]

Mahar (dowry) is a gift in the form of money or property from the groom to the bride as one of the legal requirements for a valid marriage according to Islamic *sharia.* Meanwhile, *uang panai/Dui menre* is a contribution from the groom's side to the bride's family intended to finance the wedding ceremony (*walimatul 'urs*).[21] *Uang panai* emerged from a customary construction closely related to the values of honor (*siri'*) and family social status, because marriage is regarded as something highly sacred, a solemn covenant (*mitsaqun ghalizhan*) that reflects the dignity and honor of a family. Therefore, *uang panai* shall not be understood as a pillar or legal requirement of marriage, but rather as a social instrument that affirms the dignity of the bride's family within the Bugis customary order. For this reason, *uang panai* is categorized as *'urf* or a permissible (*mubah*) custom as long as it is not burdensome and does not hinder marriage.[22]

Socially, *uang panai* functions as a mechanism of cultural control that affirms the economic readiness and responsibility of the prospective husband. In the Bugis worldview, such readiness is not merely measured by the ability to provide for household needs, but also by the capability to uphold the honor of the wife's family. Therefore, the amount of *uang panai* is often associated with factors such as social status, including *arung* (nobility), *to deceng* (respectable people), *to sama'* (common people), and *ata'* (servants), as well as other indicators such as educational attainment (bachelor's/master's/doctoral degrees, medical profession), wealth (*to sogi*), official positions, and *hajj* status, among others.[23] The higher the woman's social status, the higher the amount of *uang*

[20]Anggina Yusila Heryanto, Fatimatuzzahra, and Muhibban Anggina Yusila Heryanto, Fatimatuzzahra, "Analisis Uang Panai Adat Bugis Dalam Pernikahan Perspektif Islam," *Maklumat Journal of Da'wah and Islamic Studies* 2, no. 2 (2024), p. 96–110. M. Tahir Maloko et al., "Sompa Tanah in Makassar Bugis Customary Marriages: Legal, Religious, and Cultural Perspectives," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 12, no. 3 (2024), p. 1213–36.

[21]Syarifuddin and Damayanti, "Story of Bride Price: Sebuah Kritik Atas Fenomena Uang Panaik Suku Makassar."

[22] Fitriyani, "Multicomplex Uang Panai' Terhadap Perempuan Dalam Perkawinan Keluarga Muslim Suku Bugis," *Multicomplex Uang Panai' Terhadap Perempuan Dalam Perkawinan Keluarga Muslim Suku Bugis* 1, no. 2 (2022), p. 195–214.

[23] Nur Masthura, "Evolving Traditions: The Contemporary Dynamics of Uang Panai' in Bugis- Makassar Wedding Ceremonies."

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

panai expected; however, in contemporary practice, this symbolic function has shifted when *uang panai* is treated as a benchmark of social prestige, causing the amount to increase significantly and potentially creating economic burdens.

This shift brings about serious legal and social implications. In many cases, the high amount of *uang panai* leads to delayed marriages or even failed marriage proposals.[24] Such conditions often encourage couples to resort to shortcuts such as *silariang*, which, from both customary and religious perspectives, is regarded as a violation of social order and *sharia* norms.[25] From the perspective of Islamic family law, this situation creates a serious problem because a customary practice originally intended to preserve honor may instead produce *mafsadat*, contradicting the objectives of marriage in Islam.

In the context of Islamic law, the difference between *mahar* and *uang panai* is very important. *Mahar* is a *sharia* obligation that is embedded in the marriage contract and it is the full right of the bride, as elaborated in the Qur'an and hadith. Conversely, *uang panai* has no direct normative basis in the textual sources (*nash*), and therefore it is in the realm of *adat* (*'urf*). As such, the legitimacy of *uang panai* in Islam largely depends on the degree of compliance of the practice with the principles of *sharia*, especially in terms of public benefit and avoidance of harm.

In this aspect, the concept of *al-'adat al-muhakkamat* is highly relevant. This legal maxim opens the door for the recognition of a custom as a source of legal consideration as long as it does not contravene the basic principles of Islamic *sharia.* Hence, *Dui menre* can be accepted as a socially legitimate practice in Islamic law so long as it is not associated with coercion, excessive hardship, or injustice. However, when *Dui menre* becomes a burden that obstructs marriage, such a practice loses its normative legitimacy from the perspective of Islamic family law.

AG. Daud Ismail and the Framework of Socio-Cultural Tafsir

AG. Daud Ismail (1908–2006) was one of the most influential Bugis ulama in the development of Islamic thought based on local culture in South Sulawesi.[26] AG. Daud Ismail, as an ulama, qadhi, and educator, had played a role

[24] Muhammad Kamalin Mohd. Winario, "Mahar Fantastis: Antara Tuntutan Tradisi Dan Prinsip Hukum Islam," *Journal of Legal Sustainabiltiy (JOLS)* 2, no. 2 (2025), p. 15–22.

[25] Nur Maizaitul Azerah Binti Mohd Sayuti & Ibnu Radwan Siddik Turnip, "Pengaruh Tingginya Uang Hantaran Perkawinan terhadap Penundaan Perkawinan di Desa Temerloh, Negeri Pahang Malaysia Perspektif Maqashid Syari'ah" *Journal of Education, Humaniora and Social Sciences (JEHSS)* 6, no. 1 (2023).

[26]Kamaluddin Abunawas et al., *Sejarah Dan Perkembangan Pondok Pesantren As'adiyah; Menebar Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin Dari Tanah Sengkang-Wajo* (Sengkang: As'adiyah Pusat Sengkang, 2022), p. 166. Daud, *Anregurutta Haji (AGH) Daud Ismail Dalam Kenangan Sang Putri*. Muhammad Yunus, et al., "Tafsir Bahasa Bugis AG. H. Daud Ismail:

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

in transmitting the Islamic sciences and shaping the Bugis community's perspective on the relationship between *adat* and *sharia*. In his monumental work, *Tafsir Al-Munir*, he presented a contextual interpretation of the Qur'an responding to the social dynamics of Bugis society.[27]

By employing the Bugis-Lontara language and local cultural expressions in his tafsir, AG. Daud Ismail was able to connect the messages of the Qur'an with the cultural realities of his community. Not only did he limit his role to the transmission of Islamic knowledge, but also in shaping the Bugis understanding of the relationship between *adat* (*adeq*) and *sharia* (*saraq*), strengthening both religious and ethnic identity, as well as cultivating harmony, *maslahah*, and compliance with the *maqashid al-shari'ah*.[28]

Tafsir al-Munir represents a socio-cultural style of *tafsir* (*adabul ijtima'i*) that places the Qur'an in dialogue with the realities of Bugis society. In the introduction (*muqaddimah*) of this *tafsir*, AG. Daud Ismail explains that this Bugis-language exegesis was composed as a response to the needs of society in understanding the Qur'an, since access to its interpretation had previously been limited to religious gatherings delivered by the *anregurutta*.[29] This need influenced the presentation style of the *tafsir*, which employs terms and customs familiar to the community.[30]

This finding is supported by interview results with the Chair of Nahdlatul Ulama South Sulawesi and UIN Alauddin academician, Hamzah Harun, who emphasized that the *tafsir* of AG. Daud Ismail holds significant importance in strengthening local Islamic identity since the use of the Bugis language brings the teachings of the Qur'an closer to communities that are culturally more familiar with their regional language.[31] Meanwhile, Kadir Massoweang, a principal researcher at National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), views the use of the Bugis language not only as facilitating understanding, but also as accelerating the internalization of Qur'anic values into everyday life. Furthermore, this *tafsir*

Aplikasi Penafsiran Dengan Metode Hida'i Tentang Al-Rijs," *Jurnal Tafsere* 10, no. 1 (2023), p. 78–103.

[27] Abd. Haris and Nurfaika, "The Nusantara Interpretation by Bugis Scholars: Social and Local Dimensions of Al-Munir Tafsir by AGH. Daud Ismail," *Al-Muhafidz: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir* 5, no. 1 (2025), p. 1-18.

[28]Abd. Haris and Winceh Herlena, "Unsur Lokalitas Dalam Tafsir Berbahasa Bugis Karya AGH. Daud Ismail (Studi Analisis Psychological Hermeneutics Terhadap QS. Al-Maidah 5:90)," *El-Afkar* 9, no. 2 (2020). Ismail Firano, "Maqāṣid Az-Zuwāj Asy-Syarʿiyyah; Dirāsatun Li-Ahamm Maqāṣid Az-Zawāj Al-Aṣliyyah Wa At-Tabaʿiyyah," Jurnal al-Dustur 7, No. 2 (2024).

[29] Daud Ismail, *Tafsir Al-Munir,* (Makassar: CV. Bintang Selatan, n.d.). Jilid 1 ,p. 5.

[30] Muh. Azka Fazaka Rif'ah, et al., "Dialektika Tradisi Dan Tafsir: Kritik Daud Ismail Terhadap Tradisi Bugis Dalam Tafsīr Al-Munīr," *JALSAH: The Journal of Al-Quran and as-Sunnah Studies* 3, no. 1 (2023).

[31]Interview with Hamzah Harun Al-Rasyid, Chair of Nahdlatul Ulama South Sulawesi and Professor at UIN Alauddin Makassar, October 9, 2025.

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

also functions as a cultural instrument in preserving the continuity of the Bugis language amid the currents of social change. [32]

AG. Daud Ismail did not position *adat* as an entity that must be absolutely subordinated to *sharia*, nor did he allow *adat* to operate without the normative control of Islam.[33] Instead, he developed a pattern of *tafsir* that was accommodative-critical in nature, namely by accepting customary practices that align with Islamic values while correcting customs that have the potential to generate injustice or harm.

In the context of marriage, the *tafsir* framework of AG. Daud Ismail puts emphasis on the principles of simplicity and *maslahah* as the central values, following the hadith of the Prophet, that says:

أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، قال: " إن أعظم النكاح بركة أيسره مؤونة [34]

"*Indeed, the greatest marriage blessing is ease in provision."*

The interpretation of verses about dowry and marriage is directed to the understanding that the main purpose of marriage is to build a *sakinah* (peaceful and harmonious) family, not to show social status or economic capability.[35] Thus, any practice that has the potential to obstruct the goal shall be critically examined, including customary practices that may have undergone distortion of meaning.

Furthermore, the *tafsir* approach of AG. Daud Ismail also reveals the implicit use of *ushul fiqh* principles, especially in assessing *adat* as part of the social reality of the Muslim community. He situates adat in the context of *maslahah* so that social *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) can judge local practices such as *uang panai*, in context.[36] Here, *tafsir* is used not only as a tool to interpret sacred texts, but also as a normative tool to guide the social life of the community.[37]

The socio-cultural *tafsir* framework developed by AGH. Daud Ismail makes *Tafsir Al-Munir* an important reference for understanding the relationship between Bugis *adat* and Islamic family law. This *tafsir* is not only a manifestation of the personal opinion of the *mufassir*, but also describes how the local *ulama*

[32]Interview with Abd. Kadir Massoweang, Professor and Principal Researcher at National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), October 6, 2025.

[33] Idil Hamzah, "Interelasi Alqur'an Dan Budaya Bugis Dalam Tafsir Al-Munir Karya Daud Ismail."

[34]This hadith is mentioned in *Musnad Ahmad*, Hadith No. 24529.

[35] Nastangin and Muhammad Chairul Huda, "The Role of Career Women in Creating a Sakīnah Family: From Mubādalah (Mutuality) Perspective," *Al-'Adalah* 19, no. 1 (2022): 123–40.Faisal A Rani, et,al, "Islam and National Law: A Formal Legal Review on Sharia Laws in Aceh," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 20, no. 1 (2020): 47–57.

[36] Yusida Fitriyati et al., "Reconsidering Inheritance Equality: Gender Justice in Religious Court Decisions through the Lens of Maqashid Al-Shariah," *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat* 25, no. 1 (2025), p. 122–40.

[37]Gagah Daruhadi, "Development of Theoretical Study of Social Interpretation (Social Relations)," *Journal of World Science* 3, no. 8 (2024), p. 1050–67.

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

respond to the social dynamics of the society. Thus, reading *Tafsir al-Munir* becomes a strong theoretical basis to analyze the practice of *uang panai* from the perspective of Islamic law that is contextual and rooted in local culture.

AG. Daud Ismail's *Tafsir* Response toward the *Dui menre* Tradition

The term *Dui menre* is not explicitly mentioned in *Tafsir Al-Munir*; however, AG. Daud Ismail's response to the practice can be traced through his interpretation of Qur'anic verses related to dowry, marriage, and the principle of *maslahah* in social relations. Among the verses discussing dowry is Qur'an Surah Al-Nisa [4:4]:

وَاٰتُوا النِّسَآءَ صَدُقٰتِهِنَّ نِحْلَةً ۗ فَاِنْ طِبْنَ لَكُمْ عَنْ شَيْءٍ مِّنْهُ نَفْسًا فَكُلُوْهُ هَنِيْۤـًٔا مَّرِيْۤـًٔا ﴿٤﴾

> "*And give the women [upon marriage] their [bridal] gifts [mahar] graciously. But if they give up willingly to you anything of it, then take it in satisfaction and ease."*

AG. Daud Ismail further explains about this verse in his *tafsir*:

"E.. sininna orowane' maeloe' mabbaine' werengngi mennang makkunrai' iyya mufubainee' sompana sikira-kira pabbere' waji' tanra assipojingeng malamung ripallawangemmu iko tau duwae' mallaibinenge'ngnge nenniya' tanra iyya majjelloe' masse' riassisompungemmu ripallawangemmu iko tau mallaibinengengnge'. Namaje'ppu mancajini ade' abiasang ritauwwe' riadere'nna namamadaiyangngi sompae'mi bawang, yakkeppa napasibawai ritu' siagae' romai rupa-rupanna hadiah/pabbere' simata, koromai' ciccing, pattoddo', potto', kuwaetofa anre'-anre' mabbuwang-mpuwangeng, rilainnae' paimeng iyya engkae' mane'ng ritu majje'lloe ripakale'bbina lakkaiyye' ri bainena, iyya maeloe' napancajiko sennang ritu riassiakatuwongenge"[38] ("O men who intend to marry, give to the woman you wish to marry a *mahr* [dowry] as an obligatory gift, as a sign of a strong bond of love between husband and wife and as a means of establishing a relationship between them. It is also a customary practice in society that the mahr alone is not considered sufficient; it has become a tradition to provide various additional gifts, such as clothing, gold (rings, bracelets, necklaces), as well as food items (fruits), and others. These gifts symbolize the respect and honor shown by the groom and his family toward the prospective bride.")

Likewise, *Anregurutta* implicitly explains, in his interpretation of Qur'an Surah Al-Baqarah [2:236], that "one should give something to a divorced wife whose dowry had not yet been determined, according to one's ability. If the husband possesses abundant wealth, then he should give abundantly; but if his

[38] Daud Ismail, *Tafsir Al-Munir,*. Jilid II, p. 143.

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

wealth is limited, then he should give only a small amount that may still be beneficial for the divorced wife."[39] His *tafsir* explanation does not seem to elaborate in detail on the proper amount of dowry that should be given to a prospective wife, possibly because this issue remained debatable within Bugis society. Yet, in fact, this issue is not merely a contemporary phenomenon, but has existed since the early period of Islam. As narrated in one report, Umar ibn al-Khattab once delivered a sermon from the pulpit prohibiting Muslims from giving excessively large dowries to prospective wives, although he was challenged by a woman who recited Qur'an Surah Al-Nisa' [4:20].[40]

The explanations in *Tafsir Al-Munir* regarding the verses on dowry emphasize that *mahar* is a *sharia* obligation functioning as a symbol of respect and responsibility in marriage, but it is not intended to become an economic burden that imposes hardship on any party. This perspective places *mahar* within the ethical framework of ease (*taysīr*) as emphasized in the Qur'an, which encourages marriages to be conducted proportionally and simply, while at the same time discouraging social practices that may complicate something that Allah has essentially made easy.

Further, as explained by AG. Huzaimah, AG. Daud Ismail did not reject high nominal amounts in certain contexts; however, at the same time, he also appreciated relatively modest amounts proposed by society. This indicates that his position was based on the principle of individual financial capability (*istiṭā'ah*).[41] Likewise, according to Hamzah Harun, *Anregurutta* advised people not to complicate the issue of *uang panai*. This was grounded in the view that *uang panai* is not the ultimate objective of marriage, but rather a means to strengthen and unite relationships between families.[42]

In his interpretation of verses concerning dowry, AG. Daud Ismail emphasizes that *mahar* is a *sharia* obligation functioning as a symbol of respect and responsibility in marriage, and it is not intended to become an economic burden that imposes hardship on any party. This perspective positions *mahar* within the ethical framework of *taysīr* as emphasized in the Qur'an, which encourages marriages to be conducted proportionally and simply, while discouraging social practices that may complicate something that Allah has fundamentally made easy. In this regard, *mahar* shall be understood as a symbol of respect toward women, rather than as an instrument for displaying social status or the economic capability of the prospective husband. This *tafsir* also implicitly

[39] Daud Ismail, *Tafsir al-Munir*, Jilid I, p. 110.

[40]Wahbah Al-Zuhaily, *Al-Fiqh Al-Islamiy Wa Adillatuhu* (Dimsyq: Dar al-Fikr, 1997), p. 6763.

[41]Interview with *Gurutta* Huzaimah Rauf, instructor at Pesantren As'adiyah and direct student of *Anregurutta* Daud Ismail, October 10, 2025.

[42]Interview with Hamzah Harun Al-Rasyid, Professor at UIN Alauddin Makassar and direct student of *Anregurutta* Daud Ismail, October 9, 2025.

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

critiques social practices that make material aspects the primary benchmark in marriage.

Based on this understanding, *uang panai* is positioned by AG. Daud Ismail as a customary practice existing outside the normative structure of *mahar*. This view is reinforced by the opinion of Muhyiddin Tahir, caretaker of the *Tafsir al-Munir* study sessions at Pesantren As'adiyah, who stated that *Anregurutta* was among the *ulama* who were highly accommodative toward local Bugis culture, including the tradition of *uang panai*, although he did not regard *uang panai* as a legal requirement for the validity of marriage.[43]

Therefore, the legitimacy of *Dui menre* is not absolute, but conditional. This practice is acceptable provided that it becomes a social symbol that strengthens family relationships and does not contradict the principle of simplicity emphasized in *sharia*. On the other hand, if *Dui menre* causes hardship, delays marriage or encourages deviant behavior such as *silariang*,[44] the practice must be critically evaluated because it is contradictory to the basic objectives of Islamic law.

This position, within the framework of *ushul fiqh,* signifies the application of the principle of *al-maslahah* as the main consideration in legal judgment. AG. Daud Ismail viewed Islamic law as not only aimed at formal compliance with textual sources but also at the realization of social welfare (*maslahah*). Therefore, a custom that is originally permissible (*mubah*) may change its legal status and become forbidden (*haram*) when it produces significant negative consequences, based on the principle of *jalb al-maṣāliḥ wa dar' al-mafāsid* (attaining benefits and preventing harm). This perspective shows that *tafsir* can be flexible and also responsive toward social dynamics while still maintaining its normative basis.

This opinion is also reinforced by that of the academic Ruslan Sangaji who argues that the *tafsir* developed by AG. Daud Ismail can essentially be a model of harmonization between Islamic law and Bugis local culture, including in the practice of *uang panai*. This approach is not confrontational towards *adat*, but rather dialogical, whereby the *sharia* values are positioned as the normative framework, while local culture is treated as a social expression that may be accommodated as long as it does not contradict the fundamental principles of Islam.[45]

Responding to the practice of *Dui menre*, AGH. Daud Ismail employed two approaches: the *adat* approach and the religious approach, through an effort

[43]Interview with *Gurutta* Muhyiddin Tahir, instructor of Bugis-language *Tafsir Al-Munir* studies at Pesantren As'adiyah, Sengkang, and direct student of AGH. Daud Ismail, October 6, 2025.

[44] Himas Diningrat et al., "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Uang Panai Dalam Perkawinan Adat Bugis" *Jurnal Syntax Admiration* 5, no. 5 (2024).

[45]Interview with Ruslan Sangaji, Professor of Tafsir at IAIN Watampone, October 10, 2025.

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

of integration (*taḥmīl*) between *sharia* norms and local traditions. This integration was manifested in the form of negotiation that was both accommodative and critical. Accommodatively, *Dui menre* was accepted as part of the social marriage process within Bugis society as long as it did not conflict with the basic principles of *sharia*. Nevertheless, he also carried out critical negotiation by offering corrections to social practices that set excessively high amounts of *Dui menre*, because such practices have the potential to create disproportionate economic burdens on the male party and deviate from the objective of *maslahah* in Islamic marriage.

The *tafsir* response of AGH. Daud Ismail also demonstrates the implicit application of the legal maxim *al-'adat al-muhakkamat*. This principle grants legitimacy to *adat* as a source of legal consideration so long as the customs do not contradict the principles of *sharia*. In relation with *Dui menre*, *adat* is recognized as part of the social identity of Bugis society, yet it remains under the supervision of Islamic values. Thus, *tafsir* does not function to justify *adat* absolutely, but rather to evaluate it proportionally within the framework of Islamic family law.

Furthermore, the *tafsir* of AGH. Daud Ismail reflects the logic of *taḥmīl*, namely the effort to place customary practices within the structure of Islamic law without eliminating their local character. *Dui menre* is not abolished or completely abandoned but is "imbued" with *sharia* values that emphasize justice, ease, and *maslahah*. This is also a form of social *ijtihad* as a way to maintain the balance of the continuity of *adat* and the normative goals of Islamic law.[46]

This tafsir response has several important implications from the perspective of Islamic family law. First, *Dui menre* shall not be considered as a legal requirement for the validity of marriage since it has no normative basis in the textual sources (*nash*). Second, the practice of *uang panai* which causes hardship and obstructs marriage has the potential to contradict the objectives of *sharia* (*maqasid al-shari'ah*), especially in protecting lineage (*hifz al-nasl*) and the religion (*hifz al-din*). Third, the authority to determine the amount of *uang panai* should not be unilateral or coercive, but based on deliberation (*musyawarah*) and the realistic financial capacity of the prospective bride and groom.

The *tafsir* of AGH. Daud Ismail also reveals that the local *ulama* have a strategic role in directing the practice of Islamic family law at the community level. With contextual *tafsir, ulama* are not only the interpreters of the sacred texts, but also social mediators bridging the interests of *adat* and the demands of *sharia*. In this context, *Tafsir Al-Munir* serves as a normative instrument that corrects distortion of *adat* without negating the cultural values of Bugis society.

[46] Mutiara Fahmi et al., "Islamic Jurisprudence and Local Wisdom in the Humanitarian Protection of Rohingya Refugees by Acehnese Figures," *El-Mashlahah* 14, no. 2 (2024).

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

Hence, AG. Daud Ismail's *tafsir* response to the practice of *uang panai* can be understood as a model of integrative social *tafsir*. The *tafsir* does not put *adat* and *sharia* in opposition to each other, but rather it creates a dialectical relationship that allows them to adapt to each other. This model thus offers an important contribution to the development of Islamic family law in Indonesia, especially in communities with strong customary traditions.

Dui menre **between** ***Adat*** **and Islamic** ***Sharia*****: The Harmonization of Family Law**

For the Bugis community prior to the arrival of Islam, there existed the concept known as *pangadereng* or *pangadakkang* (in the Makassar language), namely a form of culture regarded as containing noble values and serving as a way of life. It encompassed systems, norms, customary regulations, and codes of conduct, including arrangements governing the infrastructure of life in both material and non-material forms.[47] Therefore, within Bugis society, a person's social piety is measured not only according to *sara'* (*sharia*), but also according to *ade'* (*adat*/custom).[48]

Thus, *pangaderreng* and *sara'* collaborate in forming a value system that animates every step and action of the Bugis people. The harmony between *pangngaderreng* and *sara'* can be seen in the following Bugis expression:

> *Mappakarajai sara'e ri ade'e. Mappakalebbi'i ade'e ri sara'e. Temmakullei ade'e narusa' taro bicaranna sara'e. Temmakulle toi sara'e narusa' tarobicaranna ade'e. Temmakullei sipusa-pusang iya duwa. Temmakulle toi sirusa' iya duwa.* ("*Sharia* honors *adat* — *sharia* shall be respected and placed above *adat* as the highest principle — and *adat* honors *sharia*. *Adat* shall also be regarded as important and respected under *sharia*. *Adat* shall not violate the established provisions and rulings of *sharia*. Likewise, *sharia* shall not destroy the established provisions and rulings of *adat*. Neither should precede or compete with the other. Neither should damage or eliminate the other.")[49]

The acceptance of the element of *sara'* within the *pangngaderreng* system demonstrates that the values of Islamic law have become an integral part of the traditions and culture of Bugis society. Obedience to *pangngaderreng* also means obedience to *sara'*. Conversely, violations of *pangngadereng* are likewise

[47]Mattulada, *Latoa Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis* (Yogyakarta: Universitas Gajah Mada, 1985), p. 306.

[48] Wardana Said, et al., "Marriage Traditions and Family Resilience in Bugis Bone Society: A Study of Islamic Law and Islamic Education.". Mansur Mansur, et al., "The Return of Doi Menre' Ba'da Duhul in Bugis Marriage Law, South Konawe: Islamic Education and Sociology of Islamic Law Perspective," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 7, No. 2 (2024).

[49]Mursalim, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Dalam Tradisi Masyarakat Bugis: Telaah Pemikiran Tafsir MUI SulSel,* p. 154.

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

considered violations of *sara'*.[50] The integration of *sara'* and *ade'* within Bugis society reflects a synergistic relationship between steadfastness in tradition and obedience in religion. Furthermore, both constitute structures within *pangngadereng* (social law), which ultimately unite their functions in regulating social life.[51] Islam accepts *adat* or customary practices existing within society as long as they do not deviate from Islamic *sharia*, as expressed in the legal maxim: *al-'adah muhakkamah* ("custom is recognized as a basis for legal determination in accordance with *sharia*").[52]

The relationship between adat and sharia in the practice of *Dui menre* demonstrates a complex dynamic. *Dui menre* is a practice that grows from the social structure of Bugis society as a symbol of honor and responsibility.[53] However, Islamic *sharia* has normative principles that put emphasis on the ease, justice, and *maslahah* in marriage. The tension between the two is thus apparent when *Dui menre* is practiced excessively, to the extent that it hinders the main objectives of marriage in Islam.[54] Hence, the *tafsir* of AG. Daud Ismail, in this context, offers a framework of harmonization that is not dichotomous, but rather integrative (*taḥmīl*).

Adat (*'urf*), from the viewpoint of Islamic law, holds an important position as a social reality that may be considered in legal determination. The legal maxim *al-'adat al-muhakkamat* pinpoints that *adat* may serve as a basis for legal consideration provided that it does not contradict the textual sources (*nash*) and the fundamental principles of *sharia*. *Dui menre*, as a product of *adat*, therefore cannot be rejected outright. However, its acceptance is conditional and must be evaluated through the parameter of *maslahah*. This framework positions *adat* not as an autonomous source of law, but as an element that is assessed and guided by *sharia*.

If viewed through a hermeneutic approach, the symbolism employed by AGH. Daud Ismail in responding to *Dui menre* signifies the application of the principle of *taḥmīl* and accommodative-critical negotiation, namely the effort to imbue customary practices with the normative values of Islam. Within this

[50]Syamsurijal, et al., "The Encounter of Customs and Religion in Cultivating Religious Moderation in Bugis," *Atlantis Press* 660 (2021).

[51]Ismail Suardi Wekke, "Islam Dan Adat: Tinjauan Akulturasi Budaya Dan Agama Dalam Masyarakat Bugis," *Analisis* XIII, no. 1 (2013). Tarmizi Tarmizi, et al., "Inheritance Distribution and Conflict Resolution in Bone Regency: Upholding Women's Rights and Islamic Law Objectives," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syariah* 16, No. 2 (2024).

[52] Muhammad Zarroq, *Syarhu-l-Qowa'id Al-Fiqhiyah* (Damaskus: Darul Qalam, n.d.), p. 219. Ajidar Matsyah, et al., "Cultural Continuity and Legal Adaptation: The Evolution of Suluh in Aceh's Conflict Resolution System," *Juris: Jurnal Ilmiah Syari'ah* 24, No. 1 (2025).

[53] Nur Taufiq Sanusi, et al., "Cultural Marginalization of Bride Price (Uang Panai) in Bugis-Makassar Society, Indonesia."

[54] Juhansar, et al., "Relasi Agama Dan Budaya Dalam Tradisi Dui Menre' Pada Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis."

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

framework, *Dui menre* is not abolished, but directed so that it does not exceed reasonable limits. Customary practices are accepted insofar as they function as means of preserving honor and strengthening family relationships, rather than as instruments for displaying social prestige or creating economic pressure. According to Ruslan Sangaji, this *tafsir* opens space for reinterpretation: customary practices are maintained as symbols of respect and social responsibility, yet they must be guided so as not to exceed the limits of justice, impose hardship, or contradict the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. Thus, the *tafsir* of AGH. Daud Ismail functions as a bridge balancing religious legitimacy and the continuity of local culture.[55]

The approach developed by AG. Daud Ismail reflects a form of social *ijtihad* that is contextual and responsive to the realities of Bugis society. In his *da'wah* (Islamic propagation) practice, AG. Daud Ismail did not take an extreme stance that could destabilize the social foundation, but he chose the method that was more moderate, dialogical, and adaptive to the local culture. This attitude shows his effort to maintain a balance between the authority of the religious text and the dynamics of living tradition in society.[56] This finding is in line with the interview result with Asni, a professor of Islamic family law at IAIN Watampone, who assessed that the *tafsir* of AG. Daud Ismail possesses strong potential as a model for harmonizing Islamic law and Bugis local culture, including in the practice of *Dui menre*. She described that the contextual and accommodative style of interpretation allows traditions to continue being accommodated as long as they do not contradict the fundamental principles of sharia. Moreover, this approach also opens a productive space for dialogue between text and tradition, although it still requires normative critique so as not to become trapped in the mere legitimization of culture.[57]

Furthermore, in the anthropological perspective of Islamic law, *Tafsir Al-Munir* provides a paradigm of harmonization and integration between *adat* and *sharia* with the principle of *maslahah* as its main benchmark. In this view, *uang panai* is not assessed based on its amount but on the social impact it brings. If the practice can realize a lawful and harmonious marriage, this *adat* can be said to be compatible with *sharia*. Conversely, when *Dui menre* impedes marriage or encourages deviant practices, this practice will lose its legal legitimacy.

[55]Interview with Ruslan Sangaji, Professor of Tafsir at IAIN Watampone, October 10, 2025; Ikhwanuddin Harahap, et al., "Understanding the Rise of Childfree Marriage: Avoiding Toxic Family, Being Happy and Well Without Children Despite Contradiction with Maqashid al-Sharia," *Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 10, No. 1 (2025).

[56]Taufik Abdullah, *Islam Dan Masyarakat, Pantulan Sejarah Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1987), p. 349.

[57]Interview with Asni Zubair, Professor of Islamic Family Law at IAIN Watampone, October 9, 2025.

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

This harmonization has a clear normative implication in the framework of Islamic family law. Firstly, *Dui menre* should not be positioned as a *pillar* (*rukun*) or legal requirement for the validity of marriage. Secondly, the determination of *Dui menre* must take into account the financial capability of the prospective spouses and must not be coercive. Thirdly, customary authorities need to engage in dialogue with religious authorities so that the practice of *Dui menre* remains within the framework of *maslahah*. These principles demonstrate that Islamic family law is not static, but rather open to dialogue with social realities.

The harmonization of custom and Islamic law in the practice of *Dui menre* can also be understood through the fundamental values of Bugis tradition, which are essentially not in conflict with Islamic teachings. The principles of *assimaturuseng* (agreement),[58] *asitinnajang* (propriety),[59] *assicocokeng* (compatibility), and *sipakalebbi* (mutual respect)[60] reflect the social ethics that are in harmony with the Islamic values of justice and deliberation. The issue of *uang panai* in this context is not in the customary principles, but in the distortion of practices that ignore the basic values.

When *Dui menre* is determined without regard to the principles of propriety and mutual agreement, this practice is, in fact, in contradictions with the authentic values of Bugis *adat* itself. Thus, the harmonization of *adat* and *sharia* does not merely mean adjusting *adat* to Islam, but also restoring *adat* to its foundational values that are oriented toward social harmony. In this process, the *tafsir* of AG. Daud Ismail also has an important role as a normative reference that is acceptable to Bugis society, given that it is based on local scholarly traditions and cultural values.

The model of harmonization offered through the *tafsir* of AGH. Daud Ismail shows that Islamic family law in Indonesia can be developed through a contextual socio-cultural *tafsir* approach. This approach is not only relevant for Bugis society, but also may serve as a reference for other Muslim communities that have strong customary traditions. Thus, the practice of *Dui menre* may be understood as a representative case of how *adat* and *sharia* can engage in constructive negotiation within the framework of Islamic family law.

Conclusion

[58] Suwandi Shofiatul Jannah, Mufidah, "Panaik Money of Bugis' Customary Marriage in the Perspective of Islamic Law and Positive Law in Indonesia," *Journal of Transcendental Law* 3, no. 2 (2021).

[59] Sukmiah, "Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal Bugis Dalam Kepemimpinan Camat Barru Kabupaten Barru," *Meraja Journal* 2, no. 3 (2019).

[60] Auliah Safitri and Suharno, "Budaya Siri, Na Pacce Dan Sipakatau Dalam Interaksi Sosial Masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan," *Antropologi* 22, no. 1 (2020). Idil Hamzah, "Interelasi Alqur'an Dan Budaya Bugis Dalam Tafsir Al-Munir Karya Daud Ismail."

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

This study indicates that the tradition of *Dui menre* in Bugis marriage shall not be understood merely as a customary practice existing outside the framework of Islamic law. This study confirms through a hermeneutic reading of *Tafsir Al-Munir* by AG. Daud Ismail that *Dui menre* is a customary (*'urf*) that is conditional, which can be accepted as long as it does not contradict the basic principles of Islamic *sharia*. The *tafsir* response of AG. Daud Ismail reveals a pattern of integrative social *ijtihad* in responding to the relationship between *adat* and *sharia*. In emphasizing the simplicity of *mahar*, *maslahah,* and the prevention of *mafsadat*, the *tafsir* rejects the understanding of *Dui menre* as a normative obligation or a legal obligation for marriage validity. *Dui menre* is understood as a social symbol that must be directed so as not to create economic burdens, injustice or obstacles to the realization of a lawful marriage according to Islam. From the perspective of Islamic family law, these findings carry important implications. First, the legitimacy of *Dui menre* depends on its conformity with *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, particularly in safeguarding religion and lineage. Second, the practice of *uang panai* that is burdensome and coercive will lose its normative basis, both in terms of *sharia* and Bugis *adat* itself. Third, the role of local *ulama* becomes highly strategic as normative mediators capable of guiding *adat* so that it remains aligned with Islamic values. The study theoretically reveals a symbolism that is embedded with social and cultural values through hermeneutic and anthropological approach to Islamic law and demonstrates a kind of contextual and local tradition based harmonization between Islamic law and culture. This study also enriches the discourse of Nusantara *tafsir* by showing that *tafsir* functions not merely as an explanation of sacred texts, but also as an instrument of social harmonization. Thus, the practice of *Dui menre* may be understood as a constructive space for dialogue between *adat* and *sharia* within the dynamic framework of Islamic family law.

Acknowledgment

The authors sincerely express their gratitude to Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan for the financial support that made this publication possible. Appreciation is also extended to all informants who contributed their ideas and empirical experiences to this study. The authors also hope that this article will provide a positive contribution to the social order and academic cultural landscape in Indonesia.

References

Journals and Books

Abd. Haris, Nurfaika. "The Nusantara Interpretation By Bugis Scholars: Social And Local Dimensions Of Al-Munir Tafsir By Agh. Daud Ismail." *Al-Muhafidz: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir* 5, no. 1 (2025).

https://doi.org/10.57163/almuhafidz.v5i1.140.

Abdullah, Taufik. "Islam Dan Masyarakat, Pantulan Sejarah Indonesia." Jakarta: LP3ES, 1987.

Abu Haif, Andi Muzizatun Nisa, Syahrum Mubarak, M Aras Herman, Annisa Fausya. "Uang Pannai In The Bugis Marriage Custom: Islamic Legal Perspective On Local Traditions." *JUSPI* 9, no. 1 (2025).

Adon, Mathias Jebaru. "Perkawinan Lili Di Manggarai." *Dharmasmrti: Jurnal Ilmu Agama Dan Kebudayaan* 21, no. April (2021).

Ash-Shabah, Musyaffa Amin, Nahrowi Nahrowi, and Masyrofah Masyrofah. "Dowry Amount in Aceh-Indonesia and Selangor-Malaysia: Between State Regulations and Customs." *AHKAM : Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 21, no. 2 (2021). https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v21i2.19673.

Asni, Tarmizi, Asriyanti, Kurniati. "Sompaand Doi Menrein Bugis Bone Marriage and Its Settlement in the Religious Court from the Perspective of Maslahah." *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 9, no. 2 (2025). https://doi.org/10.22373/r4qw6859.

Auliah Safitri dan Suharno. ""Budaya Siri, Na Pacce Dan Sipakatau Dalam Interaksi Sosial Masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan." *Antropologi* 22, no. 1 (2020).

Auliah Safitri, Suharno. "Budaya Siri' Na Pacce Dan Sipakatau Dalam Interaksi Sosial Masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan." *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Buday* 22, no. 01 (2020).

Daruhadi, Gagah. "Development Of Theoretical Study Of Social Interpretation (Social Relations)." *Journal Of World Science* 3, no. 8 (2024). https://doi.org/10.58344/jws.v3i8.718.

Daud Ismail. *Tafsir Al-Munir,*. Makassar: CV. Bintang Selatan, n.d.

Daud, Nur Inayah. *Anregurutta Haji (AGH) Daud Ismail Dalam Kenangan Sang Putri*. Yogyakarta: Mata Kata Inspirasi, 2024.

Diningrat, Himas, Anggita Harsya Fahrezy, Ilham Jeryawan, and Sara Yogi Istiqomah. "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Uang Panai Dalam Perkawinan Adat Bugis" 5, no. 5 (2024).

Djawas, Mursyid, Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-raniry, Banda Aceh, Institut Agama, Islam Negeri, Sulawesi Selatan, Institut Agama, Islam Negeri, and Sulawesi Selatan. "The Integration between Syara ' and Ade ' in Wedding Tradition of Bugis Bone , South Sulawesi : Islamic Law Perspective Hedhri Nadhiran Abstract : Keywords :" 18, no. 2 (2023). https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v20i2.387.

Fahmi, Mutiara, et,al. "Islamic Jurisprudence and Local Wisdom in the Humanitarian Protection of Rohingya Refugees by Acehnese Figures." *El-Mashlahah* 14, no. 2 (2024). https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v14i2.8958.

Fitriyani. "Multicomplex Uang Panai' Terhadap Perempuan Dalam Perkawinan Keluarga Muslim Suku Bugis." *MULTICOMPLEX UANG PANAI'*

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

Terhadap Perempuan Dalam Perkawinan Keluarga Muslim Suku Bugis 1, no. 2 (2022).

Fitriyati, Yusida,et,al. "Reconsidering Inheritance Equality: Gender Justice in Religious Court Decisions through the Lens of Maqashid Al-Shariah." *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat* 25, no. 1 (2025). https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v25i1.27133.

Heryanto, Anggina Yusila, et, al. "Analisis Uang Panai Adat Bugis Dalam Pernikahan Perspektif Islam." *Maklumat Journal of Da'wah and Islamic Studies* 2, no. 2 (2024). https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.61166/maklumat.v2i2.21.

Idil Hamzah. "Interelasi Alqur'an Dan Budaya Bugis Dalam Tafsir Al-Munir Karya Daud Ismail." Pascasarjana Universitas PTIQ Jakarta, 2024.

Ismail Suardi Wekke. "Islam Dan Adat: Tinjauan Akulturasi Budaya Dan Agama Dalam Masyarakat Bugis." *Analisis* XIII, no. 1 (2013).

Juhansar, Mustaqim Pabbajah, and Hasse Jubba. "Relasi Agama Dan Budaya Dalam Tradisi Dui Menre' Pada Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis." *Dharmasmrti:Jurnal Ilmu Agama Dan Kebudayaan* 21, no. 2 (2021).

Kamaluddin Abunawas Dkk. *Sejarah Dan Perkembangan Pondok Pesantren As'adiyah; Menebar Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin Dari Tanah Sengkang-Wajo*. Sengkang: As'adiyah Pusat Sengkang, 2022.

Maloko, M. Tahir, Agus Indiyanto, Henky Fernando, and Yuniar Galuh Larasati. "Sompa Tanah in Makassar Bugis Customary Marriages: Legal, Religious, and Cultural Perspectives." *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 12, no. 3 2024). https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v12i3.1309.

Mattulada. *Latoa Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, n.d.

Misda Mulya, Subaidi. "Gendered Cultures: Economi Capital Dalam Budaya Siri' Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis Di Tanah Melayu." *Gemi Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengabdian* 3, no. 1 (2023).

Mohd. Winario, Muhammad Kamalin. "Mahar Fantastis: Antara Tuntutan Tradisi Dan Prinsip Hukum Islam." *Journal of Legal Sustainabiltiy (JOLS)* 2, no. 2 (2025).

Mubasirun. "Values of Tepo Seliro in Bakri Syahid's Tafsīr Al-Hudā and Bisri Mustofa's Tafsīr Al-Ibrīz." *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 11, no. 2 (2021). https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v11i2.351-376.

Muh. Azka Fazaka Rif'ah, Ahmad Abu Bakar. "Dialektika Tradisi Dan Tafsir: Kritik Daud Ismail Terhadap Tradisi Bugis Dalam Tafsīr Al-Munīr." *JALSAH: The Journal of Al-Quran and as-Sunnah Studies* 3, no. 1 (2023). https://doi.org/10.37252/jqs.v3i1.401.

Muhammad Zarroq. *Syarhu-l-Qowa'id Al-Fiqhiyah*. Damaskus: Darul Qalam, n.d.

Mursalim. *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Dalam Tradisi Masyarakat Bugis; Telaah Pemikiran Tafsir MUI SulSel*. Edited by Abd. Majid. Samaridan: P3M STAIN

DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v10.i2.34273

Samarinda, 2010.

———. "The Vernacularization of Quran Interpretation in Bugis Land." *Al-Mashdar* 6, no. 1 (2024).

Mustafa, Mutakhirani, and Irma Syahriani. "Pergeseran Makna Pada Nilai Sosial Uang Panai' Dalam Prespektif Budaya Siri'." *JURNAL YAQZHAN: Analisis Filsafat, Agama Dan Kemanusiaan* 6, no. 2 (2020). https://doi.org/10.24235/jy.v6i2.7250.

Nastangin, and Muhammad Chairul Huda. "The Role of Career Women in Creating a Sakīnah Family: From Mubādalah (Mutuality) Perspective." *Al-'Adalah* 19, no. 1 (2022). https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v19i1.11579.

Nofialdi, Syukri Iska, Zainuddin, Fitri Yenti, and Mualimin Mochammad Sahid. "'Urf, Gender, and Customary Law: Negotiating Women's Participation in Boar Hunting in Minangkabau, Indonesia." *Ijtihad : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 25, no. 2 (2025). https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v25i2.279-303.

Nur Maizaitul Azerah Binti Mohd Sayuti & Ibnu Radwan Siddik Turnip. "The Effect of High Marriage Delivery Money on Marriage Postponement in Temerloh Village, Pahang State, Malaysia Maqashid Shari'ah Perspective." *Journal of Education, Humaniora and Social Sciences (JEHSS)* 6, no. 1 (2023). https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.34007/jehss.v6i1.1715.

Nur Masthura, dkk. "Evolving Traditions: The Contemporary Dynamics of Uang Panai' in Bugis- Makassar Wedding Ceremonies." *Tamaddun LIFE, Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra Dan Budaya* 23, no. 1 (2024).

Nur Taufiq Sanusi, Muhammadiyah Amin dkk. "Cultural Marginalization of Bride Price (Uang Panai) in Bugis-Makassar Society, Indonesia: A Case Study of MUI Fatwa." *Journal of Al-Ta m a d d u N ,* 20, no. 1 (2025).

Nurlaila Harun, Hisam Ahyani. "The Transformation of Elopement: From Social Stigma to Practical Solution: A Comparative Study of Elopement Practices Among Indonesian Youth." *Kawanua International Journal of Multicultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (2024). https://doi.org/10.30984/KIJMS.v5i2.1250.

Rahayu, Sri, and Yudi. "Uang Nai': Antara Cinta Dan Gengsi." *Jurnal Akuntansi Multiparadigma* 6, no. 2 (2015). https://doi.org/10.18202/jamal.2015.08.6018.

Rani, Faisal A, Fikri Fikri, and Mahfud Mahfud. "Islam and National Law: A Formal Legal Review on Sharia Laws in Aceh." *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 20, no. 1 (2020). https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v20i1.521.

Rusdaya dkk. "Sompa and Dui Menre in Wedding Traditions of Bugis Society." *Ibda'; Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya* 16, no. 1 (2018).

Shofiatul Jannah, Mufidah, Suwandi. "Panaik Money of Bugis' Customary Marriage in the Perspective of Islamic Law and Positive Law in Indonesia." *Journal of Transcendental Law* 3, no. 2 (2021).

Suhaily Sudarman, M. Umar Burhan, Asfi Manzilati. "Economic and Social Dimensions Of Uang Panai In The Bugis Tribe." *Journal Of International Conference Proceedings (JICP* 6, No. 1 (2023).

Sukmiah. "Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal Bugis Dalam Kepemimpinan Camat Barru Kabupaten Barru." *Meraja Journal* 2, no. 3 (2019).

Syamsurijal, Andi Miftahul Maulidil Mursyid, dkk. "The Encounter of Customs and Religion in Cultivating Religious Moderation in Bugis." *Atlantis Press* 660 (2021).

Syarifuddin, and Ratna Ayu Damayanti. "Story of Bride Price: Sebuah Kritik Atas Fenomena Uang Panaik Suku Makassar." *Jurnal Akuntansi Multiparadigma*, no. 2018 (2015). https://doi.org/10.18202/jamal.2015.04.6007.

Wahba Al-Zuhaily. *Al-Fiqh Al-Islamiy Wa Adillatuhu*. Dimsyq: Dar al-Fikr, 1997.

Wardana Said, Humkmiah, Suriani NurSri Wahyuni, Rahmatul Akbar. "Marriage Traditions and Family Resilience in Bugis Bone Society: A Study of Islamic Law and Islamic Education." *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 3 (n.d.). https://doi.org/DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v8i3.23227.

Winceh Herlena. "Unsur Lokalitas Dalam Tafsir Berbahasa Bugis Karya AGH. Daud Ismail (Studi Analisis Psychological Hermeneutics Terhadap QS. Al-Maidah 5:90). *El-Afkar* 9, no. 2 (2020).

Yunus, Muhammad, M. Ghalib, and Muhammad Sadik Sabry. "Tafsir Bahasa Bugis AG. H. Daud Ismail: Aplikasi Penafsiran Dengan Metode Hida'i Tentang Al-Rijs." *Jurnal Tafsere* 10, no. 1 (2023). https://doi.org/10.24252/jt.v10i1.35552.

Interviews

Interview with *Gurutta* H. Muhyiddin Tahir, instructor of Bugis-language *Tafsir Al-Munir* studies at Pesantren As'adiyah, Sengkang, and direct student of Anregurutta Daud Ismail, October 6, 2025.

Interview with *Gurutta* H. Huzaimah Rauf, instructor at Pesantren As'adiyah and direct student of Anregurutta Daud Ismail, October 10, 2025.

Interview with Ruslan Sangaji, Professor of Tafsir at IAIN Watampone, October 10, 2025.

Interview with Hamzah Harun Al-Rasyid, Chair of Nahdlatul Ulama South Sulawesi and Professor at UIN Alauddin Makassar, October 9, 2025.

Interview with Asni Zubair, Professor of Islamic Family Law at IAIN Watampone, October 9, 2025.

Interview with Abd. Kadir Massoweang, Professor and Principal Researcher at National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), October 6, 2025.