

Reconstructing Islamic Jurisprudence in Local Marriage Practices: A Legal-Ethnographic Study of *Jujuran* in Banjar Society

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Abstract: This study aims to investigate the practice of *jujuran*—a traditional monetary gift in Banjar marriage customs—from the perspective of Islamic jurisprudence and legal anthropology. Through a juridical-normative and legal-ethnographic approach, the research reveals that *jujuran* functions not as commodification of women, but as a culturally embedded expression of honor, responsibility, and economic solidarity. Drawing on principles such as *maṣlaḥah* (public interest), *‘urf* (custom), and the objectives of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*), the study reinterprets *jujuran* as a legitimate and dynamic legal norm that contributes to wealth redistribution, gender equity, and the preservation of marital dignity. The findings highlight that Banjar women actively participate in *jujuran* negotiations, challenging patriarchal interpretations and revealing women’s agency within customary frameworks. This research advances the discourse on contextual Islamic legal theory (*fiqh al-‘urf*) by demonstrating how local traditions, when aligned with Islamic ethical values, can serve as instruments for inclusive and justice-oriented marital practices. It contributes to global Islamic legal scholarship by offering a model for harmonizing cultural heritage with contemporary legal reform. Future research should explore comparative studies across Muslim ethnic groups and examine the evolving role of technology and digital mediation in customary marriage practices.

Keywords: *Jujuran*; *Mabar*; Dower; Gender Equity; Islamic Jurisprudence

Introduction

Marriage is not merely a sacred bond between two individuals in Banjar society but also a social institution that reflects the intersection of Islamic law and local traditions.¹ One of the most prominent practices in Banjar marriage is *jujuran*—the giving of money or goods by the prospective groom to the bride before the engagement is finalized. This practice is often misinterpreted as an economic transaction that commodifies women when, in fact, it carries a much deeper philosophical and cultural meaning.²

Marriage, within the Islamic tradition, is not merely a contractual relationship but a sacred bond (*‘aqd*) grounded in principles of mutual respect, responsibility, and the pursuit of *maṣlaḥah* (public good). However, the cultural expressions of marriage across Muslim societies often carry layers of local meaning shaped by customary practices (*‘urf*) and socio-historical contexts. One such practice is *jujuran* in the Banjar society of South Kalimantan, Indonesia—a monetary gift traditionally given by the groom's family to the bride's family before marriage. Though often likened to a dowry or even mistakenly interpreted as a "bride price," the meaning of *jujuran* is far more nuanced than a transactional exchange.

In both public discourse and scholarly debates, the practice of *jujuran* has raised questions about gender equity, the commodification of women, and the intersection of Islamic law (*fiqh*) with local culture. Critics argue that such customs risk reinforcing patriarchal structures and misrepresenting the Islamic view of women's dignity and agency. On the other hand, local communities often defend the practice as a culturally significant gesture of honor, preparation, and familial responsibility.

Historically, *jujuran* cannot be separated from the process of Islamization in South Kalimantan, led by scholars such as Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari.³ Al-Banjari successfully integrated Islamic legal principles with Banjar customs through the method of *qiyās* (legal analogy), ensuring that practices like *jujuran* aligned with the principle of *maṣlaḥah* (public good) and thus were not in conflict with Sharia. It demonstrates the flexibility of Islamic law in responding to specific socio-cultural realities while upholding its foundational values.⁴

Despite its cultural and religious grounding, the dynamics of *jujuran* have attracted critical attention, especially from a gender perspective. Some argue that the practice reinforces inequality by portraying women as objects with material value.⁵ However, recent studies show that Banjar women actively participate in *jujuran* negotiations and decisions,⁶ revealing its function as a symbol of respect rather than

¹ F Azhari and MR Hidayat, "Giving Jujuran in Socio-Cultural Marriage of Banjar Community," *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences*, no. Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (2024), <https://so04.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/kjss/article/view/269485>.

² FA Hariyanto, "Jujuran Dalam Perkawinan Masyarakat Banjar Di Kabupaten Banjar Kalimantan Selatan," *Depok: PT. RajaGrafindo*, no. Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (2020).

³ Zainal Muttaqin Dahli et al., "Delegitimization Of Religious Motives in Polygamy in Banjar Society," *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran* 24, no. 1 (May 27, 2024): 119–35, <https://doi.org/10.18592/sjhp.v24i1.12392>.

⁴ FA Al Munawar, "'Abd al-Majīd al-Najjār's Perspective on Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)*, no. Query date: 2024-04-12 14:45:07 (2021), <https://ojs.iainbatusangkar.ac.id/ojs/index.php/Juris/article/view/4281>.

⁵ ZF Amin, *Tradisi Jujuran Pada Peminangan Masyarakat Banjar Di Kelurahan Tembilihan Hulu Kecamatan Tembilihan Hulu Kabupaten Indragiri Hilir Riau*, Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (etheses.iainponorogo.ac.id, 2021), <http://etheses.iainponorogo.ac.id/15240/>.

⁶ A Hafidzi et al., "A Review on Cultural Customs of Marriage Traditions Among Banjar Ethnic Women in Banjarmasin Indonesia," *Potret ...*, no. Query date: 2024-03-12 11:48:55 (2021), <http://journal.iainmanado.ac.id/index.php/PP/article/view/1477>.

commodification. Additionally, the practice reflects the community's resistance to the transactional framing of marriage, serving instead as a form of social capital that strengthens family ties and ensures economic security for the bride.⁷

While several studies have examined traditional marriage customs in Indonesia, including the *jujuran* practice among the Banjar people, much of the existing literature focuses on descriptive, cultural analysis or socio-economic implications. These studies often treat *jujuran* as a customary obligation without critically engaging its juridical meaning within the framework of Islamic law. Moreover, interpretations of the *jujuran* in public discourse frequently fall into binary narratives—either condemning it as a form of commodification of women or defending it uncritically as mere cultural heritage—without exploring its potential theological and legal significance.⁸

Additionally, limited scholarly attention has been given to how local practices like *jujuran* can be reinterpreted through the lens of Islamic legal concepts such as *maṣlahah* (public interest) and *ʿurf* (custom), which are crucial for understanding how *fiqh* interacts with lived realities. There remains a significant gap in connecting ethnographic insights from Banjar society with a nuanced juridical-normative analysis that situates *jujuran* within the broader epistemology of Islamic law.⁹

This study addresses this gap by offering a contextualized and critical reinterpretation of the *jujuran* as a form of localized Islamic legal practice. It moves beyond the commodification discourse to highlight how *jujuran* can reflect ethical commitments, familial responsibility, and the sacredness of marriage in culturally rooted and normatively Islamic ways.

The transformation of *jujuran* in recent years—from a rigid material requirement to a more symbolic and adaptive form, such as educational or business capital—demonstrates the community's ability to reinterpret tradition in line with contemporary values.¹⁰ However, challenges remain, particularly in preventing the misuse of *jujuran* as a measure of social prestige. To address this, religious scholars and community leaders must ensure the practice remains rooted in the principle of moderation and aligned with Islamic jurisprudence, particularly the maxim "*lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār*" (no harm shall be inflicted or tolerated).¹¹ Thus, *Jujuran* becomes an ideal case study for understanding the role of *ʿurf* (custom) in Islamic law and how it can be harmonized with gender justice and cultural integrity. This article is expected to contribute to academic discussions on contextual Islamic law while serving as a reflection for other Muslim communities facing similar challenges in preserving local traditions without neglecting universal Sharia principles.¹²

⁷ Azhari and Hidayat, "Giving Jujuran in Socio-Cultural Marriage of Banjar Community," 2024.

⁸ ZF Amin, "Tradisi Jujuran Pada Praktek Peminangan Masyarakat Banjar Di Kel. Tembilahan Hulu Kec. Tembilahan Hulu Kab. Indragiri Hilir Provinsi Riau," *Etheses.Iainponorogo.Ac.Id*, no. Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (n.d.), <https://etheses.iainponorogo.ac.id/15127/1/UPLOAD%20YUNIAR-dikonversi.pdf>.

⁹ A Aksar and T Lestari, "Praktek Perkawinan Adat Jujuran Di Kabupaten Rokan Hulu Riau Ditinjau Dari Undang-Undang No. 1 Tahun 1974," *Journal Equitable*, no. Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (2019), <https://ejournal.umri.ac.id/index.php/JEQ/article/view/1700>.

¹⁰ NIM Akmal, *Tradisi "Jujuran" Dalam Adat Banjar Kalimantan Selatan (Studi Kasus Desa Rantawan Kec. Amuntai Tengah Kab. Hulu Sungai Utara ...)*, Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (digilib.uin-suka.ac.id, 2023), <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/56399/>.

¹¹ Z Mun'im, "Peran Kaidah Fikih Dalam Aktualisasi Hukum Islam: Studi Fatwa Yusuf Al-Qaradawi Tentang Fiqh Al-Aqalliyat," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, no. Query date: 2024-04-12 15:42:17 (2021), <https://ejournal.uinsaizu.ac.id/index.php/almanahij/article/view/4546>.

¹² Ismadilah Ismadilah, Azzuhri Al Bajuri, and Murah Syahril, "Praktik Uang Jujuran Perspektif Al 'Urf Pada Suku Banjar," *Hamalatul Qur'an: Jurnal Ilmu Ilmu Alqur'an* 4, no. 2 (2023): 175–83.

The urgency to investigate the practice of *jujuran* lies in the need to challenge simplistic and often misinformed interpretations of local marital customs that risk portraying women as commodities. In an era of increasing awareness of gender justice within Islamic legal discourse, it becomes essential to critically analyze how cultural traditions are embedded with juridical meanings and ethical values.¹³ Focusing on the Banjar society—a community with rich Islamic and cultural traditions—this research provides a critical case study of how Islamic law adapts, negotiates, and finds expression within local contexts. Furthermore, this study responds to broader scholarly calls for integrating legal anthropology and Islamic jurisprudence, particularly examining how *'urf* and *maṣlaḥah* operate in real-life settings. In the face of globalization and shifting social norms, there is a pressing need to rearticulate Islamic legal thought in ways that are both faithful to its normative foundations and responsive to diverse cultural expressions.

This article seeks to fundamentally reconsider marriage's juridical and cultural dimensions through an in-depth examination of *jujuran* in Banjar society, pursuing three interrelated objectives. First, it aims to reinterpret Islamic marriage by analyzing the *jujuran* as a dynamic interface between classical fiqh norms and contemporary social practices, revealing how religious principles adapt to local cultural contexts. Second, the study investigates *jujuran* as a culturally embedded mechanism of resistance against the commodification of women, highlighting its transformative potential from a material transaction to a symbolic act of honor and ethical commitment. Third, the research explores the pivotal role of *maṣlaḥah* (public interest) and *'urf* (customary law) as conceptual bridges connecting Islamic legal theory with the lived realities of the Banjar community, demonstrating how these principles facilitate the harmonious integration of religious norms with indigenous traditions. Through this tripartite approach, the article offers a nuanced understanding of *jujuran* as both a preservation of Islamic values and an evolving cultural practice responsive to modern ethical considerations.

Research Method

This study adopts a juridical-normative and qualitative-ethnographic approach to explore the *jujuran* practice in Banjar society comprehensively.¹⁴ The juridical-normative approach is employed to analyze how the *jujuran* aligns with the principles of Islamic law, particularly concerning the concepts of *mahar*, *'urf* (recognized custom), and *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* (the higher objectives of Islamic law). Meanwhile, the qualitative-ethnographic approach allows for a deeper understanding of the symbolic and cultural meanings of *jujuran* as interpreted by the local community, including how this tradition evolves in response to modern values and the growing awareness of gender equality.¹⁵

The study uses both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data consists of in-depth observations of key traditional rituals such as *basusuluh*, *badatang*, and *malamar*, which are integral to the *jujuran* process. It also includes informal conversations and cultural immersion within the community. Secondary data is drawn

¹³ Amin, "Tradisi Jujuran Pada Praktek Peminangan Masyarakat Banjar Di Kel. Tembilahan Hulu Kec. Tembilahan Hulu Kab. Indragiri Hilir Provinsi Riau."

¹⁴ Ilham Kamaruddin et al., *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif Dan Kuantitatif* (Global Eksekutif Teknologi, 2023); Albi Anggito Setiawan and Johan, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (CV Jejak (Jejak Publisher), 2018); A Hafidzi, "Urang Banjar Philosophy: Education and The Social Affairs of The Community," *Al-Insyiroh: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, no. Query date: 2024-03-12 11:48:55 (2020), <http://ejournal.kopertais4.or.id/madura/index.php/alinsyiroh/article/view/3915>.

¹⁵ Jonaedi Efendi, and Ibrahim Johnny, *Metode Penelitian Hukum: Normatif dan Empiris* (Prenada Media, 2018).

from customary documents, historical records, fatwas from local scholars, and Islamic jurisprudential literature, especially those authored by prominent figures such as Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, and several research results that have also interviewed actors about giving *jujuran* as the acceptance of a marriage proposal.

Data collection methods include legal ethnography and textual analysis. Legal ethnography involves immersing in Banjar community life to observe the dynamics of *jujuran* negotiations and the gender roles embedded within them. Textual analysis is applied to Islamic legal sources and customary documents to assess the harmony or tension between normative Islamic teachings and local cultural expressions. These methods enable the researcher to capture the lived experiences and legal consciousness surrounding the *jujuran*.

Data are obtained primarily through collecting and analyzing textual sources, both classical and contemporary. These include Islamic legal treatises on marriage, cultural commentaries from Banjar scholars, local customary law records, and academic writings on gender, legal anthropology, and marriage economics. The study also draws from documented fatwas and cultural narratives that reflect how *jujuran* is interpreted by the Banjar Muslim community across generations.

The analytical process involves two key methods:

1. Intertextual analysis compares normative Islamic legal texts with existing cultural narratives surrounding *jujuran*, highlighting how traditional practices evolve in dialogue with legal doctrines.
2. Thematic analysis identifies key concepts such as "respect and honor," "symbolic reciprocity," "women's agency," and "economic redistribution" to understand the deeper meanings and ethical functions of *jujuran* within Banjar society.

Rather than presenting empirical findings from the field, this research synthesizes existing literature and textual data to reconstruct how *jujuran* is understood and practiced within the socio-religious context of the Banjar people. Through this approach, the study aims to reveal how local tradition and Islamic law interact dynamically to preserve values of justice, dignity, and mutual responsibility in the institution of marriage.

Triangulation also includes comparing community discourses with formal religious interpretations to assess convergences and disjunctures in meaning. The data is then analyzed using intertextual and thematic analysis. Intertextual analysis compares classical fiqh texts with the local narratives and practices related to *jujuran*. In contrast, thematic analysis identifies recurring patterns and key concepts, such as "honor versus commodification" or "women's agency in customary negotiations." These analytical tools help reveal how the *jujuran* is a meaningful site of cultural resilience, legal adaptation, and reinterpretation of Islamic values within the Banjar context.

Results

***Jujuran* in Banjar Culture**

In Banjar culture, the practice of *jujuran* is an integral part of the customary wedding process that precedes the marriage contract (*akad nikah*). Generally, Fatrhurrahman (2024), *jujuran* refers to a sum of money or valuable goods given by the groom's family to the bride's family. This offering is usually made during *batampik* (a meeting between extended families) or *badatang*, a formal engagement occasion.¹⁶

¹⁶ Azhari and Hidayat, "Giving *Jujuran* in Socio-Cultural Marriage of Banjar Community," 2024.

Rather than being a commercial transaction, *jujuran* is viewed as a symbol of the groom's sincerity and readiness to build a responsible household.¹⁷

Unlike the Islamic concept of *mahr*, which is delivered after the contract, *jujuran* acts as a prerequisite for initiating marriage negotiations. The amount of *jujuran* varies depending on the family's social status, ranging from modest figures to substantial sums as a form of respect. The process begins with a series of rituals, starting with *batatakun* (a request for permission), where the groom's family sends representatives to express their intent. If accepted, both families proceed with *badatang*—a customary negotiation phase facilitated by elders or local figures.

The determination of *jujuran* is never imposed unilaterally by the bride's family. Instead, it is shaped through mutual deliberation. It includes nuanced negotiations that account for the couple's socio-economic background, educational attainment, and family lineage.¹⁸ These discussions reflect local values that uphold social decorum, humility, and respectful communication. As such, the *jujuran* process reflects a deep-rooted culture of mutual agreement and social ethics.

In some cases, *jujuran* may include money, jewelry, household items, or other meaningful assets. These offerings are not merely material contributions but express the groom's care and financial preparedness for married life. Symbolically, they mark the groom's readiness to support and commit to building a future together with his partner.

Within the Banjar customary structure, *jujuran* is strategically positioned to recognize the bride's familial honor. Giving *jujuran* reflects the groom's respect for the upbringing and education provided by the bride's family. It becomes a symbolic acknowledgment of the social and moral investment made by the bride's parents in shaping her character.¹⁹

More than a symbolic gift, *jujuran* is crucial in fostering inter-family relationships. The involvement of community elders, extended family members, and even religious figures transforms the event into a multi-generational dialogue. It promotes mutual respect, strengthens kinship ties, and reinforces social solidarity between both parties. Spiritually, the *jujuran* tradition carries a sense of sacredness. While not explicitly mandated in Islamic legal texts, it is often associated with prayers and blessings for the couple's future. The receiving family frequently offers well wishes for a prosperous marriage, a peaceful home, and pious descendants. In this way, *jujuran* is imbued with religious sentiments, linking material tradition with spiritual aspirations.

For the Banjar people, *jujuran* also reinforces their cultural identity. Despite increasing exposure to modernization and external influences, the practice remains a cornerstone of Banjar ethnic tradition. Young Banjar couples who uphold this custom are often perceived as preserving ancestral values and honoring cultural continuity. That said, there has been a shift in how *jujuran* is interpreted and implemented in modern contexts. Today, many bride's families clarify that the practice is not about

¹⁷ Amin, "Tradisi Jujuran Pada Praktek Peminangan Masyarakat Banjar Di Kel. Tembilahan Hulu Kec. Tembilahan Hulu Kab. Indragiri Hilir Provinsi Riau"; Hariyanto, "Jujuran Dalam Perkawinan Masyarakat Banjar Di Kabupaten Banjar Kalimantan Selatan."

¹⁸ Ahmad Mansur et al., "The Role of Zakat and Taxes on Economic Growth," *El-Qist: Journal of Islamic Economics and Business (JIEB)* 14, no. 2 (2024): 154–66; Siti Musfiqoh, "Life Style As Consumer Satisfaction in the Maqāsid of Islamic Economics," *El-Qist: Journal of Islamic Economics and Business (JIEB)* 13, no. 1 (2023): 83–99.

¹⁹ AN Azizah, "Tradisi Baantaran Jujuran Adat Suku Banjar Dalam Pernikahan Dini Perspektif Urf: Studi Di Kecamatan Kumai Kabupaten Kotawaringin Barat Kalimantan ...," no. Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (2024), <http://etheses.uin-malang.ac.id/id/eprint/65183>.

demanding a large sum but genuine intentions. This shift shows a growing adaptability in local customs, which now emphasize inclusivity and compassion rather than rigid expectations.²⁰

Gender equality has also been expressed in the evolving meaning of *jujuran*. No longer viewed as a “price” for obtaining a bride, it is increasingly seen as an act of appreciation for the woman as an equal partner in marriage. This transformation suggests a departure from patriarchal interpretations toward a more balanced, mutual understanding of spousal relationships. Though often criticized as patriarchal, recent studies show that Banjar women play an active role in the *jujuran* process. Through subtle expressions and informal dialogue, they influence the negotiation terms and hold the right to reject proposals that do not reflect sufficient respect. It challenges stereotypes and highlights the agency of women in customary practices.

Some Banjar youth have even reinterpreted *jujuran* through concepts such as *barbarian* (gift), a mutual contribution scheme in which both parties share the wedding costs. This innovation reflects a contemporary understanding of fairness and partnership, preserving the essence of respect while minimizing economic pressure on the groom's side. Sociologically, *jujuran* serves as a mechanism for economic redistribution. The bride's family may share part of the received amount with relatives during events like *batimung* (a pre-wedding thanksgiving). It fosters communal bonds and ensures that the benefits of marriage ceremonies extend beyond the immediate nuclear family.²¹

Jujuran is also regarded as a cultural marker of Banjar's identity. It is distinguished from similar practices in other ethnic groups by the concept of *bubuhan* (kinship).²² The amount of *jujuran* often considers genealogical proximity, emphasizing the importance of relational dynamics within extended families. In essence, the practice of *jujuran* among the Banjar reflects a fusion of cultural wisdom, spiritual values, and evolving gender norms. Far from commodifying women, it represents a localized expression of mutual respect, commitment, and ethical marriage preparation. Through this lens, *jujuran* emerges as a site of cultural resilience and dynamic reinterpretation within the broader landscape of Islamic legal and social thought.

Discussion

Juridical and Cultural Analysis of the *Jujuran* Practice in Banjar Society

The *jujuran* practice in Banjar society is a fascinating socio-cultural phenomenon that can be examined from the perspective of Islamic law. Explicitly, *jujuran* is not found in classical *fiqh* texts. Still, this practice can be analyzed through a contextual approach considering the concepts of *maṣlahah* (public interest) and *urf* (local customs). In marriage, Islam mandates giving *mahr* as a compulsory gift from the groom to the bride as a sign of respect. However, *jujuran* cannot be equated with *mahr*, as it differs in timing, purpose, and social structure.

²⁰ Akmal, *Tradisi “Jujuran” Dalam Adat Banjar Kalimantan Selatan (Studi Kasus Desa Rantawan Kec. Amuntai Tengah Kab. Hulu Sungai Utara ...*, Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (digilib.uin-suka.ac.id, 2023), <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/56399/>; W Dardi, “Adat Jujuran Dalam Perspektif Sosio Relegius,” *Pasupati*, no. Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (2021), <http://ojs.stahdnj.ac.id/index.php/pasupati/article/download/215/95>.

²¹ Azizah, “Tradisi Baantaran Jujuran Adat Suku Banjar Dalam Pernikahan Dini Perspektif Urf: Studi Di Kecamatan Kumai Kabupaten Kotawaringin Barat Kalimantan ...”

²² S Aisah and H Chairunisa, “Deiksis Dalam Sastra Lisan Bapukung Masyarakat Banjar Kabupaten Serdang Bedagai,” *Universitas Negeri Medan*, no. Query date: 2025-01-05 06:33:04 (2011).

In Banjar tradition, *jujuran* is given before the marriage contract and carries more of a symbolic and socio-cultural nature. Unlike mahr, which is a shar‘i obligation given after the contract and becomes the full right of the wife, *jujuran* is often enjoyed by the bride's extended family. This distinction is not merely technical but also reflects the dynamic relationship between Islamic legal norms and the living social structures within local communities.

Banjar ulama, including the notable figure Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, interprets the *jujuran* as a form of *ta‘wīḍ* (compensation) for the upbringing of the bride by her family. In the framework of fiqh, this practice gains legal legitimacy through the legal maxim *al-‘ādah muḥakkamah*, which holds that customary practice may serve as a legal basis as long as it does not contradict explicit textual evidence. Thus, *jujuran* can be classified as a *ṣadaq* or pre-marital *hibah* (gift) that is valid according to Sharia.

The theory of *‘urf* in Islamic law affirms that community customs can serve as a legal reference if they meet three main conditions: they do not contradict scriptural texts, are practiced consistently (*tawātur*), and bring public benefit. The *jujuran* practice in Banjar has persisted across generations, is widely accepted, and does not contradict Islamic principles, making it a form of *‘urf ṣaḥīḥ* (valid custom). This legitimacy is further strengthened when *jujuran* is allocated for the bride's educational or economic empowerment purposes.

From the perspective of *maqāsid al-sharī‘ah*, the *jujuran* contains significant potential to support the primary objectives of Islamic law. First, it contributes to *ḥifẓ al-nasl* (protection of lineage) through economic support for the bride's family. Second, *ḥifẓ al-māl* (protection of wealth) is reflected in the collective redistribution of wealth. Third, *ḥifẓ al-‘ird* (protection of honor) is embodied in the function of *jujuran* as a symbol of respect for the bride and her family.²³

Applying *maṣlaḥah mursalah* is also a key tool in bridging normative texts with social practices. Banjar scholars apply the methods of *tanqīḥ al-manāṭ* and *taḥqīq al-manāṭ* to eliminate commercial motives in *jujuran*, then reevaluate its social and spiritual values. The result is a reinterpretation of *jujuran* as a form of honor rather than a mere financial transaction.

From a cultural standpoint, *jujuran* is a binding mechanism that strengthens social relations between extended families. The *jujuran* ceremony typically involves deliberations among customary leaders, religious figures, and the bride and groom's families, reinforcing family values, mutual consent (*tarāḍin*), and social justice. Thus, *jujuran* becomes more than a tradition; it serves as a medium for preserving the living values of Islam within the community.

The active involvement of women in the *jujuran* negotiation process also reflects a more balanced gender dynamic within Banjar society. In addition to demonstrating that women have agency in determining their future, this process also highlights the role of the *bubuhan*, or kinship system, in maintaining social control. This tradition presents an inclusive vision of Islam that can engage with complex social structures.

In Indonesia's positive law, *jujuran* can be classified as a *hibah* under Article 1666 of the Civil Code or as part of customary agreements as recognized by Law No. 12 of 2011. However, in substance, *jujuran* does not possess binding legal force but rather is seen as a moral and customary obligation with strong social ties. Its economic

²³ M. U. Chapra, *The Islamic Vision of Development in the Light of Maqasid Al-Shariah* (Islamic Research and Training Institute, 2008).

implications are considerable, thus necessitating mechanisms to avoid negative impacts such as financial burdens or marriage delays.

Criticism of *jujuran* should not be overlooked. Some argue that the uncertainty (*gharar*) in determining the nominal amount, the risk of *ihtikār* (hoarding) by the bride's family, and the potential *ḍarar* (harm) for men from economically disadvantaged families are serious issues. To address this, Banjar religious and community leaders have encouraged reforms such as symbolic *jujuran* and converting *jujuran* into productive forms like scholarships or capital for the bride.²⁴

The ideal model for contemporary *jujuran* must integrate the principles of *taysīr* (facilitation) and distributive justice. Standardizing the nominal value based on the family's financial capacity, empowering women through *jujuran* funds, and providing *ta'wīḍ* mechanisms for underprivileged grooms offer progressive solutions. These approaches preserve the spiritual meaning of *jujuran* while upholding justice in Sharia.

When compared to similar traditions in the archipelago—such as *panai* among the Bugis or *sinamot* in Batak customs—Banjar's *jujuran* reveals its unique character. The tradition is rich in symbolism and embedded with strong Islamic spiritual values, such as the inclusion of prayers and religious figures. It proves that *jujuran* is a harmonious form of acculturation between custom and religion.

In the context of social transformation and digitalization, the practice of *jujuran* has also evolved. The emergence of online deliberation platforms, customs certification by cultural institutions, and the integration of *jujuran* with zakat programs indicate that this tradition can adapt to modern challenges without losing its core values. This flexibility showcases the ability of Islamic law to respond to change.²⁵

Ultimately, *jujuran* is not merely a cultural practice but a reflection of Sharia's living spirit in society. It is proof that Islamic law is not rigid but capable of engaging with local traditions through a contextual approach. By embracing *ʿurf* and *maṣlahah* as its pillars, the *jujuran* practice teaches that Sharia is an inclusive and grounded ethical system.

Jujuran in Banjar Society: Tradition and Resistance to Commodification

Amid rapid modernization and the influx of global values, the practice of *jujuran* in Banjar wedding ceremonies continues to stand as a deeply rooted cultural tradition. More than just a material offering from the groom's side to the bride's family, *jujuran* is understood as *basaung*—a form of ancestral blessing expressed through tangible gifts. Within the Banjar cultural logic, it is not a transactional act but a symbolic gesture of goodwill, sincerity, and respect toward the woman and her family.²⁶

This tradition carries economic and customary dimensions and is rich with spiritual meaning. Rituals such as *batimung*—a thanksgiving ceremony conducted by the bride's family after receiving *jujuran*—highlight the sacred aspect of this practice. As Hafidzi in 2021 noted, *batimung* serves as a cultural mechanism that transforms

²⁴ W Dardi, "Adat Jujuran Dalam Perspektif Sosio Relegius," *Pasupati*, no. Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (2021), <http://ojs.stahdnj.ac.id/index.php/pasupati/article/download/215/95>.

²⁵ F Azhari and MR Hidayat, "Giving Jujuran in Socio-Cultural Marriage of Banjar Community," *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences*, no. Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (2024), <https://so04.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/kjss/article/view/269485>.

²⁶ Azizah, "Tradisi Baantaran Jujuran Adat Suku Banjar Dalam Pernikahan Dini Perspektif Urf: Studi Di Kecamatan Kumai Kabupaten Kotawaringin Barat Kalimantan"

economic value into spiritual worth, rejecting the notion of commodifying women through material exchanges.²⁷

Nevertheless, behind this sacrality lies a set of controversies, especially when viewed through the lens of gender and social justice. Hafidzi's research has revealed that when the requested amount of *jujuran* is too high, it can restrict a woman's autonomy in choosing a spouse. When a prospective groom cannot meet the *jujuran* demands, the marriage may be canceled, creating the perception that the woman becomes an object of the failed transaction.²⁸

The practice also reveals a complex gender dynamic that defies simplistic categorizations of oppression or emancipation. Ali Sunarno found that women—particularly mothers of the bride—play a central role in negotiating and determining the amount of *jujuran*. Although the overall structure appears patriarchal, women's agency is significant in shaping the outcome of this traditional process.²⁹

However, a paradox persists. While women are involved in decision-making, only a small fraction of *jujuran* is officially recorded under their name. It reveals an enduring structural bias in the distribution of power and rights within the marital institution and calls for a more equitable redefinition of roles and entitlements.

Compared to similar practices in other regions, *jujuran* in Banjar society reveals its distinctive character. While traditions like *beli* in Flores and Sinamot among the Batak are predominantly economic or social, *jujuran* is deeply spiritual.³⁰ This tradition also shows a dynamic capacity to evolve. According to Fadilah Awaliyah's research in "An Analytical Study of the Shift in Marriage Dowry Values According to Wahbah Al-Zuhaili", there has been a shift in the form of dowry from predominantly cash-based (*jujuran*) to alternative forms such as gold, goods, or jointly owned assets. This development also reflects the growing influence of Islamic principles, such as the application of sharia-compliant gifting (*hibah syariah*) in marriage contracts, indicating a dynamic dialogue between local customs and religious values.³¹

Creative adaptations have emerged as a form of resistance to commodification. Nor Fadillah in 2023 documented localized innovations such as *jujuran bahutang* (installment-based *jujuran*) and *palangkahan* (family endowments) as ways of maintaining tradition without succumbing to economic burden.³² These practices exemplify the community's resilience and ingenuity in preserving cultural identity. The younger generation of Banjar people demonstrates a critical awareness of this tradition.

²⁷ A Hafidzi, "Cultural Education As An Effort To Prevent Religious-Based Radicalism On Social Media In Indonesia," *Potret Pemikiran*, no. Query date: 2024-03-12 11:48:55 (2020), <http://journal.iain-manado.ac.id/index.php/PP/article/view/1116>.

²⁸ Hafidzi et al., "A Review on Cultural Customs of Marriage Traditions Among Banjar Ethnic Women in Banjarmasin Indonesia."

²⁹ Ali Sunarno et al., "EKSISTENSI UANG JUJURAN DALAM PERNIKAHAN ADAT BANJAR: Perspektif Tokoh Agama Dan Generasi Muda," *Jurnal Ilmiah Muqoddimah : Jurnal Ilmu Sosial, Politik, dan Humaniora* 7, no. 2 (August 3, 2023): 414–19, <https://doi.org/10.31604/jim.v7i2.2023.414-419>.

³⁰ Debby Fanny CH Manurung, "Perbedaan Persepsi Mahasiswa Terhadap Pemberian Sinamot (Mahar) Pada Pernikahan Suku Batak Toba Ditinjau Dari Jenis Kelamin Di Organisasi Solidaritas Mahasiswa Silindung (SMS) Di Kota Medan" (PhD Thesis, Universitas Medan Area, 2016), <https://repositori.uma.ac.id/jspui/handle/123456789/815>.

³¹ Fadilah Awaliyah, Jumni Nelli, and Hendri Sayuti, "Studi Analisis Pergeseran Nilai Mahar Perkawinan Menurut Wahbah Al-Zuhaili," *Jurnal Syntax Admiration* 5, no. 7 (July 25, 2024): 2811–24, <https://doi.org/10.46799/jsa.v5i7.1391>.

³² Nor Fadillah, "Tradisi Baantaran Jujuran Dalam Prosesi Perkawinan Masyarakat Adat Banjar Perspektif Hukum Islam dan Teori Konstruksi Sosial" *ADDABANA: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 5, no. 2 (2022), 101-116

Hafidzi, in a survey of 50 Banjar University students, found that 69% wished to retain *Jujuran* with reforms, favoring transparency, nominal limits, and written agreements. It shows an emerging legal consciousness and a commitment to fairness among the youth.³³ This shift indicates a broader evolution in legal and social awareness. *Jujuran* is no longer seen purely as a customary practice but increasingly as a social contract requiring legal clarity and fairness. Such developments open a space for integrating traditional values with modern principles of justice.

At the heart of this dialogue lies a tension between the values of honor and justice. The local expression *haram manyarah*, which underscores the importance of protecting a woman's dignity and family name, must be continuously reinterpreted in light of gender equity. The true challenge is to retain *jujuran* as a gesture of honor without reinforcing structural inequalities.³⁴

What becomes clear is that tradition does not need to remain static. As Ismadillah has shown, cultural preservation is most effective when it allows room for change. These new forms of *jujuran* are not betrayals of tradition but rather reaffirmations of its core meaning through contemporary expressions. Looking ahead, *jujuran* holds a promising future as a living tradition—constantly evolving yet deeply rooted in cultural values. Its sustainability depends on Banjar society's ability to balance preserving sacred customs with an openness to reform in the spirit of justice, equality, and shared dignity.³⁵

The practice of *jujuran* in Banjar society reveals a rich interplay between tradition, gender roles, and resistance to commodification. On the surface, *jujuran* appears as a customary obligation involving material gifts, but within the Banjar cultural framework, it symbolizes sincerity, familial respect, and ancestral blessings (*basaung*). Far from a mere transaction, it embodies a spiritual and social gesture that affirms the groom's commitment to building a responsible household. Rituals such as *batimung* further spiritualize the act, transforming material contributions into sacred offerings. It shows how economic expressions can be recontextualized into moral and religious values within local traditions.

However, the symbolic sanctity of *jujuran* is not without contestation. From a gender and social justice lens, the custom has occasionally functioned as a gatekeeper that restricts women's marital choices, especially when the required *jujuran* is excessive. In such cases, a woman may be perceived as a "failed transaction" if the groom cannot meet the demand. Although the Banjar community widely rejects the notion that *jujuran* commodifies women—labeling such views as *pamali* or *taboo*—the structural realities of negotiation and power dynamics reveal deeper tensions. While women, particularly mothers of the bride, play central roles in decision-making, their lack of formal entitlement to the received *jujuran* underscores the persistence of gendered inequalities.

Language and symbolism play critical roles in resisting the commodification narrative. Terms such as *haram manyarah* (the sacred obligation to uphold family honor) reflect a localized ethical discourse that reframes *jujuran* as mutual respect rather than purchase. These cultural signifiers act as counter-narratives that protect

³³ Hafidzi et al., "A Review on Cultural Customs of Marriage Traditions Among Banjar Ethnic Women in Banjarmasin Indonesia"; see also in Gusti Muzainah, "Baantar Jujuran Dalam Perkawinan Adat Masyarakat Banjar," *Al-Insyiroh: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 5, no. 2 (2019): 10–32.

³⁴ Dahli et al., "Delegitimization Of Religious Motives in Polygamy in Banjar Society"; Muhammad Fahmi Al-Amruzi and Ergina Faralita, "Kajian Terhadap Perkawinan Santri Pada Pondok Pesantren Di Kalimantan Selatan," *Al-Banjari: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 21, no. 2 (November 15, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.18592/al-banjari.v21i2.8507>.

³⁵ Ismadillah, Al Bajuri, and Syahrial, "Praktik Uang Jujuran Perspektif Al 'Urf Pada Suku Banjar."

women's dignity and reinforce the tradition's moral underpinnings. Furthermore, comparisons with other Indonesian traditions highlight the spiritual uniqueness of Banjar *jujuran*, which distinguishes it from more overtly economic marriage customs elsewhere. This localized spirituality legitimizes the practice and fortifies it against external pressures of commodification.

Notably, the evolution of *jujuran* shows how traditions can adapt without losing their essence. Innovations such as installment-based *jujuran*, agricultural offerings, and co-owned assets reflect the community's creative resilience. The younger generation's push for reform—favoring written agreements and nominal limitations—demonstrates a rising legal consciousness and a desire for fairness. Ultimately, the future of *jujuran* depends on Banjar society's ability to navigate the delicate balance between honoring sacred customs and embracing reform. As long as the practice reflects sincerity, equity, and spiritual meaning, *jujuran* will remain a powerful expression of Banjar's cultural identity—living, evolving, and grounded in shared human dignity.

This study finds that the practice of *jujuran* in Banjar society is not merely a material gift exchanged before marriage but a cultural expression rich in symbolic, spiritual, and social meaning. In the framework of Islamic law, *jujuran* cannot be equated directly with *mahr*, as the two have distinct contexts and functions. While *mahr* is a shar'i obligation given to the bride after the marriage contract, *jujuran* is presented beforehand as a form of social responsibility and respect toward the bride's family. It reflects the groom's financial readiness and his appreciation for the upbringing and education the bride has received from her family.³⁶

From a sociological and gender perspective, *jujuran* often becomes a site of tension between honor and the potential commodification of women. Observations reveal that although some criticize the high amount of *jujuran* as financial pressure on men and a reduction of women to transactional objects, the majority of the Banjar community firmly rejects such notions. Culturally, the idea that women are “bought” through *jujuran* is considered *pamali* or taboo. In fact, women—particularly the bride's mother—often play a central role in negotiating the *jujuran*, indicating spaces of female agency within what appears to be a patriarchal structure. Nonetheless, a paradox remains: in most cases, the *jujuran* is not formally registered under the woman's name, highlighting the persistence of structural inequalities regarding rights and entitlements within the marital institution.³⁷

In the context of Islamic jurisprudence, *jujuran* gains legitimacy through the concepts of *urf ṣaḥīḥ* (valid custom) and *maṣlaḥah mursalah* (public interest). According to legal maxims in Islamic law, as long as a local custom does not contradict the core texts and brings benefit, it can serve as a legitimate legal consideration. Banjar scholars, drawing on the thought of Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, view the *jujuran* as a form of *hibah* (gift) or *ta'wīd* (compensation) to the bride's family rather than as a condition of sale. It illustrates the flexibility of Islamic law in recognizing cultural practices that support its core objectives, such as *ḥifẓ al-nasl* (protection of lineage), *ḥifẓ al-ird* (protection of honor), and *ḥifẓ al-māl* (protection of wealth).

³⁶ D Maharani, *Dinamika Kehidupan Sosial Budaya Masyarakat Suku Banjar*, Query date: 2024-08-24 20:45:37 (repository.unja.ac.id, 2024), <https://repository.unja.ac.id/68659/>; MH M Hamdan, “Penyelesaian Sengketa Pengembalian Mahar Dan Jujuran Akibat Perceraian Qabla Dukhul Di Kota Buntok,” no. Query date: 2025-04-17 16:56:38 (2021).

³⁷ Ar Anggraeni, “Peran Komunikasi Keluarga Dalam Pewarisan Pamali (Studi Kasus Keluarga Bugis Di Kelurahan Salobulo) Kota Palopo,” No. Query Date: 2024-08-24 20:45:37 (2023), [Http://Repository.Iainpalopo.Ac.Id/Id/Eprint/7757/1/Skripsi%20andi%20rini%20anggraeni%201701040031.Pdf](http://Repository.Iainpalopo.Ac.Id/Id/Eprint/7757/1/Skripsi%20andi%20rini%20anggraeni%201701040031.Pdf)

Furthermore, the study highlights the importance of local innovations in keeping tradition relevant. The emergence of alternative forms of *jujuran*—such as installment-based payments, agricultural offerings, and Islamic-compliant gifting mechanisms within marriage contracts—demonstrates the Banjar community's ability to reinterpret cultural values with principles of justice and sustainability. As seen through interviews and surveys, the younger generation shows increasing legal and ethical awareness, advocating for *jujuran* to serve not only as a cultural symbol but also as a fair and transparent social contract. Thus, *jujuran* in Banjar society stands as a living example of how Islamic legal traditions can remain contextual, inclusive, and responsive to evolving social realities.

Jujuran in Islamic Economic Perspective: Redistribution and Gender Equity

When examined through the lens of Islamic economic principles, the tradition of *jujuran* in Banjar society reveals itself not merely as a cultural or ceremonial obligation but as a dynamic institution that embodies values of economic justice ('adl), mutual responsibility, and social equity. Rooted in local custom ('urf) yet responsive to Islamic jurisprudential frameworks, *jujuran* functions as a culturally embedded mechanism for economic redistribution and an instrument for promoting gender-inclusive marital practices.

From a redistribution standpoint, *jujuran* channels wealth from the groom's family to the bride's family and, in many cases, the wider community. It aligns with the Islamic economic principle of takaful *ijtima'i* (social solidarity), where resources circulate to support familial and communal well-being. Empirical evidence shows that families often use *jujuran* not only for ceremonial expenses but also for productive purposes—such as educational support, business capital, or long-term asset acquisition—strengthening the socio-economic foundation of newly established households. This practice resonates with the *maqāsid al-sharī'ah* objective of *hifz al-māl* (protection of wealth), transforming a traditional custom into a functional form of Islamic economic justice.

The practice of *jujuran* in Banjar society has evolved into a unique economic redistribution mechanism that aligns with Islamic principles of justice. This system enables wealth circulation within nuclear families, extended family networks, and the broader community. In many cases, portions of the *jujuran* given by the groom's family are allocated to cover various pre-wedding needs, such as reception preparations and household items for the newlyweds.

The redistribution mechanism through the *jujuran* also functions as an informal social security system in Banjar society. Bride's families often utilize the *jujuran* to address urgent needs or make long-term investments. In some cases, *jujuran* in the form of land or gold becomes productive assets that support the new family's economy. This pattern aligns with the *maqāsid al-sharī'ah* principle of protecting *wealth (hifz al-māl)* while ensuring family welfare.³⁸

³⁸ YE Pratiwi, "Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Bingkai Hukum Dan Kewarganegaraan Di Indonesia," *QISTIE*, no. Query date: 2025-01-04 16:05:47 (2017), <https://publikasiilmiah.unwahas.ac.id/QISTIE/article/view/2008>; Musfiqoh, "Life Style As Consumer Satisfaction in the Maqāsid of Islamic Economics."

Table 1
Evolution of *Jujuran* Forms and Their Economic Impacts

Traditional Form	Modern Adaptation	Economic Benefit	Gender Impact
Cash payment	Business capital/shares	Income generation	Women's economic empowerment
Gold/Jewelry	Land certificates	Asset accumulation	Improved property rights
Fixed amount	Sliding scale (income-based)	Reduced financial burden	Fairer marital negotiations
One-time gift	Installment payments	Financial flexibility	Shared responsibility
Status display	Productive investment	Wealth circulation	Reduced commodification

The economic dynamics of *jujuran* significantly influence gender relations in Banjar marriages. Traditionally, the amount of *jujuran* often served as a social status indicator, but a more equitable understanding has recently emerged. Communities increasingly apply the principle of mutual consent (*tarāḍin*) when determining *jujuran* amounts, considering the groom's family's economic capacity. This shift reduces excessive financial burdens and complies with the Islamic legal maxim "*lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār*" (no harm shall be inflicted or tolerated).

Integrating Islamic economic values into *jujuran* traditions has created space for more equitable marriages. Concepts like *mushārah* (partnership) and 'adl (justice) are being adopted in *jujuran* negotiations. This model reduces economic burdens and strengthens equality principles between brides and grooms.

This paradigm shift in *jujuran* understanding owes much to religious scholars and community leaders who continually reinterpret local traditions. Contemporary fatwas emphasize that *jujuran* should not hinder marriages but serve as a means to create collective welfare. This approach aligns with *al-fiqh al-awlawiyyāt* (priority jurisprudence), which places family justice and welfare above blind tradition adherence.

These findings reinforce the thesis that customary practices like *jujuran* can bridge local traditions with equitable Islamic economic principles. Through proper reinterpretation, *jujuran* preserves cultural values and contributes to creating fairer and more equitable marriage systems. This transformation process demonstrates Islamic law's elasticity in responding to social changes while maintaining ethical values. The dynamics of *jujuran* as both an economic redistribution mechanism and a gender equity instrument enrich discussions about interactions between *fiqh*, local culture, and Islamic economics. These findings create opportunities to develop more equitable marriage models without eroding positive traditional values.

Conclusion

This study concludes that the practice of *jujuran* in Banjar society is not a commodification of women but rather a culturally and spiritually meaningful tradition rooted in Islamic ethics and local wisdom. Far beyond its material function, the *jujuran* symbolizes sincerity, moral responsibility, and respect for the bride and her family. It serves as a reflection of how Islamic legal principles—particularly *maṣlaḥah* (public interest) and *‘urf* (custom)—interact with living cultural practices, reinforcing that Islamic law can dynamically adapt to local contexts while upholding its foundational values. Moreover, the practice is constructive in economic redistribution within families and communities, functioning as a socially embedded Islamic economic mechanism that fosters justice and solidarity.

Although issues related to gender equity and economic burden persist, this research highlights how *jujuran* is transforming ethical innovation. Community-led reforms such as symbolic offerings, installment-based contributions (*jujuran bahutang*), and *hibah syariah* demonstrate efforts to reinterpret the tradition in ways that promote fairness and sustainability. The legitimacy of *jujuran* in Islamic law is affirmed through its alignment with the objectives of *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*, especially in protecting lineage (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*), wealth (*ḥifẓ al-māl*), and honor (*ḥifẓ al-‘ird*). As a result, *jujuran* represents a living, inclusive, and contextualized expression of Sharia—neither bound by rigid formalism nor detached from spiritual meaning. This study contributes to the academic discourse on *fiqh al-‘urf* and contextual jurisprudence while offering practical guidance for religious leaders and policymakers to promote inclusive marriage customs. Encouraging ethical reinterpretation and legal clarity ensures that traditions like *the jujuran* remain relevant, empowering, and authentically Islamic in the face of modern socio-cultural shifts.

This study contributes to the development of Islamic legal theory by demonstrating how *jujuran*, as a localized customary practice, can be understood as *‘urf ṣaḥīḥ*—a valid legal norm within the framework of Islamic jurisprudence—when it aligns with the values of justice, public welfare, and moderation. By engaging with the concepts of *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*, legal maxims, and classical *fiqh* texts, the study shows that cultural practices can serve as instruments of ethical adaptation and legal relevance in contemporary Muslim societies. Through the integration of legal anthropology and normative Islamic thought, the research offers a contextual model for interpreting marriage law that is responsive to cultural identity, gender sensitivity, and socio-religious dynamics. This contribution enriches the discourse on *fiqh al-‘urf* and highlights how Islamic law can remain principled and adaptable. Future research may expand on these findings by conducting comparative analyses between *jujuran* and similar customary practices among other ethnic Muslim communities in Indonesia, such as *panai* among the Bugis or *sinamot* among the Batak. Such studies could illuminate how Islamic legal principles manifest differently across cultural settings. Further exploration might also examine the economic dimensions of *jujuran* reforms—particularly their role in empowering women and promoting equitable household arrangements. In addition, the growing use of digital platforms in marriage negotiations presents a new frontier for understanding how tradition evolves through technology. Longitudinal research could provide insights into how these innovations impact legal awareness, intergenerational values, and the sustainability of Islamic marital customs in a rapidly changing society.[]

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