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# Transformation of Indigenous Traditions into Islamic Culture: An Examination of Sompa and Mahr in Pau-Paunna Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya Manuscript

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# **ABSTRACT**

The current paper is dedicated to examining the traditional and Islamic dowry (sompa plus panai and mahr) in modern Bugis society. Nowadays, it is interesting to discuss the dowry as perceived by modern Bugis society as an expensive obligation. It is also relevant to investigate the dowry and how it is negotiated in Bugis society. For the researchers to find the answers, reading the classical Islamic text of Pau-Paunna Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya was applied in the research as well as observing the Bugis society. Finally, the researchers found that the dowry (Sompa) in Bugis tradition has been regarded as an expensive payment and therefore needs to be negotiated accordingly. It is found in the classical text entitled Pau-Paunna Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya (PPSRA) that Sitti gave her sompa free and changed the sompa to mahr in the form of mastery of knowledge. However, most of the Bugis women could not understand the implied message, so they still adhered to the sompa plus panai' tradition. The implication of the study is to provide a reference by dowry fighters so that Bugis women are brave to move from sompa tradition to mahr without panai'.

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Islamic-Bugis Text, Mahr, Panai', Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya, Sompa.

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# 1. Introduction

Indeed, societal changes influenced by technological advancements, globalization, and evolving cultural norms, have reshaped various aspects of life, including traditional practices like wedding ceremonies. In many cultures, including the Bugis community, traditional wedding customs have adapted to contemporary realities while still retaining their cultural significance. The terms "panai money" and "dowry" in Bugis culture reflect the financial aspects of marriage arrangements. Panai money refers to the groom's family's financial contribution to the bride's family, often symbolizing respect, and gratitude (Sahib & Rahman, 2021; Suma et al., 2023). Dowry, on the other hand, is a practice where the bride's family provides gifts or wealth to the groom's family. These customs are deeply ingrained in the social fabric and hold symbolic importance beyond their monetary value.

As society evolves, these traditions may undergo modifications to align with changing values and economic conditions. For instance, in some communities, there might be discussions about the relevance and fairness of certain practices, such as dowry, in modern times. Additionally, economic factors and individual preferences can influence the negotiation and exchange of gifts during marriage ceremonies. Despite these changes, traditional wedding customs often serve as a means of preserving cultural heritage and fostering social bonds within communities. Therefore, while adaptations may occur, the essence of these rituals remains a vital part of cultural identity for many societies, including the Bugis community. The bride's family receives a dowry, also known as panai money, which is prepared by the groom's family.

The fall of Bandar Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511 had significant consequences, including the migration of Malay traders to various regions, including South Sulawesi. These traders brought with them not only their goods but also their cultural practices and religious beliefs. As a result, Malay literature, including manuscripts like Hikayat Rabiyatul Awaliyah, found its way to the Bugis and Makassar regions, where it was translated and adapted into local languages. One such translation is Pau-Paunna Sitti Rabiatul Awaliyah (PPSRA), which deals with themes of Sufism and addresses the sensitive issue of dowry, known as sompa in the Bugis language. The issue of dowry holds significant cultural importance in societies that practice it, and traditions surrounding dowry vary widely across different cultures and communities.

In many cultures, including those mentioned such as Padang Pariaman, Banjar, Bugis, Sasak, and Mandar communities, dowry traditions exist within the context of marriage arrangements. The form and nature of dowry can differ based on various factors, including the societal structure (matrilineal or patrilineal), economic conditions, and cultural beliefs. In some societies, dowry may take the form of gifts or valuables exchanged between the families of the bride and groom. This exchange can symbolize various things, such as respect, gratitude, or financial security. In matrilineal societies like Padang Pariaman, the dowry might be provided by the groom's family to the bride's family, while in patrilineal societies like the Bugis, the opposite might be true.

Regardless of the specific customs, dowry traditions often reflect deeper cultural values and social dynamics within a community. They can also be subject to interpretation and negotiation, evolving over time to accommodate changing circumstances and attitudes while still retaining their cultural significance. Each family's and bride's status is established and maintained in part by the type of mahr and the degree of trade. If the bride's family makes expectations that the groom and his family cannot meet, the groom will not be allowed to marry. However, the prospective bride is equally concerned that no one will want to marry her if the exchange doesn't work out.

Many of these women have been told since they were young that having a husband and kids is what they want out of life. For this reason, deciding on a dowry that both parties can live with is crucial to the family's long-term prosperity and social standing (Khaerana et al., 2022; Rahman, 2018). Globalization's rapid cultural shifts have an impact on dowry customs as well. The younger generation came to understand that dowry exchanges and arranged marriages were not followed rigorously and strictly in the more affluent nations. The amount of information regarding the history of dowry exchange worldwide has increased dramatically due to the emergence of studies about the cultural lives of developing nations, especially those published by their own residents.

Researchers can now learn more about the origins of regional practices, which helps them to comprehend why locals can preserve their cultural traditions. The shifting history of the mahr exchange also shows how various cultural groups have inhabited a given region as a result of immigration, invasion, the growth of international trade, weather-related events, disease, or other circumstances. The South and West Sulawesi regions of Indonesia, which are home to the major ethnic groups of Bugis, Makassar, and Mandar, are included in this article. It is situated in the southern portion of the island of Sulawesi. This essay demonstrates the various ways in which Indonesia's past has been shaped by the arrival of various ethnic groups, all of whom migrated to the country to take use of its natural resources. The biggest shift occurred when Indonesia transitioned from a kingdom dominated by Hindus, Buddhists, and Animists to a nation with a majority of Muslims.

This study focuses on the distinctions between pre-Islamic and Islamic perspectives on the exchange of material gifts, or dowries. more specifically between mahr and sompa + panai. According to this article, cultural leaders have been attempting to resolve these disparities for a considerable amount of time, and indigenous peoples in the region have known about them for millennia. Nonetheless, cultural disparities continue to present challenges and the capacity of the two families to come to a common understanding. because the future and well-being of the current residents are greatly at risk. Studying history is crucial in the hopes that contemporary cultural leaders may resolve this and prevent it from impeding the welfare of the local populace.

Educating academics from other countries on the differences in Islamic practice across the globe is a significant and crucial component of this issue in Indonesia. Every country modifies Islam to fit its historical and cultural context as well as all other facets of daily life that have an impact on it. Indonesians are well aware that Islam has been practiced as appropriate—and even demanding—a democratic society that expects religious freedom and forbids discrimination based on any kind of belief. This is especially true for scholars who have studied Islam elsewhere, particularly in the Middle East. No one can truly follow Islam in Indonesia unless they are free to choose these affiliations, understanding that other people's customs may differ and that affiliations can change over time.

# 1.1. History of *Mahr* Among the Bugis

The Bugis are the majority ethnic group inhabiting the South-West Suawesi region. They came from a noble descendant named La Sattumpugi. His followers refer to themselves as To Ugi (Bugis People). They are known as loyal people in carrying out customary provisions strictly, including the issue of sompa plus panai' and all its complexities. The traditions prevailing in this area emerged as part of the pre-Islamic local Bugis culture. The gift of something precious from the groom to the bride's family is called sompa. Sompa can be in the form of money, but preferably in the form of property such as houses, gardens, rice fields, yard land, coconut trees that are still productive, vehicles, and so on. This tradition requires an additional amount of money for the wedding party, which is often more expensive. This extra money

is called panai'. Together he is called sompa plus panai' which is a requirement for a prestigious wedding. In addition, there are levels of sompa, which are based on the status of the family involved. High-end families have different grades of sompa from middle or lower-class families. The class in question is the status of the bride-to-be's arung or nobility. To determine the whitewater status of a Bugis woman is to trace the descendants of her father and mother. If the father and mother are of pure noble blood, then the daughter will be of pure noble blood as well and entitled to the highest grade of sompa.

There is a big difference between pre-Islamic customs and those taught by Islamic sacred texts. There is an important account of the gift of mahr in the time of the Prophet Muhammad Saw., which shows that Islam technically does not demand expensive dowry or even money at all as mahr. The only demand is that the groom commits to the bride and that he shows his love and willingness to provide for and care for his future wife. Of course, many local customs in Islamic countries have led to local Muslims giving money as mahr, even large sums of money. Not only as mahr at the time of the marriage contract, even just in the process of introduction, there are already certain gifts regulated by custom, which are not found in the Qur'an or al-Hadith (Roslaili, 2019).

Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that negotiations still arise among the local Bugis community about what amount of panai', the groom and his family deserve to give to the bride and her family. A negotiation that sometimes gets no way out. If it is stuck, then there are several possibilities: fail-marriage, postpone-marriage, continue-marriage-secret, that is, the bride's family will give some money to the groom's family to be given back "to the woman's family during the formal event in the formal panai' handover event. This is a secret practice between the two families to maintain the prestige of the bride's family. In local terms it is called, dita menré', teddita nonno' (There is an increase, no visible decrease). The most extreme result in the event of failed negotiations is elopement. That is, the bride-to-be agreed to flee to the qadhi's house to be married. The risk of elopement is too heavy because it has hurt the self-esteem of the family of traditional female runners called dipakasiri' or humiliation.

# 1.2. Pau-Paunna Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya

This paper focuses on how a centuries-old text, written shortly after the region accepted Islam, tried to create a new understanding of dowry, based on the spirit of Islam and the Qur'an. This story depicts the life of a young woman. The story depicts the life of Sitti Rabiatul Awaliya (Sitti), both her life as a Bugis and her family members and her life as a Muslim. The story depicts Sitti's mother telling her to study the Qur'an and Islam at Sheikh Jaeyana's house. Here's how to become a better Muslim: Know the Qur'an. The story also describes a dream experienced by Sitti in which Allah told her that she needed to learn from Sheikh Jaeyana. Sitti has nothing to be ashamed of and should ignore anyone who tries to embarrass her. After Sitti acquires religious knowledge, she holds a contest where the groom-to-be has to answer difficult questions for the man, to prove his religious knowledge. If it succeeds, he doesn't need to give sompa to marry her. The text also explains that this way of fulfilling mahr demands follows traditional Islamic customs. This story can be connected to the story of Muhammad when he married one of his companions to a mahr in the form of memorizing the Qur'an because he did not have any property to be used as a mahr. Then he had the obligation to teach the Quran to his wife.

This story tries to bring about a major cultural change in the way of thinking and living of the local people. Sitti is a new paradigm of how a good Muslim woman should live. The story tries to prevent the breakdown of culture and tradition but integrates the old with the new. Undoubtedly, this is a negotiation between sompa plus panai' and mahr. The story wants to build a common foundation that allows local communities to maintain their cultural heritage, their family ties, and their identification as Muslims, with a new way of living with the Muslim faith. This kind of radical cultural shift is always very difficult because most people learn how to live by imitating those around them and previous generations.

The issue of material exchange between families before marriage is very difficult to change because the social status and level of material ownership of both families can influence decisions. The author of this story knew that the only way to make a change was that Allah prefered, and even demanded a cheap mahr. There are tremendous difficulties in changing these customs and it is also shown by the fact that this manuscript was written centuries ago but does not seem to have had much impact on the thinking or behavior of the local Bugis people. Unfortunately, even today, most Bugis have never heard of or known this good alternative model of Bugis, Muslim wives and husbands. One of the aims of this study was to reintroduce this story into the life and society of the Bugis people.

This research is responsible for explaining this classic text to Bugis cultural activists today, trying to convince them that they should promote the Islamic way of life and mahr practices discussed in this text. The Bugis must ensure that this view is based on what Muhammad called for and practiced by the Companions. They must demonstrate that

Muslims in other regions are currently making choices about how to understand the exchanges made between brides and grooms. To make this view part of the culture, girls need to be educated in religious knowledge and the Qur'an from the moment they are in primary school. This view of marriage requires a shift in all aspects of culture. However, all over the world, due to globalization, Facebook, and other types of international mass communication, even people living in once very remote areas of the world are participating and appreciating. Today's intellectual and cultural elites have a greater responsibility to take the lead in trying to motivate their people to adapt to these great changes in a way that will truly benefit them and their people and that at the same time will not undermine their core values and culture.

### 1.3. Literature Review

# a. Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage is a representation of a civilization and human identity that is passed down from generation to generation (Demetrescu et al., 2020; Siregar, 2018). Historically, the term cultural heritage has been introduced by the colonial government through the concept of cultural heritage (Siregar, 2018). The concept is used as an effort to protect antique artifacts, especially items that represent the diversity of Indonesian culture. Although the main purpose of the colonial government was to control Indonesia's cultural heritage so that it could be easily accessed by European scientists (Siregar, 2018). Cultural heritage is not a concept with a single definition but has various concepts and ideas in defining the concept of cultural heritage. According to Feary (2015), The concept of cultural heritage is the result of a process formed due to the interrelated meanings and values in both an object and behavior and experiences in society that are passed on to the next generation. Therefore, cultural heritage is often used to reinforce collective identities and norms to later generations (Garrod, 2014; Porsanger & Virtanen, 2019).

Cultural heritage has become an important value as a community identity, As said by Ismail et al., (2014) cultural heritage can be a reflection of a society's identity through symbols, language, stories, information, aesthetics, and norms. Roy (2015) also said that cultural heritage is categorized into two aspects, namely; (1) Intangible, heritage found in the form of buildings or artifacts, clothing, and dances; (2) Not ablution, such as values, attitudes, and ways of life. In this context, Ismail et al., (2014) also distinguish cultural heritage into three categories, including; (1) Built environment (buildings, urban landscapes, and archaeological remains); (2) Natural environment (rural landscapes, coasts, coastlines, and agricultural heritage); (3) Artifacts (books, documents, objects, and pictures). However over time, cultural heritage has been neglected both physically and ideologically (Brown, 2014). This happens because of the lack of community literacy in managing and maintaining cultural heritage assets as something very valuable in the identity of a nation (Lenzerini, 2011; Merolla, 2014; Roy, 2015).

# b. Islamic Text

In Islam, texts are a collection of writings and books on the history of Islam. Islamic text is not in the form of the Qur'an as the main text, the Hadith as the second text, and Ijtihad as the third text (Al-Saati, 2012; Bektovic, 2016; Massoud et al., 2013). Massoud et al., (2013) further said that the Qur'an as an Islamic text is a source of values and norms for Muslims, where the content of the text of the Qur'an contains many stories about history, which emphasizes the importance of morals. The hadith as the second text after the Qur'an is a word, deed, decree, and agreement from the Prophet Muhammad which is used as a form of sharia for Muslims which is handed down through the text (Leaman, 2021; Masruhan, 2019; Saeed et al., 2021). Therefore, the text of the Qur'an and Hadith in Islam is not uncommon to establish a rule of law or fatwa to the converts of Islam in determining whether or not something can be done (Zayed et al., 2015).

Religious texts are often centered on the Divine Entity, so the Qur'anic text refers to rules that are oriented to aspects of divinity that contain guidance or advice (Abdulameer, 2019). Religious texts are often used as a basis for humans to answer the complexity of their problems, such as the use of Qur'anic texts for Muslims (Abdulameer, 2019; Rackley, 2016). Hazard (2021) further said that in addition to being used as a theological foundation, the text of the Qur'an and Hadith is also often used as a basis for behavior for Muslims in living their daily lives. However, the form of the Qur'an as a normative text in Islam does not cause a few interpretations from the reading community, this results in the emergence of textualist and contextual groups in the realm of values and norms (Hazard, 2021). Therefore, the meaning and attitude of Muslims regarding reality depends very much on the meaning carried out by Muslims, both textually and contextually (Granoff & Shinohara, 2007).

# 2. Methodology

The material object of this article rests on the text of PPSRA owned by H. Daeng Masiga in Pangkep Regency which has been worked on philologically by Hafid (2000). The result is in the form of transliteration and editing of the text accompanied by a little analysis of the value of the content of the story consisting of social value and religious value. This edited text is what this article is working on. This book is published by Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Ujung Pandang tahun anggaran 1999/2000. In this book, there is a transliteration of edits and translations of other manuscripts, namely the Bulo-Bulo Lontarak Manuscript Mappasere. The PPSRA manuscript is on pages 4-40. This study is qualitative-descriptive. To facilitate the study, the facts of the story are read and recorded, then coding is carried out according to the planned category. Then it is analyzed by looking for meanings and messages that are not read explicitly. Assisted by historical approaches, Islamic Studies, and Literature Studies with a focus on the issue of opposition sompa vs. mahr contained in the manuscript.



Figure 1. Book Cover of Sitti Rabiatul Awaliya Manuscript

To sharpen the analysis and findings, researchers read many articles and news about the Bugis-customary marriage practice involving sompa plus panai' and also read articles and news that criticize the practice from the perspective of mahr. Don't forget to also watch the movie *Uang Panai Mahar* and articles and reviews about the film. The results of that reading are all in this article.

## 3. Result and Discussion

This research data is in the form of Bugis-language sentences from the PPSRA text. The selected sentences are those that indicate that they contain negotiations between sompa plus panai' vs. mahr money. These data will be presented in the following tables.

Table 1. Free Sompa in the Text

Table 1.1 ree oonipa in the rext			
No	Text	Translation	
1	É makkunrai Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya uwéngkalingai karebammu ri wanuwakkuq, masahoroq i pau-paunna, léléyangkuru i apanritangenna kalebbani ripau makkeda é iyyapa garéq mumaéloq mallakkai narékko engka pakatajangekko masaalamu, iyyana garéq muhallalakeng pobénéko tenri sompa.	"O Sitti Raiyatul Awaliya, I heard that you arrived in my country, You are famous for your religious knowledge, It is said that you held a contest, and only then will you have a husband if someone solves your problem. You will free your sompa (SRA: 6).	

	(SRA: 6).	
2	Aga natappa pulanaqna pau-paunna léléyangkuru birittana massu ri saliwenna Masséréq apanritangenna. Kalebbanni bicaranna makkeda, "Engka seuwwa makkunrai riyaseng Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya ri Masséréq. Déq pada-padangngi apanritangenna nenniya akessingenna, akerrana iyapa garéq namaélo malakkai narékko engka pakatajangengngi masaalana. Narékko engka pakatajangengngi masaalana nahallalakengngi aléna ripubainé tenri sompa (SRA: 7)	It is well known and spread the news beyond the land of Egypt, that there is a woman named Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya. Nothing compares to her intelligence, the beauty of her face, and the beauty of her face. It is said that she will only have a husband if there is a man who can solve her problems. If there is such a man, he will allow himself to be married without sompa (SRA: 7)
3	Makkedani Uwalli Eppaé, "É Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya, Uwéngkalingai karébammu ripau makkeda iyapa muélo mallakkai narékko engka pakatajangekko masaalamu mehallalakengngi garéq alému tenri sopma." Makkedani Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya, "Tongengngitu adaé. Tainyatu karéba, iaymi kuwonro wélampélang ri wettu déqnapa pakatajengekka masaalakuq. Nigi-nigi pakatajangekkaq masaalaku iyana uhallalakengngi pubainéyaq tenna sompa (SRA: 8)	The four saints said, "O Siti Rabiyatul Awaliya, we heard that you will only have a husband if someone explains your problem and you will reportedly turn yourself away without sompa." Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya replied, "It is true, not a hoax. That is why until now I have not had a husband. Whoever can explain my problems, then he is the one I can justify to marry me without sompa (SRA: 8).
4	Makkedani Arungngé ri Masséréq, "É Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya, engka Saéheq polé enrengngé Panrita polé méllaui yo maélo méwako siyolo, maélo takasame apanritangemmu, mangakutoi patajangekko masaalamu. Narékko engka sala séuwwanna pakatajangekko napubainéko tenna sompa. Narékko téna ulléi agi-agi élomu mupuélorengngi." Makkedani Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya, "O Puakku Arunna Tau Masséréqé, iyana tu kuonro wélammpélang ri wettu déqnapa pakatajangekkaq masaalaku. Narékko engka pakatajangekkaq masaalaku na situru lolongeng engkaé ri pahakku iyyan uhallalakeng pobénékaq tenna sompa, iya tona uwéwa sipuppureng temmalala ri lino lettu ri onrong maraddeqé, ri wanua riyasengngé Jumati, onrong tenritana Alla Tala" (SRA: 10)	The king of Egypt said, "O Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya, there are sheikhs and priests who have come to ask you to face you to test your intelligence. They also promise to solve your problem. If one of them succeeds, then he will marry you without sompa. But if they cannot answer your questions, it is up to you to punish them." Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya answered, "O My Lord, King of Egypt, because no man has succeeded in solving my problems, I am still single. If there is a man who succeeds in solving my problems and matches my knowledge, then he is the one who can marry me without sompa. He is also the one who is my inseparable companion forever, even to the land of Jumati, a land that Allah Ta'ala does not appear." (SRA: 10).
5	Aga namasahoroq léléyangkarunni apanritangenna nenniya amujisakenna Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya massu ri saliwempanua. Nasanrana pau-paunna, nalebbana birittanna ri wanua riya-riya. Angkatona	The news of Siti Rabiyatul Awaliya's wisdom and miracles has become increasingly well known outside her region. It was reported everywhere, until Sultan Sahdin also heard that there was "a woman in Egypt whose wisdom

> naéngkalingai Suletang Saheding karebanna Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliyaé, "Seuwwa makkunrai ri Masérég riyaseng Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya, pada-padangngi apanritangenna dég nenniya amujisakenna. İyapa garéq namaélog mallakkai narékko engka pakatajangengngi masaalana, iyana nahallalakengngi pobainéi tenri sompa." (SRA: 11)

and miracles were unmatched. It is said that she will only agree if there is a man who can solve her problem. That's the man she made it lawful to marry without sompa" (SRA: 11)

Sources: (Hafid, 2000)

Table 2. Sompa Vs. Mahr in the Text

No	Text	Translation
1	Nasujuq na Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya ri yolona Suletang Saheding nai inappa napatokkong ulunna makkeda, "O Puankku Suletang Saheding, uhallalakenni aléku kipobainé tenri sompa" (SRA: 15).	Bow down to Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya before Sultan Sahdin, then looked up and said, "O my Lord, Sultan Sahdin, I have made it lawful for me to be your wife without sompa (SRA: 15)
2	Makkedani Suletang Saheding, "Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya déq pa ulolongengngi hallalaqna ko karana mejeppunna idiq ummaq sellengngé makkatenniyéngngi biranna Puang Alla Tala, tettongengngi saréyaqna Pangulutta narékko tennaddiyoloiwi saraq mattentu nenniya adeq ripake adeq enrengngé temmarolai ada tongeng, Pékkogi turuq séséna Adang 'Alaihissalam nenniya ri nenetaq Hawa. Mula-mulanna uwallipa mappahallalaq, maduwanna sompa, matelunna sabbipa duwa, maeppanna sibawapi nika. Naiyya kaiyya taronaq makkutana karena majeppu léléyangkuri toi apanritangengmu massu ri saliwempanua. Aga sabaqna muhallalakengngi alému riyaq, téga saraq muwakkatenning, téga adeq mutettongi, téga to onrong makkeda tongengi" (SRA: 15-16)	Sultan Sahdin said, "Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya, I have not found the reason for your halal law because we Muslims who are guided by the teachings of Allah Ta'ala, follow the instructions of the Messenger of Allah, must follow certain shari'ah or correct customs. As did Adam alaihissalam and our grandmother Eve. For a marriage to be halal, firstly there must be a guardian, secondly a sompa (mahr), thirdly two witnesses, fourthly the marriage (ijab qabul). But let me ask you because you are also a person who is intelligent in matters of religion and is famous beyond your region. Why do you justify yourself to me? Which Shari'ah do you adhere to? Which traditions do you uphold? Whose words of truth do you guide? (SRA: 15-16)
3	Nenniya naéngkalingana Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya adanna Suletang Saheding, napatokkonni ulunna makkeda, "O Puakku Suletang Saheding, temmaka tenniya saraq utettongi, tenniya adeq, temmonroi towaq ada tongeng. Naiya kiyya usaemmi sihallalakenni hallalaqé, massuwwai duwaé ri wettu engkanna riidiq uwakkutangngé. Aga nassuwwana tomakkutanaénna to ritanaiyya nasabaq kissenna assitamarenna laheréngngé na baténgngé. Aga nani tarimana cinnaé pada cinna, aga nasséuwwana cinna, mas-sompa-ni tubué mappatettuq toni atié, nappéjeppuna nyawaé, mappaséuwwani rahasiaé ri Puang	After hearing Sultan Sahdin's answer, Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya raised her head and said, "O, my lord Sultan Sahdin, I adhere to no shari'ah, nor customs, nor words of truth. But in my opinion, we can make things right for each other, we can also unite two bodies because what I want is already in you. There has been unity between the one asking and the one being asked because of the smooth union between the outer and the inner. There has been acceptance between desire and desire, the union of two desires, the body has given sompa, the heart has united, the soul has been recognized, the unseen has also united with Allah Ta'la. The unification of four entities in the

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Alla Tala. Aga nasséuwwani eppaé ri watakkalé. Aganna tubué téya buruq, tuwo téya maté, nyawa téya massarang Puwanna. Aga nacappuni adaé tepuni gauqé ri wettu massé wwanna ataé na Puangngé. (SRA: 16).

body. While the body does not want to decay, life does not want to die, life does not want to be separated from its God. Words and actions are perfect when the servant is one with God (SRA: 16)

Naiyya naéngkalingana Suletang Sahding adanna Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya cabbéruni makkeda, "É Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya, tongeng mui tu adammu, naiya kaiya temmakui tu iyana ri tu maéga masolang matuq ummagna pangulutta Muhammag karana makkuwana tu pahanna. Batémmu mi simata naésseri, karana majeppunna baténgngé lahéréngngé patuwoi. Naiyya baténgngé lahéréngngé bateppa patuwoi, pada toni tubué na nyawaé, orowané na makkunraiyé, ata na Puangngé, napévasserippi gaugna inappa masséuwwa duwaé ri tu. Karana majeppunna mappugaugpi lanro mammpuadapi lilaé, mattuppupi atié, na inappa masséuwwa tau duaé ritu. Ni iyya riasengngé gaugé, naiyya riyasengngé adaada lahéréttoi, na iyya riasengngé baténg atié ritu. Iyana tu riyaseng tulu tempettu ri Puang Alla Tala. Riyala pattellareng bolébole ri lino passikkirig ri yakhérag (SRA: 16).

When he heard Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya's words. Sultan Sahdin smiled faintly and said, "O Sitti Rabiyatul Awaliya, what you said is true, but it's not like that. That is why many of our Lord Muhammad's followers are damaged because of their misunderstanding. In fact, the outer is brought to life by the inner, such as body and soul, man and woman, servant and God. Because in fact it is closely bound actions that will unite two entities. The condition is that the body must act, the tongue must speak, the heart must believe, then the two people can be united. Meanwhile, what is meant by deeds, what is meant by external speech, what is meant by the inner heart, these are all referred to as unbreakable ties to Allah Ta'ala. Made into decoration in this world, remembrance in the afterlife (SRA:16).

Source: (Hafid, 2000)

The two tables above contains data that Sitti will free her sompa if there are applicants who succeed in solving her problems. On the other hand, Islam has a concept of dowry that is different from the sompa that was then proposed by Sutan Sahdin.

# 3.1. Discussion

The most prominent issue in this story is the issue of sompa that Sitti wants to get free. No less than seven words tenri sompa (sompa free) written in text. Sitti simplified her sompa into something her future husband was not obligated to give. Even without the extra panai'. His Sompa was replaced with mastery of religious knowledge, which did not contradict Islam because, in history, the companions of the Prophet once paid mahr by rote memorization of the Qur'an. Although this ability caused controversy among the fuqaha, there was still a gap (Faidhullah, 2018; Irawan et al., 2019; Irawan & Jayusman, 2019; Saida et al., 2018; Tilawati, 2019). The Companions of the Prophet who gave dowry in the form of memorization of the Qur'an had the obligation to teach the Qur'an to his wife and it was considered a valuable merit.

Sultan Sahdin's mastery of religious knowledge that can overcome SRA religious knowledge can be considered as mahr in the form of merit to Sitti. This story reflects the negotiations between sompa plus panai' and mahr. The text does not explicitly mention panai'. But in the practice of traditional Bugis marriage, panai' always accompanies the sompa. Sitti's implied message was not well captured by Sultan Sahdin. He still questions the free sopma of fiqh law. In this regard, he represents the Bugis people who still want to maintain customary formality, by seeking justification from Islamic figh as seen in research by Huda & Evanti (2019), who say that sompa plus high panai' is not contrary to Islam.

With these conditions, sompa plus panai' continues to be a controversial and public concern. A film titled Money Panai Mahar had a box office hit in 2016 and depicts the complicated reality of a marriage involving sompa plus panai'. The critical theme of the film caught the attention of researchers, among others who tried to understand panai' from the point of view of siri' culture (honor and self-respect). Siri' is at the core of a culture that is fiercely defended. If necessary,

lives are at stake. Sompa plus panai' becomes part of the siri' flavor that must be maintained (Rizaldi, 2019; Rubyasih, 2019).

There are at least 34 scientific articles that talk about sompa plus panai' that show the theme of negotiation. Most defended the pre-Islamic tradition by giving a new interpretation that sompa plus panai' was a symbol of appreciation of the bridegroom's family to the bride's family for the services of raising and educating their daughters. While a small part of the article sees the negative side of sompa plus panai' it is necessary to divert it to the concept of mahr-Islam. The implications on the prospect of young marriages that are already on the verge of marriage are potentially negative such as anxiety, stress, failed marriage, serial marriage, and even running away. However, there are also positive positions such as triggering the groom to work harder and placing women in honorable and prestigious positions (Basri & Fikri, 2018). Thus, the position of negotiation remains visible both from the side of the story and from the side of reality, as illustrated in the movements of mahr fighters (Hidayat, 2019). Thus, this story has championed mahr in its own way, but it is not easily captured without understanding the nature of the literary text. This study takes the position left by previous researchers because it is still very relevant to the current condition of the Bugis people.

### 4. Conclusion

Shockingly, Sitti's act of creating a contest in exchange for free sompa for each applicant was a symbolic message of resistance to sompa. It is not important whether or not the word panai' is present in the story because in the traditional Bugis tradition, Sompa and panai' are one package in a wedding series. Unfortunately, this message cannot be captured well by modern Bugis women. Instead of understanding it, it is interpreted as a tribute to the parents of the future wife who are considered to have educated her to be a respectable woman. The higher the nominal, the higher the prestige of his family. But not infrequently, marriage plans fail because they are unable to meet the target, which results in the bride-to-be remaining a virgin until death, while the bridegroom chooses to marry another girl outside his ethnicity. The struggle to turn sompa plus panai' to mahr is still going on fiercely. The dowry fighters are still experiencing obstacles. Pre-Islamic sompa and panai' still influenced Bugis women from time to time. This is what Sitti wants to simplify.

On the other hand, Islamic religious classics are often merely material objects in a philological and literary study that stops at editing texts and revealing aesthetic value. This study takes a step forward by involving Islamic Studies so that the main theme of the story script, hidden in the folds of stories and stories, can be revealed to the face. As a result, it can enrich the model of study and understanding of classical texts, because it involves two scientific fields at once: Islamic Studies and Literature Studies. Thus, aesthetic wisdom with religious nuances becomes a necessity to be analyzed. However, this study has been a long time due to the limitations of the manuscript studied, and the limitations of the concepts used. Many things can be continued in the next discussion such as gender and feminist issues, women's leadership in Islam, Sufism, and tariga which are also central issues of this text.

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