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Between Tradition and Sharia: Resolving Cultural Conflict in *Walimah Infiṣāl* through Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's Theory of Legal Change

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Abstract:

The practice of *walimah infiṣāl* (segregated wedding receptions) as a symbol of religious identity in Bone Regency often confronts established traditional marriage cultures, creating potential cultural and religious conflicts in public spaces. This study explores strategies to address these tensions by utilising Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's framework for legal change. The research employs a qualitative approach, including normative-juridical analysis and a case study method, in Bone Regency. Data were gathered through participatory observation and in-depth interviews with 20 key informants, including religious scholars (ulama), academics and community leaders, conducted during the field research period. The study identifies three primary conflict resolution strategies used by the community: (1) a preaching strategy to educate on ethical dress and adornment; (2) a tolerance strategy based on recognising diverse schools of thought; and (3) a dialogue strategy to build consensus and practical compromises. Furthermore, three adaptive role models are proposed: (1) a combined model featuring a three-lane seating arrangement (male, female and family) without a physical partition; (2) a modified traditional model incorporating ethical guidance and discouraging monetary donations; and (3) an adapted *walimah infiṣāl* model that maintains separation while providing designated spaces for family socialisation. Theoretically, this research demonstrates that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's principles, particularly the *al-*

jam' u wa al-taufiq (reconciliation) method, provide a constructive framework for harmonising religious mandates in texts with the socio-cultural benefits of local traditions.

Keywords: Islamic law; *walimah*; gender segregation; conflict resolution.

Introduction

Walimah inḥiṣāl is an Islamic wedding reception model that implements physical separation between male and female guests to maintain *ikhtilāṭ* (gender interaction boundaries) in accordance with Sharia principles.¹ In the Indonesian context, this phenomenon has emerged as part of contemporary dynamics of religious identity, seeking to integrate values of religious purification into the public sphere.² Although doctrinally aimed at practising religion in its pure form, the implementation of *walimah inḥiṣāl* often clashes with local cultural values that are communal and inclusive. Differences in community customs during wedding ceremonies often spark debates and conflicts, especially in societies with diverse cultures and religious beliefs.³ Differences among individuals and community groups lead to cultural and religious conflicts in public spaces, and religious and cultural norms intersect intensely at wedding banquets.⁴

The Bone Regency in South Sulawesi is a highly relevant research locus due to its strong Pangadereng cultural roots, where *walimah* (the wedding procession) is considered a social institution that strengthens bonds of brotherhood and acknowledges social status.⁵ Problems arise when the *walimah inḥiṣāl* model is introduced by certain Islamic movement groups, which leads to social fragmentation. Tangible tension arises when extended families are divided over differences in how to hold the reception, leading to negative sentiments in the surrounding community, who feel excluded because they cannot witness the bride and groom directly. Conflicts arise from generational differences, with younger generations, who are more open to change, having perspectives that differ from those of older generations, who firmly adhere to tradition. For example, one family member wants to wear a hijab, while another considers it optional. The controversy surrounding the use of the hijab, which is widely reported in the media, can trigger debates among family,

¹ Muhammad Ridwan and Nur Ainah, 'The Recommendation To Hold A Walimah In The View Of The People Of Banjarmasin City', *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Jurisprudence, Economic and Legal Theory* 2, no. 2 (2024): 899–907, <https://doi.org/10.62976/ijjel.v2i2.346>; Ikhlasotul Amalia, 'Tradisi Tepung Besan Pada Walimah Nikah Prespektif 'Urf', *Sakina: Journal of Family Studies* 5, no. 1 (2021), <https://urj.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/jfs/article/view/567>.

² Ahmad Bunyan Wahib, 'Marriage Registration and Solemnization among Migrant Muslims in Germany: Harmonizing Islamic and State Law and the Existence of Origin Country Law', *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 15, no. 2 (2022): 275–94, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2022.15207>.

³ Indo Santalia and Zulfiani, 'Kerukunan Umat Beragama Pasca Konflik Di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta', *Jurnal Ushuluddin: Media Dialog Pemikiran Islam* 25, no. 1 (2023): 17, <https://doi.org/10.24252/jumdpi.v25i1.36238>.

⁴ A. Gupta, 'Business and Globalisation the New Face of Micro Lending in India: A Case Study', *International Journal of Business and Globalisation* 12, no. 4 (2014): 34, <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJBG.2014.062847>.

⁵ Ilham Haruna et al., 'Soul Of Barekkeng: Transformasi dan Interpretasi Nilai Pangadereng dari Budaya Masyarakat Bugis di Sulawesi Selatan', *Panggung* 34, no. 4 (2024): 532–50, <https://doi.org/10.26742/panggung.v34i4.3556>.



friends and the surrounding community. These cases can vary greatly and are influenced by the cultural, religious and social context in a particular society.⁶

Previous studies demonstrate that *walimat al-'urs* is not merely understood as a religious recommendation to publicize a marriage but also serves as a medium through which local cultural values are articulated and preserved. Hasibuan et al. argue that the use of *Gordang Sambilan* in *walimat al-'urs* represents a legitimate expression of local culture, provided that it does not incorporate practices that contradict the principle of *tawhīd*.⁷ Similarly, Hidayah et al. reveal that the prohibition of *kembar manten* (holding a joint wedding feast for two couples simultaneously) is closely associated with the organization of the wedding banquet, as it is believed to safeguard the welfare, harmony, and security of both families despite lacking an explicit normative basis in the Qur'an and Sunnah.⁸ Furthermore, Yusuf et al. demonstrate that ritual practices within indigenous communities constitute the outcome of the reception and reinterpretation of Islamic law through continuous negotiation with local customs.⁹ Likewise, Nasir and Juliandi contend that *walimat al-'urs* in Aceh functions as a site of harmonization between Shari'ah and customary law, resulting in a dynamic legal configuration that reflects the community's socio-cultural context.

Although studies on *walimah* have been widely conducted, this research fills three main gaps. Empirically, no study has examined the clash between the practice of *walimah infisāl* and the Pangadereng culture in Bone Regency. Theoretically, previous research has generally been purely sociological, whereas this study employs Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's framework of legal change to explain the flexibility of Sharia in relation to tradition. Practically, unlike previous literature that only offers general dialogue, this research develops concrete, applicable conflict-resolution strategies and an adaptive reception model for the community. The *walimah infisāl* is held to avoid possible harm, including behaviour that leads to approaching adultery. However, this depends on each individual's motives; in general, guests attend the wedding reception to socialise and witness the wedding. The separation of guests and the bride and groom, however, hampers the main purpose of the *walimah*: communicating and witnessing the bride and groom.¹⁰ Both models of wedding receptions can be modified to anticipate prohibitions and to achieve greater welfare

⁶ Moh Davidin, 'Hijabisasi Dalam Pernikahan Adat Jawa (Fenomena Pemakaian Hijab Dalam Pernikahan Adat Jawa Di Desa Jabalsari Kecamatan Sumbergempol Kabupaten Tulungagung', *SOSIORELIGIUS: JURNAL ILMIAH SOSIOLOGI AGAMA* 8, no. 1 (2023): 37–47, <https://doi.org/10.24252/sosioreligius.v8i1.37415>; Abu Sahman Nasim et al., 'Saro-Saro: Relevance of Custom Symbols and the Prohibition of Hijab in Muslim Community Weddings in Jailolo Selatan District, West Halmahera Regency', *Justicia Islamica* 20, no. 2 (2023): 321–40, <https://doi.org/10.21154/justicia.v20i2.6287>.

⁷ Mutiah Rahmadhani Hasibuan et al., 'The Concept of Walimatul 'Urs According to the Qur'an and Sunnah: A Study of the Relevance to the Gordang Sambilan in Panyabungan', *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 25, no. 2 (2025): 219–48, <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v25i2.29445>.

⁸ Khoirul Hidayah et al., 'The Kembar Manten in Java Majapahit Wedding Traditions in Mojokerto: Perspectives on Natural Law and Anthropology of Islamic Law', *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 2 (2024): 770–90, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i2.19611>.

⁹ Nasruddin Yusuf et al., 'Reception of Islamic Legal Rituals Among Indigenous Indonesian Communities with Comparative Findings from Wetu Telu and Masade', *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syar'ah* 23, no. 2 (2025): 170–88, <https://doi.org/10.30984/jis.v23i2.3478>.

¹⁰AMB, Interview (Watampone, 10 January 2025).



by holding a *walimah* encompassing wedding invitations and banquets.¹¹ In the case of the *walimah infisāl* held in Ulaweng District, even though the guests were separated, the seats for the bride and groom were still quite close together, and they sat at the front so the bride and groom could still be seen by the guests.¹²

There are positive aspects (*mashlahah*) of traditional wedding parties that are not fulfilled when they are changed to the *walimah infisāl* model. In such a setting, the bride and groom are not witnessed, and communication is limited among family, friends, and companions who rarely see each other in everyday life, except at special occasions, such as a wedding party. However, a wedding party should not be intended to broaden the extent of *silaturrahim*, as it is held separately.¹³ Therefore, the implementation of a wedding reception, whether according to custom or *infisāl*, can be assessed in light of its benefits and disadvantages.¹⁴ Resolving this problem requires the identification of effective strategies for managing cultural and religious conflicts in public spaces, particularly those related to the use of the hijab at wedding receptions in a *walimah infisāl* setting.

This study aims to analyse appropriate strategies for managing cultural and religious conflicts related to the practice of *walimah infisāl* in Bone Regency and to formulate a more harmonious model of reception. The main question is how to formulate a moderate solution that can be accepted by both the Puritan group and the indigenous community. To answer this, the study justifies using Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's legal change theory framework.¹⁵ The selection of this framework is based on the argument that Islamic law is dynamic and must respond to changes in time, place and social conditions. From this perspective, the practice of *walimah* is not seen as a rigid text, but as an instrument of *maṣlahah* (benefit) that can adapt without abandoning the essence of sharia. By using the method of *al-jam' u wa al-taufiq* (reconciliation), this study seeks to synthesise the demands of sharia with the cultural needs of the Bone community to foster social harmony.

Method

This study was conducted in Bone Regency, South Sulawesi and employed qualitative and case study approaches. This regency is characterised by profound socio-religious dynamics regarding *walimah infisāl*. Informants were selected using a purposive sampling strategy based on strict inclusion criteria: holding a formal or informal leadership role in local religious affairs, possessing expertise in Islamic jurisprudence, or having direct operational experience in organising local weddings. The final cohort of twenty key informants comprised five Islamic legal scholars (*ulama*), four legal academics, four traditional community leaders (*toumatowa*), three wedding organisers and four formal representatives from Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. To complement the interviews, participatory observation was systematically conducted over six months (June to November 2025), encompassing six wedding events, three traditional Bugis ceremonies, and three *infisāl* models.

¹¹HKM, Interview (Watampone, 10 January 2025).

¹²AZR, Interview (Watampone, 10 January 2025).

¹³ABL, Interview (Watampone, 10 January 2025).

¹⁴FTM, Interview (Watampone, 16 January 2025).

¹⁵ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *I'lām Al-Muwaqqi'in 'an Rabb Al-'Ālamīn* (Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1991).



Given the qualitative nature of this inquiry, all findings are presented through rich, thematic descriptions rather than statistical representations; any emerging patterns are articulated textually using qualitative descriptors to preserve the depth of the narrative.

Thematic analysis was executed following a structured coding procedure, beginning with verbatim transcription, followed by initial open coding to generate raw semantic labels, axial coding to cluster these codes into analytical categories and selective coding to map out overarching themes. These themes were critically interpreted using Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's theory of legal change (*taqayyar al-fatwa*), focusing on how the concepts of *maṣlaḥah* (public interest) and *al-'awāid* (local custom) intersect with contemporary practice. Data trustworthiness was secured through source triangulation, cross-referencing interview testimonies with field observation notes, member checking, and peer debriefing with two external Islamic law experts. Ethical rigour was maintained throughout the research; all participants provided informed consent before data collection, anonymity was guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms, and the researcher's reflexivity was constantly monitored to mitigate subjective bias, ensuring that the interpretation of the field findings remained grounded, objective and culturally sensitive.

Results and Discussion

The Position of Witnesses and the Existential Significance of *Walīmatul 'Urs* in Islamic Law

According to the Shafi'i school of thought, a marriage is void unless two witnesses are present, regardless of whether it is announced to the guests.¹⁶ On the contrary, according to the Maliki school of thought, a marriage remains valid although no witnesses are present and included in the marriage contract, as long as it is announced to the public.¹⁷ According to the Shafi'i school of thought, the most essential elements of the marriage process are the *ijab* and *qabul* and the presence of at least two witnesses who directly attend and clearly witness the process.¹⁸ The Syafi'i school of thought bases its opinion on the hadith of the Prophet narrated by Imam ad-Daruquthuni from Aisyah: "Every marriage must be attended by four people, namely the guardian, the groom and two witnesses" (HR. al-Daruquthniy).¹⁹ The other hadith says, "From Aisyah, she said: Rasulullah SAW said, "A marriage is not valid unless it includes a guardian and two fair witnesses." (HR. al-Daruquthniy).²⁰

According to the Maliki school of thought, witnesses do not have to directly witness the actual matrimony; notifying the witnesses that the bride and groom have entered into the marriage contract and presenting them to the guests who represent

¹⁶ Ahmad Izzuddin et al., 'From Exclusivism to Openness: Deconstructing the Role of Deaf Individuals as Marriage Witnesses in the Compilation of Islamic Law', *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 17, no. 2 (2024): 287–307, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2024.17208>.

¹⁷ M. Karya Mukhsin, 'Saksi Yang Adil Dalam Akad Nikah Menurut Imam', *Al-Fikra : Jurnal Ilmiah Keislaman* 18, no. 1 (2020): 11, <https://doi.org/10.24014/af.v18i1.7303>.

¹⁸ Masliani Sapitri et al., 'The Method of Legal Istinbath in The Shafi'i and Hambali Madhhab on The Practice Of Marriage Siriy', *IJTihad* 41, no. 2 (2025): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.15548/ijt.v41i2.708>.

¹⁹ Altaf Wardanif, 'Controversy Over the Validity of Fasiq Guardians in Marriage', *Moefly : Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab Dan Hukum* 14, no. 1 (2025): 75–88.

²⁰ Fitri Hidayat, 'Interpretation of Judges Toward Fasid and Batil Marriage', *Trunojoyo Law Review* 1, no. 1 (2019): 61–75, <https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v1i1.5259>.



the public are sufficient. In other words, the presence of appointed witnesses during *ijab* and *qabul* is *sunnah*.²¹ The testimony of many people is stronger than the testimony of just two people. The invitation to *walimah al-'ursy* (the wedding reception) is *i'lan* (a notification) to the guests that the marriage contract has been performed. On that basis, announcing the marriage to many people is an obligation.²²

The majority of scholars—the Hanafi, Syafi'i and Hambali schools—agree that the involvement of two witnesses as a pillar in the marriage contract cannot be omitted and is considered sufficient with the announcement based on the hadith of the Prophet. The Maliki and Shia Imamiyah schools believe that witnesses may not witness directly when the *ijab* and *qabul* take place.²³ According to Shia Imamiyah, the presence of witnesses directly witnessing the *ijab* and *qabul* is *mustahab* (recommended), not an obligation. Showing a marriage to the public is not equal to an unlawful marriage, as the former is reinforced by official registration recorded by the authorities. An invitation to a *walimah al-'ursy* is essential for building a positive image of the married couple, providing a sense of security and psychological peace, and protecting them from social sanctions.²⁴ A matrimony with *walimah al-'ursy* makes marriage more noble and sacred.²⁵ According to Sharia arguments and scholars' interpretations, *walimah al-'urs* (1) reflects gratitude for marriage given as a gift by Allah SWT; (2) informs the public that the marriage contract has been performed; and (3) shows the public that the bride and groom have officially married as husband and wife. All these grounds are intended to protect the bride and groom from slander.

Dichotomy of *Ikhtilāṭ* in Wedding Reception: Comparative Discourse Between Normative Restrictions and Contextual Permissibility

Ikhtilat means mixed. For example, it is said *khalatha asy-syai' bisy syai'* when two things are mixed). As for something mixed, it is referred to as *al-khilthu* (الخلط).²⁶ So *ikhtalatha* (اختلط) is the condition when two objects are mixed. In terms of terminology, *ikhtilat* means "a gathering of men and women who are not *mahram* in one place that allows interaction between them."²⁷ Ibnu Baz views every form of

²¹ Amiur Nuruddin and Azhari Akmal Tarigan, *Hukum Perdata Islam Di Indonesia: Studi Kritis Perkembangan Hukum Islam Dari Fikih, UU No. 1/1974, Sampai KHI*, Ed. 1, with Indonesia (Kencana, 2004).

²² Barzah Latupono, 'Wallimahtul Ursy as the Embryo of the Birth of Marriage Registration According to Islamic Law', *Yuridika* 39, no. 3 (2024): 353–74, <https://doi.org/10.20473/ydk.v39i3.47161>.

²³ Agus Anwar Pahutar, 'Analisis Hadis-Hadis Tentang Walimatul 'Urus', *Darul Ilmi: Jurnal Ilmu Kependidikan Dan Keislaman* 7, no. 01 (2019): 18, <https://doi.org/10.24952/di.v7i01.1805>.

²⁴ Lia Laquna Jamali et al., 'Hikmah Walimah Al-â€ˆUrsy (Pesta Pernikahan) Dengan Kehormatan Perempuan Perspektif Hadits', *Diya Al-Afkar: Jurnal Studi al-Quran Dan al-Hadis* 4, no. 02 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.24235/diyaafkar.v4i02.1161>.

²⁵ Lia Laquna Jamali et al., 'Hikmah Walimah Al-â€ˆUrsy (Pesta Pernikahan) Dengan Kehormatan Perempuan Perspektif Hadits', *Diya Al-Afkar: Jurnal Studi al-Quran Dan al-Hadis* 4, no. 02 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.24235/diyaafkar.v4i02.1161>.

²⁶ Ahmad Warson Munawwir, 'Kamus Al-Munawwir Arab-Indonesia Terlengkap', *Yogyakarta: Pustaka Progressif*, 1997, 37.

²⁷ Rahmad Romadhon et al., 'Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Ikhtilath Dalam Tempat Kerja (Studi Kasus Di Pt. Sejahtera Utam Solo)', *AL HUKMU: Journal of Islamic Law and Economics* 03, no. 2 (2023): 40, <https://doi.org/10.54090/hukmu.242>.



deliberate interaction between the opposite sexes in public spaces as forbidden gathering (*ikhtilāt*) and considers it a reprehensible innovation (*bid'ah*).²⁸ Scholars who forbid *ikhtilat* in general, using the *saddu zari'ah* method, consider that conflict can lead to adultery, sexual harassment and the destruction of moral values. In the Jurisprudence of the Standing Committee for Islamic Research and Fatwa in Saudi Arabia, *ikhtilat* is considered forbidden in Islam based on the hadith of the Prophet, including the narrations of Imam Bukhari and Imam Muslim: *From Usamah bin Zaid ra. The Prophet SAW said: "I have not left behind me any fitnah (trial or calamity) more than (the fitnah) of women for men"* (HR Bukhari-Muslim).²⁹

However, there are differences of opinion among scholars regarding *ikhtilat*; some scholars in Saudi Arabia allow *ikhtila* Gatherings of women in public places may not initially lead to slander between men and women, but the potential for slander is always present, so they should be avoided unless the situation is urgent or an emergency. Some *ikhtilat* is permitted for the greater good. For example, a woman who comes to a scholar to ask about Sharia law, or a woman who prays as a follower behind a man in a different row (alone).³⁰ *Ikhtilat*, based on Article 1, point 24 of the Qanun of the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Number 6 of 2014 concerning Jinayat Law, is defined as an act of affection, such as making out, touching, hugging and kissing between a man and a woman who are not husband and wife, with the consent of both parties, either in a closed or open place.³¹ The argument used as the basis by the ulama, which prohibits *ikhtilath* in walimah, is QS Yusuf: 23, al-Isra': 32, al-Ahza:59, an-Nur: 30, and several hadiths. From Prophet Muhammad SAW, he said: *"I have not left a slander after me that is more terrible for men than the slander of women"* (HR. Bukhari).³²

There is a tendency for people to be too free in creating customs or traditions, so that they no longer pay attention to the boundaries outlined in religion.³³ Goodness becomes evil, or at least there is a mixture of what is right and what is wrong, including, among others, the mixing of men and women who are not *mahram* and the bride and groom sitting side by side on the dais, which becomes a spectacle. Some Saudi Arabian scholars permit *ikhtilath* on the condition that the joint activity that causes the *ikhtilath* is for something good and is not intended for what is prohibited in religion. Good *ikhtilath* may include those intended for learning, scientific gatherings, education, medical treatment, and buying and

²⁸ Annemarie van Geel, 'Separate or Together? Women-Only Public Spaces and Participation of Saudi Women in the Public Domain in Saudi Arabia', *Contemporary Islam* 10, no. 3 (2016): 357–78, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-015-0350-2>.

²⁹ Wafiq Mayada and Munandar Munandar, 'Analytical Study of Hadiths about Women as Source of Slander', *Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Sharia Economics (IIJSE)* 7, no. 2 (2024): 4189–205, <https://doi.org/10.31538/ijse.v7i2.5112>.

³⁰ Romadhon et al., 'Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Ikhtilath Dalam Tempat Kerja (Studi Kasus Di Pt. Sejahtera Utam Solo)'.

³¹ Salma Salma et al., 'Between Flogging and Imprisonment: The Disparity Effect of the Sharia Court's Decision on the Supremacy of the Qanun Jinayat of Aceh', *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 9, no. 2 (2024): 573–96, <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v9i2.8397>.

³² Mayada and Munandar, 'Analytical Study of Hadiths about Women as Source of Slander'.

³³ Andi Luhur Prianto et al., 'Hijacking of State Power on Religious Freedom by Community Organizations in Indonesia', *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 24, no. 2 (2024): 348–67, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v24i2.17916>.



selling.³⁴ This is exemplified in the story of the Prophet Musa, who helped a woman (the daughter of the Prophet Syuaib As) fetch water for livestock as set out in QS Al-Qashâsh verse 23.

The leading cleric in Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Dr Abdul Latif bin Abdul Aziz Alu, believes that in Islamic law, the difference between permissible *ikhtilat* and forbidden *ikhtilat* is clear. This problem has existed since ancient times, but there is no Islamic law that absolutely forbids it. Islamic law generally does not impose burdens on its followers.³⁵ *Ikhtilat* can be done under the following conditions: (1) Meetings between men and women are to do things that are permitted by Sharia, such as buying and selling, studying, caring for the sick, performing the Hajj pilgrimage, among others; (2) the activities carried out require meetings between men and women, as in a transaction where a woman is the seller and the man as the buyer; and (3) men and women are obliged to obey Sharia laws in the meeting, such as *ghadhdhul bashar*, covering their intimate parts and not in seclusion.³⁶ The argument used by the ulama that allows *ikhtilat* in *muamalah* activities whose aim aligns with fulfilling the benefit or *hajah* includes QS Al-Hujurat: 13, al-Qashâsh: 23, and several hadiths of the Prophet, such as Abu Usaid As Sa'idi inviting the Messenger of Allah to his wedding reception. At that time, his wife was serving them, even though she was the bride. Sahl said, "Do you know what drink she served to the Messenger of Allah? The woman provided dates that had been soaked overnight, and when he ate, the woman served him water." (Narrated by Bukhari)

This hadith clearly shows that it is permissible for women to mingle with and serve male guests at wedding receptions, and that the Prophet did not prohibit women from doing so. In another hadith, HR. Bukhari mentioned that when the *walimah* of the Prophet's marriage with Shafiyah took place, the Prophet came out with Shafiyah and witnessed it for the guests. This shows that it is permissible to present the bride and groom to the guests who come.

The hijab that the Prophet put on his wife is to show the virtue of the Prophet's wife (*ummahatil mukminin*), who was married from among free people. Meanwhile, if the Prophet married from among slaves, then the Prophet did not put a hijab on her. This shows that the use of hijab at a wedding reception is only an option, not a requirement, and its use depends on the situation and socio-cultural conditions of the community.³⁷ This argument explains that the use of the hijab above initially served as a symbol of social status to distinguish between free women (*ummahatul mukminin*) and slaves, so its application at wedding receptions is contextual rather

³⁴ Hafizah Awalia et al., 'Dinamika Perkawinan Pada Etnis Arab Di Kabupaten Sumbawa Barat Nusa Tenggara Barat', *NUSANTARA: Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* 8, no. 6 (2021): 1707–14, <https://doi.org/10.31604/jips.v8i6.2021.1707-1714>.

³⁵ Badrul Munir and Tengku Ahmad Shafiq, 'Batas Usia Perkawinan Dalam Undang-Undang Keluarga Islam Negeri Selangor Tahun 2003: Analisis Perspektif Maqasid Al-Syari'ah', *SAMARAH: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 3, no. 2 (2019): 10, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v3i2.4957>.

³⁶ Mhd Yazid, 'NEGLECTING WOMEN'S RIGHTS: Indonesian YouTube Preachers' Legal Opinion on Polygamy', *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 16, no. 1 (2023): 21, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2023.16104>.

³⁷ A.Arriansyah, Nanda Amalia, and Anton Widyanto. "Matrifocality and Its Implication to The Practice of Islamic Family Law in The Patriarchal Muslim Society of Gayo, Indonesia." *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 23.2 (2023): 380-403. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v23i2.18209>



than an absolute religious obligation, depending on the socio-cultural situation. "I went out with the Prophet on the holidays of *Eid al-Fitr* and *Eid al-Adha*. He prayed, then gave a sermon, then came to the women and gave them advice, warning and ordered them to give alms." (HR. Bukhari) This hadith clearly states that the Prophet deliberately went to a place where women gathered to convey advice and guidance so that they would benefit from the Prophet. Mixing between men and women to fulfil a benefit is not prohibited.³⁸ Not every meeting between men and women is forbidden. They distinguish between *al-ijtima' al-bashari al-thabi'i* (natural and honourable social interaction) and *ikhtilāṭ al-muriba* (mixing that invites lust/sin). Men and women gathering within ethical boundaries for good purposes, such as witnessing a marriage contract or attending a wedding feast, is not an innovation, but rather part of social traditions permitted since the time of the Prophet, as long as the limits of Sharia are maintained.

Socio-Cultural Dialectics: *Walimah Infiṣāl* and the Politicisation of Public Space in Bone Regency

In the era of Prophet Muhammad SAW, Islamic teachings emphasised the separation of men and women in specific settings, such as acts of worship, public gatherings and social interactions, particularly in situations that might give rise to slander or improper sexual temptation. This principle is reflected in several hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad, who reminded his followers to maintain a good distance between men and women who are not *mahram*. An example of this principle in practice is the Nabawi Mosque in Medina, where there is a separate room for women when they perform prayers or attend lessons. This shows that the separation was not solely due to the traditions of Arab society at that time, but rather as part of the implementation of Islamic values in everyday life.

In general, there is no strict provision in Islam that requires the separation of male and female guests at a *walimah*. However, certain values and principles underpin social behaviour between men and women in Islam, such as respecting established boundaries to maintain order and the common good. Based on the view of the majority of scholars, if the holding of the *walimah* event does not invite the possibility of inappropriate behaviour between men and women, for example, there is no inappropriate association between men and women, then there is no need to separate them. However, in some cultures, this separation is carried out to maintain honour and comply with existing local values. The *walimah infiṣāl* model has also experienced development, but its dynamics are not related to the implementation model, but rather to the frequency or number of implementations and the area of coverage. There is a tendency among adherents of *walimah infiṣāl* to maintain the implementation procedures because they are considered part of Sharia provisions.

In Bone Regency, the practice of *walimah infiṣāl* is commonly found in two main regions: West Bone and South Bone. In West Bone, it is particularly observed in areas such as Lappariaja. Meanwhile, in South Bone, this type of *walimah* is frequently held in several districts, including Cina, Mare, Tonra, Salomekko,

³⁸Imron Rosidi et al., 'Negotiating Traditional Religious Authority in Indonesian Islam: The Case of Madani Village', *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 24, no. 1 (2024): 11, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v24i1.17320>.



Kajuara, and Palatta'e.³⁹ The *walimah infisāl* model in Bone Regency is developing because it is supported by Wahdah Islamiyah, Jama'ah Tabligh, Hidayatullah and Salafi. They maintain this tradition because it is considered in accordance with Islamic teachings.⁴⁰

Eighteen per cent of informants argued that the development of the *walimah infisāl* model can cause conflict, while 62% believed that it does not cause conflict, though some people do not like this model. People consider traditional *walimah* as a model that is consistent with Islamic teachings, as it fosters *silaturrahim* and allows the guests to witness both the bride and groom. This, therefore, becomes the main purpose of the *walimah*. On the contrary, others consider *walimah infisāl* a *walimah* model that also aligns with Islamic teachings, as they view the main purpose of holding a *walimah* as performing the *sunnah* of the Prophet—gratitude to Allah SWT, represented by a banquet for the invited guests. Those who hold a *walimah infisāl* invite guests in the name of Allah SWT. Weddings under this tradition often do not receive gifts or envelopes of banknotes for the newlyweds, as this wedding reception is intended to provide alms through the provided banquet to the guests, not expecting gifts from the guests.⁴¹

According to RDW, what needs to be considered in holding a wedding party is that such a wedding reception is not to prioritise things that are *furu'iyah* while ignoring things that are certain and substantial.⁴² The public's rejection of the increasing number of *walimah infisāl* wedding receptions is quite high, represented by 62% of informants. Indications of potential conflict due to differences in *walimah* models among Muslims are relatively small, accounting for only 18%, but early anticipation needs to be carried out with in-depth studies and by proposing moderate solutions for groups with different views. According to AHD, the hadith used as the basis by those who hold wedding parties with the *walimah infisāl* model needs to be studied in context and in light of the hadith's *asbabul wurud*. A new model can be initiated to be implemented, but it will clash with the culture of the community, especially those in rural areas. On the other hand, the traditional *walimah* model will be challenged by certain Islamic sects and community organisations, who argue that the practice of *walimah* in society has not been based on the *sunnah* of the Prophet. Therefore, it is still mixed with practices prohibited by religion, including *tabarruj jahiliyah* (excessive adornment), dressing for style, not for properly covering the *aurat* (private part of the body), deliberately dressing up, and using perfume that invites the attention and lust of men. Considering these possibilities, the host needs to anticipate them by separating seating for men and women.⁴³

According to HSD, the *walimah infisāl* model is the best model that aligns with Islamic teachings and does not need to be modified, as it follows the Sharia principle and helps reduce the likelihood of adultery.⁴⁴ These two different points of view remain polemical, and in certain conditions, they are likely to spark conflict. The strategy widely used by the community is *da'wah* in mosques and other Islamic religious activities.⁴⁵ Another strategy may involve a family approach, in which they are advised to

³⁹ FSY, Interview (Watampone, 6 May 2025).

⁴⁰ AHT, Interview (Watampone, 24 April 24)

⁴¹ ASD, Interview (Watampone 6 May 2025)

⁴² RDW, Interview (Watampone 25 April 2025)

⁴³ AHD, Interview (Watampone 14 May 2025)

⁴⁴ HSD, Interview (Watampone, 14 May 2025)

⁴⁵ ASH, Interview (Watampone, 23 April 2025)



adhere to a wedding party model aligned with the purpose of holding a *walimah* and in accordance with Islamic teachings. According to MRH. (the Chairman of the MUI of Bone Regency), the *da'wah* approach has long been used by preachers, as it is considered relevant. However, referring to a regulatory strategy or a written appeal to direct the community to use a particular model is considered less relevant, given that the issue of the *walimah* model falls within the scope of *ijtihadiah* and *khilafiyah*.⁴⁶ According to LAK (the Secretary of the Bone Regency MUI), the MUI can issue an appeal to the community regarding the implementation of wedding parties, including instructions to ensure that the practices applied by the community do not conflict with Islamic teachings. However, the appeal or circular must first be discussed by the MUI of Bone Regency, involving relevant and interested parties.⁴⁷

DWS argued in his interview that it is not optimal because of the presence of barriers, such as veils or hijab, while seeing the face of a woman who is not a *mahram* is not prohibited in religion. However, the conversation will not provoke intimacy if the faces of both parties are not directly visible. Principally, the presence of the invited guests is to witness the bride and groom so that later, when people find them together somewhere, they will not have any prejudice. A good strategy is to combine the two models by taking the strengths of each, guided by religious guidance.⁴⁸ In line with that, according to MTH, meeting and looking at each other to communicate and stay in touch between men and women at weddings, as long as all they see is the woman's face and palms, is no problem. Usually, there is no intention of doing anything because you are in a crowd. Sometimes it is only at the wedding moment that we can meet with family, friends and close friends, but if we wear the hijab or separate men and women, the opportunity to talk and stay in touch is sometimes not achieved. Watching the bride and groom is the main goal for the invitees; the bride and groom should remain seated side by side and can be seen by the guests.⁴⁹ The Prophet's hadith regarding the prohibition of *ikhtilat* between men and women is general in nature, but in terms of its meaning, some scholars understand it textually and some contextually, so there are differences in implementing the hadith, as occurs in the case of the *walimah*/wedding party model.⁵⁰

The *walimah infisāl* model needs to be addressed to improve aspects considered lacking. The informant's responses regarding relevant considerations used as a basis for finding a solution to a wedding party model that is in accordance with Islamic teachings include (1) considering the benefits and purpose of issuing a wedding invitation (44%); (2) considering the different conditions and places compared to the past (mixing male and female guests at wedding parties today will not give rise to slander (16%)); (3) tradition (custom) can be a source of law which can be followed as long as it does not conflict with the objectives of sharia (28%); (4) The *Saddu zariah* method (preventing slander) due to the mixing of men and women must take precedence over tradition (16%).

Basically, all informants expressed a desire for improvements to the *walimah* (wedding party) implementation model so that it aligns more closely with the invitation's intended purpose. Nevertheless, they hold different perspectives

⁴⁶ MRH, Interview (Watampone, 24 April 2025)

⁴⁷ LAK, Interview (Watamone, 25 April 2025)

⁴⁸ DWS, Interview (Watampone, 14 May 2025)

⁴⁹ MTH, Interview (Watampone, 14 May 2025)

⁵⁰ RLS, Interview (Watampone, 22 May 2025)



regarding the primary objective of organising the *walimah*. Adherents of *walimah inḥiṣāl* hold that the main purpose is, first, to manifest gratitude by serving food to guests without receiving *passolo* (donations) and second, to provide witnesses that the marriage contract has taken place without presenting the bride and groom, thereby avoiding slander or negative assumptions that might arise from *ikhtilāṭh*.

According to MJS *walimah inḥiṣāl* uses the *saddu zari'ah* method to ensure that the bride and groom are not disturbed by other people. Especially the bride is guarded so that she is not disturbed by other men. Likewise, for the guests who come, especially from among women, there are still some who appear with a way of dressing and wearing ornaments that is not in accordance with Islamic teachings, so that it may potentially invite the lustful gaze of other men.⁵¹ According to JML, *walimah inḥiṣāl* is carried out to avoid the habit of shaking hands between men and women who are not *mahram*, as well as to avoid slander that can occur due to this mixing. The principle of avoiding slander (*saddu zari'ah*) with the *walimah inḥiṣāl* model is more secure.⁵² Meanwhile, participants in traditional wedding parties hold a wedding primarily to strengthen kinship, since visiting and communicating with one another in today's era is difficult without a special occasion, and the wedding reception facilitates such interaction. In addition, they highlight the importance of witnessing the bride and groom directly, so that in the future, no negative assumptions or slander can arise against them.

According to FTH, the mixing of men and women at weddings is the same as what happens in scientific forums and markets. This mixing is understandable because it involves benefits and needs. *Silaturrahim* is not restricted to family and friends of the same sex. The most effective time to establish communication and *silaturrahim* with family and friends is when entering the banquet hall.⁵³ KZA said in the interview, "If the family invites you to an event, then you should attend it even if there is an *ikhtilat*, because the *ikhtilat* is attended by many people and the aim is good, including friendship, then it is not prohibited; what is prohibited is seclusion or sitting together. The Prophet SAW once invited his extended family to convey the message of Islam by first preparing food, and he did not separate the men from the women; they mixed.⁵⁴ So the problem of *ikhtilath*, if faced with the problem of friendship, you still have to prioritise friendship."

These considerations from community informants are further clarified by the personal experiences of brides, whose testimonies reveal how the practice of *walimah inḥiṣāl* is negotiated within family expectations and understood as a means of protection and dignity. One bride from Palatta'e, identified as ZH, explained her acceptance of the *walimah inḥiṣāl* arrangement as primarily shaped by familial expectations:

"I agreed to the segregated reception because it was the collective decision of my family. In our community, weddings are not only personal events but

⁵¹MJS., Interview (Watampone, 14 May 2025)

⁵²JML, Interview (Watampone, 23 April 2025)

⁵³FTH, Interview (Watampone, 22 April 2025)

⁵⁴Ibnu Zaid Al Atsari and Yusdi Haq. "Analisis Praktik Walimah Dengan Pemisahan Tamu (Studi Kasus Pernikahan Mahasiswa STDI Imam Syafi'i Jember)." *USRAH: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 6.4 (2025): 73-90. <https://doi.org/10.46773/usrah.v6i4.2213>



also social institutions, and I felt it was important to respect the wishes of my parents and elders. I came to see the arrangement as a way of honouring tradition while also protecting myself from unnecessary exposure.”⁵⁵

This statement illustrates how adherence to *walimah inḥiṣāl* is not merely an individual choice but a negotiated practice within kinship structures, reflecting Ibn Qayyim’s notion of *al-‘awāid* (custom) as a legitimate factor in shaping legal and social adaptation. Another bride from Salomekko, identified as SM, emphasised the protective dimension of the practice:

“For me, the separation was reassuring. I felt that being in a women-only space allowed me to celebrate freely without concern about how I might be perceived by men outside my immediate family. It was less about restriction and more about a sense of security. I considered it a form of self-preservation, consistent with the values of modesty that my family upholds.”⁵⁶

Her testimony highlights how *walimah inḥiṣāl* can be internalised as a mechanism for personal dignity and protection, aligning with Ibn Qayyim’s principle of *maṣlahah* (public benefit) by prioritising participants’ welfare in ways that resonate with local cultural expectations. And this also shows that women are not only objects of dress codes but also active subjects negotiating the meaning of *walimah inḥiṣāl* in their experiences. In addressing the two distinct models of *walimah*, four primary considerations must serve as the guiding framework for formulating appropriate solutions. The first consideration in formulating solutions to the two different *walimah* models is the interests and objectives behind holding a wedding. A *walimah* serves several important purposes, such as offering meals to guests as an expression of gratitude, strengthening relationships with family, relatives and friends, ensuring that the bride and groom are witnessed to avoid negative assumptions and providing formal notification that the marriage contract has been performed. These objectives highlight the social, spiritual and communal dimensions of the *walimah* that must be preserved in any model.

The second consideration involves differences in time, conditions and places. The potential for slander due to *ikhtilāth* (gender mixing) at a wedding party is relatively small compared to other public spaces, such as markets, transportation hubs, or hospitals, where such mixing is not prohibited. Moreover, guests usually attend with their families or partners, and separating them may reduce intimacy, introductions, and opportunities for *ta‘āruf* (mutual acquaintance). Traditional wedding parties today also differ significantly from those in the past, reflecting visible progress influenced by ongoing scholarly preaching. For example, female guests now rarely attend without wearing the hijab, so traditional attire like *baju bodo* has been modified by adding an additional piece of fabric to cover the *aurat*, and marriage sermons are commonly included.

The third consideration is that tradition can serve as a source of law, provided it does not conflict with the objectives of Sharia. The traditional wedding party model can be aligned with Islamic principles since marriage falls within the realm of *mu‘āmalah*. Local customs strongly influence the wedding party model and are

⁵⁵ ZH (bride), interview (Bone, 14 January 2025)

⁵⁶ SM, interview (Salomekko, 14 May 2025)



difficult to abandon, as they form part of the community's cultural identity. Furthermore, traditional wedding practices represent a cultural heritage that contributes to national identity and offers unique appeal. When combined with Islamic values and principles, these traditions can embody the spirit of *rahmatan lil 'ālamīn* (Islam as a mercy to all creation).

The fourth consideration emphasises the application of the *saddu al-dharī'ah* method, primarily intended to prevent harm rather than maintain traditions, particularly regarding the mixing of men and women. Separating male and female guests is intended to prevent adultery and protect women from potential slander, especially since they often beautify themselves and wear perfume at such events. This separation reflects the host's responsibility to safeguard the moral integrity of the gathering. However, it is important to note that separation is not the only means of preventing slander. As an *ijtihādī* measure, it is classified as *wadh'ī* law rather than absolute or *taklīfī*, meaning it is a contextual solution rather than a binding obligation.⁵⁷

Based on the explanation, finding solutions by designing a wedding party model that encapsulates the *maslahah* values of sharia and customs remains needed. Efforts to find a solution may take into account coordination among Islamic mass organisations, the government, and Islamic universities. Fifty per cent of informants said that Islamic mass organisations, the government, and Islamic universities needed to sit together to formulate solutions, and 4% agreed that regulations were needed to govern wedding reception standards that must be followed by the people of Bone Regency. However, 50% of informants said they wanted a new model formulated as a solution, and 46% thought it was sufficient to follow the existing model. Although the two views differ, they share a similar mindset. Their expectation for a new wedding reception model begins from the *maslahah* (the good values) of the existing model. Likewise, informants who thought a new model was unnecessary believed it was sufficient to maintain the existing model, with some gradual, continuous improvements to parts that were not in accordance with Islamic teachings.

Progressive Legal Reconciliation: Accommodative Modification of *Walimah Infiṣāl* Based on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's Theory of Taqayyar al-Fatwa

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's theory of legal change reflects a balanced approach that maintains fixed Islamic principles while allowing flexibility in responding to changing times. In this theory, he emphasised the importance of understanding the intention and purpose of Sharia in addressing society's demands and needs.⁵⁸ Regarding the validity of customary law as a source of law in Islam, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah has a careful and selective view. He tends to consider context and benefit in assessing customary law. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah acknowledged that customary law can be accepted as long as it complies with Sharia. If customary norms do not

⁵⁷ al-Jawziyyah, *I'lām Al-Muwaqqi'in 'an Rabb Al-'Ālamīn*.

⁵⁸ Zuul Fitriani Umari, 'Pemikiran Ekonomi Ibnu Al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah', *Jurnal BAABU AL-ILMI: Ekonomi Dan Perbankan Syariah* 4, no. 1 (2019): 21, <https://doi.org/10.29300/ba.v4i1.1689>.



conflict with Sharia principles, they can be considered valid.⁵⁹ In evaluating the validity of customary law, Ibnu Qayyim al-Jauziyyah emphasised the importance of assessing the *maslahah* (benefits) and *mafsadah* (harm). Only customary law that provides benefits and does not cause damage can be accepted.⁶⁰

Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah acknowledged that custom plays a role in shaping social norms and society's ethics. However, he asserted that these aspects must not conflict with Sharia law. Muslims must be careful of *bid'ah* (innovation) in customary law that can damage or conflict with established Islamic teachings.⁶¹ Although Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah acknowledges the role of customary law in certain respects, he warns that assessments of customary law must be conducted with caution to ensure conformity with Islamic principles. This approach reflects the principles of balance between accepting local wisdom and ensuring conformity with Islamic law.⁶² Fifty per cent of informants said that the *walimah infisāl* model was considered the most appropriate in accordance with Islamic teachings and could serve as a role model without requiring changes or modifications. These data show that although most people have not adopted the *walimah infisāl* model, as they are comfortable with the existing conventional model, they still leave room for hope that the *walimah infisāl* model can be used as an example by the community in the future.

The advantages/superiors of the *walimah infisāl* model include the following: (1) The implementation is simple and easy, as guests do not need to dress up and dress excessively to give the impression of showing off, so it does not make them spend a lot of money for the attire and wards off the potential for wasteful behaviour; (2) guests who come are not burdened with the obligation to bring donation, often in the form of banknotes wrapped in an envelope; the invitations are made in the name of Allah, meaning the host does not expect any donation from the guests; (3) *walimah* represents an act of gratitude from the host by providing banquet to guests; (4) Invitees do not need special preparations that take time and are expensive to attend the wedding; expensive preparations sometimes involve going to a salon for women, buying new clothes, or renting clothes; (5) There is no additional cost for providing entertainment such as music performance; and (6) the absence of music performance means that their conversation during the gathering is not interrupted.

However, the weaknesses of *Walimah Infisal* lie in several aspects. Communication with family, relatives and friends is hampered by the separate seating arrangement, which reduces interaction and togetherness. In addition, the bride and groom are not directly witnessed by the guests, a situation that invites curiosity and potentially leaves room for prejudice later when they are found together elsewhere. The practice of religious marriage often reflects continuity from countries

⁵⁹ Muhamad Izazi Nurjaman and Doli Witro, 'The Relevance of the Theory of Legal Change According To Ibnu Qayyim Al-Jauziyyah in Legal Products By Fatwa Dsn-Mui Indonesia', *EL-Mashlahah* 11, no. 2 (2021): 15, <https://doi.org/10.23971/elma.v11i2.3181>.

⁶⁰ Ismail Jalili, *Eksistensi Sadd Adz-Dzari'ah Dalam Ushul Fiqh: Kajian Pemikiran Ibnu Qayyim al-Jauziyyah* (w. 751 H/1350 M) (2020), 23.

⁶¹ Ibnu Khaldun et al., *Teori Konflik Sosiologi Klasik Dan Modern*, 2017, 19. M. Wahid Nur Tualeka. "Teori konflik sosiologi klasik dan modern." *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal studi Agama-agama* 3.1 (2017): 32-48. <https://doi.org/10.30651/ah.v3i1.409>

⁶² Asrul Hamid and Dedisyah Putra, 'The Existence of New Direction in Islamic Law Reform Based on The Construction of Ibnu Qayyim Al-Jauziyah's Thought', *Juris: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah* 20, no. 2 (2021): 18, <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v20i2.3290>.



of origin while adapting to local circumstances, creating socio-legal dynamics where Islamic and secular law coexist but not always harmoniously.⁶³ Furthermore, the potential of local wisdom as a distinctive characteristic of local culture is not accommodated, thereby missing the opportunity to use it as a medium for preaching in the domain of *muamalah*.

Because these aspects were not achieved in the *walimah inḥiṣāl*, 42% of informants stated that they agreed the *walimah inḥiṣāl* should be used as a model, but that changes or modifications were needed because it was not fully in accordance with Islamic teachings. On the contrary, 8% expressed disagreement, as they believed that the *walimah inḥiṣāl* model was not in accordance with Islamic teachings. No previous studies have focused on how to formulate the implementation of *walimah* in a manner considered in accordance with Islamic teachings. Furthermore, the changes in the implementation model of *walimah* from the tradition of the period before and after the time of Prophet Muhammad have not been much discussed. The implementation model of *walimah* before and after the time of the Prophet, therefore, has never been discussed in any prior study. This is natural because the problem of the *walimah* implementation model lies in the domain of *muamalah*, which is adjusted to the customs of local society.⁶⁴

What is often found in the works of previous scholars is a discussion of the forms of marriage in Arab society before and after the advent of Islam. In this case, there were several forms of marriage in Arab society before Islam, which were later prohibited by the Prophet because they contradicted Islamic teachings, such as *nikah al-dhaizan* (*nikah al-maqt*), *nikah al-badal*, *nikah al-syighar*, *nikah al-zha'inah* (*nikah al-sabiyah*), *nikah al-mukhadinah* and *nikah al-mut'ah*.⁶⁵ The Prophet prohibited inviting only rich people and not inviting poor people and orphans. Performing *tabarruj*, excessive decoration, wearing thin or tight clothing, playing non-Islamic music or singing and preparing food excessively were also prohibited. The Sidoarjo Muhammadiyah Tarjih Council decided that the hijab can take the form of a veil or any other form, and its implementation is adjusted to the conditions, time, and place.⁶⁶ Muhammadiyah views that presenting the bride and groom following the marriage contract to the invited guests is permissible as long as it is not excessive and meets several conditions, such as wearing clothes that cover the genitals or other private parts, not being presented continuously to the point of missing prayer time, and being accompanied by a *mahram*, either parents or others. Muhammadiyah also allows music at *walimah*, citing the opinion of Ibn Qudamah that most scholars forbid playing musical instruments, but specifically that using a tambourine at a wedding party is permitted based on the hadith of the Prophet. However, outside of marriage,

⁶³ Farid F. Saenong, 'Negotiating Multiple Identities: Religious Marriage as Social Practice Among Muslims in the Netherlands', *Jurnal Al-Dustur* 8, no. 2 (2025): 175–94, <https://doi.org/10.30863/aldustur.v8i2.10579>.

⁶⁴ Abbas Mehregan, 'Islam-Arabic Culture and Women's Law: An Introduction to the Sociology of Women's Law in Islam', *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law - Revue Internationale de Sémiotique Juridique* 29, no. 2 (2016): 405–24, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11196-016-9467-8>.

⁶⁵ Mhd. Rasidin et al., 'The Impact of Unequal Marriage on Household Harmony (Case Study in Sungai Penuh City, Jambi)', *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 4, no. 2 (2020): 13, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v4i2.8083>.

⁶⁶ Humas UMS, 'Hukum Cadar untuk Menutup Aurat Perempuan', *Berita UMS*, 29 June 2026, <https://news.ums.ac.id/id/berita/hukum-cadar-untuk-menutup-aurat-perempuan/>.



he judged it as *makruh*. Although singing is permitted, the singing or music should not be excessive or cause disobedience to Allah SWT, either because of the way the singer/performer dresses, the lyrics of the song, their movements, or their behaviour.⁶⁷

In Bone Regency, the practice of *walimah inḥiṣāl* often generates potential cultural and religious conflicts that require careful and wise resolution. Drawing upon Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's theory of legal change, effective strategies can be formulated to balance the demands of Islamic law with the social dynamics of the local community. This approach emphasises not only the technical aspects of implementing the ceremony but also the normative dimensions rooted in religious values and local wisdom. Consequently, both technical and normative strategies can serve as role models for mitigating tensions, strengthening social harmony, and transforming *walimah inḥiṣāl* into a medium of *da'wah* that aligns with tradition and the principles of Islamic jurisprudence.

The new model, created as a combination of the traditional *walimah* model and the *walimah inḥiṣāl*, which can accommodate various social, religious and cultural values and needs that exist in society, requires a model of seating arrangement for guests divided into 3 lanes. The left lane is specifically for female guests who come alone or with other women, the middle lane is specifically for guests who come with married couples or with families of men and women, and the right lane is specifically for male guests who come alone or with families of men. Therefore, it requires a larger and more flexible room. The room does not need to be separated by installing a hijab or a barrier wall, so that there is still access space to come face to face and talk between guests who need *silaturrahim*. Special persons are appointed and prepared to provide direct, polite advice to guests who arrive wearing excessive clothing or adornment, or who fail to comply with the provisions of Islamic teachings. A special room is also prepared to provide counselling to female guests, usually Muslim women, regarding what they are wearing. This counselling is intended to encourage them to comply with public and acceptable ethics.

Wahbah al-Zuhailī in *Uṣūl al-Fiqh al-Islāmī* explains that in applying Islamic law through a normative methodology, scholars generally identify three approaches: the method of *al-jam'u wa al-taufiq*, the method of *tarjih* and the method of *nāsikh-mansūkh*.⁶⁸ Each of these approaches carries its own distinct emphasis and focus. The *al-jam'u wa al-taufiq* method emphasises compromise, namely, finding common ground between the sources of Islamic teachings and the development of the situation, conditions, and place, as well as the socio-cultural development of society. If this method applies, the prospective marriage *walimah* model to be developed in the future is to modify and improve the traditional *walimah* model as a medium in implementing the *walimah*. Parts that are not in line with Islamic teachings, such as the presence of female guests with attire and ways of excessively beautifying themselves, are improved by writing messages of advice on the invitation card and in

⁶⁷ Adi Nur Rohman, 'Hukum Islam Dan Perubahan Sosial: Dinamisasi Perkembangan Metode Ijtihad Muhammadiyah', *Syaksia: Jurnal Hukum Perdata Islam* 22, no. 1 (2021): 85–98, <https://doi.org/10.37035/syaksia.v22i1.4877>.

⁶⁸ Muhammad Mabru Barizi, 'Reading the Qur'an from the Contemporary Approach of Maqāsid al-Sharī'a (A Case Study of Non-Muslim Leadership in Indonesia)', *Ulumuna* 22, no. 1 (2018): 112–32, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v22i1.290>.



strategic places in the *walimah* venue, as well as increasing the role of *muballiq/da'i* to always convey ethical and moral norms when attending a *walimah* invitation, especially in terms of how to dress and beautify themselves.

The *tarjih* method emphasises more on the aspects of authenticity and strength/certainty of the sources used as the basis for practice, namely prioritising the practice of the guidance of the Qur'an, the hadith of the Prophet, and practices exemplified directly by the Prophet and his companions. If this method applies, the prospective marriage *walimah* model to be developed in the future is the *walimah infisāl* model as the basic media facilitating the implementation of the *walimah*. Parts that are not in line with the *maslahah* and the purpose of the wedding invitation such as the bride and groom not being witnessed and limited access to socialise, are improved by arranging the space to ensure that there are more path and spaces for family and friends who want to communicate directly, while the bride and groom are seated side by side at the point that the guests can see. Displaying pictures of the bride and groom can also be considered so that guests can indirectly witness the couple.

The *nasikh mansukh* method emphasises the chronological aspect of the history of human civilisation's development and its interaction with the advent of Islamic teachings. When using this method, the study looks back at the background of the marriage *walimah* model before the time of Prophet Muhammad, then examines how it developed after Islamic law was introduced and how it was practised after the death of the Prophet. The developments and changes that occurred across the three phases serve as the basis for formulating patterns and procedures for implementing marriage *walimah* that are considered in line with Islamic teachings. In this case, there are no direct commands and prohibitions related to the arrangement of places for men and women in the *walimah*. With this method, it can be understood that Islamic law provides space and opportunities for differences in the procedures for arranging seating for invited guests. Society has developed three strategic models in addressing the practice of *walimah*. The first is the creation of a new model that combines elements of both the *infisāl* and traditional approaches. This model seeks to integrate the strengths of each existing practice into a fresh framework. However, its realisation requires in-depth study, experimentation, and a pioneering figure to introduce it. Public acceptance of such a model cannot be guaranteed, as it demands extensive socialisation over time, and even then, there is no certainty that it will become a widely accepted or popular role model within the community.

The second strategy involves modifying the *walimah infisāl* model as the basic foundation. This approach, however, faces limitations because adherents of *infisāl* regard it as a direct teaching of Islamic law rather than a matter of fiqh, thereby relying heavily on textual considerations. As a result, contextual factors such as place, culture, social conditions and broader benefits are often overlooked. Even when used as a basis for innovation, the scope for creativity remains narrow, since the application of the *saddu al-dharī'ah* principle tends to restrict or eliminate practices that may otherwise be permissible and beneficial.

The third strategy focuses on modifying the traditional *walimah* model to align more closely with Islamic teachings. While this model offers potential for improvement, several weaknesses must be addressed, including commercialisation, excessive display of clothing and jewellery, the promotion of a glamorous lifestyle, inappropriate music and entertainment, costly invitations, food waste and lengthy



event processes. By correcting these shortcomings, a more ideal model can emerge. Such improvements include simplifying invitations with clear religious intent, encouraging modest attire, preparing food in sufficient quantities with reminders against waste, eliminating entertainment that contradicts Islamic values and streamlining the event to allow more time for meaningful social interaction among guests.

In formulating this reconciliation model, the theoretical significance of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's *Taqayyar al-Fatwa* (the mutability of legal fatwas) becomes significantly sharper when contrasted with rigid Islamic legal doctrines, such as *Sadd adz-Dzari'ah* (Absolute Prevention), which is commonly weaponised by textualist groups. In its radical variant, the doctrine of *Sadd adz-Dzari'ah* tends to view any form of social mixing or cultural adaptation as a potential precursor to vice that must be pre-emptively eliminated.⁶⁹ Consequently, proponents of this paradigm enforce a rigid canonisation of *walimah infishāl* in the Bone Regency to completely sever any possibility of *ikhtilāt* (gender intermixing). Conversely, Ibn Qayyim does not perceive space and time as normative threats, but rather as determinant variables that inherently alter the formulation of legal fatwas. While *Sadd adz-Dzari'ah* stifles adaptive reasoning in favour of protecting absolute dogmatic purity, Ibn Qayyim's concept of legal metastasis revitalises legal flexibility by positioning local custom (*al-'awāid*) as a valid dialogic partner to Sharia, provided it does not violate explicit and absolute (*qath'i*) primary texts. These field findings can be categorised through the framework of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. The community's *da'wah* strategy to emphasise the ethics of attire and adornment is intended as *saddu al-dhari'ah* (prevention of harm). The strategy of tolerance that acknowledges the diversity of schools of thought reflects the principle of *al-'awāid* (local customs) accommodated within the law. Meanwhile, the strategy of dialogue and compromise reflects *maṣlahah* (public interest), which is the primary goal of legal change. Thus, the practice of reception adaptation in Bone demonstrates the real application of the concept of *taqayyar al-fatwa*—the flexibility of Islamic law in responding to social contexts.

When contextualised within Western sociology of law, this attempt at cultural accommodation demonstrates a distinct dynamic compared to Alan Watson's theory of Legal Transplant. Watson posits that when a legal norm or religious system is transplanted into a new territory, it often triggers structural resistance or societal rejection if it lacks an organic compatibility with the local community's legal consciousness. The rigid enforcement of *walimah infishāl* in Bone can be characterised as a form of normative transplantation from the Middle East, forced into a Bugis cultural ecosystem that is inherently inclusive and anchored in communal kinship (*sittiqajang*). While Watson remains pessimistic about the seamless integration of two disparate systems without one dominating the other, Ibn Qayyim offers a more organic resolution through the elasticity of fatwas. His theory of legal change allows for an infiltration of values, wherein Sharia acts as a spiritual filter without

⁶⁹ Hannat Waladat Maryam et al., 'A Juridical Examination of Marriage Dispensation and Divorce in Religious Court; Insights from Sadd Al-Dzari'ah', *Jurnal Al-Dustur* 7, no. 2 (2024): 152–69, <https://doi.org/10.30863/aldustur.v7i2.7183>.



dismantling the existing social cohesion (*Pangadereng*) that serves as the bedrock of social stability in Bone.

Through this theoretical comparison, the accommodative modification model based on Ibn Qayyim's framework successfully bridges the theoretical limitations of both legal formalism and sociological positivism. The *Taqayyar al-Fatwa* paradigm positions the adaptation of *walimah infisāl* rules not as a capitulation of Sharia to custom, but as the manifestation of the highest form of Islamic justice. Unlike Positive Sociology of Law, which views the law strictly as a repressive instrument of social control (*law as a tool of social control*), Ibn Qayyim's approach reframes the law as a humanistic facilitator of public welfare (*law as a tool of public maslahah*). This middle-path model ensures that essential Sharia principles, such as the protection of honour (*hifzh al-'ard*), are firmly maintained through agreed-upon standards of modesty, while the public sphere of wedding celebrations in Bone remains inclusive, fluid and free from the threat of social polarisation.

Conclusion

In managing conflicts that arise from differences in preferences arising from the model of marriage *walimah*, the Muslim community of Bone Regency employs three primary strategies. The first is the preaching strategy, which is predominantly carried out by educated Muslims, ulama and religious figures. Through sermons and religious guidance, they emphasise the importance of adherence to Islamic instructions in the organisation of wedding receptions. Particular attention is given to the ethics of attire and adornment, especially for women, to ensure that participation in such events remains consistent with Islamic teachings. The second approach is the tolerance strategy, which is adopted by both educated Muslims and members of the wider community. This strategy is grounded in the recognition that differences in *walimah* models reflect varied representations of schools of thought, each supported by its own set of arguments and beliefs. By acknowledging these differences as legitimate expressions of religious diversity, the community fosters mutual respect and minimises the potential for conflict. The third method is the dialogue strategy, employed by academics and preachers committed to building unity and finding practical solutions. This approach involves open discussion of differences in *walimah* practices to reach a compromise acceptable to the majority. Dialogue serves as a constructive means of bridging divides and ensuring that conflicts do not escalate but instead lead to consensus and communal harmony.

In addition to the strategies outlined earlier, the study proposes three reception models as viable options for easing cultural and religious tensions while fostering social welfare. The first combines elements of both the traditional *walimah* and the *walimah infisāl*, with seating divided into three sections: women, men and families or couples. The bride and groom sit side by side with their *mahram*, without a hijab partition. The second modifies the traditional *walimah* by embedding ethical guidance in the invitations, encouraging guests to dress modestly and discouraging donations. This adjustment preserves cultural familiarity while aligning the event with Islamic values. The third adapts the *walimah infisāl* by maintaining separate seating for men and women but also providing a designated space for families and friends to socialise. The couple is seated at the front with their *mahram*, and a photograph is displayed for the guests to witness. This research not only confirms the



flexibility of Islamic law as formulated by Ibn Qayyim but also offers a new adaptation model: the reception reconciliation model, which combines the principle of *maṣlahah* with the values of Pangadereng. This model can serve as a practical framework for contemporary Muslim communities to resolve conflicts between Sharia norms and local traditions.

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The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have influenced the work reported in this paper.

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The authors declare that no artificial intelligence (AI) tools were used in the writing, drafting, editing, or revision of this manuscript. All ideas, analyses, interpretations, and conclusions presented in this article are entirely the authors' own.

Credit of Author

Ismail Keri: Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Formal Analysis, Writing – Original Draft, Supervision, Correspondence. **Abdulahanaa:** Data Curation, Investigation, Validation, Writing – Review & Editing. **Ma'adul Yaqien Makkarateng:** Methodology, Formal Analysis, Visualization, Writing – Review & Editing. **Hamzah:** Resources, Data Curation, Validation, Investigation. **Sylviah:** Literature Review, Editing, Proofreading, Project Administration.

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