

The Dowry Value of a Set of Prayer Equipment: An Anthropological Analysis of Islamic Law

Moh. Ainul Yakin Putra¹, Khadeejah Alrawashdeh², Abdul Haq Syawqi³

(^{1,3}State Islamic University of Madura, ²Istanbul University

email: puctera77@gmail.com,

khadeejah.alrawashdeh@istanbul.edu.tr, asyawqi@iainmadura.ac.id)

Abstract:

This research aims to determine the value of a set of prayer equipment dowry in Nyalabu Daya Village Pamekasan District Madura Island, Indonesia, where the analysis used is Islamic legal anthropology, particularly the perspective of Madzhab Al-Arba'ah. This research method used is qualitative, with interview techniques, to understand the existing phenomenon in depth. The analysis technique employs a *phenomenological* approach. This research formulated three points: First, *Qimah* Mahar as Symbols and Social Status in Islamic Law. Second, the meaning and Appropriateness of a Dowry of Prayer Equipment from an Economic and Social Perspective in Islamic Law. Third, the dowry is a set of prayer equipment as a husband's commitment to his wife's rights. The result of this study shows that the qimah dowry in Islamic law emphasizes value and benefits rather than nominal money or gold. Economically speaking, people consider a dowry consisting of a set of prayer items to be less appropriate because it cannot be converted into money and has no clear economic value in the future. A dowry consisting of a set of prayer items serves as evidence of the husband's commitment to his wife's rights, such as financial support, good treatment, and guidance in worship. Meanwhile, according to the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence, a dowry consisting of a set of prayer items is considered valid because it holds religious value and is beneficial, even though it is less accepted by society due to its difficulty in being converted into cash.

Keywords:

Dowry, Value, A Set of Prayer Equipment, Anthropology of Islamic Law

Abstrak:

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui nilai mahar seperangkat alat sholat di Desa Nyalabu Daya, Kecamatan Pamekasan dimana analisa yang



dipakai menggunakan antropologi hukum Islam khususnya perspektif *Madzahib Al-Arba'ah*. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dengan teknik wawancara untuk memahami fenomena yang ada secara mendalam. Teknik analisis nya menggunakan metode analisis *fenomenologi*. Penelitian ini memformulasikan tiga hal yakni, Pertama; *Qimah* Mahar Sebagai Simbol Dan Status Sosial Dalam Hukum Islam. Kedua; Makna dan Kelayakan Mahar Seperangkat Alat Sholat Secara Ekonomis dan Sosial dalam Hukum Islam. Ketiga; Mahar Seperangkat Alat Sholat Sebagai Komitmen Suami Pada Hak Istri. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa bahwa qimah mahar dalam hukum Islam lebih menekankan nilai dan manfaat daripada nominal uang atau emas. Secara ekonomis masyarakat menganggap mahar seperangkat alat sholat kurang kelayakan karena tidak bisa dikonversi menjadi uang dan tidak memiliki nilai ekonomi yang jelas di kemudian hari. Mahar seperangkat alat sholat merupakan bukti komitmen suami terhadap hak-hak istri seperti nafkah, pergaulan baik, dan bimbingan ibadah. Sedangkan, Mahar seperangkat alat salat menurut empat mazhab dinyatakan sah karena bernilai ibadah dan bermanfaat, meski kurang diterima masyarakat karena sulit dikonversi.

Kata Kunci:

Mahar, Seperangkat Alat Sholat, *Madzahib Al-Arba'ah*, Antropologi Hukum Islam

Introduction

Marriage can also be referred to as *nakaha*, which originates from Arabic and, when translated into Indonesian, becomes *nikah*. According to Islamic law, marriage is a contract that establishes the rights and obligations between a man and a woman who are not related by blood, serving as the foundation for a harmonious, loving, and compassionate household. In Islam, marriage is not only a contractual agreement but also an act of worship with significant spiritual value, intended to maintain family harmony.¹

One important aspect of marriage is the dowry. A dowry is a right a wife has over her husband as a form of respect in marriage, whether in the form of property, goods, or services, provided it does

¹ Rohmi Yuhani'ah Agus Hermanto, *Fiqh of Marriage: A Study on Contemporary Marriage Issues*, 1st ed. (Banyumas Jawa Tengah: Wawasan Ilmu, 2024)., 4

not conflict with Islamic law, and the amount is not set in stone.² The purpose of giving a dowry is not merely an administrative formality, but rather a symbol of appreciation and respect for the wife in marriage.³ In this sense, the dowry serves as a lasting reminder to the husband of his commitment to protecting his wife's honor, strengthening the bonds of love, and preventing the marriage from becoming a mere material transaction. Thus, the dowry not only conveys the sincerity and gratitude of the prospective husband but also lays a harmonious foundation for the household, grounded in mutual respect. However, the dowry is not a pillar or condition of marriage.⁴ However, the existence of a dowry is considered important as a sign of gratitude and sincerity from a man as a prospective husband to his prospective wife.⁵

The dowry is given to the prospective wife as a form of respect for women, because marriage in Islam cannot be separated from the dowry. This practice honors women by recognizing their rights and dignity within the family. The dowry is not merely a condition of the marriage contract, but rather serves as proof of the husband's sincerity and seriousness. It strengthens the man's genuine intention to marry, demonstrates his honesty in building a household, and shows his readiness to take responsibility, making marriage an act of worship rather than a game. The dowry is the wife's full ownership right; this property becomes her personal possession after the contract, ensuring women have independent economic rights and are not treated like merchandise. It also serves as a reward for the husband's rights to his wife, such as shared residence and intimate relationships, representing a legal recognition of the marriage contract and shared responsibilities.⁶

²Umi Khusnul Khotimah, *The Fiqh of Adolescents of Marriageable Age*, 1st ed. (Lamongan: Nawa Litera Publishing, 2024), 2.

³Rudi Hartono et al., "The Importance of the Dowry as a Form of Commitment in an Islamic Marriage," *Aripafi Reflection Islamic Education Journal* 2, no. 2 (2025), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.61132/reflection.v2i2.860>. 241.

⁴Wahbah Az-Zuhaili, *Al-Fiqh Al-Islam Wa Adillatuhu* (Suria: Dar Al-Fikr, 1985), 232.

⁵Umul Baroro, *Islamic Family Law*, 1st ed. (Semarang: CV Lawwana, 2022), 76

⁶Nunung Witono, *Principles of Fiqh of Marriage*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: CV. Bintang Semesta Media, 2025). 53.

The legal basis for dowry is explained in the Al-Quran, Surah An Nisa, verse 4:

وَأَتُوا النِّسَاءَ صَدُقَتِهِنَّ مَخْلَّةً، فَإِنْ طِبْنَ لَكُمْ عَنْ شَيْءٍ مِنْهُ نَفْسًا فَكُلُوهُ هَنِيئًا مَرِيئًا

Meaning: "Give the dowry (dowry) to the woman (whom you marry) as a gift willingly. Then if they give you part of the dowry with pleasure, then eat (take) the gift (as food) which is tasty and good as a result."

While in the hadith narrated by Ibnu Abbas, quoted by Zurifah Nurdin in Sunan Daromi. The Prophet said:

عن ابن عباس : قال لما تزوج علي فاطمة قال الرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : (اعطها شيئاً)

قال : ما عندى شيء ، قال : (فإين درعك الحطمية ؟) . رواه أبو داود والنسائي ، وصححه

Meaning: " From Ibn Abbas, he said: when Ali was going to marry Fatimah, the Messenger of Allah said: 'Give Fatimah something (dowry), Ali replied: I have nothing, O Messenger of Allah, then the Messenger of Allah said, ' Where is your iron shirt that the Hutomiyyah used to make (give it)'"⁷

Islamic legal anthropology is the study of how societies practice religious rules in their daily lives, not just memorizing laws but also examining why people act as they do.⁸ For example, why do villagers prefer gold as a dowry over prayer tools, even though both are valid under Sharia law? This theory explains that religious behavior arises from a blend of Islamic teachings and local customs, such as village traditions that prioritize the market value of the dowry for the wife's economic security. In the case of a dowry of a set of prayer equipment, Islamic legal anthropology examines an interesting phenomenon. Prayer tools are valid because they are valuable, holy, and useful for worship according to the Shafi'i and Hambali schools of thought. Still, people reject them because they are difficult to sell or convert when they urgently need money.

According to the Hanafi school of thought, the dowry (mahr) is a right of the wife that arises from a valid marriage contract or from

⁷Zurifah Nurdin, "The Axiology of Legal Hadiths Concerning the Dowry," *Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman Dan Tafsir Hadis* 5, no. 2 (2016), <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.29300/jpkth.v5i2.1129>. 23.

⁸Firman Surya Putra Arisman, M. Yusran Azzahidi, *Sociology and Anthropology of Islamic Law*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: KALIMEDIA, 2022)., 25

the occurrence of sexual relations.⁹ In the sense that the dowry is a wife's right arising from the validity of marriage or sexual relations, it is an obligation the husband must fulfil. The Maliki school of thought holds that the dowry is something given to the wife, either in the form of property or something else, as a reward for having fun with her or for having intercourse with her.¹⁰ In essence, the dowry is a gift to the wife that recognizes both the legal and emotional aspects of the marital relationship, serving as an acknowledgment of companionship and intimate relations.

The Shafi'i school of thought, popular and widely followed in Indonesia, teaches that a dowry must be given to the wife upon marriage, upon sexual relations, or upon the loss of her virginity.¹¹ This view is similar to that of the other major imams. The Hambali school defines the dowry as a reward in marriage, either specified in the marriage contract or becoming an obligation afterward.¹² This reward can be agreed upon at the time of the contract or arise later. The dowry is considered an essential part of the marriage contract and is obligatory for the husband to fulfill. Providing a dowry to a woman seeking marriage is regulated by Islamic norms.¹³ The opinions of the four fuqaha (Imam Hanafi, Maliki, Syafi'i, and Hambali) agree that there is no limit on the amount of dowry that may be given to the woman he marries. So, prospective couples are free to give a dowry of any amount, depending on their financial condition; however, this is not the case for the minimum criteria, as the imams of the schools of thought differ on this matter. According to Imam Shafi'i and Imam Hanbali, a wife does not need to receive a minimum dowry. The dowry can be anything of value and utility. According to Imam Malik, the minimum dowry is three dirhams of

⁹Achamad Lubabul Chdziaq Abdul Halim, "The Role of Women in Determining the Dowry According to the Shafi'i and Hanafi Schools of Thought," *MASADIR: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 2 (2022): 486.

¹⁰Zulaifi, "The Concept of Dowry According to the Scholars of the Four Schools of Islamic Jurisprudence and Its Relevance in the Contemporary Era," *Qowwam* 16 (2022), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20414/qawwam.v16i2.5348>, 113.

¹¹Rinda Setiowati, "The Concept of Dowry from the Perspective of Imam Shafi'i and the Compilation of Islamic Law," *Istidal: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 7 (2020): 5, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.34001/istidal.v7i1.2110>. 5.

¹²Az-Zuhaili, *Al-Fiqh Al-Islam Wa Adillatuhu*.230.

¹³Sudarto, *Fikih Munakahat*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Cv Budi Utama, 20212)., 70.

silver and items of equivalent value, or a quarter of a dinar of pure gold. Imam Hanafi holds that the minimum dowry is 10 dirhams.¹⁴

However, many people still believe that only gold or money should be used as dowry. This is because gold and money have intrinsic value and can be easily converted into cash if needed in the future, with the wife's permission. Conversely, when a set of prayer tools is given as a dowry, it is often seen not as a true dowry, but as part of the husband's responsibility to guide his wife in religious practice. The topic of dowry remains widely discussed in today's society, yet a complete and accurate understanding of its significance and compliance with Islamic law is still lacking among some people.¹⁵

In Nyalabu Daya Village, Pamekasan District, the tradition of specifying a dowry in the form of money or gold remains strong. If the dowry consists only of prayer equipment, it is usually supplemented with gold or money. According to an official from the Pamekasan District Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), a prospective husband should provide a dowry to his prospective wife so that, if needed in the future as business capital, the dowry can bring blessings, as recommended by Islamic scholars.¹⁶ Conversely, a dowry consisting of a set of prayer equipment is often seen not as the primary dowry, but rather as part of the husband's responsibility to guide his wife in worship. This phenomenon indicates that the community's perception of dowry is still largely shaped by economic and local traditions. In contrast, the majority of the community has not fully embraced a proper understanding in accordance with Islamic law.¹⁷

¹⁴Abdul Rahman Ghazaly, *Fiqh Munakahat*, 8th ed. (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Grup, 2019), 64.

¹⁵Zulaifi, "The Concept of Dowry According to the Scholars of the Four Schools of Islamic Jurisprudence and Its Relevance in the Contemporary Era," *Qawwam: Journal for Gender Mainstreaming* Vol. 16, no. No. 2 (2022), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20414/qawwam.v16i2.5348>, 106.

¹⁶ABW, Direct Interview, 19 Agustus 2025

¹⁷Hikmatul Karomah, Institut Agama, and Islam Negeri, "A Set of Prayer Items as a Wedding Dowry: A Hadith Perspective Abstract: Keywords: Abstract: Keywords: Introduction: Single Life. Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal said, "Life," *El-Nubuwwah: Jurnal Studi Hadis* 1, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/elnuwuwwah.v1i1.8416>, 46

Research conducted by Robiatul Istianah shows that the tradition of giving a dowry to the wife's relatives in Nangger Village continues to this day. This tradition is regarded as both a sign of respect for the wife's family and a demonstration of solidarity among community members.¹⁸ Further research by Yuda Adi Kurniawan suggests that the practice of *nyeddek temmo*, used to determine wedding dowries in the village of Kebun Dadap Barat, persists to this day. This phenomenon has several implications for Islamic law, including the obligation to pay the dowry and to respect local customs.¹⁹ A third a study by Syaiful Efendi also revealed that the majority of people in West Bunten practice the custom of giving the dowry to someone other than the husband after the wedding, preventing either the wife or the husband from using it, even if the husband has obtained the wife's consent.²⁰

From the explanations and results of previous research on the provision of dowry in a region, without the perspective of *Madzhab Al-Arba'ah fiqh*. So the researcher wants to conduct research on the giving of dowry from the perspective of the *Madhahib Al-Arba'ah fiqh*. This is a novelty in this research. This research aims to find out: (1) *Qimah* Mahar as Symbols and Social Status in Islamic Law, (2) The Meaning and Appropriateness of a Dowry of Prayer Equipment from an Economic and Social Perspective in Islamic Law, (3) Dowry of a set of prayer equipment as a husband's commitment to his wife's rights. So the researcher raised the title "The Value of the Dowry for a Set of Prayer Equipment: An Anthropological Analysis of Islamic Law (Perspective of *Madzhab Al-Arba'ah*)."

Method

This research employs a qualitative descriptive approach. The study aims to discover or further verify the truth of the subject matter.

¹⁸Robiatul Istianah, "The Tradition of Giving a Dowry to the Bride's Relatives from the Perspective of 'Urf in Nangger Village, Ketapang Subdistrict, Sampang Regency", (Skripsi, IAIN Madura, 2020).

¹⁹Yuda Adi Kurniawan, "The Nyaddek Temmo Phenomenon in Determining Wedding Dowries in Kebun Dadap Barat Village, Saronggi Subdistrict, Sumenep Regency", (Skripsi, IAIN Madura, 2020).

²⁰Syaiful Efendi, "Local Community Views on the Practice of Dowry in Bunten Barat Village, Ketapang Subdistrict, Sampang Regency", (Skripsi, IAIN Madura, 2018).

Data collection techniques include interviews, observation, and documentation. For data analysis, the author compiled interview transcripts, field notes, and other collected materials to systematically interpret and present the findings.²¹

Qualitative research is conducted in real-life or natural settings to observe and understand phenomena, why they occur, and how they unfold within the context being studied. The foundation of qualitative research lies in “exploration,” achieved through in-depth analysis and a focus on one or more case studies.²²

The data collection technique in this study was through observation and *interviews*. The research focuses on the legal behavior of individuals or legal communities. Therefore, based on social reality, the main data source is primary data obtained through field studies (field research).²³ Meanwhile, secondary data consists of books, journals, and other literature related to the main topic of this research.

The analytical method employed is *phenomenological* analysis, which is the study of the real world as experienced by people and how they feel, think, remember, and understand a phenomenon. In addition to seeking to obtain a clear picture of how the world is experienced in a *pre reflective* manner without first creating a taxonomy, classifying, or abstracting it *phenomenology* seeks to gain a better understanding of the condition of an object or its meaning in everyday experience.²⁴

Results and Discussion

Qimah Mahr: Symbols and Social Status in Islamic Law

²¹Sugiyono, “Sugiyono, Methods of Research and Development: Qualitative, Quantitative, and R&D Approaches, (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2015), 407 1,” *Metode Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, Dan R&D*, no. 2015 (2015).

²²Ayyub Kadriah Dadang Sumarnam, “Qualitative Research on Empirical Law,” *Jurnal Serambi Hukum* 16 (2023): 109, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.59582/sh.v16i02.730>.

²³Ahmad Sainul, *Textbook on Islamic Legal Research Methods*, 1st ed. (Indramayu: PT. Adab Indonesia, 2024).,3

²⁴I Made Anom Wiranata, “*Phenomenological Research Methodology: The Husserlian and Heideggerian Approaches*”, (Yogyakarta: Jejak Pustaka, 2024), 18.

Qimah is something that has value and contains benefits, because everything that has value definitely provides benefits.²⁵ Therefore, anything that lacks value or utility is not considered property. This means that an object's value is not measured by its price or nominal value, but rather by its usefulness and function, which others can experience or utilize. Similarly, a dowry does not have to be in the form of property or material goods; it can also take the form of services or of performing certain acts that benefit a wife.²⁶ The concept of *qimah* teaches that the value of the dowry is not just money; it also requires attention to the benefits and meaning it contains.

The value of a dowry depends on who sees it and how they assess it. Sometimes, something considered large may be perceived as small by others, and vice versa.²⁷ Similarly, society often assumes that the value of a dowry must be expressed in material goods, such as money or gold. Anything other than these two items is considered to have no *value*, such as a set of prayer equipment.

In the compilation of Islamic law, Article 30 also states that "The prospective groom is obliged to pay a dowry to the prospective bride, the amount, form, and type of which are agreed upon by both parties."²⁸ We can conclude that a dowry is a gift that does not violate Islamic law and is given by a husband to his wife in the form of goods or services. Given that the gift meets the requirements and is suitable for use as a dowry under Islamic law, a husband's gift of prayer equipment to his wife is valid and acceptable.

Ibn Tayyimiyyah said, "A woman's dowry may be large if she can afford it, and it is not disliked. However, for someone who cannot afford such a large dowry, it can be considered disliked".²⁹ And if we look at the practice of a society that largely follows the Hanafi school, many people have used non-material dowries, which also have value

²⁵Achmad Baihaqi, *Copyright from the Perspective of Islamic Law*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Q-Media, 2022), 64.

²⁶Yuni Nur Saidah, "Islamic Law's Perspective on the Payment of Non-Material Dowries," *Isti'dal: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 9 (2022): 118.

²⁷Nur Hadi Muhammad Karim, *Dowry Practices in Islamic Marriage* (Mataram: Guepedia, 2020), 139.

²⁸Kompilasi Hukum Islam Pasal 30

²⁹Saleh Al-Fauzan, *Everyday Fiqh*, 1st ed. (Jakarta: Gema Isani, 2009), 637.

(*qimah*). However, people still think that something that can be clearly benefited is money or gold.

The role of the dowry in strengthening the bonds of marriage is very important because it is not just a material gift but also a symbol of the husband's commitment and respect for his wife. A dowry that has *qimah*, namely, clear value and benefits, shows the husband's real responsibility, as well as respect for the wife's rights and welfare. Dowry has a very significant function in building a marriage bond that is fair and full of mutual respect.³⁰

In society, it is said that a set of prayer tools has strong religious symbolic value, because the dowry of such a set conveys the worship values it embodies. According to the opinion of Madzhib Al-Arba'ah, the dowry is a husband's obligation to his wife, attached to the marriage contract.³¹ Symbolically, the dowry serves as recognition of the wife's rights and position in marriage. In Islamic legal anthropology, the dowry of a set of prayer tools is considered valid because the hadith narrated by Ibn Abbas, quoted by Zurifah Nurdin in Sunan Daromi, explains that it is valid. The Prophet said: " *From Ibn Abbas, he said: when Ali was going to marry Fatimah, the Prophet said, ' Give Fatimah something (dowry), Ali replied: I do not have anything, O Messenger of Allah, then the Prophet said, ' Where does Hutomiyah make your armor first (give it).'*"³²

The dowry represents *the intersection of Islamic norms and social construction*, where Islamic law interacts with local customs, traditions, and social structures. In the village community of Lalahuh Daya, giving a set of prayer equipment as a dowry has become a cultural norm. In Islamic law, the value (*qimah*) of a dowry is often not measured by its economic utility, but by its symbolic significance within the community. For instance, a set of prayer equipment holds symbolic value: it signifies the wife's commitment to worship and highlights the husband's readiness to serve as the family's imam.

³⁰Rudi Hartono et al., "The Importance of the Dowry as a Symbol of Commitment in an Islamic Marriage.", 247

³¹Muhamad Rizki Akmal and Idarotul Nginayah, "THE ROLE OF THE DOWRY IN THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF IMAM MALIK AND IMAM SHAFI'I," *Jurnal Al-Wasith: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 7, no. 2 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.52802/wst.v7i2.756>, 19.

³²Nurdin, "The Axiology of Legal Hadiths Concerning the Dowry.", 23.

The dowry also serves as a form of appreciation and respect from the husband to his wife from the beginning of the marriage. By providing a dowry, the husband demonstrates his sincerity and responsibility in fulfilling his wife's material and non-material needs. This makes the wife feel appreciated and have an important position in the household. Therefore, dowry is not only about the value or form of the gift, but also confirms the existence of a relationship full of respect and justice between husband and wife.

Furthermore, the dowry not only serves as proof of the husband's seriousness in building a household, but also protects the rights of women within the sacred bond of marriage.³³ The dowry provides the wife with a strong bargaining position and helps prevent abuse within the marital relationship. The commitment represented by the dowry makes clear that marriage is based on voluntary agreement, justice, and shared responsibility. With this perspective, the dowry is not merely a formality or a symbol of social status, but a foundation that strengthens the marital bond, ensuring that the relationship is rooted in love, mutual respect, and responsibility.

The Meaning and Appropriateness of a Dowry of Prayer Equipment from an Economic and Social Perspective in Islamic Law.

In general, Islamic scholars state that a dowry in the form of property is one of a woman's full rights, and that it is a gift that a man, as a prospective husband, must give to a woman, as a prospective bride.³⁴ The Hanafi school of thought defines the dowry as the wife's right arising from a valid marriage, with a minimum limit of 10 dirhams. The Maliki school of thought considers a dowry to be anything that allows the wife to engage in sexual activity, with a minimum of three dirhams being the standard dowry. The Shafi'i school expands on this definition, stating that valuables or benefits may be given as a dowry with no strict minimum. Meanwhile, the Hambali school of thought accepts dowry as a reward agreed upon at

³³Saini, *Introduction to Family Law*, 1st ed. (Agam Sumatera Barat: Yayasan Tri Edukasi Ilmiah, 2025)., 14

³⁴Nazil Fahmi, "A Fiqh Perspective on the Implementation of Marriage," *Familia: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 2 (2024): 93, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24239/familia.v2i1.26>.

a specified value at the time of the contract, which is later supplemented by real services or benefits.

Public views on the meaning and appropriateness of a set of prayer equipment as a dowry vary; generally, people do not consider it a true dowry. Instead, they see it as an obligatory gift from the prospective husband to the prospective wife, imbued with symbolic meaning related to worship. As ABR noted, most people view a set of prayer equipment not as an actual dowry, but rather as a customary gift. They believe that a dowry should be something of tangible value, such as gold or money. In this context, many villagers are unsure why a set of prayer tools is not regarded as a real dowry, despite it being a local custom.³⁵

A set of prayer tools is considered good if it is used as a dowry and has religious value, but because a set of prayer tools cannot be... Due to its later conversion and its lack of adaptation for use or transformation into other objects of economic value, the community considers it does not meet the criteria for an ideal dowry. In an interview, KDS stated:³⁶ *"In my opinion, if the dowry is in the form of a set of prayer tools, it is better to provide additional gold or money. This is because gold and money have clear economic value, are convertible, and can be used in the future if needed, with the wife's consent. A set of prayer tools is a good religious symbol, but it cannot serve as the main dowry without additional items."* In this case, society shows diverse opinions regarding the process of giving a dowry in the form of a set of prayer equipment. This phenomenon can be studied from the anthropology of Islamic law, which means studying human behavior in the religious life adopted in human life.³⁷ In Islamic law, the requirements for a valid dowry are as follows: The dowry given to the wife must be in the form of goods or valuables, must be pure and can be used for its benefits, the dowry must not be a ghost object, and the dowry whose condition is unclear is not valid as a dowry.³⁸

³⁵ABR, Direct Interview, 10 Oktober 2024

³⁶KDS, Direct Interview, 12 January 2025

³⁷Suyono Suyono, "FAMILY LAW: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON ISLAMIC LAW," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 16, no. 1 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.30984/jis.v16i1.647>. 62.

³⁸Ghazaly, *Fiqh Munakahat*, 63.

From the perspective of the Shafi'i and Hanbali schools, the dowry can be in the form of goods or services that the prospective wife can use. However, society's view of dowry remains quite conservative. Unlike a symbolic or non-economic dowry, they prefer a cash or gold dowry because it provides their wives with future security. As LDW put it:³⁹ "A set of prayer tools is not a perfect dowry in my opinion. A dowry is an obligation that must provide rights to the wife, both materially and symbolically." Money or gold is a more suitable dowry because it can be sold or used in an emergency with the wife's consent. So, prayer tools can be an addition or a gift, not the main dowry. This shows that the main reasons people demand a high-value dowry are habit factors and a lack of knowledge.

In this context, there is a clear difference between the dowry as defined by the four schools of thought (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hambali) and local societal practices. Society often believes that a dowry must be a tangible item, such as money or gold, that can be valued and used in the future. In contrast, the Shafi'i and Hanbali schools, for example, permit dowries in the form of services that have practical value, such as teaching the Qur'an. However, interview results indicate that the community does not fully understand or accept this perspective, viewing the dowry as a special right of the wife that must be backed by a clear financial guarantee.

The Hanafi school of thought sets a minimum dowry at 10 dirhams, while the Maliki school of thought sets it at 3 dirhams or a quarter of a dinar, and the prospective husband must pay the equivalent.⁴⁰ In society, this assumption is difficult to accept because they focus more on dowries that can be directly converted, such as gold or cash, and society is not yet widely aware of the concept of dowry, which can also be used to benefit from it.

Apart from that, the dowry symbolizes a husband's respect and responsibility towards his wife.⁴¹ Field interviews support this, stating, "I see the dowry as a symbol of affection and responsibility. A set of prayer tools can serve as a dowry, but it would be better if it were

³⁹LDW, Direct Interview, 13 Agustus 2025

⁴⁰Farah Ihzafauziah Dian Ramadhan, "The Hanafi and Maliki Schools' Views on the Amount of the Dowry in the Marriage Contract," *Jawi* 3 (2020): 44.

⁴¹ Muhammad Ridwan, "The Role of the Dowry in Marriage," *Jurnal Perspektif* 13 (2020): 44.

accompanied by gold or cash so that the wife has clear rights should she ever need money. So, a dowry of money or gold is not just a symbol, but can also provide economic capital for the wife in the future".⁴²

A dowry is generally given in the form of items, such as a set of prayer equipment with religious value. However, society itself considers this type of dowry less appropriate if it is not accompanied by money or gold, as stated by AFD, *"The dowry of a set of prayer equipment is indeed believed and respected by some as a symbol of worship, but legally a dowry can be any item of value. However, ideally, the dowry should be something that can be sold or used, such as gold or money. So, I agree that a set of prayer tools should be supplemented with gold or money so that the dowry truly fulfills the wife's rights."*⁴³

In practice, many people don't realize that a dowry in Islam doesn't have to be in the form of goods or money; it can also be in the form of benefits or services that are legitimate under Sharia. This was expressed by one of the SYM speakers:⁴⁴ *"In my opinion, a proper dowry provides benefits and economic value. Although a set of prayer tools is a useful and worship-worthy gift, many don't consider it a primary dowry because it's difficult to convert into cash. So what is appropriate to be used as a dowry is gold or money that has a clear value and can be a guarantee for the wife."* Due to this limited understanding, they still hold on to dowries in the form of real assets with a market value.

Dowry: A Set of Prayer Tools as A Husband's Commitment to His Wife's Rights.

Dowry is a mandatory gift given by the prospective husband to his prospective wife during the marriage ceremony, as a sign of their agreement and willingness to live as husband and wife.⁴⁵ In the form of dowry, it can be an item that does not conflict with Islamic Sharia or one that offers benefits, such as teaching a wife religious

⁴²JRY, Direct Interview, 24 Agustus 2025

⁴³AFD, Direct Interview, 10 Agustus 2025

⁴⁴SYM, Direct Interview, 18 Agustus 2025

⁴⁵Ahmad Harisul Miftah, "Tafwidh Marriage from the Perspective of Islamic Law," *Syaksia: Jurnal Hukum Perdata Islam* 19 (2028): 283.

knowledge.⁴⁶ In this context, a set of prayer tools can serve as a dowry, reflecting its value as worship.

The dowry of prayer equipment demonstrates the husband's commitment to fulfilling his wife's rights, including living expenses, good company, and guidance in worship. This strengthens the egalitarian but patriarchal relationship in *munakahat fiqh*. This is an index of family nobility in the Indonesian Muslim community, where religious symbols such as prayer mats and *mukena* are used as substitutes for expensive dowries while emphasizing spiritual values. This trend demonstrates the relationship between Islamic law and culture, where the dowry serves as a moral bond that perpetuates the marriage rather than a mere transaction.

According to the Hanafi school of thought, the dowry is a wife's right arising from a legal marriage or sexual relations.⁴⁷ In the sense that dowry is a wife's right arising from the validity of marriage or sexual relations, the husband is obligated to fulfill it. When a husband gives a dowry to his future wife, it is at least 10 dirhams or an equivalent amount.

According to the Maliki school of thought, a dowry is something given to a wife as payment or reward for *the* pleasure she enjoys with her or as a result of sexual relations with her. The dowry can be in the form of property or other items.⁴⁸ This means that a dowry is a gift to a wife, either in the form of property or other forms, as a reward for enjoyment or intimate relations with her. The Maliki school of thought stipulates that the minimum dowry is three dirhams of pure silver ($\frac{1}{4}$ dinar/1.25 grams of gold), or an equivalent amount of merchandise.

Like the previous school of thought, the Shafi'i school, which is one of the most popular and most widely practiced schools among Indonesian society, defines dowry as property that must be given as a

⁴⁶Syaikh Abdurrahman Al-Juzairi, *Al-Fiqh 'Ala Al-Madzahib Al-Arba'ah*. Terj. Faisal Saleh, Jild. V, (Jakarta Timur: Pustaka Al-Kausar, 2015),. 216.

⁴⁷Abdul Halim and Achmad Lubabul Chadziq, "The Role of Women in Determining the Dowry According to the Shafi'i and Hanafi Schools of Thought," *MASADIR: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 2, no. 2 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.33754/masadir.v2i2.590>.

⁴⁸Zulaifi, "The Concept of Dowry According to the Scholars of the Four Schools of Islamic Jurisprudence and Its Relevance in the Contemporary Era." 113

result of marriage, sexual relations, or loss of virginity.⁴⁹ Syafi'i stated that a dowry in the form of benefits is valid, provided that anything valid as a price in a sale-and-purchase transaction is also valid as a dowry.

The Hambali school of thought defines a dowry as a reward in marriage, either stated in the marriage contract or obligated thereafter.⁵⁰ This reward can be agreed upon in the marriage contract or become an obligation afterward. The Hambali school aligns with the Shafi'i school in holding that a dowry in the form of benefits is valid, just as one in the form of goods is.

The dowry of a set of prayer tools, from the perspective of the *fiqh madhahib al-arba'ah* (Hanafi, Maliki, Syafi'i, and Hanbali), has a strong basis and can be accepted as a valid form of dowry. The dowry is a mandatory gift that the prospective husband gives to the prospective wife during the marriage ceremony as a sign of their agreement and commitment to live together in marriage. The dowry can be in the form of goods that do not conflict with Islamic law or something beneficial, such as teaching religious knowledge. Therefore, a set of prayer tools with religious value is a very suitable dowry.

Thus, the dowry of a set of prayer tools is completely valid according to *the fiqh of madzahib al-arba'ah*. Because it can be in the form of useful items or religious benefits that do not violate Islamic law, this form is not only a sign of the marriage agreement, but also proof of the husband's commitment to fulfilling his wife's rights, such as providing for a living, gentle companionship, and religious guidance, thus strengthening a harmonious and blessed household.

Conclusion

This study found that, in Islamic law, the dowry emphasizes value and benefit over the nominal amount of money or gold. A dowry of prayer equipment is valid according to the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence, as it possesses religious significance and

⁴⁹Rinda Setyowati, "The Concept of Dowry from the Perspective of Imam Shafi'i and the Compilation of Islamic Law," *Isti'dal: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 7, no. 1 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.34001/istidal.v7i1.2110>.

⁵⁰Az-Zuhaili, *Al-Fiqh Al-Islam Wa Adillatuhu*. 230

practical benefit. Although some people remain hesitant because such dowries are not as easily converted as gold, this form of dowry strongly symbolizes the husband's commitment to respecting his wife's physical and spiritual rights, protecting women, and integrating sharia norms with local culture. Article 30 of the Compilation of Islamic Law also supports flexibility in the form of dowry, allowing both parties to agree on its nature. Thus, this type of dowry strengthens a just, responsible, and Islamic-based marriage. For future research, it is recommended to employ a quantitative approach to measure the prevalence of non-material dowry rejection across different regions in Indonesia, analyze the socioeconomic factors behind resistance, examine the long-term effects on the wife's welfare, and assess the effectiveness of local clerics' efforts to change public perceptions.

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