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The Integration between *Syara'* and *Ade'* in Wedding Tradition of Bugis Bone, South Sulawesi: Islamic Law Perspective

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Abstract:

This study seeks to describe Islam and tradition in societies as well as examine the integration between Islamic and customary law into the wedding customs of the Bugis Bone community in South Sulawesi. This is an empirical legal study employing a legal history and legal sociology methodology. Data for this study resulted from a literature study of relevant journal

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articles and books; and in-depth interviews with religious and indigenous leaders. This study found that the Bugis are culturally influenced by Islamic ideas, which can be seen in their social customs and daily behavior with several local values. Meanwhile, *syara'* and *ade'* are integrated in the Bugis marital tradition as evidenced by *sompa* or dowry, *tudang penni*, *mappacci* and *mabbarazanji*, *mappanre tame*, and *assitulung-tolongan* or *ma'jama* (helping each other or work collaboratively). According to the study of Islamic law, this tradition is a part of *al-'urf* which does not contradict the Qur'an, Sunnah, or good practices, and therefore can be adopted because it provides benefits and advantages. This characteristic is the consequence of the fusion of Islamic and customary law that has occurred throughout the course of the community's history. Sociologically, this integration is able to create rules that control and help achieve harmony and mutual benefit.

Keywords:

Integration *Syara'* and *Ade'*; Wedding Tradition;
Custom of Bugis; Islamic Law

Introduction

Islamic law and adat in Indonesia and the Malay peninsula shows great articulation in social and cultural. This articulation makes Islamic societies in Southeast Asia not exactly the same as in the Middle East. Such realities are caused by differences in the conventions, cultures, and social structures. In Indonesia, Islamic law develops and interconnects with *adat*, referred to as local *shari'ah* or national legal schools which, among others, may be found in the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI).¹ Some stated that it forms local Islamic law which creates a new legal body in the archipelago.

¹M. B. Hooker, "Southeast Asian Shari'ahs," *Studia Islamika* 20, no. 2 (2013): 183-242; Euis Nurlaelawati, "'The Kompilasi Hukum Islam and Legal Practice in the Indonesian Religious Courts: Modernization, Tradition, and Identity,'" in *International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS)*, (Amsterdam, 2010), <https://doi.org/DOI:10.15408/sdi.v20i2.387>. Arskal Salim, *Contemporary Islamic Law in Indonesia: Sharia and Legal Pluralism*, *Contemporary Islamic Law in Indonesia: Sharia and Legal Pluralism*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2015.1125772>.

Furthermore, customary law played a major role in the establishment of national law both in colonial and post-independence Indonesia. This is evident throughout the legal systems of the Indonesian archipelago including Aceh, Minangkabau, Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Banjarese, Bugis, and Makassarrese.²

The interconnection between Islamic and customary law exists in some regions. The Bugis Bone society, for instance, develops a living law or the law embedded within their own community. From the perspective of legal sociology and legal history, king and *qadhi* (*petta kalie* or *ulama*) are the primary agents driving the vast unification of the two legal systems. This can also be seen in the people of Aceh and Minangkabau (West Sumatra).³ Islamic law and custom are two entities that have been integrated and cannot be separated from each other. The integration process as it occurred in other regions also happened in the Aceh Sultanate through the *qadhi malikul adil*, in the Demak Sultanate by *Wali Songo*, and in the Sultanate of Mataram by *Kyai Penghulu*.⁴ They were respectively the king's advisors in the kingdoms.

There are ongoing discussions regarding the integration of Islamic law and Muslim norms, particularly those related to weddings or marriages. Although Indonesia is not an Islamic nation, Islamic marriage is enforced and regulated in Indonesian's marital legislation. Nevertheless, the challenges surrounding Muslim marriage entail

² Arskal Salim, "Adat and Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia: Unequal Coexistence and Asymmetric Contestation," *Samarah* 5, no. 2 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v5i2.11082>. Erwati Aziz and Mohammad Dhofir, "The Acculturation of Islam and Customary Law: An Experience of Minangkabau, Indonesia," *Qijis* 8, no. 1 (2020): 131–60, <https://doi.org/DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i1.7197>. Muhamad Ali, "Muslim Diversity: Islam and Local Tradition in Java and Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 1, no. 1 (2011), <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v1i1.1-35>.

³ Rusjdi Ali Muhammad, *Revitalisasi Syariat Islam Di Aceh: Problem, Solusi Dan Implementasi* (Jakarta: Logos, 2003). Yaswirman, *Hukum Keluarga: Karakteristik dan Prospek Doktrin Islam dan Adat dalam Masyarakat Matrilineal Minangkabau*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2011).

⁴ Ridhwan and A. Nuzul, "The Petta Kalie's Contribution in the Development of Islamic Law during the Kingdom of Bone," *Samarah* 5, no. 1 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v5i1.8977>. Ismanto and Suparman, "Sejarah Peradilan Islam Nusantara Masa Kesultanan-Kesultanan Islam Pra-Kolonial," *Historia Madani*, 2019, 67–88, <https://doi.org/DOI: https://doi.org/10.15575/hm.v3i2.9169>.

both Islamic law and cultural norms. Throughout Indonesia's history, the debate surrounding Muslim marriage has been more than a discussion of religion and religious contestation; it has also been linked to the country's legal system, political contestation, women's struggles, and, most importantly, culture, as Muslim marriages and weddings have long been integrated into larger cultural practices.⁵

Islamic law that has become a customary practice is what a theory called *receptio a contrario* indicates. This theory argues that Islamic law applies to people while *adat* can be applied if it does not contradict Islamic law, as proposed by Hazairin and Thalib. Islamic law relates to Muslims, and customary law is incorporated into daily life so that it can evolve into living law. Several additional investigations, including that of Benda-Beckmann, Bowen, and Salim, strengthen this theory. Franz and Keebet von Benda Beckmann described a continuous dialectic between Islamic and customary law in Minangkabau. The *Nagari Kerapan Adat* (KAN) institution encourages customary law by playing a role in conflict resolution via customary methods. Due to sociopolitical developments, the customary settlement mechanism has developed a distinct identity since the colonial era and has continued to exist with full dynamics and continuity until the time of decentralization.⁶

In addition, Bowen concluded that the Acehese have practiced Islamic law (*fiqh*), the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI), and *adat* throughout the past two decades. There are also initiatives to institutionalize bureaucracy and revitalize customs, as well as to strengthen customary rights associated with natural resources and the function of *adat* in conflict resolution.⁷ The KHI also advocates the

⁵ Arskal Salim and Azyumardi Azra, *Shari'a and Politics in Modern Indonesia, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies* (Singapore, 2003), <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789812305206>. Eva F. Nisa, "Battling Marriage Laws: Early Marriage and Online Youth Piety in Indonesia," *Hawwa* 42, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1163/15692086-12341387>.

⁶ Franz von Benda-Beckmann, *Political and Legal Transformations of an Indonesian Polity: The Nagari from Colonization to Decentralization*,. Mursyid Djawas and Sri Astuti A. Samad, "Conflict, Traditional, and Family Resistance: The Pattern of Dispute Resolution in Acehese Community According to Islamic Law," *Samarah*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v4i1.5271>.

⁷ John R. Bowen, *Islam, Law and Equality: An Anthropology of Public Reasoning* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, n.d.).

building of judicial institutions (Religious Courts and Syar'iyah Courts) as a part of the process of incorporating Islamic law into national law. This process of legal development is a form of compromise with Islamic law in the context of the modern (nation) state. This process poses no cause for concern because it is driven by the influence of cultural Islam. In addition, Islamic law is based on legal sources, so that its incorporation into legislation is subjected to rigorous scrutiny to ensure that it is always in conformity with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.⁸

This study, in short, strengthens previous argument research about the integration of Islamic and customary law. However, on the other hand, it is different from previous research in terms of focus, methods, theory, and time used, mainly about the influence of historical roots on the integration process. This article therefore describes the tradition of Bugis Bone with Islamic values by first describing its socio-historical trace and then the details of integration at the wedding practice. The findings of this research will contribute to the harmonization between Islamic law and customary law not only in Indonesia but also in Muslim communities globally.

Method

This is empirical legal research focusing on the legal reality that exists in society via the historical lens of Islamic law and legal sociology.⁹ The history of Islamic law is used as a means of analyzing the background of the Bugis people in accepting Islam and the sociology of law is used as an analytical tool in the practice of Islamic law articulated in *adat*. Data for this study resulted from a literature study of relevant journal articles and books; and in-depth interviews with religious and indigenous leaders.

⁸ Erie Hariyanto and Made Warka, "The Political Scrimmage of the Religious Court's Law as the Judicial Institution in the Reformation Era in Indonesia," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial* 11, no. 1 (2016): 177-200, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v11i1.782>.

⁹ Munir Fuady, *Metode Riset Hukum: Pendekatan Teori dan Konsep* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2018); Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Metode Penelitian Hukum* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2014).

Result and Discussion

Islam and Traditions in the Bugis Bone Historic-Cultural View

Since the beginning of Islam's arrival in Bone, Islamic law has been integrated with local customs and culture. This was due to the role of the ulama (*petta kalie* or advisors to the *sultan*) who supported the policies of the kings at that time. Bone at that time, became the center of the Bugis kingdom and became the epicenter of Islamic development that spread to other regions.

Islam entered Bone in 1611 AD or 1020 Hijriyah, under the reign of We Tenrituppu, the 10th King of Bone.¹⁰ Sultan Abdullah frequently traveled to Gowa to study Islam with Datok ri Bandang, the preacher who introduced Islam to Sulawesi.¹¹ Later, disciples of Datok ri Bandang, such as Fakih Amrullah and other *petta kalie* or ulama, became actors in the Bugis Bone society who carried out the combination of *syara'* (Islamic law) and *ade'* (*customary law*), for example in the practice of Islamic family law such as marriage, *zakat*, *waqf* and Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha.

The Bone Kingdom was strongly influenced by Datok ri Bandang and his disciples, who later became *petta kalie*. At that time, the scientific path of *petta kalie* was linked to Mecca and Medina as the hub of the *Nusantara ulama* network. In the *ahlusunnah wa al-jamaah school* of thought, Bugis Bone adheres to Imam Shafi'i in *fiqh* and Imam Ash'ari in *aqidah*, while Imam al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdadi have a strong effect on Sufism. The al-Mujahidin Mosque was the first educational institution created by the scholars of the period, followed by educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools. This is done by means of *mangaji kitta'* (recitation of the book) held in mosques to teach basic Islamic sciences such as *aqidah*, *tafsir*, *hadith*, and *fiqh*.¹²

¹⁰ Mattulada, *Latoa: Satu Analitis Lukisan Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis*, (Ujung Pandang: Universitas Hasanuddin, 1995); Leonard Y. Andayah, *Warisan Arung Palakka: Sejarah Sulawesi Selatan Abad Ke-17 (Translation)* (Makassar: Innawa, 2006).

¹¹ Muhammad Ali, *Bone Selayang Pandang* (Watampone: Damai, 1986). Abu Hamid, "Semangat Islam dalam Kebudayaan Orang Bugis-Makassar," *Jurnal Jaffray* 4, no. 1 (2006), <https://doi.org/10.25278/jj.v4i1.129.16-24>.

¹² Ridhwan, et.al. "Dynamic of Islamic Education in The Land of Bugis: Growth, Development and Typology Pesantren in Bone," in "IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science", 2018, 175, <https://doi.org/Doi: 10.1088/1755-1315/175/1/012158>.

In this context, *petta kalie* (ulama) played a role in combining Islamic law with customs that emerged in the Kingdom of Gowa and Tallo, which knew *pangadakkang* (Makassar language), no different from the *pangngaderreng* (Bugis language) system in the Kingdom of Bone.¹³ In the traditional system of the Bugis Bone community, *pangngaderreng* is seen as something that has lofty ideals and is used as a way of life. As a result, in the Bugis Bone group, social piety is valued not only by *syara'* but also by *ade'*.

Thus, *pangngaderreng* and *syara'* continue to coexist in a value system that leads every step and behavior. In the Bugis tradition, it is affirmed that "sharia respects custom, adat respects sharia." Abstinence from *adat* cancels Sharia decisions, while abstinence from Sharia also cancels customary choices. It is impossible for the two to be confused. The two cannot contradict each other.¹⁴

Abu Hamid concluded that the Bugis and Makassar people were devout followers of Islamic teachings because through the history of cultural evolution, they had witnessed a period of glory and widespread enforcement of Islamic law in society. In fact, the spirit of Islam was becoming more entrenched in its circulation through traditional teachings, such as the *tarekat*. Even during the war for independence in South Sulawesi,¹⁵ Islam was a driving force for the people and a source of inspiration and continues to this day.

The Bugis are culturally inspired by Islamic beliefs that exhibit themselves in their social traditions and daily conduct. There are several main Bugis values that have become socially accepted measures, including: honesty and piety to Allah SWT, namely an honest attitude in behavior and speech to others as well as oneself; wisdom, coupled with kindness, the intelligence to realize ideals for others; speaking the truth, coupled with vigilance in all speech along with *siri'* (disgrace to do the bad deed).¹⁶

¹³ Anhar Gonggong, *Abdul Qahhar Muzakkar: Dari Patriot hingga Pemberontak*, (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2005).

¹⁴ Haddise, "Hukum Kewarisan Di Bone; Kajian Tentang Pelaksanannya Berhadapan Dengan Hukum Kewarisan Adat. Laporan Penelitian; Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama STAIN Watampone," n.d.

¹⁵ Abu Hamid, "Semangat Islam dalam Kebudayaan Orang Bugis-Makassar."16-24.

¹⁶ Abu Hamid.20.

Integration of Syara' and Ade' in the Traditional Bugis Bone Wedding

The Bone community's wedding traditions are carried out in many stages: beforehand, during the wedding ceremony, and afterward. The first phase begins with *paita* (staring at the prospective spouse) or *ma'baja laleng* (opening the road) followed by *mammanu-mamu* (activities carried out by men to ask questions and find out the condition of the prospective wife). In addition, *ma'duta* (proposing) and *mappettu* (deciding an agreement) take place to discuss the dowry (*sompa*), *doi balanca*, and the wedding date. *Mattampa* (inviting), *massarapo* (making room for visitors), *mappasau* (steam bath), *cemme tolak bala* (refusing from bad influences), and *tudang penni* are the next stages leading up to wedding (consisting of *mappanre temme*, *mabbarzanji* and *mappacci*).

There are some steps in Bugis Bone wedding tradition. Those steps are actually divided into two main parts. Firstly, it's held before the wedding ceremony. And then, another ceremony is held after the wedding ceremony. Overall, there are ten ceremonies that must be followed for Bugis people if they want to get married. The steps of the wedding procession among the Bugis Bone tradition can be seen in Figure 1.

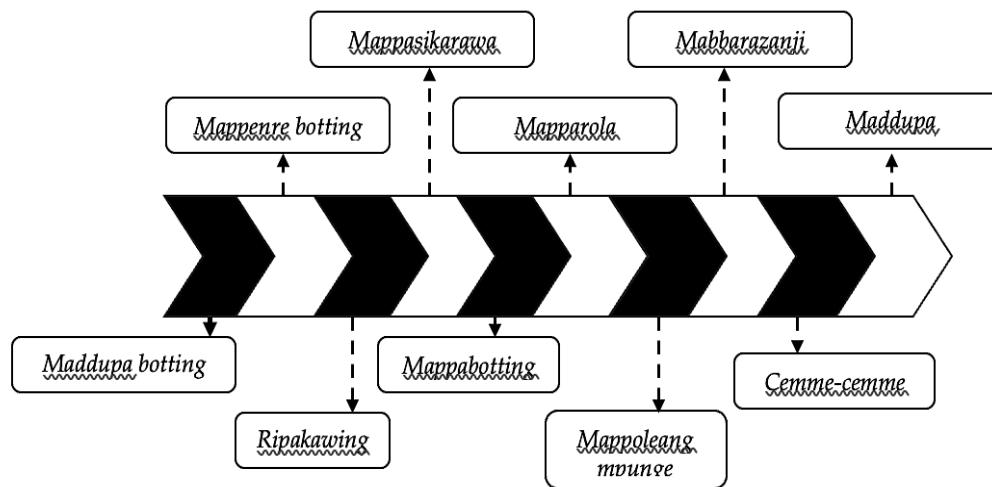


Figure 1. Bugis Bone Wedding Ceremony Procession

Based on Figure 1, it can be seen that the wedding procession is started with *maddupa botting* which brings the bride and groom together. After that, *mappenre botting* must be held which accompanies the groom to the bride's house. The signing marriage contract is then held after *mappenre*, which is called *ripakawing*. Then, this procession is followed by *mappasikarawa* when the groom is delivered by his parent-in-law to the bride's room. At the end of the first stage, *mappabotting* must be held. This ritual means that they have to held wedding party. In the second stage, after the wedding party, *mapparola* becomes the first rituals. This ritual shows that the bride returns the visit of the groom and his family. And then, they have to do *mappoleang mpunge* when the first time the groom visits his wife's room and they bring any gift. Meanwhile, the next ritual is *mabbarazanji*. In this ritual, there is a reading *barazanji* book. In the next ritual, *cemme-cemme*, as traditional holy bathing is held or some others believe this as part of recreation. Finally, the last is *mattinro baisen* when there is a gathering procession among both parents).¹⁷

Among a variety of weddings procedures and customs, there are some rituals and attributes during the ceremony. Those attributes and rituals, interestingly, have specific meaning in Bone Bugis tradition. Moreover, this is closely related to Islam in local tradition. The following includes the incorporation of Islamic and customary law:

Dowry (Sompa)

Dowry is a gift of goods, money, or non-goods from a potential husband to a prospective wife. Gifts consist of commodities such as rice, flour, sugar, and women's clothing that will be brought to the wedding.¹⁸ The dowry has been the subject of discussion since before the marriage proposal was submitted. The Bugis are a flexible people when determining the dowry.¹⁹ Despite the fact that social

¹⁷ Syarifuddin Latif, *Fikih Perkawinan Bugis Tellumpoccoe* (Jakarta: Gaung Persada Press, 2017). Muh. Sudirman Sesse, "Eksistensi Adat Perkawinan Masyarakat Bugis Parepare Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam," Disertasi: UIN Alauddin, 2017.

¹⁸ Syarifuddin Latif, *Fikih Perkawinan Bugis Tellumpoccoe*.

¹⁹ Ismail Suardi Wekke, ""Islam Dan Adat: Tinjauan Akulturasi Budaya Dan Agama Dalam Masyarakat Bugis," *Jurnal Analisis* XIII, no. 1 (2013): 28, <https://doi.org/DOI:https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v13i1.641>.

class, education, and religion are occasionally taken into account when approving a dowry, these factors are not found in every single case. At present, it is also found people consider religious and behavioral factors rather than economic sense and heredity. *Sompa*, often known as dowry, is the primary requirement for marriage under Islamic law. Along with *dui' menrek*, *sompa* is calculated and then handed to the bride for the wedding celebration.

In the perspective of *appanngadereng*, especially the *ade' akkalabinengeng* tradition, there is also known *doi' balanca* or *dui' menre'*, i.e. money that the prospective groom must present to the prospective bride's family in order to finance the wedding procession. It is a measure of the seriousness and wealth of the groom because a large amount of money spent or *do'i menrek* is the primary medium for the Bugis people to demonstrate their position in society, even included in the category of 'embodiment of *siri* values'.

In the context of '*urf* theory, the Bugis practice of *do'i menrek* falls under the category of '*urf sahih* because, despite the fact that *do'i menrek* differs in practice from the dowry known in Islamic marriage law, it has similarities in principle, namely as a form of seriousness and the responsibility of the groom in marrying his future wife.²⁰

The value of *sompa* and *dui' menre'* in the Bugis marriage tradition depends on the noble, wealthy, education, and social position of the parents and the prospective wife. *Dui' menre'* from the standpoint of *maqasid al-syari'ah* has a *maslahat* (beneficial) aspect that can inspire young people to work hard, earn money, and is a representation of a woman's noble standing. The downside is that many men fail to marry and marry out of wedlock, or choose to be single because they are unable to meet the dowry and *sompa*.²¹

²⁰ Abdul Halim and Enom Kosasih, "Tradisi Penetapan Do'i Menrek dalam Perkawinan Masyarakat Adat Suku Bugis Soppeng (Analisis Teori 'Urf dan Appanngadereng dalam Hukum Adat Suku Bugis)," *Mazaahib: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam* " 7 (2019): 213. Shofiatul Jannah, et.al., "Panaik Money of Bugis' Customary Marriage in the Perspective of Islamic Law and Positive Law in Indonesia," *Journal of Transcendental Law* 3, No. 2 (2022). DOI:10.23917/jtl.v3i2.17375.

²¹ Rusdaya Basri and Fikri, "Sompa dan Dui Menre dalam Tradisi Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis," *Ibda* 16, no. 1 (2018): 1-18, <https://doi.org/DOI:10.24090/ibda.V16i1.1101>.

In fact, the practice of Bugis Bone wedding is a blend of Islamic and traditional law. For example, AND, a Buginese traditional leader, explains the relationship between dowry or *sompa* with Islamic law, as follows:

"The Bugis word for dowry or *sompa* is "*mahar pattaro syara', sompa pattaro ade*" (dowry is a religious provision, while *sompa* is a customary provision). Therefore, there is no conflict between Islamic law and customary law; in fact, the two complement one another.²²

Mappacci and Tudang Penni

The *mappacci* process contains a form of hope and prayer for the welfare and happiness of the prospective spouse, which is arranged in a summary of nine types of equipment, including pillows, silk sarongs, jackfruit leaves, banana shoots leaves, *pacci* leaves (henna), rice, candles, *pacci* holders, brown sugar, and coconut. The Bugis Bone community continues to practice the culture inherited from their ancestors while trying to preserve it among the future generations. The *mappacci* ritual at the Bugis Bone wedding ceremony contains the value and significance of a meaningful life message. As one of the cultural heritages of the archipelago, it is believed as the responsibility of the younger generation to care for and preserve by respecting and appreciating it, nurturing and filtering it from outside culture, and instilling an early appreciation for local culture.²³

The night before the wedding, the bride and groom participate in *mappacci* or *tudang penni* rituals at their respective houses. Relatives, religious leaders, respectable individuals, and neighbors attended this celebration. The origin of the term *mappacci* is the term *pacci* which signifies *henna* leaves. *Pacci* in Bugis denotes clean or holy, while *tudang penni* literally translates to "night sitting." Thus, *mappacci* might be understood as meaning to cleanse oneself the evening before the wedding.²⁴

²² "AND, Interview, December 21, 2021.," n.d.

²³ Emilsyah Nur and Rukman Pala, "Mappacci Sebagai Media Pesan Masyarakat di Kabupaten Bone," *Walusuji: Jurnal Sejarah dan Budaya* 11, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.36869/wjsb.v11i2.160>.

²⁴ Yunus, "Islam dan Budaya (Nilai-Nilai Islam Dalam Proses Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis)," *Titian: Jurnal Ilmu Humaniora* 2, no. 1 (2018).

Mappacci has indeed multiple meanings in the Bugis Bone community: first, the objective meaning that the community believes that the *mappacci* practice is a tradition that must be maintained and preserved in order to continue to exist because it is a custom that has been passed down from generation to generation in the past; *Second*, the expressive meaning that people believe that *mappacci* has various values contained in the use of tools in the practice; and *third*, the subjective meaning that people believe that *mappacci* has various forms and meaning.²⁵

Mabbarazanji

Mabbarazanji is the reading of the *Barazanji* book, which contains the blessings and life story of the Prophet Muhammad, in the Bugis language. Since Islam entered the region of Bone, the *mabbarazanji* tradition has existed as a result of the acculturation of Islamic law. Historians acknowledge that by the end of the 17th century or the start of the 19th century, *mabbarazanji* had supplanted the ancient manuscripts in the local custom, namely the reading of "I La Galigo" manuscript as a required reading text during a thanksgiving ceremony or festival. This demonstrates that the ulama's propagation of Islamic principles does not seek to erode native culture in society.²⁶ Rather, the ulama continued to integrate between Islam and adat in the Bugis Bone community.

On the recitation, the bride and husband sit in a designated location and so do the group of *barazanji* readers. When the *barazanji* reader reads "*Asyraqa al-Badru 'Alaina*," all *barazanji* readers get to their feet and the procession begins while the *barazanji* reading is still being performed. The procession begins with the reading of the holy verses of the Qur'an and *barazanji* as an expression of appreciation to Allah

²⁵ Dwi Hartini, "Kajian Living Hadis atas Tradisi Mappacci pada Pernikahan Suku Bugis Makassar," *Jurnal Al-Fath* 14, no. 1 (2020): 81, <https://doi.org/Doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.32678/alfath.v14i1.3366>.

²⁶ Abdul Fattah and Lutfiah Ayundasari, "Mabbarazanji: Tradisi Membaca Kitab Barazanji dalam Upaya Meneladani Kehidupan Nabi Muhammad Saw.," *Wahana Islamika: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 7, no. 1 (2021).

Almighty and praise for the bounties felt at that time.²⁷ *Mabbarazanji* ritual is celebrated twice, namely at the *tudang penni* and after the wedding procession as a symbol of appreciation for the successful completion of the event.²⁸

Even *mabbarazanji* is occasionally performed in Bugis, it strongly demonstrates the acculturation of Islamic teachings with the culture of the Bugis society in order to better comprehend and imitate the nature and example of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH as described in the *barzanji* book. Because the book of *barzanji* conveyed the life history, behavior, and morals of the noble Prophet, it is believed that someone can be encouraged to love and follow these morals.

In addition, it demonstrates the public's embrace of Islam through the use of local cultural practices to impart Islamic principles in phases. This contradicts the claim that the universality of Islamic values will be diminished if it is introduced into certain societies, as communities have a predisposition to practice and preserve their own culture. Instead, when Islamic teachings are introduced, Islamic values are automatically preserved alongside the local culture. This indicates that *adat* plays a crucial role in upholding Islamic law itself.²⁹

Regarding the *mabarazanji* ritual, a Bone traditional leader emphasized as following:

In the Bugis tradition, *mabbarazanji* is performed extremely frequently, and Bone is no exception. People who will build a house, organize *aqiqah*, travel on a pilgrimage, acquire new items such as vehicles, get married, and observe all customs of salvation (*ma'bacabaca*) with the exception of death, almost always conduct *barzanji* readings. The Bugis believe that *barzanji* contains *salawat* and the biography of the Prophet Muhammad

²⁷ Abd. Sattaril Haq, "Islam dan Adat dalam Tradisi Perkawinan Masyarakat Suku Bugis: Analisis Interaksionisme Simbolik," *AL-HUKAMA'* 10, no. 2 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.15642/alhukama.2020.10.2.349-371>.

²⁸ Syarifuddin Latif, *Fikih Perkawinan Bugis Tellumppocoe*. 158.

²⁹ Ahmad Muttaqin, "'Barzanji Bugis' dalam Peringatan Maulid: Studi Living Hadis di Masyarakat Bugis, Soppeng, Sul-Sel," *Jurnal Living Hadis* 1, no. 1 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.14421/livinghadis.2016.1071>.

PBUH, and that this *salawat* will bring them blessings and protection.³⁰

Mappanre Tamme'

The *Mappanré tamme'* is the process of reciting the Al-Quran from beginning to end including a prayer recitation ritual for the safety of husband and wife in the marriage life. The introduction of *mappanré temme* into a series of traditional Bugis Bone wedding processions began at the same time as the *mappaci* procession was celebrated on the evening of *tudang penni*. This is an Islamic *syiar* of gratitude and appreciation for the young generation of the Bugis Bone community who are able to recite the Qur'an.³¹

The wedding of the Bugis Bone community and the implementation of the *mappanré tamme'* culture hold spiritual values. These holy values include the value of worship, the value of *sennu-sennungeng rideceng'e* (love of kindness), and the imperfect value of Bugis Bone traditional weddings in the absence of the *mappanré tamme* (*khataman* al-Qur'an) culture. *Mappanré tamme* is deemed permissible as it does not contradict the provisions of the Qur'an and Sunnah; hence, the *mappanré tamme* culture is regarded as '*urf*.³²

MAZ, a religious figure, explained the meaning of *mappanre tamme'* in the Bugis tradition:

Actually, the *mappanre temme'* or *khataman* al-Qur'an ritual has a profound significance for the bride and groom who are married. Not only must the brides and grooms be physically, physiologically, and financially capable, but he or she must also be able to read, comprehend, and most importantly, practice the values of the Qur'anic texts.³³

The *mappanre temme'* custom is an exotic and charming tradition. The value of *mappanre temme'* is not only that it serves as a means of traditional entertainment in the midst of cultural

³⁰ APS, "Interview," n.d.

³¹ Sadiani, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam terhadap Nilai Sakralitas Budaya Mappanre Temme dalam Perkawinan Adat Bugis Bone," *Al-Bayyinah* 2, no. 2 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.35673/al-bayyinah.v2i2.53>.

³² Sadiani., 115.

³³ MAZ, "Interview," n.d.

globalization, but also that it is rich in meanings and messages that express the value system adopted by the Bugis community. It furthermore contains many Islamic educational values, namely: faith, morals, intellectual, physical, and psychological education, and social education.³⁴

Ripakawing and Mappabotting

Ripakawing is the bride and groom's marriage contract signing procession. In accordance with Islamic law, the *ijab qabul* is guided by a *penghulu* (the cleric who married) or *imam* along with two witnesses from the bride's family. In addition to reading the Qur'an and the provision of marital guidance for home duties, the step also includes the signing of the marriage contract. Then, *mappabotting* as a wedding celebration is held as an expression of gratitude to Allah.³⁵ Families and guests come to offer the bride and groom prayers and charity.

Typically, the family hosts a party by preparing a dinner of Bugis food, beverages, and pastries. They typically provide beef, goat, or chicken from *doi balanca* or *doi menre*. According to the hadith of the Prophet, this is not deemed contrary to Islamic law. The Prophet of Allah (PBUH) asked Abdurrahman bin Auf, "Are you married?" He responded, "Yes." Again, he asked: with whom? He responded, "with an Ansar woman." The Prophet said, "How much (dowry) did you pay?" "A piece of gold jewelry or a chunk of gold", he replied. Therefore, the Prophet stated: please organize a wedding party, even with slaughtering a goat (Narrated by Bukhari).³⁶

Assitulung-Tulungeng

The *assitulung-tulungeng* (helping each other) tradition, is then reflected in the forms of *massolo*' (giving gifts), *majjama* (working together), *dijamari* (*assisting works of others*), a type of caring and giving assistance, and other forms of social interaction is identified as the essence of human life due to the instinct to live in harmony with

³⁴ Hadiyatullah, Ondeng, and St. Syamsudduha, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam dalam Tradisi Mappanre Temme' pada Masyarakat Bugis Di Kecamatan Soppeng Riaja Kabupaten Barru."

³⁵ Syarifuddin Latif, *Fikih Perkawinan Bugis Tellumpoccoe*. 153.

³⁶ Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Mugīrah bin Bardazbah al-Jafī Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kašīr, 2002).

others. Every human being has physical and mental requirements that are impossible to fulfill alone, thus he/she collaborates with others to accomplish certain societal values.³⁷

Assitulung-tulungeng is an integral aspect of Bugis community life and the cultural heritage of the nation. As the values and behavior of *assitulung-tulungeng* have become a way of life for the local community, it cannot be isolated from their daily activities. It is strengthened by the local community's knowledge of cultural values that something has been given or received (material or else) needs to be returned with something proportionate. Everyone who has a kindred tie will be the last to choose not to destroy kinship relations and develop tribal or kinship solidarity in which there is a natural agreement to aid and strengthen each other.³⁸

Therefore, in the Bugis society, the integration of *syara'* and *ade'* reflects the symbiosis between rigidity in customs and flexibility in religious practice. Similarly, both are structures inside the *pangngaderreng* (social law) which merges their regulatory roles in life. In addition, several traditional activities have been altered to adhere to Islamic ideals. Islam is translated into local living tools while preserving the current pattern and then its essence is turned into monotheism's essence. In conclusion, the meeting of *adat* and religion in Bugis culture demonstrates communication and the reconstruction of a new culture with local peculiarities.³⁹ *Petta kalie* facilitated the process of combining Islamic and customary law; he was the driving force behind this achievement.

Acceptance of *sompa*, *mappacci*, *barzanji*, and *mappanre tamme'* traditions by *petta kalie* is a part of efforts to improve Islamic and customary law. *Sompa* was performed by the Bugis people prior to the introduction of Islam and the concept of dowry. Even today, if a potential husband reads the *ijab qabul*, he must include the *riyal* (the currency of Saudi Arabia). In Bugis culture, the *mappacci* ritual is a succession of marriage proposals. *Mappacci* occurs the evening of the wedding ceremony. The *mappacci* tradition was perpetuated alongside

³⁷ Yunus, "Islam dan Budaya (Nilai-Nilai Islam dalam Proses Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis).", 97.

³⁸ Yunus., 97.

³⁹ Ismail Suardi Wekke, "Islam dan Adat: Tinjauan Akulturasi Budaya dan Agama dalam Masyarakat Bugis."

the reading of *barzanji* (praise and salutations to the Prophet Muhammad).⁴⁰

Similarly, Bugis Bone parents do the *mappanre temme* tradition when their children successfully complete reciting the whole part of the Qur'an (*khatm al-Qur'an*).⁴¹ *Mappanre temme* reflects the joy and thanks to Allah for their children's accomplishment in learning to read the Qur'an. In this instance, *Petta Kalie* was instrumental in ensuring that these customs were still observed by the Bugis Bone community.

It might be highlighted further that numerous Bugis Bone traditions fall under the 'urf category (*adat/ade'*). Although 'urf is a contentious source, on the one hand, there are three arguments about its reliability. *First*, Islamic law codifies numerous pre-Islamic Arab 'urf-'urf, such as familial responsibilities to pay *diyat* (fines) to heirs who have been wrongfully killed, as well as the *salam* (one type of buying and selling transaction) sale and purchase contract. *Second*, the practice of 'urf is in line with Allah's words in Islamic law that there is a solution to the problem because it is difficult for humans to break habits, especially in the form of customs and culture. *Thirdly*, the majority of *fiqh* scholars use 'urf as an argument in determining Islamic law.⁴²

Another base for preserving the tradition is a *fiqh* maxim which reads: *al-muhâfazat 'alâ al-qadîm al-şâlih wa al-akhzu bi al-jadîd al-aşlah* (maintaining good old values and adopting new, superior values) which aims to maintain good old values while adopting new and superior values.⁴³ The norm is the product of the long-standing merger of Islamic and traditional law into the Bugis Bone community's customs. This further strengthens the view that the legal measures that Nusantara scholars used in the past to integrate Islamic

⁴⁰ Syarifuddin Latif, *Fikih Perkawinan Bugis Tellumpoccoe*. Andi Mahdaniar, et.al., "Analyzing Islamic Education Values from Bugis Marriage Process Tradition in Bone, South Sulawesi," *JICSA: Journal of Islamic Civilization in Southeast Asia* 10 (2) (2021): 245. DOI:10.24252/jicsa.v10i2.24484.

⁴¹ Ismail Suardi Wekke, "Islam dan Adat: Tinjauan Akulturasi Budaya dan Agama Dalam Masyarakat Bugis." 40.

⁴² Sulfan Wandu, "Eksistensi 'Urf dan Adat Kebiasaan Sebagai Dalil Fiqh," *SAMARAH: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 2, no. 1 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v2i1.3111>.

⁴³ Isa Ansori, "Perbedaan Metode Ijtihad Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah dalam Corak Fikih di Indonesia," *Nizam* 4, no. 1 (2014).

law into the customs of society continue to this day. In light of the history of Islamic law in Indonesia and the Muslim world as a whole, this integration is a need that is difficult to ignore.

Conclusion

In the Bugis marital tradition, the merging of *syara'* and *ade'* is evident in *sompa* or dowry, *tudang penni*, *mappacci* and *mabbarazanji*, *mappanre tamme*, and *assitulung-tolongan* or mutual assistance (*ma'jama* or team working). This tradition is included in *al-'urf* category which does not clash with the Qur'an, Sunnah, or implementable good traditions, because it encompasses both problems and benefits. This integration can be used as a model for such win-win solution in other places in Indonesia and even in other Muslim worlds. Therefore, any tensions between the two entities can be prevented and harmonization can be made instead. From the perspective of sociological theory, the combination of Islamic law and customary law is able to produce laws that control and facilitate the achievement of justice, order, and social benefits for society. In the future, a similar study is needed in the field of Islamic law or other disciplines either in Bone or other areas.

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