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Acculturation of Islam in the Validity of Bugis Marriage: A Historical Study of the Integration of Sara' and Ade'

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the acculturation of Islam in the validity of Bugis marriage through a historical analysis of the integration between sara' (Islamic law) and ade' (customary law). This study employed a qualitative approach using a library research design combined with the historical method. Primary data were derived from Christian Pelras' The Bugis, Mattulada's works on the pangadereng system and the transformation of Bugis marriage practices, as well as Lontara manuscripts cited in these works. Secondary data consists of journal articles, books, and dissertations relevant to Bugis marriage traditions and the Islamization of South Sulawesi. The data were analyzed through the stages of heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography, while Koentjaraningrat's theory of acculturation was used as the analytical framework. The findings reveal that prior to the arrival of Islam, the validity of Bugis marriage was primarily based on ade', which regulated spouse selection, marriage rituals, and social recognition of the married couple. The Islamization process in the early seventeenth century introduced sara' into the pangadereng system, thereby adding a religious dimension to marital legitimacy through compliance with Islamic legal requirements. However, Islamization did not eliminate existing customary traditions. Various practices such as ma'manu-manu, ma'duta, mappettu ada', mappacci, and ma'pabotting continued to be maintained, while Islamic elements such as the marriage contract (marriage contract), mahr (dower), Barzanji recitations, and the involvement of imams or kadhi were integrated into Bugis wedding ceremonies. Consequently, the validity of Bugis marriage in the post-Islamization period emerged as a product of cultural acculturation that established a dual system of legitimacy: one that is religiously valid according to Islamic law and socially accepted according to Bugis customary norms.

Article Information

Kata Kunci:

Akulturasi Islam; Perkawinan Bugis; Sara'; Ade'; Keabsahan Perkawinan.

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini mengkaji akulturasi Islam dalam keabsahan perkawinan Bugis melalui analisis historis terhadap integrasi sara' dan ade'. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi kepustakaan (library research) dan metode sejarah. Data diperoleh dari sumber primer berupa karya Christian Pelras, karya Mattulada, serta berbagai naskah Lontara yang termuat dalam karya-karya tersebut. Adapun data sekunder berasal dari artikel jurnal, buku, dan disertasi yang relevan dengan perkawinan Bugis dan Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan. Analisis data dilakukan melalui tahapan heuristik, kritik sumber, interpretasi, dan historiografi dengan menggunakan perspektif akulturasi Koentjaraningrat sebagai kerangka analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa sebelum Islam diterima, keabsahan perkawinan Bugis bertumpu pada ade' sebagai sistem norma yang mengatur pemilihan pasangan, pelaksanaan ritus perkawinan, serta pengakuan sosial terhadap pasangan yang menikah. Masuknya Islam pada awal abad ke-17 menghadirkan unsur sara' ke dalam sistem pangadereng, sehingga keabsahan perkawinan tidak lagi hanya ditentukan oleh legitimasi sosial, tetapi juga oleh legitimasi religius melalui pemenuhan ketentuan syariat Islam. Namun, Islamisasi tidak berlangsung melalui penghapusan adat. Berbagai tradisi seperti ma'manu-manu, ma'duta, mappettu ada', mappacci, dan ma'pabotting tetap dipertahankan, sementara unsur-unsur Islam seperti akad nikah, mahar, pembacaan Barzanji, serta keterlibatan imam atau kadhi diintegrasikan ke dalam rangkaian perkawinan Bugis. Dengan demikian, keabsahan perkawinan Bugis pasca-Islamisasi merupakan hasil akulturasi yang melahirkan sistem legitimasi ganda, yakni sah menurut syariat Islam sekaligus diterima menurut adat.

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1. Introduction

The journey of the entry of Islam into the archipelago has a long history.[1]The spread of Islam in Indonesia was multidirectional, creating cultural contact. Multidirectionality refers to the many 'doors' leading to Islamization, such as through the arts, marriage, education, trade, and so on.(Al-Amri and Haramain 2017)The emergence of Islam in the archipelago has influenced various aspects of community life through a process of acculturation with existing local cultures. According to Koentjaraningrat, the term acculturation(1979)is a social process that occurs when a group of people are exposed to elements of a foreign culture in such a way that these elements are gradually accepted and integrated into their own culture, without losing the distinctive identity of their original culture.

One society that demonstrates the process of acculturation is the Bugis people of South Sulawesi. The Bugis lands of South Sulawesi are known as a center of rich and complex culture.[4]After Islam was officially accepted in the early 17th century, the Bugis people were considered one of the tribes with a strong Islamic identity.[5]The arrival of Islam marked a turning point in the history of Bugis society, leading to a series of transformations in the acculturation process. However, Islam did not completely eradicate the value systems and customs that had existed within Bugis society. Instead, Islam interacted with the existing social order within Bugis society and subsequently gave rise to forms of cultural acculturation within Bugis society.[6]One way is through the integration of sara' (Islamic law) into the pangadereng (ade', rapang, wari', and bicara), which constitutes the system of norms that governed the lives of Bugis people before the arrival of Islam. This process demonstrates that Islamization in Bugis society took place in an adaptive and integrative manner.[7].

*Commander*As a normative system in Bugis society, it not only regulates social and political life but also various aspects of family life, including marriage. Marriage holds a crucial position in Bugis society. It is more than just a bond between two people, but also affirms social standing within the community. This makes marriage inseparable from a sense of shame (siri').[8]As a result, weddings in Bugis society tend to prioritize the excitement of the event as a form of avoiding embarrassment (masiri) if the event is carried out in an ordinary manner.[9]Therefore, from the beginning to the final stages, the event will be carried out with maximum enthusiasm and festivity, in accordance with customary marriage customs (ade') and religious requirements (sara'). In this context, Bugis marriage becomes a space that demonstrates the intersection of religious and social legitimacy.

Several studies on Bugis marriage have been conducted from both anthropological and Islamic legal perspectives. These studies generally focus on describing Bugis marriage traditions, the symbolic meaning of various marriage rituals, and analyzing their compliance with Islamic law.[10], [11]These studies generally highlight the marriage procession, the symbolic meaning of various rituals, and their relevance to Islamic law. However, attention to the historical dimension of Bugis marriage legitimacy remains relatively limited, particularly regarding how the integration of sara' and ade' has shaped the concept of marital legitimacy from the process of Islamization to the present. Historical research is necessary to understand the dynamics of change and continuity within Bugis social practices.

Based on this, this article aims to examine the acculturation of Islam in the validity of Bugis marriage through a historical analysis of the integration of sara' and ade'. The analysis is conducted by tracing the development of the concept of the validity of Bugis marriage from pre-Islamic times, the process of Islamization, until the formation of a pattern of integration that persists in Bugis society.

2.Research Method

This study is a qualitative study with a library research design and a historical approach. This historical approach is used to trace the origins, changes, and continuity of the Bugis concept of marriage legitimacy from pre-Islamic to post-Islamic times. Meanwhile, the library study was conducted through a review of various written sources related to Bugis marriage traditions and the integration of sara' and ade'.

The data sources in this study consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data include Christian Pelras's work *The Bugis* (1996), Mattulada's work on the pangadereng system and the transformation of Bugis marriage practices, and excerpts from the Lontara manuscripts contained within these works. Secondary data were obtained from journal articles, dissertations, and books relevant to Bugis marriage and Islamization in South Sulawesi.

Data were collected through documentation techniques by identifying, reading, classifying, and recording information related to Bugis marriage practices, the concept of marriage legitimacy, and the relationship between sara' and ade'. Data analysis was conducted through four steps based on historical/historical study methods. First, heuristics, namely collecting various sources relevant to the research focus. Second, source criticism, namely assessing the credibility, authority, and relevance of the sources used by differentiating primary and secondary sources and comparing information between sources. Third, interpretation, namely interpreting historical data to understand changes in the concept of Bugis marriage legitimacy from the pre-Islamic to post-Islamic period. At this stage, Koentjaraningrat's acculturation perspective was used as an analytical framework to explain the process of integration between Islamic elements and Bugis customs.[12]Fourth, historiography, namely compiling the results of the analysis in the form of a systematic historical narrative to describe the origins, changes, and continuity of the concept of the validity of Bugis marriage.

3. Results and Discussion

a. The Legitimacy of Pre-Islamic Bugis Marriage: The Dominance of Ade' in Social Legitimacy

In Bugis society, marriage is not understood simply as a bond between two individuals, but rather as a means of building alliances, strengthening ties between kinship groups, and affirming social status.(1997)explains that marriage in the

Bugis tribe is called siala or "mutual taking," which indicates a reciprocal relationship between the two parties involved in the marriage. Another reference also mentions that the term for marriage in the Bugis tribe is called siabbineng, which means "planting seeds in married life," while the implementation of the marriage procession in the Bugis language is called mappabotting.[9]. In the Bugis tribe, marriage is a way to change the bond of "non-kin" into "not other people" or in Bugis terms "tennia tau laeng" as a step to renew and strengthen existing social ties.[5]. Thus, social standing, family honor, and genealogical relationships are very important considerations in conducting a marriage in Bugis society.

In general, the implementation of this traditional ceremony is divided into three stages, namely the ceremony before the wedding, during the wedding, and after the wedding.[9]. Before starting a marriage, of course, selection is needed in choosing a partner, where marriage in Bugis tradition is closely related to their social status in society.[9], therefore there are various provisions that regulate who can and cannot be married. Pelras(1997)explains that marriage between uncle and nephew or between aunt and niece is seen as salimara' (incest) and is prohibited in Bugis society. Marriage with the child of a cousin within a certain degree of kinship also tends to be avoided. Conversely, marriage between cousins within a certain degree is considered an ideal form of marriage. The above description shows that before the advent of Islam, Bugis society already had a set of customary norms that regulated who could and could not be married. These customary norms were structured in a system that became a guideline for the Bugis people's lives called pangadereng (pangngadereng), which previously consisted of four complementary pillars/elements, namely Ade' (customary law), Rapang (parables/examples), Wari' (manners, genealogy), Bicara (judicial law) and then became five pillars after the arrival of Islam (Sara').[13].

Apart from kinship factors, considerations regarding the equivalence of social status are also an important aspect, especially among the nobility because this is related to social status which will then be passed on to their descendants.[5]. In the initial stages of the engagement, the genealogy, kinship, social standing, and even the wealth of the two prospective brides and grooms are carefully examined before the marriage agreement is reached.[5]. Thus, the social legitimacy of a marriage has been established since the stage of partner selection.

The marriage process in the Bugis tribe is also regulated by strict customary procedures. In addition to the partner selection process, Pelras(1997)explains that the groom's family needs to make an informal approach or ma'manu-manu to ask questions indirectly and vaguely to the prospective bride, in order to maintain the dignity of both parties if the approach is rejected. If the woman is willing, then the ma'duta procession or "coming as an envoy" will be carried out, namely an official/formal meeting held by both families to discuss all matters related to the marriage. At this stage, the genealogy, position, kinship, and wealth of each prospective couple are reviewed and negotiations are carried out regarding sompa (respect for the prospective bride) in proportion to the woman's position and intended for the bride herself as well as the amount of money to be paid by the groom's side as a contribution to the wedding costs (dui' menre or uang naik) and gifts to be given to the bride and her family.[5]. When agreement on these matters is reached, a day is set for the solemn ratification (mappetu ada'), at which time there will be no more disagreements.[9]This stage shows that marriage cannot be carried out haphazardly, but must go through a customary mechanism (ade') that obtains the approval of both families.

The validity of a marriage is also established through the performance of sacred traditional rituals. The wedding ceremony is carried out through ma'pabotting, a wedding procession held at the bride's home.[5]In the past, the groom had to pass through various symbolic obstacles before he could meet the bride, which was called the ma'lawolo ritual, namely a symbolic dialogue between the groom's entourage and a bissu representing the bride's side who conducted a symbolic dialogue with the groom's entourage to ensure the origin and purity of his lineage before guiding him into the bride's house through the lawolo symbol (a woven cloth held by the bissu and the groom) which symbolizes the relationship between the human world and the supernatural and Bugis cosmology and La Galigo.[5]. Mattulada(1983)He also explained that before the adoption of Islam in South Sulawesi, various Bugis traditional ceremonies involved ritual figures who held authority in the community's social life. The involvement of these ritual figures demonstrates that marriage was viewed as a sacred event requiring legitimacy through customary mechanisms in Bugis society.

After gaining ritual legitimacy, a Bugis marriage also requires social recognition from the community. Following the various wedding ceremonies, the bride and groom are formally introduced to the community at a celebration attended by relatives and invited guests.(1997)explains that the bride and groom sit together before the guests for several hours, sometimes even days at royal weddings. During this occasion, the identities, social status, and relationship between the two families are demonstrated through the ceremonial procedures, attire, and festive festivities. Thus, public recognition of the marriage becomes an important part of the process of social legitimizing the married couple.

Representations of the importance of marriage in Bugis society can also be found in the Sureq Galigo. In this manuscript, marriage is depicted as a social institution closely linked to the continuity of lineages, the formation of alliances, and the maintenance of social order. The stories in the Sureq Galigo depict the process of marriage proposals, consideration of the suitability of partners, and certain gifts in marriage.[14]. The literary work La Galigo is positioned as a literary work that can reflect itself and become hegemonic in society.[15]. Although Sureq Galigo cannot be treated as a factual historical record, this manuscript can be used to understand the worldview of the Bugis people regarding the importance of marriage in their social structure.

Based on this description, it can be understood that the validity of marriage in pre-Islamic Bugis society was not determined by a particular rite or solely by the will of the individuals marrying. The suitability of a couple was determined through genealogical rules and social stratification, the marriage process was carried out through customary mechanisms involving the extended family, ritual legitimacy was obtained through the implementation of ceremonies led by certain authorities, while social legitimacy was realized through

community recognition of the marriage being conducted. Thus, ade' functioned as a normative basis that determined the social legitimacy of a marriage in Bugis society before the acceptance of Islam.

b. Islamization of South Sulawesi and the Inclusion of Sara' Elements in the Bugis Marriage System

According to various existing views, Islam developed among the Bugis people, South Sulawesi in the early 17th century through the Minangkabau missionaries, South Sumatra.[16]The arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi in the early 17th century was a significant event that brought about changes in various aspects of Bugis life, including the marriage system. The arrival of Islam in Bugis society represented the acceptance of entirely new values into an already established culture.

Islamization in South Sulawesi did not occur through the elimination of previously developed local traditions, but rather through a process of interaction and adaptation to existing social structures.(2013)explains that the relationship between Islam and Bugis culture shows a pattern of acculturation, namely the acceptance of Islamic elements without eliminating the local cultural identity that has taken root in the lives of the Bugis people.

The arrival of Islam of course greatly influenced the beliefs and traditions of the Bugis people, because religion is not just a belief but an important aspect that determines the identity of a society.[17]In Bugis society, social life is regulated through a system of norms called pangadereng. Before the adoption of Islam, pangadereng consisted of four elements: ade' (custom), bicara (judgment), rapang (parables or role models), and wari' (regulations regarding social stratification). After the adoption of Islam, sara' was added as a fifth element to the system.

Mattulada(1983)He explains that the Lontara mentions that previously there were four elements that served as guidelines for community life. Then, after the arrival of Islam, the concept of sara' was added as a complementary element in the pangadereng. The acceptance of the sara' element gave a new dimension to the entire pangadereng. Thus, Islamic law is not positioned as a system that replaces custom, but rather as a new element integrated into the normative order of Bugis society.

This view was reinforced by Rasdiyanah(1995)which explains that the relationship between Bugis customary law and Islamic law takes the form of an integration of the pangadereng system with Islamic law. According to him, this integration allows custom and sharia to function simultaneously in regulating Bugis social life. Thus, the acceptance of Islam did not eliminate pre-existing social institutions, but rather expanded the normative framework used by Bugis society to resolve various life issues, including marriage.

The inclusion of sara' (religious differences) in pangadereng also influenced the Bugis concept of marriage legitimacy. While previously, marriage legitimacy relied on customary mechanisms, after the adoption of Islam, the validity of marriage also required compliance with Islamic law.(1983)explains that sara' officials (parewa sara') are responsible for various religious matters and have the authority to make decisions regarding marriage and inheritance, but in their implementation must still be in accordance with existing customs. This shows that religious legitimacy (Islamic law or sara') is starting to become an important part of the Bugis marriage system without eliminating the social legitimacy that has been established through ade'.

Pelras(1997)He also added that religious officials known as kali or kadhi occupy a position equal to that of civil servants in the Bugis government structure. The kali/kadhi serve as advisors to the ruler in religious matters, are responsible for the implementation of sara' (religious order) and provide opinions when a case requires resolution based on Islamic law, such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance. The presence of kadhi as a religious authority in marriage indicates a new dimension in determining the validity of a marriage, namely a religious dimension that had not previously been part of the Bugis marriage legitimacy system.

These changes can be seen concretely in the inclusion of elements of Islamic law into the implementation of marriage. One of the roles of sara' in marriage is entering into marriage procedures according to Islamic law led by the imam or kadhi[13]The presence of an imam or kadhi (leader) in wedding ceremonies has gradually replaced the role of bissu (leader) or sanro (leader), who previously led prayers in all Bugis traditional activities. However, traditional elements have not been eliminated.

Then, as in the sompa tradition, known as a form of respect for the bride, and dui' menre as the groom's contribution to the organization of the wedding reception, it is still maintained. In addition, lise' pernikahang emerged, understood as mahr (dowry) in Islam and given to the bride as a mandatory condition of marriage.[5]. The form of this dowry can be in the form of cash, religious equipment such as the Qur'an, Mukenah, and others. The presence of these three elements shows that the elements of custom and sharia do not run separately, but rather complement each other in Bugis marriage practices.

From an acculturation perspective, this change can be understood as the process of accepting new cultural elements into local culture without eliminating existing cultural identities. Koentjaraningrat(1979)explains that acculturation occurs when elements of a foreign culture are accepted and processed into one's own culture without losing the original cultural identity. Therefore, the changes that occurred in the Bugis marriage system after Islamization cannot be understood as a process of cultural substitution. Instead, the introduction of sara' into the Bugis marriage system demonstrates a normative integration between Islamic law and pre-existing Bugis customs.

Based on this description, it can be understood that Islamization in South Sulawesi did not eliminate the marriage legitimacy mechanism established through ade'. Instead, Islam introduced a new dimension in the form of religious legitimacy that coexisted with social legitimacy derived from custom. Thus, the changes that occurred after Islam was accepted by the Bugis community are more accurately understood as an acculturation process that resulted in a marriage legitimacy system that combines elements of sara' and ade'.

c. Integration of Sara' and Ade' in the Validity of Bugis Marriage

The Islamization process taking place in Bugis society did not result in the elimination of previously established marriage traditions. Instead, elements of Islamic law and Bugis customs underwent a process of integration, forming a unique system of marriage validity.[19]In Bugis society, a marriage is not only considered valid if it meets the requirements of Islamic law, but must also obtain social legitimacy through the implementation of prevailing customs in society.

The response or acceptance of the integration between sara' (Islamic law) and ade' (customary law) among the Bugis community also varies greatly. Among those who still adhere to tradition, both Islamic ceremonies based on sara' and customary ceremonies based on ade' are seen as essential elements for a marriage to be considered valid. Conversely, Islamic reformist groups tend to perform only Islamic ceremonies, while the To-Lotang community (non-Muslim members of the Bugis tribe) maintains customary rites without Islamic elements. This condition proves that the process of acculturation is a cultural dialogue, negotiation, and active reinterpretation, and not simply a form of unilateral cultural subjugation (unilateral domination) or forced assimilation. Nevertheless, in Muslim Bugis society in general, the validity of marriage is established through a combination of religious legitimacy (sara') and social legitimacy through ade'.

This integration is evident in the economic aspects of marriage. Before the acceptance of Islam, the Bugis people already recognized sompa as a form of respect for the bride and dui' menre as the groom's contribution to the organization of the wedding party. After the acceptance of Islam, these elements were not removed, but were supplemented by lise' mating, understood as mahr or dowry in Islam (Pelras, 1996). The existence of sompa, dui' menre, and lise' mating simultaneously shows that the Bugis marriage system does not replace old elements with new ones, but rather integrates them into a single marriage practice. In this context, sompa and dui' menre are maintained because they are seen as a form of respect for the dignity of women and their families according to Bugis custom, while lise' mating exists to fulfill the provisions of Islamic law regarding dowry in marriage.

The integration of sara' and ade' is also evident in the implementation of marriage rites. Various traditional processes that were familiar in Bugis society before Islam, such as ma'manu-manu, ma'duta, mappettu ada', ma'pabotting and various symbols of respect for both families, were maintained after the acceptance of Islam. The ma'manu-manu stage is still carried out because it serves as a form of investigation into the status of the woman who will be proposed to, whether she is already "kept" or proposed to by someone else or not. Ma'manu-manu is considered a permissible tahsiniyah custom and does not conflict with sharia.[20].

The ma'duta stage is also still carried out because it functions as a means of exploration and deliberation between families before the marriage takes place. Meanwhile, mappettu ada' is maintained as a forum for establishing various agreements related to the marriage, such as the time of the event, the amount of sompa, and the responsibilities of each party, thus reflecting the importance of the principle of consensus in Bugis society. Meanwhile, ma'pabotting is the stage where "a wedding party must be held," where the celebration is held in front of invited guests to mark the officialization of the marriage in front of the community (social legitimacy).[11]. The harmony of the entire marriage procession (ma'manu-manu – ma'pabotting) shows that sara' (sharia law) and ade' (customary law) can go hand in hand.[21].

Celebrations in various stages of the Bugis community's representation also indirectly become a space for expressing cultural identity and respect for ancestral customs through various symbols and accompanying procedures.[5]The continuation of these various processions shows that the social functions inherent in Bugis marriage customs, such as strengthening kinship ties, maintaining family honor, and gaining societal recognition, are still considered important even though Islam has been accepted.

At the same time, elements of Islamic law were also present in the series of marriages. Mattulada(1983)explains that one of the roles of sara' in marriage is the introduction of Islamic marriage procedures led by an imam or kadhi. The presence of an imam or kadhi gradually replaced the role of bissu or sanro in leading marriage prayers. The prayers that were usually recited by bissu or sanro were then removed and adapted to Islamic law. Furthermore, Mattulada also explains that there are still remnants of marriage customs that are still carried out after the introduction of the sara' element, namely during the first meeting of the bride and groom and the first contact between the man's thumb and the woman's thumb as a sign of marriage according to tradition.[13]This practice is also known as mappasikarwa or mappasilukang as a sign that although the Islamic marriage contract has become the determinant of the validity of a marriage according to religion, the Bugis community still maintains symbolic markers according to custom as a form of traditional legitimacy for the newly formed husband and wife relationship.

The integration process is also visible through the entry of religious symbols into social spaces previously dominated by custom. Barzanji is an activity of reading the Book of Barzanji carried out by the community and led by a priest during certain events/traditions, one of which is during the wedding process[13]Barzanji is performed as part of a pre-wedding ceremony known as mappacci. Mappacci involves giving henna to the bride-to-be, who has been made up as a bride, and offering prayers and advice regarding her future marriage.[22]. The community understands that the mappacci tradition is very important in Bugis weddings and after the arrival of Islam until now, this tradition has not been eliminated and is allowed to be carried out because it brings benefits and does not conflict with Islamic law.[23]The presence of these elements indicates that Islamization in Bugis society took place through a strategy of cultural adaptation, namely by inserting Islamic values into previously known social practices without eliminating all existing forms of custom.

Furthermore, Bugis weddings are currently understood as social-sacred events that combine custom and sharia, are strongly influenced by the values of siri'/masiri' (self-respect, shame) and are realized through a series of lively processions but are still referenced to Islamic teachings.[24]. Therefore, after the introduction of the element of sara', elements

that were previously often performed at wedding parties and were not in accordance with sharia began to be eliminated, such as forbidden food (pork) and forbidden drinks ballo (traditional alcoholic beverages). To overcome this situation, scholars and preachers at that time interspersed wedding parties with the recitation of barzanji which was performed the night before the wedding party.[13].

In the context of contemporary Bugis society, the integration between sara' and ade' can still be found in various marriage practices. Djawas et al.(2023)explained that the implementation of Bugis Muslim marriages not only considers fulfilling the pillars and requirements of marriage according to Islam, but also maintains various local traditions deemed to have social and cultural value. These traditions remain in place as long as they are not deemed to conflict with the principles of Islamic law. Similarly, Tahir et al.(2022)The findings demonstrate that various Bugis wedding traditions contain Islamic educational values, such as respect for parents, responsibility in building a household, a spirit of mutual cooperation, and the importance of maintaining good relationships within families. These findings demonstrate that Bugis wedding customs are not only preserved as a cultural heritage but also reinterpreted through Islamic values accepted by society.

From an acculturation perspective, this condition shows that the relationship between Islam and Bugis culture takes place in a negotiative and integrative manner.[25]. Koentjaraningrat(1979)explains that the result of the acculturation process is not the loss of native culture, but rather the formation of new cultural patterns that maintain the identity of the old culture. The integration of sara' and ade' in Bugis marriage demonstrates that Bugis society does not view custom and religion as two opposing systems. Instead, they are positioned as complementary sources of legitimacy in determining the validity of a marriage.

Based on this description, it can be understood that the legitimacy of post-Islamic Bugis marriages is constructed through two concurrent forms of legitimacy. On the one hand, Islamic law provides religious legitimacy through the fulfillment of the pillars and requirements of marriage. On the other hand, Bugis customs provide social legitimacy through the implementation of various ceremonies that receive community recognition. Thus, the integration of sara' and ade' has given rise to a unique concept of marriage legitimacy in Bugis society: both valid according to religion and accepted according to custom.

4.Conclusion

Based on the research results, it can be concluded that the legitimacy of Bugis marriage underwent a transformation along with the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi. Before the acceptance of Islam, ade' served as a normative foundation that determined the legitimacy of marriage through genealogical rules, social stratification, the implementation of customary rites, and community recognition. After the arrival of Islam, sara' was integrated into the pangadereng system without eliminating pre-existing customary elements. This integration introduced a new dimension in the form of religious legitimacy through the fulfillment of the pillars and requirements of marriage according to Islamic law.

This process demonstrates that Islamization in Bugis society occurs through adaptive and integrative acculturation mechanisms. Various marriage traditions, such as ma'manu-manu, ma'duta, mappettu ada', mappacci, and ma'pabotting, are maintained because they serve a social function in maintaining family honor, strengthening kinship ties, and gaining community recognition. At the same time, Islamic elements such as the marriage contract, dowry, the recitation of the Barzanji, and the role of the imam or kadhi (leader) are part of the Bugis wedding ritual.

Thus, the legitimacy of Bugis marriage cannot be understood solely as a product of Islamic custom or law in isolation. This legitimacy is the result of the integration of sara' and ade', which creates a dual legitimacy system: both valid according to religion and accepted according to custom. These findings indicate that the relationship between Islam and Bugis culture is not antagonistic, but rather negotiative and complementary in shaping the socio-religious identity of the Bugis community.

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