



## ***Mappanre Adek* and Strengthening Social Bonds in Bulukumba Community, South Sulawesi: Living Qur'an and Anthropology Perspective**

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### **Abstract**

The *Mappanre adek* tradition is not only a traditional identity but also a religious identity practiced by the Bugis-Makassar community in Bulukumba, South Sulawesi. This study aims to discuss the strengthening of social ties through the *Mappanre adek* tradition from the perspective of the living Qur'an and anthropology. The article is important because it explains how Islamic values are acculturated with traditional ceremonies among the Bulukumba community, South Sulawesi. This study uses an empirical legal method analyzed with the theory of Islamic legal anthropology. Data refers to the results of interviews and literature studies. Interviews were conducted to validate data on key informants, while literature refers to journal articles, books and research fields related to the focus of the discussion. The article concludes that it shows that traditional ceremonies, in addition to functioning as a glue for society, also contribute to the sustainability of social order through the integration of the community involved in the ceremony. This traditional ceremony exemplifies an attitude of mutual respect and sharing happiness. In addition, this traditional ceremony also structures social classes that almost never change. In the context of living Qur'an and anthropology, the tradition of *mappaenre adek* is an implementation of the values of the Quran, such as *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, *litaarafu*, mutual respect practiced by the community. Tradition as custom contains beneficial values, namely maintaining social ties and social cohesion in society. So that the values of the Quran and local culture are able to create a harmonious acculturation and accommodation.

**Keywords:** *Mappanre adek*, acculturation, tradition, social bond, living Quran, anthropology

### ***Abstrak***

*Tradisi Mappanre adek tidak hanya merupakan identitas adat tetapi juga identitas keagamaan yang dipraktikkan oleh masyarakat Bugis-Makassar di Bulukumba, Sulawesi Selatan. Kajian ini bertujuan membahas tentang penguatan ikatan sosial melalui tradisi Mappanre adek dalam perspektif living Qur'an dan antropologi. Tulisan tersebut penting karena menjelaskan bagaimana nilai-nilai Islam berakulturasi dengan upacara adat di kalangan masyarakat Bulukumba, Sulawesi Selatan. Studi ini menggunakan metode hukum empiris dianalisis dengan teori antropologi hukum Islam. Data mengacu pada hasil wawancara dan studi literatur. Wawancara dilakukan untuk memvalidasi data terhadap informan kunci, sedangkan literatur merujuk pada artikel jurnal buku dan lapangan penelitian yang terkait dengan fokus pembahasan. Artikel tersebut menyimpulkan bahwa upacara adat, selain berfungsi sebagai perekat masyarakat, juga berkontribusi terhadap kelanggengan ketertiban sosial melalui keterpaduan masyarakat yang terlibat dalam upacara tersebut. Upacara adat ini mencontohkan sikap saling menghormati dan berbagi kebahagiaan. Selain itu, upacara adat ini juga menstrukturkan kelas sosial yang hampir tidak pernah berubah. Pada konteks living Qur'an dan antropologi, tradisi mappanre adek merupakan implementasi dari nilai-nilai al-Qur'an, seperti ukhuwah Islamiyah, litaarafu, saling menghargai yang dipraktekkan oleh masyarakat. Tradisi sebagai adat mengandung nilai manfaat yaitu mempertahankan ikatan sosial dan kohesi sosial dalam masyarakat. Sehingga antara nilai-nilai al-Qur'an dan budaya lokal mampu menciptakan sebuah akulturasi yang harmoni.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Mappanre adek, akulturasi, tradisi, ikatan sosial, living Qur'an, antropologi*

### **Introduction**

Marriage is part of a tradition that is very rich in Islamic law values, customs and culture. The reason people maintain a traditional ceremony is not always based on reasons for the interests of the custom itself.<sup>1</sup> The *mappanre adek* ceremony which is carried out continuously by the Bugis-Makassar Muslim community in Bulukumba before the marriage contract, for example, relies more on the realization of a shared mission that is realized through the implementation of the ceremony. Marriage, not only related to customary practices, but also it is part of Islamic

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<sup>1</sup> Adi Syahputra Sirait, et.al., "Assessing Criminal Penalties in Marriage Law: a Comparative Study of Policy Frameworks within Indonesian and Malaysian Legislation," *al-Manahij* 18, No. 2 (2024).

guidance<sup>2</sup> so that the involvement of these two elements is difficult to avoid.<sup>3</sup> The tendency of the community to maintain traditional practices or ceremonies is not always on the basis of conformity to religious teachings,<sup>4</sup> but also because of their strong efforts to find common ground between religion and customs that are more accommodating to a practice.<sup>5</sup>

Studies on traditional ceremonies have been carried out by many experts. They look at traditional ceremonies in three study trends. First, a study that looks at the functional aspects of a ceremony. One of the functions of the ceremony is a symbolic function, meaning that a ceremony is a symbol that can be used as an adhesive tool for its adherents and structural/integrative functions.<sup>6</sup> Second, there are studies that position traditional ceremonies as contradictory to religious beliefs,<sup>7</sup> and there are also those that place ceremonies as practices that are in line with Islam.<sup>8</sup> Third, studies that describe the meaning of ritual, both as a form of obedience to ancestors and as a form of legitimating a role or power.<sup>9</sup> These studies have not carefully looked at the relationship between a practice and the mission of certain community groups so that traditional ceremonies tend to be maintained.

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<sup>2</sup> Farida Ulvi Naimah, Mauhibur Rokhman, Ali Usman Hali, Muhammad Anas Maarif, Akhmad Sirojuddin, "Internalization of Local Traditions in Child Marriage from the Perspective of Maqasid Al-Usrah", *El-Maslahah* 14, No. 2 (2024), p. 237-258.

<sup>3</sup> Wardatun Nabilah, Rido Putra, Fakhriyah Annisa Afroo, Nurjanah Nurjanah, Etri Wahyuni, "Between Protection and Permissiveness: A Fiqh Siyasah Reexamination of Marriage Dispensation in Indonesia", *Juris: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah* 24, No. 1 (2025), p. 137-151.

<sup>4</sup> Silahuddin, Saiful, M. Ikhwan, Teuku Zulfikar, Hendra SH, "Looking Inside Traditional Islamic Schools: Concerns and Prospects of Learning Culture", *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun: The Indonesian Journal of the Social Sciences* 13, No.1 (2025), p. 1-22.

<sup>5</sup> Mursyid Djawas, et.al., "The Integration Between Syara' and Ade' in Marriage Tradition Bugis Bone, South Sulawesi," *al-Ihkam* 18, No. 2 (2023).

<sup>6</sup> Salleh Norhuda and Harun Yaacob, "Fungsi Ritual Dalam Adat Pertunangan Masyarakat Melayu," *Journal of Education and Social Sciences* 1, no. 1 (2015). I Wayan Murjana, "Ritual Penglukatan Pada Hari Tumpek Wayang Di Desa Pakraman Banjarangkan Kecamatan Banjarangkan Kabupaten Klungkung (Kajian Teologi Hindu)," *Jurnal Penelitian Agama Hindu* 1, no. 2 (2017).

<sup>7</sup> Ali Maksum et al., "Literation of the Acculturation of Islamic Culture in Yogyakarta, Indonesia," *Proceeding International Conference of Community Service* 1, no. 1 (2023). Achmadi Achmadi, "Penegakan Hukum Pidana Terhadap Praktek Perjudian Dalam Ritual Tiwah Di Kabupaten Kapuas," *Anterior Jurnal* 15, no. 2 (2016).

<sup>8</sup> Muhammad Zulfadli et al., "Akulturasi Islam dan Budaya Lokal Dalam Tradisi Mangaji Kamatian Pada Masyarakat Lareh Nan Panjang Kabupaten Padang Pariaman," *Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, Dan Tradisi)* 7, no. 01 (2021). Muhammad Hariyadi and Ali Mahfudz, "Karakteristik Komunikasi Nabi Muhammad Saw Berbasis Khithab Qul Dalam Al-Qur'an," *Al Amin: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Dan Budaya Islam* 4, No. 1 (2021).

<sup>9</sup> Firdha Annisa, et.al., "Ritual Unggahan Pada Komunitas Adat Bonokeling (Studi Kasus Pada Komunitas Adat Bonokeling Di Kabupaten Banyumas Menggunakan Teori Liminalitas Victor Turner)," *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling* 53, no. 9 (2017). N W Sumitri, "Kekuatan Dan Kekuasaan (Dalam) Bahasa Dalam Perspektif Etnolinguistik: Dinamika Tradisi Ritual Etnik Rongga Di Manggarai Timur," *Mozaik Humaniora* 19, no. 2 (2019).

In line with that, customs and culture that have become traditions have proven to be able to strengthen social ties in society.<sup>10</sup> For example, the tradition of *slametan* in Javanese Muslim society, in the form of prayer and eating together and sharing food to commemorate or preserve the life cycle such as birth, marriage and death.<sup>11</sup> The most important thing here is that in *slametan* there is social integration because the entire community is present when carrying out the *slametan*. In this tradition, there is also an acculturation of Islam with local elements so that it finds common ground with the teachings of universal values in Islam and shows an understanding of Javanese norms with the basic doctrines of Islam so that this rite is easily accepted by Javanese people.<sup>12</sup>

Likewise, the tradition of death (*tahlilan* or *samadiyah*) in Acehnese society is a tradition of social interaction since the process includes the initial meeting, process, *kendhuri*, and pilgrimage or visiting with a sense of grief. The meaning of the ritual functions as a means of establishing a vertical relationship between humans and God, as well as a horizontal relationship between humans and humans, which contains local wisdom that becomes the identity of a society.<sup>13</sup>

Then another tradition is marriage in the Bugis Bone community starting from before the wedding party until after it shows support for strengthening social ties and social integration in society. For example, in the ritual there is a tradition of *assitlung-tulungeng* (helping each other) which is then reflected in the form of *massolo'* (giving gifts), *majjama* (working together), *dijamari* (helping other people's work), forms of care and assistance, and other forms of social interaction that are identified as the essence of human life because of the instinct to live in harmony with others.<sup>14</sup>

The study seeks to continue the same argument that cultural traditions can strengthen social ties in society. This paper aims to complement the lack of studies on the values contained in a traditional ceremony in the Bugis-Makassar community. One of the rituals that is still practiced is *mappanre adek* which is carried out before the marriage contract begins. This study specifically (different from existing studies) analyzes the reasons why the Bugis-Makassar community maintains this *mappanre adek* ritual. Thus, it can be emphasized that the main objective of this study is to discuss *mappanre adek* as a tradition that can strengthen social bond or ties in the Bulukumba community.

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<sup>10</sup> Achmad Kholiq, Achyar Zein, "Fiqh Model of the Companions (Sahābah) of the Prophet and its Influence on Abu Hanifah's Rational Fiqh and Malik's Traditional Fiqh", *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 21, No. 1 (2021).

<sup>11</sup> Dwi Utami Hudaya Nur, M. Sadik, Nuzha Nuzha, Ahmad Abbas, Ardiansyah Ardiansyah, "Addressing Child Marriage in West Sulawesi: The Role of Islamic Institutions in Public Legal Awareness", *De Jure: Jurnal hukum dan Syaria'h* 17, No. 1 (2025), p. 149-174.

<sup>12</sup> Mohamad Abdun Nasir, "Revisiting the Javanese Muslim Slametan: Islam, Local Tradition, Honor and Symbolic Communication," *al-Jamiah* 52, No. 2 (2019).

<sup>13</sup> Abdul Manan, et.al., "The Unity of Community in Cemetery: An Ethnographic Study of The Islamic Burial Rituals in Aceh, Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 24, No. 1 (2024).

<sup>14</sup> Mursyid Djawas, et.al., "The Integration Between Syara' and Ade', p. 342-364.

This research uses empirical legal methods analyzed with a living Qur'an and anthropology approach.<sup>15</sup> Living Quran is a scientific study method that wants the Qur'an not only to be interpreted as a holy book, but its contents can be realized or attempted to be realized in the reality of life. The study of the Qur'an will include not only the Qur'an as a book with various interpretations,<sup>16</sup> but also various efforts to realize understanding and interpretation in real life, the relationship between humans and God, humans and the universe.<sup>17</sup>

Data refers to the results of interviews and literature studies. Interviews were conducted to validate data on key informants, while literature refers to journal articles, books and research fields related to the focus of the discussion. This article is the result of research conducted between 2019 and 2020 in Bulukumba District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. This area was chosen due to the following factors: (1) Bulukumba is a predominantly Muslim area with a high percentage of devout Muslims. (2) This area is governed by Regional Regulation (Perda) Shari'a, which reaffirms Islam's strong influence. (3) This is the only village/village in this area that still requires the community to perform the mappanre adek ceremony prior to performing the marriage contract.

On the eve of the *mappanre adek* ceremony, data collection via interviews was conducted. The author chooses informants based on their group membership. Informants included traditional leaders, religious leaders, village officials, and members of the general public. Not to mention, the author conducted an interview with *Shahibul Hajat*. The interview questions are more focused on the procession, specifically the requirements that must be prepared and the philosophy that underpins the ceremony's requirements. Additionally, the author casts doubt on the rationale for continuing to perform the ritual. The informants chosen provided a range of information. Some of them are more likely to rely on the ceremony's implementation as a show of respect for their forefathers, ensuring that the *mappanre adek* ceremony must still be performed. Additionally, there are those who concentrate their research on the connection between the *mappanre adek* ceremony and Islamic teachings. The documentation obtained (in the form of photographs of the ceremonial procession) served as a reference point for reading the *mappanre adek* ceremony procession.

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<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Nur Kholis Setiawan, *Al-Qur'an Kitab Sastra Terbesar*, Yogyakarta: Elsaq Press, 2006, p. 68.

<sup>16</sup> Siti Mahmudah, "The Contextualization of Sharia and Its Contribution to The Development Of The Indonesian National Law", *Al-Adalah* 16, No. 1 (2019), p. 17-40.

<sup>17</sup> Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, "The Living al-Qur'an: Beberapa Perspektif Antropologi," *Walisongo* 20, No. 1 (2012), p. 235-260. Ahmad Farhan, "Living al-Qur'an sebagai Metode Alternatif dalam Studi al-Qura'n," *El-Afkar* 6, No. 2 (2017), p. 86-96.

## Rituals and the Function of Religious Practices for Humans

### 1. Ritual Practice

Ritual practice is rooted in deeply held cultural beliefs about the possibility of an event occurring as a result of "good things," so ritual practice is more focused on efforts to attract spirits that can be approached and influenced through certain ritual sacrifices<sup>18</sup>. Ritual practice develops into a social force that shapes psychological, sociocultural, and spiritual realities capable of adapting to environmental dynamics in order to maintain their various functions<sup>19</sup>. According to Pollok,<sup>20</sup> "as ritual practice is activated, its performative and symbolic elements are negotiated and remade; in this way, cultural change occurs organically, as a nexus of intersubjective interpretations and claims." If ritual practice is manifested in material culture, it will be more durable than ritual practice that is only manifested in beliefs based on human memory.<sup>21</sup> Cao & Chen<sup>22</sup> emphasize the standardization of ritual practices in order to create a holistic culture and ritual system that eventually results in the transition of the entire society.

Khishnamurthy discusses one of religion's ritual practices, baptism.<sup>23</sup> The intersection of ritual, bodily experience, religious discourse, and social imagination has shaped the framework of baptism as a fundamental ritual practice in the formation and maintenance of religious discourse in this instance. In West African society, acceptance or rejection of offerings to God is determined by observing the final moments of the first chicken sacrificed<sup>24</sup>. The ceremony will be disrupted if the rooster does not die in the expected position.<sup>25</sup> In West Papua, Indonesia, acculturation between Islamic culture and religion is progressing smoothly in terms of changing the indigenous people's mindsets in order to eliminate things that may

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<sup>18</sup> Ali Sodiqin and Roehana Rofaidatun Umroh, "Towards an Interreligious Fiqh: A Study of the Culture-Based Religious Tolerance in the Kaloran Community, Central Java, Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 61, no. 1 (2024), p. 159–80.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Frishkopf, "Paralinguistic Ramification of Language Performance in Islamic Ritual," *Yale Journal of Music & Religion* 4, no. 1 (2018).

<sup>20</sup> Anne Pollok, "The Power of Rituals: Mendelssohn and Cassirer on the Religious Dimension of Bildung," *Religious Studies* 50, no. 4 (2014).

<sup>21</sup> David Collard, "The Materiality of Ecstatic Ritual: Altered States of Consciousness and Ritual in Late Bronze Age Cyprus," in *Exploring the Materiality of Food "Stuffs": Transformations, Symbolic Consumption and Embodiments*, 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Bin Cao and Beichen Chen, "Ritual Changes and Social Transition in the Western Zhou Period (c.a. 1050–771 BCE)," *Archaeological Research in Asia* 19 (2019).

<sup>23</sup> Sukanya Krishnamurthy, "Rituals and the Participation of Urban Form: Informal and Formal Image Making Processes," *City, Culture and Society* 7, no. 3 (2016).

<sup>24</sup> Marie Daugey, "The Death Throes of Sacrificed Chicken: Triggering Critical Reflexive Stances on Ritual Action in Togo," *Religion and Society* 9, no. 1 (2018).

<sup>25</sup> Rudi Mayandra, "Regulation of Marriage Dispensation Against Marriage of Children Under The Age of Post Decision of The Constitutional Court Number 22 / Puu-Xv / 2017", *Syariah: Jurnal hukum dan Pemikiran* 20, No. 2 (2020), p. 187-200.

cause shirk while retaining the sea ritual's primary characteristics and components.<sup>26</sup> Likewise in Aceh, the *peusejuk* tradition is carried out by the community when they are about to build a house, get married,<sup>27</sup> occupy a new position or when they are about to perform the hajj pilgrimage. This is also an acculturation and harmonization between Islamic law and culture.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. Ritual Function

From an epistemological standpoint, ritual as a human activity contains certain progressive connotations based on ethnic group-specific cultural facts. Ritual acts as a vehicle for visualizing and activating these cultural facts. Rituals can be used to facilitate communication between members of a community, resulting in a distinctive ethical outreach<sup>29</sup>. Then, Demmrich & Wolfradt<sup>30</sup> added the role of ritual in defining a group's identity and regulating emotions. For instance, emotional regulation during spiritual rituals. According to Utriaunen,<sup>31</sup> rituals can also serve as a means of achieving safety for others and as a system of self-cultivation (management). Additionally, ritual practice enables community members to gain experience with their culture, frequently seeks resolutions to community dilemmas, and serves as a conduit for communication with the spirit world.<sup>32</sup>

In Jambi, Indonesia, there is a *Safar* bathing ritual, which entails bathing together on the beach with a prayer tattoo. The community performs this ritual every Wednesday during the month of *Safar*<sup>33</sup> (the second month of Hijriah). This tradition, which derives from religious rituals in Malay society, is believed to be capable of rescuing people during the month of Safar. Initially, the Safar bathing tradition sparked controversy due to the fact that it was considered heretical by some Muslims. However, the ritual has developed into a popular cross-ethnic tradition and is slated

<sup>26</sup> Ismail Suardi Wekke, "Environmental Conservation of Muslim Minorities in Raja Ampat: Sasi, Mosque and Customs," *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 2018.

<sup>27</sup> Shella Oetharry Gunawan, Syamsul Bahri, "Impacts of Early Childhood Marriage in Indonesia Viewed from Child Protection Laws Perspectives", *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 6, No. 2 (2023), p. 362-380.

<sup>28</sup> Fuadi Fuadi and Dian Popi Oktari, "Konsep Teologi Islam Dalam Pelaksanaan Tradisi Keumaweuh Dan Peusijek di Kecamatan Labuhan Haji Kabupaten Aceh Selatan," *Jurnal Yaqzhan: Analisis Filsafat Agama dan Kemanusiaan* 7, No. 2 (2021), p. 286. Mursyid Djawas, et.al., "Harmonization of State, Custom, and Islamic Law in Aceh: Perspective of Legal Pluralism," *Hasanuddin Law Review* 10, No. 1 (2024).

<sup>29</sup> Pollok, "The Power of Rituals: Mendelssohn and Cassirer on the Religious Dimension of Bildung."

<sup>30</sup> Sarah Demmrich and Uwe Wolfradt, "Personal Rituals in Adolescence: Their Role in Emotion Regulation and Identity Formation," *Journal of Empirical Theology* 31, no. 2 (2018).

<sup>31</sup> Terhi Utriainen, "Ritually Framing Enchantment: Momentary Religion and Everyday Realities," in *Suomen Antropologi* 41, (2016).

<sup>32</sup> Umi Latifah, "Unveiling Partnership Culture in Sharia Banking Regulations," *BANCO: Jurnal Manajemen Dan Perbankan Syariah* 6, no. 2 (2024).

<sup>33</sup> Irmawati Sagala, "Extension of Religious Ritual Functions in Development Process: Study of Mandi Safar in Air Hitam Ocean Indonesia," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, vol. 156, 2018.

to become one of Jambi Province's national tourism icons in 2017, in addition to supporting economic development in Jambi's Air Laut Hitam Village. Meanwhile, in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia, the *monahu ndau'* harvesting ritual serves as a tool for life harmony and mutual cooperation for the Tolaki people.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, in Jakarta, Indonesia, the tug-of-war between the ritual function and the sacred form of the Catholic church has resulted in issues regarding the church's diminishing sacredness.<sup>35</sup>

### 3. The Survival of the Ritual

The existence of rituals and cross processions between humans and 'non-humans' helps to ensure the resilience of cultural sites.<sup>36</sup> Individual ritual artifacts must be preserved in order to be inspected and used responsibly if rituals are to last generations.<sup>37</sup> To preserve rituals, leaders must also commit to and reinvest in the culture's preservation both economically and emotionally.<sup>38</sup> Transparency is necessary and should be practiced on a regular basis in this regard to ensure a high level of trust among all members of the community, allowing each individual to participate actively in developing and influencing their own culture. This is because personal motivation and emotions are more important than simply strengthening policies in ensuring the maintenance of rituals.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, Terhi Utriainen emphasized the importance of ritual "framing" in order to preserve the ritual's credibility.<sup>40</sup>

In northern European countries, particularly in the Arctic region, ritual slaughter performed by a small number of Muslim immigrant laborers contradicts the country's secularism.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, Yeasmin<sup>42</sup> argues that if Arctic indigenous peoples have accepted immigrants and multiculturalism, they should not ignore the

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<sup>34</sup> Ajemain Ajemain, et. al., "Fungsi Ritual Monahu Nda'u Pada Orang Tolaki di Desa Parauna Kecamatan Anggaberu Kabupaten Konawe," *Jurnal Penelitian Budaya* 4, no. 1 (February 11, 2019).

<sup>35</sup> Khilola Khalimovna and Nilufar Omonova, "Hashar: Unlocking Traditional Collective Works Practice as Integrated Cultured Islamic Philanthropy Model," *BANCO: Jurnal Manajemen Dan Perbankan Syariah* 6, no. 2 (2024),

<sup>36</sup> Silvia Guizzardi, "Cultural Innovative Enterprises: Not Just Philanthropy," *China-EU Law Journal* 7, no. 1–4 (2021).

<sup>37</sup> Lina Bentahila, et.al., "Universality and Cultural Diversity in Moral Reasoning and Judgment," *Frontiers in Psychology*, (2021).

<sup>38</sup> Lars Kristian Hunn and Håkon Fyhn, "Building and Sustaining a Culture with a Mindset for Disruptive Performance: A Case-Study from Bispevika Norway," in *27th Annual Conference of the International Group for Lean Construction, IGLC 2019*, 2019.

<sup>39</sup> I Nyoman Budiono et al., "Integrating Local Culture to Work Ethics: A Holistic Approach to Mitigating Problematic Financing in Islamic Banks," *BANCO: Jurnal Manajemen Dan Perbankan Syariah* 6, no. 2 (2024).

<sup>40</sup> Utriainen, "Ritually Framing Enchantment: Momentary Religion and Everyday Realities."

<sup>41</sup> Nafisa Yeasmin, "Cultural Identities in Sustaining Religious Communities in the Arctic Region: An Ethnographic Analysis of Religiosity from the Northern Viewpoint," *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 11, no. 2 (2017).

<sup>42</sup> Nafisa Yeasmin, "Cultural Identities in Sustaining Religious Communities."



culture and religious ritual practices of immigrants, as they must also survive as a minority community in a secular society. This is because the survival and sustainability of a harmonious society in immigrant areas is contingent upon the adoption of beliefs and ideologies that promote identity behavior, including minority identity. In Bangalore, India, the continuation of Karaga rituals in urban areas is inextricably linked to the function of the rituals performed. Additionally, rituals serve to preserve their collective memory and attachment.<sup>43</sup> In Mexico, the Totonac community's commitment to preserving (pre-Hispanic) religious rituals sparked a dialogue, strengthened local institutions, and catalyzed the development of strategies to ensure its survival<sup>44</sup>.

## **The Practice of *Mappanre Adek* in Bugis Makassar Community**

### **1. The Requirements**

The *mappanre adek* ceremony is one of several traditional wedding ceremonies performed by Bugis-Makassarese people in South Sulawesi. This traditional ceremony has developed into a culture in this area that is a continuation of their ancestors' traditions. *Mappanre adek* is performed as a prayer for the smoothness of the wedding procession and the safety and happiness of the bride and groom. This ritual is generally performed the night before the wedding ceremony. In practice, this ceremony also demonstrates reverence for nobles (*arung*). They were invited to the wedding procession and fed.

Numerous conditions apply to the *mappanre adek* ceremony, most notably the number of food and beverage menus served. Seven (seven) rows left and right in the first/main row comprise the required dishes. This dish is for nobles and kings, as well as traditional holders. Seven rows of food are divided into two sections by a long cloth, three rows on the right and three rows on the left of the traditional holders. In the center, one row is reserved for customary holders. Additionally, each guest receives 12 plates to the right of the traditional holder. On the left side of the traditional holder, three rows of food totaling 11 plates are displayed. Abdullah, the former village head, stated the following regarding the number of plates served: "Plate number 12 represents the husband, while plate number 11 in the left position represents the wife, with the wife represented by the man's left rib. As a result, the numbers 12 and 11 are comparable to a married couple."<sup>45</sup>

There are distinctions in the arrangement of the menu dishes served between the plates of celebrities (including whitewater, traditional leaders, and officials) and

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<sup>43</sup> Krishnamurthy, "Rituals and the Participation of Urban Form: Informal and Formal Image Making Processes."

<sup>44</sup> Rudy Trisno and Purnama Salura, "Pengaruh Fungsi Ritual Pada Bentuk Arsitektur," *Nalar Jurnal Arsitektur* 15, no. No. 1 (2016). Abbas Abbas, "Mistisisme Muslim Pesisir: Studi Atas Ritual Masyarakat Muslim Bajo Sulawesi Tenggara," *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, (2022).

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Abdullah, former village head, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February 2020.

those of ordinary people. Additionally, the shape, size, and presentation are distinct. Generally, the plates of the figures are larger and covered in plates. Andi Mallombasi, one of the community leaders, confirmed this, saying, "The traditional leaders' dinner plates are in two layers: the top of the large bowl plate that is already on the side of the rice, and the bottom of the small plate that is covered in banana leaves as a tribute to them"<sup>46</sup>

## 2. The Ritual Steps

The *mappanre adek* ceremony is divided into several stages, beginning with preparation, implementation, and conclusion. Preparation. The dish is already prepared at this point, even before the traditional stakeholders arrive. The village head (traditional head) enters the event arena first, followed by other traditional figures. They dress impeccably in coats and sarongs and sit cross-legged (as is customary) while wearing a skullcap. When all invitees, both traditional and community leaders, are present, the bride-to-be is seated on the aisle in an aisle seat made of a mattress. According to Moh. Jafar, a community leader, before the guests, particularly the elders, were invited to eat, they entered a room where a food dish (one tray) was prepared. The food is then prayed for in order to ensure the safety and happiness of the prospective bride/bridegroom and their household.<sup>47</sup>

Following that, the customary holders counsel couples on how to get along and respect one another as husband and wife. Following that, the traditional holders begin eating, followed by their companions on the left and right. Companions and community leaders are not permitted to stop eating before the customary holders do. Similarly, whether they are full or not, traditional holders must pay attention to the front row. When the customary holder notices that the community leader in the second row is full, the customary holder immediately ceases eating. When the *mappanre adek* ceremony takes place, no sound is audible, which means that speaking is forbidden. Closing is the final stage of this ceremony. Following the *mappanre adek* ceremony, traditional stakeholders are free to converse and greet one another. They disbanded and rose from their seats, shaking hands with the invited guests before departing for their respective homes.

## 3. The Ritual Contributors

Numerous parties are involved in the *mappanre adek* ceremony. Along with the family members who have the intention, this traditional ceremony includes traditional leaders, religious leaders, government officials, and the general public. The *mappanre adek* ceremony is centered on traditional figures. He is not only a village elder, but also plays a role in the ceremony's execution. Additionally, the presence of traditional leaders or local customary holders demonstrates that adat is

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<sup>46</sup>Interview with Andi Mallombasi, Community Leader, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February 2020.

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Moh. Jafar, Public Figure, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February, 2020.

still valued in the community.<sup>48</sup> Along with traditional leaders, religious leaders, in this case village priests, play a significant role. He is involved in his role as a religious leader, which is an inseparable part of life for the Bulukumba community. Additionally, officials or village officials supplement the presence of other actors during the *mappanre adek* ceremony. Occasionally, the village head is also a traditional leader. Additionally, it plays a critical role. He is the person who accompanies nobles and other elites to a *mappanre adek* ceremony. If an invited official, such as the Camat, is unable to attend, the Village Head serves as the government's representative.

### ***Mappanre Adek, Religion and Customs***

Ceremonial practices, such as *mappanre adek*, are traditional community activities rooted in ancestral heritage. In certain communities, such as Bugis-Makassar, it is critical to continue *mappanre adek* from generation to generation in order to follow in their ancestors' footsteps. Carrying out the ceremony is synonymous with preserving the heritage of forefathers who made significant contributions in the past. The implementation of a ceremony demonstrates the dialogue between humans who are still alive and those who have died. The *mappanre adek* that has been performed thus far sends a message that the Bulukumba people and their forefathers are still in dialogue, albeit through a traditional ceremony. This is consistent with Pollok's assertion that rituals can serve as a means of communication between members of a community when the dialogue results in a distinctive ethical outreach, implying that ceremonies are capable of bringing together two disparate worlds while maintaining a common spirit, namely communication.

In practice, traditional ceremonies cannot be divorced from the influence of other factors, most notably religion (Islam).<sup>49</sup> Ceremonies, for example, are frequently in conflict with Islamic values. *Mappanre adek* is viewed as a customary practice relevant to Islam by the Bugis Makassar community in Bulukumba. However, the clash between adat and Islam cannot be avoided, particularly with regard to the ceremony's designation.<sup>50</sup> If what you truly desire is to petition the Creator for safety and happiness, why are you required to undergo a traditional ceremony? This is a frequently asked question in relation to the conduct of this

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<sup>48</sup> Mahdaliyah, Andi Sukmawati Assaad, and Muhammad Tahmid Nur, "Islamic Law Accommodation for Social Interaction Within Temu Manten Tradition", *Al-Ahkam* 34, No. 2 (October 31, 2024), p. 289–316.

<sup>49</sup> Hasse Jubba, Sudirman, Suparto Iribaram, Wan Khairul Aiman bin Wan Mokhtar, Rusdi Rasyid, "Compromise of Islam and customary practices in the religious practices of the muslim community in Papua: a study of maqāṣid syari'ah," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan*, 24 No. 2, p. 305–330.

<sup>50</sup> Mustafid, Kemas Muhammad Gemilang, Firman Surya Putra, Azzuhri Al Bajuri, Mawardi, "Alternative Legal Strategies and Ninik Mamak Authority: Dual Administration of Malay Marriage in Koto Kampar Hulu, Riau", *Journal of Islamic Law* 5, No. 1 (2024), p. 1-18.

ceremony. In Islam, praying entails upholding the pillars of Islam, most notably prayer (QS. al-Zariyat/51: 18) and (QS. al-Baqarah/2: 239). Because prayer is a means of communication between servants (human beings) and God (QS. Thaha/20:14; QS. al-Baqarah/2: 45). As a result, anything that is not based on the pillars of Islam is considered to be against Islam. Although the *mappanre adek* ceremony contains tensions between traditional and religious values, it is fundamentally a sign of a society. The purpose of a ritual/ceremony is to help shape a group's identity and serve as a means of emotional regulation. That is, the Muslim community shares the same feelings and emotions as other Muslims who continue to observe the *mappanre adek* ceremony.

Both custom and religion have their own spheres of influence. Adat operates in a realm closer to the people's traditions derived from their culture, whereas religion, particularly Islam, is more reliant on religious beliefs derived from the holy book. Even though the two spaces are distinct, they share a common ground. For instance, traditional ceremonies are steeped in religious values. The *mappanre adek* ceremony, which the Muslim community of Bulukumba continues to practice, contains several values. Among the values contained in it are the following: (1) manners (QS. al-Mujadalah/58: 11); the *mappanre Adek* ceremony is conducted in accordance with Islam's recommendation to eat cross-legged. Islam forbids standing while eating or drinking. (b) regularity (QS. al-A'raf/7: 31); The community begins eating at the *mappanre Adek* ceremony, which is preceded by the traditional leader, who is followed by other traditional leaders and community leaders; they do not precede one another. (c) discipline (QS. al-'Asr/103:1-3); *mappanre adek* implementation for traditional and community leaders should continue. This ceremony must be performed continuously in order to meet the community's needs and as a sign of adherence to ancestral traditions. (d) tranquillity (QS. al-Ra'd/13: 28); traditional leaders eat quietly, quietly, slowly, and without hurrying to pay attention to the community leaders in front of them. This means that the ceremony is expected to be able to generate tension within the community, as it is conducted in accordance with mutual agreement.

When one considers the reality, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that ritual/ceremonial practice develops into a social force that shapes psychological, sociocultural, and spiritual realities capable of adapting to the dynamics of their environment in order to maintain their various functions.<sup>51</sup> Because "as ritual practice is activated, its performative and symbolic components are negotiated and constantly remade; in this way, cultural change occurs organically, as a nexus of intersubjective interpretations and claims."<sup>52</sup> At the *mappanre adek* ceremony, a point of agreement between *adat* and Islam was reached. The community's growing sense of solidarity and solidity is a form of accommodation (see: accommodation); the values of both

<sup>51</sup> Frishkopf, "Paralinguistic Ramification of Language Performance in Islamic Ritual."

<sup>52</sup> Ted Glynn, et. al., "Culturally Responsive Pedagogy: Connecting New Zealand Teachers of Science with Their Māori Students," *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 39, no. 1 (2010).

entities, traditional and Islamic, serve the same purpose, namely to raise mutual awareness of the critical nature of togetherness in society.

### ***Mappanre Adek* and Social Bonds: Living Qur'an and Anthropological Perspectives**

It has been emphasized that traditions and rituals such as *Mappanre adek* can strengthen social ties and social integration in society. So that the Bulukumba community continues to support maintaining this tradition from a long time ago until now. Three factors contribute to the Bulukumba community's support for the *mappanre adek* ceremony. To begin, consensus on the existence of social sanctions. People believe that their forefathers and mothers performed traditional ceremonies in order to accomplish specific goals. Indeed, they claim that their forefathers used to send a message and make a vow that anyone who left the traditional ceremony would receive an unfavorable outcome. According to Makmur, one traditional leader: "If someone does not adhere to this custom, his family or descendants will be interrogated. Because this event is universal in nature, it makes no distinction between the social status of the community's nobles and commoners. Some people believe that if this ritual is not performed, the wedding party is incomplete, and they feel guilty toward the government (village head, ed.), even though no sanctions are specified".<sup>53</sup>

The preceding statement is consistent with what Amran, the Village Imam, stated: "If a member of the community fails to perform this ritual, it will be noted that the Village/Lurah office will face sanctions regarding its services."<sup>54</sup> The statement above demonstrates that people perform ceremonies out of 'fear' of social sanctions. Until now, no marriage has begun without the *mappanre adek* ceremony.

Second, there is the functional factor to consider. The *mappanre adek* ceremony, which occurs prior to the marriage contract, serves to not only publicize the marriage, but also to serve as a forum for the public to meet. Shahibul Hajat's dinner or dinner prepared by her is an expression of gratitude and a sincere wish for the wider community to come and enjoy the food prepared. At this ceremony, the "retribution" system is extremely strong. When a family is not present, it becomes village gossip. He is also regarded as a person who lacks empathy for others. Indeed, he was regarded as a proud family for declining the invitation to the ceremony. The *kataara mappanre adek* is regarded by the community as 'alms' to invited guests. Community leader Andi Mallombasi stated: "This *mappanre adek* serves as an act of almsgiving to the invitees, both traditional stakeholders (the government) and ordinary people. The implementation of this ritual event involves sincerely preparing

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<sup>53</sup>Interview, with Makmur, Community Leader, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February 2020.

<sup>54</sup>Interview with Amran, Village Imam, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February 2020.

and serving food in a variety of forms as a sign of joy and gratitude for their child's happiness in finding a mate by marrying someone who is viewed as a couple."<sup>55</sup>

As can be seen, the *mappanre adek* ceremony functions as a glue for social relations and strengthens the social ties of the community. They believe that this traditional ceremony is not limited to traditional practices alone, but also functions as a means of spreading 'happiness'. With this kind of tradition that contains aspects of ritual, culture, and religion, the community will feel one bond and have close relationships with each other.<sup>56</sup>

Third, the consideration of certain parties' interests. The *mappanre adek* ceremony allows for the continuation of traditional stakeholders in the community. As is customary, the family planning to marry off their child invites traditional leaders, religious leaders, and government officials to the house. They were served a limited number of dishes. When the family invited guests, they brought cigarettes (a pack) as luggage to the figures' homes. Both parties issue invitations, but they have distinct terms. Men's invitations are referred to as *mappaisseng adek*, while women's invitations are referred to as *madduppa adek*. Munir, a village priest, explained the invitation process as follows: "The bride and groom's families are composed of two individuals (male and female), who invite a traditional leader known as "*mappaisseng ade*." "(traditionally inviting) by bringing a pack of cigarettes containing 12 sticks, then the invitation of the prospective bride and groom's two families consists of four people (two men) - and two women referred to as "*madduppa ade*" (picking up adat) by bringing improvised raw meat to the village/lurah official, if the bride-to-be is a woman and the groom-to-be is not required to deliver the meat to the."<sup>57</sup>

Concerning the issue of figures receiving invitations to the "*mappanre adek*" ceremony, Andi Mallombasi/community leader) stated: "At the *mappanre* event, the adat rulers (government) were honored; his seat in the ritual event is in the front row, in the main row. Additionally, a week before the ritual ceremony, the bride and groom's families invite traditional stakeholders, in this case the village head and hamlet head, to bring cigarettes containing twelve sticks of raw meat (typical meat in the form of stuffed meat)."<sup>58</sup>

The *mappanre adek* ceremony is a cultural and religious observance. The Bulukumba people regard this traditional ceremony as a necessary component of the social practices associated with marriage (*akad nikah*). In practice, the *mappanre*

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<sup>55</sup>Interview with Andi Mallombasi, Community Leader, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February 2020.

<sup>56</sup>Léon Turner, "Synchronous Rituals and Social Bonding: Revitalizing Conceptions of Individual Personhood in The Evolution of Religion," *Zygon(r), Journal of Religion and Science* 56, No. 4 (2021). Sarah Charles, "United on Sunday: The effects of Secular Rituals on Social Bonding and Affect," *PLOS One* 16, No. 1 (2021).

<sup>57</sup>Interviews with Munir, Village Imam, Bulukumba South Sulawesi, February 2020.

<sup>58</sup>Interviews with Andi Mallombasi, Community Leader, Bulukumba South Sulawesi, February 2020.

adek ceremony serves a purpose for the community's adherents. To begin, ceremonial practice cements enduring traditions and values (justification). This ceremony must be performed continuously among Bulukumba's Muslim community. It is an ancestors' legacy that must be safeguarded. Indeed, they believe that this ceremony does not violate Islam. They rely on the essence of the ceremony, which is characterized by behavior and mutual respect. This is exactly what the QS. al-Nisa '4:86 states: "If you are honored with something, repay it with an equal or greater honor" (with something similar). Indeed, Allah considers everything."

The *mappanre adek* ceremony establishes a respected party for traditional and religious leaders/stakeholders, as well as the government, and provides them with a position in a critical ritual process. They are positioned in contrast to the general public, as indicated by the structure of the seating position. Similarly, *shahibul hajat* invites them to come and partake in a meal as an expression of gratitude. Here, both the invitee and the invitee demonstrate their mutual respect. This attitude of appreciation or respect is referred to as *sipakalebbic* in the Bugis-Makassar community (mutual respect).

Second, the ceremony establishes the legitimacy of social relationships (collective ties). Along with fostering a sense of community among Bulukumba's Muslim community, the implementation of this ritual has the potential to strengthen *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (QS. al-Hujurat/49:10). The community's relationship with traditional and religious leaders, as well as with government officials, is maintained.<sup>59</sup> *Mappanre adek* ceremonies are routinely performed even when they are not scheduled. The ceremony takes place following the wedding. The arrival of the invited guests not only demonstrates their physical presence, but also demonstrates a very strong relationship between them. If one of the invited figures fails to appear for unclear reasons, he will face ridicule from the wider community, as if the wedding celebration does not begin with the *mappanre adek* ceremony. This ceremony, once again, provides an opportunity to strengthen social ties within Bulukumba's Muslim community.

Thirdly, the ceremonial practice of class/group structuring in society. The *Mappanre adek* ceremony, in its execution, establishes a social class structure that almost never changes. Village/village figures or elites hold significant positions and roles in the social structure. They are the party with authority over the ceremony's execution. In general, village/village leaders or elites hold the same position as other communities under certain circumstances (QS. 'Abasa/80: 1-10). When the village or hamlet head holds a celebration, they also hold one for the entire community. Additionally, they invite prominent figures and members of the larger community to attend the celebration. The *mappanre adek* ceremony enables the formation of a social order that is both rigid and dynamic. When a wedding is planned, anyone

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<sup>59</sup> Edi Kurniawan, Handesman Handesman, Rahmadi Rahmadi, Khairun Najib, "Early Marriage, Human Rights, and the Living Fiqh: A Maqasid al-Shari'a Review", *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 20, No. 1 (2020), p. 1-15.

(*shahibul hajat*) may perform the ceremony concurrently, even if the one intending is the village/village customary holder. The class structure is evident in the seating arrangement, which separates the figures from the general public. This also demonstrates that, even though it is not strictly practiced, there is an effort made during the ceremony to continue reproducing the social class of society.

In line with that, religion is a symbol for the value of submission to God, and culture also contains values that enable humans to live there.<sup>60</sup> While the two cannot be separated, they share a space that is difficult to assemble in its entirety. Because religion is absolute, whereas custom (culture) is relative. Religions, too, place a high premium on community. Indeed, religious advice emphasizing communal worship (such as prayer) (QS. al-Taubah/7: 18) is found to be pertinent in the *mappanre adek* ceremony. This ceremony cannot be performed with a small group of people (the community). This is entirely consistent with Islam, particularly in terms of obedience to beneficial guidance (QS. al-A'raf/7: 199). A religious practice (Islam) and a ceremony (adat) serve the same purpose: to improve the order of social life. Religion and customs can be used to maintain community order. In this context, it can be emphasized that religious rituals have a specific purpose, namely maintaining the social relativistic order. Similarly, traditional ceremonies play a critical role in facilitating a more orderly community life.<sup>61</sup> In short, both religion and custom inspire and motivate members of the community (their adherents) to become better people and to spread the "virus" of goodness to others.

The *mappanre adek* ceremony reaffirmed the reciprocal relationship between traditional and Islamic values. As mentioned at the outset of this paper's discussion, the interaction between the two is a contest, but it also includes an accommodation space that accommodates the two missions carried out by each. Quite frequently, both are in positions that are mutually beneficial. The spirit of community is highly emphasized in both customs and religion in order for it to be realized in a society. In Islam, the principle of egalitarianism is extremely strong in its guidance, particularly with regards to one's level of piety. Before Allah, humans are identical except for their level of piety (QS. Al-Hujurat/49: 13). "Indeed, we created you from a male and a female and divided you into nations and tribes in order for you to communicate with one another. Indeed, the most honorable of you in Allah's eyes is the most pious of you. Allah is, indeed, All-Knowing, All-Knowing." To Allah, all human beings are equal in degree and value; there is no distinction between men and women; everything was created from a man and a woman (Adam and Eve); there is no distinction between ethnicity, nation, or skin color; the distinction is in the value placed on piety; the most noble in Allah's sight is the most pious. This, of course, is in contrast to the *mappanre adek* ceremony, where the adat holders hold a position

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<sup>60</sup> Abu Bakar Ibrahim, "Islamic Theological Teachings on Ecology," *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 3, no. 13 (2012).

<sup>61</sup> Ahmad Mulyana, "Sekaten Tradition: The Ritual Ceremony in Yogyakarta as Acculturation Reality of Javanese Culture in Indonesia," *International Journal of Humanities & Social Science Studies (IJHSSS)* 4, no. 2 (2017), p. 50.



distinct from the others. However, the existence of such a distinction (not a distinction) implies the existence of a social mechanism that must be maintained, namely the social order as it has been practiced in society thus far. This does not, however, imply that the relationship between adat and Islam is conflictual, but rather dialectical-functional.

Despite the numerous debates surrounding it, the *mappanre adek* ceremony continues to bring order to the Bugis-Makassar Muslim community. This ceremony not only demonstrates the continuation of traditional practices by the community, but also serves as a gathering point for a large number of people. The meeting also confirmed that this ceremony was successful in eliciting participation from all levels of society in their respective roles. Even though society is class-based, it contains a powerful moral message about the importance of maintaining togetherness and the fabric of social relationships (QS. Ali 'Imran/3: 103, QS al-Maidah/5: 8, QS al-Imran). QS al-Mumtahanah/60: 8) and Hujurat/49: 13. This is an Islamic term for a brotherhood bond (*silaturahmi*) that is contained in a container called *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (QS. al-Hujurat/49:10). The *mappanre adek* ceremony places a premium on unity in order to ensure the sustainability of social order.

Referring to the argument above, it can be emphasized that the tradition of *Mappanre adek* is an implementation of the living Quran such as to strengthen *silaturrahmi* or *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (QS. al-Hujurat, 10), then respect and glorify each other (QS. al-Nisa: 86), love each other (*litaarafu*) (QS. Al-Hujurat/49: 13), maintain and preserve togetherness and unity of society in (QS. Ali 'Imran 103; QS al-Maidah, 8). In addition, anthropologically, humans as cultured beings and cannot be separated from customs and traditions,<sup>62</sup> then *Mappanre adek*, has a cultural meaning as a symbol and maintains its identity and traditions.

## Conclusion

The community's continued practice of traditional ceremonies is based on a variety of arguments. One of the frequent arguments is that a traditional ceremony serves an implied purpose. *Mappanre adek*, which is still practiced by the Bugis-Makassar Muslim community, is viewed as a medium that serves as a symbol of adherence to ancestral traditions as well as a tool for bringing people together. Meetings in ceremonies are interpreted as a form of attraction for ceremonial events believed to contribute to the formation of a more stable social order. The article confirms that for adherents of the *mappanre adek* ceremony, the ceremony has a dual meaning. Additionally, to demonstrating the presence of obedience earlier, this ceremony enables proper community organization. While some traditional ceremonies are portrayed as activities that deviate significantly from religious

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<sup>62</sup> Anwar Sadat Harahap, Hardi Mulyono, A. Nuzul A. Nuzul, Milhan Milhan, Taufik Siregar, "Daliha Na Tolu as a Model for Resolving Religious Conflicts in North Sumatra: An Anthropological and Sociological Perspective", Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam 7, No. 3 (2023), p. 1943-1970.

guidance, the *mappanre adek* ceremony demonstrates the polar opposite. This ceremony demonstrates that the *mappanre adek* ceremony incorporates Islamic values. By and large, research on traditional ceremonies focuses on more static ceremonial materials. This study confirms that the tradition of *Mappanre adek* is an implementation of the living Quran such as to strengthen Islamic brotherhood, respect and glorify each other, love each other (*litaarafu*), maintain and preserve togetherness and unity of society. In addition, anthropologically, humans as cultured beings and cannot be separated from customs, then *Mappanre adek*, has a cultural meaning as a symbol and maintains its identity and customs. The last most important thing is that *Mappanre adek* is an acculturation between the values of the Qur'an and local customs and culture.

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## Interviews

Interview with Abdullah, former village head, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February 2020.

Interview with Amran, Village Imam, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February 2020.  
Interview with Andi Mallombasi, Community Leader, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February 2020.  
Interview with Moh. Jafar, Public Figure, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February, 2020.  
Interview with Makmur, Community Leader, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February 2020.  
Interviews with Munir, Village Imam, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi, February 2020.