

The Mappasikarawa Tradition in the Perspective of Islamic Law: A Case Study of Bugis Bone Traditional Marriage

Canwan¹, Arif Zamhari ¹, Imam Sujoko¹

¹ Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, Indonesia

Email: canwanwtp@gmail.com

Received: November 9, 2025

Revised: February 16, 2026

Accepted: February 25, 2026

Abstract

The *Mappasikarawa* tradition is an important procession in the traditional marriage ceremony of the Bugis Bone community that continues to be practiced today. However, it often raises debates regarding its compatibility with the principles of Islamic law. On the one hand, this tradition is viewed as an expression of religious culture; on the other hand, it is suspected of containing non-sharia elements that may contradict the principle of monotheism. This study aims to analyze the tension between the practice of *Mappasikarawa* and Islamic legal norms by situating it within the contextual framework of Islamic law. The research employs a qualitative descriptive approach using a case study method. Data were collected through field observations, in-depth interviews with traditional and religious leaders, and a review of classical and contemporary fiqh literature. The analysis is conducted using the concepts of *'urf* and *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* to assess the boundary between cultural accommodation and normative violation. The findings indicate that *Mappasikarawa* consists of several elements, including the symbolic act of touch, the role of the *botting* host as a mediator of prayers, and the social legitimacy granted by the community, all of which have undergone a process of Islamic reinterpretation. These elements can be categorized as *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* as long as they are free from mystical elements and beliefs that contradict Islamic law. These findings confirm that Islamic law operates through a dynamic mechanism of negotiation and cultural adaptation while maintaining its normative principles.

Keywords: Mappasikarawa, Islamic law, Bugis.

1. Introduction

Marriage is one of the oldest social institutions in human history. In Islam, marriage is not only understood as a social contract between a man and a woman but also as an act of worship and a realization of human nature aimed at preserving lineage, honor, and social stability (Solihah, 2025). The Qur'an affirms that marriage was created to bring tranquility and affection. As stated in Surah Ar-Rum verse 21: "*And among His signs is that He created for you spouses from among yourselves so that you may find tranquility in them, and He has placed between you affection and mercy*" (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019). This verse

highlights that marriage possesses a profound spiritual dimension, not merely a biological relationship or a legal contract.

In the context of Indonesian positive law, marriage is regulated under Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage. The law defines marriage as “*an inner and outer bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife, with the purpose of forming a happy and eternal family (household) based on the belief in the One and Only God.*” This formulation indicates that marriage in Indonesia is founded upon strong theological and moral principles. However, the implementation of these values often interacts with various local traditions and cultural practices, considering that Indonesia is characterized by significant multicultural and multireligious diversity.

One form of local wisdom that shapes wedding ceremonies across the Indonesian archipelago is the persistence of traditional practices maintained by various ethnic communities. The Bugis Bone community in South Sulawesi, for example, preserves several customary stages in the implementation of marriage, ranging from *mappese-pese* (marriage proposal), *mappanre temme* (determining the time of the marriage contract), to *peta pasikarawa* (a symbolic ritual performed after the marriage contract). This final tradition is distinctive to the Bone community and carries profound symbolic meaning. In the *mappasikarawa* procession, the groom touches the bride’s forehead, crown, or hand under the guidance of the *botting* host (traditional guide). This act symbolizes the union of the couple and signifies the husband’s new role as the legitimate head of the household (Nuruddin & Nahar, 2022).

Culturally, *mappasikarawa* symbolizes the transition of a woman’s social status from girlhood to wifehood and embodies prayers for blessings so that the couple’s domestic life may remain harmonious and prosperous. This tradition functions not only as a symbolic rite but also carries sociological significance, as it strengthens social cohesion and reinforces the social legitimacy of the marital bond. From the perspective of Clifford Geertz, such traditions constitute part of the “*web of significance*” that shapes the meaning of social life. Through cultural symbols, a community affirms its identity, values, and moral system, which are transmitted from generation to generation (Geertz, 2017).

However, from the perspective of Islamic law, theological and normative questions arise regarding the conformity of such practices with sharia principles. Islamic law clearly regulates the procedures of marriage, ranging from its pillars and conditions to the ethical guidelines governing the relationship between husband and wife after the marriage contract. In this context, questions emerge as to whether traditions such as *mappasikarawa* can be accepted as part of local Islamic culture or whether they contain elements that contradict Islamic teachings, such as *ikhtilāf* (the mixing of non-mahram individuals) or *khurāfāt* (mystical beliefs lacking a basis in sharia).

In the discipline of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, there is a relevant legal principle for assessing cultural practices, namely the maxim *al-‘ādah muḥakkamah* (custom is authoritative), which states that customary practices may serve as a basis for legal consideration as long as they do not contradict the *naṣṣ shar‘ī* (authoritative textual sources of Islamic law) (al-Qarafi, 1994). This principle emphasizes that Islam does not reject customs and traditions, provided that they do

not deviate from the fundamental principles of sharia. Furthermore, Imam al-Suyuti, in *Al-Ashbah wa al-Naza'ir*, explains that *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* (valid or sound custom) can serve as a basis for legal determination when it supports the public interest (*maṣlaḥah*) of the Muslim community. This perspective suggests that if the *mappasikarawa* tradition embodies moral values, symbolizes mutual respect, and does not contain elements that violate Islamic legal principles, it may be accepted as a cultural expression of the local Muslim community.

However, an in-depth examination of the practice and symbolic meaning of *mappasikarawa* is necessary from both empirical and theological perspectives. In some cases, traditional practices experience a distortion of meaning due to social change and the influence of modernity. For example, some members of the younger generation in the Bugis Bone community often perform the tradition without fully understanding its original meaning, reducing it to a mere cultural formality. In contrast, Islam encourages every social practice to embody clear ethical and spiritual values. Within this framework, the study of the *mappasikarawa* tradition becomes relevant for assessing the extent to which it aligns with the principles of *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* (the objectives of Islamic law), namely the preservation of religion (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*), life (*ḥifẓ al-naḥs*), lineage (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*), intellect (*ḥifẓ al-'aql*), and property (*ḥifẓ al-māl*) (Auda, 2008).

The *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* approach is important for examining local traditions such as *mappasikarawa*, as it not only evaluates them textually but also considers the broader context of social welfare. If a tradition strengthens family values, preserves honor, and affirms moral responsibility in marriage, it can be considered substantively aligned with the objectives of sharia. Conversely, if the practice contains elements of *tabarruj* (excessive display of adornment), interaction between non-mahram men and women, or mystical beliefs lacking a basis in Islamic teachings, then the tradition needs to be critically re-evaluated to ensure that it does not violate the boundaries of sharia (Hasan & Moten, 2023).

The study of Islamic law in relation to marriage customs is not a new phenomenon. In the history of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) did not entirely abolish all pre-Islamic customs; rather, he implemented a process of selective reform. Traditions that were consistent with the principles of monotheism and justice were maintained, while those that contradicted Islamic teachings were eliminated or modified (Azra, 2002). This approach was also reflected in the works of classical scholars such as Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, who emphasized the importance of understanding social context in the formulation of legal rulings. This principle is commonly expressed in the maxim *taghayyur al-fatwā bi taghayyur al-zamān wa al-makān* (legal opinions may change according to time and place), which affirms that Islamic law possesses a degree of flexibility in responding to social and cultural dynamics.

In the context of the Bugis Bone community, which is predominantly Muslim, the process of Islamization of local culture has occurred gradually. Many traditional elements have been integrated with Islamic values through mechanisms of cultural interpretation and adaptation. This reflects a pattern of interaction between Islamic law and local customs that characterizes the development of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago (Azra, 2013). Therefore,

examining the *mappasikarawa* tradition from the perspective of Islamic law does not merely involve making normative judgments about whether it is right or wrong. Rather, it seeks to reveal how local Muslim communities understand, interpret, and internalize Islamic teachings within their own cultural contexts.

Several previous studies indicate that research on *mappasikarawa* has developed in various directions, yet it still leaves considerable analytical gaps. Seliana et al., (2018b) show that *mappasikarawa* is a tradition rich in symbolic meaning, in which every movement and ritual instrument represents the values of identity, honor, and social cohesion of the Bugis community, particularly within the ethnographic context of the Sebatik community in Nunukan. Meanwhile, Idrus et al., (2023) begin to relate this practice to the philosophical dimension of Islamic law through the framework of *'urf* and moral responsibility. However, their approach remains largely conceptual and normative, lacking support from in-depth empirical analysis. Local studies, such as those conducted by Syandri (2020) and an article published by STIBA, also tend to adopt a descriptive-cultural perspective, emphasizing the procedural aspects and symbolic meanings of the tradition without providing a systematic *fiqhiyyah* assessment of its legal validity. On the other hand, research by Nugraha (2022) and Nuruddin and Nahar (2022) reveals that *mappasikarawa* not only functions as a traditional rite but also influences religious observance and social dynamics in the context of modernization. In addition, several studies employing the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* perspective suggest that *mappasikarawa* has the potential to align with the objectives of sharia, such as the protection of religion, honor, and lineage. Nevertheless, there remains a lack of studies that comprehensively integrate empirical data, particularly interviews with traditional leaders and religious scholars with a systematic *maqāṣid* analysis.

Building on the findings of previous studies, this research seeks to fill the existing gap by analyzing *mappasikarawa* as a living socio-religious practice rather than merely as a cultural rite. It employs the analytical frameworks of *fiqh al-'urf* and *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* to examine the tradition more comprehensively. This approach enables an assessment not only of the outward form of the tradition but also of its ethical objectives, social benefits, and its impact on the honor, lineage, and religiosity of Bugis Muslim families. In addition, this study carries both theoretical and practical significance. Theoretically, it contributes to strengthening the discourse on *fiqh sosial* (social fiqh) developed by Indonesian scholars such as KH. Sahal Mahfudh, who emphasized the importance of positioning fiqh as a social instrument that is responsive and adaptive to local realities (Mahfudh, 2003). Practically, the findings of this research may serve as a reference for religious institutions, traditional leaders, and local governments in developing marriage practices grounded in Islamic values while preserving local wisdom.

Thus, the research entitled "The Mappasikarawa Tradition in the Perspective of Islamic Law: A Case Study of Traditional Marriage among the Bugis Bone Community" aims to examine the values, meanings, and practices of the *mappasikarawa* tradition from the perspective of Islamic law. This study seeks to provide a balanced understanding of how

Islamic law can engage in dialogue with local customs in a harmonious manner, thereby fostering a contextual and moderate interpretation while remaining grounded in sharia principles.

2. Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach using a descriptive phenomenological method (Muri A, 2014). This approach was chosen to enable the researcher to explore in depth the meaning of the *mappasikarawa* tradition as understood, experienced, and practiced by the Bugis community in Bone Regency. Phenomenology is applied to capture the social and religious realities that are intersubjectively constructed within local customary marriage practices. The research was conducted in Bone Regency, South Sulawesi, as this region is known as one of the areas where the *mappasikarawa* tradition is still actively preserved. The focus of the study is directed toward the process of implementing this tradition and how the community perceives the legitimacy of marriage from the perspectives of both customary law and Islamic law.

Research data were obtained from three sources: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with 12 informants, consisting of traditional leaders, religious leaders, families who had performed the *mappasikarawa* tradition, and community members who possess experiential and normative knowledge of the practice. Informants were selected using purposive sampling based on several criteria, including direct involvement in the tradition, authority in customary or religious matters, and recognition within the local community. To broaden the data and capture diverse perspectives, snowball sampling was subsequently employed, allowing initial informants to recommend additional relevant participants.

The interviews were conducted using both structured and unstructured formats and were carried out in the Bugis language to facilitate rapport and ensure contextual accuracy. Secondary data were obtained from books, peer-reviewed journals, legal documents, and other scholarly works related to Islamic law and local customs. Tertiary data were derived from supplementary sources, including the *Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (KBBI)*, Wikipedia, and selected online articles, which were used to clarify cultural terminology and contextual references.

Data collection was carried out through direct observation of the implementation of the *mappasikarawa* tradition, in-depth interviews, and documentation in the form of field notes, archives, and photographs of related activities. All collected data were analyzed inductively through several stages, including data organization, data reduction to identify key themes, the development of interpretations based on social construction theory as well as Islamic law and customary law perspectives, and the drawing of conclusions through a process of data verification. During the analysis process, the researcher also considered the possibility of changes in the meaning and practice of *mappasikarawa* due to the influence of modernization, shifts in religious norms, and the social dynamics of the Bugis Bone community.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. The Social and Cultural Context of the Mappasikarawa Tradition

The Bugis Bone community is widely recognized as an ethnic group with a strong cultural system and deeply rooted social values that place great importance on ancestral traditions. In this social context, customs are not merely remnants of the past but function as moral foundations and guidelines for collective life that are closely integrated with religious values. Among the various traditions that continue to be preserved, *mappasikarawa* occupies a significant position in the wedding rituals of the Bugis Bone community. This tradition is understood not only as a ceremonial ritual but also as a symbolic representation of the sacred meaning of marriage and respect for family values. Historically, the term *mappasikarawa* derives from the word *sikarawa*, which means “to touch” or “to meet.” In practice, this tradition is performed after the marriage contract (*akad nikah*) has been completed, symbolizing that the bride and groom have been legally united both religiously and customarily. The *mappasikarawa* procession is usually held at the bride’s house and attended by extended family members, traditional leaders, and local religious figures. During the procession, the groom touches a specific part of the bride’s body, generally the forehead, hands, or crown, under the guidance of the *botting* host who acts as a traditional ceremonial guide (Najib, 2019). This field finding is consistent with Pelras’s description that touch in Bugis marriage rituals is not merely a physical gesture but symbolizes the social and religious validation of the formation of a marital bond (Pelras, 1997). From an anthropological perspective, such symbolic acts can be understood as part of a *rite of passage* as proposed by Arnold van Gennep, in which individuals transition from one social status to another through ritual processes that are collectively recognized and legitimized by the community.

In the Bugis cultural context, the symbolic meaning of *mappasikarawa* as a marker of a woman’s transition from girlhood to wifeness is consistent with the findings of Pelras and Mattulada, who emphasize that marriage functions as the primary mechanism for the formation of honor (*siri’*) and the social structure of the family (Mattulada, 1985; Pelras, 1997). Furthermore, the symbolism of touch, which is interpreted as a form of prayer, unity, and affirmation of the husband’s responsibilities, is also consistent with Seliana’s analysis. Seliana explains that the symbols present in the *mappasikarawa* rite function to internalize sacred values, leadership, and moral commitment within the marital relationship (Seliana et al., 2018). Thus, the findings of this study reinforce previous research indicating that *mappasikarawa* cannot be understood merely as a physical act. Rather, it should be interpreted as a socio religious symbol that constructs legitimacy, responsibility, and honor within Bugis marriage.

In addition, *mappasikarawa* also serves an important social function. Through this procession, the community emphasizes the importance of marriage as a social institution that involves not only two individuals but also two extended families. The presence of relatives, neighbors, and traditional leaders in this ceremony reflects the principle of *siri’ na pacce*, one of the highest moral values in the Bugis community, which emphasizes self respect, solidarity,

and social responsibility (Mattulada, 1985). Thus, *mappasikarawa* functions as a means of strengthening family relationships and reinforcing the social legitimacy of the newly established marital status.

Structurally, the *mappasikarawa* procession follows a sequence of customary procedures and is usually performed at a specific time after the marriage contract has been concluded. After the *ijab kabul* is completed, the groom is escorted to the room where the bride is waiting. The *botting* host then leads a prayer and provides guidance to the groom to touch the bride's forehead, crown, and hands in sequence. In some communities, this procession is accompanied by the recitation of short prayers or verses from the Qur'an, such as Surah al-Fatihah or Surah Yasin, as a form of seeking blessings for the couple's married life (Wekke et al., 2018).

The *botting* host plays a central role in the *mappasikarawa* tradition. This figure serves as a mediator between customary norms and religious teachings. The *botting* host is usually an experienced elderly woman who possesses extensive knowledge of Bugis wedding customs. Within the social structure of the community, this role is highly respected because it embodies both moral and spiritual authority. The *botting* host not only guides the technical implementation of the procession but also ensures that each symbol and action carries meaning and remains consistent with both customary and religious values. Based on interviews conducted in Bone Regency, members of the local community view the *botting* host as a figure who maintains harmony between custom and Islam, ensuring that traditions continue to be practiced without violating religious norms.

From an anthropological perspective, *mappasikarawa* reflects how the Bugis Bone community constructs the meaning of marriage through symbols and ritual actions. Clifford Geertz explains that culture is a web of significance that humans themselves have woven, and through symbolic expressions such as ceremonies, societies affirm their moral values as well as their social structure. In this context, *mappasikarawa* is not merely a formal ritual but also an expressive medium for affirming the core values of the Bugis community, including honor, loyalty, and blessings within family life (Geertz, 1973). Through the symbolic act of touch, the Bugis people express their understanding of sacred love, moral unity, and spiritual attachment between two individuals united in a sacred marital bond.

From its symbolic meaning, the act of touching the forehead and crown represents prayer and blessing. The forehead is interpreted as the center of intention and thought; therefore, touching it symbolizes a prayer that one's partner will always maintain good intentions and adhere to righteous principles. The crown of the head is understood as a point associated with dignity and the blessings of life, so touching this part symbolizes the hope that the household will always remain under the protection of Allah SWT. Meanwhile, the hand, within the context of Bugis culture, symbolizes hard work, responsibility, and partnership in navigating family life (Hamid, 2017).

Through this analysis, it appears that *mappasikarawa* embodies moral values such as politeness, respect, and prayers for blessings, which are normatively consistent with Islamic teachings on the ethics of marital relations. This finding is also reflected in interviews with

traditional leaders and members of the bride's family, who interpret the symbolic act of touch as an expression of responsibility and a hope for a harmonious domestic life. However, field data also reveal variations in meaning and practice that are not always consistent with this ideal framework. Some informants, particularly from the younger generation in urban areas of Bone, acknowledged that they performed *mappasikarawa* primarily as a customary obligation without fully understanding its spiritual significance. For them, the procession is perceived more as part of a sequence of ceremonial events than as a religious ritual.

In addition, the findings indicate that the practice of *mappasikarawa* has undergone certain shifts in form due to the influence of modernization. In some cases, the procession is held in open spaces and accompanied by entertainment music and extensive social media documentation. As a result, the sacred meaning and the values of courtesy that were originally embedded in the tradition appear to have gradually diminished. Several religious leaders interviewed in this study also expressed concern that such forms of celebration may approach *tabarruj*, or public displays that are not fully consistent with Islamic ethical norms. These data suggest that *mappasikarawa* does not always manifest as a normatively ideal practice. Rather, it exists within a dynamic tension between traditional values, religious expectations, and the pressures of modern cultural change. Thus, the findings of this study not only confirm the potential compatibility of *mappasikarawa* with Islamic values but also reveal an ongoing process of negotiation and ambiguity of meaning within its social practice.

Thus, it can be concluded that *mappasikarawa* represents a dynamic interaction between custom and religion within the Bugis Bone community. This tradition demonstrates how Islamic values are internalized into the local cultural system without eliminating its original cultural identity. Within the framework of Clifford Geertz's theory, rituals such as *mappasikarawa* can be understood as "cultural texts" that should be interpreted hermeneutically, not only as outward acts but also as symbolic expressions of the value structures that guide people's lives.

Understanding the social and cultural context of *mappasikarawa* constitutes a methodological prerequisite before assessing it from the perspective of Islamic law, since in the tradition of *uṣūl al fiqh* law does not emerge in a social vacuum. Ibn Qayyim al Jawziyyah emphasized that changes in time, place, and customary practices (*'urf*) may influence the validity and application of legal rulings or fatwas. This principle is consistent with the concept of *fiqh al wāqī'* developed by scholars such as Yusuf al Qaradawi and Jasser Auda, which positions social reality as an important variable in legal reasoning. Within this framework, *mappasikarawa* cannot be reduced to a mere physical act but should instead be understood as a symbolic social text. As suggested by Clifford Geertz, ritual practices function as symbolic expressions through which societies represent their value systems, family power structures, and the ethics of gender relations within the community (Geertz, 1973).

The results of this study indicate that the symbols of touch, prayer, and community presence in *mappasikarawa* function to legitimize the marital bond both morally and socially. These findings expand al Shatibi's argument on *maqāṣid al sharī'ah*, particularly the principles of *ḥifẓ al 'ird* (protection of honor) and *ḥifẓ al nasl* (protection of lineage), as these ritual

practices socially affirm the lawful status of marital relations in the public sphere. Thus, *mappasikarawa* is not only culturally relevant but also contributes to the realization of the objectives of Islamic law. This analysis positions the tradition as a concrete manifestation of *fiqh al 'urf*, illustrating how Islamic norms are articulated within local cultural practices. At the same time, it demonstrates that Islamic law operates not only through normative texts but also through symbolic and social mechanisms.

3.2. The Normative Basis of Islamic Law on Customs and Traditions

In the Islamic legal system, custom (*'urf*) occupies an important position as a complementary source of law after the Qur'an, hadith, *ijma'*, and *qiyās*. Its recognition stems from the understanding that Islam is not a legal system that rejects culture, but rather a religion that accommodates social and cultural practices as long as they do not contradict the fundamental principles of sharia. In this context, custom functions as a medium through which Muslim communities express their cultural identity while also translating the universal values of Islam into diverse local forms (Nyazee, 2000).

Conceptually, the term *'urf* is derived from the root word *'arafa*, which means "to know" or "to recognize." In the terminology of *uṣūl al fiqh*, *'urf* is defined as a custom that is widely known and accepted by society, whether in the form of actions (*'urf fi 'lī*) or verbal expressions (*'urf qawli*), that are practiced repeatedly and regarded as good and beneficial (al Qarafi, 1994). Scholars of *uṣūl al fiqh* emphasize that customs which do not contradict the authoritative texts of Islamic law (*naṣṣ shar'ī*) may serve as a basis for legal determination. In this regard, a well known legal maxim states that *al 'ādah muḥakkamah*, meaning that custom can serve as a legal basis as long as it does not contradict the principles of shari (al-Suyuthi, 2004).

This principle demonstrates that Islamic law accommodates the customs that exist within society. However, the acceptance of custom is not without limitations. Scholars distinguish between *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* (valid custom) and *'urf fāsid* (invalid custom). *'Urf ṣaḥīḥ* refers to customs that are consistent with the principles of sharia, such as respect for parents, traditions of mutual cooperation, or communal ceremonies that contain prayers and expressions of gratitude to Allah (Hallaq, 2009). In contrast, *'urf fāsid* refers to customs that contradict religious provisions, such as practices that contain elements of *shirk*, superstition, or actions that violate Islamic moral principles.

The principle of recognizing custom in Islamic law is closely related to the concept of *maqāṣid al sharī'ah*, which refers to the fundamental objectives underlying the enactment of Islamic law. According to al Shatibi, all legal rulings in Islam aim to protect five essential aspects of human life: religion (*ḥifẓ al dīn*), life (*ḥifẓ al naḥs*), intellect (*ḥifẓ al 'aql*), lineage (*ḥifẓ al nasl*), and property (*ḥifẓ al māl*). If a custom supports the realization of these five objectives, it may be accepted as part of the living practice of Islamic law. Conversely, if a tradition contains elements that threaten any of these objectives, it should be abandoned or reformed so that it conforms to the principles of sharia (al-Suyuthi, 2004).

In the context of the *mappasikarawa* tradition among the Bugis Bone community, an understanding of *'urf* and *maqāṣid al sharī'ah* is essential for determining its legal position. This

is because Islam emphasizes a balance between text and context in the interpretation and application of law. Islamic law does not operate in a cultural vacuum but always develops through interaction with social reality. The Qur'an itself employs language and symbols familiar to the Arabs at the time of revelation, demonstrating that from its earliest period Islam has accommodated cultural practices, provided that they do not violate the principle of monotheism (Rahman, 1982).

In the history of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad did not entirely abolish all pre Islamic traditions (*jāhiliyyah*). Rather, he selected and reformed those practices by retaining values that were considered beneficial and rejecting those that contradicted Islamic teachings. For instance, social practices such as hospitality, marriage ceremonies, and communal deliberation were maintained because they embodied important moral and social values. This principle was later incorporated into Islamic legal methodology by jurists as a foundation for the flexibility of sharia in responding to social and cultural change.

Prominent scholars such as al Qarafi, in his work *Al Furūq*, emphasized that Islamic law may adapt in response to changes in time, place, and social customs, provided that such changes remain consistent with the objectives of sharia (*maqāṣid al shari'ah*). He argued that legal rulings cannot be applied uniformly across different societies without considering their social and cultural contexts. As he stated, it is not appropriate for a *mujtahid* to issue the same fatwa for people of different regions when their customs and social practices differ (Bowen, 2003).

This statement demonstrates that custom serves as an important contextual basis for the application of Islamic law. Accordingly, Islamic law should not be understood as a static legal system, but rather as a dynamic framework capable of adapting to the cultural diversity of human societies. Within this framework, the *mappasikaratwa* tradition can be examined through two complementary approaches: a normative theological approach and a sociological cultural approach. The normative theological approach is used to assess the conformity of the tradition with the primary sources of Islamic law, such as the Qur'an, hadith, and established *fiqhiyyah* principles. Meanwhile, the sociological cultural approach seeks to understand the social meaning and symbolic functions of the tradition within the Bugis Bone community. The combination of these two approaches allows for a balanced analysis that avoids reducing the discussion to a simplistic dichotomy between custom and religion. Contemporary Islamic thinkers such as Yusuf al Qaradawi and Jasser Auda have also emphasized the importance of *fiqh al wāqi'*, or contextual jurisprudence, in understanding social reality and formulating legal judgments that are responsive to changing social conditions (Al-Qaradawi & Al-Alwani, 2006; Auda, 2008). They reject a narrow textual approach that evaluates customs in rigid and binary terms. According to them, every tradition contains a social dimension that must be understood within the framework of public benefit. Auda emphasizes that the Islamic legal system is open to local realities and human experiences while maintaining the fundamental principles of monotheism and justice. (Auda, 2008). A similar perspective is expressed by Sahal Mahfudh through the concept of *social fiqh*, which positions fiqh as a social instrument that is responsive and adaptive to the needs of society. According to him, Islamic law should

not be understood solely as text oriented, but must also take into account the social context in which legal rulings are applied (Mahfudh, 2003). Thus, customs such as *mappasikarawa* should be understood not only in terms of their external form, but also in relation to the social and moral values embedded within them.

Furthermore, the integration between custom and sharia has long been part of the historical development of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago. Since the spread of Islam in Indonesia, local scholars have undertaken processes of cultural Islamization through interpretive approaches that embed Islamic values within local cultural symbols and practices. For instance, in Javanese culture there is the *midodareni* ceremony, in Minangkabau society the *malam bainai* tradition is known, and among the Bugis the *mappasikarawa* ritual is practiced. All of these represent forms of cultural adaptation to Islamic teachings regarding the sanctity of marriage (Azra, 2013). This process demonstrates that Islamic law in Indonesia has developed through dialogue with local customs rather than through confrontation. In this regard, *mappasikarawa* may be regarded as a form of *'urf ṣaḥīḥ*, provided that it embodies moral and spiritual values that do not contradict the principles of sharia. As long as its implementation does not involve elements of immorality, excessive public display (*tabarruj*), or deviant beliefs, the tradition may even enrich the discourse of *fiqh al 'urf* in the Indonesian context. Conversely, if certain practices within the tradition undermine the sanctity of the marriage contract, Islamic law has the responsibility to reform or correct them so that they remain consistent with the objectives of sharia (*maqāṣid al sharī'ah*).

From this normative foundation, it can be concluded that Islam provides space for local traditions to coexist with sharia, provided that these customs do not violate the fundamental principles of monotheism, justice, and moral propriety. Within this framework, Islamic law functions as an ethical system that guides culture rather than suppressing it. This perspective is consistent with the view of Ibn Qayyim al Jawziyyah, who affirmed that the essence of Islamic law lies in justice, mercy, and wisdom (*al 'adl wa al raḥmah wa al ḥikmah*). Therefore, any tradition that reflects these values can be understood as aligning with the spirit and objectives of sharia.

3.3. Analysis of Islamic Law on the Elements of the Mappasikarawa Tradition

The study of Islamic law concerning the *mappasikarawa* tradition requires a comprehensive understanding of the elements that constitute the practice. In its implementation, *mappasikarawa* consists of three main components: symbolic actions, namely the husband's touch toward his wife; the recitation of prayers and blessings led by the *botting* host; and the presence of the community within the traditional ceremonial setting. These three components constitute key aspects for assessing the extent to which the tradition aligns with or contradicts the principles of Islamic law.

3.3.1. Elements of Symbolic Action: Touch between Husband and Wife

In Islamic jurisprudence, the act of a husband touching his wife after the completion of the marriage contract is considered legally valid. In the Shafi'i school of thought, a marriage contract that fulfills its essential elements, namely the presence of *ijab kabul*, a *wali*, two witnesses, and a

dowry, transforms the relationship between a man and a woman from *ajnabiyyah* (non mahram) to *zawjiyyah* (a lawful marital relationship) (al Nawawi, 2005). Accordingly, physical contact between the spouses no longer falls within the category of *ikhtilāf* or *khalkwah*, which are prohibited in interactions between non mahram individuals.

However, concerns arise when such actions are performed in public settings. Some scholars argue that although the marital relationship between husband and wife is lawful, displays of intimacy in public may be considered inconsistent with *adab islāmiyyah*, or Islamic ethical norms. The principle of *ḥayāʾ* (modesty or a sense of shame) constitutes an important element of Islamic morality, as it regulates modesty, dignity, and self respect in social interactions. The Prophet Muhammad stated that every religion has its distinctive moral character, and the distinctive moral character of Islam is modesty (reported by Ibn Majah, Hadith No. 4181).

Thus, symbolic actions in *mappasikarawa* may be considered legally acceptable as long as they are carried out within reasonable limits and are not accompanied by elements of ostentation or public displays of intimacy. Scholars such as Ibn Qayyim al Jawziyyah emphasized that Islamic law must take into account the context and intention underlying human actions (Ibn Qayyim al Jawziyyah, 1991). If the intention behind the ritual is prayer, reverence, and the symbolic affirmation of marital unity, then the act may be categorized as *mubāḥ*, meaning permissible (I. Abdullah, 2017). However, if the practice is interpreted as a form of ostentation or is accompanied by behavior that violates Islamic ethical norms, its legal status may shift to *makrūh*, or even *ḥarām*.

3.3.2. Elements of Prayer Ritual and Presence of Botting Hosts

The second important element in *mappasikarawa* is the presence of the *botting* host, a traditional guide who leads the procession through the recitation of prayers and symbolic expressions. In the Islamic context, supplication (*duʿāʾ*) is considered a highly recommended act of worship, particularly during significant moments such as marriage. The Prophet Muhammad himself often offered prayers of blessing for newly married couples, saying: “May Allah bless you, bestow blessings upon you, and unite both of you in goodness” (reported by Abu Dawud, Hadith No. 2130). Therefore, the recitation of prayers in the *mappasikarawa* tradition may be categorized as *ʿurf ṣaḥīḥ*, as it reflects practices that are consistent with the principles of sharia. The prayers recited by the *botting* host generally do not contain elements of *shirk* or supplications directed to other than Allah. Rather, they consist of expressions of hope and blessings for a harmonious and prosperous married life. Field interviews conducted in this study indicate that most members of the Bone community do not regard the *botting* host as a shamanic or non Islamic spiritual figure. Instead, the *botting* host is understood as a traditional guide who incorporates prayers and moral advice into the ceremonial process.

However, it is important to consider the possibility of deviations that may occur in practice. If the *botting* host employs incantations or mantras containing mystical elements that lack a basis in sharia, such practices would fall under the category of *ʿurf fāsid* and should therefore be rejected. Islam strongly opposes any belief or practice that leads to *shirk* or *tathayyur* (superstition). This principle is consistent with the well known juristic maxim *sadd al dharāʾiʿ*, which states that all means

that may lead to harm or wrongdoing should be prevented (al Shatibi, 1996). In this context, the role of the *botting* host, when free from non Islamic mystical practices, can in fact strengthen the religious values embedded in the *mappasikarawa* tradition. Accordingly, the *botting* host functions as a mediator between custom and sharia, preserving the moral and spiritual meaning of the ritual while ensuring that it remains consistent with Islamic ethical principles.

3.3.3. Social Elements and Public Presence

The *mappasikarawa* tradition is typically performed in the presence of extended family members and the surrounding community. From a social perspective, this public setting serves to legitimize the marital status of the couple as husband and wife. In Islamic teachings, such openness also has a strong normative foundation. The Prophet Muhammad encouraged that marriages be publicly announced in order to prevent suspicion and ensure social recognition of the marital bond (reported by al Tirmidhi, Hadith No. 1089). This hadith indicates that Islam supports the public declaration of marriage as a means of preventing social misunderstanding and maintaining legal clarity. In this context, the presence of the community during the *mappasikarawa* procession can be understood as a form of *i'lān al nikāh*, or the public announcement of marriage, which carries positive social and religious value.

However, Islamic law also establishes ethical boundaries in the implementation of traditions that involve public gatherings. Any form of excessive luxury, interaction between non mahram men and women, or performances that contradict Islamic ethical norms should be avoided, as they may fall into the categories of *isrāf* (excess) and *lahw* (vain or frivolous acts). The Qur'an states: "And do not be excessive. Indeed, Allah does not love those who are excessive" (QS. Al-A'raf: 31). Therefore, from a legal perspective, the public performance of the *mappasikarawa* tradition may be considered permissible, provided that it maintains standards of modesty and avoids behavior that contradicts Islamic ethical principles.

3.3.4. Assessment of Fiqhiyyah and Principles of Islamic Law

To assess the overall elements of the *mappasikarawa* tradition, several major *fiqhiyyah* principles can be applied:

- a. *Al-'ādah muḥakkamah*: custom can be the basis of law as long as it does not contradict the *nash shar'i*. The *Mappasikarawa tradition* which contains prayers and symbols of unification is included in the category of *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* because it does not contradict the sharia.
- b. *Al-masyaqqah tajlibut taisir*: difficulties bring convenience. Islam provides space for adaptation to culture so that the law remains contextual and does not burden the community.
- c. *Dar'ul mafsadah muqaddam 'ala jalbil maslahah*: preventing harm is more important than attracting benefits. If the implementation of *Mappasikarawa* causes potential violations (e.g., non-mahram mixing), then prevention must be prioritized.
- d. *Al-umūr bi maqāṣidiha*: every deed depends on its purpose. Because the purpose of *Mappasikarawa* is a symbol of prayer and respect, that intention is the basis for his legal judgment.

Based on the application of the four principles above, it can be concluded that *mappasikarawa* is a tradition that may be accepted within the framework of Islamic law (*maqbul*), provided that its

implementation maintains standards of modesty and is not accompanied by beliefs that contradict the principle of monotheism.

3.3.5. Relevance to the Concept of Maqāṣid al-Syarī'ah

When viewed from the perspective of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, the *mappasikarawa* tradition carries positive value in supporting several objectives of Islamic law, including:

- a. *Hifẓ an-nasl* (safeguarding offspring): by legalizing marriage and strengthening the couple's commitment.
- b. *Hifẓ an-nafs* (preserving honor): by affirming that the relationship between husband and wife takes place in a halal corridor.
- c. *Hifẓ ad-dīn* (preserving religion): by incorporating prayer, symbols, and religious values in the wedding tradition.

Thus, *mappasikarawa* functions not only as a cultural rite but also as a religious expression of the Bugis Bone Muslim community. It illustrates how Islamic teachings can engage in dialogue with local customs while reinforcing the spirit of moderation in social life.

3.4 Integration of Sharia Values and Local Wisdom in the Mappasikarawa Tradition

One of the major challenges in the development of Islamic law in Indonesia lies in how local customs and forms of local wisdom can be positioned proportionately within the framework of sharia. Islam does not seek to eliminate culture but rather to refine and guide it in accordance with ethical and religious principles. This perspective is consistent with the message conveyed in the Qur'an, which emphasizes that the diversity of tribes, nations, and traditions is part of God's design so that human beings may know and learn from one another (Qur'an 49:13). Therefore, the integration of Islamic values with local wisdom represents an important characteristic of the contextual application of sharia, one that remains closely connected to the social realities of the community.

In the context of the Bugis Bone community, the *mappasikarawa* tradition represents a concrete example of the harmonization between sharia and local customs. It is not merely a symbolic ritual, but also a space for the expression of Islamic values in a culturally grounded form. Through the *mappasikarawa* procession, the community expresses gratitude to Allah for the legitimacy of the marital bond, cultivates mutual respect between husband and wife, and strengthens both family and social solidarity. These values are closely aligned with the objectives of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*), particularly in safeguarding lineage (*hifẓ al nasl*), protecting honor (*hifẓ al 'ird*), and maintaining social harmony.

3.4.1 Islamization of Culture and Culture as a Medium of Da'wah

The integration of sharia and customary values in the Indonesian archipelago has taken place since the early period of the spread of Islam. Local scholars and missionaries did not reject existing customs outright; instead, they facilitated a process of cultural Islamization by embedding Islamic values within established traditions. Nurcholish Madjid describes this process as a form of "cultural transfiguration," in which Islamic teachings animate and transform cultural structures without

eliminating their local uniqueness. In this context, *mappasikarawa* can be understood as the result of the Islamization of Bugis marriage traditions, which were originally secular in nature but gradually acquired stronger religious meaning (M. A. Abdullah, 2021).

Cultural Islamization also represents an effective strategy of *da'wah*, as Islamic values are communicated through cultural forms that are already familiar to the community. Clifford Geertz, in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, emphasizes that culture is a system of meaning or “webs of significance” woven by human beings themselves. By understanding the structure of local meanings, Islamic *da'wah* can adapt to the community's way of life without losing the essential substance of its teachings. In this regard, the *mappasikarawa* procession, which contains symbols of prayer, blessing, and the union of two families, illustrates how Islamic teachings can animate and reinterpret existing local cultural meanings (Burhani, 2015).

3.4.2. Cultural Justice in the Perspective of Islamic Law

The integration of sharia and custom can also be understood through the concept of cultural justice in Islamic law. In Islam, justice is not limited to a purely legal formal dimension but also encompasses moral and social considerations. Al Qarafi (1994) emphasized that the application of legal rulings must take into account the social and customary conditions of a community so that the law remains relevant and responsive to social realities. This perspective is consistent with the well known legal principle *taghayyur al fatwa bi taghayyur al zaman wa al makan*, which states that legal opinions may change according to changes in time and place (Hooker, 2008).

In the context of *mappasikarawa*, cultural justice refers to respecting the existence of local traditions as a form of religious expression. When the custom is practiced in a manner that strengthens family values, modesty, and mutual respect between married couples, it embodies *maṣlaḥah ʿāmmah* (public welfare). In this sense, the tradition supports the broader objectives of Islamic law in fostering a family characterized by *sakinah*, *maḥabbah*, and *rahmah*.

3.4.3. Local Wisdom as a Manifestation of Maqāṣid al-Syarīʿah

The concept of *maqāṣid al sharīʿah* provides broad space for recognizing the values of local wisdom. Al Shatibi (1996) emphasized that the primary objective of Islamic law is the realization of human welfare through the attainment of benefit and the prevention of harm (*jalb al maṣāliḥ wa darʾ al mafāṣid*). These benefits are not always manifested in universal forms but may also emerge from local cultural experiences. In this regard, the *mappasikarawa* tradition embodies several values that are consistent with the objectives of sharia, including spiritual values reflected in prayers and blessings as recognition of Allah's role in guiding marital life, moral values represented by the symbolic act of touching the forehead or crown as an expression of affection and respect between spouses, and social values manifested through the presence of family and community members as a means of strengthening solidarity and social bonds (*ukhuwah*).

These three values demonstrate that local wisdom can function as a *wasīlah* (means) for achieving the objectives of *maqāṣid al sharīʿah*. As long as these values do not contradict the authoritative texts of Islamic law (*naṣṣ sharʿī*), local traditions may be preserved and even further developed as part of a living Islamic legal system.

3.4.4. Social Fiqh Paradigm and Religious Moderation

The thought of KH Sahal Mahfudh, particularly through the concept of *social fiqh*, provides a relevant theoretical framework for understanding the *mappasikarawa* tradition. According to him, fiqh should not be perceived as a rigid body of texts detached from social reality, but rather as a form of social ethics that lives and develops within society. The concept of social fiqh emphasizes that Islamic law must be responsive to social change while respecting local wisdom as an integral part of the dynamics of Muslim communities (Mahfudh, 2003). In this context, *mappasikarawa* should not be viewed merely as a customary practice but as an expression of community religiosity in which Islamic values have been internalized within cultural traditions. The procession reflects the principle of religious moderation (*wasatiyyah*), characterized by a balance between maintaining the core principles of monotheism and respecting local cultural traditions. Through this spirit of moderation, Islamic law in Indonesia has been able to develop harmoniously without generating conflict between religious teachings and customary practices.

3.4.5. Integration in the Framework of Legal Pluralism

Indonesia is widely recognized as a country with a pluralistic legal system that acknowledges the coexistence of customary law, Islamic law, and state law. From the perspective of national law, traditions such as *mappasikarawa* can be understood as part of the living law within society. Article 18B paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution affirms that the state recognizes and respects customary law communities and their traditional rights, provided that they remain consistent with contemporary developments and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Thus, when Islamic law recognizes *‘urf ṣaḥīḥ* and the state acknowledges the validity of customary law, traditions such as *mappasikarawa* acquire dual legitimacy, both religiously and legally. This integration demonstrates the convergence between sharia, customary law, and state law within the broader framework of Indonesian legal pluralism. It also reinforces the concept of national fiqh (*al fiqh al waṭānī*) developed by contemporary Islamic legal scholars in Indonesia (Hosen, 2019)

3.4.6. Synergy Between Customs and Sharia as a Cultural Strategy

The integration of custom and sharia can also be understood as a cultural strategy for maintaining Muslim identity in the midst of modernization. According to Fazlur Rahman (1982), Islam must continually reinterpret its normative values in order to remain relevant to evolving social dynamics. In this context, traditions such as *mappasikarawa* can serve as a medium for transforming symbolic customs into living expressions of Islamic ethics. The procession, for instance, may incorporate the recitation of collective prayers, religious advice, and moral guidance from community leaders. In this way, local traditions are not merely preserved but are also reinterpreted in accordance with the spirit of sharia. Geertz (1973) describes this process as “cultural interpretation,” referring to the reinterpretation of cultural meanings within a religious framework. Consequently, Islam in the Bugis Bone community is not merely textual but represents a form of Islam that develops in dialogue with culture. The *mappasikarawa* tradition thus reflects how Muslim communities are able to embody the values of sharia while maintaining their cultural roots.

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that the integration of sharia values and local wisdom within the *mappasikarawa* tradition reflects the adaptive nature of Islamic law. This tradition does not contradict the principle of monotheism; rather, it enriches the religious expression of the community. In this sense, Islamic law in Indonesia should not be understood merely as a law of texts, but also as *law in action* a living law that develops, flows, and interacts with the cultural life of society. Understanding this integration encourages the study of Islamic law to move beyond a purely normative approach toward a more contextual perspective, one that views local customs not as an opposing force to sharia but as an ethical partner in realizing its objectives.

4. Conclusions

Based on the empirical findings, the *mappasikarawa* tradition in the Bugis Bone community should not be understood as a static or uniform customary practice, but rather as a dynamic process of negotiation between local cultural values and Islamic normative principles. Field data obtained from interviews with traditional leaders, religious authorities, and participating families indicate that the symbolic act of touch, the mediating role of the *inang botting*, and communal recognition are predominantly interpreted as expressions of prayer, moral responsibility, and social legitimacy rather than as magical or theologically deviant practices. Nevertheless, this study also identifies potential ambiguities of meaning when these symbols are performed without adequate religious explanation, which may create space for problematic interpretations at the practical level. From the perspective of Islamic law, this situation positions *mappasikarawa* as a conditional *ʿurf ṣaḥīḥ*, whose legitimacy depends on its conformity with the principles of sharia. Theoretically, these findings demonstrate that *maqāṣid al sharīʿah*, particularly the protection of honor (*ḥifẓ al ʿird*), lineage (*ḥifẓ al nasl*), and religious commitment (*ḥifẓ al dīn*), are realized not merely as abstract legal ideals but through lived social and symbolic practices. Accordingly, this study affirms that the integration of sharia and local culture does not represent a normative compromise, but rather an epistemological strategy that sustains the contextual relevance and adaptability of Islamic law within a multicultural society.

5. Acknowledgments

The author expresses gratitude to Allah for His mercy and blessings, which made it possible to complete this research entitled "*Mappasikarawa Tradition in the Perspective of Islamic Law: A Case Study of Bugis Bone Traditional Marriage*." The author would also like to extend sincere appreciation to the traditional leaders, religious authorities, and members of the Bugis Bone community who generously shared their knowledge and experiences regarding the practices and meanings of the *mappasikarawa* tradition. Special thanks are also conveyed to lecturers, academic supervisors, and colleagues in the field of Islamic law for their valuable guidance, support, and scholarly insights throughout the process of conducting and completing this research. The author also expresses sincere appreciation to family and friends

for their prayers and moral support throughout the research process. It is hoped that the results of this study will contribute to the development of contextual studies in Islamic law and enhance understanding of the integration between sharia and local wisdom in Indonesia.

References

- Abdullah, I. (2017). Islamic tradition and cultural practice in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 11(1), 1–22.
- Abdullah, M. A. (2021). Nurcholish Madjid and Religious Pluralism in Indonesian Islam. In M. Hashas (Ed.), *Pluralism in Islamic Contexts—Ethics, Politics and Modern Challenges* (Vol. 16, pp. 189–199). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66089-5_11
- Al-Suyuthi, J. (2004). *Al-Itqān fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān*. Dar al-Hadits.
- Al-Qaradawi, Y., & Al-Alwani, T. J. (2006). *Islamic Awakening: Between Rejection and Extremism* (N. Roberts, Ed.). International Institute of Islamic Thought. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvkc67k3>
- Auda, J. (2008). *Maqasid al-Shariah as philosophy of Islamic law: A systems approach*. International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT).
- Azra, A. (2002). *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara*. Logos Wacana Ilmu.
- Azra, A. (2013). *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*. Prenada Media.
- Bowen, J. R. (2003). *Islam, Law, and Equality in Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Burhani, A. N. (2015). Islam, adat, and the state. *Studia Islamika*, 22(3), 389–418.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation Of Cultures*. Basic Books.
- Geertz, C. (2017). *The interpretation of cultures*. Basic books.
- Hallaq, W. B. (2009). *An Introduction to Islamic Law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hamid, A. F. A. (2017). Islamist Civil Society Activism Malaysia Abdullah: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM) Darul Arqam. *Studia Islamika*, 16(3). <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v16i3.475>
- Hasan, M. M., & Moten, A. R. (2023). *Journey to Islamicisation of Human Knowledge: A Festschrift in Honour of Mohd. Kamal Hassan (IIUM PRESS)*. IIUM PRESS.
- Hooker, M. B. (2008). *Indonesian Islam: Social Change through Contemporary Fatawa*. University of Hawai’i Press.
- Hosen, N. (2019). Challenging Traditional Islamic Authority: The Impact of Social Media in Indonesia. *Proceedings of International Conference on Da’wa and Communication*, 1(1), 84–100. <https://doi.org/10.15642/icondac.v1i1.280>
- Idrus, A. M., Nurdin, R., Qayyum, R., Halim, P., & Amir, R. (2023). The Tradition of Mappasikarawa in the Bugis-Makassar Community Marriage: A Study of Islamic Law Philosophy. *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, 7(2), 848–874.

<https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v7i2.17125>

- Mahfudh, K. H. M. A. S. (2003). *Nuansa Fiqh Sosial*. Lkis Pelangi Aksara.
- Mattulada, L. (1985). *Satu Lukisan Analitis terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis Yogyakarta*.
- Muri A, Y. (2014). *Metode Penelitian: Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan Penelitian Gabungan*. Kencana.
- NAJIB, M. (2019). Jurnal Pendidikan Islam Dalam Pelaksanaan Pernikahan Adat Bugis. *Istiqra: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Pemikiran Islam*, 6(2).
- Nuruddin, N., & Nahar, N. (2022). Nilai-nilai budaya upacara Mappacci dalam proses pernikahan adat suku Bugis di desa Labuahan Aji kecamatan Trano kabupaten Sumbawa. *Jurnal Ilmiah Mandala Education*, 8(2), 1372–1379.
- Nyazee, I. A. K. (2000). *Theories of Islamic Law*. Islamic Research Institute.
- Pelras, C. (1997). *The Bugis*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Rahman, F. (1982). *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*. University of Chicago Press.
- Seliana, S., Arifin, S., & Rijal, S. (2018a). Makna Simbolik Mappasikarawa Dalam Pernikahan Suku Bugis Di Sebatik Nunukan. *Ilmu Budaya: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Seni, Dan Budaya*, 2(3), 213. <https://doi.org/10.30872/jbssb.v2i3.1145>
- Seliana, S., Arifin, S., & Rijal, S. (2018b). Makna Simbolik Mmappasikarawa dalam Pernikahan Suku Bugis di Sebatik Nunukan. *Ilmu Budaya: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Seni, dan Budaya*, 2(3), 213–220. <https://doi.org/10.30872/jbssb.v2i3.1145>
- Solihah, C. (2025). *Hukum Perkawinan dalam Teori dan Perkembangan*. Zahir Publishing.
- Wekke, I. S., Bukido, R., Rumkel, N., & Hasan, editor, Faradila. (2018). *Islam dan adat, keteguhan adat dalam kepatuhan beragama*. Deepublish.