

INTEGRATION OF ISLAM AND BHOKA CULTURE IN THE WEDDING PROCESSION OF MUNA ETHNICITY IN SOUTHEAST SULAWESI

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ABSTRACT

Marriage in Muna society is generally conducted based on customs and religious teachings. The practice of bhoka in the traditional marriages of the Muna tribe was first established by King Sugi Manuru in the 16th century, before the advent of Islam in Muna. The uniqueness of the bhoka tradition lies in the requirement that Muna traditional weddings must involve a specific bhoka determined by social class. This study explores the concept of bhoka for the Muna ethnic group, the integration of Islam and the bhoka culture explained through the functions of bhoka that align with Islamic principles, the influence of social stratification on bhoka determination, and the impact of implementing bhoka in Muna ethnic marriages. The research method employed in this study is the historical, using heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. The results of the study indicate that integration of Islam and the bhoka culture is evident in the function of bhoka as a marriage dowry, in line with Islamic teachings that require a dowry as a valid condition for marriage in Islam.

Keywords: Functions; Social Stratification; Traditional Marriage

ABSTRAK

Pernikahan dalam masyarakat Muna pada umumnya dilakukan berdasarkan adat dan ajaran agama yang dianut. Pemberlakuan bhoka dalam pernikahan adat suku Muna pertama kali diciptakan oleh Raja Sugi Manuru pada abad ke 16 M, yakni di masa sebelum masuknya Islam di Muna. Keunikan dari adat bhoka yaitu pelaksanaan pernikahan etnis muna harus menggunakan bhoka yang ditentukan berdasarkan golongan masyarakat. Penelitian ini membahas konsep bhoka bagi etnis Muna, Integrasi Islam dan budaya bhoka yang dijabarkan melalui fungsi bhoka yang selaras dengan prinsip-prinsip Islam, pengaruh stratifikasi sosial terhadap penentuan bhoka dan dampak pemberlakuan bhoka di pernikahan etnis Muna. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode sejarah yaitu heuristik, verifikasi, interpretasi dan historiografi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa integrasi Islam dan budaya bhoka terletak pada fungsi bhoka sebagai mahar pernikahan yang sejalan dengan ajaran agama Islam yang mewajibkan mahar sebagai syarat sah nya pernikahan dalam Islam.

Kata Kunci; Fungsi; Pernikahan Adat, Stratifikasi Sosial.

INTRODUCTION

In general, the traditional marriages of the Muna tribe are divided into two categories, namely noble marriages (Kaomu, Walaka) and those from the common society (Maradika, Anangkolaki). Social status in Muna society is classified into four groups, namely Kaomu, Walaka, Maradika, and Anangkolaki. In the past, when seeking a life partner, the Muna community was typically encouraged to find someone from the same tribe and social group (Intan, 2018). However, over time, this notion has gradually faded,



and even the lowest social group now has the opportunity to marry someone from any social class.

Bhoka can be interpreted equivalently, meaning it is proportional to its category as a unit of value to measure the nominal amount of a currency. Although bhoka is not a commonly used means of payment in buying and selling transactions, the bhoka unit applies only to activities related to traditional ceremonies, such as weddings, karia, katoba, maulidan, and others. Bhoka was part of the government's administration during the reign of King Sugi Manuru in the 16th century because some traditional bhoka money is handed over to the treasurer for use by the State (Intan, 2018). According to the story that has developed within the Muna tribe, it is said that traditional bhoka money in marriage existed before Islam entered Muna and was still maintained when Islam began to spread in Muna. The traditional marriage system of Muna that has existed since ancient times remains unchanged, especially those related to bhoka (Suhiat, 2018).

In the early emergence of bhoka in Muna's traditional marriages, conflicts often arose regarding the amount to be given due to the absence of clear rules on the quantity of bhoka, especially in marriages with different social stratifications. However, during the reign of King La Ode Ahmad Maktubu from 1905-1914, the determination of the bhoka amount to be provided by the male party was established as marriage law based on societal groups. The determination of this bhoka amount was designed by the king and religious and traditional leaders through mutual agreement because the democratic system in Muna involved decision-making through rompuha or deliberation. Before the establishment of the bhoka amount by King La Ode Ahmad Maktubu, the Muna community was only allowed to marry within the same social group (Anderlaepe, 2017), and it was even considered unlawful to marry into a different group, especially the lowest one. After the establishment of bhoka as a law by King La Ode Ahmad Maktubu, different rules were created, allowing marriages between different groups or ethnicities outside Muna, but with the condition that the amount of bhoka given is higher than the established amount. This rule still applies today.

The wedding tradition in Muna society is unique and worthy of investigation, especially concerning 'bhoka' because the issue of 'bhoka' is highly significant in Muna traditional weddings. If there is no agreement on the matter of 'bhoka,' the marriage process may face obstacles; conversely, once the issue of 'bhoka' is resolved, the stages of the wedding can proceed smoothly. This occurs because there is an understanding among the Muna people that the determination of 'bhoka' reflects human obedience to social norms and leaders. Another unique aspect of the 'bhoka' tradition is that, to this day, 'bhoka' only exists in wedding ceremonies, while it is no longer practiced in other traditional activities such as 'katoba' and 'karia.' Furthermore, the determination of the 'bhoka' amount provided by the male party is based on their social status, and this regulation has been in place since ancient times. This research is crucial to examine the integration of Islam and the 'bhoka' culture in the wedding process of the Muna ethnic group.

METHOD

The research method employed in this study is the historical research method, namely heuristic, verification, interpretation, and historiography. The author gathered various historical sources, including books and journals obtained from the library, the Bharugano Wuna Museum collection in Muna Regency, and e-books downloaded from reputable

websites. Additionally, interviews were conducted with individuals knowledgeable about the cultural aspects of the Muna tribe, specifically traditional and religious figures in Muna Regency. In the research on the bhoka tradition, the researcher discovered authentic written sources comprehensively discussing the marriage traditions in Muna, making them valuable as primary sources. These sources include a book written in 1930 by J. Couvreur titled "Ethnografisch Overzicht Van Moena" and a book by Aderlaepe titled "Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Muna." Furthermore, some items from the Bharugano Wuna museum collection, such as coins used as bhoka exchange tools, served as secondary sources. Secondary sources were obtained from books, journals, or literature related to bhoka in Muna traditional weddings, acquired through literature reviews and field studies.

In this research, the researcher employs an anthropological approach to understand the social behavior of the community, their status and lifestyle, underlying belief systems that shape their patterns of living, and so forth (Kartodirjo, 1992). Subsequently, the concept of social stratification is chosen to explain that in society, differences are observed among individuals or groups that then form social layers. Social classification is categorized based on several aspects such as descent, economic, political, and religious aspects. In Muna, social stratification is initially grouped based on the tasks undertaken and later continues based on hereditary factors. The functionalist-structuralist theory proposed by A.R. Radcliffe Brown is useful in explaining that every existing culture is not for individual satisfaction but to meet the social needs of the community (Endraswara, 2016). Similarly, the existence of bhoka in the marriages of the Muslim community of the Muna tribe undoubtedly serves a function for the common interest that integrates with the principles of Islamic teachings.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Description of Bhoka Customs in the Wedding Ceremony of the Muna Tribe

Bhoka is one of the traditions in Muna ethnic weddings, which has undergone several changes due to the influence of Islamic elements (Halifu, 2021). In the early reign of King Sugi Manuru in the 16th century, bhoka was part of the government's regulations, as the money from bhoka conversions was partly given to the treasurer to be used by the state and the main source of the Muna tribe's government life. However, during the middle of King Sugi Manuru's rule, changes occurred in the governance system, society, security, and statehood, as well as an increasing population and the emergence of leaders who each had the right to become king. King Sugi Manuru perceived this condition as potentially leading to power struggles, and to overcome this, he organized the community's life according to its functions (Mawampone, 2021), resulting in the creation of social stratification in the community that would later affect the determination of bhoka as a dowry in the traditional marriages of the Muslim community of the Muna tribe. Bhoka is an expression in customs that does not have a tangible form that can be touched. Bhoka takes shape after being converted into money, which is money handed over by the groom's side through a representative from the groom's family, usually delivered a day before the wedding. In this case, bhoka is not a form of payment that can be used in buying and selling transactions, so it cannot be used to purchase goods. However, the bhoka unit applies only to activities related to the traditional procession. Finally, operationally, the meaning of bhoka in Muna traditional weddings in this study is the amount of the traditional money value that has been converted from the currency that was valid in its



time (ringgit, gulden, kampua, or rupiah) according to a person's social status to pay the marriage dowry.

The definition of bhoka, which is in line with what has been explained above, is also found in the book titled "Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Muna" by J. Couvreur. Couvreur explains that bhoka is a unit of currency in wedding customs, serving as a value unit for wedding ceremonies and dowries. In this context, wedding customs refer to all traditions commonly practiced in a society to regulate issues related to marriage. Therefore, it can be said that the bhoka custom holds its value for the Muna community.

The bhoka custom is one of the requirements in the marriage customs of the Muna people, serving as a marriage dowry for Muslim communities in the Muna tribe. The intended dowry is not solely for the prospective bride, but extends beyond that, including a portion designated for the mother of the bride, wedding expenses, etc. If the adat bhoka is fulfilled, the wedding ceremony can proceed smoothly, ensuring the integrity of the community structure as desired. The determination of the bhoka amount as a dowry is based on the social strata of the Muna community (Niampe et al., 2018). For the Kaomu group, it is 20 bhoka, the Walaka group is 10 bhoka for 10 suku, the Anangkolaki group is 7 bhoka for 2 suku, and the Maradika group is 3 bhoka for 2 suku. By establishing the bhoka based on these social strata, the Muna community hopes that marriages will align with individuals of the same social group. This is because it is feared that marrying across different social groups could lead to the extinction of social strata in the Muna community.

King Muna VI, namely Sugi Manuru, established social stratification by dividing the population of Muna into three categories, namely: First, the group talented in development, governance, and knowledge, called Kaomu, for example, individuals holding positions such as king, and this applies to all their descendants. Second, the group skilled in religion, social affairs, and law is called the Walaka group, for instance, individuals holding positions like bhonto balano (prime minister), and this applies to all their descendants. Third, the group talented in agriculture, animal husbandry, and hunting is called Anangkolaki and Maradika, for example, ordinary people who generally work as farmers. The social stratification in Muna serves the purpose of forming the social structure within the government. The social structure referred to is the entire network of existing social relationships (Malarsih, 2004). From the structural-functional perspective of Radcliffe-Brown, to realize the social structure of a society, the elements in the society must be maintained and preserved as a functional relationship. The integrity of the social structure described by Radcliffe-Brown is identical to the integrity of the social structure in Muna, each playing its role in maintaining Muna's integrity. If the main purpose of social behavior, as proposed by Radcliffe-Brown, is to maintain the integrity of the social structure of society, then the primary purpose of the formation of bhoka customs in marriage is to maintain the social groups in Muna so that they function according to their roles.

In weddings in Muna since the acceptance of Islam, the implementation of marriage is carried out by the valid conditions of marriage in Islam. The execution of the bhoka tradition as the bride price is an effort to strengthen the religion, so it can remain present in Muna people's lives. The manifestation of Islamization in Muna shows that customs run side by side, continuously, and inseparably, like two sides of a coin. Thus, traditions related to the implementation of marriage in the community must be in line with and not contradict Islam. The traditional marriage practices in Muna are substantially aligned with Islamic marriage because the pillars and valid conditions of marriage are accommodated in the practice of Muna's traditional marriage. This can be

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seen in the obligation to provide a dowry to the bride, and the necessity of having a guardian for the bride, which is fundamentally in line with the provisions in Islam.

Integration of Islam and Bhoka Culture in Muna Traditional Wedding Ceremony.

It is important to note that the integration between religion (Islam) and the cultural aspects of marriage can vary significantly depending on the interpretation and practices of the local community. In this case, such integration combines Islamic values with the bhoka culture in Muna ethnic marriages. The bhoka tradition, as a result of the cultural heritage of the Nusantara, particularly in Muna, has been preserved by the Muna ethnic group for centuries. This is because the bhoka tradition serves important functions that are integrated with Islam, according to the community that understands, appreciates, and delves into the essence of the bhoka tradition. The functions are as follows:

Bhoka as a dowry in marriage

The traditional marriage system in Muna has existed since before the advent of Islam, and in the period after the arrival of Islam and its acceptance by the people of Muna, the pre-existing marriage system remained unchanged, especially concerning the custom of bhoka. The only change was in the marriage ceremony, specifically the marriage contract (*ijab qabul*), which followed Islamic teachings as applicable to Muslim communities of the Muna tribe in Southeast Sulawesi. With the introduction of Islam in Muna and its acceptance as a new religion that was subsequently developed, the customs of the inhabitants were integrated with Islamic teachings. Therefore, the traditions and wedding ceremonies of the Muna ethnic group are influenced by the provisions of Islamic law (Lakebo, 1979).

In Islamic teachings, marriage is the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), which aims to continue the lineage and preserve humanity from falling into undesirable behavior prohibited by Islamic law. To achieve this purpose, marriage must be conducted according to the prescribed procedures. A marriage is considered valid if it fulfills its pillars and requirements. If any of the pillars or requirements are not met, the marriage may be deemed invalid. One of these requirements is the payment of a dowry. In the Muna community, the dowry in marriage must follow the bhoka custom. An example of its use is: "I accept the marriage and union of Habi Astum, the daughter of so-and-so, with a dowry of 35 bhoka Muna, paid in full for the sake of Allah SWT.

Bhoka serves as a wedding dowry for the Muslim Muna community. In the implementation of the dowry payment, several individuals are involved, namely from the female side, including one customary leader as a companion to the parents of the female party, who is authorized to accept the dowry. Meanwhile, on the male side, one person is tasked with bringing the dowry money, and another person from the customary leaders serves as the spokesperson. In the Muna tradition, the dowry is paid to the father of the bride. Here, the dowry not only refers to a specific gift to the bride as per Islamic teachings but also includes elements such as *kantaburi*, *paniwi*, *lalinoghawi*, etc., which are legal for all social classes in Muna. So, after the customary leader (companion to the female party's parents) receives the converted bhoka dowry money, it is then handed over to the father of the bride. If the father of the bride has passed away, it is received by the mother. If the mother has also passed away, then everything is given to the family member where the woman resides. Typically, this family member is the paternal brother who acts as the guardian during the marriage. The person receiving the dowry is not allowed to keep it for themselves but must distribute it to those entitled to receive it.



The following is a brief overview of the traditional wedding ceremony implementation process (Hasran et al., 2016),

- a) The completion presented before the delegation using a covered piece of cloth signifies the success of a household that must be preserved.
- b) The traditional language used is refined, both by the ceremony participants and the expectations of the descendants from the marriage.
- c) The final sequence of the wedding is the 'kasambu' ceremony (exchanging rice), symbolizing the expression of love.
- d) The execution of the wedding ceremony is an effort to preserve customs and traditions, ensuring that the process consistently reflects the past agreed upon by the council of elders.

In marriage according to Islam, the existence of a dowry given by the groom to the prospective wife is an obligation that must be fulfilled (Akbari, 2019). The amount of the dowry is an agreement between the parties involved and depends on the wife's consent to accept the dowry given to her. This is indicated in the words of Allah, Surah An-Nisa: 4 that means "Give the dowry to the woman (whom you marry) as a voluntary gift".

The terms of dowry must have value, it is not valid to make dowry from items without value. Just like bhoka as a marriage dowry, it has value when converted into the currency valid at that time.

Must be clear and beneficial (halal), and cannot be stolen goods or something unclear.

Although in Islam, the amount of mas kawin (bridal gift) is a mutual agreement between the parties involved, the determination of mas kawin by the Muna ethnic group generally follows social strata, consisting of Kaomu, Walaka, Anangkolaki, and Maradika (as stated in the Royal Marriage Law of Muna based on the decision of Sarano Wuna/customary council in Wanse). Thus, the number of bhoka as mas kawin does not need to be discussed further during marriage negotiations. The determination of mas kawin is governed by the Muna kingdom's governance.

Initially, the marriage mas kawin only used bhoka, with an agreed-upon amount specified in the marriage law, and the bride's party did not have the right to request mas kawin according to their wishes. Flexibility in requesting mas kawin by the bride began to apply over time, allowing women to desire mas kawin according to their preferences while still adhering to the bhoka tradition. In Islam, the right to request mas kawin belongs to the prospective bride, but in the Muna ethnic group, the practice differs. In response to this phenomenon, a new rule was established in the mid-20th century, allowing women to stipulate their mas kawin without abandoning the bhoka tradition as an ancestral heritage. Maintaining bhoka as mas kawin in marriage is one way to preserve the identity and cultural heritage of the Muna ethnic group.

In general, the Muna community typically conducts marriages within the Muna ethnic group, whether from noble or non-noble backgrounds. However, marriages with individuals outside the Muna tribe also frequently occur. Foreigners or men from outside the Muna tribe, if they wish to marry a Muna woman, are required to pay a higher bride price. The higher amount of bride price is attributed to several reasons. Firstly, these men are usually from an unknown social class. Secondly, the consideration includes the calculation of a fine or penalty to prevent the man from disappearing after the marriage, leaving the woman behind (Niampe, 2018).

The presence of "bhoka" as a form of bride price in marriages is one way to introduce Islam into the midst of Muna culture, gradually gaining popularity and acceptance in the community (Mawampone, 2021). Although the rules regarding "bhoka" as a bride price sometimes disadvantage certain groups, such as non-noble men marrying

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noble women, due to the additional struggles they face compared to noble men, it is fundamentally contradictory to Islamic teachings. However, it can be understood that during that period, Islamic teachings had not yet spread comprehensively.

Bhoka as marriage officer's salary

The occurrence of marriage in Muna society involves a specific process and ceremony that must be carried out, as it has become a customary law requirement for marriage and a tradition in Muna society. The implementation process of a Muna society marriage should not be taken lightly and must be obeyed because in facing marriage, both the prospective bride and groom's families have two paths to choose from, "Safe or die," and also discussing marriage customs is easy but difficult, difficult but easy "nomuda maka nohali, nohali maka nomuda" (Hasran et al., 2016).

In the Muna ethnic marriage tradition, there is something called "adat matano kenta" (fish eye custom) which is distributed to government officials as a symbol of respect (Maulid, 2012). In the Muna customary structure, there is something called a religious official led by the lakina agama (Couvreur, 1935). As explained in the previous discussion, the lakina agama and its hierarchy do not have a fixed salary, therefore their income is obtained from marriage taxes as agreed upon. The payment for this marriage fee is called "isi kawin" in Muna, and the amount received is regulated, so it cannot be taken more or less."

To meet the living needs of their family, including the needs of their children and wives, the overall income of religious officials comes from various sources. These include voluntary contributions at the end of the fasting month by the local community, ihino kawi or dowry, a portion of the expenses incurred when dealing with inheritance issues where religious authorities must intervene, annual fitrah zakat according to religious regulations, proceeds from dhikr or remembrance by relatives at funerals, money required to be paid to religious officials during ceremonies such as kaalanowulu, katoba, and karia, and a portion of fines collected in legal cases prosecuted by religious officials (Maulid, 2012).

During marriage ceremonies, religious officials act as marriage officers. They include religious authorities, imams, sermon speakers, modhi bahalano, modhino liwu, mokimu, and the lakina religious official's scribe. They come from the Kaomu and Walaka groups, possessing expertise in conducting traditional wedding customs. As responsible officials in wedding ceremonies, the practitioners of wedding customs have rules to follow in carrying out their duties (Maulid, 2012). Each marriage official's tasks are organized according to their respective roles. One of the tasks is guiding the exchange of marriage vows. Initially, the official takes a small piece of cloth, holding its end while imparting some advice. Following that, the marriage vows are recited as per Islamic customs. Finally, the groom must make six promises, stating that his wife has the right to seek divorce if he says 'it's better to divorce' during a dispute, if he hits his wife outside the home, cuts her hair, damages her weaving tools, causes her to bleed, or exposes her nakedness outside the home (Couvreur, 1935).

Next is the delivery of the marriage sermon directly by the religious official. Muna's wedding customs have become integrated with Islamic values, making it possible to say that the wedding customs existing when Islam was implemented in general life have added value by blending Muna culture with Islam.

The Influence of Social Stratification on Bhoka Customs



Social stratification is defined as the differences in classes within a society. Sometimes the term social stratification is broadly used to refer to forms of inequality, although it has beneficial value when limited to gaps among groups of people with specific identities. When discussing social stratification, terms like nobility and non-nobility are often encountered, leading to the observation of discriminatory behavior and the belief that the social status of the nobility is higher than that of the non-nobility. The title of nobility is a special position acquired based on lineage or ancestors who had a higher status than the common people (Wadi, 2017). In the Muna society, there is social stratification that influences marriage customs. With social stratification, there are sometimes restrictions on marriage between different groups, except under certain conditions (Lakebo, 1979).

The dowry value is based on the provisions of the Bhoka custom and is related to an individual's social status in the context of customary practices. In the cultural context of Muna, the position of both prospective spouses before the customs logically implies the value of the completeness of customs, which will be handed over to the prospective bride. The payment of the bride price in marriage is given before the day of the wedding.

An essential part of the Muna traditional wedding ceremony is the payment of the bride price, calculated based on Bhoka. The amount of the Bhoka depends on the positions of the woman and the man. The woman's position determines the amount. However, if the man has a lower social status, the bride price may be doubled or tripled. Regarding the issue of the validity of determining Bhoka based on social stratification, according to Adams in the book by Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra titled "Minawang Hubungan Patron-Klien di Sulawesi Selatan," it is stated that

"A thing is legitimate, then, when people agree that it is in some manner correct, proper, or the way it should be"

The meaning of the statement above is that when discussing bhoka, we should start from within, meaning from the perspective of the Muna people themselves. These perspectives can be found in the system of rules they adhere to. The Muna society greatly respects the existing social stratification as a manifestation of respect for leaders who can be termed "heroes" who have contributed to leading the Muna kingdom.

The difference in the quantity of bhoka, according to Muna marriage customs, does not at all carry significance as a statement that distinguishes people in terms of the quality of their humanity. It is simply a social norm in community life. Therefore, Raja La Ode Ahmad Maktubu establishes the bhoka custom for the Kaomu group at 20 bhoka, the Walaka group at 10 bhoka and 10 suku, the Anangkolaki group at 7 bhoka and 2 suku, and the Maradika group at 3 bhoka and 2 suku, for various reasons.

Firstly, the noble groups (Kaomu and Walaka) bear many responsibilities, namely overseeing 43 villages to be managed by Kaomu. Hence, this group receives a salary of 20 bhoka from the government, applicable to all their descendants. This reason is what makes the total value of bhoka in marriages for the Kaomu group to be 20 bhoka. Furthermore, the second noble group, Walaka, oversees 33 villages and is thus paid 10 bhoka and 10 suku, applicable to all their descendants. This reason is what determines the total value of their bhoka to be 10 bhoka and 10 suku.

The second group consists of ordinary people (Anangkolaki and Maradika). The Anangkolaki group had previously been given the option to request a position, but they chose to become ordinary village heads holding positions in 7 villages, receiving a salary of 7 bhoka and 2 suku, applicable to all their descendants. This choice resulted in their total bhoka value being 7 bhoka and 2 suku. The Maradika group, on the other hand,

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receives a salary of 3 bhoka and 2 suku, with less demanding tasks, and this applies to all their descendants as well.

According to researchers, the determination of bhoka with such an amount as a dowry is a way of honoring the ancestors who have contributed to governing the Kingdom of Muna. It is still considered relevant to the bhoka amount regulated by previous kings, thus being maintained as a marriage law. Apart from maintaining the bhoka value for the same group, during the reign of King La Ode Ahmad Maktubu, an additional rule was established allowing intermarriage between different groups or with people from tribes other than Muna. However, King La Ode Ahmad Maktubu still advised choosing a partner from the same group, whether Kaomu with Kaomu, Walaka with Walaka, Anangkolaki with Anangkolaki, and Maradika with Maradika. Despite the desire to marry outside one's group, the amount of bhoka issued for such marriages is higher (Aderlaepe, 2017). In marriages with different social stratifications, the amount of bhoka issued is higher when a lower-class man marries a woman from a higher social class. According to the researcher's analysis, this occurs to address marriages between different groups, despite the rules allowing such unions.

Impact of Bhoka Tradition on the Muna Ethnicity

Bhoka is a distinctive feature or identity of the Muna ethnic group that continues to be preserved to this day. Despite the determination of the number of bhoka leading to social stratification within the Muna community, it holds significant prestige in traditional marriage for the female family, provided that the specified number of bhoka can be met by the prospective male groom. In practice, the establishment of bhoka in traditional marriages often leads to conflicts due to excessively high bhoka values, especially for men from ordinary social classes seeking to marry women of higher social standing. Nevertheless, the positive aspect of the bhoka tradition is that it makes the man think thousands of times before divorcing his wife because he has sacrificed much to court her (Mawampone, 2021).

On the other hand, the negative impact of the bhoka tradition lies in the limitations on choosing a prospective wife due to marriage restrictions based on social strata, aiming to preserve the purity of the social strata. In marriage, it is expected to seek a life partner within the same social class, and marrying across different social classes is strongly discouraged. Although there are rules allowing men from non-noble classes to marry noble women, the government still advocates choosing a spouse within the same social class when seeking a partner. According to researchers, the recommendation to marry within the same social class may be aimed at ensuring compatibility in marriage, making it easier to adapt to a new family. This aligns with the Islamic recommendation to choose a life partner who is compatible in terms of religion, position, education, social status, wealth, etc., although it is permissible to marry someone who is not of the same social status.

In the structural-functional theory that examines the social structure (Malarsih, 2004), the prohibition of inter-class marriage essentially aims to preserve the social strata of the Muna ethnic group. This ensures that the Kaomu, Walaka, Anangkolaki, and Maradika groups fulfill their functions in social life as they should (Mawampone, 2021). As time passes, the social strata that apply to the Muna ethnic group gradually erode, so the social structure is no longer based on the Kaomu, Walaka, Anangkolaki, and Maradika groups. However, social stratification in customary marriage is still considered important



in determining the amount of dowry. Perhaps, this situation aims to honor the social stratification established by ancestors long ago.

In its development, marriages between different social classes are allowed to take place with certain consequences, such as a higher customary payment and a decrease in social status for noble Muna women if they marry a Muna man from a lower social class. If the man is unable to pay the customary payment, it becomes a reason for the prospective groom and bride to live together without the bond of marriage (Couvreur, 1935). Some argue that "living together without the bond of marriage" means engaging in a marriage that is not recognized legally by the kingdom. In other words, they are conducting an informal or religious marriage. According to Islamic views, informal marriages are acceptable, but not in the Kingdom of Muna. This is because marrying without the kingdom's procedures is seen as a form of societal disobedience to government regulations. Therefore, the customary payment is approved first as a marriage requirement from the Muna kingdom, considering that the customary money serves a specific function. Marriages between individuals of different social statuses are indeed challenging to avoid for the Muna ethnic group.

An interesting phenomenon observed by the researcher empirically is during traditional Muna weddings organized by Muna people. From several events witnessed by the researcher, the issue lies in the bhoka custom not being entirely the right of a wife but being distributed to the family and several witnesses from traditional figures attending the wedding procession. The reality of the dualism between mas kawin and bhoka sometimes creates confusion and controversy in its implementation, as there is a gap between the mas kawin theory known in Islamic norms. According to the author, if we trace the history of bhoka as mas kawin, there would be no debate about bhoka as mas kawin. The imposition of bhoka as the mas kawin in marriage is one way for Islamic broadcasters to spread Islamic teachings through the evolving culture.

CONCLUSION

The research results indicate that in the context of the traditional marriage customs of the Muna tribe, "bhoka" is considered an essential element for the implementation of wedding ceremonies. It serves as a dowry, as well as a salary for the marriage officials. The determination of "bhoka" based on social strata is seen as a reflection of social norms considered acceptable, considering that in Muna customs, the community is divided into several groups based on the tasks and skills of individuals. The integration of Islam and bhoka culture in Muna tribe weddings can encompass several aspects. First, Islamic values in the wedding procession, where the officiating party can emphasize the importance of marriage according to Islamic teachings. An Imam or religious leader can lead the wedding procession and provide Islamic advice to the married couple. Second, the gifts given can still follow local traditions like the "bhoka" custom but are aligned with Islamic principles. The groom can provide gifts that reflect local wisdom values, ensuring they comply with Islamic regulations.

In addition to having specific uses in the wedding procession, "bhoka" also has an impact on the Muna tribe, both positive and negative. On the positive side, it serves as a means to gauge the sincerity of the groom in courting a prospective wife. The realization of the "bhoka" tradition is not as easy as imagined, requiring various preparations in terms of finances, mindset, and energy. However, on the negative side, there are limitations in marriage for different social groups. If implemented, ordinary members of society (Anangkolaki and Maradika) in this case are greatly disadvantaged, especially when intending to marry women from noble classes (Kaomu and Walaka).

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