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NEGOTIATION OF ISLAM AND LOCAL CULTURE IN TRADITIONAL LAMPUNG MARRIAGE

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Abstract

This article examines two types of Lampung communities, Pepadun and Saibatin, which have interesting differences, especially in the context of their traditional marriages. Both Lampung Pepadun and Saibatin are unique in terms of their customs, traditional dress and marriage process. However, the focus of this article is on how Islamic symbolic values are reflected in the marriage ceremony of the Lampung Pepadun community. The research findings show: 1). The Lampung Pepadun community has three types of marriage, namely honest marriage, semanda marriage, and pineng ngerabung sanggar marriage. 2). The relationship between Islam and Lampung culture can be considered as an inseparable entity, where Islam that developed in Lampung was influenced by its local culture, while Lampung culture also experienced a rich influence from Islamic values. As a result, the combination of the two resulted in a syncretic culture with its own characteristics.

Abstrak

Artikel ini meneliti dua jenis masyarakat Lampung, Pepadun dan Saibatin, yang memiliki perbedaan menarik, terutama dalam konteks perkawinan adat mereka. Baik Lampung Pepadun maupun Saibatin memiliki keunikan dalam hal adat istiadat, pakaian tradisional, dan proses pernikahan. Namun, fokus artikel ini adalah pada bagaimana nilai-nilai simbolis Islam tercermin dalam upacara perkawinan masyarakat Lampung Pepadun. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan: 1). Masyarakat Lampung Pepadun memiliki tiga jenis perkawinan, yaitu perkawinan jujur, perkawinan semanda, dan perkawinan pineng ngerabung sanggar. 2). Keterkaitan antara Islam dan budaya Lampung dapat dianggap sebagai entitas yang tidak terpisahkan, di mana Islam yang berkembang di Lampung dipengaruhi oleh budaya lokalnya, sementara budaya Lampung juga mengalami pengaruh yang kaya dari nilai-nilai Islam. Akibatnya, perpaduan keduanya menghasilkan budaya yang bersifat sinkretis dengan ciri khasnya sendiri.

Kata Kunci: *Islam, Local Wisdom, Marriage, Lampung Culture.*

A. Introduction

Marriage, as an ancient ritual universal to man, is a special part of the history of human institutions. To date, there has been no discovery that any society has not recognized the institution of marriage as an important part of its social structure. Marriage can be thought of as a formal, socially recognized bond between a man and a woman, with responsibilities for childcare and the division of roles between husband and wife. The ideal model of marriage is one that provides closeness, companionship, fulfills sexual needs, creates togetherness, and supports emotional growth. These perspectives on the meaning of marriage are also held by diverse communities in Indonesia that live within a multicultural framework with its cultural diversity.

Indonesia has various ethnic groups spread across about 17,000 islands, from Sabang City in the West to Merauke City in the East of Irian Jaya. This regional diversity enriches the culture with various uniqueness. Differences in the interpretation of cultural elements are one of the causes of cultural diversity¹ In this context,

¹ Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi* (Jakarta : Rineka Cipta, 2002), 77

marriage - especially in Indonesia - is understood as a widely recognized event, although it varies in manner and form.² This diversity in implementation is the richness of Indonesia's heterogeneous culture, where each region has different cultural activities. This variety of cultural activities is supported by the existence of indigenous peoples with diverse kinship laws and customs.³

One of the regions rich in diverse traditional cultures is Lampung Province. Culturally, Lampung natives have various forms of unique regional culture that are reflected in their daily lives. The unique variety of culture is very visible, especially during the implementation of traditional wedding ceremonies.

Most of Lampung's indigenous people, who are Lampungese, follow the teachings of Islam. Therefore, the traditional ceremonies performed in their environment tend to have Islamic nuances. This indicates that their religion has merged with their culture. This harmony has actually existed for a long time, as evidenced by the traces of culture influenced by Islam and is still part of the evidence of the cultural wealth of the region.

The most common traditional ceremony seen is during wedding celebrations. The weddings follow traditional Lampung customs, while still fulfilling the legal requirements of Islam, which is the belief of the majority of the community. Marriage in Lampung culture not only binds the relationship between a man and a woman, but also unites a broader relationship, including the families of both parties and in essence, involves a large part of the community. Marriage becomes the main focus of attention of the community itself in the customary sphere.

Lampung traditional marriage is carried out through various methods such as Ngibal Serbou, Bumbang Aji,⁴ Itar Wawai, and

² *Ibid.*

³ Hilman Hadikusuma, *Hukum Kekerabatan Adat*, (Jakarta: Fajar Agung, 1987), 18

⁴ The ceremony of the woman simply releases her child with a simple ceremony, for example only slaughtering a goat. And the groom who comes to pick up is only dressed in cloth, suit and cap or kikat akkin (Lampung cloth headband) or dressed as Haji.

Sebambangan (elopement).⁵ However, there are forms of marriage that are considered taboo in Lampung society, such as marriage between individuals and their biological children, siblings, or children of siblings (nephews). Generally, Lampung men and women are free to choose their own life partners, but the most important thing is not to be too closely related by blood.

The people of Lampung have a marriage system that sets them apart from other tribes in the archipelago. Demographically, they are divided into two groups: Lampung Pepadun and Lampung Saibatin. Lampung Pepadun tends to live along the rivers that lead to the Java Sea, such as in the Abung, Tulang Bawang, and Pubian Telusuku areas. While Lampung Saibatin is more often located on the coast and along rivers that lead to the Indonesian Ocean. These two groups have striking differences, especially in terms of customs, clothing, and wedding processions. The typology of Lampung Pepadun and Saibatin communities has its own uniqueness, including in marriage procedures, which is one of the interesting differences between the two.

The various Lampung traditional marriage systems that exist today can be categorized into two types. First, marriages that involve a proposal process, which can take place in the form of a large traditional ceremony (gawei besar) or a simpler traditional ceremony (gawei kecil). Secondly, marriages that do not go through a proposal process or what is often called kawin lari, in Lampung's traditional tradition known as kawin sebambangan.⁶

In this case, the research will only focus on the marriage tradition of Lampung Pepadun. Pepadun customs are used by Lampung people who live in the Abung, Way kanan or Sungkai, Tulang bawang and Pubian inland areas. The Lampung Pepadun

⁵ This type of marriage ceremony is an act that violates adat and results in penalties. The settlement is no longer by proposal, but by an apology from the man to the woman, where there is no binding force to ask for customary money. This is because the woman is already with the man.

⁶Seen from the definition of the language, sebambangan comes from the word "se" which means "saling", and the word "bumbang" which means "bring" or "go". Sebambangan itself can be interpreted as a marriage without going through the marriage process, where marriage is an initiative that is then sought by male and female couples who will later marry..

community recognizes the existence of customary law based on the Lampung *siwo migo* customary section which contains various rules and prohibitions that must be obeyed by the leader and the community.

There are some traditions of Lampung *Pepadun* marriage that are not found in other traditional marriages. This is where this research gets interesting. Because talking about the meaning of local wisdom is very interesting even though there is still a debate about it.⁷

The study of local wisdom is a discourse theme developed by post-colonial thinkers. The post-colonial era is a new era of history where the perspective of local wisdom becomes a reference for social observers to see the direction and context of their scientific discipline. Irwan Abdullah said that the post-colonial era is a stage of time that gives birth to cognitive constructions of how freedom, the disappearance of discrimination, the birth of a tolerant, just society, and maintaining civil rights become social capital for society.⁸

The study of local wisdom is also part of cultural construction. In John Haba's view, "local wisdom refers to a variety of cultural wealth that grows and develops in a society known, believed, recognized as important elements that can strengthen social cohesion among citizens".⁹ Therefore, local wisdom can be utilized as an approach in solving various conflicts that occur. Among the benefits of local wisdom are; first, as a marker of a community's identity. Second, as an adhesive element (cohesive aspect) across citizens, across religions and beliefs. Third, local wisdom is not forced or from above, but a cultural element that exists and lives in

⁷ In local studies, there are at least two groups that pull and pull and even seem contradictory. The first group is those who are worried that the study of local wisdom will threaten ideology, national integration and nationalism. The second group is those who realize that this country is culturally diverse, multicultural, or diverse. Each local identity has local wisdom that must be brought out. According to them, we should be proud of the Indonesian nation that has various local wisdom values.

⁸ Irwan Abdullah, *Agama dan Kearifan Lokal dalam Tantangan Global*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), 2

⁹ John Haba, *Revitalisasi Kearifan Lokal: Studi Resolusi Konflik di Kalimantan Barat, Maluku dan Poso*, (Jakarta: ICIP dan European Commission, 2007), 11., Irwan Abdullah (ed), *Kearifan Lokal.....*, 7.

the community. Fourth, local wisdom gives the color of togetherness to a community. Fifth, local wisdom changes the mindset and mutual relationships of individuals and groups by placing it on a common ground or culture that is owned. Sixth, local wisdom can function to encourage the building of togetherness, appreciation as well as a joint mechanism to ward off various possibilities that reduce, even damage communal solidarity that is believed to originate and grow on a shared consciousness, from an integrated community.¹⁰

Therefore, the cultural value of local wisdom acculturated in Lampung traditional marriage ceremonies should continue to be interpreted and preserved. Marriage in Lampung custom is a form of worship whose sanctity needs to be maintained by both parties - husband and wife. Marriage aims to form a happy and prosperous family that lasts forever. Therefore, marriage requires physical and mental maturity and preparation because marriage is something sacred and can determine the course of one's life.

This is where the main focus of this research is to reveal the symbolic meaning of Islamic values that are acculturated in the traditional marriage of the Lampung Pepadun community.

This research includes field research (field research). Therefore the method used to collect data is by means of; 1). Observation method; 2). Interview method; 3). Documentation method. After all the data is collected, descriptive analytical analysis is carried out. To sharpen the analysis in order to reveal the meaning behind all customary symbols, the analysis "knife" used is the hermeneutic method.

B. Theoretical Framework

Cultural values according to Koentjaraningrat (1998:190) are concepts about what lives in the minds of most of a society about what they consider valuable, valuable and important in life, so that it can function as a guide that gives direction and orientation to the lives of the citizens of that society. Therefore, Rahim (1985:107) divides cultural values into: 1). nature, as preference and selection; 2).

¹⁰ Haba, *Ibid.*, 334-335., Irwan Abdullah (ed), *Ibid.*, 8.

Its content, which is moral and sacred; 3). Its function as a common property and guide; 4). Its implementation, expressed verbally and non-verbally and maintained in continuity and consistency; 5). Its breadth, general, specific, and optional; and 6). Sanctions, in the form of rewards or punishments.

Local cultural values that exist in every society often experience blending with new cultures in the form of acculturation or assimilation. Acculturation is a social process that occurs when humans in a society with a foreign culture that is so different in nature, so that elements of foreign culture are gradually accommodated and integrated into their own culture without losing their own personality.¹¹ In other words, acculturation is the blending of one culture into another without losing the characteristics of the adopted culture. Assimilation is a social process that arises when there are: (i) groups of people with different cultural backgrounds, (ii) live together intensively for a long time, so that (iii) the cultures of these groups each change their distinctive characteristics, and also their respective elements change their form into elements of mixed culture.

The process of blending local culture or customs with foreign culture (in this case Islamic culture) is different between those in coastal and inland areas. This condition has occurred in Java, which later gave birth to three classifications or layers of Javanese society (Santri, Priyai and Abangan) as expressed by Geertz. The theory of the layers of Javanese society is also interesting to see the typology of the inland Lampung Pepadun community and the coastal Lampung Saibatin in this case related to the marriage model.

In Lampung traditional marriages, there are many customary traditions that are inherent from generation to generation which then become a typical Lampung culture. As revealed by Geertz that culture is a pattern of understandings or meanings that are thoroughly intertwined in symbols and transmitted historically (Geertz, 1973: 89). In the next section, he says that culture is a system of conceptions inherited in symbolic form, by which humans can communicate, preserve, and develop their knowledge and

¹¹ Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi* (Jakarta : Rineka Cipta, 2002), 247

attitudes towards life (Geertz, 1973: 89). Because the meaning of symbols is not necessarily known easily, it requires an in-depth interpretation and one way that can be done is with hermeneutics.

C. Negotiation of Religious and Cultural Symbols (Adat) in Lampung Pepadun Traditional Marriage

a. Lampung Traditional Marriage

Adat is a custom that repeatedly applies to a region, group, clan, or tribe. This custom is regulated in such a way that it is obeyed by the members of the group, clan, tribe of a region, after being obeyed by the members of the clan, there is a sanction or threat of punishment from the members who violate it. Therefore, adat is actually a rule that regulates daily life for the continuity of the social life of a group, clan, tribe and enlarges a region.

Among the communities rich in binding customary rules is the Lampung region. Lampung is the name of a region located on the island of Sumatra. One of the interesting customs to study is the marriage tradition.

Marriage is human nature as a social creature that cannot be alone and always needs others. It is a gift from God. The culmination of love from two people of different sexes who love each other. There are many reasons why humans do marriage, including the aim of perfecting half of the religion, as a form of the sunnah of the apostle Muhammad Saw, fulfilling physical and mental needs and of course in order to preserve offspring.

Indonesia is a country rich in different cultures and traditions from various ethnic groups. Each ethnic group has its own specialty which is a legacy from ancestors that contains noble values. The traditional wedding ceremony is one of the traditions that is unique to each ethnic group. Likewise, the people of Lampung view marriage as a sacred event. An event that unites two humans and legalizes things that were previously forbidden between the opposite sex.

Marriage is the highest realization of love for people who love each other to unite. Starting from attraction then grows into

love. It is the nature and law of human nature to be created in pairs. From this marriage comes a family. Getting offspring and becoming a *sakinah* family is the goal for every married couple. This is as explained in the Qur'an (QS: Al-Ruum: 21).

The fact is that marriage is not only a union of two people of different sexes, but also a union of two families. That is why the wedding ceremony involves family and relatives. Everyone would expect a legal marriage, approved by parents, according to customary rules, especially religious rules.

Judging from the definition, marriage or marriage according to R. Soetojo Prawirohamidjojo and Aziz Safiuddin is a relationship between a man and a woman to live together eternally, which is recognized by the State.¹² According to Subekti, marriage is a legal relationship between a man and a woman for a long time.¹³ According to Soemiyati, marriage, which in religious terms is called *nikah*, is to make a contract or agreement to bind themselves between a man and a woman to legalize sexual relations between the two parties to create a happy family life filled with love and tranquility in ways that are approved by Allah.¹⁴ According to Hilman Hadikusuma, marriage is an element of the rope that continues human life and society.¹⁵ Hilman Hadikusuma adds that marriage is a life value to be able to continue offspring, maintain the genealogy and social position concerned. In addition, sometimes marriage is a means of repairing relationships that have drifted away or cracked, it is a means of approaching and reconciling relatives and so is marriage related to inheritance and property.¹⁶

By looking at some of the definitions of marriage above, it is clear that the definition of marriage expressed by the experts above views marriage as an agreement between a man and a woman to form a happy and eternal family (household). Marriage can form a

¹² R. Soetojo Prawirohamidjojo dan Aziz Safiuddin, *Hukum Orang dan Keluarga*, (Bandung: Alumni, 1986), 13.

¹³ Subekti, *Pokok-pokok Hukum Perdata*, (Jakarta: Intermasa, 1984), 13.

¹⁴ Soemiyati, *Hukum Perkawinan Islam dan Undang-undang Perkawinan*, (Yogyakarta: Liberty, 1982), 8.

¹⁵ Hilman Hadikusuma, *Hukum Perkawinan Adat*, (Bandung: Alumni, 1982), 22.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

very strong contract or physical and mental bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife in order to obey God's commandments with the aim of forming a happy and eternal family.

Meanwhile, the definition of marriage according to customary law is: "Affairs of kin, family affairs, community affairs, affairs of dignity and personal affairs and so it concerns religious affairs".¹⁷ Speaking of the definition of marriage according to customary law, according to Surojo Wignjodipoero, it is as follows:

"Marriage is one of the most important events in the life of our society because it involves not only the bride and groom, but also the parents of both parties, their siblings and even their respective families".¹⁸

More than what has been stated above, in customary law marriage is not only an important event for those who are still alive, but marriage is also a very meaningful event and is fully followed by the spirits of the ancestors of both parties and their families hoping for the blessing of the bride and groom, so that after marriage they can live happily and harmoniously as husband and wife. It can also be considered an important event in the life of the community, because it is encouraged by the fact that every normal person has the desire to carry out this life event. Even the most special thing in customary law is the assumption that a marriage is not only an act concerning each party, but is considered to have a relationship as an important event concerning their ancestors who have passed away.

So marriage does not only concern people who are still alive, but also those who have passed away, namely those who have ancestral ties with the parties. Therefore, in the implementation of the marriage ceremony according to customary law, permission must be sought from the deceased ancestors in order to obtain blessings for the continuation of family life with safety and happiness.

¹⁷ Hilman Hadikusuma, *Hukum Perkawinan Indonesia*, (Bandung: Megah Jaya Abadi Mandar Maju, 1990), 90.

¹⁸ Surojo Wignjodipoero, *Pengantar Dan Asas-asas Hukum Adat*, (Jakarta: PT. Gunung Agung, 1982), 122.

The implementation can be seen in one of the traditional marriage ceremonies, namely by visiting the graves of his ancestors or ancestors, praying solemnly with the hope that the marriage to be carried out will become an eternal marriage. All of this may be called superstition, but it turns out that until now these things are still very pervasive in the beliefs of most Indonesians and are therefore also still carried out everywhere.¹⁹

Marriage in customary law does not merely give rise to legal consequences for the parties to the marriage, but also has a broader relationship relating to other parties and concerning traditional and religious ceremonies.²⁰

The marriage bond brings legal consequences in customary ties, such as the position of a husband and the position of a wife, as well as the position of children and the adoption of children, the position of the eldest child, successor children, customary children, foster children and others and marital property, namely property arising from marriage, depending on the form and system of local customary marriage.

The purpose of marriage according to customary law as stated by Hilman Hadikusuma is:

"The purpose of marriage for kinship customary law communities is to maintain and continue the lineage of fatherhood or motherhood or fatherhood for the happiness of households, families, relatives and to obtain customary values, culture and peace, while maintaining inheritance".²¹

The above objectives of marriage are also embraced by the people of Lampung, the majority of whom are Muslims. The Lampungese believe that their customary laws are in line with what Islam teaches.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 20.

²⁰ Abdurrahman, *Masalah-masalah Hukum Perkawinan di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Alumni, 1978), 99.

²¹ *Ibid*, 23.

b. The Meaning of Lampung Traditional Wedding Accessories

One of the parameters of the cultural height of an ethnic group can be seen from the level of craft progress. The embodiment of the development of the craft can be seen from the skills in making traditional clothing and jewelry accessories.

The characteristics reflected in the shapes, ornamental motifs and symbolic meanings contained in traditional accessories show the level of cultural development of the ethnic group. For generations, the people of Lampung have inherited advanced skills in making traditional accessories typical of the region.

The aesthetic function of accessories or jewelry is to beautify the appearance of the wearer. In addition to aesthetics, traditional accessories have a social function - characterizing the wearer's social stratification or status in society.

In addition, traditional accessories also have a symbolic function. The accessories worn give an implied message and certain symbolic meanings, especially in traditional rituals. Of the three functions, Lampung traditional accessories have a more prominent character in their social function and symbolic function.

This can be seen from the accessories used in Lampung's traditional wedding procession-each accessory has a specific symbolic meaning. One of them is a special bird bracelet that is used only when the bride and groom are together.

The use of bird bracelets in the wedding procession means that there is a big burden that the bride and groom must be ready to carry when entering married life. In addition, the shape of the garuda bird on the bracelet symbolizes the hope that the relationship between the bride and groom will last until the end of life.

The head jewelry of the bride and family, including the siger, kopiah mas, and syuket (mirul crown wrapped in sembagi cloth), generally indicates the social status of the wearer and ethnic kinship. The siger saibatin, a bauble in the form of a sekala/bamboo leaf, indicates a high social position in society. Siger also has a symbolic meaning. The number of curves symbolizes the number of clans in

pepadun custom or the number of adoq (traditional titles) in saibatin custom.

Apart from the shape aspect, the color selection in jewelry accessories also has its own meaning. The dominant golden nuance in the bride's jewelry in Lampung tradition symbolizes glory. In addition, the combination of golden color with white and red which is dominant in Lampung bridal clothing has a message or hope that the bride and groom have determination in navigating the marriage.

c. Negotiating Islam and Lampung Local Culture

One of the peripheral issues in religious studies today is the existence of transformation and the relationship between religion and local culture. Every ethnicity has a culture that is different from one another. Each culture has a specialty that is often called local culture, the values possessed by this local culture can then become local indigenous carried out by the community. This also applies to Lampung ethnic communities who have a distinctive culture and uphold the noble traits and values of local indigenous culture.

Lampung culture is one of the important local cultures because it is one of the major ethnic groups in Indonesia. Islamic values have an important meaning for Lampung culture because the majority of Lampung people embrace Islam. Thus, the relationship between Islamic values and Lampung culture is interesting because the existence of Islam and Lampung culture is quite dominant in the Indonesian nation.

The relationship between Islam and Lampung culture can be said to be two sides of an inseparable coin, which together determine the value of the currency. On the one hand, Islam that came and developed in Lampung was influenced by Lampung culture. On the other hand, Lampung culture was enriched by the treasures of Islam. Thus, the combination between the two reveals or gives birth to a distinctive characteristic as a syncretic culture. Although Islam does not try to form a monolithic culture. It is evident that one region and another do not always have uniform cultural products, Islam has provided opportunities for its adherents to maintain and develop their respective cultures.

The life of Lampung people is very ceremonial, they always want to formalize a situation through ceremonies. The ceremonies performed by Lampung people are related to the cycle of human life. These ceremonies are carried out in order to settle a situation to achieve a goal. These ceremonies include customs that are sacred in nature both regarding the intention, purpose, form of the ceremony, ceremonial equipment and the manner of implementation. So that when going to carry out the ceremony, it requires careful preparation and even seems complicated. One of the ceremonies that is considered sacred in Lampung traditional culture is the marriage procession.

In the study of local culture, acculturation presupposes a process of internalizing²² a new teaching into the local cultural context in the context of accommodation or adaptation. Acculturation is done in order to maintain identity. Thus, the acculturation of Islam with local culture is similar to what K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid proposed as the 'pribumisasi Islam'. Pribumisasi here is intended in order to give the color of Islam to local culture. Islam, from this perspective, is not in conflict with local culture. But both adjust and complement each other.

The relationship between Islam and local culture, especially Lampung culture, shows a tendency of cultural adaptation. Adaptation, as described by Rappaport cited by Giddens (2003: 283),²³ is the process by which organisms or groups of organisms, through responsive changes in their state, structure or composition, are able to maintain homeostasis within and among themselves to cope with short-term environmental fluctuations or long-term changes in the composition or structure of their environment.

Similarly, Harding says that in evolutionary theory, adaptation is concerned not only with the relationship between society and nature, but also with 'mutual adjustment among people themselves'.

²² Internalization is an effort to find meaning carried out by mankind. In this process, according to Peter Berger, general values (objective reality) are re-learned by humans and become part of their lives. (Berger, Peter L.1990. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of A Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Anchor Book, 1990, 4

²³ Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Teori Strukturasi Untuk Analisis Sosial*. Pasuruan: Pedati, 2003, 283

"Adaptation to nature will form cultural technology and derivatively also create social components and ideological tools. But adaptation to other cultures can shape society and ideology, which in turn act on technology and determine its future. The overall effect of the adaptive process is the production of an organized cultural whole, an integrated technology, society and ideology, which confronts the dual selective influence of nature on the one hand and the impact of outside cultures on the other" (Giddens, 2003: 283).²⁴

The adaptive process of a local community is not only with nature and with other local communities. But more than that, local communities must be adaptive and accommodating with global culture and new teachings. It has been commonly understood that the contact between local culture and global culture is inevitable. The contact between the global and the local on the one hand narrows the communicative spaces and of course benefits both parties. But on the other hand, globalization often uniforms and imposes global idioms or discourses. On the one hand, we want to celebrate togetherness, but on the other hand, there is a new colonization. (Friedman, 2000;²⁵ Jameson, 1991;²⁶ Robertson, 1992)²⁷.

In the study of cultural anthropology, traditional marriage is an important variable in the study of culture in a particular society. Even Wissler as quoted by Ihromi (1987) includes marriage as part of a universal cultural pattern. Marriage in this study is a cultural pattern of family and social systems. Goodenough as quoted by Tarimana (1993) defines marriage as:

...a male transaction and resulting contract in which a person (male or female, corporate or individual; in person or by proxy) establishes a continuing claim to the right of sexual access to a woman—this right having priority over rights of sexual access others currently have or may subsequently acquire in relation to her (except in a similar transaction) until the contract

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Jonathan Friedman, *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London: SAGE Publications, 2000.

²⁶ Fredrick Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Logic of Late Capitalism*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.

²⁷ Roland, Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London, 1992.

*resulting from the transaction is terminated—and in which the women involved is eligible to bear children.*²⁸

So marriage between two different genders is done in order to bind a social contract between two families. Marriage as a social contract is defined by Keesing (1981) that “*Marriage is characteristically not a relationship between individuals but a contract between groups (often, between corporations). The relationship contractually established in marriage may endure despite the death of one partner (or even of both)*”.²⁹

The marriage system in all cultures has a universal pattern and purpose, namely in order to maintain offspring and social ties. Such is the case in Lampung culture, where marriage is a cultural variable that is quite significant in reading Lampung culture.

The accommodation of Islam with the prevailing cultural system in society or in Gus Dur's term "Pribumisasi Islam" is a necessity, if Islam is to take root in society. The most concrete examples where Islam is very accommodating to local culture are Islam and Acehese customs with the term "law ngon adat hantom cre lagee zat ngon sifeut", Islam and Minangkabau customs "adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah", Islam and customs in Ambon "customs are made in the Mosque", and so on. Thus, there are many ways in which Islam can be accommodated with certain cultures in this country.

D. Conclusion

Based on the research results, several findings were found: 1). The forms of marriage according to the Lampung Pepadun community are; Honest marriage form; Semanda marriage form; Pineng ngerabung sanggar marriage. 2). The relationship between Islam and Lampung culture can be said to be two sides of an inseparable coin, which together determine the value of the currency. On the one hand, Islam that came and developed in Lampung was influenced by Lampung culture. On the other hand, Lampung culture was enriched by the treasures of Islam. Thus, the combination

²⁸ Abdurrauf Tarimana, *Kebudayaan Tolaki*. Jakarta: Balai pustaka, 1993.

²⁹ R.M., Keesing, 1981. *Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective*. London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981.

between the two reveals or gives birth to a distinctive characteristic as a syncretic culture.

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