Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam
Volume 10 No. 2. July 2026
ISSN: 2549 – 3132; E-ISSN: 2549 – 3167
DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

Pangngaderreng as the Legal Epistemology of Bugis Society: Integrating Islamic Law and Customary Law from a Legal Pluralism Perspective

Rahmatun Nair
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bone, South Sulawesi
A. Nuzul
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bone, South Sulawesi
Ismail Keri
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bone, South Sulawesi
Ahmad Irfan
Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta
Khaeruddin Kiramang
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bone, South Sulawesi
Email: rahmatunnairbone@gmail.com

Abstract: This study aims at examining *pangngaderreng* as the epistemological foundation of law in the family law practices of the Bugis community by focusing on the integration of Islamic legal normativity (*sara'*) and local rationality. The study employs an empirical legal research approach using the lens of legal pluralism theory. Data were collected by means of in-depth interviews, respondent observation, and document analysis. The respondents of the study consisted of religious leaders, academics, judges, community leaders, and members of the Bugis community. The documents analyzed included journal articles, books, and other relevant scholarly literature. The findings reveal that the elements of *pangngaderreng* have both epistemological and anthropological basis. *Pangngaderreng* comprises four main elements, namely *ade'*, *rapang, wari',* and *bicara.* The elements function as mechanisms of legal reasoning that ensure the contextual, deliberative, and socially appropriate implementation of Islamic legal norms. In addition, *sara'* occupies the primary normative position while remaining functionally integrated within the local value system. The study further shows that the philosophical values of Bugis culture, i.e., *accae* (wisdom), *lempu* (honesty), *warani* (courage), and *getteng* (steadfastness), have been preserved despite ongoing social transformation. From a theoretical perspective, this study underscores the importance of a legal pluralism approach in recognizing the coexistence of the living legal systems within Bugis society. These systems include Islamic law, customary law, and national law, in which they interact in an integrated, accommodative, and harmonious manner.

Keywords: *Pangngaderreng*, legal epistemology, Islamic law, Bugis customary law, legal pluralism

‖ Submitted: January 31, 2026 ‖ Accepted: July 31, 2026 ‖ Published: July 31, 2026

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

Abstrak: *Artikel ini menganalisis pangngaderreng sebagai epistemologi hukum dalam praktik hukum keluarga masyarakat Bugis dengan menyoroti integrasi antara normativitas syariat Islam (sara') dan rasionalitas lokal. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode hukum empiris, dianalisis dengan teori pluralisme hukum. data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi dan studi dokumen. Wawancara dilakukan terhadap, tokoh agama, akademisi, hakim dan tokoh masyarakat serta masyarakat. Sedangkan dokumen yang dianalisis adalah artikel jurnal, buku dan sejumlah literatur ilmiah lainnya. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa elemen-elemen pangngaderreng memiliki landasan epistemologis sekaligus antropologis. Pangngaderreng memiliki empat unsur utama, yaitu: ade', rapang, wari', dan bicara, yang berfungsi sebagai mekanisme penalaran hukum yang memastikan penerapan norma syariat berlangsung secara kontekstual, deliberatif, dan berlandaskan kepatutan sosial. Sementara sara' menempati posisi normatif utama yang terintegrasi secara fungsional dalam struktur nilai lokal. Artikel ini juga menegaskan bahwa nilai-nilai filosofis budaya Bugis tetap terpelihara, yaitu accae (kecerdasan), lempu (jujur), warani (keberanian), dan getteng (ketegasan) meskipun dihadapkan dengan perubahan sosial. Secara teoretik, artikel ini menegaskan pentingnya pendekatan pluralisme hukum yang hadir untuk mengakui seluruh entitas sistem hukum yang hidup dalam masyarakat Bugis, yaitu hukum Islam, hukum adat dan hukum nasional yang terintegrasi dan berkelindan secara akomodatif dan harmonis.*
Kata Kunci: *Pangngaderreng, epistemologi hukum, hukum Islam, adat Bugis, pluralisme hukum*

Introduction

Indonesia is the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, where Islam as a living law has a very strong influence on the cultural, social and customary life of the community. The dynamics of Islamic law and customary law are integrated in almost all aspects of social life, showing the very strong influence of Islam in the socio-cultural system of the Indonesian people.[1] This sociological fact makes Indonesia an interesting case of a country that has been able to accommodate Islamic law and customary law as well as local wisdom in an accommodative and complementary manner.[2] This experience is particularly

[1]John R. Bowen, *Islam, Law, and Equality in Indonesia: An Anthropology of Public Reasoning,* United Kongdom: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Arskal Salim, *Contemporer Islamic Law in Indonesia: Sharia and Legal Pluralism*, Edinburgh UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.

[2] Yayan Sopyan, "Urgency of Legal Pluralism Study for Students of Sharia and Law Faculty After Changes of Academic Degree," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syariah* 12 No. 2 (2020). RR Dewi Anggraeni, "Islamic Law and Customary Law in Contemporary Legal Pluralism in Indonesia: Tension and Constraints," *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah* 23, No. 1 (2023).

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

distinctive when compared with other Muslim-majority countries, such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, Morocco, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam.

Conceptually, several ethnic communities in Indonesia have developed socio-cultural and religious philosophies that embody a similar integration of Islam and customary law. In Acehnese society, for example, the well-known philosophy: *hukom ngon adat lagee zat ngon sifeut* ("law and custom are like substance and its attributes, inseparable from one another"),[3] serves as the guiding principle for social conduct, cultural practices, and community life. In a similar vein, the Minangkabau community follows the philosophy: *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah* ("custom is founded upon Islamic law, and Islamic law is founded upon the Qur'an"),[4] which points to the inseparable link between customary norms and Islamic teachings. In the same way, the Bima community in West Nusa Tenggara recognizes four interrelated normative pillars, namely *syara', adat, aqli*, and *resmi. Syara'* is Islamic law, *adat* is customary law and cultural traditions, *aqli* is legal reasoning developed through *ijtihad* (independent juristic reasoning), and *resmi* is statutory regulations established by the Sultanate of Bima during the period of the Bima Kingdom.[5]

In its subsequent development in Indonesia, Islamic law has rarely been encountered in social practice as an independent normative system, in which it seems detached from the social environment wherein it operates. Instead, it has invariably been closely interwoven with the cultural structures, power relations, and local value systems that shape community life. Within the pluralistic socio-cultural landscape of Indonesia, where various customary traditions continue to hold sway, Islamic family law is better understood as living law, that is, a body of law that is lived, practiced, negotiated, and interpreted through social experience, rather than simply applied as a closed and self-contained normative text.[6] This perspective has long served to illuminate the functioning of Islamic

[3] Syarifuddin, et al., "Integration of Religion and Culture in Hadrah Nurun Nabi in Aceh: Perspective of Symbolism and al-'Urf," *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 29, No. 2 (2025), p. 1135-1164. Abidin Nurdin, et al., "The Development of Sharia Courts in Aceh, Indonesia: A Social and Historical Perspective on Islamic Law," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 9, No. 1 (2026).

[4] Sidik Tono, et al., "The Harmonious Relationship Between Minangkabau Custom and Islam in The Distribution of Inheritance," *Al-Shajarah Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization* (ISTAC) (2019).

[5] Siti Maryam R. Salahuddin, "Hukum Adat Tanah Bima Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam: Kajian Unsur-unsur Keadilan dan Kemanusiaan," *Al-Ittihad: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Hukum Islam* 2, No. 2 (2016), p. 1-17.

[6] Fikri, "Refleksi Sistem Pangngaderreng dalam Sosial Budaya Bugis-Makassar," *Al-'Adl* (2016).

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

law within customary communities, especially in areas concerning marriage, inheritance, and the resolution of family disputes.[7]

The relationship between Islamic law and customary law has been the subject of much debate among scholars since the time of the Islamic sultanates and the Dutch colonial period. Van den Berg argued for the theory of *receptio in complexu*. This theory stated that Islamic law was the applicable law for Muslims because it was living law or customary law which was practiced by Muslim communities in the Indonesian archipelago. van Vollenhoven, on the other hand, introduced the reception theory, which held that Islamic law only became legally effective once it had been accepted (received) by customary law. Hence, in this perspective, the applicability of Islamic law was decided by customary law. Snouck Hurgronje developed this stance even further. However, Hurgronje's reception theory was later criticized by Hazairin and Sayuti Thalib as they proposed the *receptio a contrario* theory instead. They held the view that Islamic law is the primary legal system governing Muslims, whereas customary law is only applicable if it does not conflict with Islamic law, a notion that has been reflected in Indonesian legislation. [8]

Recently, the third theory has been widely embraced by legal scholars in Indonesia. This is because, upon further examination, the customary law practiced by Indonesian society does not present epistemological or anthropological obstacles, as it has a foundation in Islamic law, namely *al-'urf*. *Al-'urf* refers to customs or cultural practices that are continuously observed by society and that do not conflict with Islamic law (*sharia*). Moreover, in the development of Islamic legal thought in Indonesia, the Indonesian School (*Mazhab Indonesia*)[9] emerged as a reflection of the social and cultural realities that differ from those of West Asia (the Middle East), North Africa, Central Asia, and South Asia. In addition to formulating Islamic law in accordance with the Indonesian social context, the Indonesian School also sought to transform these legal formulations into formally applicable statutory regulations. The principal proponents of the Indonesian School were Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy and Hazairin, whose influence can be seen in legislation relating to Islamic law in Indonesia, such as the Marriage Law of 1974 and the Compilation of Islamic Law (*Kompilasi Hukum Islam/KHI*) of 1991.[10]

---

[7] Tarmizi, et al., "Inheritance System of Bugis Community in District Tellu Siattinge, Bone, South Sulawesi: Perspective of Islamic Law," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 4. No. 1 (2020).

[8] Ahmad Rofiq, *Pembaharuan Hukum Islam di Indonesia,* Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2001. p. 55-69. A. Qadri Azizy, *Elektisisme Hukum Nasional: Kompetisi Antara Hukum Islam dan Hukum Umum,* Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2002.

[9] Agus Moh Najib, "Reestablishing Indonesian Madhhab: 'Urf and the Contribution of Intellectualism," *al-Jamiah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 58, No. 1 (2020).

[10] Suqiyah Musafa'ah, et al., "Hazairin's Interpretation of Inheritance Verses in The Qur'an and Its Influence on The Compilation of Islamic Law," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* (2023).

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

In Bugis society, Islamic law finds its distinctive articulation through *pangngaderreng*. This system cannot be reduced merely to customs or ceremonial traditions; rather, it constitutes a framework of values and knowledge that regulates how the Bugis people assess propriety (*asitinajeng*), justice (*wari'*), honor (*siri'*), and the legitimacy of legal acts.[11] The elements of *pangngaderreng*, i.e., *ade'*, *bicara*, *rapang*, *wari'*, and *sara',* operate simultaneously and mutually reinforce one another. *Sara'*, which represents Islamic law (*sharia*), does not exist as a separate normative system, but is integrated into the structure of *pangngaderreng* as a source of moral and religious legitimacy, implemented through local rationality.[12]

A number of studies have shown that, in Bugis marriage practices, legal decisions are rarely made mechanically based solely on classical *fiqh* texts or state law. The local practices, such as *doi menre'*, *sompa*, and *passampo siri'*, as well as the strategies of compromise in marriage imply that family law is applied through a process of social reasoning that considers precedent (*rapang*), deliberation (*bicara*), and their implications for family honor and social cohesion. Some empirical studies of the Bugis community in Bone have also indicated that the integration of Islamic law and customary law is dialogical and functional.[13] Yet, these studies have not provided a legal perspective based on legal pluralism, nor have they examined its relationship with Indonesia's new Criminal Code (*Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana*/KUHP).

Nevertheless, this mode of legal operation has not yet received a proportionate place in academic studies of Islamic law. Most existing research remains within a doctrinal normative framework, treating customary law merely as a social background or as an external variable that "influences" Islamic law.[14] Even when customary law is discussed more seriously, it is often positioned as a secondary source of legal norms rather than as a means of knowing, reasoning, and producing law itself.[15] As a result, the epistemological dimension of family law practice, namely, how law is understood, legitimized, and implemented in everyday life, is frequently overlooked.

This limitation is more problematic when Islamic law is studied in customary societies such as the Bugis, where social propriety, honor, and the

[11] Agustina, Iqbal, dan Ismail, "Antropologi Suku Bugis," *Dawuh* 5, no. 2 (2024), p. 71–86.

[12] Mursyid Djawas et al., "The Integration between Syara' and Ade' in Wedding Tradition of Bugis Bone," *al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 18, no. 2 (2023).

[13] Wardana Said, et al., "Marriage Traditions and Family Resilience in Bugis Bone Society," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 3 (2024).

[14] Ahmad et al., "Konflik Hukum Islam dan Adat dalam Kawin Lari," Ahmad, et al., "Konflik Hukum Islam Dan Adat Dalam Kawin Lari: Studi Sosiologis Pada Masyarakat Bugis-Makassar." *Qanun: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 3 No. 2, (2025).

[15] Fikri and Rahmawati, "Idealism and Realism of Islamic Law in Pangngaderreng Culture," IOP Confrence Series (2018).

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

maintenance of social balance often carry more weight in determining legal legitimacy than mere conformity to legal texts.[16] In this sense, *pangngaderreng* is not only customary law, but also an epistemic frame that links the normativity of Islamic law with social reality.[17] If one does not understand this framework, one might have the risk of reducing legal practices, which are in fact deeply complex and meaningful, to overly simple legal analysis.[18] Moreover, the position of Islamic law, customary law and national law in the context of legal pluralism, must be understood, to put *pangngaderreng* in an appropriate position in the ongoing processes of social change.

Therefore, this study aims to examine *pangngaderreng* as a system of legal knowledge by exploring the role of each of its elements in the processes of legal decision-making and legal legitimacy. By employing the legal pluralism approach, a contemporary perspective in legal anthropology and the sociology of law, this study seeks to understand law from the perspective of social actors, namely religious leaders and members of the Bugis community, who experience, practice, and reason about law in their everyday lives.[19]

The novelty of this study is that it uses a legal pluralism paradigm to study the relationship between Islamic, customary and national law in Bugis society. It views *pangngaderreng* not only as the foundation of customary law, but also as a legal system that has anthropological and sociological legitimacy in the legal practices of the Bugis community of Bone. Accordingly, this study contributes to the development of Islamic legal studies and customary law studies in Muslim societies confronting contemporary social realities, while also providing an explanation of how Islamic law actually operates within the customary society of the Bugis.[20]

The empirical legal research method[21] was used in this study, along with the theory of legal pluralism.[22] Legal pluralism is a contemporary approach in

---

[16] Fikri Anjana et al., "Siri'na Pacce dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Hukum Adat," (2025)

[17] Yusuf, "Integration of Islamic Law into Local Governance*," Nukhbatul 'Ulum* 10, no. 2 (2024)

[18] Ipandang and Darlis, "Passampo Siri' in the Bugis Marriage Practices," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 6, no. 2 (2022).

[19] Mansur et al., "The Return of Doi Menre' Ba'Da Duhul in Bugis Marriage Law, South Konawe: Islamic Education and Sociology of Islamic Law Perspective." *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 7, no. 2 (2024).

[20] Abdul Mutakabbir, et al., "The System of Inheritance Distribution in South Sulawesi." *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam aan Kemanusiaan* 23, No. 1 (2023).

[21]Zainuddin Ali, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2009. Muhaimin, *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum,* Mataram: Universitas Mataram Press, 2020.

[22]Franz von Benda-Beckmannn and Keebet von Benda-Beckmannn, "The Dynamics of Change and Continuity in Plural Legal Orders," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 38, nos. 53–54 (2006), p. 1–44. Mursyid Djawas et al., "Harmonization of State, Custom, and Islamic Law in Aceh: Perspective of Legal Pluralism," *Hasanuddin Law Review* 10, No. 1 (2024), p. 64–82.

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

legal studies, referring to a condition in which two or more legal systems operate within a single state. It recognizes that multiple legal systems coexist and function simultaneously in the social life of a society, and in the Indonesian context, three legal systems coexist, namely national law, Islamic law, and customary law.

Legal pluralism is employed as theoretical framework to examine the dialectical relation between Islamic law, customary law and national law in the context of Bugis society. The study took place in Bone Regency, South Sulawesi, a region that culturally still upholds *pangngaderreng* as a normative framework in regulating social and family life. The data were collected by means of in-depth interviews with the respondents from religious leaders, academics, judges, community leaders, and the Bugis community, all of whom have direct experience in legal practices. The interviews were directed to the understanding of *pangngaderreng* of the respondents on the relationship between Islamic law and customary law in Bugis society. The following table shows the informants interviewed, as follows:

Table 1: Research Informant Profile

No.	Category	Interview Focus	Location	Interview Method
1	Religious Leader	Islamic Law	Bone, South Sulawesi	Interview
2	Community Member	Customary Practices	Bone, South Sulawesi	Interview
3	Community Member	Customary Practices	Bone, South Sulawesi	Interview
4	Religious Leader	Islamic Law	Bone, South Sulawesi	Interview
5	Academic	The Relationship between Islamic Law and Customary Law	Bone, South Sulawesi	Interview

The data were then analyzed using a qualitative interpretive approach by identifying patterns of meaning and forms of legal reasoning emerging from the respondents' experiences. Through this approach, the study does not seek to establish a standardized model of Bugis family law. Instead, this study aims to investigate the role of *pangngaderreng* as a legal knowledge system that makes possible the accommodation of Islamic law and customary law into the everyday legal practices of the Bugis society.

Pangngaderreng as an Epistemic Framework in the Legal Practices of Bugis Society

The existence of the *pangngaderreng* system within the social and cultural system of Bugis society reflects the relationship between Islamic law and customary law. In reality, *pangngaderreng* is an epistemological foundation that

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

directs the Bugis people's religious, social and cultural values.[23] *Pangngaderreng* is a cultural and social system that embodies the wisdom of the Bugis kings and elders, which manifests the worldview of the Bugis people of Bone. It includes religious, social, cultural, political and legal norms, which consists of five major components, namely *ade'* (narrow sense of customary norms), *rapang* (jurisprudence or legal precedents), *bicara* (judicial process or adjudication), *wari'* (social stratification), and *sara'* (Islamic law).

Within the Bugis community of Bone, *pangngaderreng* is regarded as a living normative system that enjoys social legitimacy in the ordering of community life. Indeed, there is a tendency for the Bugis people of Bone to prioritize *pangngaderreng* in their daily lives, sometimes placing greater emphasis on it than on the formal rules of Islamic law, particularly in matters such as the distribution of inheritance and the conduct of marriage.[24]

The field findings show that *pangngaderreng* is not understood by the Bugis community only as a remnant of customary tradition that is preserved out of nostalgia for the past, but rather it is seen as a living epistemic framework, as a way of knowing, evaluating, and reasoning about Islamic family law in concrete examples. In everyday practice, *pangngaderreng* functions as a system of normative knowledge, which determines not only what is legally valid, but also how such validity is socially understood and legitimized.

This perspective challenges the tendency in some studies of Islamic law to interpret the relationship between customary law and Islamic law hierarchically, as though customary law merely serves as a supplement to, or even interferes with, the purity of Islamic legal norms.[25] Interviews with religious leaders and customary leaders in Bone indicate the opposite. Legal decisions are rarely, if ever, made by referring exclusively to a single normative source. Religious texts are important, but they do not stand alone. The texts have been interpreted through the lens of social experience, collective memory, and the sense of propriety, all of which is influenced by *pangngaderreng*.[26] At this point, Islamic law in Bugis society is more appropriately understood as *living law*, as emphasized by the sociology of Islamic law approach, in which law is produced through social reasoning rather than being mechanically derived from normative texts alone.[27]

---

[23] Andi Rasjdiyanah, "Integrasi Sistem Pangngaderreng (Adat) dengan Sistem Syari'at Islam Sebagai Pandangan Hidup Orang Bugis dalam Lontarak Latoa," *al-Jamiah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 56, (1996). Rahmatun Nair, et al., "Rituals as Sites of Normative Production: Rethinking Living Islamic Law through the Sennu-Sennureng Tradition in Bugis Weddings." *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 25, No. 1 (2026), p. 213–228.

[24]Rahmatunniar, "Contextualization of Pangngadereng in the Enforcement of Islamic Shariah in Bugineese Bone Community," *Jurnal al-Qalam* 11, No. 1 (2011).

[25] Abdul Mutakabbir et al., "The System of Inheritance Distribution in South Sulawesi."

[26] Interview with a INF-02, Religious Figure (Ulama), Bone District, 2025.

[27] Interview with a Bugis Community Leader, Bone District, 2024.

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

1. *Ade'* as the Moral Baseline between Islamic Law and Social Honor

Ade' holds an almost irreplaceable position in the structure of *pangngaderreng*. It serves as the primary point of reference for assessing the propriety of actions, including in sensitive matters such as marriage, husband–wife relations, and the resolution of family conflicts. Anthropological studies of Bugis society have long identified *ade'* as a system of values that maintains social equilibrium and collective honor.[28]

Ade' is the system of values that regulated social life in Bone prior to the arrival of Islam. The term *ade'* refers to words, speech, and customary practices. Thus, *ade'* fundamentally constitutes a set of normative values governing appropriate ways of speaking, communicating, and behaving. For the Bugis people of Bone, *ade'* represents a normative social order that provides guidance for attitudes and conduct in responding to, engaging with, and shaping cultural life, whether in its ideological, mental-spiritual, or physical dimensions, all of which profoundly influence community life.

In this context, as a normative system of values, *ade'* regulates patterns of relationships between individuals, between individuals and society, and among communities. From the point of view of Islamic law (*sharia*), *ade'* is a part of *mu'amalat* (sphere of social and civil transactions) as it regulates social relations and worldly dealings in a manner that does not contradict the basic tenets of Islamic law.[29]

This finding is borne out by the field data. Some respondents explicitly mentioned that a marriage may be "incomplete" in the social sense, though valid according to Islamic law, if it violates *ade'* and undermines the *siri'* (honor) of the family.[30] The *ade'* is therefore becomes a moral baseline for the implementation of Islamic law rather than a negation of it. The position of *ade'* reinforces previous findings showing that the integration of *syara'* and *ade'* in Bugis society is not a form of weak compromise, but rather an epistemic strategy for maintaining the legitimacy of law in the eyes of the community.[31] In other words, without *ade'*, the norms of Islamic law risk losing their social binding force.

2. *Rapang* and *Wari'* as Analogical Reasoning and Contextual Justice

Rapang and *wari'* reveal another dimension of Bugis legal epistemology: law is not understood as a fixed body of texts, but as the product of analogical reasoning and reflection on social justice. *Rapang* operates through the examples

[28] Selfia Agustina et al., "Antropologi Suku Bugis," *Dawuh* 5, no. 2 (2024).

[29]Rahmatunniar, "Contextualization of Pangngadereng in the Enforcement of Islamic Shariah.

[30] Interview with INF-01, a Bugis Woman (a Family Member of Individuals Involved In A Customary Marriage), Bone District, January, 2025. Interview with INF-03, Bugis Family Couple, Bone District, January, 2025.

[31] Mursyid Djawas et al., "The Integration between Syara' and Ade'.

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

of past cases, the experiences of previous generations, or the "ways of the ancestors," all of which continue to be preserved in the collective memory.[32]

Rapang is defined as *gau pura lalo*, meaning rules that have existed previously and should serve as references in deciding a legal case. *Rapang* may also be understood as the legal principles or rules that have been applied in adjudicating cases and determining legal decisions. In this sense, *rapang*, as a source of legal inspiration and legal principles, may also be interpreted as a collection of laws. In addition, *rapang* refers to agreements between kingdoms, the violation of which could result in war. It also acted as the basis for establishing friendship and kinship relations among kingdoms. Matters concerning inter-state law were placed within the domain of *rapang*, and diplomatic skills likewise fell within its scope. Expressing opinions or ideas that accord with truth and reason also belongs to the sphere of *rapang*, as it is understood that what a person expresses is, or in essence, the *rapang* of his or her reasoning. Hence, within the *pangngaderreng* system, *rapang* may be compared to the processes of *ijtihad* (independent legal reasoning) and *fatwa* (judicial rulings) in Islamic jurisprudence as sources of Islamic law. It also corresponds to the sphere of Islamic constitutional law or *siyāsah shar'iyyah*, particularly in matters concerning governance, public affairs, and relations between political authorities.[33]

Wari', linguistically, refers to classification or differentiation that distinguishes one thing from another, as well as to selective actions and the ordering or regulation of social life. *Wari'* is the principle that governs distinctions in social status, enabling each person to understand the limits of what may and may not be done in everyday social interactions. Thus, *wari'* fundamentally constitutes a normative system regulating kinship and family relationships.[34]

The interviews indicate that, in resolving family disputes, the Bugis community often asks not, "What does the law prescribe?" but rather, "How did our ancestors resolve a problem like this?".[35] This pattern is consistent with previous studies that identify *rapang* as an instrument of local rationality within the *pangngaderreng* system.[36] Meanwhile, *wari'* functions as an ethical corrective. It also ensures that a legal decision is not only legitimate by virtue of established precedent, but also just within the context of the existing social relationships. At this point, the law in Bugis society shows its distinctive

[32] Bahar et al., "The Philosophy of Kajaolaliddong," Systematic Reviews in Pharmacy 11, no. 12 (2020)

[33]Rahmatunniar, "Contextualization of Pangngadereng in the Enforcement of Islamic Shariah

[34]Rahmatunniar, "Contextualization of Pangngadereng in the Enforcement of Islamic Shariah

[35] Interview with INF-03, Bugis Family/Couple, Bone District, 2025. Interview with INF-04, Religious Court Judge/Court Registrar, Bone District, January 2025.

[36] Fikri and Rahmawati, "Idealism and Realism of Islamic Law," IOP Conference Series 175 (2018).

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

character, i.e., justice is not only measured in terms of the formal distribution of rights and obligations, but also in terms of its effect on social equilibrium and the preservation of family honor.[37]

3. *Bicara* as Law as a Deliberative Process

Another main finding of this study is the role of *bicara* as a forum for consultation and discussion in the resolution of legal and family matters. Family disputes are also seldom brought directly to formal legal institutions. They are often settled through *musyawarah* (deliberation) by family members, customary and religious leaders, who come together to reach a mutually acceptable solution.[38]

In the *pangngaderreng* system, the rules that ensure equal treatment of every individual in the administration of justice are called *bicara* (literally, "speech" or "deliberation"). Hence, *bicara* also means procedural law, which regulates all problems related to judicial proceedings. As an element of *pangngaderreng*, *bicara* regulates the rights and obligations of individuals and legal entities in their interactions within society.[39] The literature on Bugis customary dispute resolution likewise identifies *bicara* as an ethical mechanism that prioritizes the restoration of social relationships rather than the unilateral victory of one party.[40]

In the process of *bicara*, the norms of Islamic law (*sharia*), *ade'*, *rapang*, and *wari'* are brought together, negotiated, and, if necessary, debated. Hence, the law in Bugis society is not produced by one source of authority, but by collective knowledge and deliberation. Moreover, from the viewpoint of legal epistemology, *bicara* indicates that legal legitimacy is a product of dialogue and not only of legal texts or formal institutions.[41]

4. *Sara'* as Islamic Normativity within the Medium of *Pangngaderreng*

Sara' is still a central normative element of the *pangngaderreng* system. The respondents consistently stressed that the validity of marriage, the rights and duties of husbands and wives, and the moral values of family life should all be based on the teachings of Islam.[42] *Sara'* is the constituent element of *pangngaderreng* that is composed of the divine provisions of Allah that are taken

[37] Fikri Anjana et al., "Siri'na Pacce dalam Penyelesaian Konflik," Humaniorasains 2, no. 2 (2025). Interview with a Bugis Family Mediator, Bone, 2024

[38] Interview with Bugis Community And Religious Leaders, Bone, 2025.

[39]Rahmatunniar, "Contextualization of Pangngadereng in the Enforcement of Islamic Shariah

[40]Ahmad et al., "Konflik Hukum Islam dan Adat dalam Kawin Lari," 2025.

[41]Syamsurijal, et al. The Encounter of Customs and Religion in Cultivating Religious Moderation in Bugis, *Conference: 9th Asbam International Conference (Archeology, History, & Culture in The Nature of Malay) (ASBAM 2021)* (2022).

[42] Interview with a INF-04, Religious Court Judge, Bone District, January, 2025.

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

from the Qur'an and the Hadith, consisting of the commandments, prohibitions, and recommendations that become guidance for human beings to carry out the necessities of life to achieve well-being in this world and the Hereafter.[43]

However, the field findings indicate that *sara'* does not operate in isolation. The norms of Islamic law are always interpreted and implemented through the structure of *pangngaderreng*. This pattern is consistent with the findings of several empirical studies conducted among the Bugis community of Bone, which show that the relationship between *syara'* and *ade'* is dialogical and functional rather than competitive.[44] From the viewpoint of legal epistemology, *sara'* provides the greatest source of normative legitimacy, whereas *pangngaderreng* offers the cognitive and social medium through which these norms are lived, understood, and accepted by the community. It is this integration that explains the enduring resilience of Islamic family law within Bugis society to the present day.[45] Based on this discussion, the relationship among these elements can be illustrated in the following table.

Table 2: Pangngaderreng and Its Meaning

No.	***Pangngaderreng* Element**	**Meaning**
1	*Ade'*	Customary norms or customary practices
2	*Rapang* and *Wari'*	Established precedents and normative principles from the past that serve as the basis for legal decision-making
3	*Bicara*	Judicial process or mechanisms for dispute resolution
4	*Sara'*	Islamic law (*Sharia*)

Pangngaderreng as the Legal Epistemology of Bugis Society

The findings of this study pinpoint the role of *pangngaderreng* in Bugis society as a normative customary system and an epistemological framework that shapes how Islamic law is understood, evaluated, and practiced. Thus, in this context, law does not exist as a self-contained body of texts; rather, it is understood as social knowledge emerging from the interaction between the values of Islamic law (*sharia*), local rationality, and the collective experience of the Bugis community. This pattern is also consistent with past studies which identify *pangngaderreng* as a living system of values that integrates *ade'*, *rapang*, *wari', bicara*, and *sara'* into a dynamic and unified normative order.

[43]Rahmatunniar, "Contextualization of Pangngadereng in the Enforcement of Islamic Shariah

[44] Mursyid Djawas et al., "The Integration between Syara' and Ade',"

[45] Wardana Said et al., "Marriage Traditions and Family Resilience."

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

Unlike normative approaches to Islamic law, which tend to evaluate local practices primarily in terms of their conformity with legal texts, the field findings show that legal legitimacy is measured by the extent to which legal norms preserve *siri'*, social propriety, and the balance of family relationships. A religious figure in Bone said that a family decision "is not sufficiently correct in religious terms if it leads to shame and destroys family ties." This statement emphasizes that the meaning of legal validity is understood in a contextual and relational sense. [46] This view also confirms the contention that the Bugis legal system is a living law and not only an application of formal legal norms.

1. Ade' as the Rationality of Propriety and Social Legitimacy

Ade' is the core of the *pangngaderreng* system, as the basis of social propriety. Instead of being a rigid set of written rules, *ade'* functions as a collective moral standard which determines whether a legal practice is socially acceptable. Past research has shown that *ade'* is a medium for integrating Islamic law with Bugis cultural values, especially regarding marriage.

The field findings show that *ade'* becomes the main reference point in assessing marriage practices, marital relations, and the resolution of family disputes. A community member mentioned that, *"A marriage should not only be legally valid, but also socially proper,"* which suggests that legal validity alone is considered insufficient without social propriety.[47] This finding also indicates that *ade'* acts as a form of local legal rationality that bridges the normative principles of Islamic law with the realities of social life. From the viewpoint of legal pluralism, this type of a mechanism reinforces the continuity and sustainability of Islamic law within customary communities.

2. *Rapang* and *Wari'* as Analogical Reasoning and the Ethics of Justice

Rapang and *wari'* function as complementary modes of legal reasoning within the Bugis legal tradition. *Rapang* operates through analogy and social precedent, whereas *wari'* ensures that legal decisions are still in line with the principles of justice, balance, and social harmony. Past studies on the Bugis legal system have shown that legal reasoning is often constructed through comparisons with previous cases and collective experience rather than through purely normative deduction. [7]

The interview findings indicate that, in resolving family disputes, whether concerning marriage or inheritance, the Bugis community frequently refers to "examples of similar cases that have occurred before" and that were regarded as successful in preserving family honor. This practice shows that legal decisions are based on abstract legal norms and also in socially validated precedents.[48] Hence,

[46] Interview with a INF-02, Bugis Religious Leader (*ulama*), Bone District, January, 2025.

[47] Interview with INF-08, Religious Court Judge, Bone District, January, 2025

[48] Interview with a INF-10, a Bugis Traditional Figure, Bone District, January, 2025.

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

rapang and *wari'* affirm that the Bugis legal tradition functions through moral and social reasoning rather than formal legalism alone.

3. *Bicara* as the Deliberative Space for Legal Decision-Making

Bicara emerges as a key element in the production of Bugis family law. It functions as a deliberative forum in which the principles of *syariah*, *ade'*, *rapang*, and *wari'* are brought together through collective consultation. Past research on Bugis customary conflict resolution has shown that *bicara* is intended not only to achieve consensus, but also to restore disrupted social relationships.[49]

A community member who serves as a family mediator pointed out that decisions made without *bicara* "often leave emotional wounds and prolonged conflict."[50] From the legal epistemology point of view, *bicara* indicates that law is made through collective knowledge and deliberative reasoning rather than through the authority of a single decision-maker.

4. *Sara'* and the Integration of Islamic Normativity

Sara' (Islamic law) remains the primary normative reference within the *pangngaderreng* system. However, the findings of this study indicate that *sara'* is not applied independently of the customary structure, but is instead interpreted through the interconnected framework of *ade'*, *rapang*, *wari'*, and *bicara*. Previous studies have consistently shown that the integration of Islamic law and Bugis customary law has evolved through a historical and dialogical process rather than through confrontation.[51]

The religious leaders interviewed emphasized that their role is "to explain Islamic law in a manner that is acceptable within customary practice," a statement that illustrates how religious authority operates within a space of social negotiation.[52] The literature on Bugis' cultural Islam also supports this finding, showing the role of *gurutta* (Islamic scholars) and the *pangngaderreng* system in promoting religious moderation.[53] In line with the philosophical foundations of *pangngaderreng*, the four ethical values embodied in *pappaseng* (ancestral wisdom or moral sayings), namely *accae* (wisdom), *lempu* (honesty), *warani*

[49] Fikri Anjana, "Siri'na Pacce Dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Hukum Adat Dalam Masyarakat Bugis Makassar." *Humaniorasains: Jurnal Humaniora dan Sosial Sains* 2. No. 2 (2025).

[50] Interview with INF-09, a Bugis Family Member, Bone District, January, 2025.

[51] Muh Yusuf. 2024. "Integration of Islamic Law into Local Governance: The Impact of Datuk Tellue's Da'wah in South Sulawesi." *NUKHBATUL 'ULUM: Jurnal Bidang Kajian Islam* 10 (2), p. 317–34.

[52] Interview with a INF-11, a Bugis Traditional Figure, Bone District, January, 2025.

[53] Rayhan Uin. 2026. "Hadis Sebagai Sumber Nilai Etika Dalam Kearifan Lokal Bugis." *Al-Furqan: Jurnal Agama* 5 (1) (2026).

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

(courage), and *getteng* (steadfastness), have become integrated as core elements of Bugis cultural identity.[54]

1. *Accae* (Wisdom/Intelligence): *Accae* cultivates persons who can think rationally and critically. A person with *accae* can weigh the consequences of his actions and determine what is right and wrong before making a decision.
2. *Lempu'* (Honesty): *Lempu'* represents integrity, trustworthiness, empathy, humaneness and steadfast faith. This virtue builds credibility and helps people to build healthy relationships with others, thus ensuring their words, intentions and actions are in sync with their daily lives.
3. *Warani* (Courage): *Warani* is the emotional stability and self-control when facing many kinds of challenges. Any persons who embody *warani* have the courage to stand up for their beliefs, argue their point of view, and accept criticism in a mature and open manner.
4. *Getteng* (Steadfastness): *Getteng* means solid, consistent and dependable. It forms persons whose words are reliable and whose commitments are firm. When internalised, *getteng* nourishes noble character and strengthens the moral integrity that is highly esteemed in Bugis society.

These four characteristics remain inseparable from the identity of the Bugis people, wherever and whenever they may be. The values have become the defining features of Bugis society, providing its members with resilience and adaptability wherever they go, especially when they leave their homeland to migrate (*massompe*). The tradition of *massompe* has become an enduring aspect of Bugis identity, much like the migration tradition among the Minangkabau people. As a result, Bugis communities can be found throughout Indonesia, in Java, Kalimantan, Sumatra, and Papua, as well as in neighboring countries such as Singapore and Malaysia. Character development and the formation of the cultural ideology that seeks to cultivate the noble qualities of the Bugis people are achieved through *pappaseng*, which is expressed in written and oral forms and preserved in the Lontara, the traditional Bugis manuscripts.[55]

Epistemological Implications of *Pangngaderreng* in Bugis Society: A Legal Pluralism Perspective

The discussion underscores that the study of Islamic law in Bugis society cannot be confined to a normative-doctrinal approach. *Pangngaderreng* serves as

[54]Nurhaedah, Revitalisasi nilai-nilai Pappaseng Sebagai kearifan lokal masyarakat Bugis: Konseling Eksistensial. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Bimbingan dan Konseling* 2, No. 1 (2028), p. 295-313.

[55] Ilham Haruna, et al., "Soul of Barekkeng: Transformasi dan Interpretasi Nilai Pangadereng dari Budaya Masyarakat Bugis di Sulawesi Selatan," *Jurnal Panggung* 12 (2024). Nurul Fitriani and Saguni, "Fungsi Pappaseng Toriolo dalam Masyarakat Bugis Soppeng: Kajian Etnolinguistik," *Indonesian Journal of Social and Educational Studies* 2, No. 2 (2021).

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

a legal epistemology, as well as an anthropological and sociological framework in the community. Epistemologically, it is a system of knowledge that constitutes the manner in which law is known, interpreted and practised. Anthropologically, it enriches and legitimizes the customary practices and cultural traditions closely associated with Islamic law, thus allowing the two to interact through a continuous process of accommodation and harmonious dialogue.

The position of customary law as living law in Indonesian society has become increasingly important from epistemological and anthropological points of view, especially after the enactment of the 2023 Indonesian Criminal Code. The new Criminal Code acknowledges living law, that is, law that exists and is applied in local communities, as a valid basis for resolving some criminal law issues in Indonesia. Criminal sanctions had to be in accordance with the social and cultural values of the local community under article 2 (1). The Code does not define the conceptual boundaries of what constitutes "customary law" explicitly, however, leaving much room for interpretation. In practice, its application is often shaped by judicial discretion and the dynamics of local communities. This has resulted in continued debate as to the extent to which these provisions can provide a functional legal basis for the implementation of restorative justice based on customary law.[56]

The new Criminal Code is a substantial change to reconstruct and reformulate the national criminal law system in Indonesia into a more integrated legal system. While the Code is still criticized on the wording of several provisions, it also embodies some important foundational ideas that are meant to modernize the enforcement of the criminal law in Indonesia. This reform has become an important and integral part of concepts which challenge the classical paradigm of formal legal positivism. One of the most important innovations of the new Indonesian Criminal Code is the formal recognition and incorporation of living law, i.e., the body of law that exists and operates within local communities, into the national criminal justice system.[57]

Recognition of the need for social and cultural integration and cohesion is reflected in the introduction of restorative sanctions, including community service and supervisory penalties, which provide opportunities for dialogue between offenders and victims. Other provisions reflect a rehabilitative orientation. These include articles that acknowledge the restoration of human dignity as one of the purposes of sentencing. The significance of the restorative element is also highlighted by the fact that the Court must take into account the victim's

[56] Dheny Wahyudhi, et al., "Integrasi Hukum Adat dalam Kerangka KUHP Baru: Evaluasi Pluralisme Hukum dan Tantangan Implementasi Restoratif Justice," *Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice* 3, No. 2, (2025), p. 1-9.

[57] Milenia Ramadhani, "Tantangan Implementasi Pengakuan Hukum Adat dalam Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana Baru di Indonesia," *Comserva: Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat* 4, No. 3 (2024), p. 714-722.

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

forgiveness when deciding on a suitable sentence. The formal recognition of the victim's role implies that criminal punishment is not only a mechanism for imposing sanctions but also a process for repairing relationships, fostering reconciliation and reinforcing social cohesion.[58]

From this view, a Professor of Islamic Law at the Bone State Islamic Institute (IAIN Bone) said that *pangngaderreng*, as a social system in Bugis Bone society is still very relevant and has practical implications until now. According to the respondent, this enduring significance is supported by at least two reasons. First, *pangngaderreng* has been practiced for centuries, dating back to the era of the Bone Sultanate, thereby providing it with both historical legitimacy and sociological acceptance. Second, it has a relation with Islamic law and the national legal system of Indonesia marked by harmonization and accommodation rather than conflict and rejection. The symbiotic relationship is the very basis for the continued vitality of *pangngaderreng* in Bugis Bone society and in the wider Bugis community.[59]

Following this opinion, a Professor of Constitutional Law at IAIN Bone has also argued that the future of *pangngaderreng* as the social system of the Bugis community will depend on the readiness of the social structure of Bugis Bone preserve and revive it. As a community practice passed down through generations, its relevance today demands collective responsibility. This means the revival and strengthening of customary norms and social values, and the empowerment of religious and community leaders, such as *ulama, imams* and other respected figures to reaffirm *pangngaderreng* as a living law in Bugis society. It is also important the extent to which the noble Bugis values of *accae, lempu', warani*, and *getteng* can be maintained and practically applied in everyday life.[60]

Thus, the paradigm of Indonesian criminal law has shifted from the retributive justice of the colonial Dutch heritage to the more humane, restorative, and rehabilitative model of justice. One of the most important innovations of the new Criminal Code is the explicit recognition of living law, i.e., the body of law that exists and is observed in local communities, as a source of criminal law. Therefore, the recognition of customary law as living law is an attempt to reconcile the principle of formal legality with sociological justice, which means that justice should be based not only on statutory provisions but on the normative values prevailing in society. The new Criminal Code provides a legal framework for the integration of customary criminal law into the national legal system but its effectiveness in the long term will depend on the ability of the state to find an

[58] Dheny Wahyudhi, et.al., "Integrasi Hukum Adat dalam Kerangka KUHP Baru:

[59] Interview with INF-13, Professor of Islamic Law at the Bone State Islamic Institute (IAIN Bone), September, 2025.

[60] Interview with INF-14, Professor of Constitutional Law at Bone State Islamic Institute (IAIN Bone), September, 2025.

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

appropriate balance between the claims of legal certainty and the protection of the authenticity and integrity of the living norms that continue to govern local communities.[61]

In this case, the recognition of customary law, particularly *pangngaderreng* in Bugis society, is a logical consequence of the legal paradigm of participation and anthropology, not positivism, in the view of legal pluralism. The formal recognition of living law in the new Indonesian Criminal Code represents the dynamic interplay of national law, Islamic law, customary law and the changing social realities of Bugis society.

On this matter, it can be argued that Indonesia has undergone a significant change in its legal paradigm. Gradually the authoritarian and highly centralized legal perspective that characterized the New Order era has been substituted by a more democratic and pluralistic perspective, based on the principles of legal pluralism. This transformation is reflected in the recognition of customary law as the living law in the state, thus recognizing the continuing legitimacy and practical authority of the law in the local community.

Conclusion

This study concludes that the practice of Islamic law in Bugis society is not carried out merely as the application of the textual norms of *sharia*, but rather as the product of a local epistemic framework known as *pangngaderreng*. The field findings consistently show that legal decisions are achieved by combining *sara'* (Islamic law) with the other components of *pangngaderreng,* i.e., *ade'* as the boundary of social propriety, *rapang* and *wari'* as means of analogical reasoning and relational justice, and *bicara* as a space for collective deliberation. The integration will determine how the Bugis community judges the justice and the validity of legal decisions, so that Islamic law can be a living law that is religiously legitimate and socially accepted. In theory, these findings imply that *pangngaderreng* should not only be viewed as a set of customary practices or cultural traditions, but also as a legal epistemology that influences the making, validation, and application of Islamic law. This perspective contributes a new dimension to the study of Islamic law by showing that the normativity of sharia does not always operate directly through textual prescriptions, but is mediated by a living local rationality that is constantly interpreted, negotiated and institutionalised within society. In the context of legal pluralism, *pangngaderreng* also offers an attractive perspective to acknowledge the existence and interaction of the three major legal systems in Indonesia, namely Islamic law, customary law, and national law, including the recent adopted Criminal Code, which explicitly acknowledges living law as a legitimate source of law. In this respect,

[61] I Made Bayu Masdyasa and Ni Made Jaya Senastri, "Eksistensi Living Law Sebagai Sumber Hukum Tidak Tertulis dalam Budaya Masyarakat Indonesia," *Jurnal Cendekia Hukum Indonesia* 2, No. 1 (2026).

DOI: 10.22373/kvt23130

pangngaderreng should be understood not only as a legal epistemology, but also as an anthropological and sociological framework that explains how law is embedded in the cultural practices, moral values, and social institutions of Bugis society. Hence, the core Bugis cultural values of *accae*, *lempu'*, *warani*, and *getting* should be more consciously revitalized and applied as defining elements of Bugis identity. The preservation and practical application of these values will strengthen *pangngaderreng* as a living social and legal system, thus ensuring its continued relevance in supporting social cohesion, legal legitimacy, and the harmonious integration of Islamic law, customary law, and national law in contemporary Bugis society.

References

Journals and Books

Agustina, Selfia, "Antropologi Suku Bugis." *Jurnal Dawuh* 5. No. 2 (2024). Https://siducat.org/index.php/dawuh.

Ahmad, et al., "Konflik Hukum Islam Dan Adat Dalam Kawin Lari: Studi Sosiologis Pada Masyarakat Bugis-Makassar." *Qanun: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 3 No. 2, (2025).

Ali, Zainuddin, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2009.

Anggraeni, RR Dewi, "Islamic Law and Customary Law in Contemporary Legal Pluralism in Indonesia: Tension and Constraints," *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah* 23, No. 1 (2023). DOI: https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v23i1.32549.

Anjana, Firki, "Siri'na Pacce Dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Hukum Adat Dalam Masyarakat Bugis Makassar." *Humaniorasains: Jurnal humaniora dan sosial sains* 2. No. 2 (2025).

Azizy, A. Qadri, *Elektisisme Hukum Nasional: Kompetisi Antara Hukum Islam dan Hukum Umum,* Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2002.

Bahar, Muhammad, et al., 2020. "The Philosophy of Kajaolaliddong: A Basic Pattern of Life and Culture in Bugis and Makassar." *systematic reviews in pharmacy* 11. No. 12 (2020).

Bahar, Muhammad, et al., Expression and Social Convention In "Pappaseng Kajaolaliddong" For the Millennial Generation of The Buginese in Bone Regency, South Sulawesi (2022).

Benda-Beckmannn, Franz von, and Keebet von Benda-Beckmannn. "The Dynamics of Change and Continuity in Plural Legal Orders." *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 38, nos. 53–54 (2006). https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2006.10756597.

Djawas, Mursyid, "The Integration Between Syara' and Ade' In Wedding Tradition of Bugis Bone, South Sulawesi: Islamic Law Perspective." *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 18, No. 2 (2023). Https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v18i1.10373.

Djawas, Mursyid, et al, "Harmonization of State, Custom, and Islamic Law in Aceh: Perspective of Legal Pluralism." *Hasanuddin Law Review* 10, No. 1 (2024). https://doi.org/10.20956/halrev.v10i1.4824.

Fikri, Rahmawati, and Zulfah. "Idealism And Realism of Islamic Law in Pangngaderreng Culture of the Modern Bugis Bone." *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 175 (1). (2018). Https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/175/1/012137.

Fikri. "Refleksi Sistem Pangngaderreng Dalam Sosial Budaya Bugis-Makassar: Analisis Putusan Pengadilan Agama." *Al-'adl* (2016).

Fitriani, Nurul, and Saguni, "Fungsi Pappaseng Toriolo dalam Masyarakat Bugis Soppeng: Kajian Etnolinguistik," *Indonesian Journal of Social and Educational Studies* 2, No. 2 (2021).

Hanafie, Wardah, et al., "Local Wisdom Based Education in the City of Parepare: A Study of Panngaderreng and Its Construction of Religious Tolerance." *Journal of positive psychology & wellbeing* 5 (4) (2021). Http://journalppw.com.

Haruna, Ilham, et al., "Soul of Barekkeng: Transformasi dan Interpretasi Nilai Pangadereng dari Budaya Masyarakat Bugis di Sulawesi Selatan," *Jurnal Panggung* 12 (2024). https://doi.org/10.26742/panggung.v34i4.3556.

Ipandang, and Syamsul Darlis. 2022. "Passampo Siri' In the Bugis Marriage Practies in East Kolaka, Indonesia: A Sociological Perspective of Islamic Law." *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 6, No. 2 (2022). Https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v6i2.12874.

Mansur, et al., "The Return of Doi Menre' Ba'Da Duhul in Bugis Marriage Law, South Konawe: Islamic Education and Sociology of Islamic Law Perspective." *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 7 (2): (2024). Https://doi.org/10.22373/ujhk.v7i2.25574.

Masdyasa, I Made Bayu and Ni Made Jaya Senastri, "Eksistensi Living Law Sebagai Sumber Hukum Tidak Tertulis dalam Budaya Masyarakat Indonesia," *Jurnal Cendekia Hukum Indonesia* 2, No. 1 (2026).

Massuannan, Andi, and Alwi Usra Usman. 2025. "Regional Languages as Markers of Cultural Identity in The Dynamics of Multiculturalism." *Acculturation: Journal of Social Science Research* 1, No. 01. (2025). Https://journal.unm.ac.id/index.php/jossr.

Moh Najib, Agus, "Reestablishing Indonesian Madhhab: 'Urf and the Contribution of Intellectualism," *al-Jamiah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 58, No. 1 (2020). DOI: https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2020.581.171-208.

Muhaimin, *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum,* Mataram: Universitas Mataram Press, 2020.

Musafa'ah, Suqiyah, et al., "Hazairin's Interpretation of Inheritance Verses in The Qur'an and Its Influence on The Compilation of Islamic Law," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* (2023). DOI: 10.15642/JIIS.2023.17.1.147-168.

Mutakabbir, Abdul, et al., "The System of Inheritance Distribution in South Sulawesi." *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 23, No. 1 (2023). Https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v23i1.57-76.

Nair, Rahmatun, et al., "Rituals as Sites of Normative Production: Rethinking Living Islamic Law through the Sennu-Sennureng Tradition in Bugis Weddings." *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 25, No. 1 (2026), p. 213–228. https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v25i1.16669.

Nurdin, Abidin, et al., "The Development of Sharia Courts in Aceh, Indonesia: A Social and Historical Perspective on Islamic Law," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 9, No. 1 (2026). DOI: https://doi.org/10.22373/ujhk.v9i1.34009.

Nurhaeda, Revitalisasi nilai-nilai Pappaseng sebagai kearifan lokal masyarakat Bugis: Konseling Eksistensial. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Bimbingan dan Konseling* 2, No. 1 (2028).

R. Salahuddin, Siti Maryam, "Hukum Adat Tanah Bima Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam: Kajian Unsur-unsur Keadilan dan Kemanusiaan," *Al-Ittihad: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Hukum Islam* 2, No. 2 (2016).

Ramadhani, Milenia, "Tantangan Implementasi Pengakuan Hukum Adat dalam Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana Baru di Indonesia," *Comserva: Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat* 4, No. 3 (2024). DOI: 10.59141/comserva.v4i3.1394.

Rasjdiyanah, Andi, "Integrasi Sistem Pangngaderreng (Adat) dengan Sistem Syari'at Islam Sebagai Pandangan Hidup Orang Bugis dalam Lontarak Latoa," *al-Jamiah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 56, (1996). DOI: https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.1996.3459.203-207.

Rayhan uin. 2026. "Hadis Sebagai Sumber Nilai Etika Dalam Kearifan Lokal Bugis." *Al-Furqan: Jurnal Agama* 5 (1). Https://publisherqu.com/index.php/.

Rofiq, Ahmad, *Pembaharuan Hukum Islam di Indonesia,* Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2001.

Said, Wardana, et al., "Marriage Traditions and Family Resilience in Bugis Bone Society: A Study of Islamic Law and Islamic Education." *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 8, No. 3 (2024). Https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i3.23227.

Salim, Arskal, *Contemporary Islamic Law in Indonesia: Sharia and Legal Pluralism*, Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.

Sopyan, Yayan, "Urgency of Legal Pluralism Study for Students of Sharia and Law Faculty After Changes of Academic Degree," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syariah* 12 No. 2 (2020). DOI: https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v12i2.10186.

Syamsurijal, et al. The Encounter of Customs and Religion in Cultivating Religious Moderation in Bugis, *Conference: 9th Asbam International*

Conference (Archeology, History, & Culture in The Nature of Malay) (ASBAM 2021) (2022). DOI:10.2991/assehr.k.220408.099

Syarifuddin, et al., "Integration of Religion and Culture in Hadrah Nurun Nabi in Aceh: Perspective of Symbolism and al-'Urf," *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 29, No. 2 (2025). https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v29i2.1320

Tarmizi, et al., "Inheritance System of Bugis Community in District Tellu Siattinge, Bone, South Sulawesi: Perspective of Islamic Law," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 4. No. 1 (2020). Http://jurnal.arraniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah.

Tono, Sidik, et al., "The Harmonious Relationship Between Minangkabau Custom and Islam in The Distribution of Inheritance," *Al-Shajarah Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization* (ISTAC) (2019). DOI: https://doi.org/10.31436/shajarah.v0i0.931.

Wahyudhi, Dheny, et al., "Integrasi Hukum Adat dalam Kerangka KUHP Baru: Evaluasi Pluralisme Hukum dan Tantangan Implementasi Restoratif Justice," *Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice* 3, No. 2 (2025).

Yusuf, Muh. "Integration of Islamic Law into Local Governance: The Impact of Datuk Tellue's Da'wah in South Sulawesi." *Nukhbatul 'Ulum: Jurnal Bidang Kajian Islam* 10 (2) (2024). Https://doi.org/10.36701/nukhbah.v10i2.1493.

Yusuf, Muhammad, "Building Character of Bugis Community in Bone from the Perspective of Quran and Local Wisdom." *El-Harakah: Jurnal Budaya Islam* 24 (2) (2022). Https://doi.org/10.18860/eh.v24i2.17047.

Interviews

Interview with INF-01, Bugis Family/Couple, Bone District, January, 2025.
Interview with INF-02, Religious Figure (Ulama), Bone District, January, 2025.
Interview with INF-03, Bugis Family/Couple, Bone District, January, 2025.
Interview with INF-04, Religious Court Judge, Bone District, January, 2025.
Interview with INF-05, Bugis Family/Couple, Bone District, January, 2025.
Interview with INF-06, Religious Figure (Ulama), Bone District, January, 2025.
Interview with INF-07, Bugis Family/Couple, Bone District, January, 2025.
Interview with INF-08, Religious Court Judge, Bone District, January, 2025.
Interview with INF-09, Bugis Family/Couple, Bone District, January, 2025.
Interview with INF-10, Bugis Traditional Figure, Bone District, January 28, 2025.
Interview with INF-11, Bugis Traditional Figure, Bone District, January 28, 2025.
Interview with INF-12, Religious Court Judge, Bone District, January, 2025.
Interview with INF-13, Professor of Islamic Law Bone State Islamic Institute, September, 2025.
Interview with INF-14, Professor of Constitutional Law at Bone State Islamic Institute, September, 2025.