

THE LEGITIMACY OF THE MAPPACCI TRADITION IN THE EYES OF ISLAMIC LAW AN 'URF-BASED ANALYSIS OF THE BUGIS TRADITIONAL MARRIAGE CEREMONY IN SOUTH SULAWESI

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the legitimacy of the mappacci tradition from the perspective of Islamic law through the concept of 'urf and to examine its conformity with the principles of Islamic marriage law. The research method used is normative legal research with a qualitative, conceptual, and socio-legal approach through library research on primary Islamic legal sources and scholarly literature concerning the Bugis marriage tradition. The analysis was conducted by identifying the forms, meanings, and functions of the mappacci tradition and examining them based on the concepts of 'urf, uṣūl al-fiqh, qawā'id fiqhīyyah, and the legal maxim al-'ādah al-muḥakkamah. The results show that the mappacci tradition meets the criteria of 'urf ṣaḥīḥ because it has been continuously practiced and socially accepted by the Bugis community, contains values of self-purification, respect for parents, prayer, moral preparation, kinship, and social solidarity, and does not fundamentally contradict the Qur'an, Sunnah, tawḥīd, or the objectives of Islamic law (maqāṣid al-sharī'ah). The mappacci tradition is also more appropriately positioned as a social and cultural practice within marriage rather than 'ibādah maḥḍah, meaning that its absence from the practices of the Prophet does not automatically constitute bid'ah. In conclusion, the mappacci tradition is legally permissible and may be maintained as a Bugis cultural tradition within Islamic marriage practices, provided that its implementation remains free from shirk, khurafat, superstition, prohibited elements, and beliefs that contradict the principles of Islamic law.

Keywords: Adah Al-Muḥakkamah, Bugis Marriage Tradition, Islamic Law, Mappacci Tradition, Urf Ṣaḥīḥ

INTRODUCTION

Islamic law is progressive and adaptive in response to social developments, provided that they do not contradict the core values of Islamic teachings. (M. Abdullah, 2020). One of the tools that exemplifies this flexibility is the concept of 'urf (custom or social practice) that has been long known as a factor in Islamic legal reasoning (*istinbāt al-aḥkām*). The legal maxim *al-'ādah muḥakkamah* is that the custom observed in society can be a legal factor as long as it does not contradict with the Qur'an, Sunnah, consensus (*ijmā'*), and the basic values of Islamic law. Therefore, the Islamic law must not only be seen as a body of literary standards, but also as a legal framework that can accommodate social and cultural realities. This view makes the study of the link between Islamic law and local culture very relevant, especially when considering Indonesian society which is rich in various customs. (Widjaja, Abdi, Muhammad Arash bin Mahmusin, Fahri Asyudi Abdulrazak and Rezkiawati Nazaruddin, 2023)

One of the existing customs is *mappacci*, a customary marriage ritual of the Bugis community in South Sulawesi before the marriage contract or *aqdun nikah*. This tradition is identified philosophically with self-purification, prayer, moral preparation of the bride and groom, respect for parents and building family ties. Practically speaking, the *mappacci* is a ceremony that incorporates extended family members and community leaders, which makes it not just a ceremonial activity, but also a social, educational and cultural institution. The continuation of this practice shows that the Bugis society considers marriage not only as a legal partnership between a man and a

woman, but also as a social event that strengthens family ties and community togetherness.

By contrast, the advent of textualist interpretations of Islamic teachings has sparked questions over the authenticity of some local traditions, notably *mappacci*. Some groups claim these acts are essentially cultural rituals that have no direct basis in Islamic teachings and can perhaps contain some elements of *bid'ah* if overdone. In contrast, there are many who argue that *mappacci* is a cultural expression that is not against Islam as it is a symbolic statement of purification, prayer and respect for family values. These varying opinions show that the topic of the link between custom and Islamic law is still an important issue in the study of Islamic family law, especially in the Bugis community where cultural values are still firmly established.

Normatively, the idea of '*urf*' offers room for the approval of local customs, as long as they meet the requirements of '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*'. Practices that are commonly followed, bring about advantages (*maṣlaḥah*), and do not contradict the principles of Islamic law. The legitimacy of a tradition is therefore not simply a matter of its beginning as a local cultural practice, but a matter of the substance of the ideals it reflects. The method displays the capacity of Islam to dialogue with local cultures without compromising its normative identity. In this respect, the *mappacci* tradition is an essential object to be studied since it illustrates the process of interaction between Islamic teachings and Bugis culture that has existed for generations. (Abdulrahman, Manswab Mahsen, 2021)

Earlier research on *mappacci* has explored the tradition from a range of disciplinary viewpoints. Some studies study *mappacci* as a cultural heritage that contains the qualities of character education, respect for parents, social solidarity, and the preservation of Bugis cultural identity. Other works examine *mappacci* from an anthropological perspective, analyzing the process of Islamization of the Bugis people through the adaption to local traditions. Moreover, some research focus on the symbolic significance of *mappacci* ceremonies and their function of preserving social solidarity. Some study in the area of Islamic law has studied the relationship between Bugis traditions and Islamic marital law, however these works are descriptive in nature and focus on the alignment of customary practices and Islamic standards in a generic context.

However, there are still some critical study gaps in past studies. First, studies on *mappacci* have mainly been carried out through anthropological, sociological or cultural approaches, while normative legal study of their constitutionality is still few. (Rahmawati, Takdir, Muhammad Nur Alam Muhajir, Abdain (2024). The notion of '*urf*' as the main analytical tool to analyze the legitimacy of the *mappacci* tradition has not been systematically used in the current Islamic law studies. Third, several studies mention that the tradition does not contradict Islam without addressing the normative markers that classify it as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*'. Therefore, the legal argument on the legitimacy of *mappacci* in the Islamic law has not been systematically constructed on the basis of the principles of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and Islamic legal maxims. This gap indicates the necessity for study that combines local cultural studies with Islamic legal analysis based on the idea of '*urf*'.

Based on this research gap, this research intends to investigate the legality of the *mappacci* tradition in the perspective of Islamic law through the idea of '*urf*' and to find out the compliance with the principles of Islamic marital law. This study examines not only the intellectual and social aspects of *mappacci*, but also assesses the normative framework that makes this tradition acceptable as part of Muslim cultural practices. Hence, this paper aims to present a more holistic argument about the place of *mappacci*

in Islamic law. This research has three contributions. First, it contributes to the studies of Islamic family law by using the concept of '*urf*' as an analytical device for the study of living local traditions. Second, it provides a normative paradigm that combines Islamic law and Bugis culture not only to evaluate the compatibility of traditions with Islamic principles but also to explain the *uṣūl al-fiqh* basis for the acceptance of traditions. Third, the results are meant to be a reference for academics, legal practitioners, and policymakers in understanding the relationship between Islamic law and local knowledge as a part of the formulation of a national legal system that is responsive to the cultural variety of Indonesia. (Jesika, Abd. Karim Faiz, Aris Aris and Sunuwati, 2026)

The innovation of this study is the application of the idea of '*urf*' as the main analytical tool to analyze the legitimacy of the *mappacci* tradition. Unlike earlier studies that tend to focus more on the cultural, symbolic or descriptive side, this study creates a normative argument on the status of *mappacci* as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*' based on indicators constructed in *uṣūl al-fiqh* and the legal maxim *al-'ādah muḥakkamah*. Thus, this research explains the harmony of this relationship between Islamic law and Bugis culture and also suggests a conceptual model to be applied to examine the various local marriage traditions from the Islamic legal perspective. This strategy reinforces the notion of Islamic law as something that may be modified to local cultures as long as they do not contradict the fundamentals of Islamic teachings and are in the interest of the public.

METHOD RESEARCH

The method used in this study is normative legal research with a qualitative approach to assess the legality of the *mappacci* tradition under Islamic law. The primary question is whether *mappacci* can be considered as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*' and so included in Islamic legal reasoning. This analysis is a conceptual approach and a socio-legal study of *mappacci* as a living Bugis marital practice in South Sulawesi. Legal reasoning (*istinbāt al-ḥukm*) is performed in four steps. First, the study determines the forms, meanings and cultural functions of the *mappacci*. Secondly, these factors are assessed in light of applicable Qur'anic concepts, Hadith, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *fiqh* literature and the legal maxim *al-'ādah muḥakkamah*. Third, each practice is tested against the validity criteria of '*urf*': it must be common and continuous practice, rationally accepted by the community, established before or simultaneously with the legal act, not contradict an explicit Qur'anic or Prophetic text, not violate definitive principles of *Sharī'ah* and not cause harm or invalidate lawful rights. Fourth, the facts are classified as accepted custom ('*urf ṣaḥīḥ*') or rejected custom ('*urf fāsid*'), and then a legal decision is made about *mappacci*. The data are taken from library research on primary Islamic law materials and secondary scholarly works on the Bugis marriage tradition. The data are reduced, classified, interpreted and comparatively evaluated to produce a reasoned conclusion concerning the compliance of *mappacci* with Islamic law within the modern Bugis sociocultural setting examined (S. Halliday and P. Schmidt, 2020).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Mappacci Tradition Meets the Criteria of '*Urf Ṣaḥīḥ*' as a Basis for Consideration in Islamic Law

One of the common marriage traditions of the Bugis group in South Sulawesi is the *mappacci* tradition which has a strong continuity in social life. Jimmy Ibrahim, (Dahlia Haliah Ma'u, Nanda Himmatul Ulya, 2023). *Mappacci*, as a living tradition, is not

only seen as a cultural ritual that is carried from generation to generation but also understood as a social practice that has philosophical, moral, and religious aspects in structuring marital life. This practice shows that the Bugis society sees marriage not only as a bond between husband and wife as individuals but as a social institution involving families and the wider community. In practice, *mappacci* is done before the marriage contract (*aqdun nikah*) as a physical and spiritual preparation for the bride and groom.

The event includes family members, community leaders and those who are significant and respected in the community. Their attendance is not just ceremonial but also represents prayers, guidance, blessings and moral support for the future marriage. The principles ingrained in this tradition suggest that *mappacci* has an educational and social function in that it encourages awareness among the bride and husband of their responsibilities in married life. From the Islamic law point of view, a custom can be a legal consideration if it fulfils the requirements of an admissible '*urf*'. As to the meaning of '*urf*' in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, it is the customs known, accepted and commonly observed by society as long as they do not conflict with the basic principles of Islamic law. According to these signs, the *mappacci* tradition can be categorised as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*' since it meets the conditions of lawful custom in Islamic law. First, the tradition is a continuing practice and has been regarded by the Bugis society as an inseparable aspect of the marriage ritual. Its persistence points to the high degree of social legitimacy enjoyed by *mappacci* in the society. (Fauziah Asma, Zulfahmi Alwi, Ibnu Izzah, 2023)

Second, the ideals stated in the *mappacci* do not contradict the major sources of Islamic law, the Qur'an and Sunnah. This tradition is not characterised by any worship, belief in other than Allah's powers, or any practice contradictory to the tenet of monotheism (*tawḥīd*). The symbolic meaning of the object and rituals utilised in *mappacci* is mostly related with hope, prayer and the moral ideals entrenched in the Bugis culture. Consequently, the practice of *mappacci* cannot be considered as antithetic to the Islamic teachings, but a cultural ritual with good elements. (Amalia, Andi Husnul and Patimah, 2021). Third, the ideals contained in the *mappacci* tradition are aligned with the purposes of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*), especially in the preservation of religion, family lineage, and family welfare. The ritual aims to inculcate in the society the principles of real intention, respect for family, moral responsibility and the significance of creating healthy social ties. These qualities are aligned with the aims of Islamic marriage, which are to form a family of *sakinah*, *mawaddah* and *raḥmah*. (Abdulaziz Sachedina, 2020). The validity of *mappacci* as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*' also indicates the way Islamic law adapts to local culture. Not all traditions are considered wrong in Islam. Some traditions are accepted if they do not contradict Islamic teachings and if they do not have any negative social impact. Customs may be continued as part of Muslim social activities provided they are beneficial (*maṣlaḥah*) and do not violate Islamic teachings. *Mappacci*, in this sense, is a real example of a healthy interaction between the Islamic law and the local culture. (Farhan Zamzami, Miftahus Sholehudin, 2024)

Thus the *mappacci* tradition is legitimate in the procedures of Islamic family law because it meets the conditions of '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*'. The tradition is not only a traditional identity of the Bugis people but also a method to internalise Islamic values in the marriage process. The existence of *mappacci* in the perspective of '*urf*' shows that Islamic law is flexible to adopt local wisdom as long as it is not contrary to Islamic principles. Thus the *mappacci* custom can be kept as one of the Islamic family law practices that demonstrate the harmony between religion and local culture.

Mappacci Philosophical Values in Accordance with the Objectives of Islamic Marriage Law

The tradition of *mappacci* in the marital rituals of Bugis in South Sulawesi is not only interpreted as a traditional ritual with ceremonial function, but also a tradition that has deep philosophical connotations in the social and religious life of the society. The emergence of *mappacci* shows the intimate tie between local culture and Islamic ideals that have formed in Bugis society. This tradition is a cultural expression that transmits moral, spiritual and social themes for the bride and groom as they are about to embrace married life. Thus, *mappacci* not only as a supplement to the marriage ceremony but also as a means of value teaching and moulding of character in the establishment of a family.

In a philosophical sense *mappacci* is essentially a symbol of self-purification. The name *mappacci*, deriving from *pacci* (henna leaves), is indicative of cleanliness, purity and the preparation of the bride and groom to embark on a new phase of life. In this tradition the idea of purification is not only physical but also spiritual, such as readiness to improve oneself, to forsake undesirable behaviours, and to create real intents in carrying out marital life. (Suparman and Muhammad Nuruahmad, 2023). This characteristic is consistent with the teachings of Islam which stress the necessity of pure intentions and moral preparation in building a marriage partnership.

Mappacci symbolises self-purification and also has the value of respect for parents and family. During the ceremony, the *pacci* is given to the bride and groom by the family's elders or other important people in the community. The practice is a token of respect to the parents as the givers of prayers, blessings, and direction for the future household of the marriage. The importance of honouring parents is in line with the Islamic teachings which see *birr al-wālidayn* (devotion to parents) as a significant feature of Muslim life (Hasliyawatih, T., Rusdaya Basri, Rahmawati, Sudirman L, Agus Muchsin, 2024). The ritual of *mappacci* is also a way to convey prayers and well wishes for the future spouse. The participation of members of the family and the community during the ceremony, indicates the spiritual support and the desire that the marriage will be blessed and carried out in accordance with Islamic norms. The marriage law in Islam considers prayers and social support very crucial for creating a good environment for establishing a harmonious family. Thus, *mappacci* is directly tied to the objectives of Islamic marriage, which is to create a family that is *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *rahmah*.

Moreover, *mappacci* is a technique of reinforcing kinship and communal solidarity relationships. The ritual unites extended family members, relatives and the wider community in a collective time before the marriage contract takes place. This practice fosters social engagement, which enhances the link between families and provides social support for the newlyweds. One of the major factors in sustaining family sustainability and resilience within the framework of Islamic family law is the existence of a harmonious social environment. Another virtue that is inherent in the *mappacci* tradition is the moral preparation of the bride and groom. It also provides potential couples with a concept of duty, patience, commitment and ethics in married life through guidance and symbolic expressions given during the ceremony. Such characteristics are congruent with the tenets of Islamic marriage law which considers marriage as a powerful covenant (*mīthāqan ghalīẓan*) that demands responsibility and dedication from both spouses.

The custom of *mappacci* can be seen as a vehicle of internalisation of Islamic ideals through a local cultural approach. Though it stems from Bugis cultural practices, the values inherent in it are compatible with the rules of Islamic marriage law. *Mappacci* not only preserves the traditional identity of the Bugis group, but also becomes a tool to inculcate spiritual, moral and social values in forming a harmonious family. It shows that local culture can be an instrument to facilitate the implementation of Islamic values as long as it does not conflict with the principles of Islamic law. Thus, the existence of *mappacci* can be seen as a form of harmonisation between tradition and religion in realising the main purpose of Islamic marriage, namely the establishment of a family based on *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *rahmah*.

Legitimacy of the Mappacci Tradition as an Example of Islamic Law's Adaptability to Local Culture

Islamic law has a dynamic and adaptive character to respond to developments that occur in society such as the existence of numerous local traditions that are created before and after the expansion of Islam. This adaptability shows that Islamic law does not necessarily reject cultural practices in a culture but rather examines their compliance with Islamic ideals, purposes and social effects. The science of *uṣūl al-fiqh* allows customs to play a subsidiary role during legal reasoning, provided they do not conflict with the basic principles of Islamic law. The idea of '*urf*' and the legal maxim *al-'ādah al-muḥakkamah* are essential bases that show that good customs that produce advantages (*maṣlaḥah*) may have a position within the practice of Islamic law.

The *mappacci* custom among the Bugis group in South Sulawesi is a specific illustration of the harmonious interaction between Islamic law and local culture. The *mappacci* has a long history of existence in the Bugis community during traditional marriage and is still retained as a cultural identity. The existence of this custom not only indicates the richness of Bugis culture, but also shows the ability of Islamic law to allow social behaviours embodying positive qualities. The *mappacci* tradition is regarded as a permissible custom using the method of '*urf*' because its substance is not contrary to Islamic teachings. The flexibility of Islamic law to allow the *mappacci* heritage is seen in the lack of aspects that contravene the basic principles of Islamic teachings. This tradition is free from the elements of *shirk* that is associating partners with Allah, or *khurafat* that can lead to beliefs in supernatural powers against the teachings of Islam. The symbols in the *mappacci* ceremony are not believed to have any magical abilities but are only expressions of moral teachings, prayers and good wishes for the bride and groom. Therefore, this behaviour does not go against the notion of *tawḥīd* in Islam. (Alwi Usra Usman, Karta Jayadi, Abdul Rahman A. Sakka and Najamuddin Najamuddin, 2024).

Besides not having *shirk* and *khurafat*, the *mappacci* tradition also has no immoral activities or actions that are antithetical to religious principles. Instead, this custom expresses principles that promote the aims of Islamic law such as respecting parents, improving family ties, offering marriage advice, and praying for the longevity of the household. These characteristics reflect the compatibility of the local culture of Bugis with the principles of Islamic family law, particularly in an attempt to build a harmonious family based on moral responsibility. From the standpoint of Islamic law, these factors lead to *mappacci* being classified as *al-'ādah al-ṣaḥīḥah*, a good custom that can be recognised because it brings benefits and is not contrary to Islamic principles. The recognition of such rituals shows that there is an internal mechanism within Islamic

law to deal with social circumstances. Islam does not regard local culture as something that needs to be wiped out, but rather allows space for cultural traditions to continue to grow as long as they are within the framework of Islamic norms. (Winda, 2024).

The acceptance of the *mappacci* heritage also has crucial consequences for the evolution of Islamic law in Indonesia which has a mixed culture. The embrace of local culture through the notion of '*urf*' shows that Islamic law can be implemented contextually by considering the social realities of the community. Thus, Islamic law can remain relevant and not lose its core principles, as adaptation takes place in the form of the choosing of values in accordance with the aims of Islamic law (*maqāsid al-sharī'ah*). Thus, the *mappacci* tradition is a compromise between the Bugis customary rules and the Islamic law. The tradition shows that excellent habits (*al-'ādah al-ṣaḥīḥah*) can be one of the concerns in the development and execution of Islamic law, especially when considering Indonesian Islamic family law. The existence of *mappacci* adds to the horizon of Islamic law, which is flexible and adaptable, and may accommodate local wisdom as long as it is beneficial and does not conflict with the principles of Islamic teachings.

A Comparative Analysis of the Mappacci Tradition between the Bid'ah Perspective and Qawā'id Fiqhiyyah

The ritual of *mappacci* in Bugis marriage has been much debated when viewed in the light of Islamic law. Some text-oriented parties evaluate *mappacci* by highlighting the fact that this practice was not clearly there at the time of the Prophet and the early generations of Islam. From this point of view, ceremonial aspects that have no direct basis in the Qur'an and Sunnah can possibly be categorised as *bid'ah*, especially when their symbols, recitations, or procedures are considered as acts of worship. The principle of care is applied to preserve the purity of religious teachings and prevent cultural factors from blurring the lines between customary customs and religious ceremonies. The textual approach has the strength of consistency in its adherence to the authority of revealed texts and the principle of *ittibā'*. Its shortcoming, however, is in the lumping together of all the cultural practices that were not present in the early Islamic period without due distinction between the domain of '*ibādah maḥḍah*' and that of '*mu'āmalah*' or customary practices. By contrast, those that do a *fiqh*-based study analyse *mappacci* with the tools of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *qawā'id fiqhiyyah*, especially the notion of '*urf*' and the legal maxim *al-'ādah muḥakkamah*. On this view not all innovations appearing after the foundational age of Islam are necessarily to be categorised as blameworthy *bid'ah*. A custom may be approved if it does not contradict a definite text (*naṣṣ qaṭ'i*), does not involve shirk, does not allow what is forbidden or forbid what is permissible, does not lead to *mafsadah*, and has social benefit and communal approval. (Syandri, Kasman Bakry and Salman Al Farisi, 2020). Since *mappacci* is fundamentally part of the social process of marriage, its legal nature is more appropriately located within the context of custom rather than '*ibādah maḥḍah*', as long as its symbols are not accompanied by theological ideas that are contrary to *tauḥīd*.

The main difference between these two views is not just in their legal findings, but more significantly in their respective ways of *istinbāt*. The textual approach has a tendency to validate a practice directly against the scriptural texts and the practices of the early Muslim generations. The *fiqh*-based approach classifies the legal object first, then examines its purpose, meaning, context, consequences, and conformity with the principles of *Shari'ah*. From a methodological point of view, the *fiqh*-based approach has

more flexibility in separating cultural forms from creedal problems. However, this flexibility still needs explicit limitations so that the concept of '*urf*' does not become an unconstrained explanation for all traditions without normative evaluation. This analogy suggests that the real question is not whether custom exists, but what place custom occupies in the legal structure and where the line between social symbols and religious belief ought to be drawn. (Mualim, Chaerul Shaleh and Aden Rosadi, 2026).

Therefore, enquiring whether the Prophet ever committed *mappacci* does not offer a proper basis for determining its legitimacy. (Jesika, Faiz, A. K., Aris, & Sunuwati. (2026). A more proportionate appraisal has to look at its substance, the social role, the attendant beliefs and the ramifications for the purposes of *Shari'ah*. If we see *mappacci* as a cultural expression of prayer, moral guidance, respect for the family and symbol of moral preparation that does not contain any beliefs that contradict *tauḥīd*, then the tradition can be categorised as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*'. In contrast, if aspects of sacralisation, superstition or causal beliefs are found that are in opposition with *Shari'ah*, they should be rejected or reconstructed. So, in this perspective, textual criticism functions as a type of normative control but *fiqh*-based analysis offers a contextualist approach for the preservation of cultural continuity in a manner consistent with Islamic law.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study show that the *mappacci* tradition in Bugis marriage ceremonies in South Sulawesi is legally acceptable from the perspective of Islamic law because it fulfils the criteria of '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*'. The tradition has been practiced continuously by the Bugis community, contains values of self-purification, respect for parents, prayer, moral preparation, kinship, and social solidarity, and does not fundamentally contradict the Qur'an, Sunnah, *tawḥīd*, or the objectives of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-shari'ah*). The analysis also confirms that *mappacci* is more appropriately positioned as a customary and social practice rather than '*ibādah maḥḍah*', so its absence from the practices of the Prophet does not automatically make it *bid'ah*. Through the principles of '*urf*' and the legal maxim *al-'ādah al-muḥakkamah*, Islamic law demonstrates its ability to accommodate local cultural traditions while maintaining its normative boundaries. Therefore, *mappacci* can be maintained as a legitimate Bugis cultural tradition within Islamic marriage practices, provided that its implementation remains free from *shirk*, *khurafat*, superstition, prohibited elements, and beliefs that contradict *Shari'ah*. This finding demonstrates that the interaction between Islamic law and local culture can produce a harmonious model in which cultural identity is preserved while the fundamental principles and objectives of Islamic law remain protected.

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