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***Patuntung*: The Encounter of Local Culture and Islamic Sharia in the Ammatoa Kajang Community**

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Abstract:

The purpose of this research is to explore *Patuntung* belief among Ammatoa Kajang community and analyze the encounter between the belief and Islamic teaching. It relies on both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through in-depth interviews and on-site observation. We interviewed ten key informants: four traditional leaders, three religious' leaders, and three community leaders, while the observation was during July-September 2022. The secondary data was from literature exploration. The results of this study show that the *Patuntung* is the traditional belief of Ammatoa Kajang Community which has been still preserved today with its whole distinctive and unique features. Additionally, there also occurred encounter between *Patuntung* and Islamic belief as clear in the internalization of five Islamic pillars in *Patuntung* teachings. Quite different from those five which accentuate physical behaviors, *Patuntung* teaching stresses more on heartily intention and this makes the physical differences between the two inevitable.

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Keywords:

Patuntung; Local Culture; Islamic Sharia; Ammatoa Kajang

Introduction

Indonesia has diverse tribes and traditions that make it rich in various cultures. As an ancestral heritage, cultural traditions are still preserved by its society.¹ One of the cultural treasures of Indonesia is customary law which is a reflection of the nation's personality and an incarnation of its soul.² Customs owned by its regions are different, although the basis and nature are the same, namely Indonesianes. Therefore, the customs of the Indonesian nation are called *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which means different but still one.³

Constitutionally, official recognition of customary law communities is affirmed in Article 18B Paragraph 2 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution reading; "the state shall acknowledge and respect traditional societies along with their customary rights as long as these remain in existence and are under the societal development and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and shall be regulated by law." Furthermore, The Article 28I Paragraph (3) of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution mentions "the cultural identities and rights of traditional communities shall be respected under with the development of times and civilizations".⁴

Article 18B Paragraph (2) furthermore provides four limitations or requirements so that a certain community can be recognized as a customary law community. The community is required to be: (a) still alive; (b) in accordance with the development

¹ Tutuk Ningsih, "Tradisi Saparan dalam Budaya Masyarakat Jawa di Lumajang," *IBDA: Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya* 17, no. 1 (2019): 79-93, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v17i1.1982>.

² Ahmad Faris Wijdan, "Eksistensi Hukum Adat Sebagai Budaya Bangsa dalam Membangun Sistem Hukum Nasional di Indonesia," *Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, Dan Agama* 7, no. 1 (2021): 91-103.

³ Eka Susylawati, "Eksistensi Hukum Adat dalam Sistem Hukum di Indonesia," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 4, no. 1 (2013): 124-40, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v4i1.267>.

⁴ Jawahir Thontowi, "Perlindungan dan Pengakuan Masyarakat Adat dan Tantangannya dalam Hukum Indonesia," *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum* 20, no. 1 (2013): 21-36, <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol20.iss1.art2>.

of society; (c) in accordance or not contradictory with the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia; (d) in accordance with what is regulated in the law.⁵ One of its derivative rules is Regional Regulation Number 9 of 2015 regarding Inauguration, Right Recognition, and Right Protection towards Ammatoa Kajang Indigenous Peoples which established Customary Law Communities.

Based on those mentioned legal standing, Ammatoa Kajang is one of the customary law communities recognized in Indonesia. It is located in Tana Towa Village, Kajang Sub-district, Bulukumba District, South Sulawesi. Kajang itself is the name of both location and the people who inhabit the area,⁶ while *amma* is the name of their tribal leader who continues to conduct daily affairs under their ancestral ways. The Ammatoa Kajang Community has a belief called *Patuntung*. *Patuntung* is essentially a view of God (*Tu Rie' Ara'na*), nature, and humans. In practice, *Patuntung* teachings are based on *Pasang ri Kajang* (sacred messages from Kajang), which are deemed as messages, words, wills, and mandates from the Creator.⁷

There are four elements contained in the *Patuntung* belief as mentioned in the *Pasang ri Kajang*. They consist of the concept of God or a supernatural being, including supernatural powers; the concept of the afterlife, heaven, and hell; the concept of work ethic intended for religious purposes ("*kallo anjorengang*" or the hereafter tendency); and the concept of the origin of the universe.⁸ In many aspects, nevertheless, the *Patuntung* teachings have seemed to violate the formal order of Islamic teachings because the practices are still very strong under animism and dynamism influence. In other words, although the *Kajang* community considers themselves as Islamic

⁵ Amrina Rosyada, Esmi Warassih, and Ratna Herawati, "Constitutional Protection of Indigenous Community in Achieving Social Justice," *Kanun Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 20, no. 1 (2018): 1-22, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.24815/kanun.v20i1.10021>.

⁶ Risfaisal et al., "Sistem Penyelesaian Kasus pada Masyarakat Adat Kajang Ammatoa Kabupaten Bulukumba," *Equilibrium: Jurnal Pendidikan* 10, no. 2 (2022): 261-69, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.26618/equilibrium.v10i2.7659>.

⁷ Abdul Hafid, "Sistem Kepercayaan pada Komunitas Adat Kajang Desa Tanah Towa Kecamatan Kajang Kabupaten Bulukumba," *Patanjala: Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah Dan Budaya* 5, no. 1 (2013): 1-19, <https://doi.org/10.30959/patanjala.v5i1.150>.

⁸ Hasan and Hasruddin Nur, "Patuntung Sebagai Kepercayaan Masyarakat Kajang Dalam (Ilalang Embayya) di Kabupaten Bulukumba," *Phinisi Integration Review* 2, no. 2 (2019): 185-200, <https://doi.org/10.26858/pir.v2i2.9981>.

adherents, the Islamic sharia is not actually and totally practiced among them.

The *Patuntung* beliefs can be seen using the theory of syncretism taxonomy as mentioned by Anita Maria Leopold. She defined it as the negotiation and interaction of new elements into a particular group or domain stemming from essentially different ones. The former is the unconscious mode, while the latter is interpenetrating. The unconscious refers to the similar yet sometimes competing types into another's that it is rarely registered as innovation but rather adaptation or assimilation. Meanwhile, the interpenetrating refers to a result of resistance to power and a means to preserve indigenous gods in the clothing of those of the dominant culture.⁹ The theory was considered compatible with the material object of this research considering that it is still at the 'in between' position among reliance on traditional belief and religious teaching.

There have been various research on *Patuntung* beliefs, such as that of Muhammad Takbir et al, about "Reinventing *Patuntung* Religion in South Sulawesi"¹⁰ and of Hasan et al with the title *Patuntung* as the Belief of *Ilalang Embayya* in Bulukumba Regency.¹¹ There also found Syamsul Alam and Nirwana in their article entitled "The Dynamics of the Development of *Patuntung* Primitive Religious Society in South Sulawesi (Case Study in Tanah Towa Village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency)".¹² Additionally, Samiang Katu wrote an article regarding Local Islam in Indonesia: Religion "Patuntung" in Kajang.¹³

⁹Anita Maria Leopold, "Introduction," in *Syncretism in Religion: A Reader*, ed. Anita Maria Leopold and Jeppe S. Jensen (New York: Routledge, 2004), 4-5.

¹⁰ Muhammad Takbir, Rizal Mustansyir, and Sindung Tjahyadi, "Reinventing 'Patuntung Religion' in South Sulawesi, Indonesia," *JICSA (Journal of Islamic Civilization in Southeast Asia)* 10, no. 1 (2021): 1-27, <https://doi.org/10.24252/jicsa.v10i1.21393>.

¹¹ Hasan and Nur, "Patuntung Sebagai Kepercayaan Masyarakat Kajang Dalam (Ilalang Embayya) di Kabupaten Bulukumba."

¹² S Alam and Nirwana, "Dinamika Perkembangan Masyarakat Agama Primitif Patuntung di Sulawesi Selatan (Study Kasus di Desa Tanah Towa, Kecamatan Kajang, Kabupaten Bulukumba)," *Jurnal Sosioreligius* 6, no. 1 (2021): 45-58, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24252/sosioreligius.v6i1.24192>.

¹³ Samiang Katu, "Local Islam in Indonesia : Religion 'Patuntung' in Kajang," *Journal of Islamic Civilization in Southeast Asia (JICSA)* 3, no. 2 (2014): 1-19, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24252/jicsa.v3i2.780>.

It is clear that the previous research(es) generally focuses more on *Patuntung* as a local belief or religion of the Community. *Patuntung* is a meeting point between local culture and Islamic sharia. Therefore, syncretism appears in some of its practices. It is particularly interesting to discuss because the community is basically Muslim but their religious practices are more prominent in *Patuntung* beliefs so there is a syncretism between local culture and Islamic sharia. Therefore, this research aims to explore the distinctive features of *Patuntung* as a traditional belief and analyze the encounter between Islamic law and local culture through the *Patuntung* belief.

Method

This is empirical legal research, a method of legal research that uses empirical facts from human behavior, both verbal behavior obtained from interviews and actual behavior known through direct observation. Primary data in this study was obtained through in-depth interviews with nine key informants: four traditional leaders, three religious leaders, and two community leaders. Interviews were conducted with informants two to three times with a duration of between 35 to 50 minutes for each informant. More importantly, interviews were conducted because the *Patuntung* beliefs, other than those mentioned in *Pasang ri Kajang*, are not documented in written documents and are only conveyed verbally. Observation, meanwhile, was conducted during July-September 2022. Meanwhile, secondary data is related literature to support the primary one.

Result and Discussion

***Patuntung* as A Distinctive Traditional Belief among Ammatoa Kajang Community**

Patuntung, with *Tu Rie' Ara'na* as its central figure, was the traditional monotheistic religion that came to Sulawesi before the arrival of Islam.¹⁴ It is an ancient concept of spirituality passed down into daily practice through various layers of generations. For the “*Kajang Dalam*” Community, the *Patuntung* belief inspires faith and obedience (*Ilalang Embayya*). *Kajang Dalam* refers to a part of the community that still keep traditional belief and life style; they inhabit seven hamlets. They almost totally rely on nature in fulfilling their basic need without any use of modern technological advancement. On the contrary, those who have adapted to modern development move to “*Kajang Luar*” which consists of two hamlets.

Etymologically, *Patuntung* means learning, seeking, and peaking, all three of which put forward a strong motivation for its adherents to learn in seeking mysticism while reaching the peak of heights at the end of the search. *Patuntung* or *mannuntungi* is defined as a more concrete (real) target for religious concepts, namely attitudes or aspirations towards (achieving) knowledge, efforts to improve religious "quality", as well as appreciation and understanding of "kasallangngang" (Islam) that is better and more perfect.¹⁵

Patuntung itself consists of two words, namely "pa" and "tuntung." *Pa* is a prefix that means a substitute for a person, while *tuntung* means the end. *Patuntung* is therefore a search for an end. *Patuntung* is also understood from the word *tuntung*, which means to seek, namely looking for the way of truth, including in the dimension of faith. In short word, *patuntung* means an effort to improve people's status in this world and the hereafter.¹⁶

Patuntung is deemed different from religion in the Islamic sense because it consists of ritual and worship systems as well as the

¹⁴ Andi Akifah and Mukrimin, "Kajang; a Picture of Modesty: An Indonesian Local Belief," *Jurnal Al-Ulum* 12, no. 1 (2012): 117-27.

¹⁵ Takbir, Mustansyir, and Tjahyadi, "Reinventing 'Patuntung Religion' in South Sulawesi, Indonesia."

¹⁶ A Nirwana and B Arman, "Islam dalam Komunitas Adat Amma Towa," *Jurnal Al Adyaan* 7, no. 1 (2020): 50-79.

use of offerings.¹⁷ Accordingly, Ammatoa Kajang Community considers *Patuntung* not as a religion, but a belief to obey and implement. It is furthermore considered as a "prosecutor" or "guide" to practice the teachings of truth passed down orally by their ancestors from generation to generation. Ammatoa Kajang Community, therefore, has a dualism belief, claiming to be Muslim on the one hand and *Patuntung* on the other. Islam is their official state religion while *Patuntung* teachings are the ancestral legacy they follow.

The *Patuntung* serves as a source of truth for the community¹⁸ whose testament or teaching is found at *Pasang* or *Pasang ri Kajang*.¹⁹ *Pasang ri Kajang* itself contains a message from Ammatoa Mariolo (First Ammatoa). The doctrine is symbolized and elaborated in all aspects of people's lives containing important events about government and society as well as treatment and implementation of certain things. This lesson serves as a source of rules, norms, laws, and forecasts for a given period.²⁰ Violation of *Pasang ri Kajang* is believed to result in the emergence of undesirable things, such as the damaged balance of the social and ecological systems.²¹

According to *Patuntung's* teachings, the community is dealing with three types of interactions that they need to manage well. They have to build good interaction with *Tu Rie' Ara'na* (God), humans,

¹⁷ Syamsurijal Syamsurijal, "Islam Patuntung: Temu-Tengkar Islam dan Tradisi Lokal di Tanah Toa Kajang," *Al-Qalam* 20, no. 2 (2016): 171-78, <https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v20i2.197>.

¹⁸ St. Jamilah Amin, "Talassa Kamase-Mase Dan Zuhud: Titik Temu Kedekatan pada Tuhan dalam Bingkai Pasang Ri Kajang dan Ilmu Tasawuf," *KURIOSITAS: Media Komunikasi Sosial Dan Keagamaan* 12, no. 1 (2019): 61-75, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.35905/kur.v12i1.1199>.

¹⁹ Hafid, "Sistem Kepercayaan Pada Komunitas Adat Kajang Desa Tanah Towa Kecamatan Kajang Kabupaten Bulukumba."

²⁰ Sarkawi B. Husain, Lina Puryanti, and Adi Setijowati, "Education For All: A Study on Education for Indigenous People in South Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences* 42, no. 3 (2021): 623-29, <https://doi.org/10.34044/j.kjss.2021.42.3.25>.

²¹ Ega Rusanti et al., "The Indigenous Ecotourism in Kajang South Sulawesi: Empowerment Issues in The Context of Pa'pasang Ri Kajang," *Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama Dan Lintas Budaya* 5, no. 2 (2021): 321-36, <https://doi.org/10.15575/rjsalb.v5i2.11661>.

and the environment.²² Trust and respect for God are the most basic belief in *Patuntung* teachings. Meanwhile, the form of respect for the human is at least manifested to their treatment to the ancestors' (soul)²³ and the tribal leader or so-called *ammatowa*. The former is clear from the ritual of *Pattasi Jera* (cleaning graves in customary land areas),²⁴ while the latter is by putting the *ammatowa* as the good example, supervisor, and shepherd, as well as respecting them as the mediator between community and the God.

Based on the on-site observations, the interaction with the environment is particularly clear in the principle of *tallasa kamase-kamasea* (simple and modest way of life) among Kajang Dalam community. It is manifested by tabooing the use of footwear considering it an expression of arrogance to the earth. Other than that, every ten years, the Ammatoa Kajang Community holds an *andingingi* ritual that aims to preserve the environment, nature, and the balance of humans with nature. The ceremony is then followed by actions of preserving nature, especially the forests around their respective neighborhoods. In other words, although they believe in the supernatural and the existence of an unseen world, they do not totally ignore tangible things.

Above all, the reason for the community's devotion to *Patuntung* is that it contains life guidelines that are believed to be true for human salvation. Moreover, they believe that *Patuntung* has existed since the creation of the first human being by *Tu Rie' Ara'na*. Therefore, according to them, the teachings must be well obeyed and implemented.

²² Puto Salam, Adat Stakeholders of Ammatoa Kajang "Interview" "Interview , September 2022 in Kajang.

²³ Egarianti Nuh, Syahrudin Nawi, and Sukarno Aburaera, "Effectiveness of the Implementation of Kajang Bulukumba Indigenous People'S Inheritance Law," *Meraja Journal* 3, no. 3 (2020): 155-71, <https://doi.org/10.33080/mrj.v3i3.127>.

²⁴ Rezky Nur Awalia, HS Arifin Nurhayati, and Kaswanto, "Kajian Karakter Pembentuk Lanskap Budaya Masyarakat Adat Kajang di Sulawesi Selatan," *Jurnal Lanskap Indonesia* 9, no. 2 (2017): 91-100, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.29244/jli.2017.9.2.91-100>.

The Encounter of Local Culture and Islamic Sharia through *Patuntung* Beliefs

To some extent, the community's belief seems as a combination of Islamic teaching and *Patuntung* belief. In a more detailed, the *Patuntung*, for instance, resemble those called *rukun iman* or pillars of faith in the Islamic teachings both number and substance. *Patuntung* system consists of (1) belief in *Tu Rie' Ara'na* (Almighty God); (2) belief in the supernatural; (3) belief in *Ammatoa*; (4) belief in the truth of *Pasang*; (5) belief in the afterlife; and (6) belief in destiny.²⁵

They look the same as the Islamic pillars of faith except the second and the third ones with slight differences. The second pillar in the Islamic belief system requires belief in the angles, which is a part of supranatural, while the third one stresses the *ammatoa*, which is quite different from the Islamic one with the belief in the Prophet. However, it is worth noting that both play the same role as the mediator between God and humans.

This resemblance can likely be traced from the very ancient teaching of *Patuntung* because a quote from *Pasang ri Kajang* makes the harmony of Islamic and *Patuntung* teachings clearer. The quote reads *Guru Sara' tala tappa ri patuntung tala assai kaguruanna, sanro tala tappa ri sara' tanga assai patuntunganna*. It means that an Islamic scholar who does not believe in *Patuntung* is considered not qualified in his (Islamic) expertise, while a *Sanro* [*Patuntung* expert]'s expertise is also disqualified without Sharia (Islam) mastery.²⁶ The quote also underlines two main roles, namely *guru sara'* which refers to a religious expert, and *sanro* as the subordinate of *Ammatowa* serving to lead the traditional ceremonies and heal the sick.

Another clear proof of the resemblance between the two can be seen in how the *Kajang* Community internalizes the Islamic five pillars as can be seen in Table 1:

²⁵ Puto (Galla Ganta) Marsuki, Adat Stakeholders of *Ammatoa Kajang*, "Interview", July 2022 in *Kajang*.

²⁶ Puto Hatong (Pu' Lompo Karaeng) Adat Stakeholders of *Ammatoa Kajang*, "Interview", September 2022 in *Kajang*.

Table 1. Perceptions of the *Ammatoa Kajang* Community Regarding the Five Pillars of Islam

| Community's Teaching | Meaning |
|---|--|
| <i>Sahada' sipammula-mulanna lino</i> | The first creed (<i>shahada</i>) of the world's creation |
| <i>Je'ne Talluka Sambajang Tamattappu</i> | Ablution never breaks, prayer never stops |
| <i>Sakka' pitra</i> | Paying <i>Zakât al-Fiṭr</i> |
| <i>Puasa tallu hattu lalang rumalla</i> | Fasting three days during Ramadan |
| <i>Akkattere</i> | Hajj Ritual |

Source: Researcher's data, compiled from various sources

Quite different from the previous resemblances, Table 1 implies that the community's acceptance of Islamic Sharia is not full. In fact, they still maintain some of their original beliefs, such as the belief in *Pasang ri Kajang, Ammatoa* as an incarnation of the Almighty or *Tu Rie' Ara'na*, and some ritual practices they still organize today.

In the Islamic pillars, reciting the creed or *shahada* is the first point to do for declaration as a Muslim. Although this is not always clear to Muslims by born, newly Muslim converts usually do this. This *shahada* can be analogically resembled a sort of contract, like how the community interprets it as the most basic thing from the practice of worship²⁷ to their God. Furthermore, they believe that this *shahada* implies that the content or existence is more important than the appearance or the implementation of the sharia. Therefore, the *shahada* is interpreted as something sacred.

On the other hand, the community's *shahada* is not the same as those of Muslims. Instead, they make it as a secret that nobody outside their community knows and understands. It is also mentioned that they keep internalizing the *sahada* constantly so there found no way to forget it. Specifically, *shahada* belonging to the community is well described through *sahada' pammula-mulanna lino* (the first *shahada*

²⁷ Supardi Mursalin, Siti Nurjanah, Abraham Ethan Martupa Sahat Marune, Muhammad Hasan Sebyar, Hina Al Kindiya, "Pecoah Kohon: The Restriction on Inter-Cousins Marriage in Indigenous the Rejang Society," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 1 (2023): 75.

of the world creation). Verbally, it is different from the two creeds of *shahada* belonging to common Muslims declaring the belief in Allah as the universe creator and then Prophet Muhammad as His messenger. Their *shahada*, on the contrary, is believed to be what comes with the baby out of the mother's womb. This likely has some similarities with the primordial covenant mentioned in the Qur'an; '*Alastu bi Rabbikum* (am I, not your Lord?)" They answered, *Qālū Balaá Shahidnā* (Yes, we bear witness)" (QS. [7] Al-A'raf: 172).

However, like Muslims in general, Ammatoa Kajang Community believes that *shahada* is *ia mange-ia mange*, namely useful in both the world and hereafter. It is specifically deemed to function in overshadowing both the world (with *kamase-masea*) and hereafter (with *kalumanyang kalupepeang ri allo bokona Tu Rie' Ara'na* or eternal wealth in the presence of God Almighty).²⁸ On one hand, this seems to be in line with Islamic teaching. Nevertheless, on the other hand, it seems contradictory according to a local custom prominent figure's statement, Puto Marsuki, as follows: *Rie' sallo' tempo nau'pai pakkuta'nanna Angkua sallang apako? What sahada'nu? Nupau ašhadu 'alā 'ilāha 'illa llāhu, wa-'ašhadu 'anna muḥammadan rasūlullāh*. It means that there will be a time when the question "What Islam are you?" What is your creed?" will come and your answer (should not be) "*ašhadu 'an lā 'ilāha 'illa llāhu, wa-'ašhadu 'anna muḥammadan rasūlullāh*" because it is not the creed that is being asked).²⁹ This strengthens the assumption that *shahada* belonging to the community is essentially a secret.

Another profounding difference comes from the Oneness of God concept. *Patuntung* belief 'divides' God into three types which affects human's life. *Firstly*, *Karaeng Ampatana* is believed as the creator of the universe and everything in it, and he is believed to live in the sky. *Secondly*, *Karaeng Kaminang Kammaya* or *Kaminang Jaria A'ra'na* means power or mighty, who is believed to reside in the sacred and purified *Kuncio Tikka* (top of Mount *Bawakaraeng*). *Thirdly*, they believe in *Karaeng Patanna Lino* or *Patanna Pa'rasangang*, who is tasked with preserving the nature created by *Ampatana*. In addition,

²⁸ H. Puang Halaluddin Dg. Mappuji, Religious Leader, "Interview", August 2022 in Kajang.

²⁹ Puto Marsuki (Galla Ganta) Adat Stakeholders of Ammatoa Kajang, "Interview", July 2022 in Kajang.

Patuntung also believes in *Puang Loheta* (many Gods) which are found in every family, house, and kingdom.³⁰

The concept of *shahada* in *Patuntung* belief and its derivation generally show the manifestation of syncretism between local culture with Islamic law. The community seems to avoid deviations from the Islamic faith, mainly relating to the two-sentence creed as the first pillar of Islam which distinguishes between Muslims and infidels.³¹ However, they do not put aside their traditional *shahada* as well as the Oneness concept of God. Islam, here, according to the category of interpenetrating syncretism, is seen as the dominant culture whose God's concept is 'borrowed' to preserve Kajang's indigenous gods.

The second pillar of Islam is prayer. *Ammatoa Kajang* community believes that the order of prayer was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. However, in practice, the prayer they perform is different from that of general Muslims, which is five times a day. The interview with Puto Hatong reveals that the community's prayers as "*je'ne talluka sambajang tamattappu* (ablution is never void and prayers are never ceased) and *Injo Sambayangnga tala nientengangngi kasarakna* (actually prayer is not done physically).³² Conceptually, it emphasizes that practicing Islam is deemed a serious and ongoing commitment. However, on the other hand, they show unique and distinctive ways of comprehending and practicing Islam, namely in the context of prayer.

The principle of *je'ne talluka sambajang tamattappu* is likely considered wrong by common Muslims. Kajang community believes that the ablution they practice is rather mental instead of physical so that it will be never void. Accordingly, they perceive prayers differently from the common assumption, namely physical moves along with certain recitation. Therefore, some members of the community only perform Islamic prayers twice a year, namely *toje'-toje'* prayers (*Eid al-Fitr*) and *kaliraja* prayers (*Eid al-Adha*). Some *Ammatoa* does not even perform any prayers, including both, because

³⁰ Zulkifli Muhdar, "Interview , August 2022 in Makassar," 2022.

³¹ Said Alwi and Muhammad Iqbal, "Examining Peurateb Aneuk Text As a Model for the Religious Character Building in Early Childhood," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies* 6, no. 2 (2022): 241-61, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v6i2.12834>.

³² Puto Salam, Adat Stakeholders of Ammatoa Kajang "Interview" July 2022 in Kajang.

they believe that daily life practices are more essential. Instead of performing the Eid prayer, they rather celebrate it by taking a ritual bath called *luru'* at the *Karama'ka* well signifying purity for those who do it.

Je'ne talluka sambajang tamattappu furthermore implies the essence of prayer out of physical conduct. The concept of this prayer is linked to the *sahada' pammula-mulanna lino* by putting the *shahada* as the basis for the world and hereafter. The essence of prayers among the community is therefore not in the moves of standing, bowing, prostrating, and sitting, but in the practice of daily life instead. On the other words, prayers are supposed to deter indecency and wickedness. They strongly believe that everything can be judged from the hearty intention, including in performing prayers.

Hence, this community has a crystal-clear understanding of the significance of ablution or prayer which is not constrained by time or any simple formal rule. Rather, it centers on wisdom beyond the ritual and its internalization in ordinary life. They, for instance, relate the concept of human existence with the significance of ablution in the form of *tawâdu'* (humility) in Godly devotion. According to Puang Abdullah, proper conduct is the most important thing to do as the following principle implies; *Pakabajiki ateka'nu, iyamintu agama; nayantu sambayyanga, jama-jamanji (gaukanji); pakabajiki gau'nu, sara-sara makana'nu; nanulilian labatabatayya* (correcting one's beliefs is the essence of religion; prayers are nothing more than an act; correct your attitude and speech so you can avoid shame and misfortune).³³

In fact, according to common Islamic law, *ablution* or *wuḍū'* can only be taken as long as there found water/dust for emergency conditions namely bad drought. The ablution can keep someone in a sacramentally clean and pure situation (qualified to perform prayers and recite the Qur'an, for instance) until certain things cancel the validity are named by *nawâqiz*. Some of these *nawâqiz* are peeing, pooping, farting, and (for women) having their period. Again, *wuḍū'* isn't valid when any of this *nawâqiz* comes. On the contrary, for the community, ablution can never be void/invalid even though the *nawâqiz* comes. This implies how the unconscious mode of syncretism leads to adaptation or assimilation. Likely, the concept of ablution had

³³ Puto Sulo Puto, "Adat Stakeholders of Ammatoa Kajang 'Interview', July 2022 In Kajang," n.d.

not existed in the community. However, due to their Islamic belief, they demanded to have the commensurable concept although with different implementations.

The third pillar of Islam is paying *zakât* (religious alms). In Kajang, *zakât* is called *sakka*. It is divided into two types, namely *zakat* for the soul (*nafs*) or so-called *zakât fiṭrah* and *zakât mâl* (for wealth) according to common Islamic rule. However, the community only implements *zakât fiṭrah*. There is no payment of *zakât mâl* because it relates to the principle of simple life or so-called *tallasa kamase-masea* (living simply) so they have nothing to spend for this type of *zakât*. The principle is taught through the following teaching; *anre kalumannyang kalupepeang, rie' kamase-mase, angnganre na rie', care-care na rie', pammallijuku'na rie', koko na rie', balla situjuluju* (wealth is not eternal; there is only simplicity: enough food, enough clothes, enough fish buyers, enough gardens, and enough houses).³⁴ For them, simplicity is one of the main characteristics that emphasize the orientation of a peaceful life, sharing one another, not dropping each other, avoiding excessive attitudes, living as they are, as well as treating the creature around them freely.

Tana Towa Village's *zakât* is administered by village staff or figures instead of *Patuntung* experts. However, they spend a small portion of their wealth on those who deserve to receive it for the sake of social solidarity and simple living (*kamase-masea*) instead of the religious order. Uniquely, in paying *zakât fiṭrah*, they do not only spend on rice. They also equip it with vegetables or legumes, salt, water, and candle. They believe that if they spend only rice, then they will be rewarded with rice in the afterlife. Therefore, *zakât* is given in the form of basic foodstuffs that will be used as food in the afterlife.

To some extent, the traditional regulation of paying *zakât* makes very much sense in line with the simple life principle of the community. Both addition of items in *zakât fiṭrah* and negation of the *zakât mâl* respectively shows the originality of local teaching without much intervention from the Islamic sharia. Showing many features of interpenetrating, this is contradictory to the obligation of *akkattere* which requires high costs as will be mentioned in the last Islamic pillar equivalent to *hajj*.

³⁴ Puang Abdullah, Religious Leader, "Interview", August 2022.

Next, the fourth pillar of Islam is fasting in the month of Ramadan. The community names the month *Rumalla*, which can also be interpreted as the month of *pammarimariangnga* (rest) and *kalompoanna sallangnga* (the month of Islamic grandeur). Fasting itself in the *Konjo* Language is called *parrang* or *an-nahang* (suffering).³⁵ The term *parrang* refers more to the nature of not eating and not drinking. Meanwhile, the term *an-nahang* refers to its essence, which is not only holding not to eat and drink but also not carrying out actions that violate *Patuntung* teachings such as hurting other people and other disgraceful actions.

In the community, fasting also serves to realize *kamase-masea* teaching, specifically to restrain bad emotions (anger, envy, spite, fighting, and others). They consequently consider themselves to always do fasting just like the concept of *je'ne talluka sambajang tamattappu*. Physically, they still practice fasting in terms of staying hungry and thirsty from the time of dawn until sunset using the teaching that reads; *puasa tallu hattu lalang rumalla* (fasting three days during Ramadan). The duration of three days is deemed representative of the thirty days. In addition to the number of days, their fasting becomes different because, during the three days, they avoid consuming blood-containing foods like meat and leaving home. The former implies an effort not to consume the main source of life, while the latter aims to avoid doing bad deeds.³⁶

Apart from it, for welcoming the month, the community has prepared many things. Teachers or religious experts are called upon to send prayers to *Tu Rie' Ara'na*. This is called *duppa ulang* ceremony. Next, at the last seven days of the month, the community visits their family's graves to do *battasa jera'* (grave cleaning). The prayer recitation ritual is also held on the last days of the month with a quite different format from the first. In this ritual called *palappasak ulang*, it is the turn of *Patuntung* experts, namely *saro*, to send prayers to *Tu Rie' Ara'na*.³⁷ The ritual of *baca doang* (reading prayers) is considered a complement to the fasting they do. Functionally, therefore, *Patuntung* and Sharia's experts have their respective tasks at different times during the Ramadhan.

³⁵ Syarifuddin, Community Leaders, "Interview", August 2022 in Kajang.

³⁶ Puto Sulo, Adat Stakeholders of Ammatoa Kajang "Interview", July 2022 In Kajang."

³⁷ Puto Hatong (Pu' Lompo Karaeng), "Interview," 2023.

Relating to the fasting practice, it is mentioned that the three-day fasting during Ramadan is not a deviation from Islamic Sharia. Instead, it is considered as a part of the customs. In *Ammatoans* rituals, Islam is present in some way. Islam and custom maybe even seen as one, not in a syncretic sense, but as the way *Ammatoans* understand it. When asked about a certain ritual, an *Ammatoan* replied, "It's our custom," and when asked how they practice Islam, the same informant pointed to the same ritual he previously categorized as custom. The rituals performed are therefore considered both totally Islamic Sharia and local habit right away.³⁸

In spite of the controversy that might have appeared, this indicates that *Ammatoa Kajang's* religious feelings are extremely intense despite the Islamic practices which prompt them to emphasize more on spirituality rather than physical moves and actions. On the perspective of syncretism taxonomy, this one feature is not fit with both unconscious and interpenetrating types. It is still vague which one is the dominant or that coming first between one another. Moreover, as one of the religious rites, it is commonly known that fasting had been practiced since very old times, in line with the assumption that every religion is in essence syncretistic as there are no pristine origins or essence.

The fifth pillar of Islam is doing *hajj* or Islamic pilgrimage. Like previous pillars, the community practices the *hajj* differently. Mentioned as *akkattere* which means shaving or cutting, their distinctive *hajj* ritual is also done by shaving or cutting the hair,³⁹ just like what Muslims do during the pilgrimage. Likely, everyone who has performed *akkattere*¹ is considered to have performed the *hajj* although they do not get an additional title implying that they have fulfilled the fifth pillar of Islam. *Akkattere* is furthermore a ritual celebration as a culmination of the *Ammatoa Kajang* faith. Its purpose is salvation in this world and thereafter.

Additionally, the appeal to perform pilgrimage is somewhat resembling with the Qur'anic order. *Ammatoa Kajang* Community believes in teaching, reads; "*I kau punna riek labbinna usahanu, pajjari sitalia*" (You who live in the *Tanatoa* customary area and are successful

³⁸ Samsul Maarif, "Dimensions of Religious Practice The *Ammatoans* of Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Dissertation* (Arizona State University, 2012).

³⁹ Baharuddin, "Community Leaders, Interview September 2022 in *Kajang*," n.d.

in your business, then *akkattereko* or do the pilgrimage). Puto Hatong also mentioned *punna nukulleanggi a'boja doi, angusaha pare, angusaha tedong gaukanggi akkatterea nusalama naik haji* (if you have the financial ability, plenty of food (paddy), and are successful in your buffalo farming business, then perform *hajj* so that you can be safe). This belief is mainly caused by the high cost to perform the *akkattere* which is similar to that of the common Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.⁴⁰ All traditional leaders and the community are invited to participate in the ritual in which *akkattere* performer gives alms (*dallekang*) to each of them.

Another related teaching to the *hajj* urges the community to perform the *hajj* in the easiest way they can. The teaching reads; "*punna nakku ko ri tanah lompoa tanah makka ri Kajang, lalang daerahna Ammatoapunna akrakko lampa hajji maka akkattereko. Akkattereko nampa nasabbiko ada' limayya na ada' tallu. Tapi punna tala nukulleangpi akkattere aklampako ri masigia.*" It means that if anyone misses the Holy Land of Mecca (located) in the Ammatoa's territory and wants to make the *hajj*, they can just do *akkattere*. When they perform *akkattere*, they will be witnessed by five counsellors namely: *Gallarang Pantama, Gallarang Kajang, Gallarang Puto, Gallarang Anjuru, and Gallarang Lombo'* and *karaeng tallua* (three rulers). However, if they cannot perform *akkattere*, they must go to the mosque.⁴¹ This makes it clearer that the *hajj* of the community is different.

Akkattere itself is performed in three internal places, namely *Juddah kacucu bola* (Jeddah in the corner of the *Ammatoa* house), *Madina borong ilau* (Medina in the western forest, the horizon of the rising sun), and *Makkah borong iraja* (Mecca in the east forest, the horizon where the sun shines). These two forests (*borong ilau* and *borong iraja*) are customary forest areas (*borong karama* or sacred forest) that are deemed sacred and cannot be visited except for organizing traditional rituals. They furthermore believe that the *ka'bah* in Mecca, or as they call it *cappa*, is the second one, while the main *Ka'bah*, called *poko'* (main), lies at *Emba, Tana Toa*. The second *Ka'bah* is also believed to be brought from Kajang so that they do not need to go there because the main one is in their surroundings. *Poko'* also refers to a

⁴⁰ Marsuki, "Interview , July 2022 in Kajang."

⁴¹ Baharuddin Boma, "Community Leaders, Interview , September 2022 in Kajang," n.d.

place for practicing the *Akkattere* ritual ceremony procession located in the protected forest.⁴²

On a closer look, *akkattere* rituals are inseparable from the *aqidah* (faith system) of *Ammatoa Kajang* Community. They believe that if anyone has done *akkattere*, they are not allowed to perform the *hajj* (to Mecca and Medina) because they will suffer any disaster. The calamities, they believe, are the result of having performed the *hajj* when *akkattere* rituals have been done before. According to them, *hajj* can only be done by capable Muslims, while *akkattere* is only for *Ammatoa Kajang* people who can afford it, implying exclusivity in one hand and simple life on another. After performing the *akkattere*, a person is deemed having excellent relationship with *Tu Rie' Ara'na* in which he/she is supposed to do the same to others.

In short word, the *akkattere* is a form of tradition interpreted by the *Ammatoa Kajang* Community as a *hajj* worship. This shows discrepancy between the teachings of Islam and the teachings of *Patuntung* regarding the implementation of the *hajj*. It furthermore implies how Islam has penetrated the *Ammatoa Kajang* Community's original cultural and ritual dimension. In this case, it appears that Islam is the dominant one whose teaching is modified by the *Patuntung* belief according to their local values and 'properties'.

How the *Patuntung* belief of the community adapting to the five Islamic pillars clearly shows that their teaching is more substantive and essential than the outward and formalistic one. They generally consider that the implementation of Islamic sharia does not require physical symbols. Rather, they focus more on the heartily behavioral aspects concerning to God, humans, and the surrounding nature. They perceive that if Islamic sharia is only based in a formalistic manner, it will give birth to a split personality. Analogically, a person diligent in practicing his/her religion in terms of ritual worship can likely conduct inappropriate behavior with his/her religious views, such as corruption, nepotism, collusion, and other social deviations prohibited by Islam.

To some extent, this shows some similarities with the perspective of perennial philosophy which considers religion having both inner (esoteric) and outer (exoteric) dimensions of understanding. If the esoteric emphasizes the inner dimension of

⁴² Mappuji, "Interview, August 2022 in Kajang."

religious understanding, namely the deepest teachings free from any element of absolute ownership of certain understandings, the exoteric emphasizes the external nature of religion through the expectation to have and practice the physical dimension of its teachings as a whole without diving into the depth of religion's meaning.⁴³ It is the latter that the *Patuntung* belief accentuates through their distinguished religious practices and distinctive acceptance of the Islamic Sharia.

Conclusion

Inside the *Pasang ri Kajang* as a life guide for the community, there is a *Patuntung* belief coming from ancestral beliefs and is characterized by animism and dynamism. Therefore, their acceptance of Islam is not the whole in which on one hand, they still maintain some of their beliefs while on the other, they also adhere to Islamic teachings. The two teachings are adopted and adjusted so that both are deemed equally true and there found dialog and complementarity. This can be seen in their religious practices such as prayer, *haji*, and faith in God's revelation and their internalization of the Islamic five pillars. This research furthermore implies how Islamic teaching can dialog with local culture relying on a demarcation limit between sacred (something that is respected, glorified, and cannot be desecrated) and profane (something ordinary, common, not sanctified, temporary) to avoid any mixture between tradition and revelation. Due to its limitation, this study suggests the need for further research that examines the teachings of *Patuntung* in greater depth and relies on more diverse research methods or data sources to obtain more comprehensive research findings that will enrich the reader's scientific understanding of *Patuntung* teachings.

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⁴³ Ahmad Asroni, "Resolusi Konflik Agama: Perspektif Filsafat Perennial," *Religi: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 16, no. 1 (2020): 64-78, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14421/rejusta.2020.1601-01>.

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