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The Erang-Erang Tradition in Bugis Marriage: Applying the Principle of *Al-'Ādah Muḥakkamah* in Bambarimi Village

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Abstract
The erang-erang tradition in the community of Bambarimi Village, Donggala Regency, continues to be consistently practiced despite the absence of explicit regulation in Islamic law. This makes it an interesting subject to examine through the principle of al-'ādah muḥakkamah in Islamic jurisprudence. This study employs a descriptive qualitative method with an empirical legal approach through observation, interviews, and documentation, which are analyzed qualitatively. The findings indicate that the tradition reflects the implementation of the principle of al-'ādah muḥakkamah within the customary marriage practices of the Bugis community. This is characterized by its continuous transmission across generations, broad social acceptance, non-contradiction with Islamic law, and conformity with local customary provisions. In addition, there is flexibility in its technical implementation based on mutual agreement and the capacity of the families involved. Thus, the principle of al-'ādah muḥakkamah can function operationally in assessing customary practices that are not explicitly regulated in the textual sources (naṣṣ), while also strengthening Islamic legal analysis grounded in the social realities of local communities.

INTRODUCTION

In the midst of modernization dynamics, various local traditions in Indonesian society actually survive and continue to be practiced in daily life.[1] One of the traditions that is still preserved is the tradition of erang-erang in the marriage procession of the Bugis people in Bbamarimi Village, Donggala Regency. This tradition is not only maintained as a cultural heritage, but also continues to be carried out consistently by the community, even in the midst of social changes that occur.[2]

Erang-erang is a form of handover from the male side to the female side that contains various needs, such as clothes, personal equipment, fruits, and traditional cakes that are specially arranged and handed over as part of a series of marriage processions.[3] In practice, this tradition is not only understood as a material gift, but also has a social meaning in the structure of traditional marriage.[4]

Although there is no provision in Islamic law that explicitly requires giving other than dowry in marriage, the customary practice is still carried out consistently and practiced repeatedly in society.[5] For the Bugis people in Bbamarimi Village, erang-erang is seen as an important part of the marriage procession so that its existence is almost always carried out in every traditional marriage. This condition shows that customary practices continue to operate side by side with Islamic legal norms in Muslim societies without a firm separation between the two.[6]

In Islamic law, the habits that live and develop in society are known as al-'urf or al-'adah.[7] In the study of ushul fiqh, the existence of 'urf is taken into account in the determination of the law through the rule of al-'adah muḥakkamah, which is a rule that places custom as one of the basis of legal considerations.[8] This rule shows that customary

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[1] Ivana Theo Philia et al., 'The Impact of Modernization on the Cultural Dynamics of Communities in Indonesia'. *Journal of Education and Citizenship of Indonesia,* 2.2 (2025), 10–22.
[2] Husna Nasihin and Putri Anggita Dewi, 'Islamic Traditions of the Archipelago Perspective of Multicultural Education', *Islamic Journal of the Archipelago,* 3.2 (2019), 417–438.
[3] Rizki Riftiansyah, Muhammad Zainal Abidin, and Siti Nurhaliza, 'Tradition of Surrender in the Preservation of Local Culture and Wisdom According to Islamic Views', *Jurnal Citizenship Virtues,* 3.1 (2023), 427–436.
[4] Jumiyati et al, 'The Tradition of Surrendering Erang-erang as a Condition for Marriage in the Perspective of Islamic Law' *Journal of Islamic Family Law* 3.1 (2022), 37–50.
[5] Murdan, 'Legal Pluralism (Customary and Islam) in Indonesia', *Court: Journal of Islamic Law Studies,* 1.1 (2016), 48-60.
[6] Mursyid Djawas, et al., 'The Integration Between Syara' and Ade' in Marriage Tradition Bugis Bone, South Sulawesi', *Al-Ihkam: Journal of Law & Social Institutions*, 18.2 (2023), 342–363.
[7] Saiful Jazil, 'al-'adah muhakkamah: 'Adah and 'urf as a method of istinbat of Islamic law', *National Halaqah Proceedings & International Seminar on Islamic Education,* (2018), 315-325.
[8] Ahmad Lukman Nugraha, et al., '*Urf as a Method of Legal Determination in Sharia Business*, Iqtisad: Reconstruction of Justice and Welfare for Indonesia, 8.2 (2021), 207–222.

is not only understood as a socio-cultural practice, but also as a social reality that can have relevance in the formation of laws as long as it does not contradict the principles of sharia.[9]

Research on the tradition of erang-erang in marriage has been conducted by several researchers with different focus studies. Abdul Rahman (2025) highlights erang-erang as a cultural practice that contains symbolic meaning and undergoes a shift in value from sacred to aesthetic, but still uses a cultural descriptive approach so that it has not examined analytically how the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah can be used to read the practice as a repetitive, accepted, and regular social habit in society.[10] Meanwhile, Ahmad Ibrahim (2024) uses the perspective of maslahah and concludes that erang-erang is a practice that has beneficial value and does not contradict sharia, but this approach is still general and has not tested operationally the implementation of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah in reading repetitive social practices as a mechanism of Islamic law.[11]

Thus, previous studies have not placed the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah as a framework of analysis that is tested operationally in reading social reality. Existing studies tend to place customary as a cultural phenomenon or beneficial practice, without showing the application of these rules in identifying the elements of repeatability, acceptability, and order in the tradition. As a result, there is still academic space to study the implementation of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah directly in reading social practices that live in society.

This research offers novelty in the form of operationalization of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah as a framework for analysis in reading the practice of the erang-erang tradition in the Bugis community in Bbrarimi Village. The novelty lies in the use of this rule as an analytical tool to systematically identify the elements of repeatability, acceptability, and regularity in customary practices, so that it is not only understood as conceptual, but tested directly in the social reality of the community.

Based on this description, the problem in this study does not lie in the existence of the erang-erang tradition as a social practice in society, but in how the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah can be implemented in reading the practice as part of the mechanism of Islamic law analysis. This is related to the way the rule works in identifying the elements of repetition, order, and acceptance of habits in the practice of marriage that lives in the

[9] Darmawati, 'Ushul Fiqh', *Prenada Media Group, Jakarta,* 2019.
[10] Abdul Rahman, 'Erang-erang on the marriage of the Makassar tribe in Kaballokang Pakkabba Village, Takalar Regency', *Multidisciplinary Scientific Journal,* 3.5 (2025), 249–258.
[11] Ahmad Ibrahim, Rusdaya, and Saidah, 'Social Practice And The Meaning Of The Erang-Erang Tradition In The Context Of Bugis Community Weddings From The Perspective Of Maslahah', *Marital Journal: A Study of Islamic Family Law,* 2.2 (2024), 129–140.

Bugis community in Bbamarimi Village.[12] Therefore, this study aims to analyze the implementation of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah in the erang-erang tradition in the marriage of the Bugis community in Bbamarimi Village.

METHODS

This study uses a descriptive qualitative method with an empirical legal approach to examine the erang-erang tradition in the Bugis society and analyze the implementation of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah as a framework of analysis in Islamic law.[13] The research was conducted in Bbamarimi Village, Donggala Regency, from February to March 2026. The research informants consisted of 6 people consisting of 1 traditional leader, 1 community leader, and 4 families of the bride-to-be. The selection of informants was carried out by purposive sampling technique based on the following criteria: (1) understanding the erang-erang-erang tradition, (2) being directly involved in its implementation, and (3) having witnessed its implementation in the marriage of the Bugis community in Bbamarimi Village. The number of informants was selected on a limited basis because this study focused on the depth of the data, not on generalization.

Data were obtained through non-participatory observation, semi-structured interviews, and documentation related to the implementation of the erang-erang tradition.[14] Observations were made to see firsthand the pattern of traditional implementation. Interviews were used to obtain data on the form of practice, stages of implementation, and the perpetrator's interpretation of traditions. Documentation is used as supporting data in the form of notes and visual documentation related to the implementation of erang-erang.

Data analysis is carried out qualitatively through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawn.[15] Data reduction was carried out by transcribing the results of the interview and then coding based on the focus of the research, namely implementation practices, customary enforcement patterns, and community acceptance of the erang-erang tradition. The results of the coding are then grouped into analysis categories in the form of repetitive habit patterns, forms of implementation, and social

[12] Muhammad Furqan and Syahrial, 'The Position of 'Urf as a Source of Law in the Shafi'ī School', *Al-Nadhair Journal*, 1.2 (2022), 77–86.
[13] Romi Agustini, Irmayanti, and Siti Rahmawati, 'Qualitative Research Methods (Theory and Practical Guide to Qualitative Data Analysis)', *PT. Independent Digital, Bandung,* 2023.
[14] Siti Romdona, Silvia Senja Junista, and Ahmad Gunawan, 'Data Collection Techniques: Observations, Interviews and Questionnaires', *Journal it ui ux,* 3.1, (2023), 42-49.
[15] Sapto Haryoko, Bahartiar, and Fajar Arwadi, 'Analysis of Qualitative Research Data (Concepts, Techniques, and Analysis Procedures)', *UNM Publishing Agency, Makassar,* 2020.

structures of traditional implementation. The category is then linked to the criteria for the implementation of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah, namely: not contrary to sharia, stable and general, and accepted in the social practice of society.

The validity of the data was tested using source and method triangulation techniques.[16] Source triangulation was carried out by comparing the results of interviews between traditional leaders, community leaders, and the bride-to-be's family. Meanwhile, the triangulation method was carried out by comparing data from interviews, field observations, and documentation related to the implementation of the erang-erang tradition. If data discrepancies are found, the researcher re-clarifies to the informant until consistent data is obtained.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Traditional Practice of Giving Erang-Erang to the People of Bambarimi Village

The erang-erang tradition is a traditional practice that is still carried out in the marriage procession in the people of Bbamarimi Village, Donggala Regency. In the context of Bugis culture, erang-erang is a handover consisting of daily necessities given by the groom to the bride.[17] This tradition is understood as part of the cultural values, customs, and beliefs that are integrated into the life of the Bugis people.[18]

Based on the results of interviews with traditional leaders and local communities, it was found that the erang-erang in the Bugis marriage procession in Bambarimi Village is not only understood as a gift, but also as a symbol of the seriousness and responsibility of the man in building a household. The community views erang-mongering as an inseparable part of the marriage procession. This is as conveyed by the Traditional Chairman of Bbamarimi Village:

"Erang-moans are not just an ordinary innate. It was a sign of seriousness on the part of the man. Although in religion it is obligatory dowry, in our tradition it has become part of a series of marriages that are carried out from generation to generation."

A similar view was also expressed by one of the bride's family:

> "If there is no screaming, it feels like something is missing. People here are used to seeing every marriage that must have its flaws. So it's like a habit that must be done in marriage."

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[16] Sugiyono, 'Understanding Qualitative Research', *Alfabeta, Bandung,* 2014.
[17] Muhammad Nur, Syarifuddin, dan Nur Asiah, 'Review of Islamic Law on the Erang-Erang Marriage Tradition in Sailong Hamlet, Sunggumanai Village, Pattallassang District, Gowa Regency', *Journal of Family Law and Islamic Court,* 1.1 (2022), 1–15.
[18] Wardana Said, et al., 'Marriage Traditions and Family Resilience in Bugis Bone Society: A Study of Islamic Law and Islamic Education', *Samarah: Journal of Family Law and Islamic Law,* 8.3 (2024), 1773–1798.

From this statement, it can be understood that erang-erang does not only function as a material gift, but has developed into a social symbol that represents people's expectations of the readiness of men in marriage.

The findings of the study show that in practice, erang-erang consists of three main elements, namely leko, walasuji, and traditional cakes. Leko contains various supplies for women, such as clothing, personal supplies, and personal care. Walasuji contains certain fruits and ingredients, meanwhile, traditional cakes are arranged according to people's customs.[19]

In addition to its shape, each element in the moans also has a symbolic meaning. Based on field data, every equipment brought is not only seen as a practical necessity, but also contains values related to domestic life, such as protection, politeness, responsibility, and harmony in the relationship between husband and wife.

In general, people also know the provisions of a certain amount, such as twelve types in leko and twelve bosara containing traditional cakes, understood as a symbol of continuity and integrity in domestic life.[20] As conveyed by the Traditional Chairman of Bbamarimi Village:

> "The number of twelve also has a meaning, so it symbolizes twelve months in one year, so that the household that is built can run whole, sufficient, and full of happiness throughout the year."

The statement shows that the number twelve is not understood simply as a technical provision in the implementation of customs, but as a symbol of hope for the sustainability and harmony of domestic life.

In its implementation, it was found that the erang-erang tradition is carried out through the stages of deliberation, preparation, and handover. The process began with a deliberation between the groom's and bride's families which took place in a family manner. In the deliberation, the form, type, and number of erang-erang that will be prepared by the male party were discussed by considering the applicable customary provisions and the ability of the parties. Based on the results of observations, the deliberation was carried out in a family manner until a mutual agreement was reached.

After the agreement was reached, the process continued with the preparation of erang-erang by the groom's family. This stage includes planning, purchasing, and arranging erang-erang equipment which is carried out jointly by involving family

[19] Jumiyati et al, 'The Tradition of Submission of Erang-erang as a Condition for Marriage in the Perspective of Islamic Law', *Islamic Family Law Journal,* 3.1 (2022), 37–50.
[20] Abdul Rahman, 'Erang-erang on the marriage of the Makassar tribe in Kaballokang Pakkabba Village, Takalar Regency', *Multidisciplinary Scientific Journal,* 3.5 (2025), 249–258.

members, especially women. All equipment is arranged and decorated in such a way that it looks neat and suitable to be handed over, which at the same time reflects the seriousness and responsibility of the men in fulfilling the customary provisions.

The next stage is the process of handing over the erang-erang which is carried out on the same day as the implementation of the marriage contract, namely before the contract begins. The handover is carried out by the representative of the groom's family to the bride's family. The groom does not participate in handing over directly, but is represented by the family or elderly person in the group. In addition, there are also provisions regarding the party who brings each type of erang-erang, which shows that the handover process is carried out regularly and follows the rules that apply in society. The series of implementations shows that the erang-erang tradition has an orderly pattern of implementation and is still maintained in the marriage procession of the Bugis community in Bbamarimi Village.

2. The Implementation of Al-'Adah Muhakkamah on the Tradition of Giving Erang-erang to the People of Bambarimi Village

The rules of Al-'Adah Muhakkamah are one of the important principles in Islamic law that affirms that customs or customs that have been known and accepted by the community can be used as a basis for determining the law, as long as they do not contradict Islamic law.[21] However, not every custom can be used as a legal basis, but only a custom that meets certain criteria that have been formulated by the scholars of ushul fiqh.[22]

In the context of the erang-erang tradition in Bbamarimi Village, the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah are used as an analytical framework to test the practice of the erang-erang tradition based on the criteria for the applicability of 'urf. These criteria include, the custom does not contradict the sharia, the custom must be stable (constant) and widely applicable, the custom has been formed at the same time as the period of its application, and does not contradict the applicable customary provisions.[23] In addition, to strengthen the analysis, branch rules related to 'urf are also used, in order to clarify the application of 'urf in social practice, especially in explaining the limits of the applicability of habits and forms of public acceptance of a practice that is not regulated in detail in the nash.[24]

[21] Darmawati, 'Ushul Fiqh', *Prenada Media Group, Jakarta,* 2019.
[22]Akhmad Syahroni, Abdul Helim, Syaikhu 'Customary Rules Can Be Used as the Determination of the Law of Al-Adatu Muhakkamah', *Journal of Progressive Law*, 11.2 (2025), 109–118.
[23] Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, 'Qawa'id Fiqhiyyah', *Elhikam Press Lombok, Killed,* 2023.
[24] Sofika Fatmawati, 'Fiqh Rules', *Qur'an and Tafsir Study Program, Jakarta,* 2024.

First, from the aspect that does not contradict the sharia.[25] In Islamic law, the obligation to give in marriage lies only in the dowry, while other forms of giving outside the dowry are not regulated in detail, both in terms of the form, amount, or procedure.[26] The tradition of erang-erang in practice does not replace the position of dowry, but rather is present as an additional gift in the series of customs. In terms of content, erang-erang consists of women's utensils, fruits, and traditional cakes which are basically included in the category of permissible objects (mubah). In Islamic law, the basic principle in muamalah states that basically everything is permissible (mubah), as long as there is no evidence that prohibits it.[27]

The symbolic meanings contained in the erangs, such as the hope of harmony, responsibility, and blessings in the household, indicate that there is harmony with Islamic values. In fact, the practice of giving is in line with the encouragement to give gifts to each other as a form of strengthening relationships.[28] In terms of implementation, at the deliberation stage, based on the results of the research, the talks were carried out by representatives from each party. However, before the delivery, there had been internal discussions within each family, so that the representatives who spoke basically conveyed the results of a mutual agreement. The communication process takes place in two directions without any pressure or coercion until a mutual agreement is reached. In Islamic law, willingness (ridha) is an important principle in any form of muamalah, as stated in the hadith:

There is no god but Allah, the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him).

Meaning:

It is not halal for a Muslim's property unless he is willing to do so. (HR. Ibn Hibban)[29]

This hadith shows that every form of giving must be based on consent without any element of coercion. Even though only representatives conveyed it, the deliberation process still reflected a mutual agreement based on willingness.

At the preparation stage, the type of goods prepared in *the erang-erang* are included in the permissible category (mubah), as explained earlier. Based on the observation

[25] Tarmizi, 'Urf in Islamic Law Perspective', *Journal of Islam and Science*, 7.2 (2020), 99–103.
[26] Muhammad Ridwan, 'The Position of Dowry in Marriage' *Perspective Journal*, 13.1 (2020), 45–56.
[27] Edo Segara Gustanto and Jaih Mubarok, 'The Rules of Fiqh 'Al-Ashlu Fi Al-Asyya' Al-Ibahah' in the Context of Sharia Economics and Business', *Tamaddun Journal of Islamic Studies* 2.2 (2023), 81–93.
[28] Harakah daily, 'Ruling on giving gifts at a wedding feast', https://harakahdaily.net/2021/01/hukum-beri-hadiah-pada-kenduri-kahwin/
[29] Neni Nuraeni and Muhammad Najib Abdullah, 'Applying Al-Ridha bi al-Syai' Ridha bima Yatawalladu Minhu to Ensure Validity in Islamic Economics', *Al-Syarī'ah Journal,* 25.2 (2023), 119-138.

results, no goods were found that clearly violated the provisions of sharia, both in terms of type and form. The existence of underwear as part of *leko* is understood as a household necessity and in practice is prepared in new conditions and packaged appropriately, so that it does not violate the limits of decency. In addition, from the observation results, it was found that there was no treatment that led to waste (tabzir), such as throwing away or wasting goods, so it is still in line with the principle of prohibition of redundancy in Islam.[30] This shows that the preparation process is carried out within the limits of reasonableness and is not excessive, still in line with the principles of sharia. At the handover stage, the erang-erang is handed over through the elder family representatives, both from the male and female sides. This practice shows the value of respect and manners in relationships between families that are still in line with the principles of Islamic muama.

As for the provision of the number of erang-erang such as the number of twelve, from the perspective of Islamic law there is no special provision regarding a certain number in giving. In the view of scholars, belief in something without the basis of sharia, such as associating a certain number with luck or bad luck, falls under the category *of tathayyur* that is prohibited in Islam. Ibn Taymiyyah explained that this kind of belief can damage the purity of monotheism because it depends on cause on something that is not determined by the Shari'a.[31] However, the provision of the number of twelve is not understood as something mandatory or believed to have an influence on fate. The community interprets it more as a traditional symbol that symbolizes hope for the sustainability of the household. In addition, in practice there is flexibility, where the amount can be adjusted to the ability of the groom without any assumption of bad luck if it is not fulfilled. As stated by one of the bride's families:

> "If it is not complete, it is usually adjusted according to the family's ability. The important thing is that there are still screams, it doesn't have to be forced."

The statement shows that the provision of amounts in the erang-erang tradition is not understood as an absolute obligation that is coercive, but as a customary symbol whose implementation still takes into account the capabilities of the parties.

Based on this description, the tradition of erang-erang in the community of Bambarimi Village meets the first condition in the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah because it does not contradict the sharia and is carried out within the limits justified in Islamic law. However, acceptance of a custom from the perspective of the rules of al-'adah

[30] Rosmayanti, et al., 'Internalization of Maqasid Al-Syari'ah in the Process of Bugis Traditional Marriage', *Palita: Journal of SocialReligion Research,* 9.2 (2024), 242-257
[31] Ibn Taymiyah, 'Majmū'al-Fatāwā', *Dar al-Wafa, Riyadh* t.t.

muḥakkamah is not absolute. Its enactment still depends on its substance and implementation in society. A custom is acceptable as long as it does not contain elements of coercion, does not cause harm, and remains within the limits justified by the sharia.[32] Therefore, even though the erang-erang tradition is accepted as 'urf in the Bbamarimi Village community, its implementation must still consider the ability of the parties so as not to cause difficulties or burdensome in the implementation of marriage.

Second, from the customary aspect, it must be stable (constant) and widely applicable.[33] From the results of the research, the erang-erang tradition has become a custom that is widely practiced by the Bugis community in Bbamarimi Village. As stated by the Head of Bambarimi Village that:

> "During my time here, I have never seen a married person who does not have a groan because this groan has become a habit that must be there, it is groaning."

The statement shows that erang-erang is not a practice that is carried out occasionally, but has become a habit that is carried out repeatedly and generally accepted by the community. This is in line with the rules of fiqh which states that:

> But it is considered a habit if it is repeated or overpowered.
>
> Meaning:
>
> The custom that is considered (as a legal consideration) is only a custom that is continuously applicable or generally applicable.[34]

This rule emphasizes that only customs that are carried out continuously and widely accepted by the community can be used as legal considerations. Customs, which are only carried out by some people, do not meet the requirements of this rule. In terms of implementation, erang-erang has a relatively fixed pattern, starting from deliberation, preparation, to handover, which confirms the stability of the custom. Thus, the erang-erang tradition meets the second condition in the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah because it has been carried out consistently and widely accepted in the community of Bbamarimi Village. The applicability of these customs can be reduced if the practice is no longer carried out in general by the community or only carried out by certain groups.

Third, from the aspect of customs, which have been formed along with the period of its implementation, the tradition of erang-erang has taken root in people's lives and has become an inseparable part of the marriage procession.[35] This can be seen from the

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[32] Samsudin Buamona, 'The Rules of Al-'Adatu Muḥakkamah: Concepts, Applications, and Relevance in the Dynamics of Contemporary Islamic Law', *Al-Mizan: Journal of Legal and Economic Studies*, 10.2 (2024), 171-184.
[33] Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, 'Qawa'id Fiqhiyyah', *Elhikam Press Lombok, Mataram,* 2023
[34] Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, 'Qawa'id Fiqhiyyah', *Elhikam Press Lombok*
[35] Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, 'Qawa'id Fiqhiyyah', *Elhikam Press Lombok*

understanding of the community who no longer question its existence, but directly carry it out as part of a series of marriages. The provisions in the erang-erang, such as the presence of leko, walasuji, and traditional cakes, show that this custom has a pattern that has been formed for a long time and continues to be maintained for generations. As stated by one of the bride's families:

> "Since ancient times, there have been erangs, so the people here have considered it part of the marriage custom."

This statement shows that the tradition of erang-erang has long been known and maintained in the practice of community marriage, thus meeting the third condition in the rule of al-'adah muḥakkamah.

Fourth, from the aspect of not contradicting the applicable customary provisions, the implementation of the erang-erang tradition shows that there is consistency between the values contained in the customs and the practices carried out.[36] The practice of the erang-erang tradition in Bambarimi Village shows that there is a compatibility between the customary provisions and the practices carried out by the community. The stages of deliberation, preparation, and submission are carried out following patterns and rules that have been known for generations in society. Although there are certain customary rules in the implementation of erang-erang, the community does not interpret it as a coercive legal obligation. Its enactment is based more on social acceptance and respect for the customs that have lived in society. Based on the results of interviews and observations, the implementation of the erang-erang tradition continues to run according to the applicable customary provisions, so as to meet the fourth requirement in the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah.

The first branch of the rule shows that the erang-erang tradition can be understood as a form of 'urf that fills a space that is not regulated in detail in the sharia. As mentioned:

> What is mentioned in the Shari'ah at all, and there is no control in it or in the language, it is due to custom.
>
> Meaning: "Everything that is conveyed by the Shari'ah in general (absolute), and there is no clear limit in either the Shari'ah or the language, then the determination is returned to the 'urf."[37]

In marriage law, Islam only stipulates dowry as an obligation that must be fulfilled by the man. Meanwhile, other forms of giving outside of dowry are not explained in

[36] Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, 'Qawa'id Fiqhiyyah', *Elhikam Press Lombok*
[37] Agus Hermanto, 'Al-Qawa'id Al-Fiqhiyyah Evidence and Methods of Solving Contemporary Problems', *Literacy of Nusantara Abadi, Malang,* 2021.

detail, either in the Qur'an or hadith.[38] The absence of this specific arrangement shows that gifts other than dowry are included in general matters, thus opening up space for the community to regulate them in accordance with developing habits.

In this case, erang-erang is present as a concrete form of 'urf that regulates additional gifts in marriage, both in terms of form, type, and the procedure for its implementation. Its widely accepted enactment shows that the people of Bambarimi Village have formed customary provisions in regulating matters that are not specifically detailed in the sharia. However, in the perspective of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah, the practice remains in the realm of 'urf and cannot be equated with shari'i obligations such as dowry.

From the perspective of the second branch of the rule, the practice of the erang-erang tradition not only represents social customs, but has evolved into a provision that implicitly binds the parties in marriage. As the rule states:

The one that is known by custom is like the conditional condition, and the fixed by custom is like the fixed in the text.

Meaning: "Something that has been known in its 'urf position as a condition is established, and something that has remained in its 'urf position is like something that is fixed in nash."[39]

In the practice of the erang-erang tradition, there are customary elements that are consistently implemented in every marriage procession, such as the existence of leko, walasuji, and traditional cakes. Although not accompanied by formal sanctions, the absence of such elements is not found in practice, which indicates a strong social bond. This confirms that these elements have functioned as unwritten provisions that are positioned like conditions in the practice of marriage. However, not all aspects of the erang-erang have the same level of attachment. Key elements such as leko, walasuji, and traditional cakes are relatively fixed, while technical aspects such as the amount and variety of contents show flexibility tailored to the conditions and agreements of the parties. Thus, the tradition of erang-erang shows that customs in society can function as a social mechanism that complements aspects that are not regulated in detail in the sharia, as long as they remain within the limits justified by Islamic law.

Based on the above description, it can be concluded that the implementation of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah in the tradition of giving erang-erang to the people of Bambarimi Village shows that the custom fulfills the elements of 'urf that are acceptable in Islamic law. This can be seen from the absence of elements that are contrary to the

[38] Muhammad Ridwan, 'The Position of Dowry in Marriage' *Perspective Journal*, 13.1 (2020), 45–56.
[39] Sofika Fatmawati, 'Fiqh Rules', *Qur'an and Tafsir Study Program, Jakarta,* 2024.

sharia, its implementation that takes place continuously, its wide acceptance in society, and its sustainability that is inherited from generation to generation. In addition, the implementation of the erang-erang tradition also shows the compatibility between the customary provisions and the practices carried out in the community.

In the perspective of the branching rules related to 'urf, the tradition of erang-erang shows that custom can function as a social mechanism in complementing aspects that are not regulated in detail in the sharia, as long as they remain within the limits justified by Islamic law.

The results of this study show similarities as well as differences with previous research. Research by Abdul Rahman (2025) found that erang-erang is a cultural practice that is inherited from generation to generation and has a symbolic meaning as a form of readiness and respect in marriage.[40] However, Abdul Rahman's research also highlights a shift in values from the sacred to the aesthetic aspect, while in this study the shift does not appear significantly because the people of Bambarimi Village still maintain symbolic meaning and social values in the practice of erang-erang.

Meanwhile, Ahmad Ibrahim's (2024) research shows that the erang-erang tradition contains beneficial values and does not contradict sharia, and serves to strengthen social relationships in marriage.[41] These results are also in line, but different from the analytical approach, Ahmad Ibrahim's research uses the perspective of maslahah, while this study uses the approach of the rule of al-'adah muḥakkamah to analyze the application of the rule to the tradition of erang based on the conditions of the applicability of 'urf in Islamic law.

The findings of the study show that the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah are not only conceptual, but can function operationally in reading the living law practices of the local Muslim community. The tradition of erang-erang in the people of Bambarimi Village shows that the customs that live and are accepted by the community can be recognized in Islamic law as long as they do not contradict the sharia.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research, the erang-erang tradition in the people of Bambarimi Village shows the implementation of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah in the

[40] Abdul Rahman, 'Erang-Erang at the Marriage of the Makassar Tribe in Kaballokang Pakkabba Village, Takalar Regency' *Multidisciplinary Scientific Journal,* 3.5 (2025), 249–258.
[41] Ahmad Ibrahim, Rusdaya, and Saidah, 'Social Practice And The Meaning Of The Erang-Erang Tradition In The Context Of Bugis Community Weddings From The Perspective Of Maslahah' *Marital Journal: A Study of Islamic Family Law,* 2.2 (2024), 129–140.

practice of Bugis traditional marriage. This tradition fulfills the element of 'urf because it is carried out consistently, accepted in society, and remains within the limits of sharia and customary provisions. These findings show that the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah are not only theoretical, but also functional operationally in reading the social reality of Muslim society.

This research contributes to the study of Islamic law, especially related to the implementation of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah in the customary practices of Muslim communities. The findings of the study show that the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah are not only theoretical in Islamic law, but are also implemented in the social practices of the community through widely accepted customs and remain within the limits of sharia. These findings show the flexibility of Islamic law in responding to local cultural practices through the 'urf mechanism.

This research still opens up space for study on several aspects that have not been discussed in depth, such as social dynamics in the practice of erang-erang and variations in its implementation in the community. In addition, further research can use the perspective of legal sociology to analyze the influence of social acceptance and cultural expectations on the sustainability of the tradition, so that the study of the implementation of the rules of al-'adah muḥakkamah in the customary practices of the community can be understood more comprehensively.

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