

BETWEEN MANUSCRIPT AND PRACTICE: *LONTARA KUTIKA* AND THE LOCALIZATION OF ISLAMIC LAW IN NORTH LUWU

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Article received August 20th, 2025; Article revised June 02nd, 2026; Article approved June 11st, 2026

ABSTRACT

This study examines the existence, transmission, and use of the Lontara Kutika manuscript in Tandung Village by addressing three main research questions: (1) What is the historical background and transmission network of the Kutika manuscript in Tandung Village? (2) What are the forms, structures, and textual variations of the manuscript? and (3) How is Kutika understood from the perspective of Islamic law? This research employs a qualitative method using philological and anthropological approaches through manuscript analysis, observation, and in-depth interviews. The findings reveal four principal manuscripts owned by H. Nandu, H. Tanjeng, H. Tabe, and Sukardi, all of which originate from a Bugis–Jambi transmission network dating back to the fifteenth century. Among these manuscripts, H. Tanjeng's version functions as the primary source of textual reproduction, while Sukardi's manuscript demonstrates elements of modern reinterpretation. Structurally, the Kutika presents a system of temporal calculation and prediction, including pakitta esso, hari nahas, separiyama, and ompona uleng, reflecting the acculturation of local traditions with Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic influences. In contemporary practice, the use of Kutika in Tandung Village has gradually become confined to the family sphere, particularly in agrarian activities and social rituals. From the perspective of Islamic law, Kutika may be interpreted ambivalently: it can be accepted as 'urf when functioning as empirical and experience-based knowledge yet becomes problematic when it contains determinative forms of divination approaching tathayyur and khurāfāt. This study highlights the importance of normative reinterpretation to ensure that local wisdom remains relevant without contradicting the principles of tawhīd.

Keywords: *Ancient Manuscript, Islamic Law, Local Wisdom, Lontara Kutika, North Luwu*

INTRODUCTION

In Bugis society, *Lontara* manuscripts function not only as historical records but also as repositories of collective memory that document the lived experiences of past generations. Consequently, they constitute important primary sources for understanding the historical, social, and cultural development of the Bugis community, as

well as its broader contribution to the sociocultural history of Sulawesi. More fundamentally, *Lontara* manuscripts embody the intellectual heritage of the Bugis people by preserving local knowledge, cultural values, worldviews, and systems of belief through written tradition (Anugrah, 2021).

Over centuries, the Bugis community has transmitted numerous *Lontara* manuscripts covering diverse

domains of knowledge and social practice. Some manuscripts focus on particular fields of expertise. For example, *Lontara Pabbura'* documents medicinal plants and traditional healing methods; *Lontara Baddili' Lompo* discusses warfare strategies and weaponry; *Lontara Pangoriseng* records royal genealogies; while the *Alloping-Loping* manuscript primarily addresses maritime affairs and seafaring traditions.

This study specifically examines the *Kutika* manuscript, a traditional text concerned with temporal calculation and prognostication. *Kutika* functions as a guideline for determining auspicious times for conducting traditional ceremonies and contains astronomical and astrological symbols associated with agricultural activities (Warisanbudaya.kemdikbud.go.id, 2023).

The *Kutika* manuscripts found in Tandung Village are derivative copies whose origins can be traced to the Jambi region. The oldest known manuscript is currently preserved by H. Nandu and has subsequently been transcribed multiple times by other residents of Tandung Village for religious and spiritual purposes. The manuscript consists of astrological diagrams, daily temporal divisions indicating auspicious periods, and selected *dzikir* (Islamic devotional recitations). Similar to broader Muslim devotional traditions, the manuscript reflects a strong association with *baca-baca*, a ritual recitation practice perceived as a source of spiritual protection and inner well-being within the wider framework of Islamic praxis. Consequently, both the transcription and recitation of the manuscript are believed to generate *maslahah* (spiritual and communal benefit) for its practitioners.

This study examines the *Lontara Kutika* manuscripts found in Tandung Village, Malangke Subdistrict, North Luwu Regency. In this area, four *Kutika* manuscripts were identified, belonging to H. Nandu, H. Tanjeng, H. Tabe, and Sukardi. For many years, these manuscripts have functioned as important practical guides for their owners and families, particularly in determining appropriate times for agricultural planting and other life activities. Accordingly, this study

addresses three main research questions: (1) What is the historical background of the composition and transmission of the *Kutika* manuscript in Tandung Village, Malangke Subdistrict? (2) How is the *Kutika* manuscript interpreted within the local community of Malangke Subdistrict? and (3) How is the *Kutika* understood from the perspective of Islamic law?

The answers to these questions are expected to contribute a new perspective to the existing body of scholarship. This study advances two principal arguments. First, ancient manuscripts play an important role in preserving cultural identity by serving as historical witnesses that illuminate the origins, traditions, and values of past societies. Second, as historical sources, such manuscripts provide distinctive insights into past events and patterns of social life. The study and continued use of these manuscripts not only complement and refine existing historical records but also reveal dimensions of social and cultural history that may otherwise remain undocumented.

Literature Review

Previous studies have examined *Kutika* manuscripts from various perspectives, including ecology, astrology, and traditional temporal calculation. Rahmatia's (2020) *Kutika Ugi' Sakke Rupa: An Ecophenomenological Study of Bugis Agricultural Techniques* explores the relationship between the Bugis community and the natural environment through an ecophenomenological reading of the *Kutika Ugi' Sakke Rupa* manuscript. In addition to its theoretical analysis, the study also contributes to manuscript preservation through the inventory, transliteration, transcription, and interpretation of the text.

Another important contribution is *Astrology: The Bugis Book of Prophecies*, compiled by Nor Sidin and colleagues (2020). This work compiles various *Kutika* manuscripts that remain accessible today and discusses the different forms of *Kutika* historically used by the Bugis people in everyday life. The study highlights the continuing

relevance of *Kutika* as part of Bugis cultural knowledge and traditional practices.

A related discussion appears in Sartika's article, *Time Calculation Methods of the Bugis Makassar Tribe Based on the Kutika Book*, which employs a descriptive-analytical approach to trace the historical roots of temporal calculation practices among the Bone community. The study demonstrates the enduring influence of traditional timekeeping systems preserved in *Kutika* manuscripts. Scholarly attention to this subject can be traced back to B.F. Matthes, who in 1868 documented tables illustrating daily temporal divisions and their associated meanings.

Another relevant study is the journal article entitled *Scientific-Sufistic Thought of the Bugis People in the Kutika Ugi' Sakke Rupa Manuscript*, which presents a philological analysis of the *Kutika Ugi' Sakke Rupa* manuscript (KUSR). Similar to the *Kutika* manuscripts found in North Luwu, the manuscript contains astrological tables used to determine auspicious and inauspicious days. Conducted by Rahmatia from the University of Indonesia and Abdullah Maulani from Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta, the study offers a detailed examination of the manuscript's textual characteristics and historical background. Their findings provide an important scholarly reference for understanding the intellectual and cultural dimensions of the *Kutika* tradition and serve as a significant foundation for the present study.

Conceptual Framework

Roger M. Keesing (1974) conceptualizes culture as a system of shared knowledge and meanings expressed through symbols that guide human behavior and social action. In this perspective, culture develops as an adaptive system that enables communities to organize and sustain their lives. This conceptualization is particularly relevant to the *Kutika* manuscripts, which contain calendrical systems, weather and climate predictions, agricultural timing,

astronomical signs, and classifications of auspicious and inauspicious days. These elements represent accumulated forms of local knowledge derived from long-term observation and experience, encoded through symbolic media such as *Lontara* script, Arabic terminology, and oral explanations. Collectively, they function as a cognitive framework through which communities interpret time, nature, and the cosmos.

Similarly, Roy Rappaport (1968) and Clifford Geertz (1973) argue that rituals and religious symbols perform important practical and social functions within society. In the context of *Kutika*, symbolic references, such as associations between particular dates and prophetic events, Qur'anic cosmology, and *dzikir* or *baca-baca* traditions, should not merely be understood as forms of superstition. Rather, they serve to organize communal life, regulate psychological and social behavior, and provide religious legitimacy for everyday decision-making, including the determination of appropriate times for travel and agricultural activities. Through this symbolic system, *Kutika* also promotes cautious and sustainable patterns of social practice.

Building upon Keesing's perspective, as well as the theory of cultural evolution developed by Robert Boyd and Peter J. Richerson (1985), *Kutika* may be understood as a non-genetic repository of adaptive knowledge. The manuscript preserves systems of astronomical timekeeping, locally adapted agricultural calendars, and spiritual guidelines for assessing risk and uncertainty. In this sense, *Kutika* forms part of a broader system of cultural inheritance that enables communities to adapt to their environment without having to rediscover essential knowledge in each generation.

James A. Wertsch (2002) further explains cultural transmission as a mediated process in which knowledge is conveyed through texts, symbols, authority figures, and collective memory rather than through direct imitation alone. From this perspective, the *Lontara Kutika* functions as a cultural instrument through which temporal knowledge and Islamic values are transmitted within the

community of Tandung Village. Its authority derives not only from the manuscript itself but also from the role of elders and manuscript custodians who interpret, preserve, and adapt its contents in response to contemporary social and religious contexts. The variations found among different *Kutika* manuscripts, as well as their modern reinterpretations, demonstrate that this body of knowledge remains dynamic, negotiated, and continuously reconstructed rather than fixed or mechanically reproduced.

Culture itself reflects an ongoing process of interaction and exchange among different traditions and systems of knowledge. In this regard, both Islamic and Bugis traditions have developed through continuous encounters with other cultural influences. As Syamsurijal (2020) argues, every cultural community contains elements derived from multiple cultural sources, shaping complex and evolving forms of social and religious expression.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach to examine and document the research object based on the data collected during the study. The research primarily adopts a library research method, in which data are gathered from books, manuscripts, and relevant audiovisual sources. Field research was conducted in Tandung Village, the location where the *Kutika* manuscripts are preserved and practiced within the local community.

The primary data consist of several *Lontara Kutika* manuscripts owned by local residents, namely H. Nandu, H. Tanjeng, H. Tabe, and Sukardi. Additional data were obtained from the manuscript owners and their family members to explore how the knowledge contained in the manuscripts is interpreted and applied in everyday life.

This study integrates three analytical approaches. First, a historical approach is employed to examine the origins and historical background of the *Kutika* manuscripts. Second, an anthropological approach is used to understand the cultural practices associated with the manuscripts and their

development within the community. Third, a philological approach is applied to analyze the manuscripts as textual artifacts, including their contents, forms, and patterns of transmission.

Data were collected through observation and in-depth interviews. Observation was conducted to understand both the physical characteristics of the manuscripts and their practical use within the community. Interviews were carried out with relevant informants to obtain primary information regarding the transmission, interpretation, and social function of the manuscripts. The collected data were subsequently analyzed using a descriptive-analytical method.

DISCUSSION

The History of the Transcription of the *Kutika* Manuscript in Tandung Village

In Tandung Village, four *Lontara* manuscripts identified as *Kutika* texts were documented. These manuscripts belonged to H. Nandu (d. 2008), H. Tanjeng (d. 2023), H. Tabe (d. 2013), and Sukardi. All four manuscripts are derivative copies originating from Jambi, a region historically associated with Bugis migration since at least the fifteenth century due to its strategic economic importance (Makmur Haji Harun, 2013). Migration to Jambi continued during the lifetimes of the manuscript owners and contributed not only to the formation of economic networks but also to the circulation and transmission of religious manuscripts among Bugis communities.

The earliest identifiable stage in the transmission of the *Kutika* manuscript in Tandung Village can be traced to H. Nandu. During his residence in Jambi, he copied the manuscript from H. Daeng Majetta, a figure remembered by local informants as a respected Islamic scholar, although little biographical information about him survives beyond the mention of his name in the manuscript itself (Hj. Subaidah, 2023). In 1989, H. Nandu returned to Tandung Village and brought the manuscript with him. His version, comprising 152 pages written in both *Lontara* and Arabic scripts, represents the most complete *Kutika* manuscript currently found in the village. Although parts of the manuscript have deteriorated due to age, it has been preserved and re-bound by his family. In

addition to the *Kutika* text, H. Nandu's personal collection also contained manuscripts on *dzikir*, *ṭarīqa*, and *shalawat*, indicating that the *Kutika* circulated within a broader tradition of Islamic devotional and spiritual knowledge.

Around 1976, H. Nandu produced a copy of the *Kutika* manuscript for H. Tanjeng. Consisting of only 36 pages, this manuscript represents a selective transcription of the longer version owned by H. Nandu. Although the reasons behind this selectivity cannot be determined with certainty, it indicates an early process of adaptation based on practical needs or the perceived relevance of particular contents. After returning to Tandung Village, H. Tanjeng actively employed the *Kutika* in everyday life, and among the families who possess these manuscripts, his household remains the most consistently engaged in its practical application.

In 1987, H. Tanjeng's manuscript was copied for H. Tabe by Sukardi, H. Tanjeng's son. This 56-page version includes additional devotional materials such as *dzikir* and *shalawat*, reflecting the close relationship between *Kutika* knowledge and other Islamic devotional texts. Sukardi later produced his own 82-page version by simplifying and paraphrasing parts of the text according to his understanding. This interpretative process marks a shift from textual reproduction toward reinterpretation. Beyond these four principal manuscripts, photocopied versions also circulate among extended family members and villagers, demonstrating an open mode of transmission through which religious knowledge continues to be shared and adapted within the community.

Interpretation of the *Kutika* Text in Tandung Village

The interpretation of the *Kutika* text in this study primarily relies on the manuscript owned by H. Tanjeng due to the greater accessibility of the manuscript and the relative ease of transliteration and translation. Its textual content is also largely consistent with that of H. Nandu's manuscript. The manuscripts belonging to H. Tabe and Sukardi are used as comparative sources for both textual content and interpretation.

Meanwhile, sections found exclusively in H. Nandu's manuscript are not interpreted in this study because current manuscript holders no longer engage with these sections in practice, and only limited informants remain who can explain their meaning and function.

As a text concerned with the qualitative calculation of time, the *Lontara Kutika* functions as a practical guide for manuscript holders in organizing everyday life. Its continued use reflects both respect for ancestral knowledge and a pragmatic belief that *Kutika* provides order, guidance, and convenience in daily activities. Although widely practiced among the Bugis, the *Kutika* system is not entirely indigenous. It incorporates broader astrological traditions that circulated throughout the archipelago during earlier periods. Beliefs regarding variations in the quality of time within a single day were also common across many societies at that time.

By the fourteenth century, *Kutika* had absorbed several Hindu-Buddhist elements. Concepts introduced through Hindu-Buddhist traditions gradually merged with Bugis predictive systems, including the eight-year cycle known as *separiyama*, which later became part of the Bugis calendrical system (B.F. Matthes, 1868). In addition, several terms found in *Kutika* reflect lexical borrowing from Sanskrit into Bugis. By the nineteenth century, Islamic influence had become increasingly integrated into many aspects of South Sulawesi society, including the *Kutika* tradition. Calendrical calculations that were previously based on solar systems gradually adapted to the Hijri lunar calendar, while Arabic vocabulary also began to appear in the manuscript texts (Rahmatia and Abdullah Maulani, 2021).

Understanding the social, economic, and temporal context surrounding the emergence of the *Kutika* is essential for explaining the formation of its predictive system. Based on its textual content and tabular structure, the *Kutika* contains various prescriptions and prohibitions related to *mattaneng* (planting), *mallaleng* (traveling), *botting* (marriage), *jokka menre* (upward journeys), *enre bola* (moving house), trade activities, weather patterns, and meetings with local rulers (*arung*). In practice, the

Kutika reflects the worldview of an agrarian society whose livelihood depended heavily on weather conditions and seasonal stability. The manuscript also provides guidance on auspicious times for meeting local leaders, who were still addressed as *arung*. More broadly, the *Kutika* portrays a relatively simple social order in which major life activities centered on agriculture, marriage, relocation, trade, and long-distance travel.

The *Kutika* manuscript owned by H. Tanjeng is divided into several sections (*pasal*):

1) *Kutika pakitta esso*

The most common format found among the various *Kutika* manuscripts examined in this study is represented in Table 1. Its structure is relatively consistent and consists of five divisions of daily time. The vertical rows correspond to the seven days of the week, while the horizontal row at the bottom represents divisions of the day: *ele* (morning, 06:00–08:00), *abueng* (late morning, 08:00–11:00), *tengngaesso* (midday, 11:00–12:00), *loro* (afternoon, 12:00–15:00), and *assara* (late afternoon, 15:00–18:00) (Sartika, 2023).

Table 1. *Kutika pakitta esso/kutika lima*

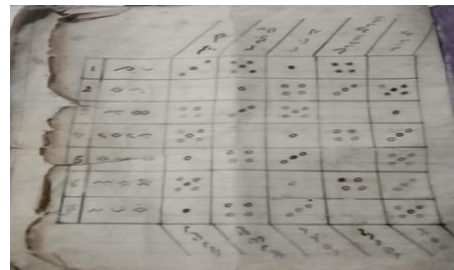
	Uju	Mallise	Maddua	Pole bola	Lobbang
Friday	●●●	●●●	●	●●	
Saturday		●	●●●	●●	●●●
Sunday	●●●	●●	●●●		●
Monday	●●●		●	●●	●●
Tuesday	●	●●	●●		●●●
Wednesday	●●●		●	●●	●●
Thursday	●	●●	●●		●●●
	<i>Ele (pagi)</i>	<i>Abueng (siang)</i>	<i>Tengngaesso (tengah hari)</i>	<i>Loro (sihari)</i>	<i>Assara (sihate)</i>

Source: Data Analysis

The upper horizontal row contains indicators representing the qualitative character of time within a single day. For example, *uju* denotes a period during

which important activities are discouraged because it is believed to carry a high risk of misfortune, accidents, or other adverse events. *Maddara* refers to a condition associated with injury or bloodshed (B.F. Matthes, 1872). In contrast, *mallise* signifies an auspicious period in which activities are believed to bring success or good fortune, metaphorically described as “returning with full hands.” Meanwhile, *lobbang* represents a neutral condition, whereas *pole bola* implies that anything taken out of the house will return in the same condition. In commercial contexts, this signifies a situation in which a person neither gains profit nor suffers loss, effectively breaking even (Nor Sidin, 2020). The original form of the *Kutika pakitta esso* found in H. Tanjeng’s manuscript can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1. *Kutika pakitta esso* in H. Tanjeng’s manuscript



Source: Personal document

2) *Nahase Maraja*

In H. Tanjeng’s manuscript, no direct explanation is provided regarding the meaning of *nahase*. Among the three manuscripts examined in this study, the entries related to *nahase maraja* are generally consistent, although minor variations appear in the placement of certain dates. A similar *nahase* table is also found in the *Kutika Ugi’ Sakke Rupa* manuscript owned by Abdul Wahab. According to Rahmatia, the Bugis interpret *nahase* as days possessing unfavorable or inauspicious qualities during which important activities should be avoided. The specific *nahase maraja* dates recorded for each month in H. Tanjeng’s manuscript can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. *Nahase Maraja*

<i>NAHASE MARAJAE</i>	
MUHARRAM	12 ompona nahase marajai
SAFAR	10 ompona nahase marajai

RABU'UL AWAL	7 ompona nahase marajai
RABIUL AKHIR	8 ompona nahase marajai
JUMADIL AWAL	2 ompona nahase marajai
JUMADIL AKHIR	20 ompona nahase marajai
RAJAB	12 ompona nahase marajai
SA'BAN	8 ompona nahase marajai
RAMADHAN	27 ompona nahase marajai
SYAWAL	28 ompona nahase marajai
ZULKALDAH	20 ompona nahase marajai
ZULHIJJAH	8 ompona nahase marajai

Source: Data Analysis

The *Kutika* manuscript states:

“*Pasal pasaleng panesaengi naiya riyasenge luwang'e/ iyamato riyaseng sina mate/ makuli-kuling ri lalenna seulengnge/ pegi- pegi esso nakena/ aja' lalo mulaowangngi nasaba majaa ritu/ nariyisenge nakase loppo sisengi ri lalena seulengnge/ maserro majaa to riyappo gaukeng agi-agi maelo ripugau sabba rakengi ri laleng*”

Translation:

This section explains/ what is referred to as *luwang'e*/ also known as *sina mate* (day of death)/ which circulates throughout the month/ on particular days / one should not go out because it is considered an inauspicious day/ the so-called *nahase maraja* (great misfortune) appears only once a month/ activities conducted on that day/ will lead to harm/ because the unlucky influence associated with it/.

3) *Separiyama*

Separiyama is an eight-year cyclical calendar system influenced by Hindu-Buddhist traditions introduced to South Sulawesi through trade networks associated with the Majapahit Kingdom. Its calculations are based on the *hisab urf* method, a traditional observational system whose canonization process may have taken between 50 and 100 years.

Over time, *Separiyama* became integrated into the Bugis calendrical tradition and gradually adapted to the Islamization of Bugis society. Month names were replaced with Hijri calendar terminology, and the system eventually shifted from solar to lunar calculation.

The *Separiyama* cycle consists of eight years named Alepu, Ha, Jim, Za, Daleng Riolo, Ba, Wau, and Daleng Rimonri. Each year contains 12 Hijri months listed in the left column, while the right column indicates the appearance of the new moon for each month (Rahmatia and Abdullah Maulani, 2021). The structure of the eight-year *Separiyama* cycle can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3. *Separiyama* Eight-Year cycle

Taung Alepu

Muharram	<i>Salasa na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Safar	<i>Kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Rabu'ul awal	<i>Juma na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Rabiul akhir	<i>Aha na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Jumadil awal	<i>aseneng na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Jumadil akhir	<i>Araba na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Rajab	<i>Kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Sa'ban	<i>Sattu na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Ramadhan	<i>aha na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Syawal	<i>salasa na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Zulkaidah	<i>araba na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Zulhijjah	<i>juma na ompo</i> (falls on friday)

Taung Ha

Muharram	<i>Sattu na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Safar	<i>aseneng na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Rabu'ul awal	<i>salasa na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Rabiul akhir	<i>kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Jumadil awal	<i>juma na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Jumadil akhir	<i>aha na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Rajab	<i>aseneng na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Sa'ban	<i>araba na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Ramadhan	<i>kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Syawal	<i>sattu na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Zulkaidah	<i>aha na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Zulhijjah	<i>salasa na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)

Taung Jim

Muharram	<i>kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Safar	<i>sattu na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Rabu'ul awal	<i>aha na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Rabiul akhir	<i>salasa na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Jumadil awal	<i>araba na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Jumadil akhir	<i>juma na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Rajab	<i>sattu na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Sa'ban	<i>aseneng na ompo</i> (falls on monday)

Ramadhan	<i>salasa na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Syawal	<i>kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Zulkaidah	<i>juma na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Zulhijjah	<i>aha na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)

Taung Za

Muharam	<i>Aseneng na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Safar	<i>Araba na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Rabu`ul awal	<i>Kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Rabiul akhir	<i>Sattu na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Jumadil awal	<i>Aha na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Jumadil akhir	<i>Salasa na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Rajab	<i>Arabai na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Sa`ban	<i>Jumai na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Ramadhan	<i>Sattui na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Syawal	<i>Aseneng na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Zulkaidah	<i>Salasai na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Zulhijjah	<i>Kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)

Taung Daleng Riolo

Muharram	<i>Jumai na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Safar	<i>Ahai na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Rabu`ul awal	<i>Aseneng`i na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Rabiul akhir	<i>Arabai na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Jumadil awal	<i>Kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Jumadil akhir	<i>Sattui na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Rajab	<i>Ahai na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Sa`ban	<i>Salasai na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Ramadhan	<i>Arabai na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Syawal	<i>Jumai na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Zulkaidah	<i>Sattui na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Zulhijjah	<i>Aseneneng`I na ompo</i> (falls on monday)

Taung Ba

Muharram	<i>Arabai na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Safar	<i>Jumai na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Rabu`ul awal	<i>Sattui na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Rabiul akhir	<i>Aseneng`i na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Jumadil awal	<i>Salasai na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Jumadil akhir	<i>Kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Rajab	<i>Jumai na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Sa`ban	<i>Ahai na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Ramadhan	<i>Aseneng na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Syawal	<i>Arabai na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Zulkaidah	<i>Kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Zulhijjah	<i>Sattui na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)

Taung Wau

Muharram	<i>Ahai na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Safar	<i>Salasai na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Rabu`ul awal	<i>Arabai na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Rabiul akhir	<i>Aseneng`i na ompo</i> (falls on monday)

Jumadil awal	<i>Sattui na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Jumadil akhir	<i>Aseneng`i na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Rajab	<i>Salasai na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Sa`ban	<i>Kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Ramadhan	<i>Sattui na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Syawal	<i>Ahai na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Zulkaidah	<i>Aseneng`i na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Zulhijjah	<i>Arabai na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)

Taung Daleng Rimunri

Muharram	<i>Jumai na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Safar	<i>Ahai na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Rabu`ul awal	<i>Aseneng`i na ompo</i> (falls on monday)
Rabiul akhir	<i>Arabai na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Jumadil awal	<i>Kammisi na ompo</i> (falls on thursday)
Jumadil akhir	<i>Sattui na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Rajab	<i>Ahai na ompo</i> (falls on sunday)
Sa`ban	<i>Salasai na ompo</i> (falls on tuesday)
Ramadhan	<i>Arabai na ompo</i> (falls on wenesday)
Syawal	<i>Jumai na ompo</i> (falls on friday)
Zulkaidah	<i>Sattui na ompo</i> (falls on saturday)
Zulhijjah	<i>Asenenng`i na ompo</i> (falls on monday)

This table appears consistently across all four manuscripts, although Sukardi's version contains several additional details. For example, the year Daleng Riolo is identified as the year Alif Lam (ل), while Daleng Rimonri is marked with the letter Dal (د). Unlike the other three manuscripts, Sukardi's manuscript also includes Gregorian year annotations for each *Separiyama* year. The page for the year Alif (ل) is marked with the year 1998 in the upper-right corner, while the year Ha (ه) is associated with 1999. This numbering pattern continues throughout the cycle, with the final year, Daleng Rimonri, corresponding to 2005.

The manuscript itself, however, does not explain how to determine the current year within the *Separiyama* cycle. Traditionally, such knowledge depended on the memory and transmission of manuscript owners or custodians. In Sukardi's case, it appears that this information was not fully inherited from the previous manuscript holder.

Knowledge of the *Separiyama* cycle nevertheless remains partially preserved within the Bugis community. Some elderly residents of Tandung Village still recognize the eight-year cycle and associate certain years with particular characteristics. For instance, the year Ba is commonly known as the *Balawo*

year, believed to indicate poor harvests as if crops were consumed by rats (*balawo*). Similarly, the year Za is often associated with an increased number of deaths.

Today, *Separiyama* in Tandung Village largely survives as a cultural memory rather than a functioning calendrical system. Its practical use has gradually disappeared, and the cycle is mainly preserved through local expressions such as “the *Balawo* year,” which is used to describe difficult agricultural periods (Hj. Kone, 2023). One of the few individuals who still retains a detailed understanding of the *Separiyama* cycle is Hj. Santaliyah, the widow of H. Tanjeng, who continues to preserve the teachings contained in her late husband’s manuscript. During an interview conducted in November 2023, she explained that the *Separiyama* cycle at that time corresponded to the month of Jumadil Awwal in the year Jim.

Sukardi himself learned about the *Separiyama* calendar from H. Nawire in Bone in 1998, when he was informed that the year corresponded to Ha (Sukardi, 2023). Based on this information, Sukardi aligned the annual sequence with the table in his manuscript, creating a distinctive feature absent from the other copies. However, his interpretation overlooked an important distinction: the Bugis *Separiyama* calendar follows the lunar-based Hijri system, whereas the Gregorian calendar is solar-based. Consequently, 1 Muharram and 1 January can never fully coincide, creating potential discrepancies between the two calendrical systems.

4) *Ompona uleng’e*

Pannesaing’i ompo na uleng’e

(Explanation of the appearance of the new moon/*hilar*)

The following entries outline the predicted qualities associated with each date in the lunar month and their implications for various social, economic, and ritual activities.

1. ***Makessing’i mangoloki riarung’e nennia mattaneng nennia mallaleng’e***
(Auspicious for meeting the king, farm, and travel).
2. ***Makesseing’i riallalengeng makessing’i lao lesu enreng’e riattaneng tanengeng nennia de namakessing massuroki ki tau***
(Favorable for travel and farming, but unfavorable for sending others on errands).
3. ***Tellu ompo na uleng’e majamaneng’i ripugau***
(The third night of the lunar month is considered inauspicious for all activities).
4. ***Makessemaneng’i tungke tungke gaue rikawingeng riattaneng tanengeng rienrekeng bola baru nennia mangolo riarung’e majai to mallaleng mabela***
(Favorable for all activities, including marriage, farming, moving into a new house, and meeting the king, but unfavorable for long-distance travel).
5. ***Makessing’i rikawingeng majai ripammulai mappallaung***
(Favorable for marriage, but unfavorable for starting new work).
6. ***Makessing’i riappessureng dara makessing najajiang ana masempo dallei majai jokka malaleng***
(Favorable for bloodletting; children born on this day are believed to become wealthy, but travel is discouraged).
7. ***Makessing riallalengeng majai nalao menre***
(Favorable for travel, but unfavorable for uphill journeys).
8. ***Makessing’i rienrekeng bola nennia riabottingeng nennia riattaneng tanengeng majai riallalengeng riappallaungeng mabela***
(Favorable for moving house, marriage, and farming, but unfavorable for long-distance travel and work-related activities).
9. ***Makessing’i riallalengeng majai ripugau rilainnae allaleng’e koromai sininna pallaung pallaung’e narekko najajian ana madorakai ritoduae pajajianna***
(Favorable for travel, but unfavorable for other travel-related undertakings. A child born on this day is believed to potentially disobey their parents).
10. ***Makessing’i rilaleng’e riattaneng tanengeng enreng’e rikawingeng rienrekeng bola agi agi ripugau makessing maneng’i nasaba elona Allah taala***
(Favorable for farming, marriage, moving house, and all activities carried out by the will of God).

11. *Makessing'i ribottingeng nennia riattaneng taneng'i majai ripugau palao mabela narekko najajiang'i ana masempo dallei natiroattoi deceng riduae pajajianna ripuang Allah taala*
(Favorable for marriage and farming, but unfavorable for long-distance travel. A child born on this day is believed to bring blessings to their parents by the will of God).
12. *Majai riاللengeng naekia makessing'i rilaling'e nennia ripatetongi bola narekko najajiang'i ana pallasang'i naekia masittammui majappa*
(Unfavorable for travel, but favorable for house construction. A child born on this day is believed to be physically weak but recover quickly from illness).
13. *Majai riappogaukeng tungke tungke gaue oncopahw mallaleng'e janaripugau*
(Unfavorable for ceremonies, rituals, and most forms of travel).
14. *Makessing'i ripugau tungke tungke gaue narekko rijokkang'i mallolongekki dalle masagena narekko isompereng'i maettapi nappa lonrewe*
(Favorable for all kinds of work. Travel may bring considerable fortune, although migration is believed to result in a long delay before returning home).
15. *Makessing'i riاللengeng enreng'e rikawingeng ribottingi riabbolang rienrekeng bola baru sininna pallaung pallaung'e makessing maneng'i ripugau narekko najajiang'i ana masempo dallei nasaba elona puang'e*
(Favorable for travel, marriage, construction, moving into a new house, and all forms of work. A child born on this day is believed to become prosperous by God's will).
16. *Majai risininna pallaung pallaung'e nakarena nasiturusinna to panritae huka agamae nahaseneng'i nahaseng marajai*
(Unfavorable for all activities according to religious scholars, as it is considered a major inauspicious day).
17. *Makessing'i riappalaung riarung'e enreng'e ripala makessittoi rikawingeng narekko risompereng'i napasiduppaki abalae sussae naekia ko sabbarakki rilongemmui alabangeng narekko riattaneng taneng'i majai naderiduppa*
(Favorable for serving the king and for marriage. Migration may involve hardship, but patience is believed to bring rewards. Farming, however, is considered unfavorable).
18. *Majai risompereng majato rikawingeng maja maneng'i rienrekeng bola*
(Unfavorable for migration, marriage, and moving house).
19. *Majai riاللengeng rikawingeng maja maneng'i*
(Unfavorable for travel, marriage, and nearly all activities).
20. *Sininna jama jamang ritanae makessing maneng'i ripugau enreng'e jokka jokkang'e mabbarakka maneng'i naekia majai risompereng mabela ladde nennia rikawingeng rienrekeng bola maja maneng'i*
(Favorable for all agricultural activities and travel, but unfavorable for long-distance migration, marriage, and moving house).
21. *Ompona agi agi ripugau maja maneng'i rilainnaritu nasimaturusi to panritae hakue nahaseng maraja ritu*
(Unfavorable for all activities, as confirmed by religious scholars, because it is regarded as a major inauspicious day).
22. *Agi agi ripugau makessing maneng'i anu maeloe ripugau*
(All forms of work and activity are considered favorable).
23. *Makessing'i ritu ritungke-tungke gaue*
(All activities undertaken on this day are regarded as auspicious).
24. *Majai ripugau ritungke tungke gaue nennia riاللeng'e nennia riattaneng taneng'e maja maneng'i*
(Unfavorable for all activities, including travel and farming).
25. *Maja maneng'i pallaung'e riappatetongeng bola rikawingeng risompereng maja maneng'i narekko najajiang'i ana teai nengkalinga pangaja ritomatuanna*
(Unfavorable for house construction, marriage, and migration. A child born

on this day is believed to disobey their parents).

26. ***Narekko riallaleng'i iyarega risompereng'i iyarega riattaneng taneng'i ritetongeng bola rienrekeng bola baru maja maneng'i narekko nasitjuang'i aseneng marommottoi mapeddi***
(Unfavorable for travel, migration, farming, and construction. If this day falls on a Monday, it is believed that illness may arise).
27. ***Makessing'i riallaleng'i nasaba rilolongeng'i alabang'e naekia maettapi nappa tonrewe majai rikawing'i rilalennaritu***
(Favorable for travel because it is associated with prosperity, although returning home may take a long time. Marriage is considered unfavorable).
28. ***Makessing riappamulang mabbalu nennia mangelli makessing'i rikawingi narekko najaian ana sogi'i ritu nasaba elona puang Allah taala***
(Favorable for beginning trade and commercial activities, as well as marriage. A child born on this day is believed to become wealthy by God's will).
29. ***Ompona makessing maneng'i loe ripugau ritetongeng bola rienrekeng bola baru rienrekeng bolana arung mangkaue mallaleng risompereng mabela namacawe riattateng tanengeng riappammulang mabbalu makessing maneng'i najajian ana sogi'i masempo dallei***
(Favorable for all activities, including moving house, travel, farming, and starting trade. A child born on this day is believed to become wealthy and prosperous).
30. ***Ompona uleng'e agi agi ripugau makessing maneng'i tungke tungke gaue riassuruang duta rikawingeng mallaleng makessing maneng'itu***
(All activities are considered favorable on this night, including marriage proposals, weddings, and travel).

Wallahu a'lam

Unlike other forms of *kutika*, which are generally applied to a broad range of activities, the *Kutika Ompona Uleng'e* specifically focuses on predicting auspicious and inauspicious times. It provides guidance on activities considered

important in the social context of its use, including travel, sending messengers, marriage, long-distance journeys, farming, moving house, visiting an *arung* (noble leader), work, and childbirth. Each number in the text represents a specific date in the Hijri month used to determine the suitability of particular activities.

One example of the practical use of this *kutika* can be seen in the experience of Hj. Santaliyah, who held a *selamatan* (communal thanksgiving ritual) for her child's upcoming *umrah* pilgrimage. The ceremony was scheduled according to the favorable value associated with a particular Hijri date. It was held on Friday, 31 May 2024, corresponding to the 23rd of *Dhu al-Qa'dah*. On this date, the manuscript states: "Makessing'i ritu ritungke-tungke gaue" ("all activities are considered auspicious on this day"), indicating that actions undertaken on that date are believed to be free from negative influences.

5) *Bicaranna taung'e*

"Panessaeing'i bicaranna pattaung'e"
(Explanation of yearly calculations)

Narekko taung alepui (!) nasaro lempenna tettemmui bosinna malise kiappataung'e labia padangkang'e yallaue mabela labatoi pabbalu balue mabbuato ai ajukajung'e
(Always flooding, steady rainfall intensity, a prosperous year, profitable for traveling retailers, plants bear fruit).

Narekko taung hai (•) Maseroi kecce'e maponcoi bosie malomokiya pole pattaneng taneng'e makurang buana ajukakung'e lele saiye rogi'i padangkang'e iya laoe mabela rogitoi pabbalu balue naekiya taung memanna rilaleng wanuwae
(Very cold air, short rainy season, abundant crop yields, few fruit-bearing plants, "lele saiye", losses for long-distance traders and also for local sellers, but there will be many births in the village).

Narekko taung jim (☾) masero kecce'e maponcoi bosinna madodong pattaung'e makurang buana ajukajung'e rugi'i padangkang'e enreng'e pabbalu balu'e
(Very cold air, short rainy season, "madodong pattaung'e" [a poor harvest

year], low plant productivity, losses for both traders and vendors).

Tahun za (J) masero kecce'e malampe bosinna maseroi lempenna makanre balawoe makapai ase sollui buana, ajukajung'e lelei saiye rogi'i padangkang'e lao mabela enreng'e topa pabbalu balue rilaleng impanna
(Very cold air, long rainy season, constant flooding, rats eat the crops, rice yields are poor, fruits fall off trees, "lele saie", losses for both long-distance and local merchants).

Narekko taung daleng riyoloi tettemui bosinna makurang lempenna sollui pattaung'e lele saie mabbua ajukajung'e
(Rainfall is consistent, flooding is rare, leaf-shedding year, "lele saie", fruit-bearing plants).

Narekko taung ba (↔) maponco bosinna makurang lempenna matei ase maega tau memmana rilaleng mpanna makurang buana ajukajung'e labai padangkang'e iya laoe mabela
(Short rainy season, rare flooding, failed rice crops, many births, low fruit yield, profit for traders who travel far).

Narekko taung wau (J) masero keccenna malampe bosinna makanre balawoe enreng'e ule'e tengngamui pattaung'e mabbua ajukajung'e masero lempenna rugi'i padangkang'e labai pabbalu balue
(Very cold air, long rainy season, rats and caterpillars consume crops, "tengngamui pataung'e" [likely describes fruit-bearing time], constant flooding, losses for traders, profit for vendors).

Narekko taung daleng rimunri madodong lempenna maseo keccena makapa toi ase mabbuai ajukajung'e lele saie rialeng mpanna disatta sattai arung'e makkatening'e kampong'e maega tau malasa maega to tau memmana rilaleng mpanna uruwane najaian taue labai padangkang'e iya laoe mabela enreng'e mappalele
(Rare flooding, very cold air, rice crops unproductive, fruit-bearing plants, "lele saie", the ruling king is not accepted by the community, many people fall ill, many male births, profit for both traveling and local traders).

Kutika emerged from long-term observations conducted over approximately 50 to 100 years. Through these observations, the Bugis developed an eight-year calendrical cycle known as *Separiyama*. In addition to temporal calculation, early Bugis communities also observed recurring weather patterns and incorporated them into a climatic cycle within the *Separiyama* system (Rahmatia and Abdullah Maulani, 2021).

These observations primarily focused on agricultural conditions, including crop productivity, pest outbreaks, and rainfall intensity. The system also provided information concerning trading prospects and the fertility of fruit-bearing plants, reflecting the close relationship between environmental knowledge and everyday economic life.

6) Nahas within a month (*Nahase Pitue*)
"Pannessaing'i nahase pitue rilalennasiuleng'e"
(Explanation of the 7 misfortunes within a month)

Unlike the misfortunes discussed in the previous section, this part specifically identifies seven inauspicious dates within a single month. Each date is associated with important events drawn from Islamic prophetic narratives:

3 mpenni ompona uleng'e nahasengi maraja majeppuna Nabi Adam ripassui risuruga naripaturung rilinoe.
(The 3rd day of the month is considered a major misfortune because it marks the day Prophet Adam was expelled from Paradise and descended to Earth).

5 mpenni ompona uleng'e nahasengi karana majeppuna Nabi Ibrahim riappiang'i muttama riapie.
(The 5th day of the month is regarded as inauspicious because Prophet Ibrahim was cast into the fire on that day).

13 Ompona uleng'e nahasengi karana majeppuna Nabi Ismail rigerei riakkarobang'i riambonna.
(The 13th day of the month is associated with misfortune because Prophet Ismail was nearly sacrificed by his father).

16 Ompona uleng'e nahasengi karana majeppuna Nabi Yusuf ribuang'i ko pada

orowanena.

(The 16th day of the month is considered inauspicious because Prophet Yusuf was thrown into a well by his brothers).

21 Ompona uleng'e nahaseng'i karana majeppuna Nabi Yunus riemmei ribale.

(The 21st day of the month is associated with misfortune because Prophet Yunus was swallowed by the whale).

24 na ulenge nahasengi karana majeppuna Nabi Nuh ritelleng'i lopinna riallataala ritasie.

(The 24th day of the month is regarded as inauspicious because Prophet Nuh's Ark was sealed by Allah Ta'ala).

25 Ompona uleng'e nahasengi karana majeppuna Nabi Sulaiman ripassui riallataala.

(The 25th day of the month is associated with misfortune because Prophet Sulaiman was removed from his position by Allah Ta'ala).

Cappu arabai nahase marajai karana majeppuna nabitta Muhammad saw ribuang'i rikapere'e riwettu mammusuna narisobbuna nabitta rialla taala rilaleng mpatue narireppina nabitta makkotoro naniniriwi panrita riolota bicaranna napesangkang'e nahaseng pitue rilalenna tungke tungke tassiuleng'e.

(The final Wednesday of the month is regarded as the greatest misfortune because it commemorates the event in which Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was attacked by disbelievers during battle and subsequently hidden by Allah Ta'ala in a cave. According to the manuscript, earlier Islamic scholars avoided these seven misfortunes, which were believed to recur every month).

Islamic Legal Analysis of the Use of the Kutika Manuscript in Tandung Village

An Islamic legal analysis of the use of the *Kutika* manuscript in Tandung Village must be situated within the epistemological framework of Islamic law, particularly the distinction between definitive (*qaṭ'ī*) and speculative (*ẓannī*) knowledge, as well as between permissible practices (*mubāḥ/maṣlahah*) and potentially deviant ones such as *tathayyur*. As a system of temporal prediction associating fortune and

misfortune with particular days, dates, and directions, *Kutika* resembles forms of *tathayyur* criticized in prophetic traditions because they may weaken the principle of *tawakkul* (reliance upon God) (Al-Qaradawi, 2001; Hallaq, 2009). When such predictions are believed to determine outcomes such as agricultural success or travel safety, they may approach belief in forces other than God as arbiters of destiny, which Islamic theology classifies as *khurāfāt* (Sulaiman, 2018). The issue becomes more problematic when *Kutika Separiyama* is used to determine the beginning of Ramadan or Eid al-Fitr, since Islamic law already prescribes methods based on *ru'yah* and *ḥisāb*, grounded in scriptural authority (Rohman, 2020; Anwar, 2019).

At the same time, Islamic legal analysis must also consider the concepts of *'urf* (local custom) and *maṣlahah*. To some extent, the use of *Kutika* as a supplementary guide for agrarian activities, such as determining planting and harvesting periods based on empirical observation, may be categorized as *tajribah* and therefore regarded as *mubāḥ*, provided it is not accompanied by the belief that certain times inherently possess supernatural qualities of fortune or misfortune (Kamali, 2008; Zuhdi, 2016). From this perspective, *Kutika* may be understood as a traditional ecological calendar consistent with the principle of *maṣlahah mursalah* because it offers practical benefits for agrarian communities. Nevertheless, field findings indicate that symbolic and divinatory elements remain dominant in the practices of Tandung Village, blurring the boundary between empirical knowledge and metaphysical belief. This condition requires a reconstruction of understanding to ensure that such practices remain consistent with the principles of *tawḥīd* and the rationality of Islamic law (Hidayat, 2021).

Moreover, the declining understanding of terms such as *nahase maraja* and *nahase pitue* reflects a disruption in knowledge transmission that may lead to semantic distortion. From the perspective of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, this condition requires *taḥqīq al-manāṭ* to assess the relevance and validity of a practice before it is preserved or continued (Auda, 2008). Accordingly, the continued use

of *Kutika* should be directed toward normative reinterpretation by distinguishing cultural values that may be maintained from belief elements that contradict Islamic doctrinal principles. This analysis contributes to discussions of Islamic legal pluralism by demonstrating that the relationship between local traditions and *sharī'a* norms is dynamic and requires an interdisciplinary approach (Azra, 2015; Bowen, 2003). Further research is therefore needed to explore more deeply the integration of local wisdom and Islamic law to formulate approaches that are both contextually responsive and normatively grounded.

CLOSING

The findings of this study show that the four *Lontara Kutika* manuscripts preserved in Tandung Village by H. Nandu, H. Tanjeng, H. Tabe, and Sukardi reflect not only the continuity of knowledge transmission within the Bugis migration network connected to Jambi since the fifteenth century, but also distinct textual and interpretive transformations introduced by each copyist. Among these manuscripts, H. Tanjeng's version functions as the primary reference in the reproduction of *Kutika* knowledge in Tandung Village, while Sukardi's manuscript represents a more adaptive stage of reinterpretation, although it has not yet developed into a fully systematic method. Structurally, *Kutika* consisting of *pakitta esso*, *hari nahas*, *separiyama*, and *ompona uleng* demonstrates a complex integration of Bugis local traditions, Hindu-Buddhist influences, and Islamic elements. Accordingly, *Kutika* should not be understood merely as a divinatory text, but as a temporal knowledge system shaped through historical acculturation and functioning as an adaptive mechanism through which agrarian communities respond to environmental and social uncertainty.

From the perspective of Islamic law, the findings indicate that *Kutika* occupies an ambivalent position between an accommodative cultural practice (*'urf*) and a potentially problematic belief system when interpreted as a deterministic guide to fate. Its practical and empirically based use, such as determining planting and harvesting periods through ecological

experience, may be categorized as *maṣlahah mursalah* and considered permissible, provided it is not accompanied by metaphysical beliefs that undermine the principle of *tawakkul*. However, when *Kutika* is used as a divinatory system that absolutely links temporal qualities with fortune or misfortune, including for determining religious observances such as the beginning of Ramadan, it may approach *tathayyur* and *khurāfāt*, both of which contradict the principle of *tawhīd*. Consequently, normative reinterpretation through the framework of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, particularly *taḥqīq al-manāt*, is necessary to distinguish adaptive cultural values from theologically problematic elements.

This study also finds that the social function of *Kutika* in Tandung Village has shifted from a communal practice to more limited use within family contexts, particularly in agricultural activities and social rituals. This transformation reflects both a decline in symbolic authority and a form of functional continuity. Within the framework of Islamic law, the phenomenon may be understood as a process of partial desacralization in which metaphysical beliefs gradually weaken while pragmatic practices persist. The main contribution of this study lies in strengthening the view that *Kutika* constitutes a dynamic system of local knowledge that requires an interdisciplinary approach combining philology, anthropology, and Islamic legal studies within the broader framework of legal pluralism. Nevertheless, this study is limited by the small number of informants possessing a comprehensive axiological understanding of the manuscripts. Future studies should therefore expand the geographical scope, undertake comparative research across Bugis communities, and further examine the relationship between local wisdom and Islamic legal principles to develop formulations that are contextually adaptive while remaining normatively grounded in Islamic law.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors would like to express their deepest gratitude to Hj. Santaliyah, Hj. Kone, and their extended families for generously granting access to their

manuscripts and for sharing their invaluable knowledge.

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