

Integration of Islamic Law and Customary Law on the Inheritance System of *Suku Anak Dalam* Muslim Converts

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Keywords: Integration, inheritance law, *Suku Anak Dalam*, Islamic law, customary law

Abstract: *Suku Anak Dalam* is one of the minority groups in Jambi, Indonesia, who practices animism and dynamism inherited from their ancestors. Since the last few decades, some groups that have settled convert to Islam. However, in the practice of religious rituals, there is a clash between Islamic law and customary law including in the inheritance subject. This study aims to reveal the implementation of inheritance law in the *Suku Anak Dalam* Muslim converts community and analyze the intersection between Islamic law and customary law in the regulation. This research is descriptive-analytical by using a sociological approach, while the data was collected through observation, interview, and documentation. The study shows that the integration model is still dominated by customary law as seen in the division time of inheritance, the causes of inheritance and the heirs, and the respective heirs. The distribution of inheritance is decided through a customary meeting attended by *Tumenggung* and *Tuo Tenggarai* or in some cases just based on the agreement among the heirs. In reality, the implementation of this inheritance system is considered fair and fully accepted by the heirs, so there is no conflict between them).

1 INTRODUCTION

The inheritance law is an important element in the society, especially in customary society because its implications are directly related to the social system's endowment, either at the level of the family and relatives or the society in general, even according to Syarifuddin, of all applicable laws in society, the law of marriage and inheritance defines and reflects the family system as well as part of civil law (Syarifuddin, 1999). As that important this legacy institution, almost all customary societies have their own distinctive system of inheritance which is different from one another (Ball, 1996; Tarigan, 2014).

However, the plurality of inheritance law in Indonesia often causes problems in its application. It is undeniable that the dualism of the inheritance division law between customary law and Islamic inheritance law becomes its dilemma because this issue is a social identity considered very important and complicated. The interaction between Islamic

and customary law in aspects of inheritance is something unavoids.

According to Lukito, the mixture of various values derived from the customary and Islamic law of inheritance is because some provisions in Islamic inheritance law accommodate the tenets of customary law (Lukito, 2008).

Historically, the interaction between Islamic law and customary law in Indonesia has begun since the Dutch colonial era. The application of Islamic law at this time led to various intersection theories, namely; First, the theory of *Receptio in Complexu* (the acceptance of Islamic law comprehensively) was introduced by C.F. Winter and Salomon Keyzer then followed by L.W.C. van Den Berg. Secondly, the theory of *Receptie* (the acceptance of Islamic law by customary law) was proposed by Snouck Hurgronje and followed by Van Vollenhoven. Third, the theory of *Receptio a Contrario* (the application of customary law as long as not contrary to Islamic law) was raised by Hazairin (Steenbrink, 1993; Sukiati, 2012; Sulistyarini et al., 2018).

Starting from those theories, for Muslims in the field of inheritance, it is very difficult to avoid the link between customary law and Islam. This is because in Islam, Muslims are not prohibited from accommodating the custom as long as it does not conflict with the main sources of Islamic law, namely Al Qur'an and hadith (Rosyadi and Ahmad, 2006).

The intersection between Islamic law and customary law also occurs in the implementation of inheritance law among *Suku Anak Dalam* converts. In practice, this can be seen at three aspects, namely: the division time of inheritance, the causes of inheritance and the heirs, and the respective heirs. In the time of inheritance division, *Suku Anak Dalam* people handle it in 2 (two) ways, namely: sharing the property before the heir dies, and after the heir dies. According to customary law, the inheritance can be applied, either after or before the heir dies through gift (*hibah*), and the testament (*wasiat*) is carried out after the seventh, fortieth, and hundredth days from the death, meanwhile, based on Islamic law, the division of property that is carried out after the heir dies as the principle of *ijbari* (imperative) contained in Islamic inheritance law.

Furthermore, related to the causes of inheritance and the heirs, for *Suku Anak Dalam*, the cause of inheritance are the marital relationship between husband and wife or vice versa, and the existence of the family, especially between children and parents. This practice has similarities to Islamic inheritance law. However, regarding of the heirs, *Suku Anak Dalam* places the child as the primary heirs.

The Integration between Islamic law and customary law also occurs in the term of respective heirs. Generally, the decree of male's part is twice as much as the female's, in principle equal to the decree contains in Islamic law, but there is no clear portion of the division to each heir, as ruled in Islamic Inheritance Law. Although this integration model is more dominated by customary law, the heirs fully accept and consider that this system is fair.

If examined, the integration between Islamic law and customary law in the practice of inheritance among *Suku Anak Dalam* people is greatly influenced by their belief in keeping up to the customs inherited by the ancestors.

There are many studies which state that the kinship line adopted by *Suku Anak Dalam* is matrilineal (the tracing of descent through the female line) (Malinowski, 1984). This opinion was confirmed by Lowie, that a sign of matrilineality; that they all descend from one common ancestor and

according to him, that *Suku Anak Dalam* are ancestors of the Minangkabau who are known for the matrilineal society (Benda-Beckmann, 2006; Berta, 2014).

Looking at the rules of *Suku Anak Dalam* inheritance, males do not have rights whatsoever to his matriline's assets. A male inherits from his mother's kin is when he wants to get married and needs help to pay the bride price. It is usually around 30 pieces of cloths (Berta, 2014).

For *Suku Anak Dalam* people, custom is not only tradition and norms, but it is also about the ways how they organize their lives traditionally. Custom is used and exists in all social interactions. Despite the belief, they have faithfully converted to Islam, but to remain recognized as part of *Orang Rimba* community, they have to have *Orang Rimba* religion. Unless, they cannot live in the *delom* (inside) community. Though *Orang Rimba* uses the term *agama* (religion), its term is actually used to describe their practices (Berta, 2014). In addition, their lack of understanding of Islam is also a cause of the customary and Islamic law mixture.

Some research studies related to the inheritance systems of some marginalized people in Indonesia have been studied quite a lot, even until now it still becomes an interesting issue to discuss, but there were no specific studies related to *Suku Anak Dalam* Muslim converts inheritance systems.

The followings are several studies mentioned previously *Kewarisan Adat Melayu-Siak Dengan Kewarisan Islam (Integration of Malay-Siak Customary Inheritance with the Islamic Inheritance)*, by Zikri Darussamin which stated that the integration of Malay-Siak customary inheritance with the Islamic inheritance occurs in: heirs, inheritance, and the distribution of inheritance. Furthermore, several factors supporting the integration are: custom, kinship system, and flexibility of Islamic inheritance law (Darussamin, 2012).

The study by Agus Sudaryanto entitled (*Integration of Customary Inheritance Law and Islamic Inheritance Law in Yogyakarta*) mentioned that the integration between Customary and Islamic inheritance law in Yogyakarta occurred in several aspects, namely: the causes of inheritance and heir, legacy time division, the division of the inheritance, the amount of inheritance and inheritance reasons. The reasons for the occurrence of integration process are deliberation, fairness, avoiding conflicts, policy of parents, tradition, Islamic law, sincerity, self-contained child and only son (Sudaryanto, 2016).

Then, a study by Asni Zubair et.al, *Integrasi Hukum Islam dan Hukum Adat Dalam Pewarisan Masyarakat Bugis Bone (Integration of Islamic Law and Customary Law in Bugis Bone Inheritance)* argues that the integration occurs in several forms, namely: assimilation, syncretic, acculturation, and legitimacy. Furthermore, integration of Islamic law and customary law in Bugis Community in Palakka District because: a. between Islamic law and customary law have interacted for a long time, complementary in addressing the legal needs of the community, b. Islamic law and customary law used as a reference and a major cornerstone in the division of the community estate, c. Islamic law and customary law into the legal awareness of the public to follow both of these rules, d. between Islamic law and customary law have a common vision and goal to bring peace to people's lives (Zubair et al., 2016).

Hasan Basri and Muhammad Azani in their study entitled *Inheritance Practice of Community Society in Bantan District, Bengkalis Regency Based on Islamic Law* emphasized that people in Bantan District misunderstood the principle of balanced justice which is considered to be contrary to the sense of justice for the heirs. They understand the principle of balanced justice should be in the same sense. Yet, the meaning of the principle is that each heir of both men and women has equal rights in the acquisition of inheritance rights (Basri and Azani, 2018).

Based on the understanding and religious practices of *Suku Anak Dalam* people, it is considered necessary to conduct this as an object of research especially discussing **Integration of Islamic Law and Customary Law on The Inheritance System of Suku Anak Dalam Muslim Converts**.

2 METHODS

This article is based on the results of the field research conducted in 2017 using a sociological approach. This research was conducted in Bungku Village, Bajubang Subdistrict, Batanghari District, Jambi Province for four (4) months, since April-August 2017. In this research, data collection instruments through observation, depth interview, and documentation. The informants were the elders and some *Suku Anak Dalam* residents, while additional information was obtained from the religious leader who spreads Islam among *Suku Anak Dalam* people.

3 DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

Suku Anak Dalam is one of four peoples in Jambi classified as *masyarakat terasing* (isolated communities). The other three are *Orang Laut/Bajau*; the southernmost populations of the swidden-farming *Talang Mamak*. The ambiguous *Talang* people sometimes simply termed *masyarakat terasing*, a general term for isolated *Melayu* swidden farmers who are determined by the government to be in need assistance (Sager, 2008).

Suku Anak Dalam is also known as *Kubu*, and *Orang Rimba*. The primary referent of the Malay word *Kubu* is a defensive stockade or a place of refuge. In Malay impression, *Kubu* people prefer to live in the forest precisely because this has made them immune to efforts by external authorities (such as Malay, Dutch, Indonesian) to rule them (Sandbukt, 1984). According to Sager, the term *Kubu* refers to the majority of Islamic villagers' perceptions of *Orang Rimba* as using the interior forests to resist the inclusion of social world and more Islamic Malay. As other Malay exonyms in the region (for instance Sakai), the term *Kubu* has negative connotations such as: 'uncivilized' or not 'yet developed' (*belum madju*), 'primitive' (*primitif*), 'dirty' (*kotor/jorok*), 'smelly' (*bau*), 'stupid' (*bodoh*), 'yet to acquire a religion' (*belum punya agama*) (Sager, 2008).

Genealogically, *Suku Anak Dalam* people in Jambi Province are from three descendants, namely: first, the descendants from South Sumatra who mostly live in Batanghari District; secondly, the descendants of *Minangkabau* people who in general live in Bungo District, Tebo District, partly Mersam, and Batanghari District; and last, the descendants of indigenous ethnic Jambi people who live in Air Hitam, Sarolangun District (Mailinar and Nurdin, 2013).

Furthermore, when viewed ecologically, *Suku Anak Dalam* people live scattered in three different regions, namely: (1) the western part of Jambi Province (around Lintas Timur Sumatra road), (2) National Park area of Bukit Duabelas, in which they settle and wander in the lowland forest between Batanghari and Tembesi River, and (3) the northern part of Jambi Province, especially in National Park of Bukit Tigapuluh (the border of Riau and Jambi) (Takidin, 2014).

Various theories explain the origins of *Suku Anak Dalam*, but generally, they can be divided into two groups. The first theory believes that *Suku Anak Dalam* people are the old Malay race as well as Dayak, Sakai, Nias, Mentawai, Toraja, Sasak,

Papua, and Batak that constituted the first wave migrating to Sumatera. The second theory comes from the folklore which states that *Suku Anak Dalam* came to an exile area for some reasons. However, according to Berta, *Orang Rimba* claimed that they were native to Sumatra and originated from the Minangkabau or the Minangkabau from them (Berta, 2014).

Muchlas concluded that *Suku Anak Dalam* came from three derivatives namely South Sumatera descendants of Minangkabau who are in Bungo Tebo District; most of Mersam District (Batanghari District); and the descendants of Jambi indigenous people in Air Hitam area, Sarolangun Regency (Sagala et al, 2018).

Nowadays, *Suku Anak Dalam* inhabitants have converted their beliefs, from animism and dynamism to Islam, such as *Suku Anak Dalam* in Nyogan village, Markanding, Bunut, Nagosari and Mestong in Muaro Jambi District; in Air Hitam village, Sarolangun District; as well as in Jebak, Batu Hampar, Singkawang Baru and Mersam areas of Batang Hari Regency. However, the transitional religion that has occurred does not cover the entire *Suku Anak Dalam*. The rest *Suku Anak Dalam* people in the category of wanderings in several areas in Jambi Province such as Pauh, Pemenang, Anyut river, Telisak river, Sikampir, Tanah Garo and others, still believe in polytheism (Mailinar and Nurdin, 2013).

According to Soetomo (Soetomo, 1995), (Mailinar and Nurdin, 2013), the characteristics of *Suku Anak Dalam* can be distinguished based on the categories of wandering, temporary settling, and settling can be seen as follows:

Table 1: The characteristics of *Suku Anak Dalam* based on The Wandering Category

No	Kategori	Ciri-ciri
1.	Melangun/Wandering	It lasted for 2-4 tahun, as far as 75 KM.
2.	Traditional Leader	Temenggung, Depati, Mangku, Menti, and Debalang Batin
3.	Field	Do not farm
4.	Residence	Do not have a permanent place to live
5.	Group	Small group based on genealogy
6.	Livelihood	Hunting, gathering, collecting
7.	Social Interaction	Limited and closed
8.	Wealth	Sarong, spears, machetes
9.	Belief	Anymism, Dynamism, and polytheism

10	Besale	Seen as a sacred ceremony, maintained and do not want to be viewed by the outside
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Table 2: The characteristics of *Suku Anak Dalam* based on the Temporary Settlement Category.

No	Kategori	Ciri-ciri
1.	Melangun/Wandering	It lasted for 2-4 bulan, as far as 25 KM.
2.	Traditional Leader	Some structures have been lost
3.	Field	Start opening fields
4.	Residence	Settle for a certain time
5.	Group	Large groups and begin to join other ethnic groups
6.	Livelihood	Farming, gardening, hunting and gathering
7.	Social Interaction	Open
8.	Wealth	Houses, gardens, vehicles
9.	Belief	Anymism, Dynamism, and some Islam
10	Besale	Not sanctified, preserved and can be viewed by the outside

Table 3: The characteristics of *Suku Anak Dalam* based on the Sedentary Category.

No	Kategori	Ciri-ciri
1.	Melangun/Wandering	Do not wandering
2.	Traditional Leader	Some structures have been lost
3.	Field	Have rubber and oil palm plantations
4.	Residence	Settling in a settlement, village
5.	Group	Large groups and begin to join other ethnic groups
6.	Livelihood	Farming, gardening, labor,
7.	Social Interaction	Open
8.	Wealth	Houses, gardens, vehicles
9.	Belief	Islam
10	Besale	Not sanctified, preserved and can be viewed by the outside

3.1 The Implementation of Inheritance Law in the *Suku Anak Dalam* Muslim Converts Community

In the various activities, *Suku Anak Dalam* community is strongly influenced by the applied legal rules in the form of *seloko-seloko* (a term; a

saying becoming a custom rule) which then the leaders, especially *Tumenggung*, use it as a life guideline in making a decision. *Seloko* also becomes a guide in speaking and acting in social life. The examples of *Seloko* are as following: *bak emas dengan suasa* (the difference between expensive and cheap value), *bak tali berpintal tigo* (togetherness into strength), *di mano biawak terjun disitu anjing telulung* (where we do wrong, there is the custom used), *di mano bumi dipijak di situ langit dijunjung* (where we are, there is a custom that we uphold, we adapt), *bini sekato laki dan anak sekato bapak* (that in the family matters the role of a man or father is very prominent) (Tarib, 2012).

In the division of the inheritance, *Suku Anak Dalam* converts are guided by the customary *seloko*, '*waris bejabat khalifah bejunjung*', meaning that in distributing it, *Suku Anak Dalam* must uphold what has been inherited by the previous caliph or leader, and the child as the heir must be welcomed. It means that inheritance is given to the heirs who are entitled, and the primary heir is the child.

In the time of inheritance division, it can be done in 2 (two) ways, namely: sharing the property pre-deceased and post-deceased of the heirs. It can be known through an interview with Usman, one of the elders in *Suku Anak Dalam* community as follows:

"*Pembagian harta waris ko kadang sebelum orang meninggal, ado jugo yang bagi sesudah meninggal. Pembagian harta sebelum meninggal, supayo dak ado perselisihan antaro ahli waris, kerno bagian masing-masingnyo sudah jelas. Kalau pembagian warisan sesudah meninggal, biasonyo dilakukan sesudah 40 hari kematian, diadokan rapat adat yang dihadiri Tumenggung dan Tuo Tenggana*".

(The division of inheritance is carried out after 40 days of the death of the heir. According to them, it is because that division is only carried out after all of the rights of other people inherent in that property are fulfilled/settled, including debt and testament from the heir. The process of sharing inheritance is accomplished through customary meetings attended by *Tumenggung* (a chair of the tribe) and *Tuo Tenggana* (the elder of the tribe).

Furthermore, according to Lani, one of *Suku Anak Dalam* residents, the division of inheritance to *Suku Anak Dalam* community, begins by sorting out the property carried by the wife and legacy from the joint search before being handed over or distributed to family members.

"*Harto punyo bini, balik ke bini. Harto laki bini dibagi samo rato. Kalau ado anak, harto dibagi ke anak*".

(The wife's assets will be returned to the wife, while the assets obtained together are shared equally. However, if they still have children, then the property falls to the children).

In this context, it shows that *Suku Anak Dalam* people have known the separation of legacy, which is the inherited assets obtained before the marriage, and joint search assets which are then shared into an inheritance.

Each portion of the heirs is determined based on their responsibility. Usually, the provisions of the division are two to one, namely the part of a male heir is two times the part of a female heir. Besides, the division is often carried out by the agreement, such as if the heir leaves the plantation and the house as inheritance, they are processed and utilized together. Nevertheless, regarding its allocation, a greater portion is given to males, while the houses are certainly left to the youngest female to take care of them after their parents pass away.

Despite having embraced Islam, in practice, *Suku Anak Dalam* people do not fully understand the teachings of Islam itself. In their daily life, *Suku Anak Dalam* people are still very much influenced by their customary rules known as *seloko*. *Seloko* serves as a guideline for acting and speaking among *Suku Anak Dalam* communities. Likewise in the implementation of inheritance division, it is seen that in practice it is still dominated by customary law.

The provisions on the inheritance division can be fully accepted by *Suku Anak Dalam* Muslim converts and are considered to have reflected the principle of justice because principally this matter has been regulated in their customary *seloko* which is applied from generation to generation, while the determination is made through traditional meetings attended by *Tumenggung* and *Tetuo Adat*. After this provision, the parties concerned must implement it. The community's adherence toward custom and leaders has made no conflicts so far regarding the division of inheritance.

3.2 The Intersection between Islamic Law and Customary Law on Inheritance System of *Suku Anak Dalam* Muslim Converts

The intersection between Islamic and customary law in the inheritance system of *Suku Anak Dalam* Muslim converts can be seen in several aspects, as the followings:

1. The Division Time of Inheritance

It can be done in 2 (two) ways, which are: deceased and pre-deceased of the heirs. The division of property that is carried out after the heir dies principally has in common with Islamic law.

Basically, in Islamic inheritance law, the time to divide the inheritance does not wait for the number of days after the decease of the testator, but is done after all of the inheritance is clearly known. Then, before the division of inheritance is done, the heirs first pay the testament and debt of the testator.

In the study of Islamic inheritance law, there is a principle of *ijbari* (imperative) which means the property transfers from the deceased person to the heir that is applied automatically according to Allah and His prophet provision without depending on the will of the testator/testatrix or the inheritor (Gusasih and Harahap, 2018). According to Syarifuddin, the principle of *ijbari* contains certainty in three things, which are; the transfer of inheritance; the portion of each heir; and the identification of heirs who are entitled to inheritance (Syarifuddin, 2004).

With the decease of the heir, automatically his property has been transferred to the heirs left, while the execution time is very dependent on the heirs since Shari'a rules do not limit the time.

Conversely, according to customary law, the inheritance can be applied, either after or before the heir dies through gift (*hibah*), and the testament (*wasiat*) is carried out after the seventh, fortieth, and hundredth days from the death. According to them, it is because the division of the inheritance is about to carry out after all of other people's rights attached to the property are fulfilled or resolved.

2. The Causes of Inheritance and the Heirs

Among *Suku Anak Dalam* people, the cause of inheritance is dominant because of the marital relationship between husband and wife or vice versa, and the existence of the family, especially between children and parents. Hal ini sebagaimana pernyataan Usman:

"Kalau ditanyo, sebab ohang nerimo warisan ko kerno perkawinan atau biso juga kerno hubungan anak dengan ohang tuonyo".

(If questioned, a person receiving the inheritance is due to the marriage or the relationship between the child and the parents).

This practice shows the similarity between Islamic inheritance law and customary law. Furthermore, related to the heirs, according to *Suku Anak Dalam* community, the primary heirs are children. This situation may be a reflection of the implementation of the customary law which makes the children become the major heir and block the

parents of the heirs. It is not in line with Islamic inheritance law, because the parents are heirs who have never been obstructed by other heirs.

3. The Respective Heirs

In practice, *Suku Anak Dalam* Muslim converts community sets the division of male heirs twice as much as a female's portion. This is as confirmed by Usman:

Bagian untuk anak jantan ko duo kali lebih besak daripada anak betino.

(The portion of male are twice as much as female's).

That the determination of male heirs is twice of a female heir has a similarity to Islamic inheritance law. Nevertheless, there is no clear portion of the division to each heir, as ruled in *fara'id* (the provisions regarding the calculation and procedure for distributing the inheritance for each heir under Islamic law). Moreover, the division is often carried out by the agreement, in which the property in the form of plantations will be processed and utilized together, while the houses are handed over to the youngest daughters.

The determination of the portion of the heirs through discussion and consensus is basically a reflection of the implementation of customary law and Islamic law. Customary law always requires harmony among citizens, as well as Islamic law always puts forward the settlement of matters by way of discussion.

Thus, even though the customary inheritance law knows the principle of equality of rights, it does not mean that each heir will receive the inheritance in the same number and the same value. Meanwhile, the Islamic law recognizes the number of certain parts (*furud al-muqaddarah*).

4 CONCLUSIONS

The plurality of inheritance law in Indonesia has created interaction, mutual adoption, integration, or even, conflicts among different legal systems. According to several intersection theories applied in Indonesia, such as *receptie in complexu* theory, *receptie* theory, and *reception a contrario* theory that in the field of inheritance for Muslims, it is very complicated to avoid the link between Islamic law and customary law. It also occurs on inheritance system applied by *Suku Anak Dalam* Muslim converts. In some cases, it shows that *Suku Anak Dalam* people have practiced the implementation of Islamic inheritance law, but not fully appropriate with the rules set by Islamic law because it is still

affected by the customary law which has been carried out for generations. It can be seen in several aspects: the division time of inheritance, the causes of inheritance and the heirs, and the respective heirs. The distribution of inheritance is decided through a customary meeting attended by *Tumenggung* and *Tuo Tenggana* or in some cases just based on the agreement among the heirs and it is considered fair and fully accepted by the heirs. As long as this research was conducted, the authors did not find any conflict between heirs related to the distribution of inheritance.

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