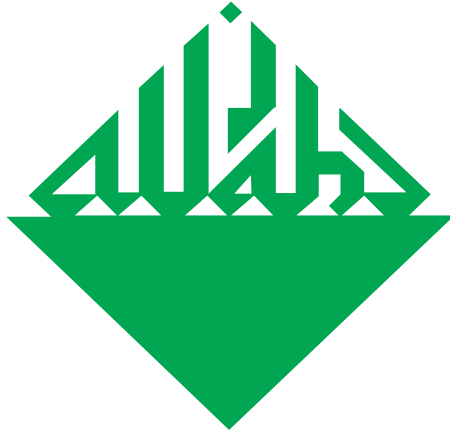


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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A STRONG AND RESILIENT STATE

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DAYAKNESE AND ISLAM:
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Wasatīyah Islam:
Traditions and Challenges in Southeast Asia

Faizal Amin & M. Ikhsan Tanggok

Dayaknese and Islam:
A Confluence from Borneo's Hinterland, Indonesia

Abstract: *Sufism has generally been regarded as the confluence that helps to facilitate Islamization in Indonesia by opening accommodating spaces for local beliefs and practices. This article examines manuscripts as historical records to show concrete examples of how Sufi interpretations of local culture are constructed. This article is not only based on philological studies of the Abang Ahmad Tahir Manuscript Collections (MSS AAT), but also observations and interviews from the field between 2012 and 2019. This article argues that the MSS AAT have provided appropriate examples of the confluence of Dayakness and Islam. Not only has MSS AAT presented dynamic engagement between critically selected local traditions of cosmology and specific elements of Sufi textual discourses, but it has also noted the ways in which such texts further indicate both the Islamisation of local communities and how they vernacularise interpretations of Islam in Kapuas Hulu, which is situated in the hinterland of West Kalimantan.*

Keywords: Dialectics, Sufism, Vernacularization, Representation, Manuscript.

Abstrak: *Tasawuf lazim dianggap sebagai titik temu yang membantu proses Islamisasi di Indonesia dengan membuka ruang untuk mengakomodasi kepercayaan dan praktik tempatan. Artikel ini mengkaji teks manuskrip sebagai bukti rekaman sejarah untuk menunjukkan contoh-contoh kongkrit dari interpretasi Tasawuf dalam konstruksi kebudayaan lokal. Artikel ini berdasarkan hasil penelitian filologis terhadap sumber primer Manuskrip Koleksi Abang Ahmad Tahir (MSS AAT), ditambah dengan observasi dan wawancara di lapangan selama periode 2012-2019. Artikel ini berargumen bahwa MSS AAT menghadirkan contoh-contoh yang tepat tentang titik temu perjumpaan unsur-unsur kedayakan dan keislaman sebagaimana dinarasikan oleh Abang Ahmad Tahir (1860-1945). MSS AAT tidak hanya menghadirkan dinamika keterikatan antara tradisi lokal tertentu dari kosmologi dan elemen-elemen khusus dari diskursus teks-teks Tasawuf. MSS AAT juga mencatat cara dimana teks lebih jauh baik Islamisasi komunitas lokal maupun bagaimana mereka menterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa tempatan tentang Islam di Kapuas Hulu yang berada di pedalaman Kalimantan Barat.*

Kata kunci: Dialektika, Tasawuf, Vernakulalisasi, Representasi, Manuskrip.

ملخص: يُنظر إلى الصوفية، بشكل عام، على أنها نقطة التقاء تساعد في عملية الأسلمة في إندونيسيا من خلال فتح مساحة لاستيعاب المعتقدات والممارسات المحلية. ويبحث هذا المقال في نص المخطوط بصفته دليلاً على السجلات التاريخية لإظهار أمثلة ملموسة لتفسير الصوفية في بناء الثقافات المحلية، وذلك استناداً إلى نتائج الدراسات اللغوية لمجموعات مخطوطات أبانغ أحمد طاهر (MSS AAT)، بالإضافة إلى المقابلات والملاحظات الميدانية خلال الفترة من ٢٠١٢ حتى ٢٠١٩. ويجادل المقال بأن تلك المخطوطات قدمت أمثلة مناسبة لالتقاء عناصر الثقافات الديكورية والإسلامية، كما رواها أبانغ أحمد طاهر (١٨٦٠-١٩٤٥)، كما أنها لا تقدم ديناميات الارتباط بين التقاليد المحلية المعينة لعلم الكونيات وعناصر محددة من الخطابات النصية الصوفية فحسب، ولكنها أشارت أيضاً إلى الطرق التي تشير بها هذه النصوص إلى أسلمة المجتمعات المحلية، وكيف تُفهم تفسيرات الإسلام في كابواس هولو الواقعة في المناطق النائية من كاليمانتان الغربية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: دياكتيك، التصوف، اللغة الدارجة، التمثيل، المخطوط.

Muslim communities in Southeast Asia have existed since the early centuries of the Islamic era, although the institutional conversion of the royal kingdom in North Sumatra only took place in the 13th century (Gallop et al. 2015; Hāmid 1982; Johns 1975; Majul 1964; Reid 1993). Since then, Islam has not only influenced local traditions but has also come to embody the local beliefs and practices of indigenous people. Islamic culture, in the Arab sense, as a ‘mega cosmopolitan’, will always be domesticated (‘taming’) or indigenised upon entering ‘rural’ areas (Azra 1996; Mulkan 2000). The universal norms and values of Islam are typically translated into the traditions of local communities and manifest in distinctive forms of hybrid Islamic culture. Islam’s influence can be traced to various historical artifacts, including oral language, writing, and customs (Fathurahman 2019; Ghoffir 2001; Ricci 2011; Rohmana 2012). As written historical artifacts, manuscripts have become authentic and authoritative historical records that verify the existence of an *ulama* network and the transmission of Islamic knowledge in Haramayn, Cairo, India, Persia, China and the Malay Archipelago of Nusantara (Azra 2004). As primary sources, manuscripts may be explored to describe the phenomenon that is the adaptation and vernacularisation of Islam into the local context. This article makes use of the Abang Ahmad Tahir Manuscript Collections, hereafter referred to as the MSS AAT, as well as primary sources and field research.

As primary sources, the MSS AAT offers an important new contribution to the broader field of Islamic studies. It is a collection of the private manuscripts of indigenous ulama from the Kapuas Hulu district, located some 657 km from Pontianak, the capital of West Kalimantan, Indonesia. The MSS AAT is a rare autographic corpus of mysterious ulama from an indigenous community in the hinterland of West Kalimantan. The MSS AAT represents the dynamics of Islamisation in both the upstream and downstream areas of Kapuas Hulu, West Kalimantan. The origins of the MSS AAT make important contributions to Islamic Studies because the site is located in the interior of West Kalimantan. Some of the MSS AAT texts were written in the downstream river region, in places such as Semitau, which is relatively close to the border of Sintang regency. Other texts were written in Nanga Badau, in the upstream river region close to the border area with Sarawak, Malaysia.¹ The MSS AAT are therefore rare historical artefacts

of the written tradition of the indigenous offspring of the interior of West Kalimantan.

The existence of the MSS AAT corpus in the downstream area of the upper reaches of the Kapuas River shows that the MSS AAT is a cultural product of the indigenous people of West Kalimantan. Even though Abang Ahmad Tahir was a Malay from the Sanggau Kingdom, and Prajurit Village in Putussibau is known as a Malay village, the genealogical and cultural origins of his people came from the same source. Previous research on the people of Borneo has recognised the existence of Malays hundreds of years ago in West Kalimantan. Both Dayaks and Malays are indigenous ethnic groups or indigenous offspring of West Kalimantan. The Malay and Dayak identity labels are Dutch colonial constructions that have polarised the cultural identities of the people of West Kalimantan by using religion as an identity marker. Dayak is a cultural identity label for non-Muslim groups, while Malay is the same for Muslim groups. According to Veth (1854, 54), the presence of Malays in the interior of West Borneo came from indigenous ethnic groups who converted to Islam.

The MSS AAT is an authentic and authoritative primary source that not only proves the Islamic literacy of the indigenous people of Borneo, but also presents a portrait of the Dayaks' encounter with Islam. The MSS AAT is part of the living tradition of learning and teaching Islam that Tahir passed down to his descendants who then went on to become the next generation of missionaries. As a living tradition, the MSS AAT join H. Abang Iskandar Sabrie and Hj. Halimah binti HM. Alie Yohan as fourth-generation descendants of Abang Ahmad Tahir, who taught Islam to the surrounding community.

The focus of the study in this article is the text and paratext of the MSS AAT as a representation of the West Kalimantan "indigenous offspring" of Muslim Dayaks in the early 20th century. One can identify the confluence construction within the MSS AAT through the use of language, signs and images related to Islamic elements and Dayakness. According to Hall (1997, 15–28), representation in cultural studies is the use of language, signs and images to replace or represent something. In addition, one can conduct a paratext study by tracing the elements that make up and constitute the text, such as the name of the author/ scribe, book title, preface, table of contents, chapter title, illustration, illumination or other decorations and anything that is considered a

threshold or a vantage point to see the text under study (Ricci 2012, 187). The paratext study elements are divided into two parts which are called peritext and epitext. A peritext includes things that are in the corpus of the manuscript but not the main text. Instead, the epitext is any information regarding the text or corpus, both originating from the text or other corpus or from observations and interviews (Fathurahman 2018).

This article aims to complement the shortcomings of existing studies by mapping textual evidence of the confluence of Dayakness and Islam in MSS AAT. This article will show actual examples of how such Sufi interpretations of local culture are constructed. This main discussion covers both cosmology of local tradition and the doctrine of 'Nūr Muḥammad'. These texts provide a salient example of a type of Sufism that helped to facilitate Islamisation by creating spaces to accommodate local beliefs and practices. Thus far, no cultural study of the West Kalimantan "indigenous offspring" has used local manuscripts as primary sources. This article therefore aims to not only bridge the gap between primary sources based on manuscripts, but to also bridge that gap by using manuscript studies to better understand the construction of Sufi interpretations of local culture and the "indigenous offspring" of West Kalimantan.

This article is based on the argument that the portrait of the confluence of Dayakness and Islam has been documented in the MSS AAT. It is a representation of the Sufism that helped to facilitate Islamisation by opening spaces to accommodate local beliefs and practices. M.C. Ricklefs elaborated on the accommodation of Islam and Javanese beliefs and practices in the concept of the mystic synthetic. It has three pillars, namely the notion of being Javanese as being Muslim, the widespread observation of Islam's five pillars, and the acceptance of local traditions. The first volume of Ricklefs' trilogy (Ricklefs 2006, 2007, 2012) explains his perspective of the history of the Islamisation of the Javanese people. The penetration of Islam into the root of local culture represented by the vernacularisation of Islam (Ali 2014, 124). According to Feener, the localisations of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago have engaged Southeast Asia Muslims within a global, cosmopolitan community of Islamic religious scholarship. There are rich traditions of Islamic religious thought and practice throughout Southeast Asia, comprising a diverse array of local expressions. They have complex histories in which

the mutual interaction of Islamicate, Indic and indigenous cultural forms have been dynamically negotiated (Feener 2011, 470, 2019). It was gravestone tradition in Aceh, locally known as *plang-pleng*, which provided evidence of the formation and disappearance of an early form of vernacular Muslim material culture in Southeast Asia (Feener 2021). Alatas' study of Habib Luthfi as a prominent Indonesian leading Sufi master shows that religious leaders both unite diverse aspects of life and contest differing Muslim perspectives to create distinctly Muslim communities. Alatas uses the infrastructures of the Sufi order and the Indonesian state to build a durable religious community, while deploying genealogy and hagiography to present himself as a successor of the Prophet Muhammad (Alatas 2021).

On Islam in Borneo and Kapuas Hulu in Particular

The people of Borneo were originally Austronesian and came from Southeast Asia. They are believed to have migrated around 10,000 BC when the Borneo region was still connected to the Southeast Asian mainland. This first migration came from Taiwan across the Philippines, then towards Borneo. These people from Austronesia were the ancestors of the Dayaks, as is indicated by the similarities between their ways of life and traditional Dayak culture, as well as the style of Austronesian settlements and Dayak longhouses. Austronesians grow crops, raise pigs, livestock, and have expertise in hunting, fishing, and making glassware. Their clothes are also made of treebark and their bodies are decorated in tattoos (Rahmayani, Darmadi, and Firmansyah 2018, 60; Takdir 2017).

At the end of the 19th century, the Dutch government began to occupy more territories controlled by several Malay kingdoms. The Dutch began directly organising several Dayak groups in the interior of West Kalimantan. The relationship between Dayaks and Malays through trade and tribute was beneficial to both parties. Malays could not live without forest products from the Dayaks. Meanwhile, the Dayaks avoided the sea and lacked relations with outsiders they needed for foreign trade. Meanwhile, in the next period, the Chinese replaced the role of Malay nobility as trading partners and customers of the Dayaks. Therefore, the Dayaks more often lived near Chinese settlements. The trade networks established by the Chinese sometimes benefited the Dayaks. The Dayaks generally farm in higher, drier, and hilly areas which are more suitable for farming (Heidhues 2008, 18). At that time, the "indigenous offspring"

of West Kalimantan lived side by side with other ethnic groups. Bouman (1924, 173–94) reported that the population living in the Upper Kapuas River (*de Boven-Kapuas*) comprised three groups, namely Dayaks (*Dajaks*), Malays (*Malayjers*) and Foreign Easterners (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*). Kessel (1850), Veth (1854, 2012), Bouman (1924), and Niuwenheuis (1994) concur that the Malays are an ethnic group that have lived side by side with the Dayaks.

The history of the arrival of Muslims or Malays in the upstream area of the Kapuas Sungai is, however, unknown. In this case, Veth (1854, 54) wrote “*Daar zij voor eenige jaren den Islam hebben aangenomen thans tot de malaijers kunnen gerekend worden.*” (Since they [people of Embau River, Kapuas Hulu] have adopted Islam for some years now they can be referred to as the Malays). According to Hermansyah (2008, 131), Veth’s statement indicates the presence of Muslims as Malays in Kapuas Hulu hundreds of years ago. In addition, King (1993) and Sellato (1994) have argued that Malay Muslims in West Kalimantan were originally Dayaks. Thus, the Dayaks and Malays in West Kalimantan are the indigenous offspring of West Kalimantan. With regard to the writing period of MSS AAT, a number of things indicate that Abang Ahmad Tahir was an Islamic preacher who lived side by side with the native people of West Kalimantan. His MSS AAT texts were passed on to his descendants and serve as a record of his preaching and dissemination of the teachings of Islam.

There are not many information sources that can reveal the history of Islam in West Kalimantan, especially in remote areas such as Kapuas Hulu Regency. Thus far, there are four opinions that explain the early arrival of Islam in West Kalimantan. First, Nurcahyani (1999, 22–23) writes that Islam entered the Tanjungpura Kingdom in West Kalimantan in the 13th century AD. Nurcahyani bases this claim on historical evidence, namely the tombs of *Keramat Tujuh* and *Keramat Sembilan*, which are engraved with Arabic script and are thought to have originated in the 13th century AD. The local people call the tombs *Keramat Tujuh* (Sacred Seven) and *Keramat Sembilan* (Sacred Nine). Although this opinion is supported by Umberan (1994, 15), there are no archaeological and epigraphic studies that explain the existence of the tombs. Second, Hermansyah (2007, 3), who believes that the Chinese brought Islam to West Kalimantan in the 15th century AD. This position is based on the fact that, in 1407 AD, there was a Chinese Muslim community – the Hanafi Muslims – in Sambas. Third, Usman (1996, 3), who argues that

the spread of Islam in West Kalimantan is thought to have begun in the 16th century AD, during the reign of Panembahan Barukh. This position is supported by Lontaan (1975, 83), who argues that the Tanjungpura Kingdom began to embrace Islam, which was brought to Sukadana by Shaykh Husin during the reign of Panembahan Giri Kusuma, successor to the Barukh or 'Dibarokh', who ruled from 1538 to 1550 AD. Fourth, Purba (2009) and Yusriadi (2007) respectively write that Islam entered West Kalimantan in the 17th century AD, with Purba citing Hanafi Islam in Sambas and Yusriadi citing the Islamic practices of the Matan people before the arrival of Habib Husein Alkadrie.

Meanwhile, Syahzaman (2003, 30) maintains that Islam was disseminated throughout West Kalimantan between 1550 and 1800 AD. It began in the Sambas River, then spread to Singkawang, Mempawah and Pontianak. Then, from Pontianak, it spread along the Landak River, then entered Tayan, Sintang, and Nanga Pinoh. Islam was disseminated along the Kapuas River, from the Sintang to the Putussibau Region. There were two processes for the spread of Islam in West Kalimantan. First, the indigenous population was introduced to Islam and then embraced it. Second, foreigners (Arabs, Indians, Chinese, etc.) who had converted to Islam settled as permanent residents in a region. They then married an indigenous woman of West Kalimantan and adopted the local lifestyle so as to be accepted by that ethnic group.

There were three phases of Islamisation in the interior of West Kalimantan. First, the process of introduction and acceptance of Islam, which is assumed to have begun in the 16th century. At that time, Islam was brought by migrants, from Malacca, Berunai, Johor and from Ketapang, Mempawah, Sambas, and Pontianak. These Muslim diaspora were the result of the Kingdom of Malacca falling into the hands of the Portuguese in 1511, which in turn had a positive impact on the rise of Islam in other areas, such as Aceh, Banjarmasin, Pasir, Kutai, Kotawaringin, and West Kalimantan. Kapuas Hulu was a destination of the Muslim diaspora for trade and to get better livelihoods as they shared similar culture and way of life. They settled, married members of the indigenous West Kalimantan population, and had children. The growth of Islam in Kapuas Hulu was so rapid that it reached almost all of the surrounding regions, including Silat, Selimbau, Suhaid, Piasak, Jongkong, Bunut, Embaloh, and Putussibau.

Second, the spread of Islam was an effective *da'wah* (proselytisation) process that is believed to have occurred in the 19th century, making Muslims in Kapuas Hulu devoutly live up to and practise the teachings of Islam. The process of *da'wah* and the spread of Islam, however, varies according to the characteristics of the region, indigenous ethnic groups in West Kalimantan, and their different traditions and customs. This phenomenon is similar to the *da'wah* of the Walisongo (the nine saints) and its influence on the Islamisation process in Java. Third, *da'wah* contributed to the widespread development of Islamism, which occurred at the beginning of the 20th century and continues today. This phase was marked by the arrival of Islamic scholars and teachers in Kapuas Hulu, including:

1. Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad from Banjarmasin from 1900 to 1902;²
2. H.M. Saleh Pemangkih from Banjarmasin from 1907 to 1910;
3. H. Abdul Malik Kurni [Krui] from Sumatra [Lampung] from 1923 to 1933;
4. H. Abdul Hamid from Palembang [Sumatra] in 1932, until his death in the Selimbau Region of Kapuas Hulu;
5. Muhtar Zaini from Padang [Sumatra] between 1936 and 1940; and
6. Sheikh Abdurrahman from Taif Madinah between 1926 and 1932.

These men introduced Islam to Kapuas Hulu while migrating and trading. In addition to proving the existence of Abang Ahmad Tahir as a figure of Islamic *da'wah* in West Kalimantan, this article also presents the MSS AAT content as a representation of Islamic identity in a Dayak culture as the basis for the construction of Muslim Dayak ethno-religious identity in West Kalimantan.

On This Collection of MSS AAT

The site of MSS AAT is in Prajurit village, in Hilir Kantor Village in the North Putussibau Sub-District of Kapuas Hulu Regency.³ It was H. Abang Iskandar Sabrie (1938-2018), the great-grandson or third descendant of Abang Ahmad Tahir (1860-1945), who kept this collection, along with his wife, Hj. Siti Halimah binti H.M. Alie Yohan. Initially, they stored the MSS AAT in a yellow cloth package, which was placed on a cupboard in the living room of the residence of H. Abang Iskandar Sabrie and his wife. They [Sabrie and his wife]

maintained that the package contained the handwriting of his ancestor, Abang Ahmad Tahir. The corpus of such handwritten manuscripts is commonly referred to by the Kapuas Hulu community as “*kitab nukil*.” Because they could not read Arabic texts, aside from the Qur’an, they never opened the package containing the *kitab nukil*, which had been passed down from his ancestors. They only received and stored the *kitab nukil* as a sacred item in order to continue the Islamic da’wah tradition in his family. Even so, they were the fourth generation that continued the tradition of ‘Islamic religious studies’ of Abang Ahmad Tahir in their house. During their lives, they both taught Islam to the community of Kampung Prajurit and the surrounding area twice a week, on Tuesdays and Thursdays (Sabrie and Halimah 2012, 2014).

After examining the physical condition of the manuscripts, which were originally wrapped in a yellow cloth, and examining the contents of the text, the manuscripts were sorted into 11 bundles, as shown in Figure 1 and Table 1. The first two bundles of MS AAT 01 and MS AAT 02 discuss the theme of the theological studies or *kalam* science. The next two bundles, MS AAT 03 and MS AAT 04, discuss the theme of Sufism. Discussions in the field of Islamic jurisprudence or *fiqh* are found in three bundles of the manuscripts, namely MS AAT 05, MS AAT 06, and MS AAT 07. Meanwhile, MS AAT 08 contains the Friday Sermon texts used in the weekly collective Islamic religious rituals, namely Friday prayers. In addition, MS AAT 09 and MS AAT 10 contain texts that discuss the traditions of farming and medicine. The last bundle, MS AAT 11, is a collection of texts that cannot be included in other bundles.



Figure 1: Corpus of MSS AAT at Abang Iskandar Sabrie’s residence.
Photographed by Faizal Amin, 2 May 2019, Putussibau

The 11 bundles contain 10 manuscript volumes and one bundle of pieces of paper assembled that forms a manuscript. Overall, the physical condition of the MSS AAT ranges from minor to severe damage. The text can, however, still be read, except for certain missing parts where the paper is either perforated or already fragile and torn. The MSS AAT was written on layers of local paper, but not *daluang* paper or *lontar* leaves. The thickness of the MSS AAT varies from two pages of text to 70. Paper layering was done by placing each piece on top of each other and then binding it with thread. Five of the 10 volumes of the manuscript have been damaged to a certain degree, such as damaged binding, pages falling out. The content of the text can be broken down into five sub-categories, namely the doctrine of faith, Sufism, *fiqh* of worship, farming systems, and traditional medicine.

The 11 manuscripts of Abang Ahmad Tahir (MSS AAT) are written in Arabic/Jawi script and in the Malay language and made/written/copied out in Semtau and Badau. They all originate from the period 1309 AH (1891 AD) to 1350 AH (1931 AD). Based on the colophon and the similarity of the written characteristics and language style, the 11 MSS AAT texts were written by the same person, namely Imam Abang Ahmad Tahir or Abang Ahmad Tahir Imam. This inventory and codicological study did not find a copy of the text or text version of the MSS AAT. The MSS AAT is therefore treated as a single manuscript (*codex unicus*), reviewed using a philological and ethnographic approach.

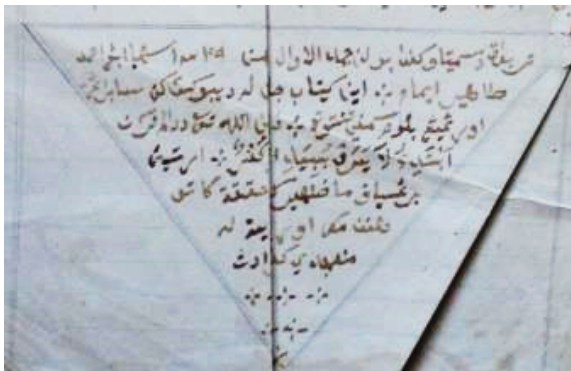


Figure 2: Colophon MS AAT 01 Page /6r/
Photographed by Faizal Amin, 2 May 2019, Putussibau

“Made (written) in Semitau in the month of Jumadil Awal in the year 1325 [June / July 1907 AD] I, Abang Ahmad Tahir Imam. This book should not be opened by any person who has not yet reached the [advanced] learning [level]. [the Word of] Allah Almighty in the Qur’an⁴ {Abtadi’u lā yarawbu biyadillāh kufrun}. This means that whoever reveals the nature of God, then that person becomes an infidel (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 01 Tahir 1902, 6r).”

The text of the MS AAT 01 colophon above shows that MSS AAT has a Sufistic nature, based on Abang Ahmad Tahir’s identity as a wandering Sufi. The argument that he was a wandering Sufi can be seen from his statement written in the MS AAT 01 colophon, which addressed the limitations on the audience able to access his teachings. This is evident from the information on the MS AAT 01 and MS AAT 06 colophons. In the MS AAT 01 colophon, he requested that the book, *the Twenty Attributes*, not be shown to layman. The contents of *the Twenty Attributes* should only be accessed by those who study Sufism, those often referred to as *sālik* or *murīd*. He requested that this prohibition apply because *the Twenty Attributes* contains teachings of the Science of *haqīqah*, which must be kept secret because exposing it to the public might cause someone to fall into disbelief.

The presence of MSS AAT in the West Kalimantan indigenous community shows the unique transmission of Islamic science activities in the midst of the hustle and bustle of trade in Uncak Kapuas (Kapuas Hulu). The uniqueness of MSS AAT is also related to the mysterious figure of Abang Ahmad Tahir who is barely known or noted as a figure of Islamic preaching in Islamic historical documents in Kapuas Hulu. That said, some notes on his life journey in MSS AAT show that Tahir was actually a nobleman. In addition to his name, which begins with “*Abang*”, which denotes that he was of the aristocracy of the Sanggau Sultanate of West Kalimantan, the MS AAT 10 text also notes that Tahir was born in Ilir Kota, which is the location of one of the three palaces of the Sanggau Kapuas Sultanate. His father was Abang Ali, while his mother was Dayang Naisah binti Abang Wahab (A. A. C. N.-M. S. A. A. T. 10 Tahir 2012, /7r/).

In addition, the MSS AAT text also shows that Tahir was a teacher of Islamic religion. As a teacher, he played the role of patron who became the reference for obtaining solutions to the problems encountered by the people, both individually and collectively. The texts about medicine, forecasting, and farming in the MSS AAT suggest that Tahir assumed not only an important role in the field

of Islamic religious life but also in the fields of health, economics, and other social matters. That said, his track record showed that he was not a figure who often appeared on the formal *da'wah* (Islamic proselytisation) stage. He moved from Sintang to Majang Island to Semitau to Nanga Suhaid to Selimbau to Embaloh and to Putussibau. This demonstrates that Tahir was a figure of the 'Sufi Wanderers', who preached informally and was affiliated with the Sammaniyyah sufi order from Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan. As an *imām* (leader), he was not only a teacher of Islam, but also a figure to whom people looked for concrete solutions to various life problems. The MSS AAT is a personal record of the journey of a *sālik* or teacher involved in the process of learning and teaching Islam to the indigenous offspring of West Kalimantan. In addition to being a personal notebook, the MSS AAT also served as a special reference source for answering questions related to various community problems, as can be seen from the texts on traditional farming and medicine.

The Life and Work of Abang Ahmad Tahir

The author of the MSS AAT has been attributed three names, namely Abang Ahmad Tahir Imam (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 01 Tahir 1902, 6r), Imam Abang Ahmad Tahir (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 05 Tahir 1921, 15v), and Abang Ahmad Tahir (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 07 Tahir 1928, 11r). The MSS AAT's author's name contains two different epithets of special people in West Kalimantan. As an epithet, the word *Abang* is a title of a man of aristocratic descent or from the royal family of the local kingdom in West Kalimantan. The word *imām* is also the title of a religious leader of a local Islamic kingdom. As an epithet, the word *imām* has two variants that represent the hierarchy of religious authority. Maharaja Imam is the epithet variant for the royal court of the Mufti of the Kingdom that has the highest religious authority. Whereas the word *imām* is the epithet variant for ordinary people. Practically, the title of *imām* is used by religious leaders for ritual activities such as general worship, scripture recitations, and other salvation rituals (Ahmadin et al. 2019; Unang et al. 2019). However, the title of *imām* in the Sufi tradition refers to Sufi leaders who have the authority to deliver Sufi teachings, as well as those who have the authority of *murshīd* or *murabbi al-rūh* for the *sālik* or people who take a spiritual pathway.

There are two paratexts of the MS AAT 10 that provide an explanation of Abang Ahmad Tahir's origin. He was born on a Friday night of Rabiul Awal 3th, 1277H (1860/61AD) in Kampung Ilir Kota, Sanggau (A. A. C. N.-M. S. A. A. T. 10 Tahir 2012, /2/, /7/). Although the manuscripts have so many corruptions and lacunas, both paratexts noted the Abang Ahmad Tahir family names. The paratexts explain that his first marriage was in Sintang on Rabiul Awwal 1303H (December 1885/Januari 1886AD). He worked on Majang island, which is located in Sentarum Lake of Kapuas Hulu. The paratext notes that Abang Ahmad Tahir was moving not only between villages but also between districts among Sintang, Majang, Semitau, Suhaid, Embaloh, Selimbau, Benua Wahwang, Putussibau, and Badau (A. A. C. N.-M. S. A. A. T. 10 Tahir 2012, /13r/). His first son was born on Muharram 21st, 1305 (9 October 1887) who was named Muhammad Pasir or Ahmad Pasir. He lived in Putussibau and preserved and bequeathed the MSS AAT. Abang Ahmad Pasir (b. 1887) bequeathed the collections to his son Ahmad Sabrie (b. 1910) who later bequeathed them to his son Abang Iskandar Sabrie (1938-2018). The manuscript collection of Abang Ahmad Tahir has been studied and proved to be his work and identified as the MSS AAT, which comprises 11 bundles of manuscripts (Table 1).

Table 1. List of the Manuscript Collection of Abang Ahmad Tahir (MSS AAT)

No	Manuscript Code	Title	Year of Writing	Number of Pages
1	MS AAT 01	<i>Sifat Dua Puluh Semitau</i> (Twenty Attributes of Semitau)	1320/1902	12
2	MS AAT 02	<i>Penjelasan Sifat Dua Puluh</i> (Explanation of the Twenty Attributes)	1322/1904	36
3	MS AAT 03	<i>Kesempurnaan Mengenal Allah</i> (Perfection of Knowing Allah)	-	20
4	MS AAT 04	<i>Fardu Syahadat</i>	-	2
5	MS AAT 05	<i>Kitab Risalah Perukunan Islam</i> (Book of Guidance of Islamic Pillars)	1340/1921	52
6	MS AAT 06	<i>Risalah Hukum Najis/Kitab Rukun Beristinja</i> (Guide on Impurity/Book on Cleaning the impurity)	1350/1931	12

7	MS AAT 07	<i>Babul Jumat: Fiqh Ibadah Jumat</i>	1347/1928	26
8	MS AAT 08	<i>Khutbah Jumat</i> (Friday Sermons)	-	24
9	MS AAT 09	<i>Kitab Berladang/Petunjuk Isyarat-isyarat Berladang</i> (Book of Farming)	-	26
10	MS AAT 10	<i>Kitab Perobatan Tradisional</i> (Book of Traditional Medicine)	1309/1891	78
11	MS AAT 11	<i>Kepingan Catatan Nukil</i> (Pieces of Notes on Nukil)	-	46
Total pages				326

Source: Abang Ahmad Tahir Manuscript Collection

The table above shows that the 11 bundles of manuscripts in the MSS AAT collection constitute 326 pages. Its thickness also varies, ranging from two pages of text to 70. The thinnest manuscript is MS AAT 04, which is one sheet of paper without a cover and comprises two pages (back and front), which is titled *Fardu Syahadat*. While the thickest manuscript is MS AAT 10, which takes the form of a book bound without a cover and comprises 70 pages with the title *Kitab Perobatan* (Book of Medicine). A few notes regarding MS AAT 04 and MS AAT 11: both are unique bundles, so we treated MS AAT 04 as a separate text bundle although it only consists of one sheet of paper with text on both sides. Besides the fact that the text is codically different from the other bundles, the structure and content of the texts are also different from the others. The same way for treating each page as being a separate text also applies when collecting 23 pieces of paper with text and sorting them into the MS AAT 11 bundle in the collection of Abang Ahmad Tahir. Finally, the only information available regarding the end of Abang Ahmad Tahir's life was collected from Abang Iskandar Sabrie, who explained that his great-grandfather passed away in 1945 and was buried in Benua Martinus, Putussibau (Sabrie and Halimah 2014).

Based on the year quoted on the colophon in Table 1, we know that the MSS AAT text was written by Abang Ahmad Tahir within a 40-year time span, from 1309 to 1350 AH / 1891-1930 AD. During this period, the Kapuas Hulu area was controlled by the Dutch colonial government. In this case, Semitau, referred to by Abang Ahmad Tahir as the MSS AAT scriptorium, is one of the regions in the Kapuas West Kalimantan River trade route. In colonial times, West

Kalimantan was called *Westerafdeling van Borneo*, while the southern and eastern regions were called *Zuider-En Oosterafdeling van Borneo*. Based on the Sungau Kapuas route, the western region is divided into several districts (*afdeling*), namely Sintang *Afdeeling*, Kapuas Hulu *Onderafdeling*, Semitau *Onderafdeling*, Melawi *Onderafdeling*, Sintang *Onderafdeling*, Sanggau and Sekadau *Afdeling*, Tayan *Afdeling*, and Pontianak *Afdeling* (Rahmayani, Darmadi, and Firmansyah 2018, 33–48). There are a number of kingdoms, namely Bunut, Jongkong, Piasa, Selimbau, Suhaid, Silat, Sintang, Sekadau, Sanggau, Meliau, and Tayan. Meanwhile, downstream from the sea are the Kingdoms of Pontianak, Simpang, and Kubu. Furthermore, there are also other kingdoms, namely Matan, Sukadana, Landak, and Sambas (Sjamsudin. 1938 and Nursam 2013, 33).

What follows are the results of our examination of the MSS AAT texts, which show actual examples of Sufi interpretations of local culture, which construct the confluence of Dayakness and Islam. A brief overview of the texts discusses individual examples of how particular passages present dynamic engagement between critically selected local traditions of cosmology and specific elements of Sufi textual discourses. The overview also focuses on the way in which such texts further indicate both the Islamisation of local communities and how they vernacularise interpretations of Islam in Kapuas Hulu.

The Cosmology of Local Traditions

Patebang (1997, 5–19) called the Dayak belief system or religion in West Kalimantan an ‘indigenous religion’. It differs from the Dayak local religion in Central Kalimantan, which is called *Kaharingan*. The Kaharingan’s name derives from an agreement reached on 5 January 1972 between the figures of a sect of Hinduism outlined in *Kaharingan* religious teachings. The book is entitled *Panaturan Tamparan Taloh Handiai* (The Narrative of the Beginning of Everything) (Singaribun 1996, 264–65). That said, it is not possible to comprehensively capture the concept of theology in the belief system or the indigenous religion of West Kalimantan Dayaks because the concept of absolute reality is manifested in customs, customary law, language, and art. (Zulkifli 2007, 72–75). This is related to the influence of Hindu-Buddhist culture before the advent of Islam and the beliefs of animism and dynamism (Abdillah 2012, 165; Pasifikus Ahok 1980). Among the evidence of

this belief is the *adat* (customary practice) of *ponto'* or *pantak*, which is a statue of an ancestor made of wood which they respect and 'feed' each year. In addition, *ngayau* and *tariyu* have long been practiced as traditions for obtaining magic power among the Dayaks in Kalimantan. The *ngayau* tradition is also known as a head hunting tradition, which involves cutting off the enemy's head to obtain magic. Whereas *tariyu* is a tradition of summoning ancestral spirits, especially during wars between groups (Patebang 1999).

Whenever performing customary rituals or ceremonies, the Dayaks pray to Almighty God as the absolute reality according to their belief system. There are many expressions or words that they use to refer to the Absolute Reality in their belief system. The *Kaharingan* religion in Central Kalimantan uses the name *Raying Hatala*. The word *Raying* means the One Almighty God, Most Great, Most Noble, Most Honest, Most Straight, Most Powerful, Most Knowing, Most Holy, Most Beneficent and Merciful, Most Just, Eternal, All-Hearing. Meanwhile, the expression *Hatala* means Supreme Creator (Suseno 2006). In addition, Singaribun (Singaribun 1996, 264–65) writes that there are many words in the oral tradition of the Kalak Dayak addressed to the Absolute Reality in their belief system. Kanayatn Dayak call it *Jubata*, Kenyak Dayak call it *Bunga Malam*, *Nek Duata* (Simpang), *Duwato* (Pesaguan), *Duwata'* (Jelai). According to Anyang (1998, 115), the Taman Dayak refer to their Absolute Reality as *Alaatala*. Meanwhile, according to Coomans (1987, 87), the Bahau and Kayan Dayaks of East Kalimantan are called *Tamai Tingai*. In addition, there are other words used by West Kalimantanese to refer to the Absolute Reality in their belief system, such as *Maharaja Kulung Rahun*, *Datu Kumahing Langit*, *Raja Tantaling Langit*, *Ile Tungka Kahiangan*, *Tuhan Nguasa*, *Alaktala Ngaburiat*, *Taja Totong Matanandan*, *Kanorahan Tambing Kabanteran Bualan*, *Tiang*, *Datu Tantaya*, *Tame Tinge*, *Lahtala Ju'us Tuha*, *Lalunganing Singkor Olo*, and *Tata Manah Tuah Wuka* (Patebang 1999, 5–19).

There are at least two words that refer to the Absolute Reality in the MSS AAT, which are related to the concept of absolute reality in the belief system of the indigenous offspring of Kalimantan. Both words that refer to the Absolute Reality in the MSS AAT represent the intertext relationship as a representation of cultural identity. The words are '*Hatala*' and '*Alaataala*'. The word '*Hatala*' is found in the

Kaharingan religion, while ‘*Alaataala*’ is in the oral tradition of the Taman Dayak in Kapuas Hulu. Based on the results of the examination of the MSS AAT text, Abang Ahmad Tahir uses the phrase ‘*Allah taala*’ or ‘*Allāh subhānahu wa-ta’āla*’ to refer to the absolute reality in Islam consistently. The translation of the phrase is based on his cultural identity originating from the Taman Dayak tradition. Tahir uses ‘*Allah taala*’ more often than ‘*Allah subānahu wa-ta’āla*’, which is commonly used in Islamic literature. It seems different when compared to the diction Tahir uses, such as *ṣallallāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam*, ‘*alayhi salām*, and *radīyallāh ‘anhū*. This phenomenon, among others, appears in the following excerpt from the MS AAT 01 text narration:

[As] for what is necessary to be of the Attributes of Allah ta’ala O *saliks* is the twenty attributes that we must know and the opposite [impossible attributes]. *Wujud* (Existence) means that the *Dhāt* ‘Essence’ of Allah Almighty exists, the opposite is it is impossible that the *Dhāt* of Allah Almighty is non-existent, the argument is [then] the [whole] universe. *Qidām* means that the *Dhāt* of Allah ta’ala is the beginning, the opposite is it is impossible for anyone to precede Him, the argument is [then] the [whole] universe. *Baqā*’ means the *Dhāt* of Allah Almighty is eternal, the opposite is it is impossible for the *Dhāt* of Allah Almighty to perish, the argument is [then] the [whole] universe (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 01 Tahir 1902, /1r/).”

Tahir’s closeness to the Taman Dayak tradition is evidenced by his success of being accepted as part of his community. He married a woman from the Taman Dayak tribe, notwithstanding that he came from the Sanggau Malay ethnic group. This was revealed by the late Abang Iskandar Sabrie (d. 2018) who stated that his ancestor was a Taman Dayak who was married to Abang Ahmad Tahir. The place of origin of the Taman Dayak is an area in Putussibau known as Benua Martinus. As Sabrie and Halimah write:

Our origin is the Taman Dayaknese. Our ancestors used to live in Benua Martinus. Our family and ancestral graves are there. We moved to Prajurit Village for school. Since I was little, I have lived in this village. There are many families and relatives from the village who live in this house to continue their education. Their parents deliberately left their children to get more education. Even so, we never forced them to become Muslims (Sabrie and Halimah 2012).

Although there is a similarity in the diction of the name of the absolute reality in the Taman Dayak belief system, with the mention of

God's name in Islam, namely '*Hatala*' and '*Alaataala*', both are divine concepts that differ theologically. The first concept of '*Hatala*' and '*Allataala*' in the Taman Dayak tradition is based on the theological polytheist tradition, while the second concept, '*Allah Taala*', is based on monotheism. Tahir provided the Dayaknese with enlightenment about the concept of absolute reality systematically, by introducing to them the doctrine of the pillars of Islam and the pillars of faith in the teachings of Islam. This form of enlightenment is evident because we cannot comprehensively present the theological concepts of the belief or indigenous religion of the Kalak Dayaks. The concept of absolute reality in the Dayak belief system is manifested in customs, customary law, language and art. The Dayaks have many rituals in the oral tradition regarding human life cycles from birth to death.

In addition to '*Hatala*' and '*Alaataala*' in the Taman Dayak, the phrase commonly used by the West Kalimantan Dayaks to refer to the name of the absolute reality in their belief system is *Jubata*. This word comes from the Kanayatn Dayaks who are the largest Dayak tribe in West Kalimantan. The name *Jubata* can be heard in greetings to people or audiences considered to represent the characteristics of the Dayak culture. The greeting, which is a characteristic of the West Kalimantan Dayak culture, is '*Adil katalino bacuramin kasaruga basengat kajubata*' (Muhrotien 2011, 83–92). According to Zulkifli (2007, 73–74), according to the belief of the Kanayatn Dayaks, *Jubata* is the creator of all that exists, and on him all that exists depends. *Jubata* is there and its existence is absolute and will continue to exist. *Jubata* is supernatural and transcendent and affects human life. In addition to being a source, *Jubata* is similar to humans because he likes to eat *lamang*, *tumpi*, *poe* and drink. *Jubata* is always on the side of good and when there is evil inflicted on human beings, then it is only a means or reminder from *Jubata* that human beings live a good life.

The Kanayatn Dayaks believe that *Jubata* is in every creation and therefore his creation is believed to contain the spirit of his power (Widjono 1998, 67–68). According to Hermansyah (2010, 100–113), the concept of '*sumangat*' or '*semangat*' or '*semongat*' is something that exists in humans and makes humans have the power to face the world. Someone who lives without 'enthusiasm' can be likened to a living corpse. He will look as desperate as someone who has lost the strength and energy to move on. The '*semangat*' can be summoned, removed,

and leave someone's body. A person whose semangat has left does not die. Someone who falls from a high place like a tree, a house, and other high places or is shocked must be assisted to get back his *semangat*. The trick is to show an expression of regret and gently rub the injured part of his body while saying 'ku semangat', which is intended to call back or take back the 'soul' that left his body.

The concept of '*sumangat*' is also related to the indigenous West Kalimantan myth of 'humans who have kinship to certain objects or animals'. There are people who are said to have twin siblings in the form of 'white crocodiles' or 'white tigers', so that sometimes they are 'possessed' by their twin brothers and behave like them. In this context, Abang Ahmad Tahir (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 01 Tahir 1902, /2v/) stated that we have four brothers who are both *zāhīran* in ourselves, namely *urik jakan wadi*, *tambuni jakan madi*, *tuban jakan madi*, and *tutup jakan manikam*. The concept of four elements are those elements in human beings that are an inseparable part of themselves since their creation. As Abang Ahmad wrote:

And let it be known to you that the origin of His servant was created by God from four elements. The first is *wadi*; the second, *madi*; the third, *mani*; the fourth, *manikam*. And the first is soil; the second, water; the third, wind; and the fourth, fire. Jasmani, ruhani, ruh raḥmani, ruh 'idāfi. Jibril, Mikail, Israfil, Izrail. / 3r / As for the gathering of the four used to be one human being. And the name of the element is in *ma'lum Allāh* all together because Allah Almighty is invisible to human actions. (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 03 Tahir 2012, /2v/-/3r/).

The names of the elements of creation in the concept of the four kinds of the origin of human creation indicate the influence of Islam on the reinterpretation of cosmological concepts and ritual symbols in the belief system of the indigenous people of West Kalimantan. According to Sayadi (1995, 2019), there are, in fact, teachings of Sufism that state that humans comprise four elements, namely earth, water, wind, and fire. In addition, the prayer movement also describes these four elements. The standing position in the prayer movement is a representation of the element of fire, the bowing position is the element of water, the prostration position is the element of water, and the sitting position is the element of earth. Such concepts are derived from the *Daqāiq al-akhbār* book, which in Indonesia was adapted to become the Book of Mujarabat. With this perspective, the structure of the belief of the indigenous offspring of West Kalimantan is interrelated between

Islamic elements and local culture. In this context, Abang Ahmad Tahir explained:

As for what is called *Wadi* is earth, it is the sharia to us, it means this body. As for what is called *Madi* is water, it is the *tareqa* that is the reason for us. As for what is called *Mani*, it is wind, is our reality, which is our life. As for what *Manikam* is, it is fire, it is *ma'rifat* to us, that is our soul.... (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 03 Tahir 2012, /2v/-/3r/).

As a result of the Kanayatn Dayak belief that *Jubata* is in each of his creations, they also believe that nature, such as water, rice, and rivers have a soul or spirit because it is his creation. This is implied in religious poetry and ritual prayers such as *Jubata kayu aya* (big tree Jubata), *Jubata ai* (water Jubata) and *Jubata*, who dwells in all places. In the book of *Panaturan* (Hindu *Kaharingan* Religion) there is a ritual utterance of the Tawur which states that rice in all its forms is a human intermediary to God. Therefore, humans should not waste this blessed plant. If humans do not respect rice, then that person is likened to a child who does not know anything (Luardini 2009).

The Dayak belief system also recognises the existence of the soul or *ilah* which mediates between absolute reality and humans. The *ilah* is called *Raja*, such as *Raja Pali*, *Raja Ontong*, *Raja Sial*, *Raja Hunten*, and *Raja Peres*. The Dayaks believe in good spirits / deities, such as *Tempon Telon*, *Sangumang*, *Antang Bejala Balau*, and *Jarang Bawahani*. They also believe in evil spirits / gods such as *Kuniak* or *Kuntilanak*, *Keriau* or *Krian*, *Kloe* and *Kukang* (Lontaan 1975, 453–55). There are several reasons why they also respect ancestral spirits. They believe in the strong role of the ancestors in maintaining harmony in their lives and the preservation of the environment. They also believe that there is a very close relationship with ancestral spirits, so that they often 'communicate' through spiritual figures such as *balian* and *timanggong*. A *Balian* or a shaman is a person who works in a traditional Dayak ceremony whose duty is to deal with the Upper and Lower Worlds of the deceased human spirits. Whereas *Timanggong* or *Temenggung* is the title of traditional elders of the Dayak Kalimantan community that serves as a reference for the implementation of customary law.⁵ In addition, since the Dayaks have religion and belief, there is a belief that 'we live for God and we die for God.' Cosmologically and anthropologically, the cause of death is related to nature and divinity issues. The journey of human life starts from birth, grows as a baby into an adult human,

then grows old but returns to the state of a baby, and eventually dies (Humaedi 2016, 10–11).

According to Lontaan (1975, 456), the Maanyans Dayaks call their ancestral spirits *Ngaju Saniang* or *Ngaju Lian* in the *Kaharingan* creed. They can call and ask for help from the spirits of their ancestors who live in *Liau* after all the ceremonies of death have been done in full. The spirits of the ancestors often become protectors and guards of villages, rivers, or families who still live in this world. Therefore, they make special shrines for ancestral spirits, such as trees, stones, or specially made statues called *hampatong*. The Dayak community environment also has many places of sacred objects, such as *sandung* (grave), ancestors' *tembawang* (customary forest), water (part of the river), place of ancestral worship, *mandau*, and large crock or *tempayan tuha*. These sacred places must not be carelessly accessed, so their maintenance also means preserving nature.

Based on this description, the discussion about the spirit in the Dayak belief system is related to the perspective of the harmony of nature in the realm of the macrocosm. Conversely, Abang Ahmad Tahir discussed the concept of *rūh* /'spirit' in the doctrine of the Islamic religious faith from the Sufi perspective in the realm of microcosms. He examined the concept of the spirit as it related to the concept of human self-recognition as a way to know God or *makrifatullah*. He proclaimed that the spirit comprises six parts, namely *rūḥ idāfī*, *rūḥ nurānī*, *rūḥ ānī*; *rūḥ rabbānī*; *rūḥ raḥmānī*; and *rūḥ jasmānī*. Each part of the spirit has a different role / function and has a place in the human body. The first part, *rūḥ idāfī*, is between the liver and the heart. The second part, *rūḥ nurānī*, is in the veins between the bones. The third part, *rūḥ ānī*, is between the bones and skin. The fourth part, *rūḥ rabbānī*, is in the tendons and flesh. The fifth part, *rūḥ raḥmānī*, is between any organ that provides satisfaction. The sixth part, *rūḥ jasmānī*, is between the skin and hair which acts as a spirit that feels pain (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 01 Tahir 1902, /2v/).

The process of reinterpreting the meanings of concepts, symbols, and rituals in the belief system of the indigenous offspring of West Kalimantan not only uses the forms of material culture that exist in the surrounding environment, but also includes text narration in incantation. Although the complexity of the meaning of the ritual and the relations between the elements of cultural identity that exist in it

depicts pre-Islamic views, Abang Ahmad Tahir also used vocabulary and expressions that represent the Islamic identity of the indigenous offspring of West Kalimantan. First, he presented the doctrine of the faith as an entry point for learning about Islamic teachings. Meanwhile, guidance on the practice of carrying out Islamic rituals always depends on the mastery of understanding and mastering the doctrine of faith. This is one of the characteristics that distinguishes the Muslim community of West Kalimantan's indigenous offspring from Muslim communities elsewhere.

Sufi Doctrine of Nūr Muḥammad in MSS AAT

The doctrine of 'Nūr Muḥammad' is mysticism that teaches that Nur Muhammad is a creature who was first created by *Allah Taala* and who is the origin of the creation of other beings. Nur Muhammad is the extract and raw material of the erection of the universe. *Allah Taala* created all His creatures from Nur Muhammad, like the seven skies and its inhabitants (Aziz 2012, 309). This idea can be traced to al-Tustari's interpretation of the word '*mathalu nūrihi*' in the 24th Surah of the Qur'an, al-Nūr, verse 35, 'His parable of light' as Nur Muhammad *ṣallallāh 'alayh wa-sallam* (Bowering 1980, 149). This view is supported by *Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣri* (d. 238/860) who stated that '... the origin of the creature created by Allah taala is Nur Muhammad' (Al-Shibī 1969, 365). Thus, the precursor of the school of Nur Muhammad has been present in the discourse of Sufism or Islamic mysticism since the end of the 2nd century AH in the form of the literal term. This idea was brilliantly presented by al-Hallāj who has made the concept of Nur Muhammad the basis of the theories of *ḥulūl and waḥdāt al-adyān*, which places al-Hallāj as the Father of Nur Muhammad theory (Fattah 1987, 186).

The Hallāj's doctrine of Nūr Muḥammad was elaborated on by Ibn Arabī (1165 – 1240) into doctrine of emanation and doctrine of 'Perfect Man' (*insān kāmil*) as formulated by al-Jīlī (1365-1424). Through the book *Tuhfah al-Mursalah ilā Rūh al-Nabī Ṣallallāh 'alayhi wa-Sallam*, Fadlallah al-Buhanpuri (d. 1620) elaborated on the doctrine of Nūr Muḥammad into the doctrine of the 'Seven Grades' (*Martabat Tujuh*) (Sahabudin 2002, 60). The Burhanpuri's doctrine of 'Seven Grades' adopted by Hamzah Fansuri (d. 1527) and Shāms al-Dīn (d. 1630) of Pasai al-Sumatrā'i that has become the dominant one in Southeast Asian

Muslim mysticism until the first part of the 20th century. Based on a survey of Sufi writing popular in Southeast Asia, Feener concluded that specifically Hallajian currents of thought do not appear to have been important in the intellectual development of Islam in the region. ‘What we see instead is a predominance of two other major trends: the sober Sufism of al-Ghazālī, and the monistic and pantheistic elaborations of the work of Ibn al-Arabī (Feener 1998, 583–84).’ Thus, al-Ghazālī’s *‘Ihyā’* and its derivatives still occupy a dominant position in Southeast Asia (Van Bruinessen 1990, 266) because the transmission of Muslim knowledge in the region has been largely dependent on the *pesantren* curricula, even in modern times. However, Hallajian’s doctrine, including the doctrine of Nūr Muḥammad, has survived and been preserved, while seeming to have posed a serious obstacle. MSS AAT is one of the best examples thereof in Kaspuas Hulu, West Kalimantan.

Abang Ahmad Tahir provided an explanation of the concept of Nur Muhammad in four manuscripts, namely MS AAT 01, MS AAT 02, MS AAT 03 and MS AAT 05. There is a tendency to repeat the text narration, both in one manuscript and between texts in different manuscripts. Repetition that occurs in one manuscript is MS AAT 03, in which the same narrative appears on three occasions. Repetition between texts in different manuscripts can be found in MS AAT 01 and MS AAT 05. While text with a non-repetitive narration is found in MS AAT 02. Here is the narrative of MS AAT 01 / 4r / regarding Nur Muhammad:

... The beginning of the creation of Allah taala is “*min al-nūr*” which explains Allah subḥānahu wa-ta’ālā creating Nur Muhammad. So it is Nur Muhammad then thanks to Huw, “*Alastu Rabbakum.*” He said, “O Nur Muhammad do you not know your Lord.” So Nur Muhammad said how can I know you as I do not see [you]. So Huw said, “*Khalaqtu al-ashyā’a li-ajlik wa-mā khalaqtu-hū illā li-ajlik*”. It means, “You were created from me, something from you. “*Qālū balā fa-sajada.*” So Nur Muhammad prostrated for a thousand years. So Huw spoke in divine self-manifestation. So Manikam was made on Nur Muhammad. The argument {*Idhā arāda shay’an, an-yaqūla lahū kun fa-yakūn* }. So, be what “Huw” intended and life as well, then Huw said “O Nur Muhammad, arise from your prostration (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 01 Tahir 1902, /4r/).

A more detailed discussion of the aspects of Sufism in MS AAT 01 leads to a description of Nur Muhammad (/4v). As a Sufistic ideology, the idea of Nur Muhammad is the precursor of the *wahdāt al-wujūd* Sufistic

school of thought, which developed in the archipelago. According to Nur Kolis (Kolis 2012, 175), the Nūr Muḥammad ideology, which is the *waḥdat al-wujūd* thought of Sufism, has developed in Borneo since the beginning of the establishment of the Kingdom of Banjar during the reign of Sultan Suriansyah (1527-1545) until the beginning of the reign of Sultan Tamhidullah II (1761-1801). The scholars who became the leading figures of Nūr Muḥammad ideology in South Kalimantan were Datu Syuban, Datu Sanggul, Shaikh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari (d. 1786) and Datu Abulung or Shaikh Abdul Hamid Abulung (d. 1780). If its genealogical idea is traced, the ideology of *waḥdāt al-wujūd* was developed by al-Ḥallāj based on the al-Tustārī's concept of Nur Muhammad. This idea is combined with the philosophy of Ibn al-'Arābī in the concept of *wujūdīyah*, which is the philosophy of Sufism, which maintains that the fact of existence is only one, namely the Existence of Allah Taala.

The concept of *wujūdīyah* assumes that everything that appears in this world is not real because it is merely Allah's tajallī. Ibn 'Arābī's philosophical mysticism is influenced by al-Jillī in the concept of *Insān al-Kāmil* and also Al-Burhānfūrī in the concept of the Dignity of the Seven. These ideas then reached the Indonesian Archipelago and were developed by the Sufis, especially Hamzah al-Fansūri and Syamsuddin al-Sumatranī. These two figures are considered the most responsible for the spread of the Nur Muhammad ideology throughout the archipelago (W.M. 1995). As a consequence of *wujūdīyah* thought, which presupposes that the universe is not an essential form but only a *tajjali* of Allah Taala, its existence cannot be separated from the role of Nur Muhammad. Hamzah al-Fansūri even argues that Nur Muhammad is the 'spiritual head' of the hierarchical government of the prophets and saints. Nur Muhammad is the same as the Holy Spirit and Allah's Active Power to create. Therefore Nur Muhammad is an 'intermediary between Allah and His creatures' (W.M. 1995).

As for the origin of human creation, West Kalimantan's indigenous offspring society believes that humans come from earth and wood, as recorded in the *Ilmu Asal Badan* (science of the origin of the body) (Herman syah 2010, 96–97). The earth elements comprise *luncak soil*, *amau soil*, *nail soil*, *kesturi soil*, and *taubi soil*. The wood elements comprise *sidratul muntaha wood*, *lakum wood*, and *zakum wood*. The

process of human creation from the various types of soil and wood in a human then transforms into a drop of semen, which is inserted into a woman's womb. From semen, it turns into a drop of blood. While the blood has the name *Abu Bakr*, the heart is called *Uihman*, and the heart *insānullāh*. Meanwhile, the Qur'anic Surah al-Hajj (22) verse 5 states that man was created from *turāb* (soil), which turns into *nutfah* (semen), then into *'alaqah* (blood clot), and then into *mudghah* (lump of flesh), which is perfect in its creation but which is not perfect.

Abang Ahmad Tahir clearly provides information regarding the method of reflecting the attributes of Allah and His Messenger written in MS AAT 01 / 2v / and MS AAT 02 / 16r / which is done through the *dhikr* (remembrance) of the existence of Allah, which is expressed as follows:

The matters that you should know about the words "*lā ilāha illallāh.*" So the heart says that no one is capable and no one is powerful and no one remembers only Allah, wujud (existence of) Allah. And indeed, the *dhikr* (remembrance of) Allah confessing-I am life I am Allāh the *dhikr* of "Huw" the *dhikr* of the sense I am the essence of Allah, that is the sense. So the word to the truth of One, that is, the conscience that is life and what is called life is the sense and the name of the sense is the existence of Allah ta'ālā which is absolute from Allah, do not doubt these words *wallāhu 'alam tammat*" (Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 01 Tahir 1902, /2v/; Abang Ahmad C N - M S A A T 02 Tahir 1904, /16r/).

Thus, there is some textual evidence in the MSS AAT that there exists a confluence between Islam and the culture of West Kalimantan's 'indigenous offspring' in its belief system. The confluence of Dayak culture and Islamic culture occurred in this conceptual realm as the foundation for the construction of Islamic identity, which continues to experience dialectics periodically. This confluence occurred because the teachings of Islam, which first developed in Kapuas Hulu, had Sufistic characteristics. This has become one of the Islamic distinctions of West Kalimantan's 'indigenous offspring' as a Malay community group in West Kalimantan. Which is generally based on customary tradition, based on Shari'a, and Shari'a based on *Kitabullāh* (the Book of Allah). Thus, the characteristics of Malay identity, which the Dutch colonial government has labelled the West Kalimantan's 'indigenous offspring', are not the same as those in the Malay world in general.

Conclusion

The accommodation of Islam, along with local beliefs and practices in the history of the Islamisation of the people of the Indonesian archipelago, has been made possible and facilitated by the Sufis. The dynamics of accommodation are approached by several perspectives, including syncretism, synthesis mystic, localisation, adaptation, vernacularisation, cultural hybrid, and Islamicate. Similar to religious songs of praise to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) in Java, the texts of MSS AAT in West Kalimantan reveal evidence of Islam's penetration into the root of local culture. The process not only engaged vernacularisation of Islam or the articulation of Islamic messages into local languages, but also constructed Sufi interpretation into local beliefs and practices. MSS AAT texts not only present a compelling case study of the Islamisation of West Kalimantan's indigenous offspring communities, but also show how they vernacularise interpretations of Islam in Kapuas Hulu as a particular local context. MSS AAT texts show actual examples of Sufi interpretations of local culture which constructed the confluence of Dayaknese and Islam.

Based on the results of text and paratext studies, the portrait of Muslim Dayak in the MSS AAT can be seen in dynamic forms of dialogue between cultural elements of the West Kalimantan indigenous offspring and Islamic teachings filled with Sufistic features. The vernacularisation of Islam into Dayaknese in the MSS AAT can also be seen in cultural forms that bring Islamic teachings together with the culture of the Kapuas Hulu people. The manifestation of its characteristics is seen in the confluence of Sufistic Islam with the occult mystical tradition of the Kapuas Hulu society. These characteristics have also become typical of Kalimantan's Islam, as part of the mosaic of the Islamic cultural sphere in the moderate and tolerant Indonesian archipelago.

Endnotes

1. Six of the eleven MS AAT bundles have colophons that mention names of places, years and people who wrote the text. MS AAT 10 entitled *the Book of Medicine* is the corpus of the oldest manuscripts written in Badau in 1309 AH / 1891 AD. Whereas MS AAT 06, entitled *Kitab Rukun Beristinja*, is the most recent written in Semitau in 1350 AH / 1931 AD.
2. Despite having same name and origin, the man referred here is not Sheikh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjārī (1710-1812) because they live in a different century.
3. Kapuas Hulu Regency is one of the Second Level Regions in the province of West Kalimantan. The capital of the Regency is located in the town of Putussibau which can be reached via transportation of the Kapuas river covering a distance of 846 km, by land 814 km, and by air with a small-bodied aircraft from Pontianak via Pangsuma Airport. It has an area of 29,842 km² (20% of West Kalimantan total area) and a population of 258,984 according to data from the Central Statistics Agency of Kapuas Hulu Regency in 2019.
4. Although it is mentioned “The Word of Allah Ta’ala in the Qur’an”, but the text of this verse is not found in the standard Uthmānī Qur’an manuscripts.
5. As indigenous West Kalimantan indigenous communities, the Dayaks and the Malays have a relatively similar system of customary law, despite their different titles and names. The *Tomonggong* is the primary leader of the Dayaks according to its customary law, while *Punggawa* is the top leader of the West Kalimantan Malays according to their customary law.
6. The doctrine of Nūr Muḥammad originated from the Sufistic interpretation of the 24th *Surah* of the Qur’an, al-Nūr, verse 35 and the 5th *Surah*, al-Mā’idah, verse 15. The source of the hadith comes from the hadith of Jabir’s history, which states that Allah actually created the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad *ṣallallāh ‘alayh wa-sallam* is from His Essence and then created this universe entirely from the soul of Prophet Muhammad *ṣallallāh ‘alayh wa-sallam*.

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2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
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5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

Arabic romanization should be written as follows:

Letters: ' b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ḏ, ḡ, f, q, l, m, n, h, w, y. Short vowels: a, i, u. long vowels: ā, ī, ū. Diphthongs: aw, ay. *Tā marbūṭā*: t. Article: al-. For detail information on Arabic Romanization, please refer the transliteration system of the Library of Congress (LC) Guidelines.

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تم اعتماد ستوديا إسلاميكا من قبل وزارة البحوث والتكنولوجيا والتعليم العالي بجمهورية إندونيسيا باعتبارها دورية علمية (رقم القرار: 32a/E/KPT/2017).

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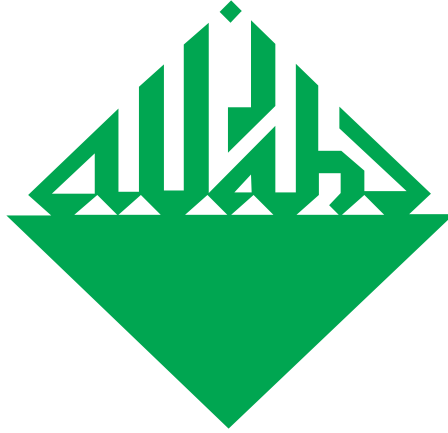
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