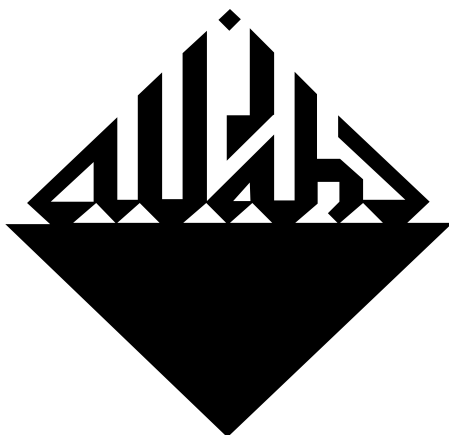


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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BUDDHISM IN MUSLIM INDONESIA

Karel Steenbrink

THE MISSING MINISTER OF RELIGION AND THE PSII: A CONTEXTUAL BIOGRAPHY OF K.H. AHMAD AZHARY

Kevin W. Fogg

KITAB BERLADANG: A PORTRAIT OF HYBRID ISLAM IN WEST KALIMANTAN

Faizal Amin

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A Textual Approach to Understanding Nusantara Muslims

Faizal Amin

Kitab Berladang: A Portrait of Hybrid Islam in West Kalimantan

Abstract: *Kitab Berladang is a manuscript from Putussibau, located in the interior of West Kalimantan. The text describes the ritual practices of the Muslim–Dayak community in rice cultivation activities. The dynamic mixing of elements from traditional culture of the Kapuas Hulu people and the teachings of Islam has resulted in a hybrid form of local Islam. Kitab Berladang, which provides a portrait of the diversity of the Muslim–Dayak community in West Kalimantan, outlines a hybrid character of Islam that can be seen in three domains. Firstly, in how the structure of the ritual of swidden cultivation retains the traditional procedures and also utilizes verses from the Holy Qur’an and Hadith. Secondly, in the incorporation of vocabulary and terminology from the local language with Arabic. Thirdly, in the reinterpretation of the symbols that were originally derived from legends and myths about rice in the community’s system of traditional beliefs, along with Islamic concepts derived from the tradition of theological and mystical thought.*

Key words: *Kitab Berladang, hybrid Islam, mmarung tradition, Dayak–Muslim community.*

Abstrak: Kitab Berladang adalah sebuah manuskrip yang berasal dari Putusibau di Pedalaman Kalimantan Barat. Teksnya mendeskripsikan praktik ritual komunitas Dayak–Muslim dalam aktivitas berhuma padi. Dinamika pencampuran antara unsur-unsur budaya tradisional suku asli masyarakat Kapuas Hulu dengan ajaran Islam telah menghasilkan Islam lokal yang bernuansa hybrid. Karakter hybrid dalam teks Kitab Berladang yang merupakan potret keberagamaan komunitas Dayak–Muslim di Kalimantan Barat dapat ditemukan dalam tiga ranah. Pertama, struktur ritual berhuma padi yang mempertahankan tata cara tradisional dan menambahkan penggunaan ayat-ayat suci al-Qur’an dan hadis. Kedua, penggabungan kosa kata dan terminologi bahasa lokal dengan kosa kata dan terminologi Arab Islam. Ketiga, reinterpretasi simbol yang semula bersumber dari legenda dan mitos tentang padi dalam sistem kepercayaan masyarakat tradisional dengan konsep-konsep Islam yang berasal dari tradisi pemikiran teologi dan tasawuf.

Kata kunci: Kitab Berladang, Islam hybrid, tradisi mmarung, Komunitas Dayak–Muslim.

الخلاصة: *Kitab Berladang* هو أحد المخطوطات العربية من بوتوسيبا Putusibau وفي ريف منطقة كليمانتان الغربية. النص يصور عملية عبودية لدي الدياكيين المسلمين في أثنائ نشاطهم الزراعية. لاشك أن ديناميك المزج و الاختلاط بين حضارة المجتمع الأصليين و ثقافتهم بتعاليم الإسلام قد كان يترتب على وجود نوعية الإسلام المحلية الهبريدية. إن الخصائص الهبريدية في نص المخطوط *Kitab Berladang* التي تصوّر ديانة المجتمع الدياكيين المسلمين بكليمانتان الغربية توجد في ثلاثة المستويات. الخاصية الأولى هي بنوية العملية العبودية في النشاطات الزراعية التي تحافظ الطرق و الخطوات التقليدية من جانب و تأخذ الآيات القرآنية و الأحاديث النبوية زيادة عليها من جانب آخر. و الخاصية الثانية هي ظاهرة المزج و الإختلاط بين المفردات و المصطلحات المحليّة الدياكية بالعربية الإسلامية. و الخاصية الثالثة هي تفسير العلامة و الصورة التي تصدر من الحكايات و الحرفات في نظام إعتقادات المجتمع التقليدية بضوء التفسير الإشاري الإسلامي من تراث الفكر التيولوجي و التصوف.

الكلمات الاسترشادية: *Kitab Berladang*، الإسلام الهبريد، تقاليد *Mmarung*، المجتمع الدياكيين المسلمين.

This article is an introduction to the tradition of Islamic religiosity of the Muslim Dayak community in its rice cultivation practices, as recorded in a manuscript titled *Petunjuk Isyarat-isyarat Berladang* (A Guide to Cultivation Procedures), hereafter referred to as *Kitab Berladang*. This term was chosen because the rice cultivation theme in the manuscript is the most dominant of all the other sub-themes. The text is thought to have originated from the 19th century and was written by a preacher¹ of local Islam in Putussibau in the interior of West Kalimantan. By focusing on the diversity of Islamic concepts and vocabulary in the text of *Kitab Berladang*, the article describes the view of the Muslim Dayak, a native people of Kapuas Hulu, about Islam.

A mix of Dayak cultural traditions with the Islamic religion has created a different shade of Islam. This shade, according to scholars of cultural studies, can be called a 'hybrid'. Thus, a paper on Islamic religiosity of the Dayak with regard to cultivation implies the phenomenon of hybrid Islam. Scholars use the term 'hybrid' or 'hybridity' to describe the process of cultural mixing which results in the formation of identity and cultural production.² The terminology is also used to describe the identity of the person who has a mixture of cultural background, such as migrants, and also products of mixed culture in languages,³ music, or style. Homi Bhabha used hybridity to describe the forms of resistance to colonialism.⁴ Bhabha's works view hybridity as subversive and as active movement opposing and rejecting the domination of the power of culture.⁵ This article examines the description of hybrid Islam in the Muslim Dayak community as a form of syncretic absorption of several Islamic concepts with the local tradition, which by some scholars is considered unorthodox⁶ or distorted. The image of a local hybrid Islam in *Kitab Berladang* is a mutual accommodation between traditional rituals carried out in pragmatic cultivation practices and normative Islamic texts. This argument differs from that of the scholars who state that the Islamic tradition that developed in the area of the archipelago and other regions tends to adjust to the 'great tradition' of Islam, which reached its supremacy in the 19th century.⁷

One of the adjustments with great Islamic tradition is the inclusion of the teachings of Islam, both in the readings (substitute or complementary spells), world view, and other aspects of cultural practices known by

them, such as rice cultivation. The tradition of growing rice, or *buma* in *Kitab Berladang*, is rich with religious rituals. The subjects conducting the rituals are the Muslim Dayak community in Putussibau, the native people of Kapuas Hulu. The manuscript of *Kitab Berladang* successfully documents the ritualistic forms in each phase of the *buma* activities. Although these forms of ritual are local in nature, Islamic text is evident in the spells that are cast. This phenomenon proves that the *ulama*, who preached Islam in Kapuas Hulu, did not simply get rid of all traditional aspects.

The above phenomenon is described by Azra as one of continuity and change that is not only limited to the tradition of the *tarekat*.⁸ As for ‘continuity’, these customs and traditions that are still performed today by the Kapuas Hulu people had existed long before the arrival of Islam. However, these have undergone ‘change’ through adaption with Islamic text. Clearly, the text of *Kitab Berladang* mentions the concepts of Nur Hayatullah, Nur Hayati, and Nur Muhammad, which are used interchangeably to describe or name the rice seeds sowed. The consciousness of the beliefs of the pre-Islamic native society of Kapuas Hulu has established the image of hybrid Islam in West Kalimantan. The phenomenon of Arabic vocabulary and Islamic terminology found in *Kitab Berladang* shows that there is a form of reinterpretation of ritual symbols regarding the myth of the origin of rice believed by traditional Dayak community.⁹ Procedural steps in the procession of the ritual, ritual items used, and the time of performing the ritual described by *Kitab Berladang* retain local customs and traditions passed down through the generations of the Kapuas Hulu community.

The text of *Kitab Berladang* reveals the characters of hybrid Islam in the process of Islamization of West Kalimantan. Islamic culture, with Arabic as the ‘mega cosmopolitan’, always experiences domestication or adaptation to local values when entering the ‘countryside’.¹⁰ The ritual forms that exist in the tradition of *buma* continue to survive, but there is a process of reinterpretation of ritual symbols that adapt to Islamic concepts and teachings. As time passes by, these ritual forms will continue to change as the performer reinterprets rituals and symbols to find an ideal form. It is with this perspective that an understanding of the hybrid character in the Islamic religiosity of the native people of Kapuas Hulu can be obtained. This is why the development of Islam

in West Kalimantan, or even in Indonesia more generally, is more accurately referred to as 'adhesion' rather than 'conversion' within communities.

Kitab Berladang is authentic proof of mutual accommodation between Islam and local culture in the process of acculturation. This script bears testament to the thesis of Robert Day McAmis, who argued that when Islam came to Borneo not only did it change the lives of Malay people there, but also that the lives of the Malays changed Islam. The Borneo Malays are Muslims who have defended the conviction of animistic beliefs and the belief of the power of magic when dealing with the forces of nature.¹¹ McAmis based his thesis on the existence of two groups of Muslims in Borneo — upper-class and lower-class. Muslims who belong to the lower-class group share a lot of the concepts of non Muslims. Those of the upper-class and traders, meanwhile, have let go of pre-Islamic ideas due to their highly cosmopolitan relations with the Arab sailors and merchants. The elite section of society also has a better knowledge and understanding of Islam. Islam was accepted in Borneo where it matched the character and behavior of Malay people. The confession of faith in Borneo, as is the case on the Malayisan peninsula and in Aceh, is simply limited to creed and not a statement of loyalty. Most of the rituals of worship are ignored because they do not fit with their lives.¹²

Practically, *Kitab Berladang* serves as the recording of knowledge of the Muslim Dayak people from the past to understand the experience of cultivation over time. Although *Kitab Berladang* can be referred to as a manual for procedures in the traditional swidden cultivation conducted in Putussibau, it has also recorded the activities of cultivation practiced by Muslims who lived in the early days of their existence in Kapuas Hulu. This experience would be useful to the development of agricultural technology in accordance with popular culture of Putussibau. Cultural values and local wisdom which is reflected in cultivation practices need to be introduced to and advocated by the next generation. It is undeniable that the practice of cultivation in the past was more caring towards environmental conservation compared with modern capitalistic and destructive cultivation practices. This awareness needs to be transmitted to the next generation in order to retain the dignity of the tradition against global threats often harmful for traditional societies.

Islam in West Kalimantan, Indonesia

Many scholars argue that the 15th century was a period of reinforcement for the triumph of Islam in Southeast Asia. Islam from Arabia and India was brought to Sumatra in the 12th century, Java in the 15th century, and Borneo in the 16th century. Subsequently, it spread to Sulawesi and the Philippines.¹³ The arrival of Islam in the archipelago was facilitated by traders (from Arabia, India, and China) as well as the Sufis. Islam was accepted by local residents because it was simple and considered more superior than the previously embraced animistic beliefs and Buddhism/Hinduism. Through individuals who had the spirit for spreading religion, Islam became widely known by the people of Borneo. Marriage and family relationships also contributed to the development of Islam. Islam itself had a presence since the 9th century, but it only took hold after the Sufis introduced a more acceptable Islam in the 13th century.¹⁴ At the end of the 15th century, Islam had penetrated into the lands of Southeast Asia, except for a few areas dominated by Europe — such as several areas of Philippines which were still controlled by Spain. However, the arrival of European powers also had an impact on the spreading of Islam among the Malay and throughout the Indonesian archipelago.

It is almost impossible to make a generalization about Islam in Indonesia. Some scientists maintain that Islam in Indonesia is only a veneer over a heathen foundation.¹⁵ This is backed by the fact that Indonesian Muslims follow certain practices and customs that are different and even contrary to the teachings of orthodox Islam. Nevertheless, traditional and orthodox types of Islam can both be found in Indonesia, as well as in other Muslim lands. In the context of Borneo, scholars have noted that there is a kind of religion that spread throughout the Malay archipelago which, on one hand, has a variety of differences but, on the other, has things in common that are fairly easily identifiable. There are three Islamic influences that have made Islam a different religion in Kalimantan. Firstly, the environment is geographically and economically similar to those of the coastal inhabitants of other islands. Secondly, the legacy of ideas and customs of the pre-Islamic period — those that have remained firmly held and been absorbed by new religions. Also, an influential factor has been the general attitude towards primitive superstitious beliefs.¹⁶

The region of West Kalimantan in the historical discourse of Islam in Indonesia is still considered at the 'peripheral' and insignificant compared to the islands of Java and Sumatra, particularly Aceh. As is the case of other parts of Indonesia, West Kalimantan had also been influenced by Hinduism/Buddhism that introduced the animism and dynamism.¹⁷ The influence of Hinduism entered West Kalimantan during the reign of a powerful Hindu kingdom of Java. This is evidenced by the *Kakawin Nagarakertagama* in chapter 14/3, which mentions names of places like Sambas, Melano, and Tanjungpuri along with other areas under the power of Majapahit.¹⁸ Evidence of Buddhism's influence in the West Kalimantan includes a stone relic, measuring 4 x 4 meters, at Pakit village, Nanga Mahap, Sanggau District (now Sekadau District). Relics of the stone carving, estimated to have originated from the 5th century AD, have Buddhist-style engravings in *Cautha Pallawa* script. Also, the discovery of ceramics, plates, vases, and flower pots show a connection between West Kalimantan and China around the 6th century AD.¹⁹

Many scholars have mentioned that the Dayak are the native people of West Kalimantan.²⁰ In fact, they are the original inhabitants of the island of Kalimantan.²¹ The term 'Dayak' does not contain any ethnic or tribal sense. It has several variations, including Daya, Daya', and Dya — and these have various meanings. The term in the Heban sub-tribe (East Kalimantan) means 'human', while according to sub-tribes including Dusun, Murut, Ngaju, and Kenyah, it means 'upper river', 'interior', and 'land'.²² In the language of the sub-tribes of Benayat/Kendayan, the term also means 'upper part of a river' and 'land'.²³ However, the term frequently contains pejorative connotations because it is associated with underdevelopment, headhunting, animism, and to being un-Islamic. It also raises connotations of people who live in the interior, the forest or in upper part of the river, build longhouses, live by way of swidden cultivation, have long ears and tattoos, believe in magic, and rely on traditional medicine.²⁴ The Europeans have for a long time regarded the Dayak as dangerous, barbaric, and unruly.²⁵ Other terms that contain a negative stigma was also used by the New Order government, under which they were referred to as forest destroyers, swidden cultivators, and isolated communities.²⁶ The stigma has made the Dayak reluctant to refer to themselves by the word. In West Kalimantan, they are more likely to identify themselves with the

name of the village or the river, such as: “We are the people of Kantu, Kayan, Sejiram”, and so on.

The inhabitants of the rural areas of Borneo are non-Muslim Dayak, and the presence of the first Muslims who settled in this area is not known for sure. The Malay Muslims of West Kalimantan are local residents who have accepted Islam as their religion.²⁷ Generally, scholars argue that Muslims in this area were referred to as Malays.²⁸ Yusriadi maintains that the process of becoming Malay is not only found among the Dayak, but also Javanese, Bugis or people of Arab descent born in West Kalimantan. The same phenomenon is also found among the Chinese who convert to Islam.²⁹ Dayak people who convert to Islam may be classified in three categories. Firstly, those people who change their identity to become Malay. Secondly, those who embrace Islam and called themselves ‘Senganan’ (or ‘Halo’ in East Kalimantan), and are neither Dayak nor Malay. Thirdly, those who convert to Islam and call themselves Muslim Dayak.³⁰ There are two models of the process in which an individual becomes a Muslim Dayak — namely, through their parents or marriage.³¹

According to the community’s oral history, Islam in Putussibau³² originated from the Kingdom of Bunut.³³ The first destination was Kedamin, where a mosque was constructed and a *penghulu* (a local chief responsible for religious affairs) appointed. Further development of Islam was carried out by the great-grandfather of H. Ismail, owner of the manuscript *Kitab Berladang*. Abang Ahmad Tahir (d. 1945) from Sanggau, who was married to a woman from Sintang, had a son named Abang Ahmad Pasir. He later became the grandfather of H. Ismail. The family preached Islam in Putussibau and settled in Kedamin. Abang Ahmad Pasir was married to a Dayak woman of the Taman tribe, named Baijam, from Martinus village. During the Dutch occupation, Abang Ahmad Pasir and Baijam settled in a village located across from the Kapuas River from Kedamin. From the marriage, they had a son — Abang Ahmad Sabri. Abang Ahmad Sabri became a policeman who worked for the Dutch.

Baijam was a new convert. She had a younger brother named Kasim who also converted to Islam. Like Abang Ahmad Sabri, Kasim worked as a policeman for the Dutch. Despite being a new convert, Kasim had broad knowledge about Islam. With his knowledge, he became

a religious teacher at Kedamin and Prajurit village. He was known as Imam Kasim. Abang Ahmad Pasir, together with a teacher named Bakri of Banjar, who married a Chinese woman, later preached Islam in Prajurit village. He became a religious teacher (*ustādh*). In later periods, Islam was spread by people of Padang descent such as Abdurrohman and other figures.

On the *Kitab Berladang*

The manuscript *Kitab Berladang* originated from a village on the bank of the upper reaches of the Kapuas River in the interior of West Kalimantan. The village is known by the name of Prajurit village in Putussibau. The owner of the manuscript *Kitab Berladang*, H. Ismail, is a retired civil servant from the local government of Kapuas Hulu. The manuscript had been passed down by his great-grandfather, Abang Ahmad Tahir. He was a nobleman of the kingdom of Sanggau who spread Islamic teachings in Putussibau. The biological parents of H. Ismail were the descendants of Abang Ahmad Tahir from his marriage to a woman of Taman tribe, a native of Putussibau from Martinus village. The family of Abang Ahmad Tahir was of the first Islamic preachers in the area, and it possessed a number of inherited Putussibau manuscripts, including *Kitab Berladang*.³⁴

In addition to not having any number or code, *Kitab Berladang* is also not found in the catalog of published materials. However, there may be a possibility of the existence in other areas of other *Kitab Berladang*, written in the same or a different language. This is because the societies of the Indonesian archipelago are characterized by agrarian cultures. In this article I did not do a comparison of the manuscript *Kitab Berladang* because there were too many other manuscripts of a similar nature. Therefore, the manuscript is treated as the only one available.

The manuscript *Kitab Berladang* is an anonymous text, with the names of the author(s) not listed. Since it does not have any number and code, the manuscript seems to have never been researched or published by any party. It also does not mention the name of the copier and the year it was copied.

The manuscript has its title printed on the cover, namely *Petunjuk Isyarat-isyarat Berladang* (A Guide to Cultivation Procedures). However, the type of ink and the characters used to write the title

differ from those of the text in the manuscript. The differences in the use of characters and ink indicate that the title was not written by the original scribe but by the reader or its inheritor at a later period.

The physical condition of the manuscript *Kitab Berladang* is slightly damaged. Some of the thread used for binding has broken. The type of the paper used is white–yellowish striped paper. Therefore, the manuscript has no watermark or countermark. The manuscript also does not have thick and thin lines with a certain amount of space as commonly found in European paper. The characters in the manuscript were written with black ink and are still clearly readable. Some pages use two thin blue lines.

Kitab Berladang consists of a single *kuras* (paper folded in half and bound with thread) with 13 sheets and 26 pages. Each page has between 15–23 lines. The size of the manuscript is 21 x 16 cm, while the area of the text is 17 x 13 cm. The manuscript has no page numbering and is written with Jawi letters in Malay. The type of handwriting (or calligraphy) used is *khaṭ far'ī* and looks like *khaṭ naskhī* and/or *riq'ī*. It also has neither a blank page and or a colophon at the end. There are 36 illustrations used in the text and scattered on almost every page. The pictures are used to visualize certain patterns, amulets, *rajaḥ*, and *isim*.

Kitab Berladang, to common users, serves as a manual for rice cultivation ritual in the tradition of *Mmarung* of the indigenous society of Kapuas Hulu. *Mmarung* is the tradition of indigenous people for supporting their livelihoods. One or several members of a family live in the forest for 6–9 months to grow rice and vegetables. In addition to *mmarung*, the indigenous society of Kapuas Hulu also uses the term *kampung* to describe the place they have settled in. The village is generally located on the bank of a river and is equipped with facilities such as mosques, schools, and a healthcare center, while in the *mmarung* there are only *langkau* and *uma*. *Langkau* is a hut or a dwelling house. *Uma*, or *huma*, refers to the fields used for growing rice and vegetables.

The Tradition of Rice Cultivation in the Indigenous Society of Kapuas Hulu

Swidden cultivation is a way for farmers to make a living and meet their daily needs, and this continues today in West Kalimantan.

Most of the original tribes of Borneo practice the shifting cultivation system. Growing rice in the *huma* is the main agricultural activity of the Dayak, including in indigenous communities of West Kalimantan.³⁵ These cultivation activities are the embodiment of the sense of the human mind which always follows the biorhythms of the natural surroundings. In doing so it successfully creates a technique of utilization and management of the natural resources. They utilize manual labor to explore the natural resources available, either through modern or traditional ways³⁶, to help them achieve prosperity.

Swidden cultivation is found in many tropical areas. M. R. Dove (1983 & 1988) reported that this shifting cultivation system was practiced by 240–300 million people in the tropics.³⁷ This farming system can be sustained for the long term if it is able to adapt and integrate with local conditions, and has the support of other subsistence activities. In addition, access to land and other natural resources should be ensured, and supporting labor should not be exceeded. The society of Kapuas Hulu is one of the local communities in West Kalimantan that still practices swidden cultivation, herb mixing, and hunting to meet the needs of daily life. This traditional society is one of the local community groups facing pressure due to the cultural dynamics of the development of Indonesian national politics and decentralization of the forestry sector. It is a plural society consisting of indigenous peoples and settlers. The indigenous communities include Iban, Punan, Bukat, Suhaid, Mmayan, Pengaki, Tamambaloh, Suruk, Mandai, Aoheng, Semukung, and Malay. The newcomers are the Chinese, Batak, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Minang, and Bugis.³⁸

The indigenous people of Kapuas Hulu generally live in *kampung* (village). There are two different notions of the village — one as a place of residence and the other, *mmarung*, as a source of livelihood.³⁹ They generally regard a village as a place for human habitation. Usually located on the bank of the river, this settlement pattern relies on the river as the artery of the economy and transportation. However, there are also villages that rely on springs from the mountain as the source of clean water. Settlement patterns in the village generally accumulate in a single location. The distance from one house to another is very close. Behind the village are usually forests or agricultural lands and

plantations. The length of a village, from one end to the other, ranges from 250 m to 1000 m.

Meanwhile, *mmarung* is the place of farming to grow rice and vegetables. It is usually located far away and can be reached on foot, taking from as little as two hours to as much as one day. The farmers usually build a simple house called *pongkal*, from 2 x 3m to 4 x 6m in size. *Pongkal* is usually made out of the wood which is felled around the *huma*. The walls and the roof are made of a type of *pandan* (a grass-like plant) called *teresit*. *Mmarung* is developed primarily to keep the rice field and *huma* from animals and pests. Farmers live in *mmarung* to save commuting time. *Mmarung* is usually inhabited once a year for the growing season. A growing season, until harvest, usually lasts six months. Even so, farmers typically return to their village each week. On every Thursday afternoon, men usually return to their village for Friday prayers.

During their stay at the *mmarung*, the farmers work hard to harvest the rice. The success of growing rice greatly affects the sustainability of family life in the village. But of course not all farmers know the implementation procedures of the rice cultivation. In this context, *Kitab Berladang* has a very important function. It explains the procedures for cultivation in *mmarung*. As a document, the manuscript also serves as a written record of the Kapuas Hulu indigenous community's activities while living in *mmarung*. This is evidenced by the existence of some other themes discussed in the manuscript.

The manuscript's uniqueness can be drawn from the structure of the text that seems to be made up of several sub-texts. There are four contained in *Kitab Berladang*, namely: (a) a sub-text on the procedures of *berhuma* (swidden cultivation); (b) a sub-text on how to choose land for settlement; (c) a sub-text on how to build a house; (d) a sub-text on traditional treatments which use a concoction of spices, *rajah*, amulets, spells, prayers and *şalawāh* (salutation to Prophet Muhammad). Thus, it is clear that *Kitab Berladang* serves as an important manual for the indigenous people of Kapuas Hulu. It has recorded the values of local wisdom in the tradition of swidden cultivation in the local term.

Aware of this potential scope of the discussion, the researcher will limit this study to the sub-text focusing on the procedures of swidden cultivation. Before elaborating on the manuscript's text, below is a summary of the text. Firstly, it begins with a discussion on how to

cultivate rice (*berhuma*). It describes the activity of *mengabas*, namely the action of checking and reviewing several places reserved for the rice field. The text describes in detail the rituals performed in the *ngabas* period upon first entering the forest. This include: reading verses of the Quran; sending greetings to Prophet Ilyas; and asking for protection of the land that will be turned into a rice field. The next activity is the cutting down of the trees and clearing the land (*nobas*, *nobang*, and *nunu*). This must be done on certain days from the initial entry into the forest.

Secondly, when land clearing is completed, the text of *Kitab Berladang* explains the ritual for seeding and the process of mating male and female rice seeds into the ground. This ritual is carried out using certain items such as lime, *langir*, bowls, bank notes, rhino skin, and even verses of the Quran (QS. Al-Hijr 04: 19). The ritual has to be performed consecutively on certain days only — Sunday, Monday or Thursday. *Kitab Berladang* also describes how to select the type of wood used for holding rice, called *tambung*. How to make *tembawang* — including eight types of foliage used — is also elaborated.

The procedure for conducting the fertilization ritual, called *tugal*, is also explained, together with spells that must be cast. At the time of planting the seed, several rice names are described using Arabic vocabulary, for example *Air Mata Allah* (Tears of Allah), *Nūr Muḥammad* (Light of Muhammad), *Nūr Ḥayātī* (Light of Life), *Nadhkurullah*, *Adam*, and *Abul Bashar*. The process of *tugal* has to be accompanied by medicine concocted from betel leaves, chive leaves, *lengkuwas* (a type of ginger), *haliyak*, and so on, to protect the rice seeds from *empangau* (pests).

Thirdly, in caring for rice crops *Kitab Berladang* also explains various forms of efforts made by farmers, for example in performing chants when the rice starts to grow. *Kitab Berladang* also describes the kinds of ‘disease’ that afflict rice, and how these can be treated. The ways of treating such disease include the use of certain spice herbs such as onion, garlic, and *jerangau*. Another way is by casting spells and making various *rajaḥ* to prevent attacks by animals.

Finally, *Kitab Berladang* also explains the ritual for harvesting the field. There is also an explanation on how to pound rice and keep it in the barns. Part of the text also attempts to explain the origin of rice. According to *Kitab Berladang*, the first name of rice is *Nūr Allāh* (Light of Allah), followed by *Nuradumat* and *Nūr Banīh*.

Portrait of Hybrid Islam on *Berhuma* Rituals in *Kitab Berladang*

This study of the *Kitab Berladang* text is limited to the sub-text that discuss the procedure of swidden cultivation. The focus of the analysis is to understand the diversity of livelihood vocabulary in the text. The study of linguistic evidence in the text of *Kitab Berladang* is used to understand how Islamic indigenization of the Dayak people's culture of Kapuas Hulu has occurred. The perception of the Dayak Muslims of Islam was examined from the text of *Kitab Berladang*. The examination was carried out through an analysis the use of the Arabic alphabet in a variety of *rajab*, such as to treat and ward off diseases, the use of Arabic language to refer to the names of rice and pest problem, the use of verses from the Quran, Hadith, *Asmā' al-Husná* in spells, mixing of Arabic and local languages, and the Arabization of certain expressions in spells or chants.⁴⁰ Thus, this research has made use of Arabic vocabulary and phrases as evidence of the continuity of an agricultural culture — in rice cultivation — with the trading culture of Muslims. The text of *Kitab Berladang*, in turn, shows that there is a continuity of the culture, customs, and beliefs of the native Kapuas Hulu people with regard to Islamic culture that arrived later.

The tradition of *buma* is the main activity of the indigenous Kapuas Hulu. These activities are so important in maintaining balance and viability of the indigenous community. *Buma* cannot be separated from the life cycle of indigenous society. These activities take up much time between, six to nine months of the year.⁴¹ *Berhuma* activities begin around May and end in January. In this context, the manuscript provides detailed description of procedural steps that must be performed by someone who intends to conduct *buma*, beginning from land clearing to harvesting.

Kitab Berladang explains that the first activity that must be performed is *mengabas* (or *ngabas*) — the checking and reviewing of places reserved for fields. At the time of *ngabas*, sometimes the indigenous people of Kapuas Hulu get *burung-biu* (signs) as to whether the land should be reserved or they should search elsewhere.⁴² *Burung-biu* can be either a dream or a feeling, or a condition suffered by family members — such as a sickness. *Kitab Berladang* explains the procedural steps of *mengabas*, more precisely referred to as the procession of ritual, in the following table:

Manuscript of *Kitab Berladang*: p. 1v

This section is to declare that we wish to start *berhuma*. It begins when we are about to *mengabas* the land⁴³ to be used for *berhuma*, then we go into the forest, recite *Qul huwa Allāhu aḥad* seven times, *Qul a'ūdhu bi rabb al-falaq* and *Qul a'ūdhu bi rabb al-nās* seven times, and *Fātiḥah* seven times. Then we give greetings to the Prophet Ilyas: *al-salāmu 'alaykum yā nabī Ilyās*, I would like to work this land and please prevent grass from growing here'. Then we cut down the trees. We have to do it over three consecutive days instead of two. On the fourth day we can stop, and not continue further. Then it is only on the fifth day we shall go again and take our grind stone⁴⁴ with us. Then it comes the time when we can clear the land. This is the procedure.

Pasal ini kepada menyatakan isyarat kita hendak *berhuma*. Bermula tatkala kita hendak *mengabas* tanah yang hendak kita pakai *berhuma*, maka datang kita ke dalam hutan itu, maka kita bacakan *Qul huwa Allāhu aḥad* tujuh kali dan *Qul a'ūdhu bi rabb al-falaq*⁴⁵ tujuh kali dan baca *Qul a'ūdhu bi rabb al-nās* tujuh kali dan *Fātiḥah* tujuh kali. Kemudian maka kita memberi salam kepada nabi Ilyas, inilah bunyinya: *al-salāmu*⁴⁶ *'alaykum yā nabī Ilyās*, hamba memohonkan tanah ini serta minta tahankan rumputnya yang tumbuh di tanah ini. Maka barulah kita potong kayu-kayunya yang ada itu. Dihadapan itu hendaklah berjurut-jurut tiga hari jangan berselang dua hari-hari. [Hari] yang keempat berhenti, jangan pergi lagi, hari yang kelima barulah kita pergi lagi serta membawa batu pengasah kita, maka barulah kita tebasi lalu habisi-habisi, inilah isyaratnya yang kita pakai adanya.

Reciting *Qul huwa Allāhu aḥad* seven times and *Qul a'ūdhu bi rabb al-nās* seven times, and *Fātiḥah* seven times in the activities of *mengabas* can be understood as a form of combination between local traditions and Islam. These verses have special values in Islamic traditional. Surah al-Ikhlās is a paragraph of the Quran which becomes the basic principle of monotheism in Islam. Surah al-Falaq and al-Nās are commonly called *al-mu'āwidhatayn*. This is recited for self protection from devils and other beings. Surat al-Fātiḥah is one of the pillars that should be recited in prayer.

In addition to reading the verses of the Quran, it is a requirement to greet Prophet Ilyas. Giving greetings to the Prophet Ilyas, not to the Prophet Muhammad, can be understood from the story that influenced his life. The name of the Prophet Ilyas is mentioned in the

Quran in two places — in surah al-An‘ām and al-Şaffāt.⁴⁷ He was a Prophet who was sent to the children of Israel. Prophet Ilyas had the privilege to organize the livelihood of the children of Israel. Because his call was rejected by the children of Israel, Prophet Ilyas appealed to God so that rain would never fall on the land of Israel. The appeal was granted by God and the children of Israel suffered a long drought for three years. All cattle and trees died, and a lot of people suffered from hunger. When the children of Israel repented and returned to worship Allah, Prophet Ilyas prayed so that his people would be freed from famine and hardship.

In addition to reciting the verses of the Quran and greeting to Prophet Ilyas, *mengabas* also requires a ‘grindstone’ as a ritual object. The book also mentions that after cutting down the trees in the forest where it will be used for *huma* for three consecutive days and should be halted on the fourth day, on the fifth day one should take with them a ‘grindstone’ and finish the work. The grindstone referred to in this manuscript is a type of rock believed to be derived from the unseen world.⁴⁸ This stone is one of the objects that must be present in the performance of certain rituals in the Kapuas Hulu community. *Batu penyawa* is also an object that must be present in a wedding ceremony. *Batu penyawa* takes the form of a hollow gold grains which are naturally believed to be the jewelry of the goddess of heaven.

It is important to note that *ngabas* is the first event in the series of activities of *berhuma*. It is followed by *nobas* (cutting grass), *nobang* (cutting down hardwood trees), *nunu* (burning the *huma*), *ngokas* (clearing remnants), *mabau* (clearing grass on the side of rice and vegetables), *ngompin* (making sticky rice crisp), and *ngotam* (rice reaping).⁴⁹ The grass that grew on land that once was the place for *berhuma* in the previous year referred to as *mpalai*. This *mpalai* can be small bushes and small woods. The size of wood and difficulty of clearing land depend on the length of *mpalai*. The *nobas* activity is done in May or June. *Nobang* is only done on new land or on old *mpalai*. *Nunu* is done after the trees and grass have been cut and become dry. If the land is next to a forest, then a *doda*, three to four meters wide, must be constructed. *Doda* refers to the clearing of grass and wood so to prevent a fire from spreading into the woods when burning of the land is being carried out.

Ngokas involves the clearing of remnants. The length of *ngokas* depends on the results of the first burning. Prior to the burning season, if the weather is not hot enough, usually the result of burning is less than ideal. The wood that is not successfully burned is collected and burned again. *Nugal* is an activity of planting rice with *tugal*. Around the rice, vegetables such as collards, *jewawut*, pare, spinach, corn, chives, chili pepper, eggplant, cucumber, and pumpkin are grown. *Mabau* is the activity in which the grass that grows on the sidelines of rice and vegetables is cleared, and is usually done after two months from the time of *nugal*. During the *mabau* period, certain types of vegetables — such as spinach, chives, and corn — can already be harvested. Roughly a month after *mabau*, for those who grow glutinous rice, it is time for *ngompin*. This is the activity of making *ompin* (chips) from glutinous rice. *Ngotam* is an activity of harvesting rice. The stalk is harvested one by one, collected and then processed to remove the skin. This is done one month after the time of *ngompin*.⁵⁰

The second part of the activity of *buma* is a ritual of planting rice. This includes several phases, namely bathing the seeds — ‘introducing’ the rice and ‘marrying’ it — and then planting the seeds. *Memandi* (bathing) is done by mixing rice seed with a number of materials and certain objects in a bowl. Used in the *memandi* are lemon or lime juice and *langir*, and blended items include old bank notes, rhinoceros skin, and water.

Manuscript <i>Kitab Berladang</i> p. 1v	
<p>Paragraph two explains the procedure for bathing the seed that we are going to plant. Take the lime juice and <i>lingir</i> star fruit, then put into an old bowl and add old money or rhino skin, then pour some water. This time verses read when dealing with the rice are used. This is the <i>heyada</i> : <i>Wa al-arḍa madadnāhā wa alqaynā fihā rawāsiya wa anbatnā fihā min kulli shay'in mauzūn</i>.⁵¹</p>	<p>Pasal yang kedua isyarat kita hendak memandi benih yang kita hendak ditanamkan itu. Maka ambil limau nipis dan [belimbing] lingir, maka taruh ke dalam mangkuk yang tua serta uang⁵² yang tua atau⁵³ kulit badak⁵⁴, maka beri air. Inilah pakai ayat yang dibaca tatkala menggulikan padi itu. Ini <i>heyadanya</i>⁵⁵ : <i>Wa al-arḍa madadnāhā wa alqaynā fihā rawāsiya⁵⁷ wa anbatnā fihā min⁵⁸ kulli shay'in mauzūn</i>.</p>

In this section, the text of *Kitab Berladang* puts emphasis on the need

for a number of objects needed for the ritual of seed bathing. Ritual objects of course have a hidden meaning. Fruit limes and *lingir* are the elements of plants, while the bowl and money represent the metal element. Meanwhile, rhinoceros skin is a representation of animals and water is the uniting force. The combination of each element is a reflection of rice as one of the vital elements in the community's traditional view. This is in line with the use of the verse of the Quran, Sūrah al-Hijr 15: 7, recited during the process of bathing the seeds of rice in a bowl. The verse describes the power of God who has the power to grow everything on earth and the mountains, each with a specific size.

Still, in a series of ritual seed bathing, there are stages of introducing rice seeds and marrying male to female seeds. The word 'introducing' accompanied by 'marrying' seems much like the process of marriage performed according to local customs. Introducing can be meant as a stage of proposing, and marrying is a stage of making something *ḥarām* (forbidden) into *ḥalāl* (allowed by religious law). Traditional communities in general have a gender perception for objects in the universe. But maybe there are not many which have the concept of 'introducing' and 'marrying' for natural objects such as rice seeds. This phenomenon seems to be associated with a number of myths about humans having a kinship with certain objects or animals in traditional societies of West Kalimantan. Some people are said to have a twin sibling in the form of a white crocodile or white tiger, meaning they are possessed by his twin sibling and behaves like that way. Relating to the belief that rice is the brother of mankind, there is a need to treat rice as special. For example, if a grain of rice falls when eating, people will usually show the expression of remorse, rapidly retrieve it, and exclaim "*ku semongat!*"⁵⁹ (oh, my spirit!), to summon the soul of the spilt rice. If the spirit of the fallen rice is gone, the person who throws or drops it will find it difficult to gain *rizki* (livelihood). In the book *Panaturan* (the Hindu Holy Book of Kaharingan), it is said that in the *tawur* rice, with all its forms, is a human intermediary to God. Therefore, human beings must not waste this blessed plant. When people do not respect rice, they are equated to young children who do not know anything.⁶⁰

The view about the existence of a gender difference among the traditional society is also evident in the text of *Kitab Berladang*. Rice sorted into two group types does not seem to relate to the process of reproduction of the rice itself. In a simple society, it is often said that rice is a plant that ‘offspring’ before ‘bearing fruit’. This is due to the fact that rice comes from one or two grains of rice seed that is planted. The process of pollination and fruit formation of rice has also occurred after the rice clumps reach a certain age. Therefore, the mention of the male and female gender, accompanied by their characteristics in the text of *Kitab Berladang*, is evidence of the existence of a view that comes from the beliefs of the local customs and/or pre-Islamic beliefs circulating in the society of Kapuas Hulu. Nevertheless, the *Kitab Berladang* text indicates a process of adaptation by borrowing Quranic text from Surah al-Qalam paragraph 1, as follows:

Manuscript <i>Kitab Berladang</i>: p. 1v	
<p>When bathing is completed, we introduce the male and female rice to each other. To identify male and female rice, the male is round and the female is long in shape. Only after we introduce them to each other <i>nūn wa al-qalami wa mā yasturūn</i>⁶¹ shall we combine both. The first thing to do is to unite the rice into the hole, and this should be done before anything else. As for the day, it must be Sunday or Monday or Thursday, and there can be no another day.</p>	<p>Jika sudah selesai dimandi, maka kita kenalkan itu padi laki-laki dan padi perempuan. Dan pengenalan yang laki-laki itu bundar-bundar dan yang perempuan itu panjang-panjang. Maka sudah kita kenal maka dinikahkan dia ini itunya : <i>nūn wa al-qalami wa mā yasturūn</i>, maka baru kita campurkan keduanya. Itulah mula-mula menyatukan padi ke dalam lubang, itulah dahulukan tiada boleh yang lain. Adapun hari yang dipakai hari ahad atau hari senin atau kamis, tiada boleh hari yang lain adanya.</p>

Among the explanations in the text is a description of the knowledge intensity of the Kapuas Hulu people about the wealth of the forest and natural environment. The following table outlines the final preparation that should be done prior to the rice seed being planted into the ground.

Manuscript Kitab Berladang: p. 1v-2	
<p>Paragraph three contains the name of the place for rice called <i>tembawang</i>. Search for a watery wood of the tree we cut down, like the <i>dangin</i> wood or <i>karurupah</i> wooden item that contains water and sticky fluid from which we make the place for the rice. Then we take a wooden rectangle which has holes, eight holes of <i>tugal</i>⁶² on the wood, outside that rectangle wood there should be a nine-hole <i>tugal</i>. And again the leaves used are: firstly, <i>sabang</i> leaves; secondly, <i>ampanggal</i> leaves; thirdly, <i>gardarusa</i> leaves; fourthly, <i>ati-ati</i> leaves; fifthly, leaves growing on other leaves; sixthly, betel leaves; seventhly, turmeric; eighthly, black or red sugar cane. That is all what is needed, and iron and water put in a <i>bakit</i> two pieces [of rice].</p>	<p>Pasal yang ketiga isyarat tempat padi itu <i>tembawang</i>⁶³ namanya, maka cari pohon kayu yang ditebang kita yang berair seperti kayu dangin⁶⁴ atau kayu <i>karurupah</i>⁶⁵ /2x/ dan barang kayu yang ada air dan yang bergetah, maka disitulah kita buat tempat padi itu. Maka kita ambil kayu itu kita persegi empat yang boleh cukup lubang tunggal, delapan lubang tugal yang di dalam kayu yang persegi empat itu, yang di luar kayu yang persegi empat itu sembilan lubang tugal. Dan lagi daun-daun yang dipakai tambung itu, pertama-tama daun sabang, kedua daun ampanggal⁶⁶, ketiga daun gandarusa, keempat daun ati-ati, dan kelima daun tumbuh di daun, keenam sirih, ketujuh kunyit, kedelapan tebu hitam atau tebu merah. Itulah yang dipakai adanya dan besi⁶⁷ dan air taruh di dalam bakit⁶⁸ dua butir [padi].⁶⁹</p>

A place for planting that should be made in such a way cannot be separated from the beliefs of the indigenous people of Kapuas Hulu with respect to rice. The purpose of the creation of this special place for planting rice is to ensure that rice thrives and produces a lot of grain for harvesting. The name of this place is referred to as *tembawang*. Meanwhile, Darren (2010) noted that the name of place for planting rice is *mpalang bonih*, while *tembawang* is an 'orchard' originating from the field that has long been abandoned by its owner.⁷⁰ As a place to plant the seeds, *mpalang bonih* contains the symbols of the ritual. The type of wood, plants, shrubs, and foliage is selected in such a way to meet the requirements for preparing a place for planting. Those materials mentioned are a manifestation of culture and have meanings. The process, therefore, is not as simple as adding fertilizer when planting.

On the first day of planting rice, as many as five *tugal* are planted on the *mpalang bonih*. When inserting the rice into the hole of the first *tugal*, the name Abu Bakr is mentioned. After the names of the other

caliphs — Umar, Usman, and Ali — are used for the following three, one should then mention Muhammad for the last *tugal*. The mentioning of the Islamic prophet Muhammad⁷¹ and his four companions shows the existence of a close relationship. If seen from the structure of the placement and position, *mpalang bonih* indicates the existence of a clear hierarchy between one another.

Portrait of Hybrid Islam in the Cultivation Spells

The complexity of the meaning of the ritual and the relationship between existing elements clearly depicts a pre-Islamic view. In addition to the use of material from the surrounding environment, the process of reinterpretation of the meaning of the ritual symbols also appears in the *mantra* (spell). The use of the term *perkataan kita* (our words) in *Kitab Berladang* seems to avoid the term of mantra commonly used by the Dayak community in general. *Mantra* refers to words that can bring supernatural power. In the same way, the wording of the poem, usually cast by a shaman to compete with other supernatural powers, can be considered to contain supernatural powers.⁷²

Manuscript <i>Kitab Berladang</i>: p. 2r	
<p>This article requires that when we are about to plant rice seeds into the hole of <i>tugal</i>, and remind ourselves of our work with rice, do not think of others; do it like people who are devoted to saying a prayer, and when rice has fallen off into the hole of <i>tugal</i>, then this is what we say: <i>Kun jāda jadī ahjādī</i>, the blessing of prayer <i>Lā ilāha illā Allāh Muḥammadun rasūl Allāh</i>. I set off sailing, you do not reverse the growing, but you invert the stone with gravel. Six months have you come, we submit it to the ground in the name of Abul Bashar, I submit to you my seeds, I know no evil, I know good as it is’.</p>	<p>Pasal isyarat waktu tatkala kita hendak membuah benih padi ke dalam lubang <i>tugal</i>, serta ingatkan diri pekerjaan padi itu jangan kita ingatkan yang lain, seperti orang mengkrenah⁷³ sembahyang orang yang membuah⁷⁴ itu serta sudah jatuh padi itu ke dalam lubang <i>tugal</i>, maka ini perkataan kita: <i>Kun jāda jadī ahjādī</i>, berkat doa <i>Lā ilāha illā Allāh Muḥammadun rasūl Allāh</i>. Aku melepaskan berlayar, jangan engkau membalikkan aku kian-kian melainkan engkau balikkan batu dengan kerikil. Enam bulan engkau datang, maka kita serahkan kepada tanah sebenar-benarnya namanya Abul Bashar, aku serahkan benihku kepada engkau, tiada aku tahu jahat aku tahu baik adanya.</p>

The phrase *Kun jāda jadī ahjādī*, the blessing of prayer *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*

Muhammadun rasul Allāh...” shows how the process of mixed culture has resulted in the establishment of prayer readings in Arabic that also contain *mantra*. This phenomenon also occurs in other phrase as follows:

Manuscript <i>Kitab Berladang</i> p. 2r	
<p>This is the initial salute to the Prophet regarding rice seed lullaby: <i>Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Man ṭalabatan wa aljada wal jāddi kawan ahjadi-jadi Nūr ḥayāt Allāh.</i> This chapter contains initial salutation to the Prophet regarding rice seed lullaby when we rub on it: <i>Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Man ṭalabatan awal jadi wāl jadi-jadi nūr hayāt Allāh.</i> This chapter contains initial salutation to the Prophet regarding rice seed lullaby when we rub on it: <i>Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Man ṭalabatan awal jadi wa al-jadi-jadi nūr hayāt Allāh.</i></p>	<p>Inilah salawat awal benih timang-timang padi: <i>Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Man ṭalabatan wa aljada wal jāddi kawan ahjadi-jadi Nūr ḥayāt Allāh.</i> Bab ini ṣalawat awal buah timang-timang padi jikalau sela dara maka kita sapukan : <i>Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Man ṭalabatan awal jadi wāl jadi-jadi nūr hayāt Allāh.</i> Bab ini salawat awal buat timang-timang padi jikalau dara maka kita sapukan <i>Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Man ṭalabatan awal jadi wa al-jadi-jadi nūr hayāt Allāh.</i></p>

The hybrid character, reflecting a blend of local traditions with Islamic tradition, can be recognized clearly in these sentences. The command to pray to God that exists in Islamic teachings has been manifested in the form of *mantras* in Arabic and Malay. The use of the Arabic language shows the image of Islam and allows the prayer to be more effective. The selection of the form of *mantras* from the oral tradition of the Malay as the medium of prayer to God, has given people freedom to ignore the rules of standard Arabic (al-‘arabīyah al-fuṣḥá). As a form of literary expression, the *mantra* tolerates the use of arbitrary language. The phenomenon of mixing local vocabulary with Arabic can also be seen in the spell for growing rice,⁷⁵ as follows:

The spell of growing rice	Ilmu menanam padi
<p><i>Wal rabi wal rapi rapi mustapa rasulullah</i> out and search blessed profit and beautiful silk</p>	<p><i>Wal ḡabi wal ḡabi ḡabi mustapa ḡasulullah keluaylah əḡkau məncari? laba dan untuḡ tuwah dan kain surḡa yaḡ indah indah</i></p>

Although there is ‘damage’ to the language due to the blending of local and Islamic traditions, people who use the spell believe it works in the spell ‘mode’. If the order of the sentence is replaced or changed, the *mantra* no longer works effectively. In this context

the significance is on the use of the phrase “*Bismillāh al-rahmān al-rahīm*”, “thanks to the prayer *Lā ilāha illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*” or “thanks to *lā ilāha illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*” in the mantra of the indigenous people of Kapuas Hulu. The last phrases of the Muslim creed are apparently already embodied in the structure of *mantra* culture used not only by Muslims but also by the *balian*,⁷⁶ or *timanggong* or *temenggung* — the leader of the non-Muslim indigenous population.

Portrait of Hybrid Islam in the Swidden Cultivation Belief

The meaning of the ritual and the relationship between existing elements clearly depicts the pre-Islamic view. In addition to the use of cultural material existing in the surrounding environment, the process of reinterpreting the meaning of rituals connected with the myths and/or the local belief system is also apparent in the spell verses.

Manuscript <i>Kitab Berladang</i>: p. 2r/2v	
<p>The article to declare the procedure of planting the rice seed, then we should really wish to know the name of harvested rice, and the requirement that our rice be married to earth when we are to plant it. Then the real name of the rice seed comes from Air Mata Allah (God Tears), but Nūr Muḥammad became a Nūr ḥayāti rice originally. And when we are about to insert it into the <i>tugal</i> hole, we marry it to earth, and here is what we say: ‘O Nadkurullah, I marry you to Adam so as to be Abul Bashar, only then shall we plant it into the first hole, and then we shall fill some pesticide /2v/ of <i>empangau</i> into the hole to get rid of the pests that feed on the root of the rice in the ground’.</p>	<p>Pasal kepada menyatakan isyarat menanamkan benih, maka maulah kita ketahuilan yang sebenar-benar nama hasilnya padi itu, dan syaratnya kita nikahkan itu padi kepada bumi tatkala kita hendak menanamnya. Maka yang sebenar-benar nama itu padi Air Mata Allah asal⁷⁷ benih, tetapi Nur Muhammad menjadi padi Nurhayati nama asalnya. Dan tatkala kita hendak melabuhnya ke dalam lubang tugal, maka kita nikahkan dahulu kepada bumi maka inilah perkataan : Hai Nadkurullah,⁷⁸ aku nikah engkau dengan Adam supaya Abul Bashar, maka barulah⁷⁹ labuhkan kepada lubang pertama, kemudian barulah melabuhkan kepada lubang lainnya dan syarat kita masukkan dengan obat /2v/ <i>empangau</i> serta obat ulat⁸⁰ yang memakan pohon padi yang di dalam tanah itu.</p>

The giving of name for objects and other natural elements by the traditional people indicates a form of worship of nature. There are many

rituals or unusual ceremonies that revolve around rice cultivation and contribute significantly to the theories of animistic vegetation of the Malays.⁸¹ As part of the ritual, the Arabic vocabulary used to describe specific names is a reflection of the thought system of the Kapuas Hulu people. Their system of thought centers on man as a whole entity, physically and mentally. The ritual was created and enabled for the benefit of mankind. God, supernatural beings, and the universe are worshipped and appeased. Also, they are even subdued for the sake of gaining happiness and success.

Some of the names that appear in *Kitab Berladang* use Arabic vocabulary and expressions. These names are used interchangeably to indicate the exoteric and esoteric dimensions of rice seeds that exist in the view of the indigenous people. The exoteric and esoteric relationship can be identified in the naming of the land as Abul Bashar. Exoterically, earth is fertile and rice seed is ready to grow in it. The esoteric basis is that earth depicts the figure of ‘father’ and rice is placed as a ‘mother’ within its protection. In this case there are interesting aspects to note. That the text identifies male rice as rounded rice seeds and female as a long form. A male seed is generally symbolized with *yoni* that is round, while female is symbolized with a long shape due to the influence of the elements of Hindu and Buddhist culture. This shows the influence of Islam in the process of reinterpretation of symbols in swidden cultivation rituals.

With this perspective, we can understand the interlinked structure of the local beliefs of the of Kapuas Hulu people. Therefore, the mentioning of Arabic names to explain the procedure for planting rice seems to be inseparable from the cultural background and belief system of the indigenous people. Naming the land Abul Bashar, which is a compound word composed of two words derived from Arabic — *Āb*, meaning father, and *al-bashar*, meaning human being. Therefore, Āb al-Bashar is a father or an elderly man. Arabic terminology is related to the ‘Tears of God’ concept, which is a compound of the Malay language. Although this expression has no reference in the concept of the corpus of Islamic thought, its existence is a liaison between Islam and local traditions.

The phrase “I marry you to Adam, so as to be Abul Bashar” in the *mantra* cast when planting shows the process of adaptation of Islam into the local belief system. The mentioning of Adam and Abul Bashar when inserting seeds into the ground is a manifestation of a thought—

provoking reflection of the indigenous people regarding rice and the origins of humans. As is the case in Islamic traditions, the indigenous people also believe that Adam was the first human created. God then created Eve, and both become the ancestors of all humanity. This thought is recorded in the magic charm of *bepantap*,⁸² as follows:

The magic charm of <i>bepantap</i>	<i>Ilmu pakay bepantap</i>
<p><i>Bismillāh al-rahmān al-rahīm</i> <i>serillah</i> is the name of my iron <i>seri gumilat</i> is the name of your iron you have consumed the blood of Adam the blood of Adam's children is forbidden by Allah you cannot touch my skin thanks to the prayer <i>lā ilāha</i> <i>illā Allāh</i> thanks to Muḥammad rasūl Allāh</p>	<p><i>bismillahirrahmanirrahim</i> <i>səyillah nama bəsimu</i> <i>səyi gumilat nama bəsimu</i> <i>tələh əḥkau makan dayar Adam</i> <i>dayah anak Adam dihayamkan Allah</i> <i>əḥkau tida? məmakan kulitku</i> <i>bəykat dəsa la ilaha illallah</i> <i>bəykat Mubhammadurrasulullah</i></p>

Regarding the origin of the creation of man, the indigenous people of Kapuas Hulu believe that humans were created from earth and wood.⁸³ The elements of earth consist of *luncak* soil, *amau* soil, *nail* soil, *kesturi* soil, and *taubi* soil. Wood elements consist of *sidrat al-muntahā* wood, *lakum* wood, and *zakum* wood. The process of the creation of man from different types of soil and wood begins in a man, with a speck of semen. When this is inserted into the uterus of a woman, it turns into a speck of blood. The blood is named Abu Bakr, the heart named Usman, and the liver *insān Allāh*.⁸⁴

The concept of *Nūr Muḥammad* is a compound made up of two words derived from Arabic. *Nūr* means ‘light’ and Muhammad refers to the name of the Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, *Nūr Muḥammad* means ‘light of the Prophet Muhammad’. The concept of *Nūr Muḥammad* in Islamic thought is associated with the tradition of philosophical Sufism which discusses the idea of the origins of the genesis of the universe. The concept of *Nūr Muḥammad*, as an essence of the universe, is related to the concept of *Nūr ḥayāti*, which means the ‘light of my life’. This term has the same meaning as the concept of *Nūr ḥayāt Allāh*, meaning the ‘light of God’s life’. The form of this naming is used creatively in *Kitab Berladang* for the original name of rice seed. This phenomenon shows how the Kapuas Hulu people believe rice has a character of *nūr* that serves to perpetuate life.

The above view is also implied in the myth of rice origin, Ne’ Baruanng Kulup — the “grandfather of *Baruanng* who was not

circumcised". One version of the story tells that Ne' Baruankng Kulup brought rice from heaven to earth. He was the son of Ne' Ja'ek, who had married an angel after having helped set free her shawl which had been caught on a fig tree. They lived in heaven but Ne' Baruankng often came down to earth to play 'tops' with the children — a game these children never won. The fathers of the children (*talino*) then became angry because they had to make tops for their children every day. The children's tops broke when they hit those of Ne' Baruankng. What was the secret to his success at winning? It turns out Ne' Baruankng ate a different kind of food. While the children usually ate *kulat karakng*, a type of small brown mushroom that lives on a tree, Ne' Baruankng ate the white stuff that appeared similar to caterpillars. There was a dialogue and bargaining between them. "You're eating caterpillars," said one of the children. "No", replied Ne' Baruankng. "This is rice. Eat a piece, you'll be happy; eat a grain, you'll be full," he said. Because the humans liked the rice, they asked Ne' Baruankng for the seeds.

Ne' Baruankng agreed, and promised to bring the rice seeds to earth. He told people to grow them secretly behind their houses. In order to bring the seeds, he put them in his foreskin because gods would be angry if they found out what he had done. At that time the underworld where humans lived was a dark place because it was not blessed. When the seeds that were planted were already growing and emitting a golden shine, suddenly a storm came and destroyed houses. Thus, the secret the Ne' Baruankng had brought rice seeds to earth had been uncovered. He had to accept the punishment of living forever on earth. Because of the shame and disappointment for Ne' Ja'ek, he made a pig trap to catch Ne' Baruankng, who died as a result.

Even so, the light that shone from the golden rice had freed the earth from darkness. That was due to the sacrifice of Ne' Baruankng. He received the death penalty from the gods for having brought the seeds and planted them for human. This is the reason the Dayaks regard rice as a form of the embodiment of a brother, to be loved and treated well. The myth of *Ne' Baruankng Foreskin* is also the basis of *Naik Dango* culture, which is a form of expression of gratitude and supplication of the Dayaks to have a good harvest in the upcoming season. There are interesting things that prove the existence of the influence of the myth in rice naming, "*Sri Nūr Allāh*", "*Nuradumat*" and "*Nur Banih*". This

naming seems to be associated with the myth of the Sri goddess, who is closely related to fertility and is the queen of rice for the Indonesian archipelago.

Manuscript <i>Kitab Berladang</i>: p. 12r	
The chapter of the name of rice yield. Mentioned by people that the origin of rice for cultivation of rice and <i>terteban</i> because he knew the existence of the first presence of rice, <i>Sri Nūr</i> Allāh was the name; second Nuradumat was the name; and third Nur Banih was the name. The end.	Bab nama hasil padi. Tersebut oleh orang asal padi yang beramal kepada padi mengolah diketahuinya <i>terteban</i> ⁸⁵ dan pasalnya padi adanya padi adanya pertama <i>Sri Nūr Allāh</i> ⁸⁶ namanya. Kedua Nuradumat namanya, ketiga Nur Banih namanya. Tamat.

Over the course of time, especially with the existence of cultural influences outside the ritual of *buma*, a process of reinterpretation of symbols has taken place. In this context, the emergence of the naming of rice that is beginning to grow as *Raden Galuh Nurhayati* and *Galuh Nur Muhammad* can be understood. The term *raden* is commonly used in the title of descendants from the kings of Java. The word *galuh* is the title for the nobles of the kingdom of Sanggau, situated in the lower part of the Kapuas River. The word *nūr hayāti* and *nūr Muhammad* are eschatological concepts in the tradition of Islamic thought. The influence of Javanese culture in the word *raden* can be traced from contact between the culture of West Kalimantan and the Majapahit kingdom.

Manuscript <i>Kitab Berladang</i>: p. 2v/3r	
This is the real name of rice, you know Nur Hayatullah is its name... If the rice is going to grow big enough, you have to cast this magic spell formula: 'Hai Raden Galuh Nurhayati, please grow and arise highly to the sky'. If the rice is going to branch out and bear fruits, you have to case this spell: 'O Raden Galuh Nur Muhammad, please give us the prosperity until heaven, from the beginning until the end of the rice'.	Inilah yang sebenar-benar nama padi, ketahui Nur Hayatullah inilah namanya. ... Dan lagi jikalau setelah tumbuh padi itu dan bergoyang dikena angin, maka inilah timang-timangnya: Hai Raden Galuh Nurhayati, rimbun ⁸⁷ awan berasa-rasa, engkau sampai ke langit. Dan jikalau setelah mengurai padi itu, inilah timang-timangnya: Hai Raden Galuh Nur Muhammad, behidang-behidanglah bersinar berkukara engkau sampai ke langit, dari awal sampai akhir padi itu.

In addition to the metaphoric names, which provide the identity of the rice, *Kitab Berladang* also mentions the names of a disease that commonly attacks rice, and how it can be overcome. The name of the disease is *empangau*. The *empangau* refers to the name of a bug that damages rice plant, or *leptocorisa oratorius*. The *empangau* is commonly called *ama'bbau*. When they are in the fields, the indigenous people never mention the names of animals that can damage rice crops. If mentioned directly by name, they believe the field will be attacked by the pests and, therefore, destroyed. A similar belief is also found on the island of Tioman.⁸⁸ Specifically, *Kitab Berladang* even mentions that the origin of the *empangau* comes from underarm hair and nasal hair. The mention of underarm and nasal hair in the text indicates the typical local practice of identifying rice diseases based on physical human characteristics. A distinctive odor of the *empangau* is analogous to the human body odor of the armpit and nasal hair.

Manuscript <i>Kitab Berladang</i>: p. 2v	
<p>The origin of the <i>empangau</i>⁸⁹ is from the underarm hair that we call <i>hung</i> and the origin of the caterpillar is from our nasal hair; then we shall pull out our underarm and nasal hair. We shall insert it into the hole of the first <i>tugal</i>, then we combine what we plant into the base of the seed; firstly, betel leaves; secondly, chives; thirdly, <i>alpinia galanga</i>; fourthly, <i>haliyak</i> and <i>lakin</i>, and then we put them into egg shell, and plant the seed into the ground. that is the procedure.</p>	<p>Adapun asal⁹⁰ <i>empangau</i> itu dari pada bulu kelipak⁹¹ kita namanya <i>hung</i> dan asal ulat⁹² itu dari pada bulu hidung kita, maka kita cabutkan bulu kaliyapak serta bulu hidung kita. Maka masukkan kepada lubang <i>tugal</i> yang pertama tadi, maka kita campurkan yang kita tanamkan kepada pangkal benih itu; pertama siri, dan kedua kucai, ketiga lengkuwas, keempat <i>haliyak</i> dan <i>lakin</i> kita kuningbarisi kita masukkan kedalam kerubung telur, maka kita tanamkan di bawah tempat badah benih di dalam tanah, itu isyaratnya.</p>

In addition to *empangau*, the text also mentions other types of abstract diseases such as *Alfā Qarībun*, *Majbā Naşībun*, dan *Kashfu al-Āshifi*. This was followed by prescription of medicines that also consisted of abstract elements such as *Yā Qadīr*, *Yā Kabīr*, dan *Yā Karīm*.

Manuscript <i>Kitab Berladang</i>: p. 3r	
<p>This article mentions the diseases of rice created by Allāh <i>subhānahu wa ta'ālā</i>, then it should be known to the rice experts of those who cultivate rice having three diseases. Firstly, syaithan Alfā Qarībun; if it gets into the rice field, the rice leaves will turn yellow. Secondly, there is Majbā Naṣībun; if it gets into the rice field, the leaves will turn red. Thirdly, satan Kashf al-‘Āsifi; if it gets into the rice field, the leaves will turn black and wither.</p>	<p>Pasal ini pada menyatakan penyakit itu padi, maka adalah dijadikan Allāh subhānahu wa ta'ālā, maka hendaklah kita ketahui segala ahli padi akan orang berhuma itu dengan tiga perkara penyakitnya : pertama syaithan Alfā Qarībun namanya, jikalau ia masuk ke dalam huma maka kuning warnanya daun padi itu. Yang kedua Majbā Naṣībun namanya, jikalau ia masuk ke dalam huma merah daun padi itu. Yang ketiga syaithan Kashf⁹³al-‘Āsifi, jikalau ia masuk ke dalam huma layu serta hitam daun padi itu.</p>
<p>The cure is onion, garlic, <i>jerangau</i>, <i>banglai</i>, and <i>masuwi</i>. They are mashed and poured into a pan, and pour some water, then read this <i>isim</i> seven times. And if the satan is Alfā Qarībun, this is the <i>isim</i>: <i>Yā Qadīr</i>. Read it seven times. And if the satan is Majbā Naṣībun this is the <i>isim</i> <i>Yā Kabīr</i> also read seven times. If the satan is Kashf al-‘Āsifi this is the <i>isim</i> <i>Yā Karīm</i> seven times also, read the same <i>isim</i> if possible.</p>	<p>Adapun akan obatnya bawang merah dan bawang putih dan jerangau dan banglai dan masuwi. Semuanya itu tumbuk lumat-lumat, masukkan di dalam periyuk yang baru dan beri ia air, maka dibacakan isim ini tujuh kali. Dan jikalau setannya⁹⁴ Alfā Qarībun, inilah isimnya:⁹⁵ <i>Yā Qadīr</i>. Bacakan tujuh kali dan jikalau setannya Majbā Naṣībun inilah isimnya <i>Yā Kabīr</i> tujuh kali jua. Jikalau setannya Kashf al-‘Āsifi inilah isimnya <i>Yā Karīm</i> tujuh⁹⁶ kali juga baca yang isim sama juga kiranya.</p>

The sequential mentioning of types of abstract rice diseases (Alfā Qarībun, Majbā Naṣībun, dan Kashf al-‘Āsifi) and the cures (*Yā Qadīr*, *Yā Kabīr*, and *Yā Karīm*) is interesting to note. *Kitab Berladang* has recorded the tension between Islamic doctrine with the practices of personal and social life — a major factor in making Islam dynamic.⁹⁷ The tension is apparent in the opposition between: Alfā Qarībun and *Yā Qadīr*; Majbā Naṣībun and *Yā Kabīr*; Kashf al-‘Āsifi and *Yā Karīm*. The leading three phrases have a negative connotation, while the second three have a positive connotation. The negative elements that are expressed in the form of the phrase are not instructive both etymologically and terminologically. Etymologically, the words Alfā Qarībun, Majbā Naṣībun, and Kashf al-‘Āsifi are a compound derived from Arabic. Alfā

Qaribun comes from the word *alf*, meaning ‘a thousand’, and *qaribun*, meaning the ‘close one’. The word *Majbā Naṣībun* comes from *majb* with *jīm* and *ḥamzah* (for which a meaning could not be found in a dictionary of the Arabic language), and *naṣībun*, meaning ‘part’. The word *Kashf al-‘Āsifi* comes from *kashf*, meaning ‘unveil’, and *al-‘Āsifi* – with a small *sīn* – meaning ‘blessed’ or ‘happiness’. Meanwhile, the three positive elements have a clear reference because they are derived from the names of God (*al-Asmā’ al-Ḥusnā*). The word *Yā Qadīr* is a combination of the interjection *yā*, meaning ‘O’, and *qadīr*, meaning ‘[God] Almighty’. The word *Yā Karīm* is a combination of interjection *yā* and *karīm*, meaning ‘[God] Most Gracious’.

Concluding Remarks

The portrait of hybrid Islam of Dayak Muslims in the text of *Kitab Berladang* is one of the inevitable layers in the context of Islamization in West Kalimantan. Hybrid characteristics portrayed in the text identifies parts of a culture that come from a different cultural background and forms a unique structure. The structure of the hybrid layer appears in the use of vocabulary and concepts not only from Islamic and Dayak culture, but also shaped by the Malay cultural setting. The Dayak–Islamic hybrid image appears in the rituals found in the different stages of swidden cultivation. The richness of the cultural materials that persist in the form of rituals, such as in the use of stone, wood, spices, and foliage, is a representation of the face of Dayaks’ pre-Islamic cultural influence. The use of the Quranic verses, Ḥadīth, and *al-Asmā’ al-Ḥusnā*, in *mantra*, is a representation of the influence of Islam. Islamic religiosity in the text can be seen as a form of continuity and change in the ritual forms in cultivation activities framed by pre-Islamic local indigenous customs. Sustainability, in the sense that there remains a trace of conscious resistance, is to maintain ritual forms and material culture related to the environment.

The hybrid Islam in the structure of the *berhuma* ritual can be found in the form of the merging of elements from local culture with Islamic traditions. Procedures for the implementation of rituals and objects that come from the environment of the indigenous Kapuas Hulu persist as conditions for the implementation of the rituals. In the meantime, the verses of the Quran and the Hadith are also recited as an integral part in the *berhuma* ritual. The variety of elements of Islam adopted in the

ritual in general deals with basic concepts of belief, although the text gives no explanation.

The hybrid Islam of the Dayak Muslims in the *mantra* recited for the *berhuma* ritual can be seen from the mix of vocabulary, phrases, and sentence structures derived from the Malay language and also from Arabic. The language style of the *mantra* not bound by the rules of standard language even tend to ‘damage’ the language because the poetics allow for cultural mixing between the Kapuas Hulu Malay language and Arabic. This phenomenon is apparent in the phrase “*Kun jāda jadī ahjādī*, berkat doa *Lā ilāha illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh...*” and also the phrase “... *Man ṭalabatan wa-aljada wal jāddī kawan ahjadi-jadi Nūr hayāt Allāh*”. As a language of *mantra*, the sentence structure that deviates from the standard language rules becomes one of the modes that makes a spell work effectively. If the expression is modified or adapted to the structure of the standard language, it will lose its magical power.

The hybrid Islam in the myth of rice rituals associated with *berhuma* can be recognized from the reinterpretation of mythical symbols that form a basis of a ritual. The ongoing process of the reinterpretation is a process of adaptation of Islam into the indigenous belief systems of the people of Kapuas Hulu. The reinterpretation of the symbols has an impact on the simplification of ritual forms in order to find a model that fits with the context of the users. However, the substantial meaning of the symbols is derived from two different traditions that are strongly retained. This is evident in the phenomenon of the use of the important and divine words with regard to rice, such as *Yā Dā’im*, *Yā Razzāq*, *Yā Fattāḥ*, *Yā Dahīr*, *Yā Laṭīf*, *Yā Raḥīm*, *Yā Allāh*. This expression means that rice has become the basic philosophy of life associated with consumption, and consumption is regarded as a way of generating clean blood for worship.

Endnotes

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1. I am keenly aware of my indebtedness to H. Ismail and his family for giving me access to his manuscript collections, especially *Kitab Berladang*.
 2. Ethimologically, the word *hybrid* is derived from *hybridity*. As a noun, the word *hybridity*, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, describes “a thing made by combining two different elements; a mixture”. As an adjective, the word *hybrid* describes something of “mixed character”. See: ‘Hybridity’, in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2008, at [encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3045301063.html](http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3045301063.html), accessed on September 11, 2012, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3045301063.html>
 3. Evidence of hybrid Islam is that the language of the Quran itself is the mix of Latin (*shirāt - strada*), Greek (*Al-qist - Qisth*), and Malay (*Kafur - kafur baru*). See, for instance, Nurcholish Madjid (2001) in <http://islamlib.com/en/article/islam-is-a-hybrid-religion>.
 4. *Hybridization* thus describes “the ambivalence at the source of traditional discourses on authority”. See: Bhabha, 1994: 112.
 5. Young, 1995: 23.
 6. See, Drewes in Azyumardi Azra, 1994: 268.
 7. Azra, 2007: 372.
 8. Azra, 2007: 150.
 9. The mythology of the origin of rice is believed by Dayak people to be related to *Ne Baruanng Kulup* the one ‘who is not circumscribed’. He is said to be the man who brought the seed of rice from ‘kayangan’, or heaven. This is the basic mythology for the *Naik Dango* ritual, which celebrates the rice harvest conducted to express the thankfulness or thanksgiving of the Borneo people to God of *Nek Jubata* (The Creator) for all their success. This celebration is also used to request God for a better rice harvest in the next year, and the protection from any misfortune or great disaster.
 10. Mulkhan, 2000: 40; Azra, 1996: 191–192.
 11. ‘Not only did Islam change the life of the Malays, the life of the Malays also changed Islam as it come to the area. The Malays of Borneo are Muslims who retain many animistic superstitions and a belief in the power of the magic in dealing with the cosmic powers’. See: McAmis, 2002: 52.
 12. Scott, 1913: 323–324.
 13. Ethnic Malay is the largest ethnic community in the Islamic world. More than 200

- million Malay people live in Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Southern Thailand, and Southern Philippines. Nevertheless, Malay people are also recorded as the largest Christian Church adherent in Asia. There are 70 million Roman Catholic adherents in the Philippines. There are Malay Batak from North Sumatra also known as the largest adherents of Protestant Church in Asia. See: McAmis, 2002: 4–24.
14. McAmis, 2002: 25; Ricklefs, 2005: 27–48.
 15. McAmis, 2002: 44.
 16. Scott, 1913: 322.
 17. The evidence is in the tradition of *pontoi*, or *pantak* — a wooden ancestral sculpture, or totem, that is worshipped and fed each year. Other evidence is found in the *ngayau*, or *tariyu* — a tradition well known as ‘head hunting’. This is performed by cutting the head off the enemy to obtain divine power. See: Ahok, 1980/1981; Abdillah, 2012: 165.
 18. Muljono, 1965: 49.
 19. Ahok, 1980/1981: 15–16; Hermansyah, 2010: 13.
 20. Ethnic Dayaks originally lived in coastal areas. However, they moved to interior when the Malay people, Bugis, Madura, and Chinese arrived.
 21. Umberan, 1994: 32; Prasojo, 2010: 51.
 22. Ibrahim in Mahasin, 1996: 204.
 23. Ali A.S. in Mahasin, 1996: 197.
 24. Occasionally, Dayak people are described as naked villagers who wear a loincloth only. This description can be found in Dobby, King, and Sellato. In Hanapi Dollah’s opinion, the description is a part of a colonial narrative which gives a more exotic impression of Dayak. See: Singarimbun, 1996; 258–259; Yusriadi, 2005: 2.
 25. King, 1993: 28.
 26. Stigma is a form of verbal violence related to Dayak which spread by the former New Order government. See: Pasti in Susanto, 2003: 113.
 27. Hermansyah & Marluwi, 2009: 22
 28. Scott, 1913: 321; Azra, 1996: 186; Yusriadi, 2005: 5; Abdillah, 2012: 177–178; Interview with H. Ismail on April 19, 2012.
 29. Abdillah, 2012: 178; Yusriadi, 2005: 5.
 30. Abdillah, 2012: 177; Yusriadi & Ichwan: 2007.
 31. Pasti, 2003: 127.
 32. Putussibau is the youngest territory of all territories in Kapuas Hulu. If we trace to the upper course of Kapuas River, some territories include Bunut, Jongkong, Selimbau, Semitau, and Silat. Semitau is the name of a kingdom established by the Dutch and is not an Islamic sultanate. Interview with H. Ismail on April, 19, 2012.
 33. There are three big Malay kingdoms in the Kapuas Hulu region — namely Selimabau, Jongkong, and Bunut. These are Islamic sultanates with significant influence. Interview with H. Ismail on April, 19, 2012.
 34. Not only well known as a prominent elder, H. Ismail is also a religious teacher in Putussibau. He and his wife together conduct an Islamic Teaching Forum for householders, both mothers and fathers, who live in Kampung Prajurit and its surroundings. Information gathered from observation and interviews at the home of H. Ismail on April 18–19, 2012.
 35. Dove: 1985; Yusriadi: 2004.
 36. Hendra: 2009.
 37. Dove, 1983: 85–99; Dove: 1988.
 38. Hermansyah: 2010.
 39. Medi Hendra: 2009.

40. Collin, 1992: 924. He divided the description of Tioman attitude to the Huma into three cycle phases — namely the planting, growing, and harvesting phases.
41. Hermansyah, 2010: 25; Yusriadi, 2004: 23.
42. In addition to *burung-biu*, observing nature's signs is also known as *pamonok*, or *monok*. See: Johansen, 2001: 47.
43. *Ngabas tanah*, or to *mengabas* the land, is an activity to investigate some areas that will be marked out for field cultivation, or *uma*. *Ngabas tanah* is the earliest in a series of activities in swidden cultivation (*buma*). It is followed by *nobas*, *nobang*, *nunu*, *ngokas*, *mabau*, *ngompin*, and *ngotam* (Hermansyah, 2010).
44. Based on an interview with H. Ismail (April 19, 2012), the meaning of word *batu pengasab*, or whetstone in the manuscript, is a special stone that comes from the unseen world. This stone is presented in traditional ritual ceremonies conducted by the people of Kapuas Hulu.
45. Manuscript (MS): *al-qalaq*
46. MS: *asalāmun*
47. QS. al-An'ām/6: 85; dan al-Şaffāt/37 : 123
48. Interview with H. Ismail (April 18–19, 2012).
49. Cultivation activities being the same in Dayak sub-ethnics, they utilise different technical terms. For instance, Taman people use the term *membeele taanaa* instead of *mengabas tanah*. See: Yufiza & Anita, 2005: 26.
50. Hermansyah, 2010: 26–27.
51. QS. Al-Hijr/15: 19
52. MS: *uwang*.
53. MS: *atawa*.
54. MS: *b-a-d-a*.
55. MS: *h-y -a-d-ny*.
56. MS: *wa-al-qanā*.
57. MS: *rana-siyā*.
58. MS: *fî*.
59. Besides *nyawa*, or soul, the indigenous Kapuas Hulu people also believe in the *semangat*, or *semongat* (spirit), of the human body. The explanation of spirit gives humans power to face the world. Someone who lives without spirit is like a zombie. Such a person appears as unenthusiastic and without the will to survive. This spirit can be summoned, be present, and also leave the body. Nevertheless, the departure of one's spirit does not cause death. This person must be cured by a ritual called *dikumai semongatnya*. See: Hermansyah, 2010: 100–113.
60. Luardini: 2009.
61. MS: *wamayashturūn*, QS. al-Qalam/68: 1.
62. *Tugal* is the name of a hole made by using a wooden stick embedded into the ground.
63. MS: *t-m-b-u-n*.
64. MS: *d-a-n-y-n*.
65. MS: *k-r-w-r-p-h*.
66. MS: *a-m-f-g-l*.
67. MS: *b-a-s-y}*.
68. MS: *b-a-k-t*.
69. MS: *butik*.
70. Interview with Hermansyah, August 2012.
71. Hermansyah, 2010: 71.
72. KBBI, 1995: 629.
73. *Mengkrenah* is the terminology used to straighten out one's intention in order to do

- the right things.
74. MS: membubuh.
 75. *Ilmu* is the term used to describe a verbal formula or ritual with or without certain media — either derived from local tradition or other tradition system — which have therapy, power, application, or protection as a purpose. See: Hermansyah, 2010: 49 & 71.
 76. Balian is a person who takes part in Dayak traditional ceremony. His main duty is to get in touch with the upper-world and underworld, consisting of the souls of dead bodies.
 77. MS: asal.
 78. MS: n-d-q-r a-l-l-h.
 79. MS: baharulah. (the emendation also applied to the same words).
 80. MS: hulat.
 81. See: Hermansyah, 2010: 121; Skeat, 1967: 218.
 82. Hermansyah, 2010: 95.
 83. Hermansyah, 2010: 96–97.
 84. Compare with QS. Al-Ḥajj / 22: 5.
 85. MS: t-r-t-b-n.
 86. MS: n-w-a-l-l-h.
 87. MS: r-m-n.
 88. See: Hermansyah, 2010: 73; Collins, 1992: 925.
 89. *Empangau* is a grasshopper, or *leptocorisa oratorius*. However, Embau people commonly use the name *ama'bbau*. They avoid mentioning the name for grasshopper, seeing it as taboo, because they believe the insect will destroy the cultivation. See: Hermansyah, 2010: 25–27). This belief also exists on Tioman island, as described by Collins, 1992: 25.
 90. MS: asal.
 91. MS: k-l-y-f-a-ʿ.
 92. MS: asal hulat.
 93. MS: kasufū.
 94. MS: shaitannya (the emendation also applied to the same words).
 95. MS: a-y-th-y-m.
 96. MS: tu kali juwa.
 97. Abdullah, 1987: 1.

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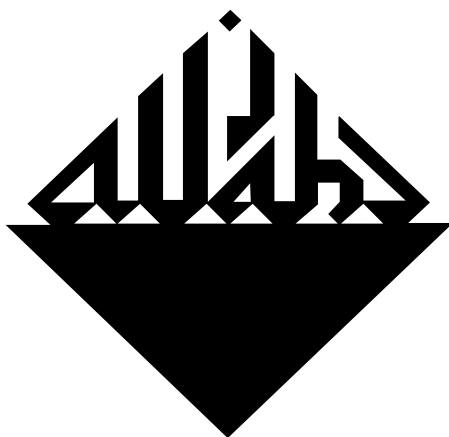
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والشريعة بنوسنتارا في القرن ١٦ الميلادي

إئين سوريانينجسيه

جدول أعمال الأحزاب الإسلامية

في اندونيسيا المعاصرة: بين الشريعة والديموقراطية

تاسمان
