
The *Atib Koambai* Tradition in Riau and the Ethos of *Dhikr*: A Phenomenological Study of Local Islamic Interpretation

Marhamah Annazah Tambunan*¹, Wafiq Mayada², Laila Kalsum Hasibuan³, Fatou Sanneh⁴

¹ Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia

² Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University of Yogyakarta, Indonesia

³ Sheikh Ali Hasan Ahmad Addary State Islamic University Padangsidempuan, Indonesia

⁴ Glory Baptist junior and senior secondary school, Gambia

Article Info

Article history:

Received: January 2025

Revised I: April 2025

Revised II: August 2025

Accepted: November 2025

Keywords:

Atib Koambai, *dhikr ritual*, *Alfred Schutz*, *thematic exegesis*, *Malay Islam of Riau*

ABSTRACT

The *Atib Koambai* tradition is a communal *dhikr* ritual practiced by the Malay Muslim community of Kubu, Rokan Hilir, Riau, originating in the seventeenth century as a spiritual response to a devastating cholera outbreak. Performed annually on the third day of *Shawwāl*, the ritual encompasses pilgrimage to the *tomb* of Shaykh Abdullah Pasai, responsorial *adhān*, collective *dhikr* conducted on boats, and the symbolic release of prayers into the river. This study investigates the ritual structure and the lived religious experiences of its participants using Alfred Schutz's phenomenological framework, complemented by a thematic exegetical analysis of Qur'anic teachings on *dhikr*, particularly *Qur'ān* 33:41–42 and *Qur'ān* 2:152. Employing qualitative methods, data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and field documentation involving four male informants selected via purposive-snowball sampling. The findings reveal that *Atib Koambai* constructs a shared religious lifeworld that reinforces intimate relationships between humans, God, nature, and the community. Collective *dhikr* along the river fosters feelings of safety, emotional reassurance, and social cohesion, while the act of entrusting prayers to the water symbolizes surrender and reliance on divine protection. The community perceives *Atib Koambai* as a non-syncretic practice grounded in normative *dhikr* principles and sustained through internal religious discourse. This study argues that *Atib Koambai* represents a living expression of *Islam Nusantara*, wherein Qur'anic remembrance is actualized through culturally embedded practices that strengthen religious identity, communal resilience, and the continuity of local Islamic heritage.

*Correspondence Author:

Marhamah Annazah Tambunan, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, annajahmarhamah@gmail.com

How to cite: Tambunan, M.A., Mayada, W., Hasibuan, L.K., Sanneh, F. (2025). The *Atib Koambai* Tradition in Riau and the Ethos of *Dhikr*: A Phenomenological Study of Local Islamic Interpretation. *JURNAL INDO-ISLAMIKA*, 15(2), 333–348. <https://doi.org/10.15408/jii.v15i2.46867>



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/). Any further distribution of this work must maintain attribution to the author(s) and the title of the work, journal citation and DOI | © Tambunan, et al (2025)

INTRODUCTION

In Islamic tradition, *dhikr* is not limited to a solitary spiritual practice; it has developed into a communal social and cultural ritual that holds significant meaning within Muslim communities. In the coastal areas of Malay Indonesia, *dhikr* serves as both an act of devotion and a socio-religious mechanism that strengthens community bonds and fosters collective spiritual awareness. One important example of this dynamic is the *Atib Koambai* tradition that people in Kubu, Riau follow. This ritual constitutes a collective effort to ward off calamities by integrating pilgrimage to a sacred tomb, responsorial *adhān*, and the collective recitation of *dhikr* conducted along the river estuary (Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman, 2025). The persistence of this tradition exemplifies the embodiment and preservation of Qur'anic teachings on *dhikr* (*dhikrullāh*) within the cultural milieu of coastal communities through ritual symbolism, sacred landscapes, and collective engagement with spiritual experiences (Güner, 2022; Sejin, 2023). In the larger context of local Islam or *Islam Nusantara*, the *Atib Koambai* tradition shows how religious experience, social and cultural conditions, and Qur'anic spiritual values can all work together to make sense of revelation.

This viewpoint aligns with the arguments presented by Supena and Thohir, who assert that local religiosity should be examined through phenomenological and social frameworks instead of being confined to strictly legalistic or formal interpretations (Supena, 2021; Thohir, 2022). In this context, *dhikr* is not simply a textual injunction to be recited; it is an embodied experience that is practiced, internalized, and transmitted across generations. Local symbolism and spirituality within *Atib Koambai* do not represent a deviation from normative Islam; rather, they are tangible expressions of a living interpretation that responds to the historical and ecological realities of Malay coastal society (Mella Novita et al., 2024). So, *Atib Koambai* becomes a local place of interpretation that supports the idea that Malay Islam is a diverse, dynamic, and adaptable form of Islam that can deal with social problems.

Even though the *Atib Koambai* tradition is very important religiously, socially, and culturally, not many scholars are studying it, especially when it comes to connecting the community's lived religious experiences with different ways of understanding the *Qur'ān*. A significant portion of the current literature tends to either dissociate ritual practice from its theological underpinnings or to articulate religious symbolism without contextualizing it within a cohesive interpretive framework or the experiential aspect of faith. This inclination has led to a conceptual chasm between scriptural texts and actual religious practices, as well as between local traditions and modern Qur'anic interpretive discourse. To address this gap, an integrative and comprehensive analytical framework is necessary to connect textual interpretation with social practice (Jauhar Azizy, 2022).

To address this academic necessity, the current study amalgamates Alfred Schutz's phenomenological framework specifically his notions of lifeworld, intersubjectivity, and collective meaning construction with thematic interpretation (*tafsīr mawḍū'ī*) of Qur'anic verses pertaining to remembrance, namely *Qur'ān* al-Aḥzāb [33]:41-42 and *Qur'ān* al-Baqarah [2]:152. By employing this integrated methodology, the study analyzes the symbolic framework of the *Atib Koambai* ritual while also investigating the multifaceted layers of religious experience ingrained in the collective consciousness of the Kubu community. This viewpoint allows for the comprehension of *dhikr* as a manifestation of spiritual safeguarding, psychological fortification, and social cohesion articulated within a unified religious practice.

Schutz's phenomenology provides a significant conceptual framework for comprehending religious phenomena as socially situated experiences. His focus on the lifeworld and intersubjectivity is especially pertinent for analyzing *dhikr* within *Atib Koambai*, where remembrance is performed not merely as an individual devotional act but as a collective practice imbued with shared symbolism and significance. Ritual experiences that unfold in sacred spaces such as tombs and rivers cannot be

adequately understood through normative-theological analysis alone; rather, they must be approached as cultural and existential events that shape religious consciousness within coastal communities (Gschwandtner, 2023). Thematic interpretation gives a contextual reading of Qur'anic verses on *dhikr*, which goes along with this point of view. The *Atib Koambai* practice is based on *Qur'ān* al-Aḥzāb [33]:41–42 and *Qur'ān* al-Baqarah [2]:152 as spiritual and psychological foundations. Classical and modern commentators stress these aspects in different ways.

For example, al-Ṭabarī talks about how *dhikr* is universal in all situations, Wahbah al-Zuhaylī links remembrance to protection from disasters and spiritual problems, and Quraish Shihab talks about *dhikr* to deal with the stresses of life. These interpretive insights are evident in the structure and significance of the *Atib Koambai* ritual. In line with the epistemology of *Islam Nusantara*, *Atib Koambai* can be perceived as a type of '*amali*' interpretation, wherein Qur'anic verses are not merely recited but also performed within a framework of beliefs, rituals, and social interactions. Collective *dhikr* translates spiritual values into tangible communal actions that address historical crises and ecological fragility. An integrative methodology that amalgamates phenomenology and thematic interpretation creates novel analytical opportunities for comprehending *dhikr* practices within the local Malay Islamic framework. Prior research on *dhikr* within local cultural contexts exemplified by Ibrahim and Ab Aziz's examination of the spiritual and social aspects of disaster-prevention practices in Malay society has yielded significant insights (Ibrahim et al., 2019).

Still, these studies have not consistently used Qur'anic interpretation or phenomenological analysis to look at lived religious experience. Most of the research on the *Atib Koambai* tradition has been about descriptive-historical stories, ritual communication, and symbolic analysis. Camelia Khuznul Ma'wa examines changes in participation and social dynamics (Camelia Khuznul Ma'wa & Hambali, 2023), Ali Badri and Chelsy Yesicha analyze the tradition through symbolic ethnography (Ali Badri & Yesicha, 2019), Syahrul Nizom and colleagues underscore the influence of religious figures and local values (Syahrul Nizom et al., 2021), and Winda Wulandari investigates *tahlīl dhikr* from the viewpoint of *tafsīr* scholars (Wulandari, 2023). Although these contributions are complementary, none directly investigate the intersection of lived *dhikr* experience, collective meaning-making, and Qur'anic interpretation within a unified hermeneutical framework. Similar investigations from different areas, including examinations of the *Kabanti* tradition in Buton, also underscore cultural embeddedness while neglecting the Qur'anic interpretive aspect (Hidayat et al., 2024; Salapudin et al., 2021).

This body of literature shows that there is a big gap in how we think about and study *dhikr* as a lived, phenomenological way of engaging with Qur'anic meaning. The current study seeks to (1) elucidate the structure and significance of the *Atib Koambai* tradition through the lived experiences of the Kubu community, (2) examine the role of *dhikr* in influencing social, psychological, and religious frameworks, and (3) interpret *Qur'ān* al-Aḥzāb [33]:41–42 and *Qur'ān* al-Baqarah [2]:152 within the context of *Atib Koambai* as a manifestation of local Islamic interpretation in practice. The analysis focuses on ritual symbolism, sacred spaces such as tombs and rivers, collective meaning construction through *dhikr*, and the social articulation of Qur'anic teachings within the tradition. This study theoretically enriches the examination of local Islam through phenomenological and hermeneutical methodologies, while simultaneously providing practical insights to fortify the religious identity and resilience of Malay Muslim communities amid contemporary social challenges.

METHOD

This research utilizes a qualitative design based on a phenomenological-hermeneutic framework to investigate the profundity of religious experience within the Kubu and Kubu Babussalam communities engaged in the *Atib Koambai* tradition. This method is especially good for

studying religious events that include subjective awareness, symbolic meaning, and shared experience, like the group practice of *dhikr*. Alongside phenomenological inquiry, the study employs a thematic interpretation method (*tafsīr mawḍūʿī*) to analyze Qurʾanic verses regarding remembrance, specifically *Qurʾān* al-Aḥzāb [33]:41–42 and *Qurʾān* al-Baqarah [2]:152, to contextualize ritual practice within scriptural discourse. Fieldwork was conducted in Teluk Nilap Village, Kubu Babussalam District, Rokan Hilir Regency, Riau Province, a site intentionally chosen for its historical and spiritual importance as the focal point of the *Atib Koombai dhikr tolak bala ritual*, which has been passed down through generations.

We got primary data by doing in-depth interviews, watching people, and writing things down. Four male informants were chosen through a purposive-snowball sampling method due to their pivotal roles and ongoing participation in the tradition. These informants consisted of a local religious authority (caliph) who leads the *dhikr* and offers theological guidance, a government official (the Kubu District Head) tasked with institutional support and coordination, and two adult congregants who actively engage in the ritual. All the people who gave information were adult to elderly men with higher education backgrounds. This is because the *Atib Koombai* ritual is traditionally for men and has a gendered structure.

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were performed to obtain informants' narratives regarding the historical origins of the tradition, ritual procedures, lived experiences of *dhikr*, and their perceptions of its social and spiritual functions. The researcher did participant observation directly during the ritual process to record embodied practices, spatial dynamics, and group expressions of religiosity. The empirical data were augmented by an examination of both classical and modern *tafsīr* literature, notably the writings of al-Ṭabarī (*Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*), Wahbah az-Zuhaylī (*Tafsīr al-Munīr*), and M. Quraish Shihab (*Tafsīr al-Miṣbāḥ*), which offer theological, psychological, and sociological insights into Qurʾanic verses pertaining to *dhikr*. The analysis of the data took place in two connected stages.

First, phenomenological analysis adhered to the frameworks established by Moustakas and Van Manen, involving three primary steps: epoch to suspend the researcher's preconceived notions, identification of noema and noesis to delineate the structures of consciousness within spiritual experience, and synthesis of meaning to reconstruct the essence of *dhikr* as a ritual practice aimed at disaster prevention and communal cohesion. We went over the interview transcripts and field notes many times, coding them line by line to find important statements about fear of disaster, the experiential aspects of *dhikr*, ideas about divine protection, and signs of social solidarity. These codes were then grouped into larger thematic units that describe the *Atib Koombai* tradition's way of life.

Second, thematic interpretation was performed by pinpointing essential themes within the Qurʾanic verses concerning remembrance, analyzing both classical and contemporary exegetical interpretations, and methodically correlating these textual themes with empirical findings from the field, including protection, gratitude, divine presence, and collective resilience. The amalgamation of phenomenological and thematic-interpretive analyses yielded a holistic interpretive framework that correlates the textual aspects of revelation with the contextual realities of communal experience, aligning with the epistemological tenets of Nusantara Islamic thought (Rumbay et al., 2023).

To guarantee the validity and reliability of the data, various methodological approaches were utilized, including the triangulation of data sources via the comparison of interviews, observations, and documentary evidence, alongside member checking with key informants to validate interpretive precision. An audit trail was preserved to record analytical decisions and interpretive advancements during the research process, supplemented by researcher reflexivity via field notes that critically evaluated the impact of emotional engagement and personal assumptions. These methods are in line with the established standards for qualitative research in the fields of socio-religious interpretation

and ritual phenomenology (Hamdani, 2020).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Origin and History of the *Atib Koambai* Tradition

The *Atib Koambai* tradition that started in Kubu District, Rokan Hilir Regency, Riau Province, is a type of religious and cultural heritage that is closely tied to the early spread of Islam along the Sumatran coast in the 1600s. Teluk Nilap Village in Kubu Babussalam District is one of the most important places in this tradition. It is home to a sacred and well-guarded tomb. People in the area think that this tomb is where Teuku Abdullah Pasai, an Acehese scholar who is seen as one of the first Muslims in the area, was buried. The site is more commonly known as the Tomb of Datuk Rambai in the community, even though it has been linked to Abdullah Pasai in the past (Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman, S.Pd., M.M., 2025).

Local stories say that the tomb was left alone for a long time and slowly faded from people's memories. Tuan Haji Abdul Fattah, a student sent by *Tuan Guru Babussalam*, Shaykh Abdul Wahab Rokan, did not start looking for the site until around 1888. He found the tomb in a forest full of *rambai* trees, but when he went back to get help, he couldn't remember exactly where it was. But the unique presence of *rambai* trees around the site became a memory aid, and the community later called it the Tomb of *Datuk Rambai* (Interview with Kh. Rahmad Assidiqi, 2025). This rediscovery was very important for bringing the tomb back to life as a holy place and making it a part of the Kubu community's shared religious memory.

The *Atib Koambai* tradition, which takes place every year on the third day of *Eid al-Fitr* (3 *Syawwāl*), is closely related to this holy place. The ritual started as a way for people to deal with a bad outbreak of scabies and cholera, which were diseases that were hard to treat and scared a lot of people. The community came together to do *dhikr* around the tomb in response to this crisis. They also continued their prayers on small boats (sampan) along the river route from the Tomb of *Datuk Rambai* to Tanjung Pulau in Pulau Halang Village. The ritual was meant to be a group prayer for God's protection from the disease. Local accounts say that the outbreak slowly stopped after this *dhikr* ritual, which made people believe even more in the spiritual power of *Atib Koambai* and made sure it would continue as an annual event (Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman, S.Pd., M.M., 2025).

In its subsequent development, *Atib Koambai* became increasingly shaped by Sufi teachings that emphasize *dhikrullāh* as a means of inner purification and protection from harm. This orientation aligns with the robust Sufistic tradition that emerged in Aceh via Islamic educational institutions like *dayah*, which were instrumental in spreading Islamic knowledge and cultivating religious scholars (Ahmad, 2019). The Kubu community eventually made *Atib Koambai* a set annual event that takes place on 3 *Syawwāl*. The ritual sequence begins with pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaykh Abdullah Pasai, followed by a responsorial *adhān* performed by two muezzins, and culminates in the collective recitation of *dhikr* aboard boats navigating from the river estuary near the tomb to the Tanjung Pulau area in Pulau Halang Village (Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman, S.Pd., M.M., 2025).

The *Atib Koambai* tradition did not arise in isolation; it is the product of a complex interplay between Islamic values and local Malay customs and cosmology. Scholars like Shaykh Abdullah Pasai did not want Islam to take over or replace local culture. Instead, they wanted it to talk to the way things were already in society. This process exemplifies a distinctive model of Malay Islam wherein Islamic teachings are assimilated into communal values and practices, while simultaneously preserving local wisdom (Nordin et al., 2025). Within this framework, *Atib Koambai* represents a non-syncretic yet acculturative form of *dhikr tolak bala*, embedding the principle of *tawhīd* within a collective cultural expression. Like other Malay customs like *kenduri tolak bala* or communal *dhikr* practices, *Atib Koambai* shows how local Islam can keep social and spiritual stability through flexible and contextual

forms of religion (Sakai, 2017).

The uniqueness of *Atib Koambai* is further exemplified by its ritual symbolism, such as the employment of white garments as indicators of purity, the limitation of ritual participation to men, and the use of boats traversing the river estuary as a sacred spatial conduit. These symbolic elements signify the internalization of Islamic values within the framework of Malay maritime culture, reinforcing the ritual's theological orientation while maintaining cultural specificity.

Atib Koambai is more than just a ritual; it is also a way for the Kubu community to show their religious identity and is a key part of how local Islam shapes the group's consciousness. The tradition acts to pass on spiritual values like being aware of God, trusting God to keep you safe from disasters, and building social solidarity. In this sense, *Atib Koambai* illustrates how Qur'anic verses on remembrance are not merely interpreted verbally but enacted practically through embodied actions and symbolic practices within the cultural life of the community (Sammad, 2023).

From an academic standpoint, traditions like *Atib Koambai* ought to be regarded as components of society's social interpretation of revealed texts. Through continual ritual practice, the Kubu community develops a dynamic and contextual theology that embodies both historical experience and religious devotion. This indicates that the Islamization of the Sumatran coast was not merely a process of doctrinal conversion but also an expression of spiritual values in a sustainable local cultural context (Falarti, 2022). *Atib Koambai* plays an important role in keeping an inclusive, adaptable, and socially engaged version of *Islam Nusantara* alive today.

The Ritual Structure and Stages of Implementing *Atib Koambai*

Atib Koambai is a religious ritual that the Kubu and Kubu Babussalam communities do to keep bad things from happening. It is a unique part of their religious life. The Indonesian Big Dictionary says that the words *atib* or *ratib* refer to repetitive prayers or praises to God, mostly in the form of *dhikr* and supplication. Hanafi says that the ritual started to deal with cholera and dysentery outbreaks, which were very contagious and hard to treat with the medical knowledge available at the time (Interview with Hanafi, 2025). In response to this existential threat, religious scholars and traditional leaders came up with *Atib Koambai* as a group spiritual effort to ask for God's protection. The ritual has always been seen as a type of *ratib tolak bala*, and it has been passed down through the generations as a religious tradition.

Only once a year, on the third day of *Eid al-Fitr* (3 *Syawwāl*), does the *Atib Koambai* ceremony take place. Religious leaders, traditional leaders, and local government officials all talked about this time and agreed on it. Hasan Usman said that the choice of this date was a deliberate effort to make community vigilance a ritual: "In the past, epidemics came unpredictably, but our scholars agreed to make the third day of Eid our collective moment of remembrance, as if 'blocking' disaster from returning" (Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman, 2025). The ritual is done with a *pompong* boat that goes along the river route from the Tomb of *Tuk Rambai* in *Teluk Nilap* Village to the Tanjung Pulau area in Pulau Halang Village. The Kubu and Kubu Babussalam communities see this ritual journey as more than just a symbol; they see it as a real way to pray for the end of epidemics and other bad things. So, *Atib Koambai* serves not only as an annual ceremony but also as a spiritual tool that strengthens group safety and continuity.

The name "*Atib Koambai*" comes from two words: "*atib*," which means "prayer" or "*dhikr*," and "*koambai*," which means "the *rambai* tree." The name of this ritual is directly related to where it starts, which is the Tomb of *Tuk Rambai* in *Teluk Nilap* Village. Locals believe that this is where Teuku Abdullah Pasai, an Acehnese scholar who spread Islam in the Kubu region in the 1600s, was buried. As Hasan Usman noted, "In the past, large *rambai* trees surrounded the tomb, so people called it *Tuk Rambai*. "That is where the whole *Atib Koambai* procession starts" (Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman,

2025). Because of this, the ritual structure can't be separated from historical memory, da'wah stories, and the symbolic holiness given to the figure of Abdullah Pasai.

The first step in the ritual is for religious leaders, traditional leaders, and people who go to church to meet at the Tomb of *Tuk Rambai*. A senior religious leader or shaykh leads the congregation in *tahlīl*, supplications, and *dhikr*. After that, two muezzins recite a responsorial *adhān*, which changes the normal space into a sacred ritual space. Then, the participants get on the boats and say the declaration of faith, "*Lā ilāha illā Allāh*," repeatedly. Hasan Usman said that the atmosphere was "a vibration of voices merging above the water, where people no longer count the recitations and only feel the lightness of the heart" (Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman, 2025). This moment is the end of a group remembrance as a physical spiritual experience.

Men who take part in the ritual must wear white clothes, like *gamis* or *koko* shirts, to show that they are pure, humble, and ready to meet God. Women are not allowed to join the river procession because it would cause *ikhtilāf* and ruin the solemnity of the ritual. KH. Rahmad Assidiqi says that this gendered arrangement shows a division of religious roles rather than exclusion: "This is a hard ritual, full of struggle; the men act as shields, and the women continue *dhikr* and prayer from home." "It's not about importance; it's about different duties" (Interview with KH. Rahmad Assidiqi, 2025). In this system, men are seen as community protectors in public rituals, while women are seen as spiritual supporters in the home.

The trip down the river starts near the Tomb of *Tuk Rambai* and ends at Tanjung Pulau, which is in Pulau Halang Village. During the trip, *dhikr* is said repeatedly, along with the idea that the river's current will "drown" all kinds of bad luck. One person who talked to us about it said it was like "letting go of all fears, as if unwanted disasters were sinking or drifting away with the water" (Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman, 2025). This practice shows that the ritual serves two purposes: as a religious act and as a symbolic statement of the community's connection to nature, its history, and its sense of unity. According to Alfred Schutz's phenomenology, the *Atib Koambai* ritual creates a kind of "double reality" in which participants leave their normal lives for a short time and enter a sacred world with its own meanings and rules. White clothing, male participation, and purity requirements are not just social rules; they are also signs that someone is moving into a higher religious life. The sacred dance of bodily postures, group movement, and synchronized recitation shows spiritual attentiveness and sincerity.

In Schutz's noema-noesis framework, *dhikr* and supplication are the object of consciousness (noema). They are a way to keep the relationship between humans and God strong while also asking for protection from disaster. The experiential interpretation (noesis) comes from the ritual journey itself, which starts at the tomb and ends at Tanjung Pulau. The constant chanting of *dhikr* along the river strengthens the idea that remembering something together can protect you from danger. Hasan Usman says that this experience shows that *Atib Koambai* is not only different because of the words of *dhikr*, but also because of how it is shared as a spiritual journey (Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman, 2025). The pilgrimage to the tomb strengthens the connection between the past and the present, both historically and spiritually. The river procession, on the other hand, affirms the sacred bond between people, nature, and divine protection.

When everyone recites *dhikr* together, it creates a rhythmic spiritual atmosphere that brings everyone together into a single consciousness. Sejin said that *dhikr* is like "light and dew" that calms the soul. This is like *Atib Koambai*, where the sound of remembrance mixes with wind and flowing water (Sejin, 2023). Boats and rivers that flow act as spiritual vehicles, carrying the community toward blessings, salvation, and inner peace. Loewenthal and Dein stress that religious rituals like this go beyond individual spirituality and create a shared lifeworld where *dhikr* is the most important part of ritual reality (Loewenthal & Dein, 2015). These results show that the ritual structure of *Atib Koambai* creates a shared religious habitus through rhythmic and symbolic *dhikr* practices. The ritual's different

parts gathering at the tomb, hearing the echoing *adhān*, and going down the river show how people create meaning through repeated interactions with each other. Collective remembrance and prayer are ways to strengthen social ties, create a sense of safety, and keep moral discipline in the community.

You can also understand the gendered structure and non-syncretic claims that go along with *Atib Koambai* in this way. The caliph and male participants who act as ritual guardians create religious masculinity. Women's religiousness, on the other hand, is expressed through religious practices at home. At the same time, the claim that *Atib Koambai* is not a syncretic ritual is based on what people in the religion say to each other. Religious leaders stress that there are no offerings, spirit invocations, or prayers to anyone other than God, saying that all ritual elements come only from *dhikr* and *ma'thur* prayers. So, claims of non-syncretism are based on both theologies, through the purification of *tawhīd*, and anthropology, through setting boundaries that separate *Atib Koambai* from other local rituals that are seen as problematic.

In terms of social practice, the whole ritual structure shows how collective *dhikr* creates social and spiritual ties in a coastal area where the environment is unstable. The prayer ceremony is a time to let go of emotions and cleanse the spirit, and moving together on the boat shows both physical and symbolic unity. *Atib Koambai* does this by showing how humans and God are connected in a vertical way and how humans, nature, and community are connected in a horizontal way. This is done through a single ritual that is passed down from generation to generation.

Thematic Interpretation and the Ethos of *Dhikr* in the Socio-Religious Consciousness of the Kubu Community

The thematic interpretation of *Qur'ān* al-Aḥzāb [33]:41–42 and *Qur'ān* al-Baqarah [2]:152 is the basis for understanding how the Kubu community practices *dhikr* in the *Atib Koambai* tradition. *Qur'ān* al-Aḥzāb [33]:41–42, which tells believers to "remember Allah with much remembrance and glorify Him morning and evening," stresses how important and constant *dhikr* is. The command *udzkurūllāh dhikran kathīrā* does not merely prescribe a sporadic ritual act but establishes remembrance as a sustained mode of consciousness that transcends temporal and spatial boundaries. Al-Ṭabarī interprets this injunction as a call for total servitude in all circumstances, encompassing both formal worship and everyday social activity, thereby positioning *dhikr* as a pervasive way of life (Thabari, 2000). Wahbah al-Zuhaylī, on the other hand, focuses on its protective aspect, saying that remembering it all the time, especially in the morning and evening (*bukratan wa aṣīlan*), protects against evil spirits and other disasters (Zuhaili, 1998). Quraish Shihab goes on to talk about the spiritual and psychological importance of *dhikr*, saying that it can bring the presence of God into one's inner consciousness, giving peace, courage, and a sense of safety in the face of life's stresses (Shihab, 2005).

In the *Atib Koambai* tradition, these interpretations are put into action in real-life rituals. The boat procession went from the cemetery complex of Shaykh Abdullah Pasai to the river mouth and then on to the Tanjung Pulau area. The constant repetition of *dhikr* during this time is an example of *dhikran kathīrā* in action through group movement. The ritual's timing on 3 *Syawwāl*, which is right after *Eid al-Fitr*, makes the Qur'an's emphasis on remembering across time even stronger. People in the area see this time as a time of weakness, when life goes back to normal after the celebrations and everyone asks for God's protection for the coming year. In this manner, ritual timing, spatial symbolism (the river mouth as a liminal boundary between land and sea), and the corporeal manifestation of *dhikr* illustrate how Qur'anic directives are pragmatically interpreted and implemented within the community's lived experience.

Qur'ān al-Baqarah [2]:152 offers a complementary thematic framework, expressing a reciprocal relationship between human remembrance and divine response: *fadhkurūnī adhkurkum*. Al-Ṭabarī says that *dhikrullāh* in this verse means following the rules of the tongue, heart, and action. The reward for

doing this is God's mercy, protection, and presence in the believer's life (Thabari, 2000). Az-Zuḥaylī says that the verse is a promise of protection for both groups and individuals who regularly remember and thank God (Zuhaili, 1991). Quraish Shihab also stresses that remembering God gives you a sense of being with others, which helps you stay strong and resilient in tough times (Shihab, 2005).

Some people warn against only reciting *dhikrullāh*, saying that it is important to fully follow *Sharī'a*. However, the Kubu community, through the *Atib Koambai* tradition, values communal verbal *dhikr* as a main way to embody these verses in real-life situations, especially when there is a threat of an epidemic. This selective focus is one way to interpret the *Qur'ān* that is based on the community's real-life experiences and existential worries. Interviews with local leaders provide more evidence that people in *Atib Koambai* see *dhikr* as a "collective shield" against disaster. People say things like "if it is not done, something feels missing... there is fear that past disasters will come back" to show that *dhikr* has become more than just a recommended religious act; it is now a shared moral and spiritual duty (Interview with Azwirsyah, 2025).

This perception was reinforced during the COVID-19 pandemic, when the postponement of the *Atib Koambai* ritual due to social restrictions coincided with a series of disruptive events, including disease outbreaks and environmental disturbances such as crocodiles encroaching on residential areas (Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman, S.Pd., M.M., 2025). Even though these events can't be blamed solely on the delayed ritual, they did make people surer that the boat-based *dhikr* of *Atib Koambai* is very important for keeping bad things from happening. In this context, *fadhkurūnī adhkurkum* is understood in a very specific way: People in the village believe that remembering God together will keep the village and the waters around it safe, since those are the main places where the community lives.

Atib Koambai has developed what could be called a *dhikr* ethos a shared spiritual awareness that comes from repeating God's names in a rhythmic, meditative, and communal way over time. In the context of local Islamic spiritual psychology, *dhikr* is perceived not merely as verbal devotion but as an internal therapeutic process that soothes the soul and fosters unity among participants through a collective spiritual resonance (Sarbin et al., 2018). The fact that men are the only ones who can participate in rituals on the boat, the fact that white clothing is a symbol of purity, and the fact that the river mouth is a sacred space all show how Qur'anic themes and the way that ritual life is set up in Kubu are connected.

This ethos of remembrance also serves as a means of social regulation rooted in piety. The moral obligation to take part in *Atib Koambai* encourages people to follow the rules and strengthens public religiosity. These kinds of interactions are like Durkheim's idea of collective effervescence, which says that shared ritual activity creates emotional energy that makes society stronger (Durkheim, 2014). In *Atib Koambai*, synchronized bodily movements, harmonized voices, and a singular spiritual focus convert the boat procession into a manifestation of mechanical solidarity, fortifying communal identity as a society united through remembrance and mutual protection. Empirical studies also show how important spirituality is to being a Muslim. For example, they show how religious experiences shape spiritual awareness (Ghorbani & Watson), how *ma'rifah* is at the heart of Muslim spirituality (Munawar Haque), and how *niyyah* anchors Islamic ritual intention (Khoiriyah et al., 2024).

When looked at through this integrative theoretical lens, *Atib Koambai* becomes more than just a cultural heritage; it also becomes a lived expression of Islamic spirituality. Its group *dhikr*, ritual navigation along the river, prayers, and physical solidarity bring to life important aspects of spirituality, such as transcendence, making sense of things, being aware of right and wrong, and feeling connected to others. From a phenomenological point of view, the tradition works as a kind of *tafsīr 'amalī*, where Qur'anic verses are not just interpreted in an abstract way but are also acted out through group movement, emotional synchronization, and social strength.

Atib Koambai's dhikr culture confirms that *dhikr* is a religious and social practice that shapes

the Kubu community's religious consciousness. Theologically, Qur'anic teachings on remembrance are put into practice through ritual enactment. Sociologically, *dhikr* serves as a source of unity, reconciliation, psychological support, and collective strength, which supports broader findings on the role of communal ritual in building community (Magnus & Sherrick, 2023). In this manner, *Atib Koambai* serves not merely as a cultural legacy but as a socially rooted interpretation of divine revelation that integrates faith, culture, and quotidian existence within a robust local Islamic framework.

Comparison of *Atib Koambai* with the *Nusantara Dhikr* Tradition

The *Atib Koambai* tradition in Kubu has some formal similarities to several disaster-prevention and communal ritual practices found all over the Indonesian archipelago. These include Mandi Safar (Yusuf et al., 2023), sea purification rituals in Java, *Tabuik* in Pariaman (Zamhari, 2009), and the customary Maulid tradition in Buton (Anshori et al., 2021). These traditions similarly integrate Islamic devotional aspects with local ecological and cultural contexts, frequently utilizing sacred spaces such as rivers, seas, and tombs, ritual moments regarded as liminal or blessed, and collective prayer or *dhikr* as a means of soliciting divine protection. At this descriptive level, *Atib Koambai* appears to participate in a broader pattern of *Nusantara* Islamic rituality that integrates spirituality, locality, and communal concern for safety and well-being.

But these similarities are mostly on the outside. *Atib Koambai* occupies a unique category in terms of theological structure and meaning orientation. Its defining characteristic is its clear religious basis and its deliberate avoidance of non-Islamic symbols, which is not always the case with other *Nusantara* rituals. For example, sea purification ceremonies in Java often keep animistic symbols like animal offerings. *Mandi Safar*, on the other hand, has been criticized for relying on water as an independent source of protection, which is not clearly supported by the text (Yusuf et al., 2023). *Tabuik* Pariaman, on the other hand, mixes the historical memory of *Karbala* with local performance traditions. In contrast, the entire sequence of *Atib Koambai* from pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaykh Abdullah Pasai, responsorial *adhān*, *tahlīl*, Qur'anic recitation, to collective supplication is derived directly from normative *dhikr* practices and the doctrine of *tawhīd*, without recourse to non-Islamic cosmological symbolism (Bakar & Ramle, 2019). This theological perspective supports local assertions that *Atib Koambai* is "free from animistic mixture," thus rendering it more accurately characterized as a non-syncretic ritual practice.

Still, the label "non-syncretic" for *Atib Koambai* shouldn't be seen as a permanent or unchanging trait. Instead, it is the outcome of a continuous process of social construction and theological negotiation among caliphs, religious scholars, customary leaders, and the broader Kubu community. These actors consistently assert that the sanctity of *Atib Koambai* originates not from local supernatural entities but from *dhikrullāh*, supplication, and genuine intention directed exclusively towards Allah. This orientation is bolstered by tangible boundary-setting practices, such as limiting women's involvement in the river procession to prevent *ikhtilāf* and establishing white clothing as a sign of ritual purity. Through these mechanisms, the community actively distinguishes *Atib Koambai* from other local rituals perceived as potentially influenced by pre-Islamic elements. In this context, the "purity" of *Atib Koambai* is perpetually generated and sustained through the formation of collective identity and theological discourse.

From a social interpretation standpoint, *Atib Koambai* can be regarded as a practical exegesis (*al-tafsīr al-'amalī*) of Qur'anic verses pertaining to remembrance, specifically Surah al-Aḥzāb [33]:41–42 and Surah al-Baqarah [2]:152. *Atib Koambai* stresses direct obedience to the textual command of *dhikr*, unlike rituals like *Mandi Safar* or *Ruwatan Laut*, which depend a lot on local symbols as mediating forces. According to classical Qur'anic interpretations, the ritual offering of prayers is not seen as a cosmological transaction, but as a physical way of giving up and depending on

God. *Atib Koambai* serves as both a salvific ritual and a social-hermeneutical space, linking Qur'anic verses to the tangible lived experiences of the community.

This position places *Atib Koambai* at the forefront of current discussions regarding *Islam Nusantara*, moderate Sufism, and the contestation of indigenous ritual practices. *Islam Nusantara* emphasizes the compatibility between *Shari'a*-based textual norms and cultural context; *Atib Koambai* exemplifies this synthesis by embedding normative *dhikr* within maritime ritual forms that remain firmly anchored in monotheistic theology. In the context of moderate Sufism, the collective *dhikr* of *Atib Koambai* exemplifies the processes of spiritual fortification (*tathbūt al-nafs*), emotional regulation, and communal solidarity, resonating with the findings of Zamhari and Mentel regarding the influence of *dhikr* in the formation of moral communities (Mentel, 2022; Zamhari, 2010). In the context of ritual contestation, *Atib Koambai* illustrates how local traditions endure due to their foundation in explicit textual legitimacy and coherent theological narratives, thereby becoming less susceptible to critique from groups that entirely dismiss ritual tradition.

This comparative analysis shows that *Atib Koambai* is not just one type of *Nusantara* protective ritual; it is a unique example of local Islam that is both acculturative and not syncretic, and it is both explicitly theological and deeply rooted in Malay maritime culture. The tradition shows that *dhikr* is not just a private act of worship; it is also a way for people to come together and build inner peace, spiritual strength, and community. In the Kubu community, *dhikr* is both recited and performed to understand divine revelation in a certain ecological, historical, and social context. This strengthens *Atib Koambai* as a living expression of Islam that connects text, culture, and community life.

The Relevance of the *Atib Koambai* Tradition in the Modern Era

The *Atib Koambai* tradition, as a spiritual and cultural expression of the Kubu people, faces various challenges in the modern era, ranging from the tide of secularization and the pressure of cultural commercialization to changes in social structure due to globalization. In recent years, some young people have begun to view this ritual as outdated and less relevant to modern life. This phenomenon aligns with the general trend in Indonesian Muslim society, where traditional religious practices are under pressure from modernism and puritanism, which tend to discredit local traditions as *bid'ah* (religious innovation) (Muhammad Amin & Syafieh, 2022).

Amidst these challenges, several community elements remain active in preserving traditions. A central role is played by local religious scholars who maintain spiritual authority and knowledge of rituals, customary institutions that regulate the procedures and timing of the event, and village governments that provide logistical and administrative support. In this context, *Atib Koambai* not only survives as a religious rite but also as an instrument of social cohesion and a symbol of cultural identity. This aligns with efforts to preserve local Islamic culture, as seen in the Sasak community in Lombok, where religious values are transmitted thru *pesantren* and cultural traditions to strengthen solidarity and prevent radicalism. (Wayan Wirata, 2018)

The *Atib Koambai* tradition also became an arena for symbolic contestation between two currents of Islamic thought: local traditionalism and transnational puritanism. Some groups criticize elements of this rite as a form of culture without an explicit textual basis. However, as highlighted by Sinclair (Sinclair, 2020), The process of Islamic modernization actually encourages a rethinking of contextual religious practices as a form of dynamic modern Muslim subjectivity. In this case, *Atib Koambai* represents a form of encounter between Islam and local culture that strengthens, rather than weakens, both.

Revitalizing the values of *dhikr* in *Atib Koambai* can be done thru the integration of religious education and local culture. Experience in Tatarstan and Kazakhstan shows that the practice of *dhikr*, which was once abandoned, is now being revitalized by young people using digital media and

therapeutic approaches (Sayfullina, 2019), *Dhikr* is not only seen as a ritual act of worship, but also as a tool for building mental health, strengthening spiritual identity, and overcoming addiction (Mamat & Zarif, 2019). This model is relevant for application in Kubu by repackaging *Atib Koambai* within a narrative of Islamic da'wah and education based on culture that is communicative for the younger generation.

Revitalization efforts can also draw inspiration from the practice of cultural and religious integration in the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) of Lombok, which successfully combines Islamic education with local traditions to shape students' character. With a similar approach, *Atib Koambai* can be developed as a pedagogical instrument that not only teaches the meaning of *dhikr* but also internalizes the values of gratitude, self-control, and collective responsibility within the context of modernity.

This finding confirms that the *Atib Koambai* tradition has profound relevance amidst the challenges of the disruption era. On one hand, this tradition holds strength as a local Islamic cultural heritage rich in theological and sociological values. On the other hand, it also opens space for the recontextualization of Islamic teachings in cultural language that can be understood by contemporary generations. Within the framework of heritage management, the involvement of the local community is key to the successful preservation of this tradition, as demonstrated by the experience of post-colonial Islamic heritage preservation in various countries.

Socially, *Atib Koambai* can be an instrument of intergenerational and inter-Islamic sect cultural diplomacy. It can bridge the gap between textual Islam and the practical Islam that exists in society. For example, strengthening the role of traditional institutions in preserving the values of *Atib Koambai*, supported by the village government and religious institutions, will create an ecosystem that encourages the regeneration of local religious culture. Therefore, the relevance of *Atib Koambai* in the modern era lies not only in its preservation as heritage but also in its potential as a medium for proselytization, character education, and fostering social solidarity in the face of disruptions to the values, identity, and spirituality of the community. This tradition deserves not only to be preserved but also to be empowered as a living and continuously transforming discourse of Indonesian Islam.

CONCLUSION

This study illustrates that the *Atib Koambai* tradition in Kubu, Rokan Hilir, represents a dynamic and contextually relevant manifestation of Islamic practice, wherein Qur'anic teachings on *dhikr* are embodied in collective ritualistic expression. By combining phenomenological analysis and thematic interpretation of *Qur'ān* al-Aḥzāb [33]:41–42 and *Qur'ān* al-Baqarah [2]:152, the study shows that *dhikr* in *Atib Koambai* is not just an individual act of devotion; it is also a social and religious tool that shapes the community's consciousness, spiritual strength, and social cohesion. The ritual structure comprising pilgrimage, responsorial *adhān*, collective *dhikr* aboard boats, and symbolic prayer offerings constructs a shared religious lifeworld that connects relationships between humans and God, humans and nature, and humans within the community.

Phenomenologically, *Atib Koambai* functions as a type of *tafsīr 'amalī*, wherein Qur'anic mandates regarding remembrance transcend mere textual interpretation and are manifested through collective movement, emotional synchrony, and intersubjective meaning-making. The repeated practice of *dhikr* creates a *dhikr* ethos that people see as a moral duty and a way to protect themselves from bad things. This ethos strengthens feelings of safety, emotional support, and moral discipline, especially in a coastal society that is vulnerable to changes in the environment and history.

The study indicates that *Atib Koambai*, despite sharing superficial similarities with other *Nusantara* protective rituals, holds a unique status owing to its explicit theological focus and enduring dedication to normative *dhikr* practices grounded in *tawḥīd*. Its non-syncretic nature is not an inherent

attribute but rather the result of ongoing theological discourse, boundary delineation, and identity formation conducted by religious authorities and the broader community. In this context, *Atib Koambai* represents an acculturative yet textually rooted model of *Islam Nusantara*, wherein cultural expressions function as conduits for scriptural significance rather than as replacements for it.

The findings theoretically enhance the study of local Islam by illustrating the efficacy of integrating phenomenology and thematic Qur'anic interpretation in the analysis of lived religious traditions. The study illustrates the function of collective *dhikr* to enhance communal resilience, maintain religious identity, and promote socially engaged spirituality in the face of modern challenges. *Atib Koambai* is not only a cultural heritage of the Kubu community, but it is also a living social interpretation of divine revelation that brings faith, culture, and daily life together in a clear and lasting Islamic framework.

REFERENCES

- Ahmad, K. B. (2019). The Religious Imagination In Literary Network And Muslim Contestation In Nusantara. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 7(2), 217–244. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v7i2.344>
- Ali Badri, & Yesicha, C. (2019). Komunikasi Ritual Ziarah Kubur “Atib Ko Ambai.” *Medium*, 7(1), 40–52.
- Anshori, M. A., Prasojo, Z. H., & Muhtifah, L. (2021). Contribution of sufism to the development of moderate Islam in Nusantara. *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, 19(1), 40–48. <https://doi.org/10.24035/IJIT.19.2021.194>
- Camelia Khuznul Ma’wa, Hambali Hambali, J. A. (2023). The Existence of the Atib Koambai Cultural Tradition in the Babussalam Rokan Hilir Community. *Journal of Education Technology Information Social Sciences and Health*, 02(02).
- Durkheim, E. (2014). The role of religion (1). In *Classic and Contemporary Readings in Sociology* (pp. 82–87). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315840154-22>
- Falarti, M. M. (2022). Hikayat And Malay-Indonesian Conversion Narratives. In *Routledge Handbook of Islam in Southeast Asia* (pp. 48–67). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429275449-5>
- Gschwandtner, C. (2023). A Phenomenological Approach to Ritual Practices. In *Theological Fringes of Phenomenology* (pp. 98–107). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003389811-12>
- GÜNER, B. B. (2022). Processual Form in Sufi Dhikr Ritual. *Musicologist*, 6(2), 110–123. <https://doi.org/10.33906/musicologist.1014113>
- Hamdani, A. (2020). Social Communication In The Fiqh Tafsîr: A Study of Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Qurranic Interpretation. *Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 44(2), 165–191. <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v44i2.714>
- Hidayat, S. R., Yusof, N., & Jari, T. M. T. (2024). Social Ethics and Local Literature: The Kabanti of Buton Traditions. *Jurnal Indo-Islamika*, 14(1), 113-125. <https://doi.org/10.15408/jii.v14i1.40792>
- Ibrahim, N. I., Ab. Aziz, A., Abd. Aziz, M. K., Khalili, S. H. M., & Zamri, Z. M. (2019). Children customary clothes in Malay ceremonies of Adat Memijak Tanah; baby’s first step ceremony and Adat Bertindik; ear piercing ceremony. *International Journal of Recent Technology and Engineering*, 7(6), 792–797. <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85066731897&partnerID=40&md5=34206284404d03c1644af3514ff844c6>
- Interview with Azwirsyah, Community members who participate in the atib koambai tradition in Kubu, May 15, 2025, 10:30 AM WIB, Kubu, Rokan Hilir, Riau
- Interview with Hanafi, Community members who participate in the atib koambai tradition, May 1, 2025, 9:00 AM WIB, Kubu, Rokan Hilir, Riau
- Interview with Mr. Hasan Usman, S.Pd, Kubu subdistrict head, September 4, 2025, 10:30 AM WIB, Kubu, Rokan Hilir, Riau
- Interview with Kh. Rahmad Assidiqi, May 20, 2025, 2:00 PM WIB, Kubu, Rokan Hilir, Riau
- Jauhar Azizy, M. A. S. and H. H. U. (2022). Thematic Presentations in Indonesian Qur’anic Commentaries. *Religions*, 13(2). <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13020140>
- Khoiriyah, Amri, Abdul Mujib, Sopian Lubis, and Mohammed Saeed A. Alamri. (2024) "Islam and Eco-Spirituality of the Merapi Society." *Jurnal Indo-Islamika* 14, no. 1, 100-112. <https://doi.org/10.15408/jii.v14i1.39866>
- Loewenthal, kate miriam, & Dein, S. (2015). Religious ritual and wellbeing. In *Applied Jewish Values in Social Sciences and Psychology* (pp. 151–163). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21933-2_8

- Magnus, A. M., & Sherrick, A. (2023). Saviors and Services: The Interface of Neoliberal Deprivation, Hegemonic Christianity, Social Exclusion, and Rural Church Resource Provision☆. *Rural Sociology*, 88(1), 108–134. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ruso.12470>
- Mamat, M. A., & Zarif, M. M. M. (2019). The importance of dhikr in learning according to malay manuscript: A study on mss 2906 (b) tibyan al-marām. *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, 14(1), 37–51. <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol14no1.4>
- Mella Novita, Indah Yulika Pratiwi, Dimas Arya Ahmadi Sormin, Zulfahmi Zulfahmi, & Wismanto Wismanto. (2024). Iman dan Pengaruhnya Dalam Kehidupan. *Jurnal Manajemen Dan Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 2(2), 37–47. <https://doi.org/10.61132/jmpai.v2i2.71>
- Mentel, A. (2022). Rituals and Group Solidarity: An Ethnographic Case Study. *Slovensky Narodopis*, 70(2), 228–247. <https://doi.org/10.31577/SN.2022.2.20>
- Muhammad Amin, M. R. F., & Syafieh. (2022). Scientific Tradition and Development of The Qur’anic exegesis in Aceh. *Al Quds: Jurnal Studi Alquran Dan Hadis*, 6(2), 553. <https://doi.org/10.29240/alquds.v6i2.4175>
- Nordin, Z. S., Ruslan, I., Hamzah, N., & Darmadi, D. (2025). Integrating Islamic Law and Customary Law: Codification and Religious Identity in the Malay Buyan Community of Kapuas Hulu. *Journal of Islamic Law*, 6(1), 89–111. <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v6i1.3410>
- Rumbay, C. A., Kause, M., Siahaan, V. H., Patora, M., & Siagian, F. (2023). From the ‘naked Spirit’ to a Nusantara contextual theology formula. *Hts Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 79(1). <https://doi.org/10.4102/HTS.V79I1.8212>
- Sakai, M. (2017). Still remembering the origins: The continuity of syncretic Islamic practice among the Gumay (Gumai) in South Sumatra, Indonesia. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 45(131), 44–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2017.1274561>
- Salapudin, M., Rozi, M., Afham, M. F., Sunan. (2021). The Condensation of Islam and Nusantara’s Culture. *Jurnal Indo-Islamika*, 11(2), 167-188. <https://doi.org/10.15408/jii.v11i2.22593>
- Sammad, N. E. R. (2023). Traditional Malay Marriage Ceremonies in Brunei Darussalam: Between Adat and Syariah. In *Asia in Transition* (Vol. 20, pp. 15–33). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-6059-8_2
- Sarbini, S., Suharso, P., & Sumarsono, D. (2018). Religion as a social adhesive: Study of the patterns of religious diversity of rural communities in the village of Sembungan-Boyolali. *E3S Web of Conferences*, 74. <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/20187410008>
- Sayfullina, G. (2019). Traditions of Sufi Dhikr in the Musical-Poetical Culture of Tatar Muslims. *Musicologist*, 3(2), 126–145. <https://doi.org/10.33906/musicologist.635939>
- Sejin, J. (2023). The Idea and Action of Zikr in Sufism. *Voprosy Filosofii*, 2023(2), 210–214. <https://doi.org/10.21146/0042-8744-2023-2-210-214>
- Shihab, Q. (2005). *Tafsir Al-Misbah: Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian Al-Qur’an Volume 2, hlm 57-59* (Lentera Ha).
- Sinclair, K. (2020). An Islamic University in the West and the Question of Modern Authenticity. In *International Studies in Religion and Society* (Vol. 35, pp. 147–165). https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004425576_009
- Supena, I. (2021). Epistemology Of Islam Nusantara And Its Implication To Liberal Thought Of Indonesian Islam. *European Journal of Science and Theology*, 17(2), 23–34. <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85139046430&partnerID=40&md5=32600133592fec80f5fa363a0b010da3>

- Syahrun, N., Bakar, A., & Ghafur, A. (2021). Tolak Balak: Tinjauan atas Ritual Atib Ko Ambai di Rokan Hulu. *Nusantara; Journal for Southeast Asian Islamic Studies*, 16(2), 63. <https://doi.org/10.24014/nusantara.v15i2.13632>
- Thabari, A. (2000). *Muhammad ibn Jarir. Jami' al-Bayān fi Ta'wīl Āy al-Qur'ān*. Ed. Aḥmad Shākir. (Beirut:).
- Thohir, M. (2022). Islam and Local Wisdom: The Study of Islam Nusantara a in the Cultural Perspective. *E3S Web of Conferences*, 359. <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202235904004>
- Wayan Wirata, I. (2018). Local Wisdom of Sasak Islamic to Enhance Unity and Togetherness among Communities on the Lombok Island. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 156(1). <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/156/1/012051>
- Wulandari, W. (2023). *Tafsir, dhikr tahlildalam praktik atib koambai pada masyarakat kubu kabupaten rokan hilir riau dalam perspektif ulama*. 3, 1051–1063.
- Yusuf, J. M., Yuslem, N., & Tanjung, D. (2023). The Inclusion Of Ulema In The Application Of Islam Nusantara Law For The Aceh Community. *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan*, 23(2), 186–197. <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v23i2.1428>
- Zamhari, A. (2009). The majlis dhikr of Indonesia: Exposition of some aspects of ritual practices. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 3(1), 122–147. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2009.3.1.122-147>
- Zamhari, A. (2010). *Rituals of Islamic spirituality of, a study dhikr*.
- Zuhaili, W. az. (1991). *Tafsir al-Munir: Aqidah, Syari'ah dan Manhaj*. vol 21. h 19 (D. al-F. di Damaskus. (ed.)).
- Zuhaili, W. az. (1998). *Tafsir al-Munir fi al-'Aqidah wa al-Syari'ah wa al-Manhaj*, vol. 1. h 168 (Beirut:).