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THE MANYANGGAR TRADITION AND HARMONY OF THE BAKUMPAI DAYAK COMMUNITY IN CENTRAL KALIMANTAN

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ABSTRACT

The problem in this study is related to the tradition of *manyanggar* heritage of the Hindu Kaharingan religion which is still maintained by the Bakumpai Dayak community even though they are already Muslim. The purpose of this study is to explore how the implementation of the *manyanggar* tradition, explore the reasons for the community to carry out the tradition and analyze the content of Islamic values in the *manyanggar* tradition. This research is empirical legal research using a descriptive qualitative approach. The findings in this study are that there are two versions of the implementation of this tradition, firstly, the regency of South Barito and Murung Raya, still carry out *manyanggar* as in the past, using offerings and there are handlers who communicate with Jinn and Gods. Second, in the North Barito regency, *manyanggar* activities have changed, namely by reading *shalawat burdah* around the village and no longer using offerings such as 40 kinds of cakes, buffalo heads, goat heads, chickens, and others. The reasons why people carry out the tradition of *manyanggar* include, firstly, people still believe in animist beliefs. Second, the community implements customary law that has been passed from generation to generation. As for those related to Islamic values in community-building activities, namely the spirit of cooperation, they work together in carrying out workshops, such as cooperation in making stages, making *ancak*, making cakes, making food ingredients, and others. The value of alms, in the event of dancing, requires a lot of funds and food ingredients. The funds and food ingredients are donated or donated by community members.

Keywords: *Manyanggar* Tradition; Harmony; and Dayak Bakumpai;

ABSTRAK

Permasalahan dalam penelitian ini terkait adat *manyanggar* peninggalan agama Hindu Kaharingan masih dipertahankan oleh warga masyarakat Dayak Bakumpai padahal mereka sudah beragama Islam. Tujuan penelitian ini yaitu untuk menelusuri bagaimana pelaksanaan adat *manyanggar*, menelusuri alasan masyarakat melaksanakan adat tersebut, dan menganalisis kandungan nilai-nilai Islami pada adat *manyanggar* tersebut. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian hukum empiris dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif. Temuan dalam penelitian ini adalah pelaksanaan adat ini terdapat dua versi, pertama, kabupaten Barito Selatan dan Murung Raya, masih melaksanakan *manyanggar* seperti zaman dahulu, dengan menggunakan sesajen dan ada pawang yang mengkomunikasikan dengan makhluk jin dan dewa. Kedua, kabupaten Barito Utara,

kegiatan *manyanggar* sudah mengalami perubahan yaitu dengan cara membaca shalawat burdah keliling kampung dan tidak lagi menggunakan sesajen seperti kue 40 macam, kepala kerbau, kepala kambing, ayam dan lain-lain. Alasan masyarakat melaksanakan adat *manyanggar* di antaranya, pertama masyarakat masih mempercayai kepercayaan animisme. Kedua, masyarakat melaksanakan hukum adat yang sudah berlangsung secara turun-temurun. Adapun yang terkait dengan nilai-nilai Islam dalam kegiatan *manyanggar* yaitu semangat gotong royong, mereka bergotong royong dalam melaksanakan acara *manyanggar*, seperti gotong royong membuat panggung, membuat *ancak*, membuat kue, membuat bahan makanan, dan lain-lain. Nilai sedekah, dalam acara *manyanggar* banyak memerlukan dana dan bahan-bahan makanan. Dana dan bahan-bahan makanan itu disumbangkan atau disedekahkan oleh warga masyarakat.

Kata Kunci: Adat *Manyanggar*; Keharmonisan; dan Dayak Bakumpai;

Introduction

Every religion and belief has a system of ritual ceremonies as a representation of the religious attitudes and emotions of its adherents. This representation is natural as it is an aspect of sacred understanding that has a vertical dimension to the Creator, or horizontally to people. The ritual system represented by religious adherents could become a medium for mutual understanding, consideration, and friendship.

Manyanggar tradition is a ritual activity performed by the adherent of the Hindu Kaharingan religion to clean the place where to build a building or to move the supernatural beings / evil spirits of a place to another. They believe, that later, people who live in the building will not be disturbed by these creatures.¹ The ceremony is carried out when harvesting or taking natural products from the forest, such as cutting trees. *Manyanggar* is used for rituals in starting the construction of a building and cleaning the village after a fight.²

The reality occurs to Dayak community in Central Kalimantan who converted to Islam, but their knowledge to Islam is still low. Even though they are already Muslim, it may not been able to change people's beliefs. And, they are still perform the tradition of *manyanggar*.³

¹ Nyoman Sarma and Unyi, "Upacara *Manyanggar* Pada Masyarakat Hindu Kaharingan Di Desa Timpah Kecamatan Timpah Kabupaten Kapuas," *Widya Katambung* 9, no. 1 (2018), <https://www.ejournal.iahntp.ac.id/index.php/WK/article/view/312#:~:text=Upacara> *Manyanggar* merupakan upacara bhuta,roh-roh jahat yang selalu.

² Interview, Nandang, a dayaknese figure who ever conduct the ritual ceremony of *Menyanggar* Tradition on 2019.

³ Syarifuddin, "Kritik M. Arsyad Al-Banjari Terhadap Beberapa Kepercayaan Masyarakat Banjar," *Alhadharah* 12, no. 24 (2013): 45–63, <https://jurnal.uin-antasari.ac.id/index.php/alhadharah/article/view/1761>.

Sheikh Arsyad Al Banjari comments to the behavior of Muslims towards the *menyanggar* tradition. He said, much practice of tradition is not following Islamic teachings. His opinion is found in his writings, such as the book *Tuhfatur Raghabin*. In the book, He criticized the implementation of traditional ceremonies which were against the Islamic faith.⁴

The topic is important because some reasons. In the past, this ceremony was carried out by the Dayak people who are Kaharingan and Christian. Today, some Muslim people perform the tradition, such as building musholla, mosque and house. The practice also perform before marriage, with the hope there are no disturbances from spirits. The offerings prepared in the *manyanggar* ceremony aims to feed the spirits so that relations with the spirits around them become harmonious and do not interfere with each other.

The novelty of the research is that, usually research on the *manyanggar* tradition is often carried out by students and scholars from Hindu Kaharingan and Christian such as Sarma Nyoman,⁵ I Wayan Salendra⁶ and Joni Rusmanto.⁷ There is also Handoko who researches this tradition in the Dayak community in South Kalimantan.⁸ Meanwhile, this research comes from an Islamic background which was specifically carried out on the Dayak Bakumpai community in Central Kalimantan and studied from the aspect of customary law and harmony.

Method

The research was an empirical legal research⁹ using Islamic law and customary law approaches.¹⁰ The data collection were observation, documentation and in-depth

⁴ Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari, *Tuhfatur Raghabin* (Surabaya, n.d.).

⁵ Sarma and Unyi, "Upacara Manyanggar Pada Masyarakat Hindu Kaharingan Di Desa Timpah Kecamatan Timpah Kabupaten Kapuas."

⁶ I Wayan Salendra, "Nilai-Nilai Filosofis Upacara Manyanggar Lewu," *Widya Katambung* 8, no. 2 (2017): 57–64, <https://ejournal.iahntp.ac.id/index.php/WK/article/view/216>.

⁷ Joni Rusmanto, "Manyanggar Petak Danum: Simbol Resistensi Sosio-Kultural Masyarakat Dayak Ngaju Di Kalimantan Tengah," *Buletin Suara Tanjung Nyaho*, n.d., https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324844013_Ritual_Manyanggar_Petak_Danum_Tradisi_Suku_Dayak_Ngaju_di_Kalimantan_Tengah.

⁸ Handoko, "Upacara Menyanggar Dayak Meratus Desa Atiran Kecamatan Batang Alai Timur Kabupaten Hulu Sungai Tengah Kalimantan Selatan," *Satya Sastraharing* 3, no. 2 (2019): 167–82, <https://ejournal.iahntp.ac.id/index.php/Satya-Sastraharing/article/view/421>.

⁹ Zainal Muttaqin, "Formalization of Islamic Law in Indonesia in the Framework of Social Engineering Theory by Roscoe Pound," *El-Mashlahah* 11, no. 2 (2021): 97–115, <https://doi.org/10.23971/elma.v11i2.2825>.

interviews using interview guidelines that have been developed according to the conditions in the field. And, the researchers played as the main instrument.¹¹

Findings and Discussion

The *Manyanggar* Traditional Procession of the Dayak Bakumpai Community in Central Kalimantan

The community in South Barito perform *manyanggar* tradition in several stages. First, *manyanggar* is held for 3 days and 3 nights, following the previous elders. The implementation is adjusted to the agreement of the villagers and the agreement of the *pembakal* (Village Head) and village apparatus. After that, a committee is arranged and the time implementation is determined.

The first night is called *balalu* or *balabur* which call the spirits to come. The first day is all raw, such as rice and sugar *bararandam* (soaked). The second day, the ingredients have been cooked, namely *dadaharan*. On the second day, a mask dance held during the day, from 9 to noon. The term here is calling up the *waringin*, have to stand up until noon. After the event is over, it continues with other events. Here, entertainment might held because the main event has finished.

Also, it held *Ancak 5* on that day. The first *ancak* is used for the long *sadapa* stage and placed on the big stage. It contains a goat's head and 40 kinds of cakes. The second *ancak* for the small stage. Third, *ancak banua* or *ancak kampung* is for the spirits who guard this village, called the *ancak* of the Gods. The fourth *ancak* is for public.

Then, the *ancak* is lifted or hung, and the *gombalan* is sounded. This *manyanggar* tradition held in the night.

*Jadi bila pian sudah batatarima saraba manis, saraba lamak, sudah marasa kanyang, pian kaya itu juga membalas orang sini. Artinya pabila ada yang sakit, sagala apa mohon disembuhkan, dan malah-malah sagala gawian dimudahkan lantarananya, tapi yang kuasa juga yang meminta tapi buhannya yang membantu, maksudnya yang dari tanah antarkan ke atas, yang dari langit turunka kesini, dari huli, hilir, barat, laut kumpulkan disini artinya supaya orang kampung ini pendapatannya lebih. Sesudah itu minta jaga artinya orang kampung supaya jangan diganggu lagi dan orang lain yang mau mengganggu supaya dijagakan.*¹²

¹⁰ DAR NELA PUTRI, "Konsep Urf Sebagai Sumber Hukum Dalam Islam," *El-Mashlahah* 10, no. 2 (2020): 14–25, <https://doi.org/10.23971/maslahah.v10i2.1911>.

¹¹ Sabian Utsman, *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Progressif*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014), <http://digilib.iain-palangkaraya.ac.id/2293/>.

¹² So if you have received food that is all sweet and lots of it, you are feeling full, then you are also repaying people here. This means that if someone is sick, please be healed, and all difficulties are eased,

At that ritual, there was an agreement with the sangkakala for how many years would it be held again, whether it was 5 years or 10 years or 15 years, since the day of the ceremony. On the third day, a mask dance was held. Then, it knocked down the kuliling kurung, *malapai kampung*, *malapai darah kambing* (goat's blood) or called *mamalas*. Finally, the agreement is made with the upper person, and continue to lay down the *waringin* sunsang. Then, the manyangar tradition is finished. After the sangkakal was returned, then the committee held events of salvation, *halarat*, *kiparat*, and reject reinforcements.¹³

The *mayanggar* tradition is also in line with the procession in the Murung Raya community. According to Yusnani, this tradition is held between 3 to 7 days and depends on the available funds. There are several steps for the event:

- a) Arrange the committee. A deliberation committee has duty to determine the date and the technique. Other duties of the committee are raising funds, looking for handlers, mask dancers, and security and order guards, making stages, *ancak*, and so on.
- b) The *pawang* calls the spirits to come because the tradition will be held in that village. This first day, all the ingredients are still raw.
- c) On the second day, the ingredients are cooked. Besides that, a mask dance is also held until noon. After the mask dance is finished, the day's tradition is over. An entertainment performance show can be held, usually puppets performance.
- d) Around at 5, the ingredients are cooked. The *pawang* makes a sound of *gombalan* to inform the spirit and gods that the food is ready.
- e) The cooked food is placed in *ancak*, starting from the big *ancak* to the 5 small *ancak*. Then, the *ancak* is hung.
- f) The *pawang* makes a sound that tells the spirits such as Jinn and Gods to immediately accept the offerings.
- g) If you have eaten and full, then you are satisfied, do not go home yet. The *pawang* will talk (*bapandir*). Please jinn and gods to repay what has been given by the residents, please make it easy for sustenance, if someone is sick, please heal and protect this village.
- h) After finish, a mask dance is held again on the 3rd day. And, the *ancak* is lowered down. The goat's blood is sprinkled on the earth.
- i) Some of the cakes in the *ancak* are placed in the forest, like in a big tree. The rest are eaten.
- j) The tradition is over.¹⁴

but the Almighty also grants through the intermediary of those who helps, meaning that from the ground it is brought up, which from the sky is sent down here, from upstream, downstream, west, the sea collects here. This means that the villagers have more income. After that, ask to take care of the villagers so that they don't be disturbed anymore and other people who want to disturb must be taken care.

¹³ Interview, Yusnani, *pawang manyanggar* from Puruk Cahu, Murung Raya Regency, 2021

¹⁴ Interview, Yusnani, *pawang manyanggar* from Puruk Cahu, Murung Raya Regency, 2021.

In contrast to the *mayanggar* procession in the North Barito community, the workshop activities have changed since 1955 by Mr. Husaini. Today, the practice of *manyanggar* no longer uses offerings and the method is to go around the village while reading *burdah* or *berjanji*. The process is as follows:

The event of *tolak bala* (rejecting reinforcements) is usually departed from the mosque with a route around the village. Before leaving, it is gathered in front of the mosque, the teacher leads the opening activity by reading Surah al-Fatihah. Then, it walks while reading *burdah* on a predetermined route and returning to the mosque. Arriving at the mosque, they gather again and read a prayer for safety so that the village and its surroundings are protected from various disasters, such as fires, hurricanes, and good sustenance. Then, the food is distributed perfunctory according to the number of donations received.¹⁵

Based on the explanation, the *manyanggar* tradition in two regencies, both Murung Raya and South Barito, still hold a relatively similar series of processions of tradition. The activities last from three to seven days. Meanwhile, in North Barito, the *manyanggar* tradition has experienced acculturation of Islamic culture. The activity was modified into an activity to go around the village while reading *şalawat burdah* or *barjanji* as a form of rejecting reinforcements.

Based on the facts, the *manyanggar* processions in South Barito, North Barito and Murung Raya Regencies are: first, for North Barito Regency, *manyanggar* activities have changed, namely by reading *şalawat burdah* around the village and no longer using offerings such as 40 kinds of cakes, buffalo head, goat's head, chicken and others. Second, in the regency of South Barito and Murung Raya, they still carry out *manyanggar* tradition as in the past, using offerings and pawang who communicate with spirit and gods.

For the South Barito and Murung Raya areas, this needs to be addressed so that in the implementation of *manyanggar* tradition are no longer trapped in shirk rituals. The efforts: first, provide understanding to the community, especially those living in the countryside that tradition use offerings to feed spirit are shirk. Second, the preachers

¹⁵ Interview, Yusi Abdian, Head of the Religion Office of Barito Utara Regency, 2021.

need to provide spiritual teaching that not only in urban areas but also in remote and rural areas.

Harmony in Dayak Bakumpai Community in Central Kalimantan through the *Manyanggar* Tradition

The harmony in the Dayak Bakumpai community, especially in the three regencies, among Murung Raya, South Barito, and North Barito is seen in the *manyanggar* traditional processions which are full of community togetherness. This harmony can be seen from several aspects, such as in the cooperation activities of the community who work together in preparing the tradition. This condition is caused by the need for funds, food, and facilities. They work together in carrying out these activities to complete. This is where their harmony lives. According to *pawang*, after the tradition was held, indeed harmony between fellow citizens and the natural environment, supernatural beings would no longer interfere. "After the event is over, the village will be safe, sustenance will be abundant and the people will be at peace because supernatural beings will not disturb them anymore because they have been fed."¹⁶

A *pawang* and a resident view the harmony with nature occurs because we have given happiness to supernatural beings. So, human life becomes safe, and no more disturbances. The point here is that humans always take food from nature, so do not forget to also feed these natural beings.

The *manyanggar* if related to harmony as explained by Yusnani is as follows: "This tradition can bring harmony to the residents, usually after the event the sustenance becomes easy, hunters get a lot of animals, the earth becomes fertile, because the spirits do not would bother again."¹⁷ Meanwhile, according to Marzuki Rahman, that:

Personally, I think that there is a relationship between the tradition and the harmony of the community, namely that they seem to work together to organize the tradition. But if related to the reason for doing it, the sustenance is abundant after the tradition, it is not true.¹⁸

The opinion is in line with Karsihadi as Chairman of the MUI of Murung Raya Regency, state:

In my opinion, there is no relation between *manyanggar* tradition and social harmony. But people, especially those in rural areas, believe if they do not do the

¹⁶ Interview, Mursalin, 2021.

¹⁷ Interview, Yusnani, *pawang manyanggar* from Puruk Cahu Kabupaten Murung Raya, 2021.

¹⁸ Interview, Marzuki Rahman, 2021.

menyanggar, the village will not be safe, and could be a disaster. But, at the way they work together in preparing for the tradition, such as donating funds, food, making *ancak* and so on, maybe the harmony occur there as they work hand in hand in organizing the tradition.¹⁹

This is a description of the *manyanggar* tradition and their relation to the harmony of society and the environment in Murung Raya and South Barito Regencies. Meanwhile, in North Barito, according to Yusi Abdian, there are people who donate money or food and drinks for the tradition after traveling around the village. In the Islamic concept, charity can refuse reinforcements. It is further explained that:

In Islamic teachings, charity can refuse reinforcements, so in the *manyanggar* tradition, the refusing reinforcements is performed by reading the *burdah* around the village. Some people donate food for salvation, then donating the food is worth of charity, now, it can refuse reinforcements, I agree. With no reinforcements, people's lives will be harmonious with fellow humans and also with nature.²⁰

This was emphasized by Jailani as a public figure in North Barito Regency, the relationship between *manyanggar* tradition and the harmony of humans and nature is as follows: "If the tradition is contained with *burdah* readings which actually contain prayers, according to the teacher, if you read a lot of prayers, the village becomes cold to avoid calamity."²¹ That is the procession of the *manyanggar* tradition and its relation to harmony in the North Barito regency. This means that, the three regencies in the implementation of the *manyanggar* tradition show values in producing harmony in society. These values are mainly seen in activities of work together (*gotong royong*), giving charity, and helping each other.

The Reasons for Performing The *Manyanggar* Tradition for The Dayak Bakumpai Community in Central Kalimantan

Manyanggar is a traditional event whose purpose is to pray for salvation for the implementation of a job. In this tradition, there also perform an exorcism evil spirits that have the potential to interfere with work.

The *Banua manyanggar* ceremony is still carried out by people living in the South Barito, North Barito, and Murung Raya areas of Central Kalimantan Province. The purpose of the ceremony is to clean the village and get rid of all the bad things that

¹⁹ Interview, Karsihadi, 2021.

²⁰ Interview, Yusi Abdian, 2021.

²¹ Interview, Jailani, 2021.

interfere with the lives of the local people as a result of their negligence in respecting their ancestors. In other words, this ceremony is an attempt to atone for the mistakes that have been made by members of the community whose behavior or actions are considered contrary to the customs.

They worried that the mistake could cause calamities or disasters. The form of the catastrophe might be in form of a disease that attacks humans, rice plants and gardens, or disagreements among community members. The time of the ceremony is after the rice harvest, on moon falls, namely on the 15th and above, based on the calculation of the Qamariyah month. It is usually held on Sunday.

Why is this *manyanggar* tradition still maintained by the Dayak Bakumpai community even though they are already Muslim? Based on the data collection, found several reasons:

1) People Still Believe in Animism

There are still people in the community who believe in supernatural spirits that can disturb humans if they are not fed. Seen from the opinion conveyed by Tuani, stated:

Because they are the Dayak Bakumpai community who live in the countryside of South Barito Regency, they believe on around us, there are supernatural beings or spirits. If we eat, they will also eat as we eat. So, they must be given food in the form of offerings aiming they do not disturb the villagers.²²

This belief shows their belief in animism, even though they are Muslims. The reason is, that this belief has been believed since a long time ago²³ before they embraced Islam. So, it is difficult to separate from the trust of the local community. Religious education for remote areas has also not been optimal.²⁴

2) Hereditary Traditions

²² Interview, Tuani, Head of Office of religion Barito Selatan Regency, 2020.

²³ Before Islam entered to North Barito, people already had a belief, namely animeism, a legacy from their ancestors. When Islam entered North Barito, which was brought by traders, especially by people living on the banks of the river, many people who were Hindu Kaharingan embraced Islam. But their belief in animeism was very strong. As a result, even though the majority of the Dayak Bakumpai people are Muslim, they still believe in and perform manyanggar. Different, in practice they have experienced assimilation. Means that, they have been colored by Islamic teachings. Until now, manyanggar is carried out by means of rejecting reinforcements while reading burdah. But no longer use offerings. Interview, Yusi Abdian head of the Ministry of Religion Office of North Barito Regency 2021.

²⁴ *Manyanggar* is still being implemented in Murung Raya Regency, in rural areas. A contributing factors is the low understanding of Islam. Until now, in rural areas, Islamic education has not been touched much because there is still a lack of Islamic religious educators. Interview, Marzuki Rahman, head of the Ministry of Religion, Murung Raya Regency 2021

The *mayanggar* tradition is a local wisdom that has been carried out for generations. As stated below:

This *manyanggar* tradition has been implemented since our ancestors, so even though we are Muslims, we still perform it as some people could be in a trance if the tradition is not performed. *Manyanggar* is asking for help with supernatural beings.²⁵

This tradition is also currently experiencing a substantial shift. Its contents are inserted with Islamic values. As stated below:

Currently, this *manyanggar* tradition almost no longer exists as replaced by other forms, such as *burdahan* or *berjanji*. The people of North Barito are smart and the Dayaks Bakumpai have converted to Islam. The heritage culture of Hindu Kaharingan has been abandoned since they converted to Islam. This change of the *manyanggar* tradition began in 1955, which was pioneered by H. Ahmad Kusasi so that there was no more shirk.²⁶

The form of the shift shows the process of assimilation of teachings into the teachings of Islam. This is a common thing that happens to the Muslim community in Indonesia. The community still maintains traditional forms and rituals, but changes the values with Islamic values.

The Content of Islamic Values in *Manyanggar* Tradition of the Dayak Bakumpai Community, Central Kalimantan

The *manyanggar* tradition is local wisdom that has been passed down from generation to generation in the Dayak Bakumpai community in Central Kalimantan, especially in the regencies of Murung Raya, South Barito, and North Barito. As local wisdom, it needs to explore to find out Islamic values of the *manyanggar* tradition. According to Tuaini, Head of the Ministry of Religion of South Barito Regency stated that:

If we think of it as culture, it is our wealth and as local wisdom. Then, it does not against Islamic law. But, if the community members believe that with the ceremony they can avoid harm, and if they do not perform the ceremony they believe that there will be a danger, then, this is shirk and against the Islamic faith.²⁷

²⁵ Interview, Gundi, public figure of Dayak Bakumpai, 2021.

²⁶ Interview, Jailani, public figure of Dayak Bakumpai, 2021.

²⁷ Interview, Tuaini, 2021.

Meanwhile, Muhammad Sibawaihi, as the Secretary of the MUI South Barito Regency stated that, an event that interacts with the spirit and uses offerings, it is shirk.

As stated as follows:

As long as the activity does not interact with the spirit, it is okay. But, if you ask for help with the spirit, it seems that our faith is weak. If you just do it because you are performing a traditional custom, for me, it is not a problem. But, when the practice makes offerings to feed the spirits, it is against the teachings of Islam, called shirk. And, shirk is a sin that cannot be forgiven, except by repenting and promising never to do it again.²⁸

Furthermore, according to Yusi Abdian, the Head of the Ministry of Religion Office of North Barito Regency, the content of Islamic law in the *manyanggar* traditon is as follows:

If they perform the *manyanggar* tradition by using offerings to feed supernatural beings such as spirits and devils, it is certainly against the teachings of Islam. But, if the practice is performed by walking around the village while reading prayers and not using offerings, I think it is okay.²⁹

This was reaffirmed by Alpiansyah, as Chairman of the MUI North Barito district as follows:

In my opinion, this tradition is against the values of Islamic law. The reason is, to use offerings to feed the spirits. So, the point of the tradition is to ask for help from the spirit, and in return, the spirit was given food and goat's blood or chicken's blood. Whereas, in Islam, we can only ask Allah neither spirit nor devil. Another reason, for example, they dissolved food in the river. The law is a *mubazir*.³⁰

Meanwhile, *manyanggar* tradition in Murung Raya regency, according to Marzuki Rahman, as the Head of the Office of the Ministry of Religion of Murung Raya Regency, the opinion is as follows:

If they believe that there are offerings and *pawang* who communicates with the unseen spirit to ask for ease in doing business, then, the law is haram (prohibited). But, if the implementation by reading *burdah* around the village, I think it is okay.³¹

The same thing was also explained by Karshani, as Chair of the MUI for Murung Raya Regency, he said that:

Yes, it against the Islamic law because this tradition is asking for help from the spirit, and this is shirk. In my opinion, this is a ritual, for example, the *pawang*

²⁸ Interview, Muhammad Sibawaihi, 2021.

²⁹ Interview, Yusi Abdian, 2021.

³⁰ Interview, Alpiansyah, 2021.

³¹ Interview, Marzuki Rahman, 2021.

asks a supernatural spirit to ask for 40 deers, and indeed, after the ritual, it could be true as the *pawang* said.³²

Based on the facts, the ritual tradition is associated with Islamic values, there found both correlations and contrary to Islamic values. The Islamic values found in the tradition are, first, in the spirit of cooperation. They work together in performing the tradition, such as working together to build a stage, making *ancak*, making cakes, making food ingredients, and so on. Second, is the value of charity. The tradition requires a lot of funds and food ingredients. The community donates funds and food for the tradition.

Meanwhile, the ritual of *manyanggar* tradition that is contrary to Islamic values is as follows. First, they ask for help from spirits, devils, and gods to help guard the village, cure diseases for people who are sick and ease to find sustenance, such as looking for an animal in the forest, looking for fish in the lake, and others. Second, they use offerings to feed spirits or supernatural beings in return for the kindness of spirits or supernatural beings such as spirit devils and gods.

Conclusion

The *manyanggar* tradition is local wisdom that is still maintained and performed by the Dayak Bakumpai community in Central Kalimantan. The implementation of this tradition has two versions. First, South Barito and Murung Raya regencies still perform *manyanggar* tradition as a ritual in the past, using offerings and *pawang* who communicate with spirits and gods. Second, in the North Barito Regency, *manyanggar* traditions have changed, namely by reading *şalawat burdah* around the village and no longer using offerings, such as 40 kinds of cakes, buffalo's heads, goat's heads, chickens, and others. The reasons why people perform the *manyanggar* tradition include, firstly, people still believe in animist beliefs. Second, the community implements customary law that has been passed from generation to generation. There found Islamic values in the *manyanggar* tradition. They are, the spirit of cooperation, they work together in preparing the tradition, such as working together to build a stage, making *ancak*, making cakes, making food ingredients, and so on. The value of charity is found in tradition. The *manyanggar* tradition needs a lot of funds and food ingredients. The funds and food materials were donated by the community.

³² Interview, Karsihani, 2021.

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