

## RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL EXISTENCES WITHIN THE COMMUNITIES OF UPPER KAPUAS RIVERSIDE OF WEST KALIMANTAN

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### ABSTRACT

*The studies on the issues related to communities in the interior of West Kalimantan begin to take place when Dutch and other European scholars in the colonial period came to the region. But they have been limitedly documented. The amount of research by local and foreign scholars in the region is still not significant when compared to that of research in Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei which are also situated on the island of Borneo. In fact, the natural wealth, cultural heritage and the rural communities of West Kalimantan need serious attention and studies for the purpose of the development of the region. In addition, local elements such as human and cultural resources may become potential supports of development to improve the welfare of the communities. This study highlights the significant contribution of religious and cultural aspects within the communities living around the upper Kapuas riverside. Acculturation of local and Islamic cultures have occurred since the advent of Islam into the interior areas of Kalimantan through the Kapuas River. The acculturation of local religions and cultures also promotes a very important local religious institution in the process of social change of the communities of the Kapuas riverside in the interior of West Kalimantan. The local religious institutions serve as an infrastructure that has been proven to ensure the survival of the living Muslim community system that existed among indigenous people who were still in the local beliefs of their time. This study also finds that the Muslim communities of the Kapuas Riverside in the interior of West Kalimantan already have extensive networks, not just the kinship network, Islamic trade and da'wah but also the network of scholarship. Of course, the growth of these growing networks is influenced by the media that also develops in its name. Thus this work also describes a comprehensive analysis of cultural and religious aspects in the development of communities of the Kapuas riverside in the interior of West Kalimantan which is currently included in the administrative areas of Sintang and Kapuas Hulu Districts.*

**Keywords:** Religious, Cultural, Appearances, Communities, Kapuas, Riverside, West Kalimantan

## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is known as a nation of religious character, helping each other, and having courage in attitude, hospitality, applying the values of Pancasila. The nation has also become one of the references in terms of being a nation that is able to control life harmony in its diversity of ethnic and religious background. As the time when many countries in the Middle East are in conflict, the world finds Indonesia as the example of a nation that is able to keep the unity of its people. However, the predicate of peaceful society of Indonesia has been threatened. The behavior of the members of the society has shifted as if towards a division caused by issues of welfare, gaps and misunderstandings between the political elites and the low level of religious understanding of society that can trigger the nation's split. There is a greater need that the Indonesian nation should be able to understand that the basic value of the nation that has been inherited by the ancestors is an important legacy to improve the quality of society in the framework of sustainable national development.

The inventarization of local cultural values in various regions of Indonesia can serve as a model for the efforts of restoring the direction of locality-based development that is appropriate for each community. Local wisdom can be a social capital in developing a nation's attitude that needs to be maintained as well. This is because local wisdom is part of the culture of a society. Local wisdom is something inherited from generation to generation. This is the potential wealth of this nation that also needs to be preserved as a diversity that becomes the source of the nation's wealth. This paper, therefore, is expected to be one of the efforts to explore the nation's heritage that could be a better inspiration for Indonesian human development by exploring the cultural and religious patterns of the communities of the Kapuas Riverside in the interior of West Kalimantan. The river has been a vital infrastructure for the people of West Kalimantan since the early days and it even still prevails to this day, not only for the people living in the coastal areas of West Kalimantan such as in Pontianak, Mempawah and Kubu but also for the inland people such as those living in Sintang and Kapuas Hulu.

The island of Borneo as one of the richest and largest islands in Indonesia is certainly very worthy of being the focus of the spotlight, both by the international as well as national community of its own. Although the current condition of Indonesian society on the island of Borneo is divided into several provinces that vary in the level of welfare, but in fact one of the reasons is because of mismanagement of the potential richness. On the issue of education, for example, West Kalimantan still lies at the bottom line which in general also has infrastructure inadequacy. Similar to the condition of infrastructure

inadequacy in West Kalimantan, just for a comparison, the low percentage of education rate of indigenous Papuans, among others is as a result of the insufficiency of school buildings, educational staffs, and facilities (Upton, 2009: 274). Although not as low as in Papua, this condition is also commonly found in the interior of West Kalimantan, which of course is related to the quality of bureaucracy and public service in West Kalimantan which is also still relatively low. This is greatly influenced by the low level of education and the low capacity of human resources involved.

Local cultures include views, wisdom, values of tradition, and norms in living the lives of the communities in which they live. Local culture is believed to be able to answer various problems arising from the influence of foreign culture, as well as a life guide to overcoming social conflict between and among the society. Sedyawati (2006: 382) mentions that the culture of a nation has a unique wisdom that can be interpreted as wisdom in the traditional culture of the people. Wisdom in the broad sense is not only the norms and cultural values, but also all elements of ideas, including those that have implications for technology, health care, and aesthetics. With that being said, it also includes, as a manifestation of local wisdom, the various patterns of actions and cultural aspects. After Islam was introduced in the interior of West Kalimantan, it was later assimilated into the local culture of the local communities and produced an Islamic local culture. In living their daily lives, people maintain the propriety and harmony that is guarded by the existence of local cultural institutions that have been integrated with the teachings of Islam. In fact, various aspects of local culture can synergize in social life including aspects of custom which contain restrictions on things that can be viewed as good or bad, true or false, and civilized and uncivilized into the collective agreement of the local community.

Islam in West Kalimantan today has evolved in various remote areas that are not even on the areas of riverside. But the pattern of its development differs from time to time, as well as the spread of Islam in the sultanate era that penetrated through the network of the Malay Arab sultanate. To explain the process of the spread of Islam to West Kalimantan, it is necessary to first explain about the history of the coming of Islam to Indonesia and then to the interior of Borneo. This is important because the historical process of Islamic spread can help the process of analyzing the historical context of Muslim communities in Sintang and Kapuas Hulu regions. In addition, the explanation is also important because Islam is also the most dominant religion embraced by the people of Indonesia to date, and that Islam is embraced by people who are in the region of Java and other regions with a Malay culture, which include communities in

Malaysia, Brunei, Sumatra, and Kalimantan. As an archipelagocal region, the geographical aspect is the main determinant of the historical easiness of the spread of Islam into regions known as the Nusantara archipelago. Indonesia has interconnected relationships with Islamic regions on the western coast stretching from Morocco to Bengal and other interactions with North Africa, Egypt, West Asia, Central Asia and India. Periodically, the introduction of Islam into the archipelago can be divided into three phases: the first phase from the year of hijri (622 AD) to 1100 BC; the second phase of the period of 1100-1500 AD and the third phase extends from 1500 to modern times (Ricklefs, 2008 : 110-115).

It is generally known that Islam was brought to Indonesia first through a geographical path known as the "Silk Road" to China. Then the archipelago became a transit place before the trade spread continued to China. Muslim traders, both Arabs and Persians, came rapidly to the Indian Ocean. The acceptance of Islam by the Malays is also due to an impression of honesty and integrity of traders from the Middle East. In addition, marriage also has an important role to bring people to embrace Islam, as happened in Malabar and Sumatra. The immigrants who came did not force their own customs against the locals who had local culture. Instead, they adopted local culture while introducing the doctrine of Tawheed (Islamic theology) and Sharia (Islamic law). The Arabs were always a small minority among Malays but they enjoyed a privileged position in society. They speak the language of the Qur'an and have a reputation of piety and perseverance. These Arabs are regarded as the ideal society. Even kings and sultans consider it an honor to marry Arab descendants and have offspring in the family of the blood of respected Arabs as sayyids, or descendants of the Prophet's family (Azra, 2002: 85-90).

In West Borneo, for example, there are many Islamic sultanates affiliated to the Arab world and even some of its founders were Arab migrants who came to migrate and reach the island of Borneo. One of the existing sultanates in West Kalimantan is the Sultanate of Qadriyah located in the old city of Pontianak which is the forerunner of Pontianak City. Qadriyah Kingdom was founded by a young man from Hadramaud region of Yemen who became the son-in-law of King Opu Daeng Manambon in the kingdom of Amantu Billah Mempawah. It seems that the marriage of the king's family with the Arabs is also an honor as happened at the marriage of Sharif Abdurrahman Al Qadrie who married the daughter of King Opu Daeng Manambon who came from the Bugis Makassar land. On the same honor then Opu Daeng Manambon gave an opportunity to Sharif Abdurrahman Al Qadrie to build his own kingdom which became known as the Qadriyah Sultanate located at estuary of

Landak River and Kapuas River. The royal family as well as some close family of the kings affiliated with the Arabs or Hadramaut ancestors still possess such traditions and even make privileges to their families. These characteristics are in the form of predicate of *sharif* and *sharifah*.<sup>1</sup> In fact, in ancient times these *Sharifahs* should not marry with non-*sharif* so it is very rare for local youth to marry Arab girls. But it would be a pride for local girls to marry a youth of Sharif so they can earn offspring with better social status.<sup>2</sup>

It was not until the end of the thirteenth century that Islam spread throughout the local communities and port cities. The spread of Islam was also driven by the increasing network of trade outside the archipelago. In general, the merchants of the greater kingdom were the first to adopt a new religion such as the dominant kingdom of Mataram in Central Java and the sultanate of Ternate and Tidore in the Maluku Islands to the east. By the end of the thirteenth century, Islam had stood in northern Sumatra, the fourteenth century in northeastern Malaya, Brunei, Borneo in the western, southwestern Philippines and among some also appeared in East Java, and the fifteenth century in Malacca and other areas of the Malay Peninsula. In West Borneo, the spread of Islam into the interior goes through the coastal path and toward the river path to enter the interior, with the establishment of coastal-centered kingdoms such as Matan Kingdom, Kubu Kingdom, Sambas Kingdom, Mempawah Kingdom and Sukadana Kingdom. Through assimilation, Islam has replaced Hinduism and Buddhism as the dominant religion of Java, Sumatra and Kalimantan at the end of the 16th century. Until now only Balinese who maintain the majority of Hindu and outer islands still largely adhered to local religions or adopted Christianity in the 17th and 18th centuries (Riddel, 2001: 56; Aritonang, 2004: 71).

Based on limited sources, Hermansyah (2010: 63) explains that in general Islam was brought into West Borneo through two lines, namely through the West and South coast and through the East. What is meant by the west and south coastal route is through Sambas, Singkawang, Mempawah, Pontianak and Ketapang and Sukadana. Meanwhile, the East Line means the entry of preachers from Banjarmasin or Kota Waringin passing through the forest or river route to Central Kalimantan. This path can pass through the territory of Melawi and Sintang, which borders Central Kalimantan. In the pre-colonial era there has been contacts between the Kingdom of Waringin City in Central

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<sup>1</sup> This kind of title is also found in many regions in Indonesia in various versions such as *sayyid* (meaning that the holders have the link of kinship to the prophet Muhammad) and *habib* (meaning that the holders also have higher status in terms of religious knowledge and authority in the society).

<sup>2</sup> The information on Kesultanan Kadriah and its local traditions is from an interview with Syarif Mochdar in Pontianak on 21 Mei 2010.

Kalimantan and the kingdom of Sintang on the border area of the two kingdoms namely Nanga Pinoh. Prasojo (2016) also explains that the Dayak community in the interior of West Kalimantan, especially in Melawi (Nanga Pinoh), received Islamic preachers from three directions, namely from the coast through Sintang, upstream through Badau and down to Sintang and through traditional Kota Waringin originating from Banjarmasin.

### **ACCULTURATION OF LOCAL AND ISLAMIC CULTURES**

As elaborated by Hermansyah (2009) in his book entitled *Islam from the Coast to the Interior of West Kalimantan*, the coming of Islam to the interior of West Kalimantan occurred a long time ago. But this is not widely known by the public. It may also be due to the lack of study or work on this inland Islam apart from the lack of government promoting the study and disseminating information about the existence of villages on the Kapuas River coast, which the majority have embraced Islam for a long time. Hermansyah's book, which is the result of research in the Embau area of Kapuas Hulu, has shown that the hinterland of West Kalimantan, especially in the upper Kapuas River, is a region of Muslim society that needs to be studied. The hinterland that is meant here is not only now the area of Kapuas Hulu, but starting from the Tayan Regions continue to head up the Kapuas River like Sanggau, Sekadau, Sintang, Mewali, and Kapuas Dulu.

In the classification of ethnicity, the inland communities on the Kapuas riverside consist of numerous local sub tribes. But in general, the community recognizes the classification of the population in this interior region with two major categories, namely Dayak and Malay. Within the Dayak tribe there are various ethnic sub-tribes. The name Dayak, as Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie (2009) and Zaenuddin Hudi Prasojo (2011) referred to, is as a label given by the European immigrants to the natives of the Borneo Island. This is evidence by the unpopularity of Dayak terms in other parts of Kalimantan such as East and South in the past. In those regions, indigenous people tend to use their original ethnic names such as Bukumpai, Ngaju, Kayan, etc. Apart from these discussions, inland West Kalimantan on the riverside of the Kapuas River is home to indigenous people of various ethnicities. In the Kapuas Hulu region, there are several ethnic groups such as Malay, Iban, Punan (Penan), Bukat, Suhaid, Mmayan, Pengaki, Temambaloh, Suruk, Manday, Aoheng, Semukung, Embaloh, Seberuang and many others. Meanwhile in the region of Sintang and Melawi Districts, there are also several ethnic groups such as Malay, Desa, Linoh, Kantuk, Sekujam, Kubin, Ud Danum, Kebahan, etc.

Along the course of time of the spread of Islam into this hinterland around

the 1600s (Gusti Muhammad Fadli, 2016), the preachers who brought Islam came while trading and it continued to acculturate with local culture. These Islamic preachers certainly brought with them their respective cultures which also directly bring the value of Islam in the culture they practice. Radin Hasbi in Selimbau, for example, believes that in the case of the burial of the kings' families in Selimbau, the funeral process has taken on Islamic tradition brought by Islamic preachers who came as it could be seen from the form of tombstones and the writings on the tombstone. Previously, before Islam entered Selimbau, no such tombstone was found as can be seen in the cemetery of these Selimbau kings, he said. Acculturation of Local and Islamic culture is not only visible in the process of managing the corpse to the grave but it also occurs in other aspects such as marriage, architecture, clothing, food and manners in everyday life. Even the language aspect is also an important part in the acculturation of local culture and Islamic culture displayed in the Malay symbol. The Selimbau Malay language is then written in Arabic letters which are the letters used in the Qur'an as the Holy Book of Islam. In other words, language and script have experienced acculturation that takes the form of Jawi writing known in the archipelago since ancient times.

Abang Walidad as Selimbau Palace family secretary even shows to the researcher a Translation Book of Baabus Samiin written by Maharaja Hatib Sri Kesuma Muhammad Ali Religious Mufti of Selimbau Kingdom who was from the 24th King Selimbau Sultanate. The book has become a clear evidence of a process of acculturation of local culture of Selimbau and Islamic tradition in the form of language and written works. The book is written in Arabic script and Selimbau Malay language. According to Abang Walidad, the book is found among the archives of Selimbau Sultanate that still cannot be sorted in more detail. He believes that there are still other works to be recalled as Selimbau was once the center of the spread of Islam in the heyday of the Selimbau Sultanate in the past. Among the evidence of this glory is the manuscript's inheritance which states that the Selimbau clan has founded the Islamic Center at Jabal Kubis in a Mecca area. The Islamic Center even still belongs to Selimbau Sultanate because at the time when compensated by the government of Saudi Arabia, the Sultan did not agree as he still wants the Islamic Center's ownership for Selimbau Sultanate.

The acculturation of local culture and Islamic tradition also takes the form of mosque architecture that appears in At-Taqwa Mosque building which is the official mosque of Selimbau Sultanate. Visible from the exterior design of the mosque building, it shows the characteristics of coastal buildings of the Kapuas River which have pillars of the rod that become the buffer of the

mosque building so as not to be exposed to river water. This is the consequence of establishing a building on the banks of the Kapuas River which at the time of overflowing water will inundate the riverbanks that even to form a lake. The pillars of the At-Taqwa Mosque, as well as other buildings in the region, use the typical wood of this region that contains local wisdom and culture. The woods include iron wood or *Belian* and *Kayu Tembesuk* or *Temesuk* wood. In terms of architecture of the building, the form of the mosque adopts the dome system but its shape and style contain local art. At Taqwa Mosque has a dome as the symbol of Islamic culture in the Middle East but the pattern takes the form of a local work that forms part of the process of building the mosque.

There are still many forms of acculturation of local culture and Islamic tradition that need to be mentioned here as real examples of what happened in the area of the Kapuas Riverside. Prayers in the ceremony of marriage, salvation and religious ceremonies become an important example as presented by Asnu Murni which is a village leader in Selimbau Town. In Sintang, for example, Edy Sunaryo also mentions that the tradition of Sintang Malay in the wedding ceremony shows a distinctive characteristic that is not the same as in the Kapuas Hulu region. Gusti Muhammad Fadli also said that in Sintang there is a special ceremony before the wedding ceremony of the Sintang palace family that is not performed by the people outside the palace. In terms of food presented in *walimahan* (wedding party), there is also improvisation in accordance with the local culture of Sintang with typical food court banquet. *Adat Nopen* is one of the most famous among Kampung Raja in Sintang which is an important ceremony for Sintang Malay people living on the banks of Kapuas and Melawi rivers.

However, the exploration and socialization of cultural wealth has not been done optimally. Of course this is related to various factors such as politics and economy as well as in other parts of Indonesia. In Papua for example, as reported by Uten Sutendy<sup>3</sup>, that the current condition of the power of economic and political interests is too much that it can shift the important role of spiritual, religious, and cultural aspects in the development of mankind. In fact, he continues, the role of religious communities began to shift into political and economic “vehicles” by certain parties. Therefore, it needs a common consciousness that attention can be directed in the proper direction. Why is that so? Because the local is also proven to adapt to the modern life of society that must be preserved, and the product of acculturation of culture and Islam in the interior of West Kalimantan is a cultural richness that needs

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<sup>3</sup> Uten Sutendy. The chairman of the organizer of the *Konferensi Internasional Penyelamat Kearifan Lokal*, on “*Nilai Kearifan Lokal Bisa Menjadi Solusi Penyelesaian Konflik Sosial*” as quoted by *Kabar24.bisnis.com*. 04 September 2017.

to be preserved through mapping, inventory, externalization and socialization in order to be properly internalized by local communities, and structured as proposed by Antoni Giddens (1984).

### THE EXISTENCE OF LOCAL RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

As pointed out in the previous section that the interior of West Kalimantan has diverse ethnic groups. Each has different cultural features and systems. This section describes the existence of local religious institutions born from the acculturation of local culture and Islam in the life of the people on the banks of the Kapuas River in the interior of West Kalimantan. Consciously or not, the diversity of ethnic groups in Indonesia is a very valuable capital for human life, including what is found in the interior of West Kalimantan. The diversity which possibly causes disputes, within it there are also some cultural mechanisms useful to reconcile disputes and build consensus and solidarity. The cultural mechanism has proved to be a result of the cultural acculturation process of local culture with Islam for the Muslim communities living around the banks of the Kapuas River.

A form of acculturation products of local culture and Islam in the interior regions is the emergence of religious institutions that function as an infrastructure in social life in the Malay tribe in particular and or other ethnic communities who then embraced Islam and still holds its ethnic identity such as Katab Kebahan in Melawi and Bakumpai in South Kalimantan. Those kinds of institutions are normally formed from an existing structure experiencing Islamization. They are also re-structured. The sultanate institution, for example, became an institution transformed from a governmental institution and an old non-Islamic state power into a powerful Islamic *da'wah* institution in the early days of the spread of Islam along the banks of the Kapuas River. The *da'wah* strategy pursued by early Islamic propagators by entering into the territory of the palace has made the center of government at the same time a hallmark of religious institutions. This is hardly surprising when compared with what happened in Europe where many countries at the same time also functioned as Catholic or Christian religious institutions during colonialism era. Islam earlier came into the interior of Borneo compared to Catholicism and Christianity.

Y.C. Thambun Anyang (1998) reported that Catholicism was only disseminated by missionaries in the early 1970s, while Christianity began to spread in Kapuas Hulu in about 1972. It is likely that Catholicism and Christianity began to spread in the Sintang region in the early 1960s, earlier than in Kapuas Hulu. The following development was that Islam was embraced by most of

the riverside communities of the Kapuas River in the interior compared with indigenous people living in the hinterland that were difficult to reach by the transportation of water. However, the construction of roads in the early days of the New Order government from Pontianak to Putussibau and even Badau has opened up opportunities for Catholicism and Christianity to enter into the areas previously unaffordable by the spreaders of Islam during the sultanate. The ups and downs of the spread of Islam in these remote regions since the demise of the sultanates in Sintang and Kapuas Hulu has opened the opportunity to Catholic missionaries to enter inland in the New Order era with little (or non-existence of) missions regarding the spread of Islam in the interior of West Kalimantan.

The palace as an institution of power as well as a religious-cultural symbol extends its power through the institution of the mosque and *Imam or penghulu*. At the time of the sultanate, the functions of the mosque, the Imam and the penghulu were so important that the question of issues arising from religious affairs could be resolved at their level. Maharaja Imam Sambas, for example, a religious authority holder in the Samsas Sultanate, had the authority to decide cases deemed important in society. There was a case in his era, where an issue of lack of worshipers for Friday prayers according to Shafi'i mazdhab occurred, then Maharaja Imam Sambas Baisuni Imron asked the matter to his teacher Syech Rashid Ridho in Al Azhar and then decided that Friday prayers could be held at the mosque of a village in Sambas with fewer than 40 attenders. The *fatwa* was made considering the possibility of negative Friday prayers if imposed on conditions that must be met by Madzhaf Syafi'i even though they hold the school of thought as a role model. Similar functions occurred in the sultanate in the interior such as Sintang, Suhaid, Selimbau, Jongkong and Bunut as reported by Haji Zulkifli and Haji Ahmadin in Suhaid, Ade Ahmad Karim in Semitau and Gusti Muhammad Fadli in Sintang.

In the current era of reform, religious institutions have shifted to the Ministry of Religious Affairs which has Offices of Religious Affairs (KUA) at the sub-district level as reported by Mulyadi in Selimbau. However, institutions such as mosques and *imams* and *penghulu* who are also assisted by the KUA play a very important role. Even the Semitau Sub-district *Camat* (Head) explains that the Semitau region currently lacks the production of prospective imam or clerics who will hopefully become an important religious institution in the development of Islam in this region. This awareness of need is in fact an awareness of the inheritance of past glory with preachers and *imams* capable of being a source of reference to religious issues in the community life in the past. Even big names such as Syech Arsyad Al-Banjari who wrote the book *Sabilal*

*Muhtadin* also briefly mentioned by some informants in the area of research that the cleric had come to the hinterland of Kapuas Hulu and directly check the use of his book which is widely used in this Borneo land even in Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei Darussalam.

However, formal educational institutions or *madrasah* were not often found in the sultanate's era. In this hinterland, new *madrasah* emerged in the early 19th century initiated by Haji Ahmad in Jongkong. For comparison, the oldest madrasah in West Kalimantan is believed to have been established in Saigon Village within the Sultanate of Pontianak territory by Syech Arsyad Al Albanjari's student namely Syech Yusuf Saigon. Not far behind the time, an old madrasah is also found in Sambas founded by Maharaja Imam Sambas Baisuni Imron. It can also be concluded that religious institutions in the form of formal education such as madrasah were just emerging then along with the trend that occurred in the archipelago. It also means that in earlier times, religious institutions were handed over to imams and *penghulu* and mosques established in villages as an extension of the palace/sultanate that underpins them.

#### **POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL NETWORK**

When returning to the coast or estuary of the Kapuas River in the western part of Borneo Island, namely in Pontianak, Sambas, Sukadana and Matan, you will be re-presented with the map of Muslim communities along the Kapuas River with two categories, namely downstream and upstream. Downstream is what we call coastal and upstream is what we call as inland. Although they have different characteristics because of geographical reasons, they actually have many similarities because of several important reasons, namely religion (Islam), ethnicity of Malay, and kinship. They have also established strong networking ties that have existed since the time of the empire to the present day. Of course in this era, there are many other factors that give influences to the networks that have been built in the era of the sultanate such as political networks, Islamic *da'wah*, trade, network of scholars and other social networks. Social integration, among others, is important as explained by Ernas (2015) in the case of coastal communities in Ambon. Factors that influence in the current era will be discussed at the end of this section.

Historical sources written in manuscript and the artifacts in the form of gravestones and other objects have shown important lines that indicate a very strong family network among the Muslim communities living in the riverside of Kapuas river. This kinship network even involves the families and relatives of the sultanates in West Kalimantan. Abang Walidad explains that one of

Selimbau's family lines also extends to Sarawak and even Brunei Darussalam, besides directly having kinship relationship with family of Sintang palace, Sanggau, Landak, Matan, Pontianak and Sambas. Gusti Muhammad Fadli in Sintang also mentions that the Sintang royal palace is related to the sultanates in Kapuas Hulu and Selaimbau, Suhaid and Jongkong. In fact, the relation of Sintang royal family is not only evidenced by several palaces in West Kalimantan but even related to Majapahit (Gusti Muhammad fadli, 2016). Therefore studies on the linkages of familial relations need to be studied more deeply to gain inspiration for the current strategy of Islamic network development that can be an important contribution to Muslim scholarship and culture in West Kalimantan.

As a continuation of the kinship network among the royal family in the interior of West Kalimantan, of course the political network becomes an important part of it. The kinship of the royal palace often occurs because of the political factors that extend the new family. This also happens among the relatives of the palace in the archipelago as in Java, Sumatra and even Southeast Asia in general. Erwin Mahrus (2017) mentions that the Sambas palace relationship with Brunei was also accompanied by political factors occurring in its period, when one of the family members of Sultan of Brunei proposed to the daughter of Queen Sepudak for his son, Radin Sulaiman who had maternal blood from Matan's court at Sukadana. Patmawati (2017) also mentions that in *Lontarak* there is a marital relationship between relatives of Mempawah Keraton and the family of Sultan Brunei Darussalam. This political network is actually very important to study as the basis of the genealogy of political policies that have been issued throughout the history of the sultanate in Borneo and Southeast Asia region involving the number of sultanates on this island of Borneo. For that reason, the potential of the study of political networks is still widely open in hopes of elaboration farther into the political networks that already exist among the sultanates in the interior of West Kalimantan. One of the important findings of this research that needs to be followed up for further research is that Selimbau Sultanate also has a network to the Selimbau embassy in Saudi Arabia which is also located at Jabal Kubis of Mecca city as a representative of the Selimbau state recognized by Saudi Arabia.

The political network then continues to be a network of economy and commerce. As explained by Hermansyah (2009) that in Kapuas Hulu there are ethnic Chinese that have set foot in Kapuas Hulu for a long time, approximately 150 years ago. Political network involving the palace family also involves families of immigrant people including China. In Selimbau, for example, there are ethnic Chinese who have lived in floating houses since about a hundred years

ago as reported by Suryadi. The arrival of ethnic Chinese into the interior of West Kalimantan is still a puzzle, as they have also reached the Kapuas Hulu area and surrounding areas. Currently we even encounter that ethnic Chinese have owned shops and play an important role in the central markets in inland cities such as Sintang, Silat, Semitau, Suhaid, Selimbau, Jongkong, Bunut and Putussibau. By looking at the position of the shops and their strategic housing ownership, it can be concluded that ethnic Chinese have a very strategic role in the trading network. In fact, in the era of the sultanate, economic control was held by the ruler of the Sultan (Nuh, 2016). Gusti Muhammad Fadli argues that ethnic Chinese have actually come to follow migrants from the Netherlands who were also engaged in trading activities.

In addition, it is very interesting in this research that the network of scholars and Islamic scholarship has been established since the beginning of the entry of Islam into the interior of West Kalimantan through the scholars who came and also through kinship relationships that are intertwined with immigrants and other palaces in the archipelago. At the beginning it has been mentioned that Maharaja Hatib Sri Kesuma Muhammad Ali, the Mufti of Selimbau Kingdom's 24th kingdom translated the *Baabus Samiin* which was the work of the Egyptian scholar. This shows that the clerical network at Selimbau is not only local but international. The book was used in Selimbau and therefore needs to be translated into a language understood by the community in Selimbau. Abang Walidad further explains that Selimbau clergy relations are not only with Saudi Arabia but also with the Banjarmasin and Sarawak regions. The Banjarmasin and Sarawak clerical network is also found in Sintang as written by the former Chairman of the Sintang MUI. He claimed that the spreaders of Islam to Sintang, in addition to the Guru Bilit from West Sumatera, also includes Encik Saman from Sarawak and Encik Abdusomad from Banjarmasin who brought the gift of the Qur'an from the kingdom of Banjar to King of Sintang (Haris et al, 1994). This network of scholars has actually become the basis of Islamic development in the interior of West Kalimantan and it is important to learn more for the development of Islam in the present that is certainly in accordance with the times.

Another important network is the social network and the relationship between Muslims along the riverside and the surrounding community that precisely in the time of the empire had not had time to become a Muslim. In some cases, the social relations of the two groups separated by Islam were involved in war. Abang Walidan mentions the war between the Selimbau palace and the Iban group in Batang Lupar and the Water. In Sintang there is also the term Dayak "Mahardina" or Dayak Merdeka which means Dayak ethnic groups who did not

convert to Islam and did not become Malay. The established social network then over time turns into a social network of friendship and mutual care. At the time of this reform, the map of the spread of Muslim and non-Muslim population is visible from coastal settlements and land settlements that are some distance from the riverside, both the Kapuas River and its tributaries. The transition from the era of the Sultanate to the Old Order and the New Order provided an opportunity for Catholic and Christian missionaries to enter the non-Muslim land settlements through development projects. In addition, at the same time the Islamic da'wah project has greatly diminished as the rule of the sultanates as a religious institution in its heyday. Until now the missionary rivalry between the two major world religions (Islam and Christianity) is still continuing with the challenges and opportunities of today with social media as a field of virtue.

Some of the important challenges that arise as a result of the birth of a network of highly uncontrolled free social media are, among other things, the ease with which non-mainstream religious ideologies or non-mainstream ones entering the interior regions. The challenges of the relatively low level of education are also a very urgent issue in addressing the entry of new ideologies. In fact, the inland people also have an open attitude because they have a legacy of network of scholars and broad Islamic scholars during the era of the sultanate. Haji Zulkifli in Suhaid and Haji Mas Hidayat in Semitau even point out that they are not anti-new opinions in religion. But the style of communication and the wholeness of the ummah are of primary concern to them. That is, the unity of ummah is placed above all things in the affairs of Islamic religious practice and the entry of new schools of thought as a result of today's super-sophisticated social media network. Here the role of religious institutions and educational institutions becomes very strategic. In addition, the media is also very important in sharing the existing social religious networks so as to become a positive value infrastructure for the progress of the Indonesian nation that has issued the decree/law number 05 of 2017 on the promotion of Culture. Media as part of modern culture should be able to make a positive contribution to the development of culture based on religion which becomes the basis for the progress of Indonesian culture.

## CONCLUSION

Cultural wealth and religious social life in the interior of West Kalimantan are important elements for the development of civil society in the region. Researchers, especially local academics, should give special attention to this area with regards to scientific work. It may include natural wealth, cultural

heritage and the rural communities of West Kalimantan that need a good study for the purpose of progress and development of the nation. Human and cultural resources are important for the efforts of improving the welfare of the community as the goal of national development. This work concludes that the cultural and religious patterns of the people living along the sides of Kapuas River in the interior of West Kalimantan have had three important components in its history. First, the acculturation of local and Islamic culture that has occurred since the arrival of Islam into the hinterland of Kalimantan through the Kapuas River route continues to take place. This important phenomenon needs to be promoted in order to serve as an inspiration of current and future development policies. Second, the acculturation of local religions and cultures also led to a very important local religious institution in the process of social change of the communities living along the sides of the Kapuas River in the interior of West Kalimantan. The local religious institutions have become an important infrastructure that has been proven to ensure the survival of the living Muslim community systems that have existed among indigenous people who are still in the local beliefs of their time. Third, the Muslim communities along the Kapuas River in the interior of West Kalimantan already have a vast network of not only kinship networks, Islamic trade and dakwah but also the network of Islamic scholarship and knowledge. Of course, the growth of these networks is influenced by the media that also develops in its name. Therefore this paper also provides a recommendation that there is need for profound comprehensive analysis of cultural and religious aspects in the development of the communities living along the Kapuas Riverside in the interior of West Kalimantan which are currently included in the administrative area of Sintang and Kapuas Hulu Districts.

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