

ORAL INTERPRETATION OF AMAR MAKRUH NAHI MUNGKAR: STUDY OF THE PERSPECTIVE OF ḤABĀ`IB IN PONTIANAK CITY, WEST KALIMANTAN

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Abstract

This article explores the oral interpretation of amar makruh nahi mungkar from the perspective of *ḥabā`ib* in Pontianak City, West Kalimantan. The study is qualitative in nature and adopts a field research model with descriptive-analytic data analysis. The findings suggest that local *ḥabā`ib* interpretations of amar makruh nahi mungkar can be classified into two groups: those that specifically focus on Quranic texts containing the phrase, and those that interpret verses of the Quran without the phrase. The discussion of the term 'munkar' predominantly revolves around issues relating to Muslim and non-Muslim leaders, the criminalization and humiliation of ulama, and LGBT-related cases. The oral tradition plays a crucial role in shaping the interpretation of *ḥabā`ib*, which is characterized by three key aspects: a) a focus on local issues, b) an agonistic tone, and c) conservative or traditionalist views. These characteristics have a significant impact on the interpretation of amar makruh nahi mungkar by *ḥabā`ib*, resulting in an interpretation that differs from that found in traditional interpretation literature.

Keywords: Ḥabā`ib, Amar Makruh Nahi Mungkar, Characteristics of Oral Traditions, and Oral Interpretation

Abstrak

Artikel ini mengupas tentang tafsir lisan amar makruh nahi mungkar sudut pandang *ḥabā`ib* di Kota Pontianak Kalimantan Barat. Penelitian ini bersifat kualitatif dan mengadopsi model penelitian lapangan dengan analisis data deskriptif-analitis. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa penafsiran *ḥabā`ib* lokal terhadap amar makruh nahi mungkar dapat digolongkan menjadi dua kelompok: kelompok yang secara khusus berfokus pada teks Al-Quran yang mengandung frasa tersebut, dan kelompok yang menafsirkan ayat-ayat Al-Quran tanpa frasa tersebut. Pembahasan istilah 'munkar' sebagian besar berkisar pada isu-isu yang berkaitan dengan pemimpin Muslim dan non-Muslim, kriminalisasi dan penghinaan terhadap ulama, serta kasus-kasus terkait LGBT. Tradisi lisan memainkan peran penting dalam membentuk penafsiran *ḥabā`ib*, yang dicirikan oleh tiga aspek utama: a) fokus pada isu-isu lokal, b) bernada agonistik, dan c) pandangan konservatif atau tradisional. Ciri-ciri tersebut mempunyai pengaruh yang signifikan terhadap penafsiran amar makruh nahi mungkar karya *ḥabā`ib*, sehingga menghasilkan penafsiran yang berbeda dengan yang terdapat dalam literatur tafsir tradisional.

Kata Kunci: Ḥabā`ib, Amar Makruh Nahi Mungkar, Karakteristik Tradisi Lisan, dan Tafsir Lisan

INTRODUCTION

The Hadrami group, including the *ḥabā`ib*, as is well known, were among the spreaders of Islam in the Nusantara region (Alatas 2017: 56). The participation of the *ḥabā`ib* community since the early development of Islam in Indonesia has indeed been quite significant. One factor of their success lies in their ability to package Islamic messages harmoniously through the acculturation of local cultures or via pathways of political supremacy. The success of the Wali Songo, descendants of *ḥabā`ib*, for instance, in carrying out the peaceful Islamic missionary mission was by embracing and utilizing local cultural symbols, thus making Islam more easily accepted (Sofwan 2004: 32). Similarly, the symbol of *breaking the sword* as a declaration of peaceful preaching undertaken by the *ḥabā`ib* groups to spread Islam—such as the story of their entry into West Kalimantan (Efendi 2021: 367–69; Ghazali & Safwan 2013: 16–17; Rahman 2000: 32).

However, nowadays, the peaceful preaching of the *ḥabā`ib* can be said to have undergone a shift. This is due to several *ḥabā`ib* figures who tend to employ confrontational measures in upholding

Islamic teachings (Al-Zastrouw 2004, 123; Anwar 2014; Effendy 1998, 123). One of the themes frequently promoted is the movement in the name of amar makruf nahi mungkar. Simply put, amar makruf nahi mungkar means commanding right and forbidding wrong. Nevertheless, this definition is subject to various interpretations by different scholars (Ichwan 2006; Shihab 2002; Qutb 1/1984).

The theme of amar makruf nahi mungkar, according to Azyumardi Azra for instance, is one of the interpretive issues that often leads to radical actions (Azra 2000: 42–45; Mutaqin 2012: 42–43; Yunus 2017: 91–92). Various groups affiliated with the amar makruf nahi mungkar preaching movement have been detailed by the Setara Institute. These groups include HTI, FPI, FPIS, FJI, among others (Setara Institut 2012, 74–95; Mahmudin 2013: 87–89; Syahril et al. 2019: 59). However, the preaching of amar makruf nahi mungkar is not necessarily always radical, as demonstrated by NU and Muhammadiyah over the years (Aziz 2015: 180–85; Nashir 2009: 39–45).

The radical actions in the name of amar makruf nahi mungkar cannot be separated from the doctrinal theological bases found in various Islamic literature (Badarussyamsi, Ridwan & Nur 2020: 274–77; Jihad 2021: 110–14). Sayyid Qutb (1984: 1/444), for example, argues that amar makruf nahi mungkar is a religious duty that must be enforced. Qutb goes so far as to interpret that amar makruf nahi mungkar should be carried out even if it requires what he terms as 'holy war' (*jihād fī sabīllillāh*). According to Qutb, this jihad must be undertaken to establish the system of life prescribed by Allah, replacing existing human systems.

This research focuses on the *ḥabā'ib* community in Pontianak for two main reasons. First, Islam was initially spread in West Kalimantan by the *ḥabā'ib* using peaceful means. However, currently, the peaceful preaching of the *ḥabā'ib* in Pontianak has undergone a shift. Second, the presence of *ḥabā'ib* in Pontianak represents a symbol of highly respected religious scholars, evident from their dominance in religious gatherings and other events in Pontianak. Based on these points, the study will focus on how the *ḥabā'ib* community in Pontianak interprets the concept of amar makruf nahi mungkar in the Qur'an through oral exegesis.

METHOD

This article will use the framework proposed by Andreas Görke. Görke offers a perspective on the study of interpretation that includes broader textual analysis, encompassing oral exegesis, lay exegesis, and interpretations based on regional particularities. In this context, oral exegesis refers to interpretations transmitted within the oral tradition. Görke explains that despite the rapid development of exegesis literature, the involvement of oral tradition in disseminating interpretive content cannot be overlooked (Görke 2014: 363–69).

Therefore, this research will focus on the oral interpretations of the *ḥabā'ib* in understanding amar makruf nahi mungkar. One reason for conducting this study through oral data collection is 1) the scarcity of research in the field of oral exegesis; 2) the absence of exegesis literature authored by local *ḥabā'ib*. Hence, one viable approach is to explore their oral traditions, particularly through various sermons and religious teachings they deliver. This method not only serves to expand the scope of

Quranic studies beyond written texts but also provides an instrument to delve deeper into understanding the interpretations and teachings of the *ḥabā'ib* community.

In understanding these oral interpretations, this research will employ a model of oral tradition research, focusing on the characteristic aspects of oral tradition as outlined by Walter J. Ong. Based on this approach, *first*, the study will investigate who the speakers are in transmitting the oral interpretations of amar makruf nahi mungkar. The speakers in this case are the *ḥabā'ib* discussing amar makruf nahi mungkar, both those originating from Pontianak itself and those from outside Pontianak. *Second*, the study will explore who the interlocutors are during these interactions among the local *ḥabā'ib*. Interlocutors in this context refer to the specific community members present during these discussions. *Third*, the research will focus on the context of these interactions and the content of the oral transmissions, particularly observing the perspectives of the *ḥabā'ib* in interpreting amar makruf nahi mungkar. The content of these transmissions will then be analyzed using the characteristics of oral tradition presented by Walter J. Ong (Görke 2014: 363–69).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Source Text, Interpretation, and the Movement of Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong (Amar Makruf Nahi Mungkar)

Amar makruf nahi mungkar is a term derived from the Arabic phrase *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*. Within this term, there are several key words: *al-amr* and *al-nahy*, *al-ma'rūf* and *al-munkar*. The word *al-amr* comes from the root word *amara-ya'muru-amran*, which means command or ordering to do something, while the word *al-nahy* comes from the root word *nahā-yanhā-nahyan*, which means *zajrun*, meaning prohibition (Mustafa 2004: 26, 960). The word *al-ma'rūf* comes from the root word *'arafa-irfatan*, which has meanings such as *al-irfān* (wisdom), *al-ilm* (knowledge), and *al-'urf* (custom and tradition). Terminologically, *al-ma'rūf* is the opposite of *al-munkar* (Manzūr, n.d.: 5/236–39).

Al-Raghīb al-Asfihāni (n.d.: 431) defines *al-ma'rūf* as a term for any action whose goodness is recognized by reason or Sharia. On the other hand, the word *al-munkar*, etymologically, comes from *nakura-nakaratan*, which means *al-dahā'* (deception) and *al-fithnah* (understanding and comprehension). According to Ibn Manzūr, terminologically, *al-munkar* refers to everything that is forbidden, disliked, and deemed bad by Sharia (Manzūr, n.d.: 5/232–33). Based on the above semantic review, *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* can be described as the act of commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong.

The Qur'an addresses the theme of commanding right and forbidding wrong, referring to the terms *al-ma'rūf* and *al-munkar*, in many places. *First*, the term *al-ma'rūf* is mentioned 38 times in the Qur'an, divided into two forms: in the indefinite form (*nakirah*) six times and in the definite form (*ma'rifah*) 32 times (Bāqī 1942: 458–59). *Second*, the term *al-munkar* is mentioned in the Qur'an in 16 places in two forms: indefinite and definite. In the indefinite form, the term *al-munkar* is mentioned only once, in Surah al-Mujādalah (58:2). In the plural form, *munkarūn*, it is mentioned twice, in Surah al-Hijr (15:62) and Surah az-Zāriyāt (51:25). In the definite form, it is mentioned in 15 places (Bāqī 1942: 718–19).

The evidences for commanding right and forbidding wrong have been extensively explained in many tafsir (exegesis) literatures. As an example, I will examine the interpretation of Surah Ali Imrān (3:104) from the perspective of tafsir literature. According to at-Ṭabari, in his interpretation of Surah Ali Imrān (3:104), at-Ṭabari Ṭabari (2006: 5/660–61) states that the word *ummah* in this verse refers to a group of Muslims, thus the encouragement in the phrase *ummah* can be sufficiently fulfilled by a single group (*jamā'ah*). He explains that this group of Muslims is obligated to call people to uphold *al-khāir*, *ya'murūnabi al-ma'rūf*, and *yanhauna 'an al-munkar*. If this duty is carried out by a specific group of Muslims, then the obligation is lifted from the rest of the Muslims.

At-Ṭabari interprets the word *al-khair* in Surah Ali Imran (3:104) as Islam and all the Shariah laws established by Allah. As for *ya'murūna bi al-ma'rūf*, it refers to commanding people to do what is *ma'rūf*, which at-Ṭabari interprets as following the Prophet Muhammad and the religion brought by the Prophet. *Yanhauna 'an al-munkar* refers to forbidding people from disbelieving in Allah, denying the Prophet Muhammad, and rejecting anything brought by the Prophet from Allah. This is to be done through jihad with all one's soul and body until they submit and return to obedience to Allah and His Messenger. However, the Quran's command to perform "amar ma'ruf nahi munkar" is specifically directed only to the companions of the Prophet. This view is based on a narration cited by at-Ṭabari, sourced from ad-Dahhak when interpreting Surah Ali Imran 3:104 (At-Ṭabari 2006: 5/661).

Meanwhile, not much different from at-Ṭabari, Ibn Kathir (1999: 2/91) states that the meaning intended by the verse Ali Imran 3:104 is that there should be a group of people from the followers of Muhammad tasked with carrying out this command, even though the command is indeed obligatory for every individual among the followers of Muhammad, as indicated by the hadith narrated by Sa'īd al-Khudri. Ibn Kathir also cites a hadith about the threat for anyone who does not perform "amar ma'ruf nahi munkar," which is narrated by Imam Ahmad and sourced from Hudhaifah Ibn al-Yaman (Ibnu Kašir 1999: 2/91).

Furthermore, Ibn Kathir (Ibnu Kašir 1999: 2/93) explains that the followers of Muhammad are the best of all communities among other peoples. However, being the best community is contingent upon, among other things, the practice of "amar ma'ruf nahi munkar" (commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong). This is as narrated by Ibn Kathir, quoting a hadith recorded by Imam Ahmad.

Unlike the two earlier interpretators, Sayyid Quṭb takes a more methodological approach in interpreting Surah Ali Imran 3:104. When interpreting this verse, Quṭb highlights an important note on "dakwah (Islamic preaching), amar ma'ruf nahi munkar (commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong), and the necessity of authority to uphold these principles." In his notes, while interpreting this verse, Quṭb Quṭb (1984: 4/443–44) emphasizes that one of the methods (*manha*) that Muslims must implement is amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. Quṭb uses this method to uphold two main pillars of Islam: the pillar of faith and piety towards Allah, and the pillar of *ukhuwah* (brotherhood).

According to Quṭb, the duty of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar assigned to the followers of Muhammad is the reason Allah has elevated the status of the Islamic community. Furthermore, Quṭb views this duty as a method that aligns with Allah's own methodology. This is why Allah revealed Surah

Ali Imran 3:104 to Muhammad. Therefore, Quṭb argues that there must be a group or authority responsible for implementing amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. In Quṭb's view, the authority necessary to implement this duty is a *madlūl* (indicator) from the Quranic verse itself (Quṭb 1984: 4/444).

According to Quṭb, Allah's method for commanding what is good and forbidding what is wrong goes beyond mere advice and guidance; it also involves having an authority that can regulate and enforce what is right and eliminate what is wrong. Quṭb argues that this is essential to avoid individualistic interpretations of what is right and wrong from one's own perspective. Quṭb also explains that the followers of Muhammad are the best community on earth. Therefore, Muslims must be at the forefront of leadership. Consequently, Quṭb concludes that leadership should not fall into the hands of anyone other than Muslims (Quṭb 1984: 4/447).

Based on the interpretations from the three commentators, several differences in their views can be observed. *First*, it can be concluded that what is considered ma'ruf are those matters deemed good and in accordance with Allah's Sharia, while munkar refers to matters considered bad and contrary to Sharia. *Second*, the Muslim community is considered the best community as long as they practice amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. *Third*, according to at-Ṭabari, implementing amar ma'ruf nahi munkar involves one's entire soul and body and jihad; Ibn Kathir focuses more on hadiths explaining various levels of confronting wrongs; and Quṭb emphasizes using authority to enforce these principles.

The Historicity of the *ḥabā`ib* Community in Pontianak

The city of Pontianak has been closely tied to the involvement of the *ḥabā`ib* (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad) from its inception. Pontianak was first established on October 23, 1771, by a descendant of the *ḥabā`ib*, namely Habib Abdurrahman bin Habib Husein al-Qadri (Anonymous 1926: 325–26; Firmanto 2012: 260–61). Long before its current development, Pontianak was one of the Islamic kingdoms known as the Sultanate of Kadriah Pontianak, where Habib Abdurrahman al-Qadri served as the first sultan of the kingdom (al-Qodri 2005: 1–2; Firmanto 2012: 257–59).

The historicity of the *ḥabā`ib* community residing in Pontianak traces back to the parents of Habib Abdurrahman al-Qadri, specifically his father, Habib Husein al-Qadri. According to Engseng Ho (2006: 152–53), Habib Husein was one of four *ḥabā`ib* from Hadramaut, Yemen, who migrated to the Nusantara region during the 17th and 18th centuries. Habib Husein's full name was Habib Husein bin Ahmad bin Husein bin Muhammad al-Qadri. He was born in Tarim, Yemen, in 1120 H/1708 CE (Zulfikar 2009: 44).

Habib Husein chose to move to the island of Kalimantan. The first place he arrived at was the Kingdom of Matan (Munoz 2009: 435). According to P.J. Veth (1846: 249), Habib Husein entered the Kingdom of Matan in 1735. According to Ho, Habib Husein settled in the Kingdom of Matan for 17 years. He was also appointed as a religious teacher and as the mufti of the kingdom in 1741. In Matan, Habib Husein married the sister of the King of Matan, known as Nyai Tua. However, Veth notes that Habib Husein's wife was from the Dayak tribe (Ho 2006: 163; Veth: 1846, 249). This marriage with Nyai Tua produced four sons, one of whom was Habib Abdurrahman al-Qadri, who later became the founder of the Sultanate of Kadriah Pontianak (al-Qodri 2005: 5; Veth 1846: 249).

After his parents passed away, Habib Abdurrahman al-Qadri took the initiative to leave Mempawah in search of a new settlement. He decided to navigate the Kapuas River, which stretches through West Kalimantan (Algadri 1996, 103; Ho 2006, 170; Veth 1846, 246). After a long journey, he chose to stop at the confluence of the Kapuas River and the Landak River. On October 23, 1771, Habib Abdurrahman marked the site by building a mosque. This mosque was later named Masjid Jami' Sultan Syarif Abdurrahman (Firmanto 2012: 261; Syahzaman 1999: 5).

The establishment of the Pontianak Sultanate, consequently, marked the beginning of the *ḥabā`ib* community's presence in Pontianak, led by the al-Qadri clan. The *ḥabā`ib* community residing in Pontianak has continued to experience significant growth over time. According to L.W.C. van den Berg (1989: 148–49), based on data collected at the end of the 19th century, the *ḥabā`ib* community in Pontianak, while predominantly consisting of the al-Qadri clan, also included several other clans that had settled there, such as the al-Aidruss, al-Muthahar, Assegaf, al-Hinduan, al-Haddad, al-Habsyi, and Ba'abbud clans. Currently, the *ḥabā`ib* community includes even more clans, such as the Barakbah, al-Bakhsin, al-Mahdali, and others.

Interpretation of *Ḥabā`ib* on Amar Makruf Nahi Mungkar in the Context of Oral Tafsir

The interpretation of *ḥabā`ib* regarding amar makruf nahi mungkar is based on observations from several study sessions by *ḥabā`ib*, including: 1) HHA: Sermon on "Indahnya Persatuan Islam" on January 25, 2018, held at Masjid Sultan Syarif Abdurrahman; 2) HAA: Sermon on "Kebangkitan Islam" on January 31, 2018, organized by Majelis Taklim LPD al-Bahjah; 3) HMSS: Sermon on "Dengan Peringatan Maulid, Kita Bangun Peradaban Keumatan" on February 2, 2018, organized by Majelis Taklim al-Akwab; 4) HMH: Sermon on "Maulid Nabi Muhammad" on February 3, 2018, organized by Majelis Nurus Shabah; 5) HAA: Sermon on "Antara Rasa Aman dan Takut Kepada Allah" on February 26, 2018, organized by Majelis Taklim LPD al-Bahjah; and 6) HBS: Sermon on "Sungai Jawi Bershalawat" on March 8, 2018, organized by Musholla Nur Hidayatullah.

Interpretation in the Context of the Verse on Amar Makruf Nahi Mungkar

The position of amar makruf nahi mungkar in the perspective of Islamic law is one of the three main aspects of the struggle of the Muslim community. This view is supported by HHA in his sermon given in the context of the Maulid Nabi. These three main aspects of the Muslim struggle are *da'wah* (preaching), *hisbah* (enforcement of moral standards), and jihad (struggle). According to Imam al-Ghazali, as cited by HHA, *hisbah* is a comprehensive term for commanding right (amar makruf) and forbidding wrong (nahi mungkar). In simpler terms, *hisbah* is essentially the same as amar makruf nahi mungkar. In explaining the term *amr* in amar makruf, HHA notes that the word *amr* is etymologically derived from *amara*, meaning to command.

According to HAA, *munkar* refers to actions that are contrary to what is prescribed in the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet. Conversely, *ma'ruf* encompasses actions that are in alignment with the Qur'an and the Hadith. Furthermore, HAA explains that obeying government regulations is an obligation as long as these regulations do not contradict the Qur'an and the Hadith. However, if a regulation or

behavior that is contrary to the Qur'an and the Hadith is enacted or legalized by the government—such as legalizing adultery or banning Friday prayers—it must be opposed.

One of the proofs in the context of the theme of amar makruf nahi mungkar was presented by HMSS, who quoted Surah Ali Imran/3:110. In one of his sermons, he stated that the followers of Muhammad are the best of all nations by quoting this verse. However, in his exposition of the verse, he emphasized the distinction granted to the followers of Muhammad as the best of nations, without addressing the issue of amar makruf nahi mungkar. In his sermon, he said:

Apa kata Allah? *Kuntum khaira ummatin ukhrijat li an-nās*. Kalian umat yang banyak maksiat, ibadahnya sedikit, maksiatnya yang lebih banyak, apa kata Allah? *Khaira ummatin*, kalian sebaik-baik umat yang pernah Allah munculkan di tengah-tengah manusia.”

In addition to the Qur'anic evidence mentioned above, the discussion of *ḥabā'ib* regarding the theme of amar makruf nahi mungkar also cites Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). This was touched upon by HHA. In his sermon, HHA quoted one of the reports cited by Imam al-Ghazali. HHA's statement above begins with his explanation of the numerous obstacles faced by those who engage in amar makruf nahi mungkar. Some activists who advocate for amar makruf nahi mungkar, according to him, are criminalized, terrorized, dismissed from their jobs, and even killed. He asserts that the obligation to uphold amar makruf nahi mungkar is a duty that should not be debated, because if the practice of amar makruf nahi mungkar is abandoned, Allah will send disasters to the earth due to the widespread neglect of sins and the disregard for these sins.

Based on the above perspective, the interpretation of amar makruf nahi mungkar by the *ḥabā'ib*, as they present it, refers to several sources from the Qur'an, such as Surah Alī Imrān/3: 110. However, this interpretation does not directly address the explanation of amar makruf nahi mungkar. On other occasions, the interpretation of amar makruf nahi mungkar by the *ḥabā'ib* also refers to texts from Hadith.

Interpretation Beyond the Context of the Verses on Amar Makruf Nahi Mungkar

The interpretation of the theme of amar makruf nahi mungkar in the Qur'an presented by the *ḥabā'ib* is not only related to texts that specifically address the issue of amar makruf nahi mungkar. At the same time, their interpretation also involves evidence that lies outside the context of amar makruf nahi mungkar in the Qur'an. The evidence referred to includes Qur'anic texts that do not specifically mention the phrase amar makruf nahi mungkar but are positioned as part of their interpretation of amar makruf nahi mungkar.

Based on the information provided, the *ḥabā'ib's* view on the term makruf is that it encompasses everything considered right, while *munkar* refers to everything deemed wrong. Both views of right and wrong must align with the commands of the Qur'an and Sunnah. In this context, the obligation for Muslims to carry out what is considered right and to avoid what is considered wrong, according to HHA, serves no purpose other than for the benefit of humanity itself. To express this view, he cites surah al-Anfāl/8: 24. By quoting this verse, he explains that all matters regarding what is right

and wrong in Islam are governed by a set of rules mentioned in the Qur'an and Hadith, with the goal of saving and ensuring the well-being of humanity.

The view aligns with the opinion expressed by HMH. According to him, the criteria for right and wrong, which encompass *amar makruf nahi mungkar*, represent one of the 'keys' that Muslims can use to attain His paradise. Another important point related to the interpretation of *ḥabā'ib* regarding *amar makruf nahi mungkar* is the issue of why evil is increasingly rampant today while good is neglected. According to the view expressed by HAA, the factor is the loss of fear of Allah. The evidence used by HAA in the context of rejecting evil is not based on the hadith narrated by Sa'id al-Khudri, but rather on a hadith qudsi related to the fear of Allah.

Meanwhile, several cases of wrongdoing that often receive serious attention and are frequently discussed by the *ḥabā'ib* in Pontianak include various issues. Based on these cases, the *ḥabā'ib* urge Muslims in Pontianak to collectively combat what is deemed wrong and to uphold what is right and good according to Islamic law. These cases can be outlined as follows:

1. Amar Makruf Nahi Mungkar in the Context of Choosing a Non-Muslim Leader

One of the actions considered wrong in the interpretation of the *ḥabā'ib* is choosing a non-Muslim leader. As is well known, the issue of selecting a non-Muslim leader has been a hot topic in recent times. Based on the research conducted, several *ḥabā'ib* figures have addressed this issue, including HHA, HAA, HBS, and HIM.

HAA approaches this issue from the concept of 'islamisasi politik' which involves using politics as a means to advance the interests of the Muslim community. Quoting Imam al-Ghazali, he argues that religion and politics are like twins that mutually support each other. An example of this Islamic political integration is the obligation to choose a leader from the Muslim community. According to HAA, this obligation arises from the understanding that some wrongdoings cannot be prevented merely through the doctrinal teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith but must be addressed through the power of governance as an instrument to eradicate wrongdoing. He also reiterates his previous interpretation of Surah al-Anfāl/9: 24, stating that choosing a Muslim leader is ultimately for the benefit of the Muslim community.

According to HAA, the concept of 'islamisasi politik' is not a new phenomenon in Islam. Many Muslim scholars have given serious attention to this matter. He cites several works by scholars that discuss Islamic political integration. In the Shafi'i school of thought, for example, there is al-Imam al-Haramain al-Juwaini and al-Imam al-Mawardi. In the Maliki school, there is al-Imam al-Ṭartusi Badruddin. In the Hanbali school, there is al-Imam Abu Ya'laand al-Imam Ibn Taimiyah.

2. Amar Makruf Nahi Mungkar in the Context of Insulting and Criminalizing Ulama

The attention of the *ḥabā'ib* in their various sermons in Pontianak regarding the criminalization and insults towards scholars began with the stance of the Dewan Adat Dayak (DAD) of Sintang Regency, West Kalimantan, which rejected the arrival of Tengku Zulkarnain and Ustadz Sobri Lubis. Another case involved HRS. In response to the above cases, HBS explained in one of

his sermons that scholars are pious individuals honored by Allah. In this context, he quoted Surah Az-Zumar/39:9. Based on his interpretation of this verse, HBS elaborated on the differences between scholars and the general public.

The significant difference, according to HBS, underscores that honoring scholars is an obligation for Muslims that must be upheld. His statement is based on the Prophet's hadith concerning the command to honor ulama. On a different occasion, the obligation to respect ulama was also emphasized by HAA, who cited the case of HRS. According to HAA, one of the reasons is that HRS is a scholar who consistently upholds *amar makruf nahi mungkar*.

3. Amar Makruf Nahi Mungkar in the Context of LGBT Issues

The phenomenon of other immoral acts that has received various responses from several *ḥabā'ib* who expressed their views in Pontianak is the issue of LGBT. According to HAA, the emergence of homosexual practices is one of the signs of immorality in the end times. Citing a hadith narrated by Imam Ibn Majah, HAA stated that Muslims are obligated to oppose LGBT practices. He even urged the Muslim community in Pontianak not to support factions that advocate for the legalization of LGBT. He also provoked his congregation to eradicate LGBT practices if they appear in Pontianak or anywhere else.

Furthermore, in addressing the issue of LGBT, HAA emphasized the need to be cautious about the possibility of divine punishment due to such immoral acts. He explained that when God's punishment is inflicted, it will not only affect those who commit the sins but also those who are not directly involved in the immoral behavior. In this context, HAA cited Surah al-Anfāl/9: 25. According to him, this verse serves as a warning not to ignore any form of immorality that is evident, including the issue of LGBT.

Characteristics of Orality in the *Ḥabā'ib's* Oral Interpretation

The interpretation of *ḥabā'ib* in explaining the concept of *amar makruf nahi mungkar* in oral contexts cannot be separated from the characteristics of orality. J. Ong (2013: 63–67) explains that one of the characteristics of orality is the frequent focus on issues related to everyday life and the concerns of the local community where the audience resides. This characteristic of orality can also be observed in the cases of *munkar* (wrongdoing) raised by the *ḥabā'ib* in various oral forums in Pontianak, such as discussions on non-Muslim leaders, the criminalization and insult of ulama, and LGBT issues. These three cases are closely tied to the problems faced by the community at the time the oral interpretation was delivered.

West Kalimantan, in recent times, was led by a non-Muslim governor and deputy governor, namely Cornelis as governor and Christiandy Sanjaya as deputy governor. The West Kalimantan Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in 2018 had three pairs of candidates: Karolin Margaret Natasa with her partner Suryadman Gidot, Sutarmidji with Ria Norsan, and Milton Crosby with Boyman Harun. Among these three gubernatorial candidates, only the pair Sutarmidji and Ria Norsan were from the

Muslim group. Boyman Harun, as the deputy governor candidate, came from a Muslim community, but his partner, Milton Crosby, was non-Muslim.

Meanwhile, the issue of the criminalization of ulama is closely related to the first case. The attention of the *ḥabā`ib* in various sermons in Pontianak regarding the criminalization and defamation of ulama began with the stance of the Dayak Customary Council (DAD) of Sintang Regency, West Kalimantan, which rejected the arrival of Tengku Zulkarnain on January 12, 2017. Tengku Zulkarnain, who had arrived at Susilo Airport Sintang, was forced to return for security reasons. This expulsion of scholars did not only affect Tengku Zulkarnain. On May 5, 2017, Ustadz Sobri Lubis, known as the General Chairman of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), and his entourage were also rejected by the Dayak community of West Kalimantan.

As for the last issue, LGBT, it is driven by the national debate on the legality of LGBT in Indonesia. Indeed, the LGBT community has long been a concern for the people of Pontianak and its surroundings. Some time ago, the LGBT network in Pontianak was successfully apprehended by the authorities. Furthermore, according to records revealed by HBS, one of the *ḥabā`ib* in Pontianak who criticized the LGBT phenomenon has become a victim of intimidation and persecution by LGBT activists in Pontianak.

Thus, it is clear that the way *ḥabā`ib* interpret *amar makruf nahi mungkar* is closely tied to the evolving situations and issues facing society at the time the oral interpretations are delivered. Consequently, even though the contexts of their discourses vary, the content of the oral interpretations by *ḥabā`ib* consistently focuses on the same issues: non-Muslim leaders, the criminalization of ulama, and LGBT issues. This consistency in addressing these specific issues, despite the differing contexts of their speeches, can be explained by the characteristics of oral tradition described by Ong. These characteristics help to explain why the themes expressed by *ḥabā`ib* in Pontianak remain focused on the same core issues.

Examining the content of the *ḥabā`ib*'s interpretations above, another characteristic that can be highlighted in this study is the agonistic nature of oral tradition. According to Ong, the agonistic character often appears in oral traditions where the speaker frequently incorporates heroic actions in their narratives (Ong 2013, 63–67). In addition to this agonistic character, oral traditions often involve sensitive verbal confrontations. This characteristic is particularly dominant in several of the oral interpretations by the *ḥabā`ib* discussed above.

The agonistic and sensitive characteristics can be observed, for instance, in the statements made by HBS. In his sermons, HBS often provokes the people of Pontianak to resist all forms of injustice. He frequently addresses what he perceives as an unjust government toward Muslims, using sensitive and charged language. Meanwhile, the agonistic nature of HBS's comments can be seen in one of his sermons delivered at Mushalla Nur Hidayatullah. In this sermon, he urges the Muslim community in Pontianak to courageously defend ulama and uphold the truth. This agonistic characteristic is evident in the transcript of his sermon as follows:

.....Saya tanya! Umat Islam Pontianak siap bela beliau? Siap bela beliau? Siap berdarah? Kehilangan nyawa? Andaikan beliau kembali ke Indonesia, orang Pontianak siap jemput ke Jakarta? Kalau nanti sampe di bandara, ada yang mau tangkap beliau lawan apa biarkan? [Jamaah: lawan!] Polisinya bawa senjata? Pake senjata? Bawa gas air mata? Bawa alat pemadam kebakaran? Banyak polisinya? [Jamaah: lawan!] Berani? Siap mati? Siap berdarah? Siap hancur? Siap binasa? [Jamaah: siap!]. Allahu Akbar.

Based on the above, it can be observed how HBS views the criminalization of ulama as a wrongdoing that must be opposed. He even calls on the people of Pontianak to unite in defending ulama, even if it means risking their lives and blood. In this case, the evidence used does not specifically mention any verses from the Qur'an or Hadith that explicitly state that opposing ulama is a wrongdoing. In this context, what stands out more is the issue of *amar makruf nahi mungkar*, rather than the context of its interpretation.

The next characteristic of oral tradition is its conservative or traditionalist nature. This characteristic can also be found in the pattern of knowledge transmission conveyed by the *ḥabā`ib* in their oral interpretations. According to Ong, one reason for the conservative characteristic in oral tradition is due to the continuous expression of thoughts and ideas by the speaker, based on what they have learned over a long period. This practice has created a traditionalist and conservative mindset that can hinder more realistic intellectual experimentation.

This can be observed in the content of the sermon delivered by HBS regarding the issue of the criminalization of ulama. For example, the views expressed by HBS during his sermon at Mushalla Nur Hidayatullah were not new. His ideas can even be traced back to a previous sermon delivered on May 18, 2017, two days before the 'Aksi Bela Ulama 205'. A similar pattern in the content of the speech can also be observed in a sermon delivered by HBS at Mushalla Nur Hidayatullah some time later.

In the second sermon, delivered during a gathering at Mushalla Nur Hidayatullah, it is evident that the pattern of the sermon remains connected to the first sermon on May 18, 2017. In this context, a pattern is maintained, repeated, and continued over different periods. On another occasion, the pattern of knowledge transmission, which follows a conservative model, can be observed in a sermon by HHA regarding the threats that will befall a society that neglects the principle of *amar makruf nahi mungkar*.

Based on these two examples, one of the characteristics found in the *ḥabā`ib's* interpretation when discussing the theme of *amar makruf nahi mungkar* is the use of a conservative or traditionalist approach. This means that the patterns of knowledge transmission are not entirely new ideas. These patterns can be traced back to views that have been previously expressed. However, as a characteristic of oral tradition, these patterns are still employed, maintained, and passed on from one time to another by the *ḥabā`ib* in their oral interpretations related to *amar makruf nahi mungkar*. This characteristic of orality also determines the differences in interpretation between those found in tafsir literature and those present in oral tradition.

CONCLUSION

This text concludes that the interpretation of *ḥabā`ib* in understanding *amar makruf nahi mungkar* in the Qur'an can be broadly categorized into two types of interpretations. *First*, there are

interpretations that discuss Qur'anic texts which explicitly include the phrase *amar makruf nahi mungkar*, such as quoting Surah Ali 'Imran/3: 110. *Second*, there are interpretations of Qur'anic verses that do not explicitly contain the phrase *amar makruf nahi mungkar*, which are used by local *ḥabā'ib* as evidence to explain *amar makruf nahi mungkar*, such as quoting Surah al-Anfal/9: 24-25 and Surah az-Zumar/39: 9.

The interpretations of *ḥabā'ib* in explaining *amar makruf nahi mungkar* represent a distinctive characteristic of oral interpretation, which differs from the interpretations found in literary sources of tafsir books. In this context, the factors of orality and the characteristics of oral tradition significantly influence the development of interpretations of *amar makruf nahi mungkar*, resulting in interpretations by *ḥabā'ib* that produce outcomes distinct from those mentioned in tafsir literature.

The characteristics of oral tradition influencing the interpretations of *ḥabā'ib* can be seen in several ways. *First*, these interpretations often address issues related to daily life and matters specific to the local context of the audience. As a result, the issues of 'kemungkaran' (wrongdoing) that are highlighted are limited to contemporary concerns, such as issues involving Muslim and non-Muslim leaders, the criminalization and defamation of ulama, and cases related to LGBT issues. These three issues are not found in traditional tafsir literature when explaining *amar makruf nahi mungkar*.

The second characteristic of oral tradition influencing the interpretations of *ḥabā'ib* is the agonistic characteristic. This agonistic nature plays a significant role in shaping the *ḥabā'ib's* interpretation of *amar makruf nahi mungkar*. The agonistic character encourages a focus on the issues of *amar makruf nahi mungkar* rather than on the interpretation's broader context. *Last not but least*, another characteristic of oral tradition is its conservative or traditionalist nature. In the oral interpretations delivered by *ḥabā'ib*, the issues of wrongdoing discussed are not new but rather involve patterns that are maintained, repeated, and passed from one period to another or from one actor to another. For instance, the issue of the criminalization of ulama is continuously voiced by one *ḥabā'ib* and subsequently echoed by others, despite variations in the context of their discourse.

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