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“Muslim Rimba”: Dialectic of Indigenous Belief Bukit Dua Belas National Park (TNBD) Jambi

“Muslim Rimba”: Dialektika Keyakinan Adat Taman Nasional Bukit Dua Belas (TNBD) Jambi

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Abstract

Islam is the universal belief of mankind and as a dialogical religion is able to interact with various beliefs, various cultures and local traditions that develop in a multicultural society such as Indonesia. "Muslim Rimba" is associated as a religious subject who can reconcile the interpretation of Islamic teachings into local beliefs or the Religion of Rimba. An ethnographic approach was used in this study. Descriptions of observations, source interviews and participatory experiences are the strengths it. The findings of this study indicate after to be a Muslim Rimba view that the rituals and beliefs of rimba people are still carried out as a form of acculturation and respect for the teachings of indigenous peoples without leaving the commandments of the religious law they adhere to. The Muslim Rimba consistently participated in rituals such as Godong (Bebalai and Mandiko Budak); Sedang (Bedikir, Ngicap Rapah, Melantok Kedundung and Orang Beranak) and Kecik (Nyambatko Tuhan, Papatiah Budak and Sanggokko).

Keywords: *Dialectic, Indigenous Belief, TNBD Jambi*

Abstrak

Islam adalah keyakinan universal umat manusia dan sebagai agama dialogis mampu berinteraksi dengan berbagai keyakinan, berbagai budaya dan tradisi lokal yang berkembang dalam masyarakat multikultural seperti Indonesia. “Muslim Rimba” diasosiasikan sebagai mata pelajaran agama yang dapat mendamaikan penafsiran ajaran Islam ke dalam kepercayaan lokal atau Agama Rimba. Pendekatan etnografi digunakan dalam penelitian ini. Deskripsi observasi, wawancara narasumber, dan pengalaman partisipatif menjadi kekuatannya. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan setelah menjadi Muslim Rimba berpandangan bahwa ritual dan kepercayaan masyarakat rimba tetap dilakukan sebagai bentuk pembudayaan dan penghormatan terhadap ajaran masyarakat adat tanpa meninggalkan perintah hukum agama yang dianutnya. Rimba Muslim secara konsisten berpartisipasi dalam ritual seperti *Godong (Bebalai dan Mandiko Budak); Sedang (Bedikir, Ngicap Rapah, Melantok Kedundung dan Orang Beranak) dan Kecik (Nyambatko Tuhan, Papatiah Budak dan Sanggokko)*.

Kata Kunci: Dialektika, Keyakinan Adat, TNBD Jambi

Introduction

Muslim Rimba discussed in this article are rimba people who have converted to Islam. Even after converting to Islam, a rimba Muslim still carries out the traditional rituals they usually held before converting to Islam. however, a Muslim Rimba must still abide by the customary rules, that there is a ritual that they can follow, such as medium and small ritual rites for example *berdikir* and *ngicap rapah*. while Se Muslims Rimba in wheezing kuti great rituals or *Godong* like *bebalai*, and *mandiko budak* may only participate in the preparation, for example, set up a stage or hall not as participants in the ritual.

tightly between the rituals and beliefs of orang rimba with the islam, both from the side of religious rituals, pronunciation and supplication (do'a) as well as the arguments of theological beliefs they argue narratives of mainstream society beyond that they just embrace religion grandmother ancestors or gods (*baheulo*). The reality Orang rimba adheres to understand monotheism , not understand the dynamism , polytheism , or animism as were understood . Sejarah Orang rimba associated with the culture I slam among others , the pronunciation of Mantra as *Basmallah , God, Istighfar , Muhammad and Ya Karim* . Rimba people also have belief in God, Prophet Muhammad, Angels and the Day of Judgment. Also visible in the values of the funeral ceremony: Ratib *Laa Ilaha Illallah* and *berdekir*. [1, p. 1] Wargono explained that the spread of Islam since the 14th century in the rimba community and according to the Central Bureau of Statistics of Jambi Province in 2012 orang rimba who converted to Islam based on their distribution amounted to 111 people. [2] And at the same time demolish the old theory of the Orang Rimba religion which has been misunderstood by society for years.

This article focuses on discussing how a Muslim Rimba has a dialectic with their old identity as a rimba person while at the same time having to consider their new identity as a Muslim.. [3, p. 34] there are various dialectics, between conflict and harmonization. On the one hand, sometimes a rimba of being a Muslim can cause a little resistance, such as concerns over the sustainability of traditional rituals , but on the other hand there is a dialogue, Mijak explain For Muslims rimba, religion Rimba as a religion of introduction to human beliefs, while being a Muslim is a choice of belief over the depth of previous beliefs. because some of the rituals held by the rimba people have similarities with the rituals performed by Muslims, such as pilgrimages, which in the rimba are called *besanggo*. Rimba Muslim

related research is important to learn how continuity indigenous rimba after the current phenomenon of conversions forester who converted to Islam.

Methods

Ethnographic research is carried out because it is very appropriate for in-depth and detailed study of how individuals or groups of rimba people have been converted to Islam. Researchers are participatory by mingling and living with rimba people by staying for some time in the Rimba Makekal Ulu community, more precisely in the godong house owned by Mijak Tampung. In carrying out integrated and comprehensive observations, the rimba people are seen as the owners of culture.[4, p. 23] Researchers in the conduct of research, accompanied by a forester named Mijak and during the conduct of observation field investigators conduct interviews in-depth include: Temenggung pemubar, Penyuruk, Mimbing, Beconteng, Pengendum, and NangKabau. Even if researchers do participatory research, researchers still keep a distance when describing the data, analyze, and concluded that the researchers did not carry over into the subjectivity of the rimba.

Result and Discussion

The Oral Story of the Origin of the Orang Rimba : Tracing the Islamic Genealogy of the Orang Rimba

There is a story that has been passed down from generation to generation in the Orang Rimba TNBD Community. Starting from the ancestor of the Orang Rimba named Bujang Pantau from Pagaruyung. Based on the story, Bujang Perantau who is the son of the king fled, because he did not want to convert to Islam. However, there is also a version of the Orang Rimba story that Bujang perantau doesn't want to be colonized so he prefers to run with his younger brother. This escape story later became the origin of the rimba people as revealed in stories that were transmitted orally.

“Dak ado lagi, cuma sejarahnya kalau buahnya dak ado, tapi tempat ibaratnyo dio menemukan buah pelumpang besar itu ado, ado tempatnyo di sungai dekat muaro sungai napok ini. Bujang perantau iko bejalannyo dulu, dio bejalannyo tu dak mau jalan didarat dio, karno ketakutan bekasnyo ketahuan samo orang, pikiran dio kan, karno lari masuk ke hutan itu ketahuan bekasnyo, jadi perjalanan dio hari-hari melewati sungai..”[5]

On the run, and traveling along a river in the forest, Bujang Perantau experienced an event which is described as follows.

“...ha jadi disungai itulah dio ketemu buah pelumpang besak. Kenapo katonyo buah pelumpang ini besak nian, jadi diketoklah buah pelumpang itu, diketoknyo buah pelumpang itu, buah pelumpang itu bebunyi, aduh jangan kuat betul sakit katanya, ha barulah ibaratnyo nekat-nekatannyo dibukanyolah buang pelumpang itu ternyata di dalam buah pelumpang ini ado orang, ha itu yang kato orang orang kelumpang, orang kelumpang itu, ternyata ado orang, nah orang itu tadi betino ternyata, cewek tadi yang didalam buah pelumpang itu tadi.”[6]

Bujang Perantau who found the *kelumpang* fruit in which there was a woman later became a life partner, who later gave birth to offspring who are now known as rimba people.

“...nah jadi karno itulah tadi sudah mendapatkan keajaiban dari buah pelumpang itu tadi, jadilah kawinlah dio dengan betino yang didapatnyo di buah pelumpang, itulah membuat disebut orang kelumpang dengan bujang perantau, nah baru yang asli dari orang kelumpang itu yang orang kesini karna yang terdiri dari orang kelumpang itu tadi nah bujang perantau itu yang dari padang itu tadi. Gitu sejarahnya sebenarnya tu bujang perantau itu dio lari kehutan itu dio beduo beradik, cewek nyo itulah putri pinang masak, yang kakaknyo bujang perantau, yang adiknyo putri pinang masak, ha yang inilah yang lari kejambi tu, jadi yang adik tu dak tahan sengasaro jadi dak tahan sengasaro biaklah balik ke jambi, nah kalau balik kejambi terserahlah aku dak ado makso cuma ingat jangan sampai tau kalau keberadaan aku dalam hutan ini, nah baru dio besumpah, waktu tu dio besumpah pas pisah dengan adiknyo dio bikin mesan, mesannyo masih ado kini ko, dibikinnyo mesannyo, mesan macam bentuk kuburan, dio besumpah diatas mesan bikin mesan baru besumpah diatas mesan, baru yang adik putri pinang masak itu balik kejambi, adeknyo tadi balik kejambi, itulah yang berkembang biak dijambi tu tadi.” [5]

Orang Rimba explain that their ancestral graves can be found in Makekal Ilir near Muaro Makekal which is now known as Tanah Garo, Tebo Regency, which geographically borders the area of the Upper Makekal indigenous community, which is known as the oldest rimba person in the Bukit Dua National Park area. Based on the story of Orang Rimba which

is based on an interview that when Bujang Nomads was on the run in the forest, he met *Kelumpang* fruit while walking along a river in the forest, the *Kelumpang* fruit made a sound when he tripped over Bujang Nomad's feet three times, causing curiosity, he brought the *Kelumpang* fruit. to the side and suddenly from *Kelumpang* fruit came out a woman, and then became his wife. From here the Orang Rimba developed which is based on the explanation of the legend of the Orang Rimba version..

Muslim Rimba has the right to be a Temenggung?

Temenggung is a concept and practice of rimba leadership. Temenggung is considered by the rimba people as the king of "temenggung itukan rajonyo" as stated by Turuker who also said that above the Temanggung there is still a *tengganai* which is considered the highest position among the rimba people known as the *nampang bepucuk* who also has authority in determining the customary law of the rimba.

“Ha tengganai juga nampam bepucuk, tapi kalau nampak bepucuk yoya, kalau misalnya temenggung kebingungan, nye nyok apo orang yang kito bunuh, orangnyo beri dendo 500 kepingkoin kito masih kebingungan nyeh, masih setem hatinyo punyo hati sosiallah ibaratnyo, ha jadi lariko ke jo tengganai, kalau jo tengganai jual, kito jual, kalau jo tengganai bunuh, kito bunuh, kalau jo tengganai kito dendo, kito dendo berarti tengganai yoya pahami sajo, jadi tugai nyo pi bisa bejalan kemano-mano nyo dirumahnyo teruh.”[7]

During the Dutch colonial period, Orang Rimba were not familiar with the Temanggung system. The Temenggung system is only known to the rimba people in Batin even though Makekal Ulu is considered the oldest group. Temenggung Makekakal Ulu is redeemed or exchanged for stems from the inner group, because it is to tidy up the rimba group so that there are 11 *Temanggung* or *kepala rombong* . Arguments peneb usan other is in Inner 've known rule of the rimba which is now located in the village of Bungku subdistrict inner XXIV district Batanghari . So that historically, it can be said ketem e nggungan rimba makekal upstream is the first time led by temenngung bedinding iron and in administrative territorial applied with reference to the persistence of indigenous Temenggung mind.

Naming Orang Rimba after becoming Muslim

Each name of the rimba person has a meaning and is a characteristic of rimba children. Names can be obtained through dreams. With the intermediary the defender *bek kebudi* or shaman. With the *Pepatih* ritual or the love of namo slaves by praying and asking for the given namo to be delivered by the gods into sleep.

“Ha iyo ritual dulu dalam mimpi, kami mau minta misalnya untuk namo anak sianu pasti akan dikasih namo tu, ha yang bagus namo si a misalnya dibikin, jadi apo namo yang dikasih oleh orang di atas itu jugo namo yang kito kasih untuk anak kito. Namo tu dipintak dalam mimpi.”[7]

Names can also be obtained based on nature in the rimba environment. For example, the name Mijak Tampung, as explained by Mijak:

“Iyo aku lagi kecik tu dipanggil tampung, kalau anak itu masih kekecik, misalnya megang tampung, nah itu kalau lagi kecil, dianggap anak kecil itu dipanggil tampung, kalau udah besar baru dipanggil mizak, jadi ada nama kecilnya ada nama dewasanya gitu.”[6]

However, after becoming Muslim, the rimba people did not change the name as is often done by converts outside the rimba adding Muslim names. Meanwhile, the rimba people continue to use their names, as they were before they converted, for example: Mijak Tampung, Mimbing, Turruk, Pengdum Tampung, Nang Kabau..

Godong Ritual

Bebalai

Orang rimba also perform *bebalai* rituals, a big ritual performed by rimba people associated with rimba beliefs.

“bebalai, na bebabai ini banyak bedikirnyo misalnya kedewa padi, kedewa madu, kedewa buah-buahan, atau malekat orang meru, dio percayo jugo ado malekat orang meru, malaikat orang meru itu malekat orang luar artinyo, malekat orang meru itu yang paling tinggi karno dipecayo kito banyak malekat, didalam setiap manusia itu diawasi beberapa malekat, ada 7 malekat yang mengawasi kito, buruk baik kito diawasi. Ha itu

yang tukang catat dosa, kebaikan itu yang tukang catat malekat. Itu tugainyo malekat.”[7]

The bebalai ritual is usually carried out for the inauguration of a marriage, when a murder occurs. Bebalai is a purification ritual to God in which there is also the term remembrance. When the bebalai ritual takes place, animals such as dogs are not allowed to enter, when a dog enters the bebalai ritual, there will be kekarum or trance to the rimba people who are holding the ritual. Dogs in rimba customs are the most important animals, not much different from treating children, and are rimba people's support in hunting and their safety. However, in the bebalai event, the dog is considered impure, just as women who are menstruating are also not allowed to be in the bebalai ritual area. When bebaai tidakdiperboehkan will meat pigs

Muslim rimba in the rimba community when they hold the Godong ritual they are not forced to prepare rituals such as providing a stage , lifting wood . While the position is not allowed , that a Muslim rimba are not allowed to follow the events original core , because Muslim rimba rated been violated customary since been eating restrictions are eaten by the light , such as chicken , veal . The prohibition from following the gedong ritual is not because usury people have entered Jesus but rather because they have violated customary rules . usiribahanyadiperboehkan daam embantu success ritua godongisalnya when eandikan slave.

Sedang Ritual

Berdekir

The ritual of meditation is a daily ritual that is still carried out by rimba Muslims. The ritual of thinking can result in having dreams that can be a marker for an event, such as an accident such as death. The ritual of berdikir is addressed to the mangkat, orang meru as a form of tawasul so that prayers can be delivered to the gods. During the ritual of reciting, the language is conveyed by reciting mantras, and you must avoid abstinence, for example, you must be pure from the type of food "prohibited" during the ritual of reciting, such as pork.

The ritual of meditation is carried out by a supporter who has deying and has the ability to cure disease. These shamans then deliver prayers to God.[8]

Besanggo

Rimba Muslims also continue to carry out pilgrimage rituals that already exist in rimba customs. Pilgrimage rituals are usually done to people who are "good-natured", or people who during their lifetime had good behavior and character. Pilgrimage rituals performed by gathering family and doing activities cleaning the cemetery and gave *pesanggo* form of cigarette near *sentung*, a higher place. Then the pilgrim sat around the tomb, while pleading with the Prophet asking for fortune, the health of his children and grandchildren. Ritual *nyambat* can be said to be accepted when the next day *pesanggo* form of smoking are no longer in *sentung*.

The tomb of a benevolent person is not buried, but is placed on a tree that must be far from where people pass by. The tomb was built like a hut consisting of wood taken from the rimba. Some of the tombs of sacred or benevolent people who are visited are like *jernau*, some are standing like stones, some are like tigers, and are in the form of a wasp's nest. In the beliefs of the rimba people, these various forms of tombs have guardians called *bahelo*, or god.[8]

Kecik Ritual

Nyambatko

Muslim Rimba does not perform religious rituals as performed by “bright people” such as Maulid Nabi, Isra' Miraj. But doing one of the rituals is stuck

“Berdoa dilakukan sendiri misalnya, itu *nyambat*, *nyambat* itu lebih kepada Tuhan, meminta kepada Tuhan, itu *nyambat*, kalau bedikir itu kepada Dewa. *Nyambat* itu udah minta pertolongan istilahnya itu pentinglahkan, nah *nyambat* kepada Tuhan.”[9]

Then there are the following rituals

“Berartikan yang ritual tadi, ritual *sarah*, *ado bebalai*, *mandiko budak*, kalau ritual sedang *bepikir*, *micap rapah*, *melantuk bebumbung*, orang *beranak*, kalau ritual kecil *nyambatko* (meninggal), *nyambatko* pertolongan (kesembuhan), ritual *nugal* dan *panen*, ritual *pepatah* (kasih namo).”[6]

Nyambat or praying is done when to heal the sick, *nyambat* is conveyed to God. The *nyambat* ritual is also performed for the deceased so that the deceased can be accepted into heaven.

Discussion

Religion is not only portrayed in a big perspective, through our holy guidelines, but must also be seen in the local context, namely its religious behavior, practice or experience, namely religion that has experienced dialogue, encounters with various small realities. It is ditekankan by Ernest Gellner, that every tradition of great certainly accompanied by traditional small.[10, p. 13] Muslim rimba have carried out a dialogue between their old beliefs and their new beliefs as a Muslim, so that a Rimba Muslim can still carry out traditional rimba rituals in the corridors of whatever rituals they are still allowed to follow..

Religious dialectic is unavoidable in religious life, because the two products go hand in hand in the midst of human life, both religious and different. So that it gives rise to various reactions or responses from each religious adherent. Richard Niebuhr said the dialectic of religion and culture would elicit the following responses: Religion can change culture; Religion is able to unite with culture; Religion transcends culture; The conflict between religion and culture; Religion can do cultural transformation. In this study of Muslim Rimba, the five responses can be found, at a certain stage conflict can occur when a rimba person becomes a Muslim, but harmonization can occur when there is local wisdom that has similarities with the new religion of the rimba people in this case Islam. So that a Muslim Rimba can carry out cultural transformation in the form of dialectics and harmonization between rimba customs and Islam.

Diverse religious behavior is not always able to maintain the religious paradigm as before, but each entity has the opportunity for a paradigmatic shift, because basically religious communities are always faced with realities that allow processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Then there will be a tug of war or negotiation, who will shape what, as well as what will influence whom. In this area, religious people will understand how local roles influence their religious behavior..[11, p. 15] Muslim rimba have been able to negotiate between Islam and rimba customs, so this spiritual negotiation does not completely make a rimba Muslim abandon the rituals they used to do before becoming a Muslim. Even in certain contexts, there is mutual support between rimba people to continue to believe in their new religion, and can even invite fellow rimba people to *mualaf*.

Dialectical patterns that occur in religious communities may be seen, for example, Theological-Compromistic Dialectics (Emotional-Rational), and Theological-Humanist Dialectics (Personal-Social). The first pattern will manifest a theological shift from emotional-naturalistic to rational-formalistic. This theology relies more on emotional sensitivity which avoids critical philosophical questions. Meanwhile, the second pattern

shifts personal behavior to become social. Personal behavior in question is a pattern that considers individual interests more. Conversely, social behavior will prioritize social benefits, emphasizing communal rather than individual interests..[12, p. 34] The willingness of the rimba community to accept fellow rimba people continues to follow rituals and likewise a Rimba Muslim who still wants to preserve the traditional rimba rituals is also a form of humanist theological relationship, comopromistic theology, as well as being a social capital among the rimba community..

Religious dialectics allows for syncretism when there is friction that cannot be resolved by cultural negotiations or institutional compromises, between religions or between religions and external products. S inkretisme raises a variety of issues, history, culture, and the influence that occurred. This is a question that is commonly formulated in understanding religion and cultural phenomena.[13, p. 23] continues to practice and maintain syncretism . A form of compromise that is not easy but still has to be done when a rimba Muslim still wants to be recognized as a rimba customary community. This is in accordance with what was stated by Mircea Eliade [14, p. 56] that religious secretism with its starting point on the idea that all religions are true, because it is a form of response made by humans in certain religious traditions to the same transcendent reality. Therefore all religions are *authentic manifestations of the Real*

This Muslim Rimba research supports what was stated by Nur Syam am [15, p. 35] that religion is not only a matter of spirit, theology, but religion will be a source of values and cognitive resources that are intensively related. *First*, religion as an inspiration in human action. In this context, religion is positioned as a guide, capable of directing human attitudes and behavior. *Second* , religion as an aspiration of human action. Religion is here used as experience and the result of human knowledge, so it is not surprising that later it is found in the form of mythical power. Consequently, the second view above is often understood as part of a cultural system

Religion has a broad content, in every era, various religious sects, mysticism, or piety are found. Each person or community may practice their religion in various ways, which may differ and contradict one another. Religious people believe that God is beyond the realm of human thought, the concept of creatures, and can be understood only through practice.[16, p. 34] his study confirms what Armstrong argued that the way rimba people become Muslims may be different from what people outside the rimba do..

The meeting point between religions can only be done on the esoteric dimension . Schuon has made a framework conceptual meeting of religions which departs from the terms

of exoteric towards the area esoteric . Because according to the meeting between religions not be achieved when stressed in terms of physical , ritual or esoteric , would but things have to be done and a chance meeting productive in the region esoteric.[17, p. 125] Ethnographic findings on how rimba Muslims continue to negotiate, dialogue, carry out and maintain their traditional rituals is a proof that there is a meeting point between Islam and even primitive cultures.

This Muslim Rimba research criticizes the "Islam of the Rimba" research conducted by Wargono who says that the rimba people adhere to monotheism, while in the rimba community what is known is "almighty divinity". In addition, Wargono's research generalizes that Rimba Islam is in Sumatra. This “Muslim Rimba” research also criticizes the research conducted by Adi Prasetijo in his thesis “Serah Jajah” that the rimba people who moved to live and settle down and became Islam not only changed places and changed their beliefs, but also changed their ethnic identity.[18, p. 3] Rimba people can no longer be recognized by other rimba people as part of them. Prasetijo's thesis is incorrect, because rimba Muslims still have negotiations and compromises with their indigenous communities in order to remain Muslim but also be part of the rimba people.

Conclusion

Muslim rimba when in the community still hold rituals held by rimba customs. But only as performers of rituals, such as establishing a *balai* , making ritual baths for the *mandiko budak* . While following the core event or when the ritual procesed a Muslim rimba is not magnified may take it again, not because they are Muslims but because has violate customary (adat). because there is *berdekir* , *nymabatko* (praying), but can see from afar, this applies to major rituals. As for medium and small rituals such as *ngicap rapah*, *melantok kedundung*, hunting a rimba Muslim is still able to follow, but the one who starts must be a shaman or pious person which begins the night before the activity is carried out.

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