

Transmission and Transformation of *Cacak Burung* Symbolism in Banjar Community

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Abstract

Although the majority of the Banjar tribe today embraces Islam, elements of pre-Islamic culture have acculturated and remain relevant in their daily lives. One such element is the *cacak burung* symbol. Rooted in the traditional beliefs of the pre-Islamic Dayak tribe, the *cacak burung* symbol has persisted into the present-day Banjar society, now with an Islamic identity. This persistence necessitates a process of transmission and transformation in its development. This study examines the diachronic transformation of the *cacak burung* symbol, aiming to reinterpret and ensure its continuity in various contexts. The study addresses three main questions: (1) What is the history and use of the *cacak burung* symbol in the pre-Islamic Dayak tradition? (2) How has the use of the *cacak burung* symbol evolved from the post-Islamization era to the present? (3) What is the process of transmission and transformation of the *cacak burung* symbol in Banjar society? This qualitative research employed descriptive analysis method. Through observations of the *cacak burung* symbol in traditional Banjar practices and interviews, the study concludes that the symbol is transmitted from generation to generation through discursive traditions. This transmission pattern necessitates transformations in the reading mantra, material, and form of the symbol. These transformations are influenced by the Islamization of the Dayak-Banjar tribe, adaptations to a busier lifestyle, and the impact of globalization.

Keywords: *cacak burung*; transmission; transformation; Islamization

Abstrak

Meskipun mayoritas suku Banjar masa kini memeluk Islam, namun elemen budaya pra-Islam berakulturasi dan tetap relevan dalam konteks kehidupan sehari-hari masyarakat Banjar yang memeluk agama Islam. Di antara contoh konkret dari warisan pra-Islam yang masih bertahan adalah penggunaan simbol cacak burung. Simbol cacak burung yang memiliki akar kepercayaan tradisional suku Dayak pra-Islam, namun bertahan hingga masyarakat Banjar saat ini dengan identitas keislamannya meniscayakan adanya proses transmisi dan transformasi dalam perkembangannya. Penelitian ini akan menguraikan proses transformasi simbolisme cacak burung secara diakronis seiring perubahan zaman untuk mendapatkan reinterpretasi dan kontinuitas keberlanjutan budaya cacak burung dalam berbagai konteks. Penelitian ini dirumuskan dalam tiga problem utama. Pertama, bagaimana sejarah dan penggunaan simbol cacak burung dalam tradisi Dayak pra-Islam. Kedua, bagaimana penggunaan simbol cacak burung pada era pasca Islamisasi hingga sekarang. Ketiga, bagaimana proses transmisi dan transformasi simbol cacak burung dalam masyarakat Banjar. Jenis penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif dengan menggunakan analisis deskriptif. Dengan melakukan observasi terhadap penggunaan simbol cacak burung dalam praktik-praktik tradisi masyarakat Banjar dan wawancara, hasil penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa penggunaan simbol cacak burung ditransmisikan dari generasi ke generasi melalui tradisi diskursif. Pola transmisi meniscayakan adanya transformasi pada aspek mantra bacaan, material, dan bentuk dari simbol tersebut. Transformasi tersebut di antaranya dipengaruhi oleh Islamisasi suku Dayak-Banjar dan adaptasi terhadap kehidupan yang lebih sibuk dan pengaruh globalisasi.

Keywords: *cacak burung; transmisi; transformasi; Islamisasi*

Introduction

In the Banjar tribe tradition, Islam is not only seen as a theological belief, but also as a separate identity that blends into the daily lives of its people. Islam practiced by the Banjar people still maintains the culture and traditions of previous religious beliefs, so there is an impression of overlap between tribal identity and Islamic identity (Nadhiroh, 2019, p. 270; Daud, 2000, pp. 5–8). The history of the pre-Islamic Banjar community, which used to embrace Hinduism, Buddhism, or Kaharingan, presumably have a strong influence on

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the overlapping cultural diversity of the current Islamic Banjar community. The trace of previous religious traditions and practices still exist to this day wrapped in Islamic teachings, although the process of Islamization in the Banjar tribe is still ongoing (Syakhrani & Nafis, 2022, pp. 273–274). Religious practices such as *Bubur Ashura*, *Maulidan*, *Baayun Maulid* (Jamalie, 2014, p. 236), *Batapung Tawar*, *Bapalas Bidan*, *Baarwahan*, and *Bahaulan* are some examples of acculturation practices between religious practices that were once pre-Islamic cultures. These practices show that Islam and Banjar culture are two sides of a coin that are different but cannot be separated from each other.

There have not been many studies conducted on *cacak burung* specifically by previous researchers. Previous studies only mentioned and explained *cacak burung* as part of a broader study topic. The authors classify previous studies into three major typologies. *First*, studies that discuss *cacak burung* in the scope of architecture (Ira Mentayani, 2008; Muchamad & Aufa, 2008; Aqli, 2011; Widjaja & Wardani, 2016; Aufa et al., 2016; Lismawati, 2022). *Second*, studies that discuss *cacak burung* as part of a tradition that is studied using a historical, anthropological and philosophical approach (Rahmadani & Septiani, 2022; Sarma et al., 2022; Rusydi, 2011). *Third*, studies that describe *cacak burung* as a part of certain rituals, such as healing rituals (Jamalie & Rif'at, 2012; Hestiyana, 2017) and the ritual of *tolak bala* (ward off misfortune) (Noor, 2011). There have been no previous studies that have used *cacak burung* as an object of study. This study explains the *cacak burung* in detail, including its history, development, and its use in Banjar society.

The traditions of the Banjar people, whether in the form of certain symbols or certain rituals, are the actualization of a combination of cultural elements and religious beliefs (Rahmadi, 2020a, p. 106). Among the factual examples of pre-Islamic heritage, one that still exists until today is the use of *cacak burung* symbol. The symbol with the shape of a (+) sign is part of the pre-Islamic tradition which is believed to have magical meaning as a ward against disaster and is still adopted by various tribes in South Kalimantan. Although the majority of the Banjar tribe today embraces Islam, the existence of the *cacak burung* symbol is an example of how pre-Islamic cultural elements acculturated and remain relevant in the context of the daily lives of the modern Moslem Banjar people. This fact shows the complexity and richness of culture as well as the adaptation that occurred in the history of the Banjar tribe in South Kalimantan.

The process of acculturation between Dayak culture and Islamic teachings makes this symbol interesting to study further. The *cacak burung* symbol, which is rooted in the traditional beliefs of the pre-Islamic Dayak tribe and has survived to the present Banjar community with its Islamic identity, certainly went through a process of transmission and transformation in its development. This study describes the process of transformation of *cacak burung* symbolism along with the changing times to obtain a reinterpretation and continuity of *cacak burung* as a culture in various contexts. This transformation process will be based on the history and use of the *cacak burung* symbol in the pre-Islamic Dayak tradition to the post-Islamic Banjar tradition until present. The process of transmission and transformation that occurs in the journey of the *cacak burung*

symbol could be an illustration of how the Banjar community negotiates between cultural heritage and religious values.

Literature Review

There have been few studies specifically focused on *cacak burung*. Previous research can be categorized into three groups. The first group includes studies discussing *cacak burung* within the scope of architecture. For example, Aufa et al. (2016, p. 3) concluded that *cacak burung* is a cultural symbol manifested in architecture to ward off danger and disaster. Widjaja and Wardani (2016, p. 95) explored the meaning and cultural value of *cacak burung* in the traditional house of Central Kalimantan, Betang Toyoi, as a symbol representing human nature. Other studies have similarly discussed *cacak burung* in the context of traditional Banjar houses (Ira Mentayani, 2008; Muchamad & Aufa, 2008; Aqli, 2011; Lismawati, 2022).

The second group of studies examines *cacak burung* as an acculturation of culture and religion. These studies briefly mention *cacak burung* as part of a tradition analyzed through historical, anthropological, and philosophical approaches (Rahmadani & Septiani, 2022; Sarma et al., 2022; Rusydi, 2011). For instance, the Dayak Meratus ethnic group uses the *cacak burung* symbol as a temporary substitute for tattoos during certain rituals (Rahmadani & Septiani, 2022, p. 2). In the *aruh ganal* tradition, parts of the *balian's* body, such as the forehead, hands, chest, and feet, are marked with the *cacak burung* symbol using chalk for self-purification (Sarma et al., 2022, p. 18). The Banjar community also uses the *cacak burung* symbol in traditions

like *basunat* (circumcision), where it is applied to the soles of the feet with a mixture of lime betel and betel leaves (Rusydi, 2011, p. 231).

The third group includes studies describing *cacak burung* as part of certain rituals, such as healing rituals (Jamalie & Rif'at, 2012; Hestiyana, 2017) and the *tolak bala* (warding off misfortune) ritual (Noor, 2011). In Banjar society, the healing ritual or *batatamba* often involves supernatural powers with various readings, writings, and symbols, including *cacak burung*. Treatments for conditions like continuous urination in children (*pangamihan*), continuous fever (*mariap dingin*), and disturbances by evil spirits (*kapidaraan*) involve applying the *cacak burung* symbol (Jamalie & Rif'at, 2012, p. 65). *Tatangar kapidaraan* reflects the Banjar belief in evil supernatural beings, with the healing process requiring the *cacak burung* symbol placed on both earlobes of the affected child (Hestiyana, 2017, p. 174). Additionally, the *cacak burung* symbol is used in the *tolak bala* ritual to ward off disaster, based on the belief that evil spirits reside in certain places. This ritual aims to prevent interference from these spirits and even seek their blessing for prosperity (Noor, 2011, p. 191).

Previous studies have only mentioned and explained *cacak burung* as part of broader topics, such as the architecture of traditional Banjar houses or cultural and religious acculturation, without focusing on it as the main object of study. This study aims to complement previous research by providing a detailed and specific examination of *cacak burung*, including its history, development, and use in Banjar society. It demonstrates that *cacak burung*

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represents an acculturation of religion and culture that continues to be preserved in various activities of the Banjar community.

Method

This study employed qualitative research in descriptive analysis method, and was conducted in the South Kalimantan region, including Hulu Sungai Tengah Regency, Banjarmasin City, Banjar Regency, and Barito Kuala Regency. These areas were selected due to their close association with the use of the cacak burung symbol, which originates from the Dayak Ngaju, Meratus, Ma'anyan, and Bakumpai traditions predating the arrival of Islam in Kalimantan. The Ma'anyan and Meratus Dayaks generally reside in the pahuluan (upper river) area, specifically in Hulu Sungai Tengah Regency. Geographically, the Dayak Meratus area also borders Banjar Regency (Widen, 2023, p. 207). Meanwhile, the Bakumpai Dayak and some Ma'anyan Dayaks inhabit the Barito Kuala Regency area. Although the Ngaju Dayak group is predominantly found in Central Kalimantan, a small population resides in South Kalimantan, particularly in Hulu Sungai Tengah Regency and Barito Kuala Regency, which directly border Central Kalimantan (Natsir, 2006, pp. 25-26). To complement and strengthen the research findings, additional data were also collected from the Banjar community in other areas.

This research was conducted from June 2023 to September 2024. Despite the lengthy research period, the study was not carried out continuously but in several stages. The data collection process began with observing the use of the cacak burung symbol in the customary practices of the Banjar community. Subsequently, interviews were

conducted with local religious figures (village shamans), Dayak traditional figures, and some individuals who use the symbolism. Informants were selected based on their ability to provide detailed information about religious practices and beliefs concerning the *cacak burung* symbol. The data were then analyzed using a transmission and transformation approach, integrating textual analysis of Qur'anic verses related to the use of the *cacak burung* symbol.

Result and Discussion

Banjar-Dayak Relations

The discussion on the relationship between the Banjar and Dayak tribes needs to be reviewed first before entering the core of the discussion. The urgency of this explanation is quite crucial considering that the transmission and transformation of the *cacak burung* symbol began with the relationship between the two ethnic groups. The various terms used to refer to the Dayak tribe will be explained beforehand. In addition to 'Dayak,' another term that is often used by the Banjar people is 'Orang Bukit'. In the New Order government, the Dayak people were called as 'Suku Terasing'. The terms 'Dayak', 'Orang Bukit', and 'Suku Terasing' all have negative connotations and tend to be unsympathetic towards the group. Departing from the anxiety of using these terms, Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (1993) put forward the term 'Orang Meratus' which is more neutral because it refers to the area where the ethnic group lives (Mujiburrahman et al., 2011, p. 5). In this article, the author tends to use the term 'Dayak.' The term 'Dayak' is used not to maintain or even form a negative stigma against them, but rather to consider the

generality of the term. The term ‘Meratus people’ only refers to the Dayak ethnic group living in the area, while there are other Dayak sub-ethnic groups in separate areas, such as Maanyan, Ngaju, Iban, and Ot Danum (Mujiburrahman et al., 2011, p. 5).

Nowadays, ‘Banjar’ and ‘Dayak’ are understood as two different ethnicities. However, it is common knowledge, especially among the two ethnicities, that they come from the same ancestors, or at least have a kinship relationship. Based on the data presented by Mujiburrahman et al. (2011, pp. 6–8), there are at least five hypotheses from four different figures regarding the origin of the Banjar people and their relationship with the Dayak people. *First*, Daud (1997, pp. 1–4) stated that the Dayak people are descendants of early Malays who migrated to Kalimantan, while the Banjar people are descendants of Malay immigrants who arrived later. *Second*, Radam (2001, p. 63) offers two hypotheses regarding this. The initial hypothesis estimates that the Banjar people are the result of Malayization from a mixture of various tribes, such as Ngaju, Maayan, Lawangan, Bukit, Malay, Bugis, Javanese, and others. The second hypothesis is that the Banjar people are descendants of the Bukit people who live in coastal areas. *Third*, Hawkins (2000, p. 33) argues that the Banjar ethnic group is a regional identity that has crystallized since the founding of Indonesia as a nation state, such as the Kandangan people, the Barabai people, and others. *Fourth*, Tsing (1993, pp. 56–57) with the provision of stories that have developed among the Dayak Meratus people, explains that the Banjar and Meratus people are descendants of two brothers, namely Sandayuhan who is the ancestor of the Meratus and Bambang Basiwara as the ancestor of the Banjar people. Regardless of the

differences in each hypothesis put forward, it is concluded that the Banjar and Dayak people are two different ethnicities that have a relationship with each other.

The arguments above, some of which become mediators to resolve differences between Banjar and Dayak people. Although historical research, myths and stories of local communities that have developed assume that there is a relationship between the two, each still has contrasting differences from each other. Banjar people are identified as Muslim immigrants. Meanwhile, Dayaks are natives who adhere to the Balian,¹ Kaharingan, or Christian beliefs. Kaharingan is a term for the Dayak beliefs of the Ngaju people in Central Kalimantan who believe in the spirit world, ancestors, and the existence of supernatural beings that inhabit the surrounding nature. Kaharingan beliefs are the original religion and beliefs of the Dayak tribe that developed from local culture before Indonesian society knew Hinduism-Buddhism (Darmadi, 2016, p. 326). Currently, the term 'Kaharingan' is used generally to refer to the beliefs of the Dayak people. Even the Dayak Meratus people who actually adhere to the Balian religion tend to term their beliefs 'Kaharingan' because it is more practical than the term 'Balian' which is not so well known. However, this is only a matter of terminology, because the Meratus Dayak and Ngaju Dayak people have different languages, beliefs, and rituals (Mujiburrahman et al., 2011, p. 12).

¹ The term *Balian* has several definitions. First, *balian* could mean the name or naming of a religion. Second, *balian* could mean a person who believes in, practices, and teaches the religion. Lastly, it could also mean a way or technique of caring for something in a magical way (Mujiburrahman et al., 2011, p. 11)

Another thing that differentiates the Banjar ethnic group from the Dayak ethnic group, especially the Meratus Dayak, is religious sources. Unlike the Banjar people who are known to have a written holy book, the Meratus Dayak people only rely on oral sources read by Balian. This difference is believed to be closely related to the story of two brothers, Sandayuhan and Bambang Basiwara. Each of them was given a holy book by God. Sandayuhan was lazy, stupid, and undisciplined, so he did not read the holy book, instead he ate it. As for the holy book given to Bambang Basiwara, he still kept it (Tsing, 1993, pp. 56-57). This story should not be studied from the perspective of the historical truth, but rather it could become an indication of the reason of why the mantras in the Dayak tradition are not found in original written sources, that is because their transmission was spread orally.

History of the Islamization of the Banjar Tribe

As a follow-up to Islam being one of the main identities of the Banjar people, this section will review in more depth the history of the emergence of this Islamic identity. Historians have not been able to confirm for certain when Islam first entered South Kalimantan. However, most people agree that Islam was officially accepted by the Banjar Kingdom in the 15th century AD when Prince Samudera was converted to Islam by the Demak Sultanate and changed his name to Sultan Suriansyah (Azmi, 2017, p. 41). The spread of Islamic preaching to South Kalimantan was due to the many foreign traders who entered and traded in this region (Rahmadi, 2020b, p. 282). Since the time of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Negara Dipa, Amuntai Hulu Sungai Utara, the ports in South Kalimantan have begun to be crowded with traders from Java, Sumatra,

Sulawesi, the Malacca Peninsula and even the Arab countries. The Hindu kingdom on the island of Java, namely the Majapahit kingdom led by Prabu Brawijaya, son of Angka Wijaya, has established good relations with the Daha Kingdom in South Kalimantan. This relationship was through the Java Sea so that trade traffic between Gresik and Tuban with the Banjar port had also been established for a long time. It is strongly suspected that some of these traders were Muslims, so that apart from trading they also brought and spread Islam in the areas they visited. The entry of Islam in Kalimantan was not only carried out through personal preaching, but was also strengthened by the marriage of traders with local women, thus accelerating the process of spreading Islam in the region (Hasan, 2016, p. 81).

As the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism faded due to the spread of Islam in Indonesia, the Majapahit kingdom also began to lose its existence, replaced by the Demak Sultanate, which is believed to be the first Islamic sultanate to be established on the island of Java (Putri & Hudaidah, 2021, p. 187). The good relations that had been established by the kingdoms on the island of Java with South Kalimantan through trade routes were also welcomed by the Demak Sultanate so that the development of Islam in South Kalimantan in the next stage was greatly influenced by the Demak Sultanate. Prince Samudera, who later had the title Sultan Suriansyah, was the first king of the Banjar Sultanate to embrace Islam. In 1595, Maharaja Sukarama crowned his grandson, Prince Samudera, as heir to the throne of the Daha kingdom, but was rejected by his children, resulting in disputes and murder. Amid the conflict that occurred, Prince Samudera asked the Demak Sultanate for military assistance

to help him win the power struggle. The Demak Sultanate then put forward a condition that Prince Samudera convert to Islam and accept the preacher Dayyan as an envoy of the Demak Sultanate to spread Islamic preaching in South Kalimantan. Prince Samudera accepted these conditions and the Demak Sultanate sent 1000 troops to help Prince Samudera so that he could achieve victory by ascending the throne as king and changing the Daha kingdom into the Banjar Sultanate with Islam as the official religion of the Kingdom (Izzah & Hasanah, 2024, p. 58).

The arrival of Islam through the Banjar sultanate meant that most of the Dayak tribes who embraced Islam no longer referred to themselves as Dayak people, but as Malays or Banjar people (Tsing, 1993, p. 54; Mujiburrahman et al., 2011, p. 12). The majority of Dayak people who embrace Islam are in South Kalimantan (Darmadi, 2016, p. 324). The process of Islamization of this tribe in South Kalimantan by the Banjar Sultanate, assisted by the preacher Dayyan and the presence of other preachers from the Demak Sultanate, including Raden Paku or Sunan Giri, continues to grow rapidly and makes Islam the main basis for every Royal decision (Hasan, 2016, p. 81). The role of religion can be seen in the structure of the Banjar sultanate in each period of its sultan's leadership, where religious leaders have the authority to regulate trade activities, the general public and farmers. Every religious issue was regulated and discussed by the upper class such as the Mangkubumi, Duke, Prosecutor and Penghulu in the Banjar Sultanate (Izzah & Hasanah, 2024, p. 63).

Transmission and Acculturation of Dayak-Banjar Traditions

The process of Islamization through the Banjar Sultanate also brought changes in the social and political structure in the areas inhabited by the Dayak tribe. In this process, acculturation occurred at the level of beliefs and rituals. Some Muslim Dayaks began to abandon several traditional practices that were considered inconsistent with Islamic teachings. However, this relationship continues with mutual respect. Non-Muslim Dayaks continue to practice their own customs, while Muslim Dayaks practice Islamic teachings with the influence of local customs, thus the beliefs and rituals carried out by Muslim Dayaks do not always have a basis in religious texts (Mujiburrahman et al., 2011, p. 18).

Findings from Mujiburrahman et al., (2011, p. 20) indicate that there is a form of accommodation to the beliefs of the Dayak people found in ceremonies among the Banjar Pahuluan Muslims. For example, the Meratus Dayak or Bukit Dayak people believe that rice is the fruit of the sacred sky tree that was sent down to earth thanks to the services of Datu Bini Kabungsuan. Therefore, rice must be treated with full respect through ceremonies, starting from the planting stage, harvesting, to storing it in the barn (Radam, 2001, pp. 175–180; Rahmadani & Septiani, 2022, pp. 11–13). The Banjar Pahuluan people adopted the Dayak people's views in rituals related to rice or farming activities. In some cases, modifications were made to the rituals, such as eliminating the incense burning and replacing the spirit-summoning mantra with poetry (Mujiburrahman et al., 2011, p. 20).

Although the process of Islamization of the Banjar Tribe continues until now through preaching and education, the remnants of previous religious beliefs and cultures cannot be completely eroded so that some still influence the religiosity and culture of Muslims in South Kalimantan (Hasan, 2016, p. 79). Local traditions that exist until now as a result of the acculturation of the new culture and religion they embrace continue to be carried out both in the form of community traditions such as *bubur 'asyura*, *baayun maulid*, *batampung tawar*, *bapalas bidan* and others as well as symbolic traditions such as *wafaq*, *rajah*, and including *cacak burung*. Islamic teachings have changed and replaced old cultural practices, such as the *aruh tahun* ritual originated from the Hindu tradition during the Nagara Dipa and Nagara Daha Kingdoms, with *aruh mulud* or the celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. In addition, beliefs in supernatural beings that were previously considered sacred are now integrated with the pillars of faith. This is reflected in the *parukunan* book as a guideline for community life. In this transition, supernatural beings that were once worshipped are now understood as entities whose existence must be believed in, but not to be worshipped. Islamic values not only function as a substitute, but also as a binder that unites various cultural elements in a broader context, thus creating a new identity that is unique to the Banjar community (Daud, 1997, pp. 518-549).

***Cacak burung* Symbol in Pre-Islamic Tradition**

1. The Origin and Mythology of the Symbol

The symbol *cacak burung* is often used by the Banjar community as a means to ward off disaster or expel negative

energy. The shape of the symbol is similar to the footprints or claw marks of a bird on the ground which are considered to have magical powers to protect against evil spirits. The *cacak burung* symbol is considered to be the separator between the real world and the unseen world. Its shape, which consists of vertical and horizontal lines forming a shield, also means as a protector from supernatural beings or spirits (*urang halus*) (Nasrudin, 2020, p. 148). Some Banjars believe that the vertical and horizontal lines are parallel or the same length (Hartatik, 2017, p. 160), while some people argue that the vertical line is longer downwards than the horizontal line (Nasrudin, 2020, p. 148).



Figure 1: The cacak burung symbol

The *cacak burung* symbol cannot be separated from the classic stories of ancestors that have been passed down through generations. They believe that the *cacak burung* symbol is not only a form of decorative art, but also contains meanings related to their lives. The *cacak burung* symbol used by the Banjar community comes from Dayak traditional symbols. Most of them are influenced by Hindu-Kaharingan

beliefs and *Balian* customary practices (Rahmadi, 2020a, p.89).

The process of Islamization of some Dayak ethnic groups turned out to have a syncretic religious life, namely a mixture of Islamic beliefs with beliefs from Kaharingan. One of them is that their belief in supernatural beings is a mixture of belief in the existence of ancestral spirits that guard the Meratus mountains with belief in jinns, devils and angels (Rahmadi, 2020a, p. 89). Initially, the Dayak tribe used symbols such as the symbol of the ruler of the upper world (bird), the ruler of the underworld (dragon) and a boat as a vehicle for spirits. However, those who have embraced Islam have abandoned the symbols that are symbolized by animals and are considered *shirk* (idolatry). Instead, the animal symbols are replaced with inanimate objects such as a cross or a *cacak burung* as a ward off disaster and stylization of flora, fruits and fauna (Hartatik, 2017, p. 166).

2. Elements in the Use of Symbols

a. The Mantras

The use of the *cacak burung* symbol in the Dayak tradition is accompanied by mantras recited by traditional figures or *balian* (Hartatik, 2017, p. 120). There is no clarity about the mantras used in ancient times before Islamization in South Kalimantan, some people even say that at that time the mantras were only known by the *balian* when they healed people who were disturbed by

evil spirits (*mamidarai*).² The mantras below are not specifically mentioned for warding off disaster or healing, but some mantras are found for self-protection and warding off bad luck.

1) Self-protection mantra

The mantra used by Dayak Meratus, Dayak Maanyan, and Dayak Deah in Gunung Riut Village and Liyu Village (Jumadi et al., 2017, p. 40).

<i>Mina jai na</i>	<i>Mina jai na</i>
<i>Jumi na gan</i>	<i>Jumi na gan</i>
<i>Kame alah, manusia</i>	<i>Spirit of alah, human</i>
<i>Mahi nawan aku lagi</i>	<i>There is no one against me</i>

2) Mantra to banish bad luck

This mantra is used by the Dayak Maanyan community to protect themselves from the evil of jinns and the disturbance of evil spirits (Jumadi et al., 2017, p. 44).

<i>Aku ngalap ranu amas</i>	<i>I take the golden water</i>
<i>Ranu intan, rani sumur raja</i>	<i>Diamond water, water from the king's well</i>
<i>Ranu teka sumur telaga adam</i>	<i>Water from the well of Adam's lake</i>
<i>Telaga gedung</i>	<i>From a big house</i>

²*Mamidarai* is the term for the healer, *bapidara* is the healing ritual, while *kapidaraan* is the term for the one who is disturbed by evil spirits.

b. Materials Used

1) Turmeric

One of the natural ingredients used in the tradition of using the *cacak burung* symbol is turmeric (Banjarese: *janar*). Turmeric is believed to be a neutralizer of toxins in the body. The Banjar people believe that turmeric has a symbolic meaning as a representation of cleanliness, protection and harmony/glory (Nasrudin, 2020, p. 66). They also believe that turmeric has magical powers (Rahmadi, 2020a, p. 76). Turmeric is a natural ingredient that is feared by all spirits, thus when turmeric is rubbed on someone's body, the evil spirits will stay away from the sick person (Fadillah, 2021, p. 95).

2) Lime Betel

Another natural ingredient used in the *cacak burung* symbol tradition is lime betel. It is believed to have the function of eliminating bad things in the body, thus the use of lime betel is able to eliminate diseases caused by these spirits (Fadillah, 2021, p. 99, 124).

The *Cacak Burung* Symbol in Early-Present Islamic Tradition

1. The Mantras

Initially, the use of the *cacak burung* symbol could not be applied by just anyone. Its application is only by traditional leaders or *Balian*. As time goes by, the reading of the mantra can be recited by ordinary people, either for themselves or others.

a. Early Period

In the early period after Islamization, the use of the *cacak burung* symbol in the *bapidara* tradition was identified with a special mantra by one of the Dayak tribes, namely the Dayak Bakumpai (Yulianto, 2022, pp. 99-103). Although some of the Dayak tribe have embraced Islam, this mantra is still a mixture of Islamic teachings and ancestral mantras. The mantra begins with *bismillahirrahmanirrahim* as the opening sentence and ends with the sentence of *tauhid, laa ilaaha illallah* and the *shalawat* (blessing) *Muhammadarrasulullah*. This mantra is used as an antidote for insanity (*penawar kepidaraan*) or when affected by supernatural beings (reading of *tatamba pujiliyau*) (Yulianto, 2022, p. 101).

<i>Bismillaahirrahmaanirrahiim</i>	<i>Bismillaahirrahmaanirrahiim</i>
<i>Ruca-ruci sandung ahi</i>	<i>Ruca-ruci sandung ahi</i>
<i>Pukin sandah bulu-bulu</i>	<i>Fur female demon's genitals</i>
<i>Barakat laa ilaaha illallah</i>	<i>Blessing of laa ilaaha illallah</i>
<i>Muhammadarrasulullah</i>	<i>Muhammadarrasulullah</i>

Another mantra that was found is said to be cure for all illnesses caused by disturbances from supernatural beings (Yulianto, 2022, p. 102).

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<i>Bismillahirrahmanirrahiim</i>	<i>Bismillahirrahmanirrahiim</i>
<i>Jali jaliakun kupu-kupu akun</i>	<i>Jali jaliakun kupu-kupu akun</i>
<i>Allah nabiyun hatilun hatilat</i>	<i>Allah nabiyun hatilun hatilat</i>
<i>Lam yakul lahu kufuan ahad</i>	<i>Lam yakul lahu kufuan ahad</i>
<i>Barakat laa ilaha illallah</i>	<i>Barakat laa ilaha illallah</i>
<i>Muhammadarrasulullah</i>	<i>Muhammadurrasulullah</i>

The other readings were found without ancestral mantras (Nasrudin, 2020, p. 148-149).

Bismillaahirrahmaanirrahiim
Laa ilaaha illallah Muhammadarrasulullah
Allahumma shalli 'ala Muhammad wa 'ala ali Muhammad

b. Medieval Period: *Basmalah*,³ *Shalawat* (blessings) upon the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]:255 or The Throne Verse, Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]:1-7, Q.S. Al-Ikhlās [112]:1-4, Q.S. Al-Falaq [113]:1-5, Q.S. Al-Nas [114]:1-6.

In this phase, several verses of the Qur'an were found to be read when using the *cacak burung* symbol. Based on the results of the interview with Marlina,⁴ there were two reading variations of the use of the *cacak burung* symbol obtained from her mother. *First*, it begins with *basmalah* and *shalawat* upon the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. *Second*, *basmalah* and Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 255 or the Throne verse. Both variations of reading started with

³*Basmalah* is a term for the full sentence *bismillahirrahmanirrahim*, while *bismillah* is the first sentence fragment of the *basmalah*.

⁴ Interview with Marlina, a catering entrepreneur.

basmalah. According to her, *basmalah* is a reading often read by Muslims before starting to do something. The *basmalah* can be considered as an effort to purify or bless the object. This reflects the belief in the importance of starting every activity by mentioning the name of Allah, as a manifestation of respect, obedience, and hope for His guidance and protection.

During this period, there were several other variations of readings such as starting with only the *basmalah* and Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]: 1-7. Based on Mama Adu's account, Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]: 1-7 or known as *Ummul Kitab* (mother of the book/Al-Qur'an) is the beginning of the surah.⁵ Solely from its name, this surah has a very great specialty. This surah is also often considered an opening prayer and is often read on various occasions. The reading of Al-Fatihah using the *cacak burung* symbol is interpreted as an effort to initiate or involve Allah in every activity, also the protection and hoping for blessings and safety.

Helma mentioned the reading she read when using the *cacak burung* symbol,⁶ starting with the *basmalah*, Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]:1-7, Q.S. Al-Ikhlas [112]:1-4, Q.S. Al-Falaq [113]:1-5, Q.S. Al-Nas [114]:1-6. In other case, starting with *basmalah*, Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]:1-7, and Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]:255 or the Throne verse. According to Suhaimi, the use of the *cacak burung* symbol with only the *basmalah* and the Throne verse is enough to represent the

⁵ Interview with Mama Adu, a *pananamba* or person who usually *mamidarai*.

⁶ Interview with Helma, an apem cake entrepreneur.

protection reading.⁷ However, if one wants to be more complete in getting protection, he can add it by reading Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]: 1-7, Q.S. Al-Ikhlash [112]: 1-4, Q.S. Al-Falaq [113]: 1-5, Q.S. Al-Nas [114]: 1-6 or known as *ayat ampat* or *fatihah ampat* by *tty*. Apart from that, Wahidah said that the reading that she usually reads in using *the cacak burung* symbol is to start with the *basmalah*, Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]: 1-7, Q.S. Al-Ikhlash [112]: 1-4, Q.S. Al-Falaq [113]: 1-5, Q.S. Al-Nas [114]: 1-6, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 255 or the Throne Verse, and blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad PBUH (Peace Be Upon Him).⁸

From all cases, it is seen that *bismillahirrahmanirrahim* (in the name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful) is used as the beginning or opener. Furthermore, there is the use of the *basmalah*, blessings for the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]:255 or the Throne Verse, Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]:1-7, Q.S. Al-Ikhlash [112]:1-4, Q.S. Al-Falaq [113]:1-5, Q.S. Al-Nas [114]:1-6 with variations that create different reading sequences in each case.

c. Modern Period: 2000-present

In this period, Banjar people tend to use shorter readings when applying the *cacak burung* symbol, such as the *basmalah* or the word *bismillah*. As the reading used by

⁷ Interview with Suhaimi, a religious figure.

⁸ Interview with Wahidah, a *pananamba* or person who is usually a *mamidarai*.

Fatmi Hani is the *basmalah*,⁹ while Maimunah only uses the word “*Bismillah*.”¹⁰ However, some readings from the middle period are also still used, such as *basmalah* and blessings on the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, or *basmalah* and Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 225.

Table 1.
Transformation of the *cacak burung* mantras

Period	Mantras
Early Period	<i>Bismillaahirrahmaanirrahiim</i>
(the beginning of the arrival of Islam in Banjar)	<i>Ruca-ruci sandung ahi</i>
	<i>Pukin sandah bulu-bulu</i>
	<i>Barakat laa ilaaha illallah</i>
	<i>Muhammadarrasulullah</i>
	<i>Bismillahirrahmanirrahiim</i>
	<i>Bismillahirrahmanirrahiim</i>
	<i>Jali jaliakun kupu-kupu aku</i>
	<i>Allah nabiyun hatilun hatilat</i>
	<i>Lam yakul lahu kufuan ahad</i>
	<i>Barakat laa ilaha illallah</i>
	<i>Muhammadarrasulullah</i>
	<i>Bismillaahirrahmaanirrahiim</i>
	<i>Laa ilaaha illallah-</i>
	<i>Muhammadarrasulullah</i>

⁹ Interview with Fatmi Hani, a sticky rice cake entrepreneur.

¹⁰ Interview with Maimunah, a sticky tape cake entrepreneur

Allahumma shalli 'ala Muhammad wa 'ala ali Muhammad

Medieval Periode	<p><i>Basmalah</i> and <i>Shalawat</i> (blessings) upon the Prophet Muhammad PBUH</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- <i>Basmalah</i> and Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 225.- <i>Basmalah</i> and Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]: 1-7.- <i>Basmalah</i>, Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]: 1-7, Q.S. Al-Ikhlâs [112]: 1-4, Q.S. Al-Falaq [113]: 1-5, Q.S. Al-Nas [114]: 1-6.- <i>Basmalah</i>, Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]: 1-7, and Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 225.- <i>Basmalah</i>, Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 225, Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]: 1-7, Q.S. Al-Ikhlâs [112]: 1-4, Q.S. Al-Falaq [113]: 1-5, Q.S. Al-Nas [114]: 1-6.
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Modern Period (2000-present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <i>Basmalah</i> and <i>Shalawat</i> (blessings) upon the Prophet Muhammad PBUH- <i>Basmalah</i> and Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 225.- <i>Basmalah</i>^a- <i>Bismillah</i>^b
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^a*Basmalah* is *bismillahirrahmanirrahim*, ^b*Bismillah* is the first sentence fragment of the *basmalah*

2. Materials Used

In the tradition of the *cacak burung* symbol, from pre-Islamic times until present, materials such as turmeric and lime betel are still used. However, this tradition now also uses other materials, such as banana leaves, pandan leaves, and wall paint.

a. Pandan/Banana Leaves

According to Marlina, betel lime is used to mark the pan or utensil where she cooks her food. However, sometimes she also uses banana leaves or pandan leaves which are

certainly easy to find around her house. In practice, the leaves are tied with slip knot (Banjarese: *jarat sisit/jarat sindat*). According to her, the slip knot resembles the symbol (+) or can be interpreted as *lam jalalah* (∨).¹¹

b. Wall Paint

A furniture craftsman, Haris explained that he gave the symbol of *lam jalalah* (∨) on the window glass as a protective symbol, which protects the house from supernatural beings before it was ready to be occupied.¹² The use of paint as a base material aims to ensure that the symbol is not easily lost before the homeowner moves in. In addition, paint is also used so that the window glass can be clearly seen from afar.

The Traditions Accompanying the Use of the *Cacak Burung* Symbol

Initially, the *cacak burung* symbol was used in pre-Islamic times during traditional ceremonies (*aruh adat*), wedding ceremonies, death ceremonies, *bapidara*, making traditional food and cakes, and

¹¹ The symbol of *lam jalalah* (∨), taken from the double letter “lam” has a philosophical representation for the Banjar community. *Lam jalalah*, or the double letter lam in the writing of Allah is not just a written letter, but is believed to contain the meaning: “*la haula wa la quwwata illa billah*” (there is no power and effort except with the power of Allah). In further interpretation, *lam jalalah* is interpreted as part of *asmaul husna*, *al-Jalil* (the Greatest) and *al-Jalal* (the Most High). This symbol is also believed to be contained in the name of *Dzu al-Jalali wa al-Ikram*, which reflects the owner of greatness and glory. The use of *lam jalalah* by the Banjar community is a form of respect for the great names of Allah, creating the belief that in His greatness, they are protected from all evil and disturbance.

¹² Interview with Haris, a furniture craftsman.

building new houses. In the early development of Islam, those traditions were still used by incorporating Islamic elements.

1. Wedding Ceremonies

In pre-Islamic times, the Dayak tribe used the *cacak burung* symbol from a mixture of turmeric and betel lime to be smeared on the foreheads of the bride and groom. This procession is accompanied by mantras (*napen*) which aim to mark the legality of the customary marriage between the two brides (Nabiring, 2018, p. 16-17). However, after the entry of Islam, this tradition underwent changes in its implementation and purpose. After the entry of Islam, this tradition was known as *mandi bedudus/mandi pangantin* or bathing in seven springs before the wedding ceremony or coronation of the king. The use of the *cacak burung* symbol in this tradition is carried out after the *mandi badudus* procession. The *cacak burung* symbol made from turmeric and betel lime is smeared on the bodies of the prospective bride and groom (Pemerintah Provinsi Kalimantan Selatan, 2005, pp. 69–70). This tradition is carried out the day before the wedding ceremony takes place which aims to cleanse the soul and body and protect the prospective bride and groom from disturbances of supernatural beings during the event (Hidayah, 2023, p. 136-137). However, some also say that the purpose of *mandi badudus* is to cure illnesses and get rid of bad luck (Rahmadi, 2020a, p. 63).

2. Death Ceremonies

The death ceremony in the Dayak community aims to escort the spirit of the deceased to its final resting place. In this procession,

the Dayak community believes that the spirit of the deceased can return or disturb the living beings. Therefore, they hold a ritual to ward off disaster by smearing a *cacak burung* symbol made from betel lime on the bodies or ears of the people performing the ceremony (Pemerintah Provinsi Kalimantan Selatan, 2005, p. 40).

3. *Bapidara*

Kapidaran comes from the word *pidara* in Banjar language with the prefix “ka” and the suffix “an” which indicates a condition when someone is hit or struck by something. This term can refer to greetings from supernatural beings or even be considered as an illness caused by the influence of the spirits of close relatives (Pemerintah Provinsi Kalimantan Selatan, 2005, p. 40). People who are *kapidaran* usually have a high fever, but their ears, hands and feet are very cold. Sometimes, some people also experience a weak body, restlessness, even accompanied by excessive fear (Lubis et al., 2017, p. 34).



Figure 2. A man who is *bapidara* with turmeric and betel lime for *kapidaraan* (being disturbed by supernatural beings)

4. Making traditional foods and cakes

The Banjar community believes that when making food in large quantities and making traditional cakes for certain events, the use of the *cacak burung* symbol is inseparable and crucially needed. In the process of making the cakes or the food, the Banjar community puts the *cacak burung* symbol from lime betel on the pan or food storage place as an effort to avoid interference from supernatural beings. The use of the *cacak burung* symbol is only applied to certain foods and types of cakes that are considered sacred. Some types of cakes that are considered sacred, such as sticky rice (Banjarese: *lakatan bahinti*), sticky rice *tape* (Banjarese: *tapai baras lakatan*), and *apem* cake (Banjarese: *wadai apam*). These cakes are considered sacred and are always present at certain events such as the completion of the Qur'an (Banjarese: *batamat* al-Qur'an), *batumbang*, *baayun maulud*, weddings, *mandi badudus*, and so forth (Pemerintah Provinsi Kalimantan Selatan, 2005, p. 353). Currently, there are also those who use pandan or banana leaves. This symbol is intended in order that the food is not inhabited (Banjarese: *diharu*, *dikucau*) by supernatural beings, which can affect the cooking process and the quality of the food (Noor, 2011, p. 7).



Figure 3. The *cacak burung* symbol on a cooking pot



Figure 4. The *cacak burung* symbol on the container for rice fermentation

5. Building New Houses

The Banjar community believes that the *cacak burung* symbol is a ward against evil spirits. It is usually used in newly built houses. The symbol is placed on the ventilation, wall or corner of the house, or window glass. The use of the symbol is interpreted as an effort to protect the house and its occupants from negative energy or evil spirits that can enter the house. In the beliefs of the Banjar community, symbols such as *cacak burung* often have meaning and spiritual power that are believed to be able to maintain harmony and prosperity in the house (Nasrudin, 2020, p. 149).

Transmission and Transformation of Cacak Burung Symbol

Based on Ahmad Rafiq's mapping, there are at least three transmission patterns in Islamic texts and traditions. The first pattern involves quoting or referring to previous literature. For instance, al-Bukhārī included a *hadith* narrated by Abū Sa'id al-Khudri in his *Shahih*, while al-Nawawī quoted the same *hadith* without specifically mentioning its source. Although al-Nawawī did

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not cite his source, it is likely that he referenced Sahih al-Bukhari or other contemporary sources. Similarly, al-Nazilī mentioned the *hadith* by citing the source of transmission at the level of the companions, but did not mention al-Bukhari or his contemporaries.

The second pattern is the transmission from teachers to students through a chain of transmission called *sanad*. This pattern is exemplified in the case of *musalsal hadith*, where the teacher must have authority over a particular reading or tradition, derived from his teacher, and so forth up to the Prophet Muhammad, Jibril, and Allah. After the teacher has listened to the student and approved of him, he grants authorization, extending the transmission of the reading to the student. The third pattern is a discursive tradition, where certain practices are transmitted from one generation to the next within a society (Rafiq, 2021, pp. 478–479).

In the context of the *cacak burung* symbol, the transmission occurs as a discursive tradition. There are no indications of the other two patterns, namely transmission through written sources and teacher-student relationships. The *cacak burung* symbol emerged and developed within the oral tradition of the Dayak-Banjar tribe, with no traces indicating a relationship with written transmission patterns (Soehadha, 2018, pp. 126–127). In practice, the *cacak burung* symbol is often included in community traditions and rituals, such as *bapidara* and *mandi badudus*, which do not require a student-teacher transmission pattern. Although this transmission occurs across generations, it does not necessarily involve direct replication of previous practices.

The transmission process of *cacak burung* symbol is also shaped by societal discourses, involving various elements such as texts, religious narratives, authorized subjects, and established practices. Subsequent generations do not merely accept the form of practice but also its discourse as an abstract concept, leading to practices that may differ from those of their originators (Rafiq, 2021, p. 479). Thus, while the *cacak burung* symbol persists today, it has undergone several shifts and modifications to align with the discourse of each generation.

The *cacak burung* symbol transmitted through discursive tradition allows for acculturation between Dayak-Banjar culture and Islamic religious values. The symbol is carried from one generation to another through a tradition that has been adapted to the identity of the community. The theological beliefs of the previous generation who embraced Hindu-Buddhist or Kaharingan religions are different from the next generation who embraced Islam. This difference in belief has implications for changes in several aspects of the use of the *cacak burung* symbol, such as the reading mantras, materials, and the forms of the symbol. Hence, the transmission process of *cacak burung* from one generation to the next generation goes hand in hand with the transformation of the symbol.

The transformation of the *cacak burung* symbol from the pre-Islamic generation to the post-Islamic generation reflects the continuous acculturation process between the Dayak Kaharingan tradition and Islam. The mantras of the Dayak tribe that accompany the use of the *cacak burung* symbol are modified with inserts of readings containing Islamic elements, such as the sentence “*bismillahirrahmanirrahim*” as an opening before reading the

mantra and the sentence “*barakat laa ilaaha illallah Muhammadarrasulullah*” as a closing. This combination shows that although the elements of Kaharingan customs and traditions still exist, there has been a fusion of basic elements of Islamic teachings, especially in the belief in the oneness of Allah and the prophethood of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. In the middle period, when Islam spread further in the Kalimantan region, a further transformation process occurred. Mantras originating from Kaharingan beliefs have been replaced by the Qur’anic verses such as Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 255 or the Throne Verse, Q.S. Al-Fatihah [1]: 1-7, Q.S. Al-Ikhlash [112]:1-4, Q.S. Al-Falaq [113]:1-5, Q.S. Al-Nas [114]:1-6 and blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. The reading of the Qur’anic verses used in the use of the *cacak burung* symbol in this period is quite diverse with different variations in the order of reading it. The use of blessings and Qur’anic verses completely replace the mantras in the pre-Islamic period until the beginning of the entry of Islam. This indicates the dominance of Islamic elements in the tradition of using the *cacak burung* symbol. The use of these Qur’anic verses reflects the community’s belief in the spiritual power and protection contained in the holy text while at the same time showing full acceptance of Islam without abandoning their cultural heritage rooted in local traditions.

In Islamic literature, verses and surahs read on the symbol of the *cacak burung* are often associated with the context of protection. Use of QS. al-Ikhlash can be interpreted as affirming the oneness of Allah SWT, purifying intentions, seeking blessings in activities, and protection from disturbances (Jalaluddin al-Suyuthi, 2005, pp.

2134–2142). The suras al-Falaq and al-Nas are two protective surahs which are termed *al-mu'awwidzatain*. This term has the same root as the word *a'udzu* which means 'I take refuge,' so that reading these two surahs leads the person who reads them to a place of refuge (Shihab, 1997, p. 678). The Throne verse mentioned in the book *Khazinah al-Asrar* has several advantages, both for the reader and the person who wrote it as a tattoo or amulet. The virtues of this verse are conveyed through individual experiences, including protection from satanic interference, its use as an antidote to certain diseases, a medium for fulfilling desires, obtaining blessings, and peace of mind (Al-Nāzilī, 2021, pp. 175–198). The priority of the Throne Verse (*ayat al-kursī*) as part of QS. al-Baqarah is also strengthened by a tradition from the Prophet Muhammad PBUH which states that the house where QS. al-Baqarah is read, will not be approached by supernatural beings. The use of the *cacak burung* symbol that includes the reading of the ayat kursi is a form of relationship between the teachings of the Qur'an, the history of the Prophet PBUH, and local traditions.

The transformation of the *cacak burung* symbol is not only due to the shift in theological beliefs, but also due to globalization, shifts in cultural values, and the adaptation of the younger generation to local traditions. From the 2000s to the present, the readings used in the use of the *cacak burung* symbol have been simplified. Although some people still maintain the practice of reading more complex readings as in the middle period, most people now only read the sentence *bismillahirrahmanirrahim* or even just a fragment of the basmalah sentence, namely *bismillah*. This shift is caused by several factors such as the tendency to simplify religious practices,

especially in an increasingly busy and dynamic life. Modern society tends to look for more efficient and faster ways to start activities, so the use of the *bismillah* phrase in the *cacak burung* symbol is considered a practical method without reducing its spiritual meaning.

In addition to the elements of reading and mantras, the *cacak burung* symbol has also undergone transformation in terms of materials and forms. In pre-Islamic times, the materials used were limited to turmeric and betel lime. However, over time the materials used shifted and became more flexible, such as banana leaves, pandan leaves, and wall paint. The use of banana leaves and pandan became more common because they were easier to access in the surrounding environment than betel lime. In the past, betel lime was almost always available in every house because it was often used for chewing betel (*manginang*), but now the tradition of chewing betel is rarely done so banana leaves and pandan leaves have become a more practical and easily obtained alternative. The use of pandan and banana leaves is tied with a slip knot (*jarat sindat/sisit*) to form a pattern similar to the *cacak burung* symbol consisting of vertical and horizontal lines. However, this slip knot also resembles the *lam jalalah* symbol, which is also interpreted as a symbol of warding off disaster by the Banjar community. The change in material from betel lime to wall paint in the use of the *cacak burung* symbol on window glass, doors, and corners of the house aims to last longer and look clearer than betel lime.



Figure 5. Transformation of the *cacak burung* on food. Banana leaves are shred and tied in a way that resemble *lam jalalah*



Figure 6. Transformation of the *cacak burung* symbol on window glass using white wall paint with a symbol resembling *lam jalalah*

The changes above show that the transmission of the *cacak burung* symbol not only maintains the essence of culture; but also transforms to adapt to new theological and social contexts. This also reflects the ability of the Dayak-Banjar people to respond to religious and cultural changes without eliminating the elements of their ancestral heritage.

Conclusion

Cacak burung symbol is transmitted from generation to generation through discursive tradition, necessitating transformations in the reading mantra, material, and the form of the symbol. The roots of this practice can be traced back to pre-Islamic traditions, particularly within the Dayak tribe, which experienced the transmission of spiritual values across generations. With the development of Islamization, there was a significant transformation in the association of the *cacak burung* symbol with Qur'an verses, such as the Ayatul Kursy, al-Fatihah, al-Ikhlâs, al-Falaq, and al-Nas. Over time, the transformation process became more evident, especially in the simplification of the reading mantra, which evolved from a complex practice in the early phase to a more straightforward one. The use of the phrase "Bismillah" as the primary reading reflects an adaptation to a busier lifestyle and the influence of globalization.

Additionally, the *cacak burung* symbol, initially restricted to traditional figures or *balian*, has become more accessible to the general public. The transformation of materials from betel lime to chalk and paint, along with variations in color usage, reflects the changing physical and aesthetic aspects of religious practice. The evolution of the *cacak burung* symbol in Banjar community illustrates a process of transmission and transformation that merges the continuity of local traditions with adaptations to modern demands. Unlike previous studies that often mention *cacak burung* only as part of a broader topic, this study contributes to the literature by offering a new perspective on *cacak burung*, focusing on the transmission and transformation of its symbol on cultural heritage

diachronically. This approach provides a deeper understanding of culture, viewing it as a dynamic entity rather than something static.

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Interview

Interview with Fatmi Hani.

Interview with Haris.

Interview with Helma.

Interview with Maimunah.

Interview with Mama Adu.

Interview with Marlina.

Interview with Suhaimi.

Interview with Wahidah.