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Zulhasari Mustafa

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BUREAUCRACY OF THE SAMBAS SULTANATE DURING THE DUTCH COLONIAL PERIOD (1818-1942)

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Abstract

This study aims to describe the enforcement of colonial power in Sambas Sultanate and to analyze the influence of the colonial bureaucratic system on changes in the bureaucratic system in Sambas Sultanate. This study uses a multidisciplinary approach namely the historical approach as the main approach assisted by social science approaches such as sociological, political, anthropological, and economic approaches. The method used is a historical method that includes four steps namely heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. The results showed that the establishment of colonial rule in Sambas Sultanate began with an agreement of friendship and fellowship in 1818, continued with the abolition of the Chinese Kongsis and prevented the expansion of British power. The implementation of the colonial bureaucracy that had led to modernization then influenced changes in the bureaucratic system in Sambas Sultanate, including changes in the administrative area, the implementation of governance with an ambivalent government system (direct and indirect government systems) and the recruitment of officials adjusted to colonial interest. The ambivalent nature of the bureaucracy aims to maintain the hegemony and position of the Dutch colonial as a superstructure. As a result there was a patron-client relationship between colonial and traditional governments.

Keywords: Bureaucracy; Sambas Sultanate; Dutch Colonial

الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى وصف تطبيق القوة الاستعمارية في سلطنة سامباس وتحليل تأثير النظام البيروقراطي الاستعماري على التغيرات في النظام البيروقراطي في سلطنة سامباس. تستخدم هذه الدراسة نهجًا متعدد التخصصات هو النهج التاريخي باعتباره النهج الرئيسي الذي تدعمه مناهج العلوم الاجتماعية مثل النهج الاجتماعي والنهج السياسي والنهج الأنثروبولوجي والنهج الاقتصادي. الطريقة المستخدمة هي طريقة تاريخية تتضمن أربع خطوات هي الاستدلال، التحقق، التفسير

والتأريخ. أظهرت النتائج أن إقامة الحكم الاستعماري في سلطنة سامباس بدأ بمعاهدة الصداقة والزمالة عام 1818 ، تلاه إلغاء المجتمعات الصينية ومنع توسع السلطة البريطانية. أثر تطبيق البيروقراطية الاستعمارية التي أدت إلى التحديث على التغييرات في النظام البيروقراطي في سلطنة سامباس، بما في ذلك التغييرات في المجال الإداري، وتنفيذ الحكومة بنظام حكومي متناقض) أنظمة حكومية مباشرة وغير مباشرة (وتجنيد المسؤولين الذين تم تعديلهم حسب الأذواق الاستعمارية. تهدف الطبيعة المتناقضة للبيروقراطية إلى الحفاظ على هيمنة ومكان الاستعمار الهولندي كبنية فوقية. ونتيجة لذلك، توجد علاقة راعية-عميل بين الحكومتين الاستعمارية والتقليدية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: البيروقراطية؛ سلطنة سامباس؛ المستعمرة الهولندية؛

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan penegakan kekuasaan kolonial di Kesultanan Sambas dan menganalisis pengaruh sistem birokrasi kolonial terhadap perubahan sistem birokrasi di Kesultanan Sambas. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan multidisipliner yaitu pendekatan historis sebagai pendekatan utama dibantu dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial seperti pendekatan sosiologis, politik, antropologis dan ekonomi. Metode yang digunakan adalah metode historis mencakup empat langkah yaitu heuristik, verifikasi, interpretasi dan historiografi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa penegakan kekuasaan kolonial di Kesultanan Sambas dimulai dengan perjanjian persahabatan dan persekutuan tahun 1818, dilanjutkan dengan menghapus Kongsi-kongsi Cina dan mencegah perluasan kekuasaan Inggris. Pelaksanaan birokrasi kolonial yang sudah mengarah ke modernisasi kemudian mempengaruhi perubahan sistem birokrasi di Kesultanan Sambas antara lain perubahan wilayah administrasi, pelaksanaan pemerintahan dengan sistem pemerintahan yang bersifat *ambivalent* (sistem pemerintahan secara langsung dan tidak langsung) dan rekrutmen pejabat disesuaikan selera kolonial. Sifat birokrasi yang *ambivalent* tersebut bertujuan untuk mempertahankan hegemoni dan kedudukan kolonial Belanda sebagai *superstructure*. Akibatnya terjalin hubungan *patron-client* antara pemerintah kolonial dan tradisional.

Kata kunci: Birokrasi; Kesultanan Sambas; Kolonial Belanda

A. Introduction

Talking about the bureaucratic system in the archipelago certainly can not be separated from the influence of the Dutch colonial bureaucracy that once ruled the region. One of the example of papers discussing about beraucratic systems during colonial era is written by A.A. Gade Putra Agung. The paper reviews the transition of the beraucratic systems in Karangasem, from traditional to colonial system. The government system in Karangasem gradually starts to imitate western systems where some parties use a simple modern system while the others keep using the rules that apply in the traditional systems.¹ Likewise, Munawiyah's study on colonial bureaucracy in Aceh in 1903-1942 explains that the government system is implemented in two bases at the same time: direct-rule and indirect-rule systems. On the one hand, colonial governments serve as a carrier of rational legal authorities, on the other hand, the rational legal aughtority must go also run above traditional aughtority.² In her study, Ani Ismarini highlights the position of indigenou elite in West Java's government (1925-1942). She reports a structural change of the government administration makes most indigenou people occupy positions in the colonial system in West java Province.³ Generally, power enforcements in Karangasem, Aceh, and West Java were carried out by military force.

Research about bureaucracy in West Borneo has not yet received much attention. For that reason, the present study aims at investigating bureaucracy issues in Sambas Sultanate, one of the big sultanates in West Borneo. The temporal reach of research during the Dutch colonial period (1818-1942). In particular, the study intends to examine the enforcement of the colonial power and how the colonial bureaucratic systems affect the transition of bureaucratic systems in the Sambas Sultanate. The uniqueness of this study compared with the previous ones, related to the colonial presence in the Sambas Sultanate. While the colonial presence was frequently linked to military forces, their presence in Sambas was invited by the Sultan of Sambas to quell rebellion actions performed by Chinese Kongsis.

The presence of the Dutch in Sambas and the surrounding areas in the archipelago was initaly motivated by economic purposes. It was then developed to contain a political motive having realized that an economic expansion might not run well without the power of terroterial control. The formation of the VOC trade union initiated the economic expansion of the Dutch nation, continued by the Dutch government resulting in the economic and political setbacks of local kings in the Archipelago.

¹A. A. Gde Putra Agung, *Peralihan Sistem Birokrasi dari Tradisonal ke Kolonial* (Cet. III; Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009).

²Munawiyah, "Birokrasi Kolonial di Aceh 1903-1942", *Tesis* (Yogyakarta: PPs. UGM, 2002).

³Ani Ismarini, "Kedudukan Elit Pribumi dalam Pemerintahan di Jawa Barat (1925-1942)", *Patanjala* 6, no. 2, (2014): h. 179-192.

The power of the VOC in Sambas was known from its contract of trade agreement with the Ruler of the Hindu Kingdom of Sambas in 1609,⁴ to monopolize the gold trade in the region. However, the trade results did not meet the expectations, so the lodge in Sambas was closed in 1623.⁵ Nevertheless, the West Borneo area in general until the end of the 18th century still received special attention from the trade union. VOC colonialism later became the embryo of the formation of a Dutch colony in the Sambas Sultanate and almost all of the local kingdoms of West Borneo.

The Dutch colonial government only established its power in the area of the Sambas Sultanate in 1818, it was marked by the agreement of friendship and alliance as a consequence of assistance given by the colonials to overcome the Chinese Kongsis rebellion in the region. Since then, the traditional government began to recognize the sovereignty of the colonial government which placed its representative named George Muller as assistant resident in Sambas. However, the serious effort of the colonial government to strengthen its power in the Sambas Sultanate was actually only carried out in the mid-19th century, because it felt threatened by the increasingly strong domination of the Chinese Kongsis in its territory and the emergence of James Brooke's intervention in Sarawak.

Colonial control of the Sambas Sultanate was carried out slowly, not immediately erasing the existing state administration. As a result, the bureaucratic system in the region was carried out on two bases at once, namely a modern bureaucratic system shown in the management of colonial administration (*Binnenlandsche Bestuur*) and the traditional imperial administration system (*Inheemsche Bestuur*). The implementation of the colonial bureaucracy resulted in changes in the bureaucracy in the Sambas Sultanate, such as changes in the administrative area, changes in governance and the establishment of a patron-client relationship between the colonial government and the traditional government of the Sultanate.⁶

B. Research Method

1. Type of Research

This research is a qualitative though, based on the library research because that relies on data from books, documents, journals, archives, and other writings. The nature of the research description analysis is the research that tells, analyzes

⁴ANRI, Borneo West, no. 16/17, 1609, *Contract met Sambas*. See also A. Cabaton, *The Java, Sumatra and the Other Island of the Dutch East Indie*, trans. Bernard Miall (London: Adelphi Terrace, 1911), h. 317.

⁵Muhammad Gade Ismail, "Politik Perdagangan Melayu di Kesultanan Sambas Kalimantan Barat: Masa Akhir Kesultanan (1808-1818)", *Tesis* (Jakarta: PPs UI, 1985), h. 37.

⁶The mention of the Sambas Sultanate indicated that the kingdom was Islamic in style, as Azyumardi Azra explained that the Malay entity which was called the kingdom turned into the Sultanate after the arrival of Islam. See Azyumardi Azra, *Renaisans Islam Asia Tenggara: Sejarah Wacana dan Kekuasaan* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 1999), h. 78.

and classifies. The implementation is not limited to data collection, but includes analysis and interpretation of data⁷ in an effort to critically reveal how the enforcement of colonial power in the Sambas Sultanate and how the influence of the colonial bureaucratic system on changes in the bureaucratic system in the Sambas Sultanate.

2. Research Approach

The multidisciplinary approach is used as a research approach namely the historical approach as the main approach assisted with the social sciences approach. The historical approach is used to see the development and chronology of events related to the bureaucracy in the Sambas Sultanate of the Dutch colonial period (1818-1942). Furthermore, a sociological approach is used to reviewing social structure and status which were shifting after the Dutch colonial ruled the Sambas Sultanate. The political approach is used to analyze the establishment of colonial power, colonial control systems and the decline of traditional power. An antropological approach is needed to see the value system, a culture that characterizes the style and behavior of officials, one of which is related to the big parties of the empire. An economic approach is needed to analyze the impact of the colonial presence on changes in the income of traditional officials and the construction of economic facilities in the Sambas Sultanate.

3. Data Collection and Analysis

The procedure used in outlining the subject of discussion in this study following the historical method includes four steps namely heuristics, verification, interpretation and historiography. Heuristics or data collection is done by collecting both written and oral historical sources which are the primary and secondary sources of this research. Primary sources in the form of historical records relating to the bureaucracy in the Sambas Sultanate of the Dutch colonial period were published in the verslag colonial, the state sheet (*staatsblad*), photographs and several manuscripts. The search for sources was conducted at the National Archives Office of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta, website <http://www.digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl>, a collection of heirs of Sultan Sambas and Maharaja Imam. Secondary sources in the form of books, journals, thesis, magazines, papers and other supporting documents that are relevant as a comparison material for historical explanation. Sources that have been collected are tested through verification or source criticism, then interpreted or analyzed to obtain historical facts. As the final stage, historiography or history writing is carried out by assembling historical facts in a logical and systematic whole in the form of a historical story.

⁷Winarno Surakhmad, *Pengantar Penelitian Ilmiah: Dasar dan Metode Teknik* (Bandung: Tarsino, 1990), h. 182.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Enforcement of the Dutch Colonial Power in the Sambas Sultanate

The Sambas Sultanate was the center of Malay Power officially established by Raden Sulaiman on 10 Dzulhijah 1040 H.⁸ Before the colonial ruled the region, several ethnic groups lived in the Sultanate region and recognized Malay rulers. They were Dayak, Malay, Bugis, and Chinese.⁹ Particularly, the Chinese were deliberately brought by the Sultan to mine gold in the 1760's. As time goes by, however, the Chinese presence caused a big problem for the Sultanate. Because the Chinese colony grew stronger by forming alliance called kongsi, then became a major force that destroyed the political and economic stability of the empire.

The colonial intervention in overcoming the Chinese Kongsis rebellion marked the beginning of the establishment of colonial rule in the empire, beginning with the treaty of friendship and alliance, followed by the abolition of the Chinese Kongsis. The existence of James Brooke's intervention in Sarawak (North Borneo) was another reason the colonial government strengthened their position there. Then the colonial effort to establish his authority was also carried out by preventing the expansion of British power.

a. Treaty of Friendship and Fellowship of 1818

The colonial control in several regions in the Archipelago was generally carried out with military force. But something different happened in the Sambas Sultanate, where the colonial presence was intentionally invited by the Sultan to help quell the Chinese Kongsis rebellion which undermined the power of the imperial government. The consequence of assistance to be provided by the colonial government was the signing of a friendship and alliance agreement in 1818. Among the contents of the agreement were the obligation to raise the Dutch flag and accept high-ranking Dutch colonial officials as advisors of traditional ruler in running his government. So in early September the Dutch flag was raised at Sambas and George Muller was placed as an assistant resident of Sambas appointed on September 23, 1818. In 1819 a renewal of the agreement was signed with the signing of the contract by Sultan Muhammad Ali Syafiuddin I.¹⁰ On May 11, 1823, J.M. Tobias, who were a Regeering Commissaris of

⁸Muhammad Syafiuddin II, *Silsilah Raja Sambas*. Manuskrip. Sambas: Saved by Urai Riza Fahmi, 14 Ramadhan 1321/4 Desember 1903), h. 48.

⁹Muhammad Gade Ismail, "Politik Perdagangan Melayu di Kesultanan Sambas Kalimantan Barat: Masa Akhir Kesultanan (1808-1818)", h. 5-8.

¹⁰ANRI, Borneo West, no. 41.05, *Ini Peratoeran Keradjaan Sambas dengan Tjeritera Pendek Kita Moelai dari Soeltan Anom Djadi Radja di Sambas Sampai Soeltan jang Ada Sekarang*. In the same year, some agreements were also fixed between Sambas Sultanate Pontianak and Mempawah. The renewal of agreement with kingdoms located in the southern part of West Kalimantan was just carried

Borneo Island, arrived in Sambas to refine the content of the contract which was written in Malay language to be adjusted in Dutch language.¹¹ The contents of the agreement contained compensation money from the results of opium and salt from the Dutch Governor to the Sultan.

However, the colonial power at that time was limited to coastal cities and the imperial capital. Economically, the Sambas Sultanate is considered not promising benefits for the colonial because its territory is full of wilderness, it requires large capital to explore nature and a long time to obtain its benefits. One reason because the area of West Borneo in general, including Sambas, known as the wild image or referred to as the *terra incognita* region, not only has wild forests that are difficult to enter, but also wild people who want to kill European adventurers because they are considered enemies. So that until the beginning of the 19th century, the exploitation of the Sambas Sultanate's nature which was carried out by the colonials still relied on the obligatory surrender of the Sultan based on the contracts they had previously made.¹² This condition was the reason the colonial government was not so serious in upholding its authority in the territory in the Sambas Sultanate and West Borneo in general in the early 19th century.

b. Removing the Chinese Kongsis

George Muller as representative of the colonial government in Sambas after his inauguration immediately announced that all Chinese were under colonial rule and that those who did not obey would be given strict action. Then Muller held a meeting with the leaders of the Kongsis on September 28, 1818, following the initial announcement. Even so, in practice, the Chinese Kongsis remained in power in its area, and the seizure of the mining area still continued. In its development, the Chinese Kongsis increasingly dared to carry out trading activities of opium and daily necessities bypassing the control of the Sambas Sultanate naval patrol,¹³ including plans to smuggle weapons and gunpowder to strengthen themselves. Finally the Sultan again asked for colonial assistance in 1849.

out in 1822. See Yusri Darmadi dan Ika Rahmatika Chalimi, "*Nieuw Brussel*" di Kalimantan: Peran Strategis Sukadana Pada Abad ke-19 (Yogyakarta: Kepel Press, 2017), h. 31.

¹¹Urai Riza Fahmi, *Selayang Pandang Kerajaan Islam Sambas* (Sambas: Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Kabupaten Sambas, 2018), h. 64.

¹²Triana Wulandari, dkk., *Sejarah Wilayah Perbatasan Entikong-Malaysia 1945-2009: Satu Ruang Dua Tuan* (Depok: Gramta Publishing, 2009), h. 21. See also P.J. Veth, "Fragmenten van eene reis op de Westkust van Borneo in 1830" dalam *TNI, jilid II*, 1867, h. 474.

¹³Jean Gelman Taylor, *Indonesia: Peoples and Histories* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), h. 218.

The willingness of the colonial government to help the Sultanate was motivated by a new colonial policy towards regions outside Java.¹⁴ From 1840 onwards the colonial government increased its attention towards areas outside Java including the Sambas Sultanate. So in response to Sultan Sambas's request, the colonial government sent troops led by Frederik Johannes Sorg to break the Chinese uprising in Pemangkat in 1851. The Sorg attack was launched on the morning of September 11 against China at the foot of Mount Pemangkat and on the hill of Panimbungan.¹⁵ But in the battle Sorg was killed and buried in Penimbungan. The rebellion became more widespread in 1854, the colonial government again brought in troops led by Lieutenant Colonel Andersen and succeeded in quelling the rebellion. Finally the Chinese Kongsis was dissolved in the same year and the abolition of the Kongsis was actually carried out with a ceremony at the Main Hall of Montrado. Politically, Montrado's mining land were under the control of *kepembanturesidenan (de assistantresidentie)* of Montrado. This was so especially after an announcement was issued by Lieutenant Colonel Andersen, on behalf of West Borneo Resident dated Januari 15, 1855.¹⁶

After that, political associations were not justified anymore. The only association known by the Chinese population is only associations related to trade or craft industry activities. The association was called *Foei*, which was formed to make it easy to trade together. So after the destruction of the Chinese Kongsis, one of which became a Chinese business was trading in the market. The Chinese are also actively trading with the outside world such as Singapore, so the Dutch colonial still felt the need to do research on their frequent commuting to Singapore to trade, it was feared that they would establish political associations either independently or branches of the same association in Singapore.¹⁷ It seems that the colonial government is still cautious, because the existence of political associations is very possible.

Furthermore, the gold mine which was originally attempted by the Chinese Kongsis was controlled by the colonial, then leased through the *pacht* system which was proven to contribute tax revenue for the colonial state treasury. *Pacht* system is interpreted as the sale of tax or monopoly rights from political

¹⁴Some issues were considered to motivate the issuance of the regulation. First, the regulation aimed at maintaining the security of areas that were already controlled. Hence, areas that were calling for rebellion to the colonial regretfully must be conquered. Second, at the end of the nineteenth century, the battle of the colonial to conquer their colonies reached its peak. Other western powers should be prevented to penetrate by determining their rights in colonial areas outside Java Island. See M.C. Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern*, trans. Dharmono Hardjowidjono (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1998), h. 200.

¹⁵“De held van Pamangkat (met een plaat)”, *Wolter Robert Hoëvell, TNI*, Vol. 32, 1851, h. 70.

¹⁶Any Rahmayani, “Montrado 1818-1854: Dinamika Kota Tambang Emas”, *Patanjala* 7, no. 2, (2015): h. 351.

¹⁷ANRI, Borneo West, no. 72, 1867.

authorities to traders. Wealthy Chinese bookies compete to become *pachter*, the winner of the tender gets a year long *pacht* (*jaarlijkschepachtsom*). He has the authority to lease shop houses, the market *pachter* also has the power to make rules, monitor the market and collect excise duty (except for superior commodities such as salt, copra and rubber).¹⁸

Not only gold mining, colonials also controlled the opium trade. The opium *pacht* was sold by auction and the auction winner had to pay a sum of money offered to the colonial government. The *pacht* system slowly ended in the 20th century, as the new era entered the Dutch East Indies with state revenues no longer relying on taxes, but exploiting natural resources and indigenous human resources through the adoption of crop or crop cultivation policies that were selling on the world market (cash crop).

c. Preventing the Expansion of British Power

Another foreign power that also worried about the colonial government was Britain, originating from the intervention of James Brooke in Sarawak North Borneo since 1840 and 1850. Then Brooke's authority extended to Tanjung Dato' was limited westward by the Sambas region.¹⁹ The strengthening of Brooke's dominance has invited discussion between the British government in London and the Dutch colonial government in The Hague. Finally the Dutch colonial government realized that they had ignored border areas including Borneo.²⁰ Based on Governor General Rochussen's own admission that documents relating to the border region were almost not found in Batavia.

The colonial government moved quickly to clarify the boundaries of its territory. Furthermore, the authorities in Afdeeling Borneo immediately met with indigenous kings including tribal chiefs to renew the contents of the agreements they had made before as well as to make agreements for indigenous rulers who were not yet bound by the colonial government. One of them was the renewal of the agreement made by the West Borneo Resident with Sultan Sambas in 1878, which contained the prohibition of foreigners from entering the Sambas Sultanate including the prohibition of giving land to foreign parties without permission from the Dutch government in Batavia.²¹

¹⁸Dana Listiana, "Dari Pacht Pasar ke Pasarfonds: Pasar Pontianak dalam Kebijakan Ekonomi Kolonial Baru Pada Awal Abad XX", *Widyariset* 17, no. 1 (2014): h. 87.

¹⁹Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido for the Suppression of Piracy with Extracts from the Journal of James Brooke, esq. of Sarawak*, Vol. 2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1846), h. 188.

²⁰J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), h. 177.

²¹Triana Wulandari, dkk., *Sejarah Wilayah Perbatasan Entikong-Malaysia 1945-2009: Satu Ruang Dua Tuan*, h. 38.

The colonial government estimated the losses that would be borne if the British controlled West Borneo, namely the position of the center of the colonial government in Batavia was threatened if war broke out again because it was easily achieved by the British through West Borneo. Economically, the domination of West Borneo will also benefit the UK because it can be used as a trading post between the islands of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and eastern Indonesia. Although for the Sambas region it was actually economically not ready to be taken advantage of, it was evident the first ten years (1819-1828) of colonial economic activity there showed a continuous loss.²² So colonial control over the Sambas Sultanate was actually more due to political factors, namely competition with British rule, in addition to economic factors.

2. The Effects of the Colonial Bureaucracy System on Changes to the Bureaucracy System in the Sambas Sultanate

a. The Changes in Administrative Region

The area of the Sambas Sultanate was at least known after Sultan Muhammad Syafiuddin I sent his son named Raden Bima to visit his family in Brunei, then was given power from Tanjong Dato' to Batu Belat.²³ The Sambas Sultanate has the following boundaries:²⁴ in the west and southwest it borders the South China Sea. The northern part is bordered by Sarawak, the southern part is bounded by the Mempawah Sultanate, and in the southeast is the Landak Sultanate, connected by the Bajang Mountains.

The entry of Dutch colonial power resulted in changes in the administrative area of the Sambas Sultanate. In 1846-1848 on the island of Borneo a special government called the Dependency of Borneo (*Borneo en Onderhoorigheden*) was adopted. This period the assistant resident area for the West Coast region of Borneo consisted of *Afdeeling* Sambas and Pontianak.²⁵ Based on *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie* no. 40 in 1849, Borneo's dependencies were then divided into two *afdeeling* namely *Westerafdeeling van Borneo* with a central government in Pontianak and *Zuider-en Oosterafdeeling*

²²Muhammad Gade Ismail, "Politik Perdagangan Melayu di Kesultanan Sambas Kalimantan Barat: Masa Akhir Kesultanan (1808-1818)", h. 62-63.

²³E.U. Kratz, "Yang Tersurat dan Yang Tersirat: Historicity and Historical Truth", *Archipel* 60, (2000): h. 37.

²⁴ANRI, *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indie*, Jilid III, h. 681.

²⁵The *Afdeeling* areas of Sambas covered Tanjung Dato' until Sungai Duri Estuary. Meanwhile, the *Afdeeling* of Pontianak involved Pontianak District, Mempawah, Landak, Kubu, Simpang, Sukadana, Matan, Tayan, Meliau, Sanggau, Sekadau, Sintang, Melawi, Sapapoe, Belitang, Silat, Selimbau, Piassa, Jongkong, Boenoet, Malor, Taman, Ketan, and Poenan. See "Allen's Indian Mail, and Register of Intelligence for British and Foreign India, China, and All Parts of the East", vol. 4 (London: Wm. H. Allen and CO., 1846), h. 442-443.

van Borneo based in Banjarmasin.²⁶ The colonial system of government underwent a change towards decentralization with the adoption of *Decentralisatie Wet* starting in 1903. However, the policy did not have a direct effect on the Sambas Sultanate. One of the striking changes from the regulation is related to the correspondence system, if previously the resident was required to provide regular reports every year to be replaced with reporting obligations at the end of his term of office.

In 1922 *Bestuurs hervormingswet* was issued, namely the law on the reorganization of government listed in *staatsblad* no. 216 of 1922. The law permits the formation of greater autonomous regions than before, as well as containing provisions concerning central government (deconcentration). Based on these laws Borneo, Celebes, and *Groote Oost* which are *buitengewesten* are given *provincie* status.²⁷

A *gouvernementen* was formed in 1936, realized with the enactment of an ordinance on July 1, 1938 (*staatsblad* no. 264 of 1938). The ordinance was followed by a decision of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies listed in *staatsblad* no. 392 of 1938, which regulated further from the 1936 ordinance. Until the Government Reorganization Law was passed, the area of West Borneo was still *gewest*. The administrative area of the *residentie* consists of four *afdeeling*, namely:²⁸ 1) *Afdeeling* Pontianak, which oversees three *onderafdeeling*, namely Pontianak; Landak and Sanggau-Sekadau, 2) *Afdeeling* Singkawang is in charge of four *onderafdeeling*, namely Mempawah; Bengkayang; Singkawang and Sambas, 3) *Afdeeling* Sintang is in charge of four *onderafdeeling*, namely Sintang; Melawi; Semitau and Boven Kapuas (Kapuas Hulu), 4) *Afdeeling* Ketapang supervises two *onderafdeeling*, namely *onderafdeeling Boven en Benden Matan* (Upper and Lower Matan) and Sukadana.

The change of administrative area above is a colonial territorial politics aimed at strengthening its political position. The establishment of a colonial administrative area that was supplemented by the placement of its officials, made it easier for the colonial government to control the influence of traditional rulers in West Borneo including the rulers of the Sambas Sultanate, so that the Sultan's power was increasingly limited. One of which is the limitation of power in running the government. Although the Sultan was still given legitimacy to run his traditional government over indigenous people, his policies must go through the approval of the colonial government who ruled Sambas Sultanate. This issue will be discussed in particular in the next part of this paper.

²⁶*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie Voor Het Jaar 1849* (Batavia: Ter Lands-Drukkerij, 1949), h. 4.

²⁷Any Rahmayani, *Pemukiman Tionghoa di Singkawang: Dari Masa Kongsi Hingga Masa Kolonial* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2014), h. 27

²⁸Hasanuddin, *Pontianak Masa Kolonial* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2014), h. 162.

b. The Implementation of Government

1) An Ambivalent Government System

The social structure in Sambas Sultanate during the Dutch colonial periode was very diverse. In 1915, the population in the Sambas Sultanate region was 123.370 consisted of Malay, Javanese, and Bugis as many as 67.000 people, Dayak 26.000 people, Chinese 30.000 people, Arabic, and other Eastern Foreigners 270 people, and European 100 people.²⁹ The government system implemented by the Dutch colonial government was ambivalent, namely direct rule over the population of Europeans and the Easterners, and indirect rule over the indigenous population.³⁰ It means that the traditional government was still given the power to run his government toward the indigenous people. The implementation of indirect government was carried out by the colonial government to maintain its hegemony and position as a superstructure. Economically utilizing traditional government structures greatly benefited the colonials in terms of cost savings in government so that the exploitation of the region did not cost much. The legality sought by the colonial government was a political contract with the Sultan aimed at limiting its legitimacy.

In running their government in West Borneo, the colonial officials coordinated with each other in a hierarchical manner, with the resident responsible to the Governor-General.³¹ Furthermore, under the resident there is an assistant resident. For the Sambas region the assistant resident was located in Montrado during the reign of Sultan Abubakar Tajuddin II. Hierarchically, the assistant resident has the same position as the Sultan, namely as ambassadors and advisors, but in many cases the Sultan must seek approval from the colonial official.³² In carrying out their duties, the assistant resident is assisted by controllers domiciled in the City of Sambas, Lara and Lumar. In 1866, a controller named W. Halkema was stationed at Singkawang. Then there was also one syahbandar chief along with one commis and one clerk; one head of salt cellar with one clerk; one head of auction with one clerk; one typical state employee; one notary, two civil servants and one head of court. Then in the capital there was an agent of *Bataviaasch Weekaner* (orphan foundation); one

²⁹ANRI, *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indie*, Jilid II, h 682.

³⁰ANRI, Borneo West, no.72, 1867.

³¹After the reorganization of government in 1938, there was a change of government structure for regions outside Java Island and Madura. The regions were divided into three provinces covering Sumatera Province, Kalimantan Province, and the Great Eastern Province (*Gouvernement van Grote Oost*). The change made regions which were previously perceived as a province and held by a governor changed its status into *residentie* which were headed by a resident. See foot note no. 46 in Edward L. Poelinggomang, *Kerajaan Mori Sejarah dari Sulawesi Tengah* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2008), h. 155.

³²ANRI, Borneo West, no. 75, 1870.

commis from the post office; one bailiff in the Batavian Justice Council; one head of salt sales warehouse; two civil officials in the Pemangkat and Seminis Districts.³³

Since Singkawang was determined to be *afdeeling* in charge of *Onderafdeeling* Sambas, the control of the Sultanate's territory was under the controller of the extension of the assistant resident's in Singkawang. He was an official who had direct contact with the Sultan and monitored the implementation of government in the area around the center of his palace. So the region was a unified territory which became the center of power of the Sultan and the colonial representative office occupied by the controller. A controller was in charge of the *district* heads, called Demang, who were responsible for providing a complete and clear report over the situation of government in his area. Under the district, there were *onderdistrict* areas headed by Assistant Demang who were in charge of several villages led by each village head.

The placement of colonial officials in the Sambas Sultanate resulted in a shift in power so that the position of the Sultan in the colonial bureaucracy was deteriorating. The authority given to the Sultan in managing his area based on traditional authority is none other than to implement the assistant resident's policy as the highest official in *Afdeeling* Singkawang.

2) The Recruitment of Officers in Accordance with Colonial Interest

The Sultan's authority in the traditional bureaucracy was to determine which families could occupy positions in the government through the mechanism of consultation, as was done based on the imperial tradition. But the determination of these officials was also inseparable from the consideration of colonial officials who were authorized to exercise control and provide advice. Factors that became colonial considerations in appointing officials were loyalty and education. For example Sultan Muhammad Syafiuddin II was reported as Sultan who was highly respected by the kings in West Borneo because of his ability to exercise his authority under various conditions and to cooperate with the Dutch colonial government.³⁴

According to the researcher, the 13th Sultan's loyal attitude was motivated by the weak position of the Sultanate due to the dominance of the Chinese Kongsis followed by the domination of the colonial government, so that resisting the forces of colonial weaponry was futile. Therefore, the Sultan's loyal attitude was forced to be carried out for the survival of the empire's life, not to enrich themselves. It can be seen from the policy of Sultan Muhammad Syafiuddin II

³³P.J.Veth, *Aardrijkskundig en Statistisch Woordenboek van Ned-Indie* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kamp, 1869), h. 227.

³⁴ANRI, Borneo West, no. 72, 1867.

to use limited funds to build his territory³⁵ starting from the Jami Mosque in 1872, Madrasah al-Sultaniyah in 1916, provided financial assistance to some young people to continue their education to Egypt (Haramayn-Cairo network) and to build several canals.³⁶ Even the Sultan's attention is also aimed at the poor who provide a special place in the palace called Panca Puanda for those who do not have the cost to hold a wedding. Likewise those who intend to circumcise but have not been able to then face the Sultan will be given gifts in the form of food, rice, cloth, and circumcision money. So it can be concluded that the Sultan's loyal attitude is part of his strategy to create a conducive climate to develop the Sambas Sultanate region.

Furthermore, a measure of the ability to appoint an official by the colonial is education. Ability here is also viewed from the aspect of insight and experience, because that aspect is seen as a determining factor for an official's skills. In line with the legal-rational system that is the direction of the (modern) colonial bureaucracy, one of them emphasizes meritocracy which requires the recruitment of officials based on expertise not based on the culture of conco. However, in practice the criteria of meritocracy were not fully implemented because the officials appointed by the colonial court were not separated from the line of nobility. So the official recruitment system implemented by the colonial authorities in the Sambas Sultanate was not really legal-rational.

But apart from the recruitment of these high-ranking officials, the appointment of officials at the village level called the *pembekel* was a sultan's right that was not followed by colonial interference. The election of the *pembekel* (village head) through the proposal from the village concerned to the sultan, then determined and appointed by the sultan after going through various considerations.³⁷ Appointment of officials at the village head level is more practical, the main factor of concern to the sultan and officials is one's ability to collect tax collections and the ability to direct the population to compulsory labor.

c. Patron-Client Relationship Between Colonial and Traditional Governments

The pattern of the patron-client relationship is a mutual relationship pattern with one another. The patron-client relationship could be maintained if it has mutual benefits for both parties, gives, and takes even though in an unbalanced level. The patron has a higher position and protects their client who has a lower position. In the next stage, the client responds and offers general

³⁵The Sultan's salary was actually only enough to fulfill his daily needs and to run his government. Hence, the sultan always asked for payment of compensation costs to the Dutch at the beginning of the month. See ANRI, Borneo West, no.74, 1869.

³⁶Risa, *Perkembangan Islam di Kesultanan Sambas: Kajian Atas Lembaga Keislaman Pada Masa Pemerintahan Sultan Muhammad Syafiuddin II 1866-1922* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2015), h. 48-51.

³⁷ANRI, Borneo West, no. 75, 1870.

supports and assistance to the patron.³⁸ It is an unwritten regulation that a client seeking protection from the patron should provide reciprocal benefit for the patron e.g. by becoming a loyal servant who is always ready to carry out commands from the patron. Instead the patron hopes to get direct economic and political support. In practice, the patron is the party that receives the most benefit from such an interaction.

Patron-client relationship in the Sambas Sultanate occurred between the colonial government and the traditional government. The colonial government (patron) provided protection and security for the Sultanate government (client) from the threat of the Chinese Kongsis. On the other hand, the colonial government took a benefit from taxation and a higher position as a superstructure. The reciprocity of the Sultanate (client) towards the colonial government (patron) was shown by loyalty, willingness to mobilize workers in the construction of transportation facilities to support colonial economic activities, and cooperative attitudes including in the religious and cultural fields.

1) Politics

The political relations between the empire's government and the colonial government were carried out in the form of personal and official visits. For example, a colonial visit at the wedding party of Sultan Umar Kamaluddin's daughter named Raden Khalijah with Raden Afifuddin can be both personal and official because the visit was also used to award the *Groote Golden Medaile* in the form of a gold chain to Sultan Umar Kamaluddin.

Official visits were also carried out by the colonial administration by attending the coronation of the sultan and commemorating the anniversary of the government, such as the visit of the Assistant Resident D.W. Horst and Dr. A.W. Nieuwenhuis in 1891 marked the 25th anniversary of the reign of Sultan Muhammad Syafiuddin II. The visit was also used as a moment of awarding grace by King William III in the form of a star *Bahaderie Singa Nederleand (rider in de Order van Orange Indie Leeuw)*, for his solidarity in carrying out his obligations so as to bring progress to the empire. Still in the 20th century, to be exact on June 31, 1920, a larger official visit was attended by Governor General J.P. Prince Limburg Stirum and wife. This visit was welcomed with a variety of ceremonies and performance parties as a high appreciation and a form of loyalty to the colonial government.³⁹ The villages were magnificently decorated with gates approaching the presence of the Governor-General, as were the controller house on the banks of the Sambas River. Along the road behind the house of the assistant resident in Singkawang were decorated with colonial flags. One of the

³⁸ James C. Scoot, *Perlawanan Kaum Tani*, trans. Budi Kosworo (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 1993), h. 7-8.

³⁹ Jaelani, "Sultan Muhammad Sayfiuddin II: Pemimpin Kharismatik dari Ujung Utara Borneo Barat", *Jurnal Khatulistiwa* 4, no. 2 (2014): h. 104.

art performances at the visit was performed by young people from Club Ngihiansah.

Club Ngihiansah performances in front of the house of the assistant



resident KITLV-12395

The visits as well as several awards given by the colonial one side showed appreciation of the good performance carried out by the sultan and his officials. On the other hand it could also mean a harmonious relationship between traditional officials of the empire and colonial officials, as well as a form of loyalty of the sultan to the colonial government. The loyalty of officials in the regions has an important meaning, namely ensuring the implementation of the legal rules of the colonial government at the central level. The various regulations that were issued were aimed at making it easier for the colonial to control the traditional bureaucracy itself. So it is natural that the colonial government considers the attitude of the loyalty of traditional officials as a great achievement that deserves to be appreciated.

Welcoming and honoring traditional officials for colonial visits is also evidence of colonial success in implementing the hierarchical system that is part of its bureaucracy. The higher a person's hierarchy the greater his power and vice versa. As a result, the responsibility of government in a hierarchical-formal is not to the people but to the top of the bureaucracy, namely the governor general. The position of bureaucrats in general is the party served and not the party serving. So that it can be said substantially the change of traditional bureaucracy to colonial bureaucracy does not change the style of government bureaucracy in relation to the public, so also the pattern of policy making does not magnify from the top-down pattern.

2) Socio-Economic Sector

The construction of land transportation facilities was an important element to support the colonial economic interests in Sambas. The implementation of development depended on good relations between the traditional government and colonial officials. The difficulty of the colonial power to mobilize the indigenous population was of course because its power was limited to the population of Europeans and Easterners. While their authority over the indigenous population is indirect, so they have no right to intervene intensively with the indigenous population. Another difficulty was the feeling of displeasure with the indigenous population over colonial forced labor orders. Malay residents consider forced labor as an insult by infidels (Dutch) towards Muslims (Malay).⁴⁰ Likewise, among the Dayak people there is a feeling of hatred because of oppression, in addition to feeling afraid to the point of spontaneous defecation when chosen for forced labor.⁴¹

Therefore, in order for the mobilization of labor to proceed easily, the colonial government made use of the patrimonial political system of the empire. The mobilization of personnel was then carried out through the *pembekel* especially for some areas that are included in the direct power of the sultan. Meanwhile, for areas under the control of high ranking officials, the deployment carried out by the *pembekel* constituted as an extension of the high officials under orders from the sultan. Some developments that mobilized the people include: the construction of the Sambas-Pemangkat-Singkawang-Bengkayang road since 1918, the construction of two bridges called *Gerattak Asam* in 1920 and *Gerattak Batu* in 1937 was led by a German architect, Ir. Massink who was locally pronounced Mr. *Masing* by Sambas people. He was assisted by Ir. Raden Soetjtro.⁴² The construction of these roads and bridges has an important meaning, one of which is to facilitate the transportation of smallholder commodities which contributed greatly to the colonial economy in the Sambas Sultanate.

The colonial government also needed traditional officials terms of tax collection. The proceeds of tax collection went into the colonial government's treasury, while the sultan was only entitled to a limited amount of salary or money to be compensated by the colonial government. The colonials also gave money to maintain the sultanate's palace and to pay high-ranking officials to provide financial subsidies to the Sultanate's treasury. The salary of Sultan Muhammad Syafiuddin II based on a contract of f. 17,530; sourced from

⁴⁰I.K. Djabir, *Salinan Buku Harian Ayahanda Imam Muh. Djabir*, Manuskrip (Pontianak: 1990), h. 9.

⁴¹Johan Waintre, "Beberapa Penggal Kehidupan Dayak Kenayatan: Kekayaan Ritual dan Keaneka-Ragam Pertanian di Hutan Kalimantan Barat". *Makalah Studi Lapangan untuk ACICIS* (Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2004), h. 32.

⁴²M. Sabirin A.G. dan M. Arhami, *Sulthan Moehammad Tsafiuddin II Sulthan yang Adil* (Sambas: t.p, 2011), h. 52-53.

compensation payments of f. 1000; holders of the Dayak's *apanage* as much as f. 13,580 ; leader of the Malay population f. 2,470; forest products collected by residents (1/10) of f. 480. Meanwhile, *Yang Dipertuan*⁴³ obtains income from the rights of *apanage* holders in the amount of f. 3,280; tax on head of the Dayak family of f. 2.5; annually (since 1850-1854); his parents' inheritance was given to him and his siblings in the form of 700 gold *tahil* and 20,000 diamonds in the size of a Spanish weight.⁴⁴ The salaries of officials in the afdeeling region amount to one third of all the head taxes he has collected. Related to the amount can not be determined because if they are negligent from collecting taxes then do not get income from the tax.

So for traditional officials the size of their income depends on the amount of tax collected, because one of their income comes from the tax. Thus the indirect government policies adopted by the colonial authorities not only guaranteed their security and position as a superstructure, but more than that they were able to minimize resistance from the indigenous population because forced labor orders and tax collection were carried out by their own rulers, so they did not really feel colonized by the colonials. So the traditional officials in that case were used as a tool by the colonial authorities to fulfill their political and economic ambitions in the Sambas Sultanate.

3) Religion and Culture

The indirect government system gave the sultan a great opportunity to exercise his traditional authority, one of which was in the fields of religion and culture. This was certainly supported by the cooperative attitude of the traditional authorities towards the colonial government. As noted in the Dutch report that the 13th Sultan Sambas was a sultan who had the ability to exercise his power well and was able to work with the colonial government. Likewise the officials are people who are nimble and able to work together.⁴⁵ This attitude was able to foster colonial trust in the policies of the sultan and his officials who were considered not to jeopardize their position. Including the cooperative attitude of the Maharaja Imam, gave rise to the belief that the existence of the ulama (including the pilgrims) did not cause a religious movement against colonial policy.

The significance of the Sultan's and Maharaja Imam's cooperative attitude towards the colonial was the opening of space for the development of the Islamic religion and culture marked by the establishment of a modern Islamic educational institution namely Madrasah al-Sultaniyah in 1916 and the Islamic school of Tarbiatoel Islam in 1936. In addition, the religious institution called the Maharaja Imam institution is also developing well which is increasingly structured under the leadership of Maharaja Imam Muhammad Basiuni Imran

⁴³*Yang Dipertuan* was a term for the sultan who was old and no longer serves as a sultan.

⁴⁴ANRI, Borneo West, no. 74, 1869.

⁴⁵ANRI, Borneo West, no. 72, 1867.

with the role of institutions not limited to cities but has spread to the villages. The religious thought of the Maharaja Imam can spread among the community through direct recitation conducted in mosques in the city center, in villages and in homes and through his works.⁴⁶ The existence of modern Islamic educational institutions and religious institutions has contributed greatly in advancing Islam in the Sultanate of Sambas, as evidenced by the increasing religious understanding of the community which later also encouraged the pilgrimage passion. As noted in the colonial report that the number of hajj pilgrimage at *Afdeeling* Sambas is very large and is increasing as more and more people are ready to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁴⁷ This progress has succeeded in bringing Sambas to become one of the most important centers of study and Islamic culture in West Borneo known as the "Serambi Mekah".

It can be said that in the field of Islamic religion and culture the colonial government seemed to provide concessions in accordance with colonial policy called "Islamic politics". However, they continued to supervise it, as seen from a number of reports that discussed briefly the roles and positions of the Sultan, the Maharaja Imam and the pilgrims as explained above. The colonials also tried to reduce the influence of Islam as much as possible by limiting the spread of Islam to the interior of Sambas and by supporting the Christian mission movement by providing subsidies to establish a mission hospital as a strategy to attract sympathetic Chinese and Dayak communities to convert to Christianity. The positive side of the colonial presence for the Dayak people was to stop the practice of *ngayau* or headhunting through the Anoi Congress agreement in 1894.

However, the colonial position as a superstructure resulted in intervention in the judiciary by establishing a special indigenous court in 1936 namely the Balai Kanun court, the Balai Raja court and the Balai Bidai court.⁴⁸ In general,

⁴⁶Some work of Muhammad Basuni Imran in the field of Ushuluddin involved: *Tarjamah Darûs al-Tarîkh Syarîat; Bidâyah al-Taûhid fi 'Ilm Tauhid dan Daras al-Tauhid (Pelajaran Tauhid)*. Fiqh covered: *Cahaya Suluh, Pada Mendirikan Jum'at Kurang dari pada Empat Puluh; al-Nusûs wa al-Barâhîn 'Alâ Iqâmat al-Ju'a Bimâ Dûna al-arbaîn; Tadzki, Sabîlunnajâh fi Târik al-Salât; Daw' al-Misbâh fi Faskh al-Nikâh; and Husnu al-Jawâb 'ain ithbâti al-ahillati bilhîsab: Molek Jawaban pada Mentsa'bitkan Awal Bulan dengan Kiraan*. History were: *Dzîkr al-Maulid al-Nabawi (Mengingat Kelahiran Nabi); Khulâsah as-Sîrah al-Muhammadiyah, Hakikat Seruan Islam dan Nûr al-Sirâj fi Qissas al-Isra'*. Ulumul Qur'an were *Irsyâd al-Ghilmân, ilâ Adâbi Tilâwah al-Qurân*. Unpublished manuscripts included: *Manhal al-Gharibin fi Iqamat al-Jumu'ah bi dun al-Arba'in, at-Tazkirat Badi'ah fi Ahkamil Jum'ah; al-Ibanah, Tafsir Surat-surat Pendek (Juz Amma) and Buduwutsarah fi Ahkami al-Hajji wa Umrah*. See Sunandar, "Resonansi Maharaja Imam Muhammad Basiuni Imran (1885-1976) di Sambas", *Medina-Te: Jurnal Studi Islam* 15, no. 1 (2019): h. 81.

⁴⁷ANRI, Borneo West, no. 72. 1867.

⁴⁸Balai Kanun Court was used for criminal or civil matters which were particularly related to sentences of prisoners, inheritance, and marriage with a sentence of up to six months. Balai Raja Court was used for criminal or civil matters which were related to inheritance and marriage with a sentence of

colonial officials became members of the presidium in the judiciary except for the Balai Bidai court. Colonial interference in native justice showed that the colonial exercised quite strict supervision and control on issues relating to justice and security in the Sambas Sultanate.

D. Conclusions

The conclusions of this study are as follows:

1. Enforcement of the Dutch colonial power in the Sambas Sultanate began with an agreement of friendship and fellowship in 1818, as a consequence of the assistance given by the colonial in overcoming the Chinese Kongsis uprising which undermined the authority of Sultan Sambas. After that, the colonials abolished the Chinese Kongsis and applied the *pacht* system to economic problems which were proven to contribute to tax revenues for the colonial state treasury. Efforts to enforce his power were also carried out by preventing the expansion of British rule, following the emergence of James Brooke's intervention in Sarawak in the area bordering the Sambas Sultanate.
2. The implementation of the colonial bureaucratic system resulted in changes in the bureaucratic system in the Sultanate of Sambas such as changes in the administrative area which caused the sultan's power to be increasingly limited. Changes in the implementation of government with a government system are ambivalent and the recruitment of officials according to colonial tastes. The sultan's right in appointing officials was eroded, because he was only given the right to choose and propose officials, while the one who determined it was the colonial government except for low ranking officials such as the *pembekel*. The traditional rulers were subordinated by the colonial bureaucrats at the peak of the bureaucracy, resulting in a patron-client relationship between colonial and traditional governments in various fields such as politics, social economy, religion and culture. The development of Islam became limited to the fields of Islamic education and the Maharaja Imam institution, not yet led to a resistance movement against colonial domination. One of the reasons was because the colonials quite strictly controlled the roles of the Sultan, Maharaja Imam and the pilgrims. The colonials even tried to stem the influence of Islam into the rural areas of Sambas.

under six months. Balai Bidai Court was used for criminal or civil matters which were related to land ownership, inheritance, and marriage with a sentence of seven days. See Bakran Suni, dkk., *Laporan Akhir Penelitian Sejarah Melayu Sambas* (Pontianak: Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Tanjungpura Pontianak dan Pemda Sambas, 2007), h. 40.

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¹Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 8 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), h. 18.

²Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: One World Publications, 1991), h. 190.

³Syeikh Ja’far Subhānī, *Mafāhim Al-Qur’ān* (Beirut: Mu’assasah Al-Tarīkh Al-’Arabī, 2010)., Juz 5, h. 231.

⁴Syeikh Ja'far Subhānī, *Mafāhim Al-Qur'ān*, h. 8-9.

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Detail informations of the footnotes:

1. Holy book

Al-Qur'ān, Al-Baqarah/2: 185.

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2. Qur'anic translation

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3. Book

¹Muḥammad 'Ajjaj al-Khaṭīb, *Uṣl al-Ḥadīth: 'Ulumuh wa Muṣṭalaḥuh* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989), h. 57.

4. Translation Books

¹Toshihiko Izutsu, *Relasi Tuhan dan Manusia: Pendekatan Semantik terhadap al-Qur'an*, terj. Agus Fahri Husein dkk (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003), h. 14.

5. Voluminous book

¹Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir b. 'Ashur, *al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, Vol. 25 (Tunisia: Dār al-Suḥūn, 2009), h. 76.

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6. Article in book

¹Sahiron Syamsuddin, "Metode Intratekstualitas Muhammad Shahrur dalam Penafsiran al-Qur'an" dalam Abdul Mustaqim dan Sahiron Syamsuddin (eds.), *Studi al-Qur'an Kontemporer: Wacana Baru Berbagai Metodologi Tafsir* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2002), h. 139.

7. Article in encyclopaedia

¹M. Th. Houtsma, "Kufr" dalam A. J. Wensinck, at al. (ed.), *First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 6 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), h. 244.

8. Article in journal

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10. Article in Internet

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11. Thesis or dissertation

¹Syahrudin Usman, “*Kinerja Guru Pendidikan Agama Islam pada SMAN dan SMKN Kota Makassar*”, *Disertasi* (Makassar: PPs UIN Alauddin, 2010), h. 200.

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