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Suryani, A.J.

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From Respected Hermits to Ordinary Citizens



The Conversion of the Baduy,
Ethnicity and Politics of Religion
in Indonesia (1977 - 2019)

Ade Jaya Suryani

From Respected Hermits to Ordinary Citizens

**The Conversion of the Baduy, Ethnicity,
and Politics of Religion in Indonesia (1977 - 2019)**

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
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door
Ade Jaya Suryani
Geboren te Pandeglang
1981

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To my wife Desty and our children Maryam, Umar, and Brillian.
With them my life is joyful.

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Note on the Transliteration

Indonesian and Sundanese words are written as they are used in the languages. The writing of Islamic terms follows *Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition / EI-2* which was published by E. J. Brill in 1986, otherwise follows “Brill’s simple Arabic transliteration system” as the table below. Non-English words are written in italic. All non-English nouns are written in singular, like *kiyai* (Indonesian/Sundanese) not *kiyais* and *madrasa* (Arabic) not *madrasas* neither *madāris*. When the non-English words function as a pronoun, like “Kiyai Ahmad”, they are written normal.

Arabic	sAts	Arabic	sAts	Arabic	sAts
ا	a, ā	ط	ṭ	ى	ā
ب	b	ظ	ẓ	ي	ī
ت	t	ع	‘	و	ū
ث	ṭ	غ	ġ	َ	a
ج	ġ	ف	f	ِ	i
ح	ḥ	ق	q	ُ	u
خ	ḥ	ك	k	يَا	ai
د	d	ل	l	وَا	au
ذ	d	م	m	يَا	īy
ر	r	ن	n	وَا	ūw
ز	z	ه	h	ة	a, ah, āh, at, āt
س	s	و	w, ū		
ش	š	ي	y, ī		
ص	š	ء	’		
ض	d				

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-
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Glossary

<i>Adat</i>	Arabic: <i>‘āda(ʔ)</i> , custom.
<i>Āmil</i>	An agent, tax-collector, administrator, government official, and finance officer. In Cicakal Girang a man is called <i>‘āmil</i> to who the Outer Baduy declare the <i>shahāda</i> .
<i>Ādān</i>	The Islamic call for prayer.
AMAN	<i>Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara</i> / the Indigenous Peoples’ Alliance of the Archipelago.
Bapeda	<i>Badan Perencanaan Daerah</i> / the Body of Regional Planning.
BKKI	<i>Badan Koordinasi Kebatinan Indonesia</i> / the Coordinating Body of Indonesian Spirituality.
BPUPKI	<i>Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia</i> (The Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence).
BUMN	<i>Badan Usaha Milik Negara</i> / State-Owned Company.
Danramil	<i>Komandan Rayon Militer</i> , Commander of <i>Koramil</i> .
DDII	Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia / Indonesian Islamic Da’wa Council.
<i>Debus</i>	Performance art and capability of being invulnerable to weapons.
Depag	<i>Departemen Agama</i> (Department of Religious Affairs). In 2010 the name <i>Departemen Agama</i> was changed into <i>Kementerian Agama</i> (Ministry of Religious Affairs/ MORA).
Depsos	<i>Departemen Sosial</i> (Department of Social Affairs).
GPDI	<i>Gereja Pantekosta di Indonesia</i> / Pentecostal Church in Indonesia.
<i>Haj</i>	The pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five pillars of Islam.
IAIN	<i>Institut Agama Islam Negeri</i> / State Institute for Islamic Studies.
<i>Jaro pamarentah</i>	The governmental head of <i>desa</i> . In the <i>adat</i> community of Baduy there are many <i>jaro</i> , one of the <i>jaro</i> is <i>jaro pamarentah</i> who is similar to <i>kepala desa</i> (<i>desa</i> leader) in other <i>desa</i> . <i>Jaro pamarentah</i> of the Baduy, however, is appointed by the <i>adat</i> leader and legalised by the government.
Kemenag	<i>Kementerian Agama</i> (Ministry of Religious Affairs/ MORA).

<i>Kiyai</i>	A title attributed to a higher level of <i>ustad</i> .
<i>Koramil</i>	<i>Komando Rayon Militer</i> , Command of Indonesian Army at the regency level.
KUA	<i>Kantor Urusan Agama</i> / Office of Religious Affairs.
<i>Lewit</i>	(Sundanese) barn.
<i>Madrasah</i>	(Arabic) <i>madrassa</i> , school. In the Indonesian context, <i>madrasah</i> means Islamic school. In Indonesia education is managed by two ministries: the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The latter manages, from the lowest the highest levels, <i>Madrasah Diniyah</i> (religious school), <i>Madrasah Ibtidaiyah</i> (Islamic Elementary School), <i>Madrasah Tsanawiyah</i> (Islamic Middle School), <i>Madrasah Aliyah</i> (Islamic High School) and Higher Education in various names such as <i>Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam</i> (Islamic College), <i>Institute Agama Islam</i> (Institute of Islamic Studies), and <i>Universitas Islam</i> (Islamic University), both private and public. In addition, the Ministry of Religious Affairs has also higher education for non-Islamic religions such as <i>Sekolah Tinggi Agama Hindu</i> (Hindu College) and <i>Sekolah Tinggi Agama Buddha</i> (Buddhist College).
MK	<i>Mahkamah Konstitusi</i> / Constitutional Court.
MUI	<i>Majelis Ulama Indonesia</i> (the Council of Indonesian Ulama).
Pakem	<i>Pengawasan Aliran Kepercayaan dan Aliran Keagamaan dalam Masyarakat</i> / Surveillance of Belief and Religious Streams in Society.
<i>Penghulu</i>	Marriage officiant. Working in an Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), a <i>penghulu</i> gets marry a Muslim couple, when her father or guardian cannot, and records their marriage.
Persis	Persatuan Islam. This Islamic organisation was founded in 1923 in Bandung.
Pesantren	<i>Pe-santri-an</i> , <i>santri</i> -place. Islamic boarding school where students (<i>santri</i>) learn classical Islamic subjects. In terms of the teaching methods, <i>pesantren</i> are divided into three: traditional (<i>salafiyya</i>), modern (<i>kehalafiyya</i>) and mixed.
PGI	Founded in 1950, <i>Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia</i> (the Council of Churches in Indonesia Council) is the new

PPMT	name of <i>Dewan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia</i> (DGI). <i>Program Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing</i> / the Programme of the Development of Isolated societies.
Puskesmas	<i>Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat</i> / Community Health Centre which commonly exists in a district.
<i>Qunut</i>	(Arabic) <i>qunūt</i> . According to Vicon Arabic – English Dictionary, <i>qunūt</i> means “obedience, humility, devoutness, piety”. The <i>qunut</i> is practiced by the doer by reading a certain prayer before he prostrates in the last <i>rakaat</i> (prostration). The practice of <i>qunut</i> in the down prayer often becomes a marker of the Nahdlatul Ulama culture
<i>Santri</i>	Students who study Islam in a <i>pesantren</i> .
<u><i>Shahāda</i></u>	(Arabic) testimony. The first of the five pillars of Islam testifying that Allah is his/her God and Muhammad is His messenger.
SPG	<i>Sekolah Pendidikan Guru</i> / School for Teacher Education
<i>Tablilan</i>	<i>Tablilan</i> is from <i>tahlil</i> (Arabic: التهليل) which refers to the declaration of the uniqueness of Allah ‘لا إله إلا الله’ ‘there is no god but God’. In traditional Muslim communities in Indonesia, which is often associated with Nahdlatul Ulama, when a Muslim dies the other Muslims will gather mostly in the first week evenings either in the house of the dead or in the mosque to do a ceremony called <i>tablilan</i> . During the gathering they read Qur’an verses, recite the <i>tahlil</i> sentence for a certain number and pray for the dead. The host family, like in many ceremonies in Indonesia, commonly provides food for the participants. Muhammadiyah who brings the idea of the purification of Islam rarely practices the <i>tablilan</i> ceremony and is considered by many Muslims from the this community, especially in rural areas, strange.
UIN	<i>Universitas Islam Negeri</i> / the State Islamic University.
<i>Ulama</i>	(Arabic) The plural form of <i>‘alim</i> , scholar. It is a general term covering the terms <i>ustad</i> and <i>kiyai</i> . In a specific usage, <i>ulama</i> refers to higher levels of <i>ustad</i> and <i>kiyai</i> . <i>Ulama</i> can simply mean an influential <i>kiyai</i> .
<i>Ustad</i>	(Arabic) teacher. Specifically <i>ustad</i> refers to Islamic religious teacher.
<i>Yasinan</i>	<i>Yasinan</i> means to read the <i>sūrah</i> (chapter) <i>Yā-Sīn</i> (36) from the Qur’an, which is generally performed in the Friday

night. The participants read the *sūrah* and may be added with other *sūrah*. After reading the *sūrah* or *sūrah* they pray for the wellness, prosperity, forgiveness of them and the Muslims in general. Eating and drinking as exist in other ceremonies include in this event. *Yasinan* is also performed by traditional Muslims in the first seven days day of a death.

YWAM

Youth With A Mission, an international interdenominational Christian mission organisation based in the US.

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Serang, 8 June 2020
Ade Jaya Suryani

Maps

Map 1: Indonesia



Source: <http://bit.ly/2QvgD6R>

Map 2: Banten Province



Source: <http://bit.ly/2Szo3C>

Map 3: Lebak Regency



Source: <http://bit.ly/37igTNn>

Introduction

A. Background

Not long after Indonesia proclaimed its independence the government tried to develop the nation through various development policies. Two important programmes were transmigration and resettlement. The transmigration programme was the continuation of the previous policy conducted by the Dutch and Japanese. From 1905 until 2005 there had been no less than 2,142,984 families relocated mostly from Java to sparsely populated areas in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua. By the transmigration, the government intended to increase the welfare of the people (Departemen Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi 2008: 2-3, 20-30).¹

Unlike the transmigration programme, the resettlement programme was designed to move isolated societies into more developed ones. The isolated societies are defined by the government as societies that are isolated, scattered, dependent on nature, stagnant, less differentiated, illiterate, and undeveloped. In 1973 there were around 1,586,148 people categorised as isolated. They lived mostly in mountainous

¹ Departemen Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi (2008: 2-3, 20-30) makes the periodisation of transmigration in Indonesia as follows: the Dutch government (1905 – 1942), the Japanese government (1942 – 1945), the period of 1945 – 1950, the *pra-pelita* (*pra-pembangunan lima tahun* / pre-five year development) (1950 – 1968), the first *pelita* (1969 – 1974), the second *pelita* (1974 – 1979), the third *pelita* (1979 – 1984), the fourth *pelita* (1984 – 1989), the fifth *pelita* (1989 – 1994), the sixth *pelita* (1994 – 1999), the reformation period (1999 – 2000), the mutual cooperation/ *gotong royong* period (2001 – 2003), and the period of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono 2004 – 2008. Since the booklet published in 2008, it does not cover the onward period.

areas in West Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Maluku, East Nusa Tenggara, Sulawesi and Papua (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 4-8, 30-34; Fathuddien *et al.*, 1978/9: 8-11).

The effort to resettle such people has been begun since 1951, but its official project just began in 1964 in West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Jambi, and Riau. A more serious effort to resettle the isolated societies was conducted in 1974 when the government issued Law No. 6/ 1974 about the Main Guidelines of Social Welfare (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1997: iv, v). The Department of Social Affairs (henceforth the Depsos), now the Ministry of Social Affairs, then issued the decision letter No. 10/ 1975 about the organizational structure and working procedure of the department. The decision letter mentions that the Directorate of the Development of Isolated Societies is responsible for the implementation of Law No. 6/ 1974. The law and regulation became the legal basis for the resettlement programme of the isolated societies in Indonesia. Two of many agendas of the resettlement programme were to develop peoples' socio-economic lives and to convert them to religions recognised by the state. The latter purpose was rendered to the Department of Religious Affairs (henceforth the Mora) (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 36, 38, 39, 67, Fathuddien *et al.* 1978: 3).

The reason behind the resettlement programme was that the isolated societies, according to the government, were not in line with the government's hope: they were dependent too much on nature, not religious, and socio-culturally underdeveloped. To bring them in line with the government's hope, it created *Program Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing* (Programme of the Development of Isolated Communities). Through this programme the Depsos resettled isolated societies in Indonesia, built houses, roads, schools, worship places, sports squares, and so on for the peoples (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 38, 67-68, 160-163, 295). To make the programme successful the Depsos created a standard process from pre-resettlement to post-resettlement which lasted for 3-7 years (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 17-24, 62).

One of the isolated societies, or later renamed as *adat* (traditional) societies, that followed the resettlement programme was the Baduy. Being part of the wider Sundanese ethnic group, the Baduy live in the *desa*² of Kanekes, the *kecamatan* (sub-

² Indonesian-English dictionaries, such as Alan M. Stevens and A. Ed. Schmidgall-Tellings, *A Comprehensive Indonesian English Dictionary* (2010: 239), often translate '*desa*' and '*kampung*' as village. Actually, *desa* and *kampung* are two different concepts. *Desa*, as the opposite of city, means rural area. In the governmental system, *desa* is the lowest level (centre/ national> province> regency> sub-district> *desa* *kelurahan*). A *desa* consists of many *kampung*. A *kampung* is more properly defined as a hamlet where a small community shares their daily basis. In 2010 the *desa* of Kanekes, for example, consisted 58 *kampung* (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 71).

district) of Leuwidamar, the regency of Lebak, Banten province. The Baduy are divided into two groups: the Inner Baduy (Baduy *Jero/Dalam*) and the Outer Baduy (Baduy *Panamping/Luar*). The first group lives in the three villages Cibeo, Cikertawana and Cikeusik and the second lives in many other villages. In 2010 the number of the outer Baduy villages was 58 villages and kept increasing (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 68). In 2018 the number of the Baduy population was 11.699 or 3.413 families (BPS Lebak 2018: 7, 25).

Both the Outer and Inner Baduy live in one community land (*tanah ulayat*, *adat* land) and under the same systems: the *adat* and the *desa*. In the former system, three *puun* (leaders) from the three inner villages occupy the top position. Because the *puun* of Cikeusik is the most authoritative among the three, he is the leader of the *puun* and the whole society of the Baduy. The later system, the *desa*, is headed by a *desa* leader which is called *jaro pamarentah* and is part of the formal government. Different from other *desa*, the *desa* head of the Baduy is appointed by the *adat* leaders, not by the society.

In terms of religion, the Baduy embrace Sunda Wiwitan. Based on their duties in the world, they believe that humans are divided into two groups: those who become hermits³ (*nu napakeun*) and those who manage the world (*nu ngaramekeun dunia*). The Baduy believe that they are destined by God to play the first role and the non-Baduy play the second. As the expression of being hermits, their religion prohibits them to attach themselves to modernity and use its products. However, change or adaptation of the Baduy, especially the Outer Baduy, has been identified since the 1950s (Saputra 1959).

The fact that the Baduy change, adopt modernity and some of them convert to Islam or Christianity is influenced mainly by their religion and ethnicity, the limited size of the *adat* land, the increase of the population, Muslim preachers and Christian missionaries, and the politics of religion and development in Indonesia. To be clearer, the Baduy believe that they are hermits (Indonesian: *petapa*). As an expression of being hermits they have to live in the *adat* land and refuse modernity. Problems start to appear when the number of population increases while the size of the *adat* land is constant. In 2010 alone, if the farming area in the *adat* land was divided evenly, each family would obtain 0.7 hectare. This means that in the following years the family will get less land for farming. To solve the problems, the Baduy have managed the non-Baduy's farms outside the *adat* land since at least the 1950s. In this period the government of Lebak also tried to relocate the Baduy, but failed.

Changes were more visible when some Outer Baduy accepted the resettlement

³ The special meaning of being a hermit in the Baduy context will be discussed in chapter 2.

programme of the Depsos in 1977. By referring to the definition of isolated societies provided by the Depsos, the Baduy were and are actually not an isolated society (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 9, 63, Persoon 1994: 345, 371). It is an open society which means its members have contact with wider societies. The Baduy land and people are also open to be visited by non-Baduy. That their economy is not “developed” and that their interaction with the non-Baduy is not too intensive, according to the Baduy, happen because they intentionally isolate themselves (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 8). As hermits they have to detach themselves from modern life and are taboo to develop their farming system. However, the limited *adat* land and the increase of the population eventually forced some of them to accept the resettlement programme and opened their land for tourism. Supported by the government, tourism attracted more and more people to visit the *adat* land. In the end, tourism has driven them to break more taboos by, for example, having cell phones and toilets.

In 1977 the Depsos began to open resettlement villages for the Baduy. This was one of many resettlement programmes which were run by the Depsos in 13 provinces (Sumintardja 1979: 35). Until 1999 no less than 600 Baduy families were relocated to the villages (Bakels and Boevink 1988, Persoon 1989, 1994; Anggraeni 2000). What the Baduy probably did not know about the resettlement programme was that the state, through the Depsos, intended to ‘develop’, ‘modernize’ and convert them to the religions recognised by the state.

Since the first five years of the resettlement the Baduy have gradually broken the taboos. They, for instance, wore t-shirts, had an electricity network and electronics, and managed wet rice fields (*sawah*). By adopting the taboos the *adat* leaders deemed that the Baduy in the resettlement villages were in an obscure position like sitting in a doorway where a part of his body is inside the house and another one is outside. They were also like a man whose one foot on a boat and another foot on another boat. The *adat* leaders could not accept this situation. The Baduy in the resettlement villages had to choose to remain as Baduy by returning to the Baduy land or to live in the resettlement villages by abandoning Sunda Wiwitan. Many of them returned to the Baduy land, while those who remained in the resettlement villages converted to Islam and some others to Christianity. Muslims and Christians, supported by the politics of religion in Indonesia, were involved actively in the process of their conversion.

The *adat* leaders suggested the Baduy who chose to remain in the resettlement villages to convert to Islam. This suggestion was related to the historical-religious relations between Sunda Wiwitan and Islam: (1) Cicakal Girang in the Baduy land is a Muslim village which is believed to date back to the 16th century, (2)

the Outer Baduy proclaim the *shahāda*⁴ (the confession that Allah is God and Muhammad is His messenger) in front of a Muslim official (*‘amil*)⁵ when they will marry, (3) the Baduy men are circumcised and they believe that this practice is from Islam, (4) and the marriage rules, such as the practice of *‘idda*, is the same as that of Islam. The *jaro pamarentah* Saija also states that the Baduy, because of the *shahāda*, are Muslim; but their Islam is different from Islam of other Muslims. Islam of the Baduy does not require them to perform the other four pillars of Islam. Besides the *shahāda*, the pillars of Islam include *ṣalāt*, *zakāt* (almsgiving), fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, and the *haj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) if he can do so once in his lifetime. From these beliefs the name ‘Islam’ is attached in front of ‘Sunda Wiwitan’ and becomes ‘(I)slam Sunda Wiwitan’. Because of these connections, a Baduy who does no longer want to be a Baduy is recommended by the *adat* leaders to convert to Islam.

Although the Baduy were suggested to choose Islam when they would abandon their religion, in fact, more than a hundred of them chose Christianity. The Christian missionaries and students have come to the resettlement villages, especially in Gunung Tunggul (Cipangembar 1 and 2), since the 1970s and 1980s. They came there as sports trainers and fieldworkers, stayed there for months, and converted the Baduy. The missionaries and the students are supposed to be linked, although unofficially, to Universitas Advent Indonesia in Bandung where some Christian Baduy were brought to and live in the city. Another missionary who came to the Baduy villages, not specifically to the resettlement villages, was Kharel Budiman Silitonga. In his book *Saya Dijuluki Nomensennya Baduy* (I am Called as Nomensen of the Baduy)⁶ (1998) he accounts his mission to the Baduy land and claims to have converted 120 Baduy and Muslim families to Christianity.

Tension, contestation and religious conflicts started to happen when the

⁴ The *shahāda* لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ means “I testify that there is no god but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah.”

⁵ *‘Amil* means agent, tax-collector, administrator, government official, and finance officer. Look at A.A. Duri, “*‘amil*” in Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition Vol. 1 A-B, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 435-436. The term *‘amil* as an official who manages the *zakāt* is mentioned in the Qur’an (9:60).

⁶ The full title is *Saya Dijuluki Nomensennya Baduy: Profil dan Kesaksian Pendeta Kharel Budiman Silitonga, Tokoh Peninggil dan Perintis Gereja Banten* (I am Called the Baduy’s Nomensen: the Profile and Testimony of Pastor Kharel Budiman Silitonga the Missionary and Initiator of the Banten Church). The author mistyped the name of Ingwer Ludwig Nommensen (1834-1918). He should have written ‘Nommensen’ with double ‘m’. Born in Nordstarnd, Germany, on 6 February 1834, Nommensen departed Amsterdam in December 1861 for the Dutch East Indies and arrived in Padang on 14 May 1862. Until 1876 he had baptised more than 7,000 people. On 23 May 1918, after spending 56 years of his age in the Batak land, he died and buried in Sigumpar, North Sumatra. More details about Nommensen, read Patar M. Pasaribu, *Dr. Ingwer Ludwig Nommensen Apostel di Tanah Batak*, (Medan: Universitas HKBP Nommensen, 2005) and Karel A. Steenbrink and Jan S. Aritonang, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, (Netherlands: Brill, 2008). A university in Medan is named after his name, Universitas Nommensen.

Muslims could not accept the Christian missionary activities in the Baduy land and resettlement villages. According to the Muslims, converting the Baduy is the right of Muslims because of the historical-religious relations between the Baduy and the Muslims. Responding to the missionary activities, Muslim individuals and organisations intensified their *da'wa* activities. Muhammadiyah was and is the most active. Having a national programme of *da'wa* to the isolated societies in Indonesia, the organisation sent some preachers to introduce Islam to the Baduy and invited the people to the religion. Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, one of the preachers, claimed to have been successful in converting about 500 Baduy to Islam.⁷ To support his *da'wa*, in 1986 he built a *pesantren* in Palopat. Muhammadiyah also sent the preacher Ahmad Hidayat to Cicakal Girang, a Muslim village in the Baduy land, where he and his wife manage *madrasah* (Islamic schools) and a mosque. Other preachers were sent by the organisation to Kumpul, Nagari and Leuwidamar where they also run *madrasah*. To convert the Baduy and to counter the Christianisation of the people, Muhammadiyah even would build a mosque in a Baduy village. To do all of these, Muhammadiyah obtained fund from foreign countries.

To do the same thing, Al Washliyah has existed in Banten since 1969 and started to send its preachers to the resettlement villages in 1988⁸, converted the Baduy to Islam, and built a *madrasah* in Margaluyu. Al Washliyah also sent some Muslim Baduy youths to Medan to study at universities organised by the organisation. The preachers themselves have left the resettlement villages and bequeathed the *madrasah* to Suparta, a Muslim Baduy who was taught by the Al Washliyah preachers in the early 1980s. Many children of the Muslim converts in Cihaur, Cipangembar, and Margaluyu study Islam and general subjects at this *madrasah*.

Jamaah Tablig, a Muslim missionary organisation⁹ originated from India, also claimed to have been active in the surrounding villages of the Baduy land since ten to fifteen years ago. A number of Muslim Baduy confessed as the followers of this organisation. Some of the members claimed to have converted several Baduy to Islam. They often conduct a *halaqa* (Arabic: meeting, circle) from one house of its members to another. One of the common places is the house of Haji Adung in Cikapek. As a form of support, a businessman bought a field in 2017 where

⁷ He gave me a bundle of religious conversion certificates consisting of more than 230 sheets. Some sheets contain more than one convert's conversion, like a father and his child(ren).

⁸ <http://kabarwashliyah.com/2013/02/27/pw-al-washliyah-banten-resmi-dilantik/>, accessed on 5 March 2016.

⁹ The followers of Jamaah Tablig whom I met during my fieldwork refused Jamaah Tablig to be called an organisation because, they said, it did not have a fixed managerial structure. For the reason of practicality, I deploy the term 'organisation'.

some Muslim Baduy families would be relocated to this area. Besides the reason that the families did not have land on which a house could be built, the Jamaah Tabligh people also thought the importance of isolating the converts from the un-Islamic ambience of the Muslim society. In addition, the businessman also planned to buy a quite large field bordering with the land owned by the Christian group to counterbalance the Christianisation of the Baduy.

After becoming Muslims or Christians the Baduy have to soon leave the *adat* land which is only for the adherents of Sunda Wiwitan. For the Baduy in the resettlement villages, because they already moved, they did not need to move again. When converting to Islam some Baduy changed their names, although the new ones are not always completely different from the old ones. For instance, Sali became Muhammad Sali. Unlike converting to Islam, the name change rarely happened in the Christian circle. Moreover, the Muslim and Christian converts gradually learned Islamic or Christian teachings. They termed it as in the Sundanese proverb “*beda cai beda tampian*” which literarily means “different water, a different place to take a bath”. Simply, when they change something, the attributes of and the practices in the place also change. After the conversion, their distinct dresses, the style of the house, and accents and vocabularies of their language have gradually disappeared. Nowadays, one would not notice that the people in the ex-resettlement villages are Baduy. The distinct Sundanese accent which is the easiest way to identify the Baduy is already gone.

In fact, changes do not only occur in the resettlement villages, but also in the *adat* land. Starting from the 1980s there were increasingly more visitors coming to the Baduy land. It was, among others, due to the promotion carried out by the government of Lebak regency. Even it believes that the Baduy community will become a world tourist destination.¹⁰ The Baduy man Karman said that in December 2015 almost one thousand tourists came to the Baduy land to spend their year-end holidays.¹¹ Like the Muslim and Christian preachers, tourists who visit the Baduy land raise great challenges to the people and their religion. During their visits the tourists converse with the people, introduce new ideas, and show how ‘modern’ people live. It is not rare that the Baduy visit back their (tourist) friends in towns and cities. The intensive contact among them has led the Baduy to change. For example, some Inner Baduy have become Outer Baduy to live more modern and many Outer Baduy have cellular phones. Some Outer Baduy have radios, motorcycles, and toilets which are all forbidden for the Baduy. On

¹⁰ <https://travel.kompas.com/read/2016/07/24/134600527/Pariwisata.Baduy.Bisa.Mendunia.Asal.?page=allon> 20 May 2016.

¹¹ A personal conversation with Karman in March 2017.

top of that, not few of them have left the *adat* land by converting to Islam or Christianity.

The Baduy society is actually not the only *adat* group which experiences changes and religious conversion. This is a common phenomenon occurring in almost all *adat* communities throughout Indonesia. For instance, many people of Suku Anak Dalam have converted to Islam (Depsos RI 1989: 46, 61, 62, Persoon 1994, Handini 2005: 58, 107, 108) and of Mentawai to Protestantism, Catholicism, and Islam (Depsos Sumatera Barat 1979: 4, 8, 11, 22, Persoon 1994). As written in the reports published by the government, converting the people was part of the government's agenda to bring them in line with the state's ideology: the belief in the one and only God. As it occurs in Banten, the government involved religious organisations existing in the regions of the isolated societies. Besides the Baduy, the Suku Anak Dalam, and the Mentawaians, two other examples are the Tobelo in North-eastern Halmahera (Duncan 1998) and the Dayak in East Kalimantan (Connolly 2003). They were targeted by the development programme and Islamic and Christian missionary activities.

Likewise, the indigenous peoples of Southeast Asian countries were targeted by development policies and missionary activities (Ghee and Gomes [eds.] 1990 and Duncan [eds.] 2004). Liana Chua (2012) who studied the Bidayuh of Malaysia describes how this indigenous community was developed by the government and targeted by missionaries. Before the 1960s, the Bidayuh "were relatively self-sufficient, rice planting communities, practising shifting cultivation on the vertiginous slopes and jungles...." But after 1963, when Sarawak gained independence, the Bidayuh were targeted by the "state-led program of development and modernisation..." and in the 2000s most of the people had converted to Christianity (Chua 2012: 3, 5). Commenting on the process of development, modernisation and conversion of the indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia Duncan (2004: 3) states:

"These [Southeast Asian] governments want to bring indigenous ethnic minorities into the modern age, to move from more traditional or "tradition-bound" local world into larger national and regional networks. The trademarks of this modern world include fluency in the national language, conversion to a recognised world religion, and entrance into the cash money."

In summary, what occurs in the Baduy land is a common phenomenon experienced by all *adat* societies in Indonesia and indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia. Therefore, the Baduy community can be a very good entrance into the study of *adat* communities, development and modernisation, the impacts of the

politics of religion on citizens, and religious conversion in Indonesia. Let alone, this community has specificity which is being respected by the rulers. The Baduy were respected by the kingdom of Pajajaran, the sultanate of Banten, and the government of Indonesia. The Baduy had capabilities to ask President Soeharto who was authoritarian not to involve them in the development programme (see Ekadjati in Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: i, Garna 1988: 366, and Persoon: 1994: 333, 369). The important position of the Baduy community is very well stated by Persoon (1994: 314-315):

“But the Baduy play an important role in Sundanese and Indonesian religious life: they consider themselves the centre of the world, the cosmic centre. Their well-being is of great importance to life in Indonesia. And this is directly linked to a continuation of the tradition handed down, full of limitations regarding the change processes imposed on them. They also play a role, albeit passively, within the Indonesian environmental movement, in which they are repeatedly brought forward as an example of a society that lives in harmony with the environment through self-imposed restrictions on the exploitation of natural resources. Finally, the Baduy are a controversial case in development planning not only of West Java but also that of Indonesia as a whole. Concerning their total number or the size of their area, the Baduy receive a lot of attention from planners and politicians, an attention that contrasts unfavourably with what is actually achieved in terms of ‘classic’ and physical development activities.”¹²

“Maintaining this traditional way of life has always been accepted and respected by the political rulers both in pre-colonial times and during the Dutch and Japanese periods in Indonesian history. These rulers did not impose taxes on them and the Baduy were also released from corvee.”¹³

¹² *“Maar de Baduy spelen een belangrijke rol in het Sundanese en Indonesische religieuze leven: zij beschouwen zich als het centrum van de wereld, het kosmische middelpunt. Hun welzijn is van grote betekenis voor het leven in Indonesië. En dit is direct gekoppeld aan een voortzetting van de overgeleverde traditie vol beperkingen ten aanzien van veranderingsprocessen die hen worden opgedrongen. Ook spelen ze, zij het passief, een rol binnen de Indonesische milieubeweging waarin ze telkens naar voren worden gehaald als een voorbeeld van een samenleving die in harmonie leeft met de omgeving door zelfopgelegde beperkingen ten aanzien van de exploitatie van de natuurlijke hulpbronnen. Tenslotte vormen de Baduy een controversieel geval binnen de ontwikkelingsplanning niet alleen van West-Java maar ook van die in Indonesië als geheel. In verhouding tot hun totale aantal of de omvang van hun gebied ontvangen de Baduy veel aandacht van planners en politici, een aandacht die ongunstig afsteekt bij wat er werkelijk bereikt wordt in termen van ‘klassieke’ en fysieke ontwikkelingsactiviteiten.”*

¹³ *“Het handhaven van deze traditionele manier van leven is altijd geaccepteerd en gerespecteerd door de politieke machthebbers zowel in de pre-koloniale tijden als gedurende de Nederlandse en Japanse periode in de Indonesische geschiedenis. Deze machthebbers legden hen geen belasting op en ook werden de Baduy ontheven van de ‘heerendiensten’.”*

In addition, as we will see right below, in the academic circle the Baduy community has attracted scholars. By putting their works chronologically, we can see easily the changes in research topics of the Baduy community for almost two centuries. In tourism, the Baduy community and its villages, which are very close to the city, can attract thousands of visitors every year. Even when speaking about “culture” the government and people in Banten will directly point their fingers to the Baduy community. Finally, it is not surprising that it gets extensive media coverage, including from international media.

B. Previous Studies: From an Archaic Image to Development and Conversion

By reviewing the literature on the Baduy community it can be seen clearly that the research topics of the Baduy society change over time. Initially, it is portrayed as archaic, as the remnant of the past; followed by the issues of the population growth and the problem of access to land, which urged them to adopt modernity. Afterwards, sources from the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s discuss the resettlement programme which is followed by the Baduy’s conversion either to Islam or Christianity.

Ota Atsushi (2006: 14, 174) whose dissertation is about Banten in the 18th and 19th centuries states that there is no (Dutch) reference about the Baduy from the 18th century. The earliest source on the people is probably a report by C.L. Blume in 1822. Since that year there have been no less than 85 reports and books and 45 articles where the word ‘Baduy’ (or in other spellings) appeared in their titles. Among the most important sources, to which the later studies of the Baduy often refer, are by Blume (1822), Meinsma (1869), van Ende (1889), Jacobs and Meijer (1891), Pennings (1902), Pleyte (1909), van Tricht (1929), Geise (1952), Saputra (1959)¹⁴, Garna (1973, 1980, 1987, 1988), Danasasmita and Djatisuna (1986), Djoewisno (1987), and Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010). They try to provide a general description of the people especially the Baduy’s origin, political structure, economic life, and religion.

In terms of the topics, however, sources which were published later are more diverse. Some focus, for instance, on music (Suryadi 1974, Van Zanten 1995, 2020), architecture (Barendregt and Wessing 2008), development (Bakels

¹⁴ On the cover of the book it is mentioned that the book was printed in 1950, but on page III-3 the author narrates his visit took place in January 1959. Moreover, on page VI-3 he refers to the work of Geise which was published in 1952. From these facts, the book could not be printed prior to 1959.

and Boevink 1988, Persoon 1994, Suryadi NS 2015), environment (Permana 2006, Sutendy and Huriyuddin 2010, Permana 2010), health and medication (Iskandar and Iskandar 2005), folklore (Marzuki 1968, Lembaga Sejarah dan Antropologi 1975), language (Marzuki 1984), forestry (Senoaji 2004, 2010, 2012, Suparno *et al.* 2005), politics (Ulumi 2009, Hamidi 2015), clothes (Bakels 1991, Hasman *et al.* 2012), agriculture (Tjakrawiralaksana 1986, Iskandar 1992, 1998), and religion (Qoyim 2003, Sucipto 2007). The Baduy community is also documented in literary works including the works of Undang Odjoh (1967), Rukmana (2006), Soekardi and Syahbudin (2006), and Sutendy (2015).

Unlike the earlier sources which portray the Baduy society as the representation of the earlier culture and that the people have preserved their culture for centuries, the sources from the 1950s mention that the Baduy have broken their taboos. In 1954 the weekly magazine *Pesat* reported the visit of the government to the Baduy land. The reporter who followed the visit wrote that the Baduy had broken the taboos. Besides, the reporter also asked the government whether it would develop the Baduy. The government, according to the magazine, has not taken a decision. Suria Saputra (1959) also mentions that many Baduy have adopted modern products and when travelling to cities some of them got on the train.

Almost two decades later, in 1975, the Depsos issued a report about the possibility to resettle the Baduy. In the same year Bapeda (*Badan Perencanaan Daerah* the Body of Regional Planning) and the Department of Anthropology of Universitas Padjadjaran wrote a report about the possibility of the Baduy “to join the development”. Reports about the Baduy’s acceptance of modern products increased in the second half of the 1970s, including the studies by the Depsos (1975), Fargan (1975), and the Department of Anthropology of Universitas Padjadjaran (1975a, 1975b). In 1977 the Depsos started the resettlement programme to relocate about 300 Baduy families to Gunung Tunggal. The acceptance of this programme could be said as strong evidence that the Baduy community was changing, not stuck in time as the remnant of the past. Starting from this period onwards the breaking of the taboos by the Baduy became more visible. The following studies show how the Baduy experience changes by breaking the taboos and accepting modernity, mostly the resettlement programme: Sumadinata (1978), Sitepu (1978), Sumintardja (1979), the Departement of Anthropology of Padjajaran University (1980), Muliahati (1981), Mustofa (1981), the government of West Java (1982), Direktorat Masyarakat Terasing (1985), Tjakrawiralaksana (1986, 1987), Garna (1987), Bakels and Boevink (1988), Persoon (1989, 1994), the Depsos of West Java (1996), the Central Depsos (1996), and Anggraeni (2000).

Here we look at some of their views about the resettlement programme. Sumintardja (1979) in his *The Badui of West Java: on the Crossroads of Development* states that the Baduy were believed by many people to have preserved themselves for centuries. In fact, he found that “adoption of new customs has been already happening in the past decades, although perhaps in a very slow pace” (Sumintardja 1979: 39). Because of the increasing number of the population, access to land became more limited. Responding to this situation, the Baduy’s leader in the resettlement village expressed that the younger generation had to be allowed to progress. And accepting the resettlement programme was a preparation for their children to face the problem of access to land and to welcome the development.

About seven years after the Baduy moved to the resettlement villages the attitude of the Baduy towards the taboos and development had changed. Garna (1985) reports that they have broken the taboos by planting various plants, utilising hoes in the cultivation, having fishponds and electronics. The people also tended to speak in ‘polite’ Sundanese and Indonesian and participated in the 1982 General Election. The adaptation of the Baduy to new agricultural tools and techniques was facilitated by Abas Tjakrawiralaksana and friends from Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB)/the Agriculture Institute of Bogor. Abas Tjakrawiralaksana *et al.* (1986: 3, see also 1987) state that their involvement in the Baduy community was based on an agreement between the IPB and the Agency of Agriculture of West Java to “increase the income and the welfare of the Baduy, to increase their productivity, especially in agriculture, and to increase the participation of the people in development.” This project was proposed to last for three years and was intended for 30 Baduy as a pilot project. Each participant would manage an area of 1000 m² for the planting of corns, soya beans, and peanuts. Tjakrawiralaksana *et al.* (1985: 81-83) conclude that the Baduy have been able to adopt new techniques of agriculture.

De Baduy van West Java of Bakels and Boevink (1988) is an important study about the resettlement programme of the Baduy. They conclude that the Baduy society was changing as a response to the population growth and the agrarian policy. These changes have pressed the Baduy to break the taboos. Bakels and Boevink also conclude that the resettlement programme failed because the Baduy still kept their identity. Djoewisno (1987: 188-189) has a different impression. He thinks that the resettlement was as a positive step taken by the government to elevate the life quality of the Baduy. Persoon (1989) also demonstrates that the Baduy at the resettlement changed, few broke the taboos by having modern tools, and the *adat* leaders opposed the resettlement programme.

Persoon (1994) expands his research about the resettlement programme of the

Baduy in his *Vluchten of Veranderen: Processen van Verandering en Ontwikkeling bij Tribale Groepen in Indonesië*. Besides the Baduy, here Persoon discusses the Suku Anak Dalam and Mentawaiian peoples as well. He explains that the government wanted to develop isolated societies. To do it the central government involved various ministries and government authorities at the lower levels. Which is more important from this research is how the isolated societies responded to the development policies. It seems that they had no choices except to flee (*vluchten*) or to change (*veranderen*), as Persoon uses these two words as the title of his research. Finally, more than one thousand Baduy chose to change by joining the resettlement programme. The Central Depsos (1997/8: 20-21), as later confirmed by the Baduy in the resettlement villages, emphasises that the Baduy wanted to change. Not long after the Depsos' report, Anggraeni (2000) who studied the resettlement programme of the Baduy concludes that the Baduy have changed which was marked by, for instance, the adoption of agricultural technology, formal education and religious conversion.

Besides the access to land and development, another issue which arose in the resettlement villages was the Islamisation and Christianisation of the Baduy. Persoon (1989) has shown the presence of a mosque and Muslim figures in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal, but Persoon (1994) did not notice that Christian missionaries were also present there. *Metode Dakwah Bagi Suku Baduy di Banten (Da'wa Methods for the Baduy in Banten)* by Suminto (1975) and *Saya Dijuluki Nomensennya Baduy* (1998) by Kharel Budiman Silitonga is a strong indication that Muslims and Christians were interested in inviting the Baduy to Islam and Christianity. In fact, the missionaries are interested not only in the Baduy but also in other *adat* societies in Indonesia (Zubir and Siandes 1997, 1999a, and 1999b).

The conversion of the Baduy to Islam actually has happened since centuries ago. The regent of Serang Achmad Djajadiningrat (1877-1943) narrates in his autobiography *Herinneringen van Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat* (Memories of Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat) ([1936] 1996: 3-4) that his paternal ancestor was a Baduy who converted to Islam in the period of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (1631-1692). Even Djajadiningrat himself had a foster son, a Baduy who converted to Islam (Saputra 1959). The conversion of the Baduy Sarmedi to Islam in 2000 is accounted by Suhada (2003: 73-83). His conversion was driven by his experience of travelling to many cities in Indonesia. He said that the decisive moment of his conversion occurred when his Muslim friends went to a mosque for a Friday prayer while he was waiting for them in the car. Sarmedi's conversion will be explained further in chapter 6.

Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 73-84) are other authors who mention the

relationship between the Baduy and Muslims. By referring specifically to the village of Cicakal Girang, the Baduy leader Ayah Mursyid states that the Muslims in the village are connected to the period when the Baduy ancestors proposed to the Sultan of Banten to send a man who could manage the marriage of the Baduy. The Muslims in the village, according to Ayah Mursid, are the descendants of the sultan's envoy, Ki Ahum. The former *jaro pamarentah* Daenah confirms that Ki Ahum managed the marriage of the Outer Baduy. The Baduy leader Jaro Sami has a different view about Ki Ahum. He thinks that Ki Ahum was invited to live in Cicakal Girang in case there was a Muslim who died in the Baduy land and needed to be purified before being buried.

Moreover, the conversion of the Baduy in the resettlement villages to Islam, according to Anggraeni (2000), had three dimensions: family, economy, and the government's agenda. When they were still the adherents of Sunda Wiwitan, the Baduy were united in the concepts of family and Sunda Wiwitan. In other words, as it is obvious in their ancestral narrative, the Baduy are from the same family and they adhere to the same religion Sunda Wiwitan. In the later development, they faced the problem of the economy where not every person had access to the economic source: land. Therefore, they sought it outside the *adat* land and finally in 1977 accepted the resettlement programme. The looser social and geographical relation between the Baduy in the resettlement villages and their leaders in the *adat* land, in the end, met the agenda of the government to convert them to the religions recognised by the state. As proven later, most of the Baduy converted to Islam and a hundred something to Christianity.

While the connection between the Baduy and Muslims started from the 16th century, the encounter between the Baduy and the Christians goes back to the 19th century (Mufti Ali 2009: 60, 107-124). F.L. Anthing was 'the mastermind' of the first Christianisation of the Baduy. He sent his cadres Stepenus, Sondjat, and Petrus to the Baduy community. Unlike Sondjat and Petrus who came later, Stepanus is said to be successful in converting a Baduy family consisting of Kamat, his wife and their children. Ali states that the family of Kamat was the first Baduy who converted to Christianity.

The missionary Silitonga (1998) accounts his mission to the Baduy in his *Saya Dijuluki Nomensennya Baduy*. He states that he came to Pandeglang 1978 to study Sundanese of Banten. After mastering the language he went to Lebak and did missionary activities until 1983. He claims that during the mission he was successful in converting the Baduy and Muslims, including a *kiyai* (religious teacher) and his *santri* (students), to Christianity. The *ex-kiyai* even built a church in Wanasalam, Lebak, in 1982. At the end of the book, he suggests Christians and churches to follow up what he already did by providing some important

missionary methods. Anggraeni (2000:118-124) also shows how missionaries came to the resettlement villages and converted the Baduy to the religion. The conversion of the Baduy to Christianity, according to her, was connected to family, economy and church.

In fact, the resettlement programme started in 1977. It means that to the present it has lasted for more than 40 years. During this period many things have changed in the resettlement villages. Except those who returned to the *adat* land, most of the Baduy in the villages have converted to Islam and about a hundred to Christianity. Some of the Christian Baduy converted to Islam and the rest remain as Christians. Their houses are no longer the same as when they were just built by the Depsos. The distinct accent of their Sundanese can hardly be detected even by native speakers of Sundanese. Their appearance is completely the same as that of other people in the area. The term 'Baduy' is no longer used to refer to the people in the resettlement villages. It only appears when one asks about the history of the villages. These changes, especially their conversion to Islam or Christianity, have not discussed thoroughly. My research emerges to fill this void, mainly to see why and how they converted, who was involved in their conversion, in what ways the Christian missionaries and the Muslim preachers persuaded the people to their religions, how both groups contested, and how the Baduy responded this situation.

C. Focus, Questions, Methods, and Contribution of This Study

This research focuses on how the population growth has affected the Baduy's access to land, how the government imposed the politics of religions and development, how Muslims and Christians took advantage of the politics for their missionary activities, how the Muslims and Christians were involved in tension, contestation, and religious violence, and how the Baduy responded all of these situations. This research will answer the following questions: (1) Why did the Baduy convert? (2) What conditions have led them to conversion? (3) Why and how did the government impose the state's religious ideology upon *adat* communities in Indonesia, including the Baduy? (4) How did the Muslim and Christian groups utilise the politics of religion to gain more converts from the Baduy? (5) Why and how did the Muslims use the same politics of religion to do *da'wa* among the Baduy and to counter the Christianisation? (6) And how did the Baduy respond to the government's policies on religion and development and the missionary activities?

To answer these questions, first I used the available data from previous

researchers in the forms of articles and books. Besides, in a certain section, I rely on journalistic reports. Sources on the Baduy society, especially on the description of the Baduy and the resettlement programme, construct the foundation of this research. Because the sources about the resettlement pay little attention to the conversion of the people either to Islam or to Christianity, I needed to do fieldwork to collect the data about, for example, who the actors of the *da'wa* and mission were, why and how the Baduy converted, how the relationship between the Muslim and Christian Baduy was, and how the Muslim and Christian preachers contested and conflicted. To obtain the information I did fieldwork twice: the first was from March – July 2017 and the second was from October – December 2018.

When doing fieldwork I visited *adat* and resettlement villages of the Baduys. More importantly, I have interviewed Baduy people, Muslim and Christian Baduy, Muslim preachers, Christian missionaries, the officials of the Kanekes *desa*, the leaders of Offices of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama/KUA*), and the leaders and or the preachers of Muhammadiyah of Banten, the Council of Indonesian Ulama (*Majlis Ulama Indonesia* MUI) of Banten, *pesantren*, Al Washliyah, and Jamaah Tabligh. To recheck the accuracy of the data or to ask something I forgot to ask in the field I often sent WhatsApp messages to my informants. From the interviews, I have produced a more-than-200 page transcript covering various aspects, but all are centred in the issues of the conversion of the Baduy either to Islam or Christianity.¹⁵ The issues around the conversion of the Baduy include Sunda Wiwitan, ethnicity, modernity, development, citizenship, politics of religion and conversion. Since the phenomena of religious mission and the conversion of Baduy have not been investigated yet, data of my fieldwork occupy the major part of this research. Interviews themselves were conducted in Sundanese and Indonesian. When interviewing the Sunda Wiwitan, Muslim and Christian Baduys I tried to speak in Sundanese with the Baduy accent, but they preferred “polite” Sundanese or Indonesian.

Moreover, when I first heard from the Muslim group that the Muslims once conflicted with the Christians, I was really worried that the Christian Baduys would not like to be interviewed because I am a Muslim. I was worried that they would think that I would take the Muslims’ side. In fact, like the Muslim Baduy, the Christian Baduy were very open. They, for instance, allowed me to attend their religious service. Also when I needed to interview the Christian Baduy Narja in Bandung, he welcomed me. Even he decided not to work until late

¹⁵ The document is in my possession.

afternoon because I would come to and sleep in his house. Narja's daughter and her husband also answered my questions without any hesitation. The Muslim and Christian Baduys stated that conflicts happening between the Muslims and Christians a few years ago were driven by missionary motives. Among themselves, the Muslim and Christian Baduys did not have a problem. They were bound by one commonality as the Baduy.

I have encountered the Baduy since my childhood in the 1980s. At that time a small group of people crossed in front of my parents' house in Cibaliung, Banten. They wore black clothes and headgear and walked without footwear. I asked my father who they were. He told me that they were the Baduy and lived in a jungle. Until more than ten years later I hardly met and heard about them. When I studied at Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic Senior High School) Mathla'ul Anwar in Menes, I once or twice saw the people selling honey. Their appearance was the same as when I saw them for the first time. I began to meet them more often when I studied at the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN), now the State Islamic University (UIN), of Banten in Serang. I also repeatedly read news about the Baduy in local newspapers. Their yearly *Seba* (visit) to Serang always draws people's attention and obtain wide coverage of mass media. At the following times, I visited their villages and stayed at their houses for one or two nights. After a visit in 2009, I wrote an article entitled *Modernity in the Mind of Baduy Children* which was published by The Jakarta Post.¹⁶

Furthermore, this research is located in the time frame 1977-2019. The year 1977 is when hundreds of Baduy families joined the resettlement programme and moved to the resettlement villages. This marks that the Baduy land could no longer accommodate the increase of the population and some of them had to be relocated. The Baduy's acceptance of the resettlement programme, therefore, also means that they had 'surrendered' to the power of the state. The development programme itself, or any other development programme, was contrary to the Baduy's notion as hermits who have to detach from development and modernity. Afterwards, in 2017 the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi*, MK) passed the lawsuit against the Law No. 23/ 2006 and the Law 24/ 2013¹⁷ on Population Administration. This success has levelled up the political bargain and position of the followers of belief systems in Indonesia's politics. One of the impacts of the MK's decision is that the names of belief systems, like the six official religions, may be printed on the identity cards of their followers. The

¹⁶ The link to the article is already dead and can no longer be accessed.

¹⁷ The Law No. 23/ 2006 on Population Administration and the Law 24/ 2013 on the Amendment of the Law No. 23/ 2006.

year 2019 is determined as the final year of my research to see the response of the followers of the belief systems, *adat* societies, and Muslim-Christian groups to the decision of the MK.

As has been mentioned that most of the data in this dissertation were collected from fieldworks. Most personal names, especially public figures, are real and cannot be anonymised. For example, when I write “Muslim Baduys who are active in politics”, people will directly know that they are Haji Kasmin and Haji Sarmedi. Likewise, when I mention “a Christian Baduy who became a pastor” and “Muslim preacher who converted (*meng-Islamkan*) a lot of Baduy” people will point Windu Nurgojali and Kiyai Zainuddin Amir respectively. But in certain cases which are sensitive like a reversion to Sunda Wiwitan and religious violence, the names of my informants are made fictitious. Before the interviews I always explained to my interviewees that I was researching my PhD study. To ensure that I would not make a mistake in referring and quoting their statements I recorded all of the interviews in the mp3 format.

This research is hoped to contribute to the study of the Baduy society, conversion studies, and the politics of religion in Indonesia. Many sources on the people tend to provide general information about the people, without critically asking the why questions. I also hope that this research will contribute to the conversion studies where scholars from various disciplines have tried to answer why and how people convert. Because the conversion of the Baduy is placed in the political context, this study will show how the government imposed the state’s ideologies to its citizens and how they, especially the adherents of local religions, reacted to the imposition through conversion. This study will also show that the privilege gained by the religions recognised by the state has brought their followers, especially Muslims and Christianity, into tension, contestation, and religious violence.

D. Understanding the Baduy’s Conversion

1. *Theories of Conversion*

Scholars from various disciplines, especially from psychology, sociology and anthropology, have tried to explain why and how people convert. Every discipline approaches conversion from its perspective and, therefore, it has its strength and weakness. Psychology, for example, tends to see conversion as a way to cope with psychological problems. Sociology, anthropology and theology, respectively, see conversion as the result of social networks, a cultural phenomenon, and belief in God (Gooren 2010: 41-42, 45-46). Although they have different views about conversion they share some intersecting ideas, like the significance of stress/crisis,

context, potential converts, and preachers. The approaches can explain some issues, but not all aspects, of the conversion of the Baduy. We will look at two examples below.

In psychology, the American William James (1842-1910) in his *The Varieties of Religious Experience* defines conversion as "... the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self-hitherto divided, and consciously wrong inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities" ([1902] 2002: 150). As a psychologist, here he focuses his attention on the self and tends to see conversion as an emotional process which moves from the negative to the positive mental situations: from being unhappy to be happy, from being divided to be unified.

The second example is the rational choice of conversion. Proposed by Gartell and Shanon (1985: 33), this theory states that conversion starts from a problem which cannot be solved with common ways. The potential converts then think from a religious perspective and weigh the advantages and disadvantages of conversion. The first could be "... approval, love, respect, and cognitive outcome." Then they think that converting to a religion would solve their problem. If the problem is solved after their conversion, they will remain in the new religion. If not, they will search for another religion. Gartell and Shanon (1985: 42) also state that those who have a close and strong connection with religious movements have a greater possibility to convert.

Because of the limitations of every discipline, scholars suggest approaching conversion from various disciplines. The American Lewis R. Rambo who wrote a lot of works on conversion suggests researchers examine conversion from anthropology, sociology, psychology, religious studies, phenomenology, history, and psychology (1989: 49; [1993, 1995] 2010). Being aware that a single theory cannot explain all dimensions of conversion, I will not rely on a certain theory and simultaneously will not examine all aspects of the Baduy's conversion. In studying the conversion of the Baduy either to Islam or to Christianity, I will benefit from religious studies, history, social anthropology and political science.

Now we look at Rambo's theory of conversion further by which I frame my research. By basing on anthropology, sociology, psychology, and religious studies, Rambo (1993) names his theory as the holistic theory of conversion which consists of seven stages of conversion: (1) context, (2) crisis, (3) quest, (4) encounter, (5) interaction, (6) commitment, and (7) consequences. Developed from the previous theories of conversion (Gooren 2010: 34-40), these stages, in reality, can be a sequence (moving from one stage to other stages) or go back and forth between the stages. Moreover, as can be seen in the last section below, I do not follow the stages chronologically.

The first stage in Rambo's theory of conversion is the context which he defines as "the total environment in which conversion transpires." A context is dynamic, subjective (inside the converts), objective (outside the converts), and multifaceted and continues to influence the whole process of conversion. The objective dimensions of conversion can be social, cultural, religious, and personal. In addition, Rambo expresses the importance of explaining the context of the future converts. For example, the so-called animists are a fertile field of conversion (Rambo 1993: 20-21, 47, 165-166). In the conversion of the Baduy, historical, economic, geographical, and political contexts have a very strong influence in determining the decision to convert and what religion would be chosen.

The second stage of Rambo's theory of conversion is the crisis which commonly precedes conversion. The crisis itself can be driven by, for example, mystical experiences, near-death experience, illness, the search for the meaning of life, altered states of consciousness, pathology, apostasy, and externally stimulated crises. However, what makes the scholars of conversion disagree is whether the crisis appears before or after the future converts contact with the preachers. Moreover, he divides crises into two kinds: existentialism and cumulative problems which finally lead to the reinterpretation of life (Rambo 1993:44-48).

The third stage of Rambo's theory of conversion is the quest. This stage is to answer the problem of crisis the potential convert is experiencing. It suggests that the potential convert is an active agent in determining his future: to convert or to keep his faith. Rambo advises the researchers of conversion paying attention to structural, emotional, intellectual, and religious availabilities. The various availabilities mean that the future converts have options which are compatible with them structurally, emotionally, intellectually, and religiously (Rambo 1993: 69-63). Friendship with Muslim neighbours, the geographical border shared by the Baduy and Muslims, and the religious intersection between Sunda Wiwitan and Islam in the forms of the *shahāda*, *'idda*, and circumcision are very strong reasons why most Baduy chose Islam rather than Christianity. Since most of the Baduys are illiterate, the quest stage in the conversion of the Baduys cannot be understood as reading books, doing research, or asking religious experts.

The next stage is the encounter between the future converts and the options through the missionaries which bring the converts closer to the options (Rambo 1993: 167). The preachers, or the advocates in the word of Rambo, play a very crucial role in determining a future convert's decision. Rambo (1993: 75-76) also suggests assessing the advocate's motivation to become a missionary, his missionary strategy, the degree of proselytizing, the mode of contact, and the potential benefit offered by the new religion. Rambo explains further that the majority of the target of conversion rejects conversion. Conversion will happen,

according to him, when there “is a confluence of the “right” potential convert coming into contact, under proper circumstances at the proper time, with the “right” advocate and religious option” (Rambo 1993: 87).

The fifth stage of Rambo’s theory of conversion is the interaction between the potential convert and the advocate. This stage, according to him, is important because the potential convert can decide to convert or not. That is why “the advocate works to sustain the interaction to extend the possibility of persuading the person to convert” (Rambo 1993:102). Practically, to achieve the goal the advocate designs the so-called encapsulation, the detachment of the potential convert from the influence of the outer environment, physically, socially, and ideologically (Rambo 1993: 103, 105, 167).

The sixth stage is conversion itself which Rambo calls commitment, a stage where the potential convert crosses the boundary by leaving the old and entering the new religion. This stage is often marked with rituals like baptism, testimony, and circumcision. In Islam, the conversion testimony is marked by the declaration of the *shahāda*. Testimony, according to Rambo, is a common sign of statement that one has been committed to a new religion (Rambo 1993: 124, 130, 168-9, 137). Besides the *shahāda*, circumcision sometimes marks the conversion of a man to Islam. Which is interesting in the conversion of the Baduy is that after conversion the Baduy perform a farewell ceremony to the *adat* leaders which this kind of ceremony will probably never happen in Islam or Christianity.

In this conversion stage, Rambo emphasises the importance to study the motives of the converts to change his religion. Referring to Lofland and Stark (1965), the motives of conversion could be intellectual, mystical, experimental, affectional, revivalism, and coercive. Every convert, Rambo says, has its motive, and the motive can be multiple; a group can have a different conception which motive is right and wrong, and the motive may change during the process of his involvement in the new religion (Rambo 1993: 140-141). In the conversion of the Baduy, their conversion was initially impelled by the problem to access to the land. The government, the Muslims, and the Christians then tried to solve this problem by offering a resettlement programme or land. At the individual level, their conversion was also motivated by more reasons such as to marry a non-Baduy, to gain more freedom, and to become modern.

And the final stage of Rambo’s theory of conversion is consequences. Conversion, as many other decisions, may arise sociocultural, historical, psychological and theological consequences. Rambo reminds that the consequences of conversion “are not always direct, radical, or total”. Besides, he suggests evaluating the cumulative effects of conversion by broadening the time span of the conversion process. The theological consequence is very

fundamental because conversion itself is rooted in theology. The first consequence of conversion is the ritual dimension, like the declaration of the *shahāda* in Islam, which marks their conversion (Rambo 1993: 150-1, 159, 170, see Dutton 1999: 151-165). In the conversion of the Baduy, the most visible consequence is that they must leave the *adat* land. Generally, after conversion, they would join the society of the same religion. The Muslim Baduy would live at a Muslim village and study Islam to religious leaders of the village. In Cihaur, for example, the Muslim Baduy study Islam to Abah Ewong, in Palopat to Kiyai Zainuddin Amir and in Kompol to Ustad Kasja. The Christian Baduy lived in the same neighbourhood of Cipangembar or in Bandung.

2. *From Hermits to Citizens: the Baduy's Conversion as the Process of Becoming Citizens*

Because the politics of religion is among the most powerful elements in the conversion of the Baduy, their conversion is best understood as the process of becoming citizens. Other studies on conversion in Indonesia also show similar features. Avery T. Willis Jr. ([1977] 1978: 5) who studied the conversion of Javanese to Christianity in the 1960s and the 1970s found the state as the main factor behind their conversion. He claimed that around two million Javanese converted to Christianity during 1960-1971. By studying five Javanese churches in Central and East Java, he found that the membership of the churches grew 232 per cent during the period. This growth was statistically driven 25.5 per cent by the political turbulences happening in the country. Thirty-seven per cent of the 500 interviewees stated that the political reason as the first motivation to convert to Christianity. And 55 per cent of the interviewees mentioned the political situation as the influence of their conversion to the religion. From his research, Willis Jr found that the second of many factors that had influenced the Javanese to convert to Christianity was the government (Willis Jr. 1978: 6-8, 13, 24, 63-64). He states:

“The political situation in Indonesia profoundly affected the rapid growth of Javanese churches. It provides the crises that triggered the decisions of a majority of those deciding for Christ during the decade of the 1960s. it even appeared that most of the conversions could be traced to the political motivations.” (Willis Jr. 1978:63).

Tasdik (1970:11) who studied the conversion of 576 people in the aftermath of the 1965 event in Besowo and Mojokerto in East Java found more or less the same. By focusing on the motives of their conversion, he explained that the

murder in the 1965 event and its aftermath “created chaos and disorder, fear, distress, suspicion, and so on” and to release themselves from this situation people attached themselves closer to religion. At the same time, the government forced people to adhere to one of the six religions as mentioned in the 1965 Prevention of Abuse and/or Religious Desecration Law.

How politics has influenced people to convert is also evident in interreligious marriage cases. Myengkyo Seo (2013, 2015) and M. A. Kevin Brice (2015), for example, found a connection between interreligious marriage and conversion. Seo (2015) who studied Christianity in Surakarta and Yogyakarta states that one of the reasons why Muslims converted to Christianity was the politics of religion. In this respect, the 1974 Marriage Law forbids people from different religious backgrounds to marry. When there were a Muslim woman and a Christian man, or vice versa, wanted to marry, one of them chose to convert to the religion of the other so that their marriage was in line with the law.

Brice (2015: 5-11, 16-18) who studied the conversion of Westerners to Islam in Indonesia finds a connection between marriage and conversion. For example, 75 per cent of converts who are recorded by the Chinese Muslim Association of Indonesia converted to Islam to marry a Muslim. In Bandung, one-quarter of converts who are recorded by Masjid Istiqamah married a Muslim after their conversion. The 1974 Marriage Law article 59 (2) regulates that foreigners who marry a local, which is called mixed marriage, in Indonesia have to follow the law. In addition, the Indonesian Council of Ulama (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or MUI) issued two *fatwa* stating that inter-religious marriage is forbidden. By referring to the 1974 Marriage Law, the same prohibition also appears in the Compilation of Islamic Laws in Indonesia (*Kompilasi Hukum Islam*) article 4. Without denying sincere conversions, Brice notes, the conversion of the Westerners to Islam in Indonesia is part of a political or legal process: to make their marriage in line with the Marriage Law.

This was also what happened to the Baduy. They believe that they are hermits. As the practice of being hermits they have to detach themselves from development and modernity. In the past, they even asked the government not to involve them in the development programme. But this concept of being hermits has been challenged since at least the 1950s and 1960s. In these periods the number of the Baduy increased almost three times. In 1928 the number of the Baduy was 1,521 people, but in 1966 the number increased to 3,935 people. This growth has pushed the Baduy to seek livelihood or fields (*huma*) outside the *adat* land. The peak was in the 1977 when the *jaro pamarentah* of the Baduy,

Samín¹⁸, came to the government to ask fields to manage. The government then included them into the resettlement programme. In the following years, the Baduy in the resettlement villages converted to Islam and Christianity – as hoped by the government. Likewise, the Baduy in the *adat* land also changed. They opened their *adat* land as a tourist destination. As an expression of respect to the government, the Baduy also began to join the General Elections and the participation rates increased from period to period. In line with the respect they give to the government, the Baduy demand the government to recognise and protect them. Here, the Baduy have redefined themselves not only as hermits but also as citizens of Indonesia.

E. Some Fundamental Issues in Categorising of the People

The Baduy explain that the Baduy are people who embrace Sunda Wiwitan and live in the Baduy land. Now the question is: how about the Baduy who converted to Islam and Christianity? Can they still be called Baduy? When a Baduy converts and therefore lives outside the *adat* land, the *adat* leaders mind to recognise him or her as a Baduy. For them, “rice which has become porridge is no longer rice”.¹⁹ Likewise, a Baduy who has left Sunda Wiwitan can no longer be called a Baduy.

The Baduy converts to Islam and Christianity, however, have a different view. They say that they are still Baduy. The Muslim Baduy Haji Sarmedi and Ustad Kasja, for instance, think that they are Muslims and the Baduy at the same time. The same argument was said by the Christian Baduy Narja and Windu. According to the converts, ‘Muslim or Christian Baduy’ is a proper designation for them. They are Muslims or Christians because they have converted to Islam or Christianity and they are Baduy because they were born on the *adat* land and experienced living as Baduy. Therefore, according to the converts, the place of birth and experience are two fundamental factors in determining whether a man or a woman is a Baduy or not. The children of the converts, like the children of Haji Sarmedi and of Eman, who were not born on the *adat* land reject to be called Muslim Baduy.

Bakels, Boevink, and Persoon who studied the Baduy in the resettlement villages also found this claim of identity. Bakels and Boevink (1988: 118) mention that the Baduy in Gunung Tungga were still Baduy. Persoon (1994: 360) who studied the same people mention that there were “a felt ethnicity and

¹⁸ Bakels and Boevink (1988) in their study about the resettlement programme of the Baduy identify Samín as Sapín.

¹⁹ Interview with Jaro Saija on 10 May 2017.

recognition of ethnicity”. In other words, the Baduy who joined the resettlement, and also those who converted, feel that they are Baduy, but the Baduy leaders in the *adat* land have their own definition of being Baduy—which is called recognition. Although the Baduy of Sunda Wiwitan object the Baduy converts to claim that they are also Baduy, for the sake of identification, in this research I use ‘the Baduy’ to refer to the adherents of Sunda Wiwitan, Christian Baduy as the Baduy who converted to Christianity, and Muslim Baduy as the Baduy who converted to Islam.

Another fundamental issue is related to the outer Baduy who declare the *shahāda*. According to Islamic theology, anyone who confesses that Allah is his God and Muhammad is His messenger is a Muslim. As will be explained in chapter 2, the outer Baduy declare the *shahāda* in front of a Muslim official when they will marry. They believe that marriage without declaring the *shahāda* is invalid, and the marriage is therefore considered adultery. Because of the *shahāda*, the current *jaro pamarentah* Saija states that the Baduy are Muslim, but their Islam is different from Islam of the Muslim majority. Their Islam, according to him, does not oblige the people to perform the other four pillars of Islam.²⁰ Although the Baduy claim that they are Muslim, the Muslim majority and the state do not recognise them as Muslim. The state, as is clear in the books published by Statistics Indonesia (*Badan Pusat Statistik* BPS), classifies the Baduy as the followers of the belief system of Sunda Wiwitan. Since the religion of the Baduy is Sunda Wiwitan as the majority of the Baduy say so, and the state and the Muslim majority do not recognise the Baduy as Muslim, in this research the Baduy are identified as non-Muslim. In other words, I ignore the perspective of Islamic theology about the declaration of the *shahāda* as the evidence of becoming a Muslim.

F. Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of eight chapters: an introductory chapter, six main chapters that will answer the research questions, and a final chapter with conclusions. *Chapter 1 Introduction*, consists of the background of the research, previous studies of the Baduy, the focus of the study, research questions, and research methods, theoretical framework of the research, and some issues in the naming of the Baduy, and categorising the Sunda Wiwitan, Muslim, and Christian Baduy.

²⁰ Interview with Jaro Saija on 10 May 2017.

Chapter 2 The Encounter Between the Baduy and Muslims and Its Influence on Sunda Wiwitan describes the Baduy especially their identity as hermits, how the name “Baduy” has come into existence, their religion, the structure of the society, the calendar and rituals, and the divisions of the Baduy into the Inner, Outer, and Dangka Baduy. Besides, this chapter also discusses the sanctuaries of the Baduy, and the Muslim village of Cicakal Girang which is located in the *adat* land. This village is very important in the making of the Islam-Sunda Wiwitan narrative which is later used as a medium of *da’wa* and countering the Christian mission. More importantly, chapter 2 discusses the encounter between Sunda Wiwitan and Islam and how Sunda Wiwitan is influenced by Islam especially in the form of the *shahāda*, the stories of the prophets, the practice of circumcision/incision, marriage, and the jurisprudence of purification, and the use of Islamic vocabularies.

While in chapter 2 the Baduy define themselves as hermits who have to detach from modern life, in *Chapter 3 Resettlement Programme of the Baduy: Development, Religious Missions, and Negotiation between Adat and Modernity* the Baduy negotiated their concepts of *adat*, especially hermitage, with modernity. Attention will be paid to the population growth which affected the Baduy’s access to land, the acceptance of the resettlement programme, and the emergence of Islamic and Christian missionary activities. Also, this chapter will address the Baduy who did not follow the resettlement programme. Like the Baduy who joined the programme, they negotiated their concepts of *adat* with modernity in the form of the acceptance of tourism and the use of electronic devices, fashion, modern medication and ‘polite’ Sundanese.

Chapter 4 Islamic Da’wa Activities Among the Baduy: Muslim Organisations, Local Narratives, and International Interests is dedicated specifically to the practice of *da’wa* activities conducted by Muslim individuals and organisations. The Muslims’ views on the Baduy and the meaning of *da’wa* will be provided first. The Muslim village of Cicakal Girang which is located in the *adat* land will also be explored because it has a special meaning in the making of the narrative that converting the Baduy is the right of Muslims. Afterwards, this chapter will provide quite details of how the Muslim individuals and organisations run their *da’wa* activities, including the foundation of Islamic schools and mosques. The Muslim organisations include Muhammadiyah, Al Washliyah, Jamaah Tablig, Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII), and Pesantren Al Amin which is connected culturally to Nahdlatul Ulama. Besides, how the Baduy community has attracted international interests will be mentioned very briefly.

Moreover, Christian missionary activities will be presented in *Chapter 5 Christian Missionary Activities Among the Baduy: Religious Violence, Politics of*

Religion in Indonesia, and Purchases of Land. This chapter will pay attention to Christian missionary activities, the politics of religion in Indonesia, mainly on local religions, religious mission and the foundation of worship places. The existence of Christian mission which targeted not only the Baduy but also Muslims has caused tension, contestation, and religious violence. Tension and religious violence were marked by the attacks conducted by Muslims to Christian missionaries and Christian converts. Contestation between Muslims and Christians appeared in the form of the purchases of land which was intended for the (potential) converts.

The accumulative impact of the problem of access to the land, the population growth, religious missions and the politics of religion is religious conversion. *Chapter 6 Conversion of the Baduy: Patterns, Consequences and Identities* will describe the narratives of the Baduy's conversion, its patterns and consequences, the ritual of conversion and reversion, and also the identity formation of the children of the converts.

While the previous chapters follow the conversion process, *Chapter 7 the Baduy's Efforts to Obtain the State's Recognition for Land and Religion* will look at the Baduy who remain as the followers of Sunda Wiwitan. In facing the changes that threaten them, the Baduy struggle to obtain the state's recognition for their land and religion. Among the efforts are to change their views about politics, to ask the government to recognise and protect them, to send Haji Kasmin as the representative of the Baduy in the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), and to participate in the formation and activities of the Indigenous Peoples' Alliance of the Archipelago (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* AMAN). This chapter will also provide the latest development of local religions in Indonesian politics, in this regard the 2017 Constitution Court's decision on local religions. Various responses to the decision from Muslim and Christians groups are included.

Eventually, this dissertation is closed by *Chapter 8 Conclusion* which concludes the whole discussion on the conversion of the Baduy to Islam and Christianity, asceticism and development, the contestation between Muslims and Christians and their relation with the state, and also the Baduy's effort to get the state's recognition and protection. In addition to that, this chapter also revisits the theory of conversion, provides some reflection on the relation between religion and state in Indonesia, and discusses the fate and future of the followers of local religions.



The Encounter Between the Baduy and Muslims and its Influence on Sunda Wiwitan

This chapter introduces the Baduy and some aspects of their life very briefly. By proposing a linguistic perspective, this chapter supports the view that the Baduy are hermits. More importantly, this chapter shows the encounter between the Baduy and Muslims from the 16th century onwards and how this encounter influences the Baduy's religion Sunda Wiwitan. For example, in the Baduy land there is a village inhabited fully by Muslims. In this village a Muslim official (*āmil*) lives to whom the Outer Baduy proclaim the *shabāda* before they marry. Because of the *shabāda* and also circumcision, the word “Slam” from “Islam” is added to the name of the Baduy's religion and becomes “(I)Slam Sunda Wiwitan”. Later these connections would be used by Muslim preachers to do da'wa activities and counter Christianization.

A. Introducing the Baduy: Asceticism as Identity

1. *Name*

The Baduy are called in Sundanese “*urang Baduy*” or the people of Baduy (the Baduy). They live in the *desa* of Kanekes, the sub-district (*kecamatan*) of Leuwidamar, Lebak regency, Banten Province. According to Spanoge the word Baduy is from the word “Buda” or the river of Cibeduyuk. Blume also guesses that the word “Baduy” is from “Buddha” and the river of Cibaduy which separates the areas of the Baduy and Muslims (Jacobs and Meijer 1891: 10). Van Hoëvell (1845: 360) and Coolsma (1913: 40) state that the name ‘Baduy’ was

given by Muslims of Banten to associate the people with the Bedouin people in Arabia who did not want to accept Islam. Jonathan Rigg (1862: 31) states that the Baduy are called so because of two reasons: Muslims associate the Baduy with the Bedouin people and the Baduy associate themselves with the river of Cibaduy in their land. The Baduy are also named so because, in terms of seeking for livelihood, they move from one field to another (Garna 1988: 39). Garna (1987: 37, 62) argues that the name of “Baduy” started to be used firmly after Islam was established in Banten. Before the term “Baduy” was used, they were called the people of Sunda Wiwitan (Garna 1988: 288, 369). To make more specific, the Baduy sometimes refer themselves to their villages like *urang* (Sundanese: the people of) Cibeo, *urang* Cikertawana, *urang* Cikeusik and so on (Garna 1988: 1). However, people in Ciboleger, a Muslim village that becomes the main entrance to the Baduy land, rarely use “the Baduy”. The Muslims call the Baduy *urang tonggoh* (the people of the highland) and the Baduy call the Muslims *urang landeuh* (the people of the lowland).¹

Subagio (1976: 94) and Garna (1988: 41) explain that “the Baduy” are only one of many groups who reside in the *desa* of Kanekes, precisely in the northern villages which are close to the Baduy hill and the riverbank of Baduy, while the people who live in the southern villages were called “the people of Kanekes”. They were called so because they live in the riverbank of Cikanekes. And the people who lived in the most southern villages were called “the people of Rawayan”, because their residence was located on the riverbank of Cirawayan. The people who lived in western villages were called “the people of Sabrang” (literally means “the people who live beyond the border”). To the people who live outside Kanekes, those groups called themselves “the people of Kanekes”, referring to the whole area of their residence. Because the Baduy group was the most popular, the outsiders then called the entire groups as Baduy. Such a naming system, namely by referring to something important and identifiable such as a river or a mountain in their villages, makes sense because it is the way Sundanese people commonly name the people and their villages (Garna 1988: 40).

Rarely the Baduy are also called Rawayan, a word taken from the Baduy’s Sundanese which means a bridge. Besides, *rawayan* also means noble (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 12). Odjoh (1967: 44) argues that “Rawayan” only refers to bridges in Cikeusik, not to all of the bridges in Kanekes. Two Muslim Baduy² who reside in Palopat explain that “Rawayan” is a Baduy Sundanese word for “bridge”, not specifically to those of in Cikeusik. The use of

¹ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 2 May 2017.

² Interviews with Musa and Eman on 04 June 2017.

Rawayan as a name of the people, they said, is humiliating. The term denotes that the Baduy are stepped on. Also, some writers (e.g.: Lubis et.al. 2006, 104; Sucipto and Limbeng 2007: 54) remind that “the Baduy” is also an inappropriate term and tends to be humiliating because by that name the Baduy are associated with the Bedouin. My visits to their *adat* land and conversations with the people, however, show that they do not mind with the call “Baduy”. The term is also common in daily conversations when speaking about the people. Books and journalistic reports also use the term ‘the Baduy’. Therefore, I deploy the term ‘the Baduy’ in the whole discussion without attempting not to respect the people if such a differentiation (still) exists. Besides, I utilise the latest spelling rather than Badoej (e.g.: J. Jacobs and J.J. Meijer 1891 and F.S. Eringa 1939), Baduj (Undang Odjoh 1967), and Badui (e.g.: Robert Wessing 1977 and A. Bagoes P. Wiryomartono 1993).

2. *Origin: A New Consideration*

At least four narratives try to explain the origin of the Baduy: the narratives of Majapahit, Pajajaran, Banten, and *mandala*³. The Baduy themselves reject the first three narratives and challenge anyone who holds those views to provide hard evidence (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 87, 89, Garna 1988: 33-34, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 19-26). The first view suggests that the Baduy are the descendants of the Majapahit people. It says that Majapahit was attacked by Raden Patah (1455–1518) causing the people to run away to many places. According to this view, Tengerese people in East Java, Samin people in Central Java, the people of Indramayu in West Java, and the Baduy in Banten were the descendants of the people who escaped from Majapahit (Nuryani 1985: 27-28).

The second narrative explains that the Baduy were the descendants of the Pajajaran people who escaped from the attack of the king of Banten Molana Yusuf in 1579. They ran into the current area because they did not want to accept Islam (Jacobs and Meijer 1891, Pennings 1902, van Tricht 1929a and 1929b, Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986, Garna 1988, Persoon 1994). Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 87-89) explain why some Pajajaran people probably have escaped to Kanekes and joined the Baduy: (1) the story of Lutung Kasarung which is sung by Baduy chanters mentions the story of Pajajaran, (2) the legend of Batu Goong in Pandeglang narrates that in the past the people of the area left for the spring of Ciujung (Sirah Dayeuh) when they were attacked by the

³ *Mandala* (Sanskrit: “circle”) is a Hindu-Buddhist concept representing the universe and its relation with gods and humans. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2016. Web. 04 Jul. 2016. <<http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/361533/mandala>>.

sultanate of Banten. Sirah Dayeuh is now called Cihandam and the Baduy believe that it was a city. In Sundanese *dayeuh* means a city, (3) the *adat* communities in Bayah, Cisolok, Cigudeg and Cipanas are called *kaum pangawinan*. They admit that they are the descendants of Pajajaran people, (4) the myth of seven *batara* show that some of the Baduy's ancestors lived outside of Kanekes. It is logic when they were in hardship the Baduy in Kanekes would provide a refuge, (5) in Bogor there was a story of Pajajaran people who left the court. They were led by Prabu Anom Kean Santang who was then called Batara Cikal. They arrived in Lemah Bodas. One of the Baduy's ancestors was called Batara Cikal and there is also an area in Kanekes which is called Lemah Bodas, and (6) there is an account saying that the real Baduy live in Cikeusik, while people in Cikertawana came from Sumedang and people in Cibeo came from Pajajaran.

The third narrative is similar to the second one, saying that the Baduy were Bantenese people who did not want to accept Islam. They chose to move away to the current land of the Baduy (Garna 1988: 9). This view is based on an oral history about the political succession from the kingdom of Pajajaran to the sultanate of Banten. The chronicle of *Sajarah Banten* accounts that Sunan Gunung Jati (Syarif Hidayatullah) and his son Molana Hasanuddin from the Sultanate of Cirebon, supported by the Sultanate of Demak, attacked the kingdom of Banten Girang. Molana Hasanuddin went to Mount Pulosari where 800 Hindu *ajar*⁴ lived. The *ajar* then converted to Islam. Pucuk Umun who was the power holder of Banten and therefore the leader of the *ajar* knew that there was no longer king in the kingdom of Pajajaran, except *bupati*⁵. The coming of Molana Hasanuddin reminded him that the power would immediately change (Djajadiningrat 1983, Pudjiastuti 2010, Guillot et al. 1996).

Molana Hasanuddin asked Pucuk Umun to convert to Islam. Pucuk Umum said that he would convert to Islam if Molana Hasanuddin was able to defeat him. Pucuk Umun created a cock made magically from metal, magnet and mercury, and he named it Jalak Harupat. Molana Hasanuddin's cock, Jalak Putih, was the embodiment of a jinn. Jalak Putih defeated Jalak Harupat and made it return to its original materials. But Pucuk Umun did not keep his promise. He changed himself into a *beo* (parrot) and flew to the south and joined the people in

⁴ As this word is still used in Indonesian, *ajar* means (1) "communication, information, announcement; teaching, training", (2) "hermit, member of a hermitage-community (usually male, cf ubon); prob. One who exerts (trains) os. in a life of detachment" (Zoetmulder 1982: 31). The meaning of *ajar* in the *Sajarah Banten* refers to the second definition.

⁵ *Bupati* or *bhupati* is a Sanskrit word which means king. The area in which the king possesses power is called *kabhupaten* or *kabupaten* (Zoutmoelder 1982: 275). In modern Indonesia *bupati* and *kabupaten* equal to regent and regency respectively. In other words, Banten was a *kabupaten* in the kingdom of Pajajaran. When this region was taken over by the sultanate of Cirebon, Banten became one of its *kabupaten* (see Djajadiningrat 1983).

Cibeo, Cikeusik, and Cikertawana. Later on, witnessed by Dalem Jagat Terus Alas, Dalem Lumaju, Dalem Cakraita, Dalem Karohe, Dalem Sekarbon and Dalem Cinangka, Molana Hasanuddin made a border separating the people's villages (Saputra 1959: viii-13-14, Djajadiningrat 1983: 34, Lubis et al. 2006: 87-89, 103-104, 106).

The fourth is the *mandala* narrative which states that the Baduy are hermits who live in a *mandala* (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986, Garna 1988, Bakels 1989, Persoon 1994). For the Baduy, being hermits means that they take care of Kanekes as a sacred area which becomes the centre of the world. Although the term "hermit" tends to be religious, in fact, for the Baduy there is no separation between the worldly and religious matters. For example, working is a worldly and religious matter at the same time (Garna 1988: 274, 276).

Danasasmita, Djatisunda, and Bakels are among who believe that Kanekes is a *mandala* and therefore the Baduy are hermits. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 2-5) base their argument on the manuscripts of Kropak 630, Kropak 632 and Carita Parahyangan which mention the terms "*tapa di mandala*" (being hermits in the *mandala*) and "*tapa di nagara*" (being hermits in the state). The manuscript of Carita Parahyangan mentions that Sanghiyang Darmasiksa (in the 13th century) from the Sunda Kingdom created some *kabuyutan* (places of taboos, places of ancestors). Danasasmita and Djatisunda relate the task of *tapa di mandala* to the Baduy who become hermits in Kanekes. Because the Baduys are hermits they have to limit their standard of life. The Baduy say: "to sleep is only to get rid of drowsiness, to drink is only to get rid of thirst, to eat is only to get rid of hunger, don't live excessively" (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 5-7). Like Danasasmita and Djatisunda, Bakels (1989) supposes that the Baduy community is one of the *adat* or *mandala* communities in West Java. She relates the Baduy community to the *adat* communities of Karang, Guradog and Citorek. While the other *adat* communities have changed and converted to Islam, the Baduy experienced less change and Islamisation.

With some notes, I agree with this *mandala* view. We will look at the view from a linguistic perspective which is neglected by many when studying the Baduy. This approach will give a new perspective on who the Baduy are. The Baduy have words that are uncommon in Sundanese in general such as *batara*, *dalem*, and *dangka*. These words are from Old Javanese which got much influence from Sanskrit. The Baduy state that their ancestors are called *batara*. Zoetmulder (1982: 224-225) defines '*batara*', from the Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāra* or *bhaṭṭāraka*, as:

"noble lord (only lex.); *bhaṭṭāraka*, a great lord, venerable or worshipful person, used of gods and of great or learned men) god, the deity; (often before the

name of a god) the lord...’ without following name it is often the one regarded as highest god (Siwa, Buddha); in kid. Usual for the king.”

The ancestor of the Baduy was Batara Tunggal who had seven children: Batara Cikal⁶ who lives in Jampang, Batara Hyang Niskala (Kala) in Jasinga, Batara Brahma in Sajra, Batara Wiswara⁷ in Bongbang, Batara Wisnu⁸ in Karang, Batara Patanjala in Kanekes, and Batara Mahadewa. Batara Patanjala and Batara Mahadewa maintained to be hermits in Kanekes and Mount Medang Kamulan respectively. It is Batara Patanjala who becomes the ancestor of the Baduy. One generation after the *batara*, the ancestors of the Baduy are called *dalem*. For example, Batara Patanjala has seven children: Dalem Janggalala, Dalem Putih Sidahurip (the ancestor of Cibeo), Dalem Lagondi (the ancestor of Cikertawana), Dalem Sarana (Sorana), Nyi Ujunggaluh/ Bujang Galuh (the ancestor of Kumpul), and Dalem Bungsu (Saputra 1959: viii-2-3, viii-14- viii-15, Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 80, Bakels 1986: 138, Garna 1988: 126).⁹ Moreover, the Baduy community has villages which are called *dangka* villages. These villages are located outside the Baduy land. Zoetmulder (1982: 363) defines that *dangka* is “a hermit’s abode (or other kind of building with religious purpose, sanctuary”.

Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 25) mention that the meaning of the *dalem* is noble(s) or man/people of the court. As it is still used today in the position *abdi dalem*, *dalem* means “inner part, interior; inner part of the kraton” (Zoetmulder 1982: 352, see also Garna 1988: 157). Atsushi (2006: 234-235) notes *abdi dalem* in the sultanate of Banten had a task “to offer food for the palace”. Dalem Panyumpit who was sent by Molana Hasanuddin to hunt animals and accidentally found “the invisible people” also had a *dalem* designation (Saputra 1959). It would not be wrong if Garna (1988: 275) believes that there was a connection between the *puun* of the Baduy and the sultans of Banten through these *dalem* or the nobles.

⁶ *Cikal* in Sundanese means the first son.

⁷ Zoetmulder (1982: 2303) assumes that the word *wiswara* has the same meaning as *wiswasa* which means (1) “a person in whom one puts one’s trust (has faith), on whom one relies; trusted servant, confidant;” (2) “feeling confident, feeling safe (tranquil, fearless), suspecting no danger.” This literal meaning of the name of the *batara* probably could give us an insight into his role.

⁸ Guillot (2008: 17) explains that a number of statues were found at Mount Pulosari and one of them was the statue of Batara Wisnu.

⁹ Unlike Saputra, the regent of Serang Achmad Djajadiningrat (1996: 3-4) states that Batara Tunggal has five, not seven, children: Batara Cikal, Batara Patanjala and three other *batara* who ruled the 25 Lands (*Salawe Nagara*). Batara Patanjala has several sons. The last one is Batara Bungsu who is the ancestor of the *puun* of Cibeo. In addition, Saputra and Garna have a different order of the *batara* and *dalem*.

Van Tricht (1929a: 2-3) believes that these *dalem* were historical personalities who lived in the 16th century when “Mohammedanism” started to come to Banten. He assumes that the Baduy are “probably from the most pious, and noblest of the old inhabitants of the country, who had grown more devoted still as a consequence of the persecutions they suffered.” He adds that the Baduy are the descendants of people who “fled to the mountains” to avoid conversion to Islam. Van Tricht says that this process of Islamisation is remembered by the Baduy as disturbance causing the disappearance of their dreamland.

Besides *batara*, *dalem* and *dangka*, another word which can shed light on the Baduy’s past is the word “real”. To meet the top leaders of the Baduy (*puun*), visitors have to bring money in the currency of real. A Baduy who breaks the *adat* has to repent and is required to pay a ransom in the forms of “a kris, a sheet of white cloth, one real of money, a *kati* of incense and a bowl of betel leaves”.¹⁰ Besides, he will be exiled into another village (Garna 1988: 379, also see Hasman and Reiss 2012, 7). In fact, people no longer use the currency of real. Atsushi (2006: 236) states that what is meant by the currency of real in the history of Banten was Spanish real, “which was the most conspicuous coin in commercial activities in Banten at that time.” Guillot (2011: 134-5) also mentions many times that people in Banten in the 17th century utilised the currency of real in their economic life. For instance, the sugarcane plantation of the Chinese Muslim in Banten Whitton (Gouwsamcoe) suffered from drought as much as 5,000 Real.¹¹

I conclude that the Baduy, as they believe, are the descendants of religious learned people or the ascetics/hermits. I think that the Baduy are more or less the same as the *ajar* who lived at Mount Pulosari as narrated by the *Sajarah Banten*. The Bantenese ruler Pucuk Umun and his followers probably escaped to South Banten to look for a refuge from the ascetic Baduy. In addition, the *Sajarah Banten* and the Baduy’s tradition confirm that some of their ancestors were *dalem* or the people of the inner circle of the palace. What probably happened is that the Bantenese nobles who did not want to convert to Islam, as stated by van Tricht (1929a, 1929b), walked away and joined these learned people in South Banten. I assume that the Inner Baduy are the ascetics while the outer Baduy were the descendants of Pucuk Umum and his people. That another name of Pucuk Umum was Ratu Ajar Domas (Lubis *et al.* 2014: 35) could give us a clue about this possibility. As will be discussed in this chapter that one of the

¹⁰ Interview with the *jaro pamarentah* Saija on 10 May 2017.

¹¹ Don Hasman and Fiolemena Reiss (2012: 7) mention that the currency of real is the currency of Saudi Arabia, riyal, which is similar in its Indonesian pronunciation to that of real. But Saudi Arabia as a country was just formed in 1932 and there is no connection between the country and the Baduy.

sanctuaries of the Baduy is Sasaka Domas which means the inheritance of Domas. A Muslim Baduy who has visited this sanctuary several times explains that in the area of Sasaka Domas there are rocks which resemble kitchen wares.¹² Likewise, in the site of Sasaka Bombang there were an *angklung* instrument, a rifle, a *gong* and a stick, but they were stolen by people (Bakels 1989: 360).

3. *Social Groups and Their Villages*

a. *Inner Baduy*

The Baduy are divided into two groups: the Inner and Outer Baduy. Besides these two, there are the Dangka Baduy who are often grouped into the Outer Baduy.¹³ The Inner Baduy are called “the inner” because geographically they live the inner side of Kanekes *desa*. They are also called *Baduy Tangtu* (the fixed Baduy) or *Baduy Tangtu Tilu* (the three fixed Baduy) because this group lives only in three villages: Cibeo (Tangtu Parahyang), Cikertawana (Tangtu Kadukujang), and Cikeusik (Tangtu Pada Ageung). Because the villages are in the upstream (Sundanese: *girang*) of the Cijung river, the Inner Baduy are called *urang girang* (the people of the upstream). The number of the inner villages is believed to have never changed since the start of their existence. They live very strictly implementing the teaching of Sunda Wiwitan and therefore they are higher in sanctity, religiosity, and nobility than the second one (Garna 1988: 124, 232).¹⁴

There is a belief that there are only 40 houses in the Inner Baduy villages. This assumption has existed for more than a century ago. The assumption is not strange because it is held by the Baduy as well. Two Muslim Baduy whom I interviewed asserted that there were 40 houses in each Inner Baduy village. If there is a new family, they said, the Inner Baduy may make only a *sobong* as the extension of the existing house. The new families are not permitted to build a new house separated from the 40 houses.¹⁵ The Baduy leaders Ayah Mursid and Jaro Daenah think that it might come from the Dutch officials who asked about the number of the Baduy. Then the people who were asked answered that there were about 40 houses. Ayah Mursid and Jaro Daenah state that it is a big mistake and need to be corrected. In 2010 alone, there were 330 houses in the Inner Baduy villages with 1,170 people (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 34-37, 71). It is

¹² Interview with Odo on 22 November 2018.

¹³ The Baduy villages can also be divided into two: the East Baduy (*Pajaroan/ Tangkesan*) and the West Baduy (*Sabrang Barat/ Dukuh Barat*). The West Baduy includes, for instance, Cicakal, Cipater, and Leuwibuleud.

¹⁴ The difference between the Outer and Inner Baduy in terms of housing, clothing, kitchenwares, music instruments, and religiosity, read Kurnia and Sihabuddin's *Saatnya Baduy Bicara* (It is the Time for the Baduy to Speak Up) (2010: 29-33).

¹⁵ Interviews with Iman and Mura on 4 June 2017.



Drawing 2.1: “*Boeren oft landtuyden*” van achter Bantam (Badoejs?)” or “farmers or people of back Banten (the Baduy?)”. Source: Willem Lodewyckz., *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman Vol. 1*, (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915), pp. xx and 128(2).

also possible that the *adat* limits the Inner Baduy villages to have only 40 houses in total, but the population growth pushes them to break the *adat*. When Jacobs and Meijer researched the Baduy in the 1880s and Garna in the 1980s, the number of the houses in each village of Cibeo, Cikertawana and Cikeusik was 40 (Garna 1988: 51).

The Baduy, especially the Inner Baduy, are believed by many people to experience no changes. Some authors (Garna 1988: 5, Djajadiningrat 1996: 3, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 27) even suggest that the Baduy community represents the life of Bantenese people in the earlier period. A sketch from the 16th century of Banten with the caption “*Boeren oft landtuyden*” van achter Bantam (Badoejs?)” or “farmers or people” from behind Banten (Baduy?)¹⁶ shows the style of clothes worn by the Bantenese/ the Baduy people is more or less the same as that of the Baduy (Rouffaer and IJzerman 1915: 128(2)). Guillot (2011: 159) comments about the sketch as non-Muslims from Mount Karang.

¹⁶ Because ‘Banten’ refers to the city of Banten in the northern coast of Banten, which is now called Banten Lama, *achter Bantam* must refer to South Banten.

Throughout the chapters of this dissertation, we will see how the people have changed, contrary to the common belief, at least since the 1950s.

b. *Outer Baduy*

The Outer and Inner Baduy are an inseparable unity in all regards, but the Outer Baduy are permitted to live more modern. Persoon (1994: 366) mentions that the Outer Baduy community becomes the shield to protect the Inner Baduy. Like Persoon, Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 27-28) argue that the Outer Baduy exist to support the Inner Baduy to filter modern influence, to bridge the interests of non-Baduy (e.g.: the government) and the Baduy, and to participate in the state's programme (e.g.: general election). In 2010 there were 55 villages, 2,645 houses, and 10,002 people in the Outer Baduy villages (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 69-72). Unlike the Inner Baduy villages, the number of Outer Baduy villages keeps increasing and their people are allowed to live more modern. They even have used modern products such as radios, smartphones, and solar lamps. How the Baduy adopt modernity and development will be discussed further in chapter 3.

The Outer Baduy villages are also called *panamping* means periphery. They are periphery because geographically their villages surround the inner Baduy villages. Besides, *panamping* also means a place of exile as it happens when the inner Baduy break the taboo they are exiled into the *panamping* villages (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 13, 98). The villages of Sorokokod, Batara, Babakan Panyarangan, Rancakonolang, Cisaban, Leuwihandam, Babakan Picung, and Kaneungay are examples of villages to exile the Baduy from Cibeo. The villages of Kaduketug, Babakan Cipondok, Cihulu, Kadujangkung, Karahkal, Cigula, Gajeboh, Cobongkok, Cicatang, and Citopeng are places to exile the Baduy from Cikertawana. And Cicakal Hilir, Leuwibuleud, Copaler, Cipit are the example of villages whose residents are from Cikeusik.

c. *Dangka Baduy: the Baduy outside the Desa of Kanekes*

Dangka villages are Baduy villages outside of the *adat* land. The word *dangka* in Old Javanese means the residence or sanctuary of hermits (Zoetmulder 1982: 363). Books on the Baduy often mention that the *dangka* villages are the places where the *adat* breakers are exiled (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 14-15, Persoon 1994: 331, 319). The number of the *dangka* villages changes. Initially, there were nine *dangka* villages. They included Cibengkung (Padawaras), Kompol (Garukgak), Kamancing (Warega/ Sanghyang Panunggulan), Panyaweuyan (Inggung), Nungkulan (Sindangnyair), Cilenggor (Sanghyang Asuh), Cihulu, Cihandam (Sirahdayeuh), and Kaduketug. But now there are only two, namely

Kompol and Cibengkung. The other *dangka* institutions have been integrated with the villages in the *adat* land because the *dangka* villages have disappeared. They were, among others, taken forcibly the surrounding farmers (Persoon 1994: 321-322). The *dangka* villages were also a sign that the size of the Baduy land was much larger than today's (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 15).

The Baduy in the *dangka* villages have a familial relation with the Baduy in other villages. For example, the Baduy in Cibengkung were the descendants of Dalem Janggala, Cipatik of Dalem Karohel (Parahiyang), Panyaweuyan of Dalem Batunagara (Kadukujang), Kompol of Nyi Ujung Galuh (Cikeusik), Cihandam (Dalem Sangkan), Kamancing of Dalem Panunggulan (Cibeo), and Kaduketug (a *dalem* of Parahiyang) (Van Tricht 1929b: 74, Saputra 1959: viii-15 – viii-16, Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 14-15, Garna 1988: 51, 137-138, 141, 232).¹⁷

Located in the *desa* of Sangkanwangi, the sub-district of Leuwidamar, the *dangka* village of Kompol covers an area of about 25 hectares, inhabited in 2008 by 423 people or 174 families. The Baduy believe that the ancestor of Baduy in Kompol was Nini Hujung Galuh who moved from Cikeusik (Kurnia and Sihabuddin 2010: 74-77). Because the *dangka* villages are located outside the *adat* land and are surrounded by non-Baduy (Muslims), many Baduy in the *dangka* villages have a wide contact with the non-Baduy and their life has changed. For example, they wear t-shirts and have an electricity network and motorcycles.

Many people believe that the size of the Baduy land was much larger than today's. Garna (1988: 140) opines that the borders of the Baduy land was moved to the south or shrunk by the sultanate of Banten in the 18th century. Before it was shrunk the southern side reached the south beach and the north border included Desa Leuwidamar, around 6 kilometres away from the current border (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 110-111). The Muslim Baduy Edo also believes that in the past the size of the Baduy land was much bigger than today. He assumes the *dangka* villages were the border of the Baduy land. But now the *dangka* villages are located far from the border of their *adat* land. Even some *dangka* villages have disappeared because they were taken, sometimes by force, by the *desa* leaders. They argued that the land of the villages did not have a certificate. In 1974/5 the Baduy in the *dangka* village of Cihandam were forbidden by Muslim locals to live there. The Muslims claimed that the village belonged to them. They said that they would permit the Baduy to continue to live in the *dangka* village if they converted to Islam. If the Baduy resisted, their

¹⁷ Interview with Edo on 18 November 2018.

houses would be burnt. The Baduy chose to move to Kaduketug. The same threat appeared in 1983/4 where Muslim locals claimed that the *dangka* village of Cihandam belonged to them. A Baduy family who lived there to guard a protected forest in the *dangka* village was driven out unless they wanted to convert to Islam. The family decided to move to Kaduketug. After those incidents, the Baduy collected money to manage the certificates of their *dangka* villages.¹⁸ In addition, the people of Bojongmanik and Leuwidamar also trespassed Cibeo and Cikeusik “to take trees and forest products” (Garna 1988: 96, 179, 193, 306, 376, see also Darmasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 112).

4. *Social-Political Structures*

The Baduy community is managed by two systems: the *adat* (Arabic: custom) structure and the *desa* one. The *adat* structure is called *Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh*, consisting of two sections, namely *Tangtu Tilu* (the Fixed Three) and *Jaro Tujuh* (Seven *Jaro*). *Tangtu Tilu* refers to the three *puun* of Cibeo, Cikertawana, and Cikeusik. Each of these villages has a leader called *puun*. The *puun* are the leaders of the Baduy community in all respects: social, religious, governmental, etc., but each of them has a specialisation. The *puun* of Cibeo is responsible for the matters of administration and public relations; the *puun* of Cikertawana owes a duty of security, order, and welfare; and the *puun* of Cikeusik manages the religious matters and decides the punishment for the *adat* breakers. Besides, the *puun* of Cikeusik is the highest among the other *puun* and therefore becomes the top leader of the entire Baduy society. To manage practical matters these *puun* are assisted by village leaders (*jaro*) and the *jaro* are assisted by vice-*jaro* (*jaro parawari*) and *baresan*. The *jaro parawari* help to prepare equipment when there is a ritual or ceremony, while the *baresan* help to make the ritual run smoothly. Equal to the position of *jaro tangtu* is *girang seurat* whose job is to decide when to manage the *adat* farms (*huma serang*) (Danasamita and Djatisunda 1986: 19-23, Garna 1988: 3, 129, 134, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 94-95, 100, 105,).

The second half of *Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh* is the *Jaro Tujuh* or the Seven *Jaro* who are the representatives of the Outer Baduy. They are called the seven *jaro* because their number is seven. This group of *jaro* is led by two additional leaders *Jaro Tanggungan Dua Belas* and *Tangkesan*. *Jaro Tanggungan Dua Belas* functions as witnesses and *Tangkesan* is to advise the Seven *Jaro*. *Tangkesan* also gives recommendations to the *puun* for pointing or dismissing a man from his position in the *adat* structure. Because of this function, he is influential in

¹⁸ Interview with Edo on 24 November 2018.

society.¹⁹ Like in other Baduy villages, the Baduy who live in the *dangka* villages also have leaders who are called *jaro dangka* (Danasamita and Djatisunda 1986: 19-23, Garna 1988: 3, 136, Permana 2010: 36-37, 42).

Besides having *adat* leaders, the Baduy also have a *desa* government as the extension of the Indonesian government. This structure is believed to just exist when the sultanate of Banten was dismissed by the Dutch. To bridge the interest of the Dutch and the Baduy, the *adat* leaders made this structure in Cihulu. Afterwards, the Indonesian government utilises this structure as a *desa* government (Saputra 1959: viii-15-16; Garna 1987: 26; Garna 1988: 132, 378, Garna 1990: 92, Persoon 1994: 318, 334-335, Kurnia and Sihabudin, 2010: 116-117). The structure of this *desa* is the same as that of other *desa* in Indonesia, except the names of the *desa* leader and of *rukun warga* which are respectively called *jaro pamarentah* (or in the past *jaro piagem*, *jaro gubernemen*) and *panggiwa*. The *jaro pamarentah* only manages general matters, not the *adat*. The position of *Badan Perwakilan Desa* (the Body of the Desa Representative) which exists in the other *desa* is delegated to the *Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh*. Also different from the other *desa*, the *jaro pamarentah* is appointed and dismissed by the *Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh*, not by the people (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 22, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 95-96).

Among the *jaro pamarentah*, Dainah was the most popular among the Outer Baduy because he was very open to modernity. Different from the previous *jaro*, Dainah deemed the *adat* leaders as his partner. The Muslim Baduy Sidi²⁰ gives an example: when the non-Baduy or the government gave him money, he did not tell the elderly group (*baris kolot*) from where the money was. He just said that he got sustenance and wanted the *baris kolot* to enjoy it. Every time the *adat* leaders checked the obedience of the Baduy to the *adat*, especially to the abstinence of the modern products, Dainah told the *baris kolot* not to do it. He said that he was responsible for the task. Dainah then asked his people to hide the modern products they had. Because of this policy, he was considered as a hero by his people, but as a traitor by the *adat*. Moreover, the *jaro pamarentah* is assisted by a *carik* (secretary). Because this *jaro* is the bridge connecting the Baduy and the outer world (e.g.: government), the *jaro* needs a literate person. Therefore, most of the *carik* are non-Baduy (Garna 1988: 133, Persoon 1994: 331-332).²¹

¹⁹ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 24 November 2018.

²⁰ Interview with Sidi on 24 November 2018.

²¹ Interview with an ex-secretary of the Kanekes *desa* Jusen on 2 May 2017.

5. *Calendar and Activities in the Life of the Baduy*

There are twelve months in a lunar year: *Safar*, *Kalima*, *Kanem*, *Kapitu*, *Kadalapan*, *Kasalapan*, *Kasapuluh*, *Hapit Lemah*, *Hapit Kayu*, *Kasa*, *Karo*, and *Katiga*. Initially, the number of months was 10 where each month consisted of 30 days. Because they knew that the stars appear and disappear every 359 days, then they added two other months which are called *Hapit Kayu* and *Hapit Lemah*. Actually, the first month is *Kasa*. Because they start farming activities in the fourth month they put the month *Kapat* (which means “the fourth”) as the first month in the calendar (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 37-39). The life of the Baduy is scheduled in this calendar.

Table 2.1: Calendar and Activities of the Baduy Community

Months	Economic Activities	Adat activities
1. Kapat	Cutting the bushes in the future fields	<i>Seba</i>
2. Kalima	Clearing the fields	Venerating the Sasaka Pada Ageung, marriage ceremonies
3. Kanem	Cutting the branches of tress, burning the bushes that were already cut	Marriage ceremonies
4. Katujuh	Burning the bushes that were already cut, planting rice in the fields of <i>serang</i> .	Playing the music of <i>angklung</i>
5. Kadalapan	Planting rice in the <i>puun</i> 's fields	
6. Kasalapan	Planting rice in the Inner Baduy's fields	
7. Kasapuluh	Planting rice in the Outer Baduy's fields	
8. Hapit kayu	Managing the rice plants	
9. Hapit lemah	Managing the rice plants	
10. Kasa	Harvest in the fields of <i>serang</i>	<i>Kawalu mitembey</i>
11. Karo	Harvest in the <i>puun</i> 's fields	Kawalu tengah
13. Katiga	Harvest in the Inner and Outer Baduy's fields	<i>Kawalu tutug</i> and <i>ngalaksa</i>

Source: Garna 1988: 84-90.

The core source of the Baduy's livelihood is farming. They manage fields. Based on the ownership the Baduy have five sorts of fields (*huma*): *huma serang*, *huma puun*, *huma tangtu*, *huma tuladan*, and *huma panamping*. *Huma serang* is the fields of the community, managed by the entire Baduy people, and its crop is for the *adat* ceremonies, the elderly, the widows, and the orphans. The *huma serang* are located in Cibeo, Cikertawana, and Cikeusik, but Djoewisno (1987: 56-57) adds that besides in the villages, another *huma serang* exists outside the inner villages. *Huma puun* are the fields of the *puun*. *Huma tangtu* are the fields which belong to the *tangtu* or the inner Baduy. *Huma tuladan* belongs to the Outer Baduy community and like *huma serang* its crop is for the *adat* ceremonies. The *huma* are located in Cihulu, Cipondok, Kaduketug, Cibengkong, Gajeboh, and Cihandam. *Huma panamping* are the fields for the *panamping* or the outer Baduy. Like the *huma tangtu*, the size of the fields for each family ranges from 0.5 to 1.5 hectares (Djoewisno 1987: 49, Garna 1988: 192, Permana 2010: 52-55).

When the Baduy have harvested the crops, they will leave the fields and find a new one to manage. They will return to the previous fields after a while. In the 1980s the Baduy could return to them after 5-7 years. Because the population increases, they return to the previous fields after a shorter period (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 40). To cope with this problem more and more Baduy manage non-Baduy's fields in the surrounding areas. They stay there for years and it makes the Baduy farther from the surveillance of the *adat* leaders. They also opened their *adat* land as a tourist destination which, eventually, invites new challenges from tourists. A further discussion about how the Baduy face the problem of access to land will be discussed in chapter 3.

6. Religion of Sunda Wiwitan

Blume thought that the Baduy were Buddhist (Bakels and Boevink 1986: 46), whereas *Het Koloniaal Verslag* (The Colonial Report) mentions that the Baduy were Hindus. The Report (1907: 738) states there were 1,245 Hindus in Lebak. Achmad Djajadiningrat (1996:3) who was the regent of Serang refused the report by saying that they were not Hindus, but Baduy. Afterwards, in the same year Djajadiningrat was asked by the Dutch government to investigate the people. A year later *Het Koloniaal Verslag* (1908: 169) revised that what was meant by Hindus was the Baduy. Because worshipping the highest deity Batara Tunggal, venerating Arca Domas (Sasaka Domas), and believing the power of their ancestors' souls (*lelembut*) Djajadiningrat (1996: 3) concludes that the religion of the Baduy is animism-spiritism. He continues:

“The Baduy represent the Sundanese culture in the past. Although their view

about general things is not known very much by us due to their isolation, it can be ensured that they are not the people of Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Hinduism, nor Buddhism” (Djajadiningrat 1996: 3).

The vice *jaro* of Cikeusik Ayah Mursid states that the religion of the Baduy is Slam Sunda Wiwitan. He explains:

“The religion which the Baduy society embraces is Slam Sunda Wiwitan and its prophet is Adam Tunggal. In the belief of Sunda Wiwitan we are not obliged to perform the prayers as our [Muslim] brothers and sisters because our duty is to maintain the balance of nature. We do not have a sacred book because its teaching is embedded in nature. It is why Slam Sunda Wiwitan is only for the Baduy.” (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 139).

The word “Slam” in Slam Sunda Wiwitan, according to the current *jaro pamarentah* Saija²², refers to the practices of the *shabāda* and circumcision. It is why Suhada (2003: 72), for example, does not write Slam Sunda Wiwitan, but Islam Sunda Wiwitan. Sunda refers to the Baduy’s ethnic Sunda and Wiwitan means the original or the first. Thus, Slam Sunda Wiwitan means Islam of the first Sunda.

Sunda Wiwitan teaches the Baduy to believe in a single God²³ and the power of their ancestors’ souls which are called *wangatua* or *lelembut*. Sunda Wiwitan also teaches the Baduy that humans, based on their duties in the world, are divided into two: those who become hermits/ ascetics and those who manage the world. The Baduy play the first role and therefore they have to detach from development and modernity and to live in harmony with nature. This is the core religious concept of the Baduy. As the expression of asceticism, the life of the Baduy is full with taboos (*buyut*). The word *buyut* means great-grandfathers and great-grandchildren (Zoetmulder 1982: 280), but it also means something forbidden to do (Garna 1988: 279). The most popular taboos can be seen in these phrases:

<i>Buyut nu ditiitipkeun ka puun</i>	The taboos which are entrusted to the <i>puun</i> (are)
<i>nagara satelung puluh telu</i>	33 countries
<i>bangawan sawidak lima</i>	65 rivers

²² Interview with Saija on 10 May 2017.

²³ Their God is called with different names such as *Batara Tunggal* (Djajadiningrat 1996: 3), Allah (Iskandar 2012: 142-143), *Nu Ngersakeun!* Who Has the Will and Sang Hiyang Keres (God who has the will) (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 75, Garna 1988: 291).

pancer salawe nagara
gunung teu meunang dilebur
lebak teu meunang dirusak
buyut teu meunang dirobah
lojor teu meunang dipotong
pondok teu meunang disambung
nu lain kudu dilainkeun
nu ulah kudu diulahkeun
nu eunya kudu dieunyakeun

the centre of 25 countries
 mountains may not be destructed
 valleys may not be destroyed
 taboos may not be changed
 length may not be cut
 shortness may not be lengthened
 which is “no” has to be said “no”
 which is “may not” has to be said “may not”
 which is “yes” has to be said “yes”

Moreover, led by their *puun*, the Baduy have to (1) *ngareksakeun Sasaka Pusaka Buana* in Cikeusik, (2) *ngareksakeun Sasaka Domas* in *Parahyang/ Cibeo*, (3) *ngasuh ratu ngajayak menak*, (4) *ngabaratapakeun nusa telu puluh telu, bangawan sawidak lima, pancer salawe nagara* (5) *kalanjakan kapundayan*, and (6) *ngukus ngawalu muja ngalaksa* (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 8, Garna 1988: 127, 233, 294-302, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 28). Let us look at them further. The first task of the Baduy is *ngareksakeun Sasaka Pusaka Buana* or to protect the centre of the world which is Sasaka Pada Ageung in Cikeusik. Since Sasaka Pada Ageung is the most sacred area in the Baduy land, it becomes the centre of their religious life (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 24, Garna 1988: 4, 180).

The second is *ngareksakeun sasaka Parahyang* or to protect Sasaka Parahyang. The word *Sasaka* probably comes from *saka* which means a pillar or an origin of something (Zoetmulder 1982: 1602). One who is responsible to protect Sasaka Parahyang is the *puun* of Cibeo. Parahyang itself is another name of Cibeo (Garna 1988: 295-296).

The third task is *ngasuh ratu ngajayak menak* or to take care of the kings and to guide the nobles. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 26-28) and Garna (1988: 366) assume that this task is related to, initially, the kings and the nobles of Pajajaran Kingdom. When the kingdom disappeared and was changed with the Sultanate of Banten, the practice of *ngasuh ratu ngajayak menak* continued, even up to nowadays, in the form of *Seba*. I disagree with this view because the literal meaning of *Seba* is to visit, not to submit. As the word is still used by the Sundanese, *seba* or *saba* (or its verbal form *nyaba*) is a visit which is conducted commonly by a younger brother/sister to his/ her older brothers/ sisters.

In my view, the *Seba* is rooted in the story of Raden Wirasoeta a son of a *puun* of Cibeo. Wirasoeta disliked living in the Baduy land because it was too small for him. He asked his father to permit him to work for the sultan of Banten Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (r. 1651–1683). His father permitted him. Wirasoeta then came to and worked in the sultanate of Banten. Later on, he wanted to return to the

Photograph 2.1: “Elderly people from Cikeusik (left) and from Cibeo (right) in a discussion with probably Achmad Djajadiningrat, the regent of Serang”.

Source: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:805421>.

Achmad Djajadiningrat became a regent of Serang from 1901-1924.



Baduy land but he was not permitted by the Baduy leaders because he had been exposed to the outer world. As the exchange, the Baduy visited him in the palace. As it is common in the Sundanese society, the Baduy visited (*seba*) Wirasoeta by bringing crops. Wirasoeta himself was appointed as a prince and married a daughter of the sultan. In 1663 he fought against a rebellion in Lampung which caused his hand cut off. After he died he was known as Pangeran Astapati or the Prince whose hand died (Djajadiningrat 1996: 4).²⁴ After Wirasoeta died the habit of visiting him was continued by visiting his descendants, including Achmad Djajadiningrat who became the regent of Serang from 1901 until 1924. Djajadiningrat himself confirms that Wirasoeta was his ancestor who originated from the Baduy land.

This story of Wirasoeta corresponds with the phrase *'ngasuh ratu ngajayak menak'*. The word *"menak"* (Sundanese: nobles) refers to Wirasoeta and his descendants. Garna (1988: 139, 233) equates *menak* with *dalem* which both mean the nobles. And the task “to take care of the kings and to guide the nobles”

²⁴ The Christian Baduy Kokom also heard this story from Jaro Samin. Interview with Kokom on 20 December 2018.

becomes the responsibility of, or done by, the *dangka* of Cilenggor which is called Sangyang Asuh. This *Seba* is conducted every month of Safar. In 2017, around 1,658 Baduy joined the *Seba*.²⁵ The Department of Culture and Tourism of Banten organises the *Seba* as a yearly tourism festival that attracts thousands of visitors and gets wide coverage of media (see also Persoon 1994: 333).

The fourth task of the Baduy is *ngabaratapakeun nusa telu puluh telu, bangawan sawidak lima, pancer salawe nagara* (33 settlements, 65 big rivers, and the centre of 25 states). So far, there is no satisfying explanation of this phrase. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 28) explain that the phrase *nusa telu puluh telu, bangawan sawidak lima, pancer salawe Nagara* refers to Kanekes. In other words, this task says that the Baduy become hermits in Kanekes. Garna (1988: 234, 299) equates *bangawan* as *bagawan* or *begawan* which means hermits or sacred people. Likewise, the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* translates *begawan* as hermits, pastors (*pendeta*), happiness, and sacred men.²⁶ But translating *bangawan* as hermits in this phrase seems improper because it does not agree with *nusa* and *nagara* which both of them refer to places. Like Danasasmita and Djatisunda, Garna (1988: 297-298) also translates *ngabaratapakeun nusa telu puluh telu, bangawan sawidak lima, pancer salawe nagara* as to become hermits in Kanekes.

The fifth task of the Baduy is to do *kalanjakan kapundayan* which means to catch lesser mousedeers, deers, squirrels, and fish. The animal catching is led by the *puun* of Cikeusik and Cibeo and followed by the Baduy. The *puun* of Cikertawana is not permitted by the *adat* to join the animal catching and eat the meat. Afterwards, the animals are smoked and served in the *kawalu* ceremony (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 30, Garna 1988: 299).

And the last task is *ngukus, ngawalu, muja* and *ngalaksa*. *Ngukus* means to burn fragrance. *Ngawalu* means to perform the *kawalu* ceremony where rice which is just harvested is stored in the barns (*leuit*). This ceremony is performed three times on 17 *Kasa*, 18 *Karo*, and 17 *Katiga* of the Baduy calendar. Staring from the night of the *kawalu* ceremony the Baduy fast and break their fast in the afternoon of the *kawalu* day. They eat meat and fish that they have caught in the *kalanjakan* and *kapundayan* activities. *Muja* means veneration. It is to venerate *Sasaka Pada Ageung* in Cikeusik on 16-18 *Kalima* and *Sasaka Parahiyang* in Cibeo on 7 *Kalima*. And *ngalaksa* means to make a *laksa*, a kind of noodle. This ceremony is conducted from the 21st – 28th days of the month of *Katiga*. Rice to make *laksa* is taken from the community's farm (*huma serang*). The makers or chefs of the *laksa*

²⁵ <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3487805/seba-ke-bapak-gede-suku-baduy-minta-pemerintah-jaga-alam-lestari>, accessed on 5 April 2018.

²⁶ <https://kbbi.web.id/begawan>, accessed on 3 May 2020.

are selected people. During the making of the *laksa* they have to fast. Led by the *puun* of Cibeo, they eat the *laksa*. The *laksa* is also taken and given to the regent and governor in the ceremony of *Seba* (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 32-35, Garna 1988: 299-301).

7. *Venerating (Muja) the Sanctuaries*

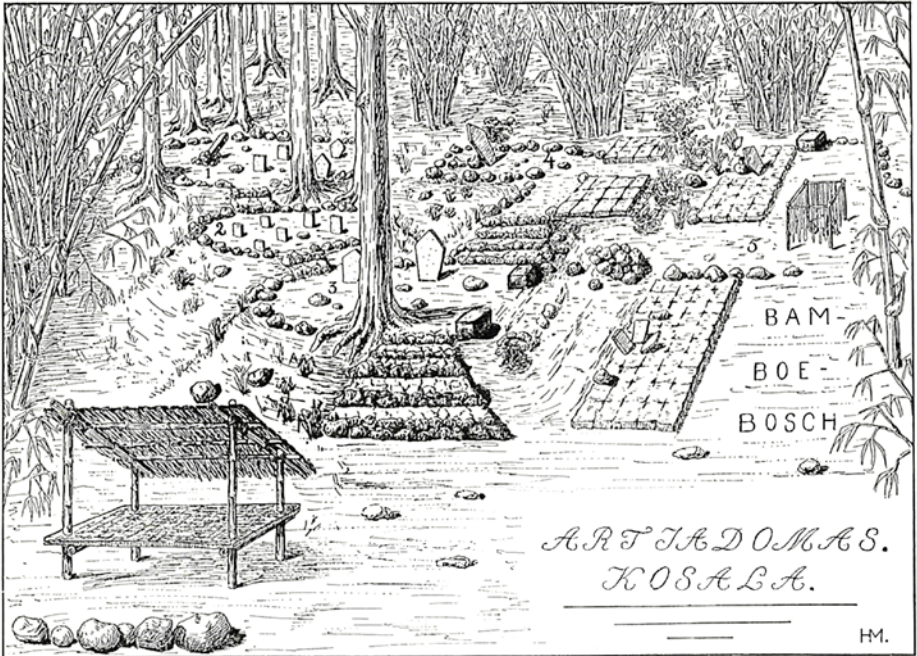
Generally, there are two sanctuaries in the Baduy land: Sasaka Pada Ageung (Sasaka Pusaka Buana) in Cikeusik and Sasaka Parahyang in Cibeo.²⁷ Sasaka Pada Ageung is the centre of the Baduy's spiritual life. It is located in the jungle at the upstream of the Ciujung River. It is why sometimes the Baduy call Sasaka Domas as *girang* which in Sundanese means an upstream. To know whether a Baduy man has visited Sasaka Domas, one can ask this question: "*Enggeus ilu ka girang?* Have you visited the upstream?" Among the non-Baduy who have visited the sanctuary of Sasaka Domas were Blume (1845), Van Hoëvel (1845), Koorders (1864), Koolhoven (1932), Djoewisno MS (1986), and Danasasmita (1989: 85), with or without Djatisunda.²⁸

Djoewisno (1987: 32-33) states that what he found in the sanctuary was more or less the same as what Koorders described. It is located 32 kilometres away or takes around 6 hours from Cikeusik, on an area between the springs of Ciujung and Ciparahyang Rivers. On the area of 0.5 hectare there are scattered stones covered with green moss, a pyramid with seven terraces facing to the south, dolmens, and menhirs (standing stones). About three metres from the pyramid there is a hut and ten metres from it there is a cliff. There is also a cave which its diameter is about two metres. Because of its darkness, the depth of the cave could not be known.

The first description of Sasaka Domas probably comes from Koorders (1869: 336). This description is then quoted by other researchers such as by C.M. Pleyte (1909), Van Tricht (1929b), and Djoewisno (1987). For instance, Koorders (1869: 333) states that Arca Domas is a sacred cemetery with 13 terraces (Petak 13). The squares or terraces themselves are separated by stacks of stones. The first square, about 20 metres, is a graveyard consisting of eight graves. The second, about 12 square metres, is empty. In the third square, about 24 square metres, are five graves. In this square there is a leaning standing stone, about two metres in

²⁷ Van Tricht (1929b: 54) mentions that there are six sanctuaries. They are Sasaka Kadukujang, Sasaka Parahyang, Sasaka Batara Bungsu, Sasaka Cimerak, Sasaka Dangka and Sasaka Bongbang. Bakels (1989: 360) also mentions the existence of Sasaka Bongbang.

²⁸ Garna and his assistants would visit Sasaka Pada Ageung in 1972 but on the way they were found and forbidden by the Baduy. To respect the Baduy community they cancelled the plan (Garna 1988: 307). Compare C.M. Pleyte 1909: 497 and Wessing and Barendregt 2005: 6.



Drawing 2.2: *Arca Domas Kosala*. B. van Tricht, *Levende Antiquiteiten in West-Java*, (Batavia – Soerabaja: G. Kolff & Co., 1929). This sketch is on an un-numbered page between pages 44-45.

height, faces the sacred grave called Kebojong. The fourth and fifth squares, about nine square metres, are vacant. The sixth square, beside the hut, is nine square metres. In the middle of it is a water container made of rock which its diameter and its height are 40 cm and 60 cm respectively. From the 7th to the 13th, the squares are empty. About 10 metres from the last square there is a cave and stones that resemble the forms of buffalo, cow, duck, and chicken (Koorders 1869: 333, 336, C.M. Pleyte 1909: 497-498, Van Tricht 1929b: 53-54, and Djoewisno 1987: 34-39).

The Muslim Baduy Odo²⁹ says that he has visited Sasaka Domas several times before he converted to Islam. He explains that there are many stones in Sasaka Domas. Some of them have a resemblance with kitchenwares such as a teapot. Because of this resemblance, the Baduy are not permitted to have such kitchenware. There are also rocks like a floor, a stair and a bathtub. Odo assumes that they were crafted by men. At one side of the sanctuary, in a lower part, there is a cave. Furthermore, Odo rejects the assumption that there are statues at the site. People believe the existence of statues because Sasaka Domas is occasionally

²⁹ Interview with Odo on 22 November 2018.

called Arca Domas which means eight hundred statues (Zoetmulder 1982: 121, 413, Djoewisno MS 1987: 32, Djajadiningrat: 1996, 4). Odo explains that the correct one is Sasaka Domas, not Arca Domas. According to him, Sasaka means *pusaka* (heritage) and Domas is medication. Zoetmulder (1982: 413, 1602), however, defines Sasaka from *saka* which means a post or a pillar and *domas* means eight hundred. Therefore, Sasaka Domas means eight hundred posts or pillars.

The missionary Silitonga who ran into a Baduy jungle when escaping from people's pursuit identifies a site in a jungle as Sasaka Domas. After capturing him, Baduy leaders told him that it was a forbidden area and cautioned him to never visit it again. He describes the site as follows:

“There are so many stones like gravestones. In the upstream, there is a spring that comes out from the bottom of a great rock wrapped by brownish white cloth which makes the author curious. It is evidently a sculpture which is similar to that of Hinduism. ... And the sculpture wrapped with the white cloth is the god that the Baduy worship, while the gravestones around it are the cemetery of their ancestors” (Silitonga 1998: 90-92).³⁰

Furthermore, there is no single Baduy man who is brave enough to visit Sasaka Domas unless on the day of the veneration together with the *puun*. If someone does so, he will be punished by working for three months and paying a ransom (*tumbal*) consisting of betel, areca nuts, *gambir* (uncaria), calcium, two metres of white cloth, a kris, and money, to the *puun* of Cikeusik. The *puun* will then explain to the *adat* breaker about the importance of the forest around the sanctuary and ask him not to visit Sasaka Domas again. If he cannot pay for the ransom, he will be exiled. If he comes from Cikeusik, he will be sent to Cibengkung or Padawaras, from Cibeo to Pangawean or Cisaban, and from Cikartawana to Cihulu or Cipatih. If the breaker is from an outer village, he will be exiled to an isolated village. If the breaker is a non-Baduy and not willing to pay for the ransom, he will be asked forcefully to leave the Baduy land as it was experienced by Djoewisno himself (Djoewisno 1987: 34-35).

The existence of Sasaka Domas is believed by the Baduy as part of the creation of the cosmos: the earth comes from the non-existence, *suwung*. From the non-existence comes water. It gradually becomes viscous, condensed and hard. Part of the world that first becomes hard is Sasaka Domas, the most sacred site of the Baduy and is believed as the centre of the world (Saputra 1959: viii-1 - viii-2,

³⁰ This book does not have page numbers. By considering that the first page of the introduction chapter is the page number 1, this description is on the pages 90-92. The original text is in Indonesian.

Danasasmita 1986: 24, Garna 1987: 68-69, 80-82, Garna 1988: 229, 369). The Baduy believe that the first human Adam Tunggal descended onto the world at that area. They also believe that the souls of all humans will return to Sasaka Domas. The souls of the Baduy will reside in the highest terrace and Muslims in the second. The adherents of other religions will occupy the third and lower terraces. Because the terraces for the Baduy and Muslims are close, the Baduy believe that in the hereafter they can meet the Baduy who convert to Islam.³¹ Moreover, the significance of this sanctuary can be seen in the geographical orientations of the Baduy. For example, the position of the Baduy's dead bodies in their graves, the Baduy's houses, and their *leuit* face Sasaka Domas. This position is called *nyulah-nyanda* (Djoewisno 1987: 37, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 134-136).

The veneration to Sasaka Domas is conducted on the 16th, 17th, and 18th days of the fifth month of their calendar. Sources on the Baduy mentions that only few Baduy do the veneration, but the Muslim Baduy Odo mentions that any Baduy, as long as he is pure, is permitted to join. The travel on foot from Cikeusik to Sasaka Domas takes around six hours. Besides being far, the length of the travel is due to the absence of a path to the location. During the visit they are not allowed to bring anything except salt, rice and white pigeon peas. Besides, the people have to speak as little as possible (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 86: 86, Djoewisno 1987: 33-35, Garna 1988: 295).

When the venerators arrive at Sasaka Pada Ageung, first they will make a hut (*talabah*). Afterwards, the *puun* of Cikeusik leads the veneration (see Garna 1988: 295). On the second day, they take a bath in the spring of Cijung River and continue approaching the sanctuary. The *puun* then utters repels. Afterwards, they clean the lower steps of the sanctuary's terrace. On the seventh step which is called Sanghyang Pangumbahan there is a basin. If the water in the basin is much, they believe that there will be a good season and rain. They use the water to wash their faces, hands and feet. They continue the ritual by going up to the top of the terrace to see the statue. If it is covered by moss, they believe the season will be fruitful and vice versa. Afterwards, they take the moss as a blessing and go down. On the second terrace which is called Lemah Bodas (White Soil) they do the last ritual by stating that they would be loyal adherents of Sunda Wiwitan. It is said that the Baduy leaders vow at Sasaka Domas that they will be stick to Sunda Wiwitan and keep a distance from Islam (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 90-91). Odo says that the participants of the veneration could not hear what is said by their leaders.³²

³¹ Interview with Odo on 22 November 2018.

³² Interview with Odo on 22 November 2018.

After finishing the ritual, two *jaro* from two Inner Baduy villages, as a representative, go down into a hole. Its size is around 4x6 metres square and 2 metres in depth. They take white soil from the hole with a bamboo stick, put it on leaves, and share it with the people joining the veneration. The white soil, which is quite sticky, is believed by the Baduy as one of the ingredients of the earth. They bring and share it with other people who are waiting in Cikeusik in the ceremony of *mapag kolot* (welcoming the elders). The Baduy use the white soil for many purposes such as medication and fertilizer of their plants when doing *ngaseuk* (making a hole for planting a seed). Odo says:

“When I was still in the Baduy land, I was never medicated with modern medicine. *Ambu* (mother) medicated me with the white soil that was boiled. After I became a Muslim, I asked my mother (who is still a Baduy) the white soil. She didn’t give me it because she said that it was not for non-Baduy.”³³

B. The Coming of Islam to Banten and its Influence on Sunda Wiwitan

The history of Banten before the coming of Islam is still not clear yet (see Garna 1988: 26). Some history books (such as by Lubis *et al.* 2014) try to start the history of Banten from the prehistoric period by providing evidence in the forms of, for example, rock terraces and standing stones. Besides the physical descriptions, the authors of the books do not provide enough explanation of what the people lived at that time. A more chronological explanation of the history of Banten comes from Guillot, Nurhakim and Wibisono. From excavations conducted from 1988 – 1992 at an ex-palace in Banten Girang, they hypothesise that the history of Banten can be constructed from around 932. That year is supposed to be the year of the foundation of a Sundanese Kingdom in Banten where Banten Girang (or Wahanten Girang) was its capital. This kingdom was probably founded by a group of Javanese who came from a kingdom in Central Java which fell in 930. The foundation of the kingdom of Banten Girang was under the permit of the Srivijaya Kingdom and therefore Banten Girang became a vassal of the kingdom (Guillot, Nurhakim and Wibisono 1996, 2008: 15 -30).³⁴

³³ Interview with Odo on 22 November 2018.

³⁴ The report was first published in French *Banten avant l’Islam. Étude archéologique de Banten Girang (Java – Indonésie) 932 -1526* by EFEO in 1994. It was then translated into Indonesian and published by Bentang in 1996 under the title *Banten Sebelum Zaman Islam: Kajian Arkeologi di Banten Girang (932 – 1526)*. The short version of this report is included in Claude Guillot, *Banten Sejarah dan Peradaban Abad X – XVII* (Jakarta: KPG, EFEO, Forum Jakarta-Paris, Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional, 2008).

Afterwards, around 1016 – 1030 Banten Girang was ruined by Srivijaya because it helped a Javanese kingdom attack Srivijaya. The leaders of Banten Girang then fled to the south of Banten. Later Banten Girang was refounded and around 1200 it reached its golden age because of its commercial relationship with China. In 1275 Banten Girang became a vassal of Singasari. Probably this status lasted until the 14th century. Around 1400 Banten Girang was attacked and ruined by Pajajaran. Its commercial centres were moved to Kelapa and the estuary of Citarum River. Around 1500 Banten Girang became an important kingdom again because the power of Pajajaran which controlled Banten Girang eroded (Guillot, Nurhakim and Wibisono 1996, 2008: 15 -30). Around 1512 the Portuguese came to Java. Tome Pires, among the Portuguese, mentions the ports of Pontang and Banten—both are in Banten. He says that Banten was a great port and it had a great town, but the port of Calapa (Jakarta) was the best. Banten offered “rice, foodstuffs and pepper” (Corteseo (ed.) 1944: 166-172). Eventually, in 1526 Sunan Gunung Jati, his son Hasanuddin (d.1570), and the convert Ki Jongjo brought Demak soldiers to Banten and attacked Banten Girang (Guillot, Nurhakim and Wibisono 1996, 2008: 15 -30). This year is considered as the foundation year of the sultanate of Banten (Lubis *et al.* 2008: 37). But it was just in 1546 Banten became an independent kingdom, no longer as a vassal of Demak (Djajadiningrat 1983: 35, 96, Ota Atsushi 2006: 15-18).

About the Islamisation of Banten, Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud and H. J. De Graaf (1976: 12-13) state that Sunan Gunung Jati (Nurullah) was the man who introduced Islam and founded a Muslim community in Banten around 1525. In 1527 he conquered Sunda Kalapa which was a port of Pajajaran. In the 1550s Sunan Gunung Jati moved to Cirebon, while Banten was handed to his son Hasanuddin who is regarded as the first king of Banten. In 1559 the Masjid Agung (Great Mosque) was built. At the end of the 16th century, the coastal area of Banten was lived by pious Muslims and it attracted ‘*ulamā* from “various nationalities” (Atsushi 2006: 33-34).

The *Sajarah Banten* (composed in 1662/3) provides quite detailed information about how the Islamisation of Banten was conducted. It is said that (Molana) Hasanuddin wandered in Banten and became a hermit by staying at Mount Pulosari, Mount Karang and Mount Lor. At Mount Pulosari there were 800 *ajar* (learned and religious people, priests) who were led by Pucuk Umun. The leader knew that Pajajaran as the power centre had disappeared and he had to allow another man, namely Hasanuddin, to take over his power. He left Banten. The 800 *ajar* came to Hasanuddin, converted to Islam and appointed Hasanuddin as their new Pucuk Umun. At that time he was still 20 years old. When Hasanuddin was 27 years old he married a princess of Demak. After four months in Demak

they returned to Banten and Hasanuddin, assisted by Ki Jongjo, continued Islamisation. He converted, for instance, Batara Guru Jampang and Susuk ing Lontar (Djajadiningrat 1983: 10, 33-36).

The founder of Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin, Kiyai Zainuddin Amir³⁵, explicates that the Islamisation of the Baduy has started since Molana Hasanuddin. He asked his follower Ki Jongjo to Islamise the Baduy. Both Haji Sarmedi³⁶ and Zainuddin Amir believe that when the envoy(s) of the sultan just introduced the *shahāda* and circumcision to the Baduy, they were called by the sultan to return to the court. Hasanuddin or another sultan of Banten, as is believed by the Baduy, sent his envoy Ki Ahum to the Baduy land. The envoy, who is known as an *āmil*, lived in Cicakal Girang. To this *āmil* the Outer Baduy declare the *shahāda* when they marry.

Pleyte (1909) and Djajadiningrat (1996) mention that Sunda Wiwitan is influenced by Islam (besides by Hinduism and Buddhism), but they do not explain to what extent Islam has influenced Sunda Wiwitan. This section will show the influences of Islam on Sunda Wiwitan in the existence of the village of Cicakal Girang, the declaration of the *shahāda*, the existence of the prophets, the practice of circumcision/ incision, and the utilisation of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) of purification and Arabic-Islamic terminologies. Because of these influences, later Muslim preachers use them to do missionary activities among the Baduys and to counter Christianisation (chapter 4).

1. *Cicakal Girang: a Muslim Village in the Adat Land*³⁷

Cicakal Girang is a special village in the Baduy land where all of its inhabitants are Muslims (see Garna 1988: 143-144). This village has existed since the sultanate of Banten or even earlier (Bakels and Boevink 1986: 67-68). Danasasmitha and Djatisunda (1986: 90) suppose that Muslims in Cicakal Girang were spies of the sultanate of Banten. According to them, it was the existence of the Muslims which made the Baduy reluctant to open information about themselves. The existence of this village is believed to be related to the agreement between the sultanate of Banten and the ancestors of the Baduy. What makes this village special is the existence of the position of *āmil* to whom the Baduy pronounce the *shahāda* before they marry. The Baduy believe that without the *shahāda* their marriage is categorised as adultery. In addition, this village has become a legitimation for the Muslims to convert the

³⁵ Interviews with Kiyai Zainuddin Amir on 28 March 2017, 6 June 2017, 21 July 2017, and 2 December 2018.

³⁶ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 20 May 2018.

³⁷ Unless mentioned differently, this section is based on my interviews with Ahmad Hidayat, Ai Dewi and Armani on 29 March 2017.

Baduy and to counter the Christianisation of the people (see chapter 4).³⁸

The current *āmil* of Cicakal Girang is Armani who succeeded his father-in-law Kalim in 1993. Kalim succeeded Arkawi who had officiated the position for two years. Arkawi left the village when he married a woman of another village outside the *adat* land. Armani admitted that he had an assignment letter issued by the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama/KUA*) of Leuwidamar. It is why he sometimes goes to the office to report the marriage of the Muslims and Baduy (see Garna 1987: 70). However, the current head of the KUA, Abdul Muti³⁹, stated that he did not know that the marriages of the Baduy, who are not Muslims, were reported to the KUA. In fact, the KUA is only to register the marriages of Muslims. Non-Muslims' marriages are registered in a Registry Office.

In 1972 Muslims in Cicakal Girang pioneered formal education. They thought that it was important for their children, besides the fact that access to schools was hard because it took hours to reach the schools outside the Baduy land. What they did is to call a man named Jazi who was working as a teacher in Malingping, about 40 kilometres away from Cicakal Girang. Because there was no school building, education was run in a house. In the early 1980s Muhammadiyah of Lebak sent its preachers, Ahmad Hidayat and his wife Ai Dewi, to live in the village. They would manage the school and teach the people Islam. Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Masyarikul Huda, the name of the school, is now managed by Muhammadiyah. The school yielded its first graduates in 1993, 20 years after its foundation. The delay occurred because it had only voluntary teachers. Frequently, the teachers chose to go to their farms rather than to go to school.

To make access to the village easier, in the early 1990s the people of Cicakal Girang arranged stones on the path to make it hard. Knowing this, approximately a hundred Baduy came to Cicakal Girang to protest against the building of the path. They reported the project to the police office in Leuwidamar. The head of the police came and forbade the Muslims to continue the project. The village leader signed the statement not to go on with the project. Nonetheless, he and other people of the village asked for help to university students who were active at the *Resimen Mahasiswa* (Menwa) in Bandung. The Menwa, as it generally existed at universities in Indonesia, was an organisation of students who had an interest in military skills. In 1994 they came to Cicakal Girang and helped the people to improve the path. Looking at the military dress worn by the students, the Baduy were not courageous to protest. However, three months after the path had been

³⁸ Interviews with Armani, Ahmad Hidayat and Ai Dewi on 29 March 2017.

³⁹ Interview with Abdul Muthi on 27 March 2017.

enough improved and the students left the village, the road was blocked by the Baduy. Afterwards, they came to the leader of the village to convey their disapproval.

The village leader of Cicakal Girang explains that more than two decades ago the houses of the Muslims were the same as those of the Baduy, made from wood and bamboo. In 1992 three families started to have houses of which walls were made of concrete. The number of houses at that time was about 15. But according to Persoon (1994: 367) at that time there were around 45 houses, a *madrasah* and a mosque. In 2016 the population was 370 people. Besides, there existed a mosque, four small mosques (*mushala*) and two Islamic schools Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) Masyarikul Huda and Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) Cicakal Girang. Later other families followed to build houses from concrete. The Baduy protested again and considered the Muslims rebellious, unwilling to obey the Baduy's *adat*. According to the Baduy, the Baduy's and Muslims' ancestors had an agreement to respect the *adat*. The Baduy called the village leader to come before the *puun*. To the *puun* the village leader insisted that he and his people were not the adherents of Sunda Wiwitan and therefore had the right to build permanent houses and to do or to have something which was deemed as a taboo by the Baduy.⁴⁰

Now many Muslims in Cicakal Girang already have houses with walls made of concrete. They have motorcycles and their village is electrified. Cicakal Girang has also become a place for university students to do service programmes (*Kuliah Kerja Nyata/KKN*). At the beginning of 2018, for example, 21 students from Institut Pertanian Bogor, Universitas Brawijaya, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Universitas Syiah Kuala Aceh, Universitas Negeri Medan, Institut Ilmu Quran Jakarta, IAIN Salatiga, and Universitas Negeri Jakarta came there to teach the villagers Islam.⁴¹ Newcomers such as Jabar, Ujang Suhanda, Daha, and Kiyai Asid live in the village (Azul 1988: 32-33, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 78-83).

2. *Shahāda*

The Baduy believe that the Islamic *shahāda* is part of their religion. The Outer Baduy come to the *āmil* of Cicakal Girang to declare the *shahāda* when they will marry (Garna 1988: 60). The Baduy Muslim Sarmedi, Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, and the Muhammadiyah preacher Engkos believe that the declaration of the *shahāda* done by the Baduy is a sign that there was an unfinished process

⁴⁰ Interviews with Armani, Ahmad Hidayat and Ai Dewi on 29 March 2017.

⁴¹ <http://bogor.tribunnews.com/2018/02/23/kunjungi-kampung-baduy-mahasiswa-ajari-anak-anak-agama-islam-pakai-iqopolly>, accessed on 7 September 2018.

of Islamisation of the Baduy community in the past.⁴² Because of declaring the *shabāda*, the current *jaro pamarentah* of Baduy Saija state that they are Muslims, but their Islam is different from other Muslims because the Baduy are not obliged to perform the other pillars of Islam: obligatory prayers, alms, fasting in the month of Ramadan, and pilgrimage to Mecca.⁴³ What was said by the *jaro* can be true because Islamic theology states that anyone who declares the *shabāda*, and he believes in it, becomes a Muslim (Dutton 1999: 151-165).

The vice *jaro* of Cibeo Ayah Mursid declares that the Baduy have more or less 20 *shabāda*. Not all of the *shabāda*, he says, can be informed to non-Baduy. The 20 *shabāda* include the *shabāda* of Wiwitan, Tunggal, Samping, Batin, Kangjeng Nabi Muhammad, Bawa, Sunda Iman, Bali, Mesir, Banten, Santen, Sri, Imam Mahdi, Umur, Rahayu, Rasa, Pamuka Alam, Suson, and Bumi Alam (Kurnia and Sihabuddin 2010: 142-143). However, the Muslim Baduy whom I interviewed said that they never knew that the number of *shabāda* in the Baduy community reaches 20. What they knew was just two *shabāda*: the Islamic *shabāda* (the *shabāda* of Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad) and the *batin* (inner) *shabāda*. The Islamic *shabāda* is declared by the Outer Baduy when they will marry, while the inner *shabāda* is known only by the Inner Baduy. Like the Outer Baduy, the Inner Baduy use it when they will marry.⁴⁴

The Outer Baduy declare the *shabāda* in front of a Muslim *āmil* when they are about to marry.⁴⁵ After reading the *shabāda* the Baduy read its translation in High Javanese of Banten. Javanese of Banten, or commonly called Javanese of Serang (*Jawa Serang*), was Javanese of Cirebon and Demak which later developed in Banten and became distinct from its roots (Chudari 2013: 1-3). From the fact that the Outer Baduy translate the Islamic *shabāda* into Javanese, I believe that the Islamisation of the Baduy community was conducted by a Javanese in the sultanate period. It corresponds with the existence Ki Ahum, the first *āmil* in Cicakal Girang, who is believed by the Baduy to be an envoy of the Sultan of Banten (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 81-84). The Sultanate of Banten itself was Javanese and initially an extension of the Sultanate of Cirebon. The current *āmil* of Cicakal Girang Armani showed me how the *shabāda* is read by the *āmil* and followed by the Baduy. The *shabāda* is in Arabic and is followed by its Javanese translation.

⁴² Interviews with Sarmedi, Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, and Engkos on, respectively, 24 November 2018, 6 June 2017, and 10 April 2017.

⁴³ Interview with Jaro Saija on 3 May 2017.

⁴⁴ Interviews with Idris, Iman, and Kamran on 04 June 2017.

⁴⁵ Besides that, the Baduy also use this *shabāda* as a prayer. They read it, for instance, when they will plant the seeds of rice.

*A'ūdū billāhi min al-šāiṭāni al-rraġim.*⁴⁶ *Bismi al-llāhi al-rrahmāni al-rraḥīm.*⁴⁷
*Ašhadu 'an lā ilāha illā al-Lāh wa ašhadu 'anna Muḥammadan rasūlul-lāh.*⁴⁸
*Allahumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa 'alā āli sayyidina Muḥammad.*⁴⁹
*Isun awuruhi satuhuni ora ana pangeran anging Allah lan isun awaruhi satuhuni
 ora ana nabi anging nabi Muḥammad utusan Allah.*⁵⁰

Raden Djajaperbata (1917:10) writes that the *shahāda* of the Baduy is:

*Ashadoe Allah, ashadoening*⁵¹, *ginggang*⁵² *Batara toenggal, dat rasaning Allah, dat
 toenggal saking djati, Moekamad oetoesaning Allah.*⁵³

Another *shahāda* that needs to be noted is the *shahāda* of Sunda (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 141-142; Garna 1987: 69-70). This *shahāda* consists of the *ta'awudz*, the *basmala* (the Quran 1:1) and the Islamic *shahāda*. The *shahāda* of Sunda is a combination of Sundanese and Arabic:

*Ašhadu sahadat Sunda. Jaman Allah ngan sorangan. Kaduana Nabi Muḥammad
 anu cicing di bumi anggarincing, nu calik calikna di alam keueung, ngacacang di
 alam mokaha, salamet umat Nabi Muḥammad. 'A'ūdū bi l-llāhi min aš-šāiṭāni
 ar-raġim. Bismi al-lāhi ar-rahmāni ar-rahīm. Ašhadu 'an lā ilāha illā al-Lāh
 wa ašhadu 'anna Muḥammadan rasūlul-lāh. Allahumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā
 Muḥammad.*⁵⁴

⁴⁶ This sentence is called *al-isti'adzah* (استعاذ) or *at-ta'udz* (تذو), namely the request for protection. It reads 'I ask for protection from Satan the outcast.' This *isti'adzah* exists in the Qur'an 16: 98.

⁴⁷ This part is called the *basmalah*. It says: "In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." A discussion about the *basmalah*, read Seyyed Hossein Nasr (editor-in-chief), *The Study Quran A New Translation*, (New York: HarperOne, 2015), 5.

⁴⁸ The *shahāda* which means "I bear witness that there is no god but Allah and I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of God."

⁴⁹ The *ṣalawāt* or sending the greeting to the prophet Muhammad. "O Allah! Exalt our Master Muhammad and the family of our Muhammad."

⁵⁰ The part is the Javanese translation of the *shahāda*.

⁵¹ "Ashadoening" should have been written "ashadoe ning" or "ashadu ning".

⁵² "Ginggang" should have been written "ing kang".

⁵³ The translation of these sentences is: "I bear witness [that there is no god but] Allah, I bear witness to Batara Tunggal, namely Allah, the real unique essence, Muhammad is Allah's messenger."

⁵⁴ To make this passage more readable, the writing system of this passage is revised. The translation of this passage is: "I bear witness the *shahāda* of Sunda. In the time of Allah He is alone. The second is Prophet Muhammad who lived in the earth of *anggarincing*, who sit in the quiet dimension, [who] travelled in the dimension of *mokaha*, be safe the followers of Prophet Muhammad. I seek refuge with Allah from the accursed Satan. In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of God. O Allah! Exalt our Master Muhammad."

Pleyte (1909: 523) also records the *shahāda* of the Baduy as follows “*Asjhadoe anna illalah was asjhadoe Moehammad was asjhadoe ing kang Batara toenggal*”. This *shahāda* consists of two parts: the Islamic *shahāda* and the *shahāda* of Batara Tunggal. Pleyte translates the *shahāda*: “I believe in the God Allah, and I believe in Muhammad and I believe in Batara Tunggal.” If Pleyte understood Arabic, he should have noticed that the Arabic version of the Islamic *shahāda* is corrupt. Besides, he translates the *shahāda* mistakenly. The translation of the *shahāda* should be: “I bear witness that [there is no God] but Allah, and I bear witness Muhammad and I bear witness to Batara Tunggal.” Because the Baduy declared the Islamic *shahāda* in front of an *āmil*, and he would correct it if they made a mistake, what might have happened was that Pleyte did not catch the *shahāda* correctly. Wessing (1977: 294) who refers to Pleyte and quotes the *shahāda* also does not correct the mistake. A similar case happened when the two Dutch voyagers Jacob van Neck and Wybrant Warjick came to the Moluccas. They heard the *ādān* and transcribed it mistakenly (Steenbrink 1993: 32).

Danasasmita and Djatisudan (1986: 71) note that before conducting the marriage the Baduy bridegroom has to memorise *at-ta’udz*, *basmala*, the *shahāda* and *ṣalawāt*⁵⁵ in Arabic and their translations in Javanese of Banten. Garna (1988: 104-105, 161) mentions that the *shahāda* which is declared by the Outer Baduy before marriage is in Arabic and Javanese. Then Garna provides its translation in Malay. The *shahāda* which is quoted by Garna is similar to mine, but there are errors in the *ṣalawāt* and *shahāda*. Which is strange is that his Malay translation is correct, but he does not comment on the errors of the Arabic version. He also makes a mistake when translating “*āl*” (آل) which means “family” as “friend(s)”.

Moreover, the *āmil* Armani said that the *puun* asked him to teach the Baduy the *shahāda* when they were unable to read it. So far, all Outer Baduy who came to him to declare the *shahāda* were conversant. Iras, a Baduy man in Ciboleger, narrated that he had memorised the *shahāda* since he was younger. If he was unable to memorise the *shahāda*, he was worried that he would have not been able to marry his future wife.⁵⁶ After the Baduy declared the *shahāda* in front of the *āmil*, they returned to their villages to perform the marriage in the *adat* way.

The Christian Baduy Laksana questioned why the Baduy proclaimed the *shahāda* which is from Islam. Even though the Baduy proclaimed the *shahāda*, Laksana said, they did not think they were converting to Islam. Laksana himself

⁵⁵ *Ṣalawāt* or *taṣliya* is “the invocation of God’s blessing upon the Prophet Muhammad.” (A. Rippin, *taṣliya*, in EI Vol. X (2000: 358-359) and EI Vol VIII(2000: 935).

⁵⁶ Interview with Iras on 22 July 2017.

read the *shahāda* before he married. At that time he called an *āmil* to come to his house in Kadujangkung. “I realised that the *shahāda* is part of Islam after I moved out from the *adat* land,” he said. Furthermore, Laksana reminded some Baduy not to read the *shahāda* if they wanted to be pure Baduy, but they responded that it was less valid if they did not read it.⁵⁷

3. *Adam and Muhammad: Prophets of the People*

Sunda Wiwitan teaches the Baduy that the first human was Adam Tunggal. He descended onto the earth in the Baduy land. Adam Tunggal brought the religion of Sunda Wiwitan that is intended specifically for the Baduy and not to be disseminated to non-Baduy (Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 75).⁵⁸ It also teaches that there were other prophets besides him. Besides, Muhammad is believed by the Baduy as the last prophet (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010, 138-139). The *jaro pamarentah* Saija expressed that Muhammad was believed by the Baduy to have met their ancestors and asked them to help Muslims when they were in hardship. Saija explained:⁵⁹

“Muhammad said to the *puun*, “When our grandchildren, children of the grandchildren, and their descendants are wet when raining, eat less, and don’t have enough food and clothes, please help them.” The *puun* said, “[we are] ready to give, but as the requirements, they have to bring a kris, white clothing, money as much as one (Spanish) *real* and one *ketip*. Please visit the *puun*. Nevertheless, their bodies may not (spiritually) be dirty. They may not smoke opium and do adultery. (Afterwards, they will obtain) the wealth which will not be able to be spent by seven generations. But please take care of the orphans and the poor.”

As religious leaders who have a very special position, the *puun* get visits from non-Baduy who seek for a blessing. Visiting the *puun*, Saija said, has been practised by the non-Baduy far before the 1990s when the non-Baduy came to the land for tourism (see Odjoh 1967: 13). When I conducted my second fieldwork in 2018, Haji Sarmedi, a family from Cilegon and I visited the *puun* of Cikeusik. To the *puun* Haji Sarmedi expressed that the family wanted to be blessed. The father of the family asked the *puun* to pray for the smoothness of his business and the mother complained about her position at the school where she

⁵⁷ Interview with Laksana on 21 December 2018.

⁵⁸ Genealogical connections between a people with Adam in Java seem to be common. See for example *Tinjauan Kritis Tentang Sejarah Banten* (Djajadiningrat 1983: 17) and *Babad Tanah Jawi* (eds. Damono and Sondakh 2004: 3).

⁵⁹ Interview with Saija on 10 May 2017.

worked. She said that she should have become the principal of the school, but her friend took the position. Besides, their children asked the *puun* to pray for the success of their state examinations. The *puun* then blessed them.

4. *Circumcision/Incision*

Baduy boys are circumcised in the house of *pasajen* by a circumcision specialist who is called a *bengkong* (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 204-206). Baduy girls are not circumcised, but they follow the ceremony of circumcision.⁶⁰ They call the process of circumcision as *ngeslamkeun* or *nyelamkeun* (to Islamise) and *ngaberesihkeun* (to cleanse) (Garna 1988: 85, Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010, 204-205). These terms are commonly used in the Sundanese society of Banten, including Baduy boys who have not been circumcised yet are called '*encan Islam*' (have not become a Muslim) and deemed dirty. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 67) state that the Baduy are influenced by Islam by calling the practice of *circumcision/incision* as *ngeslamkeun*. Without explaining his reason, the missionary Silitonga (1998: 76-77) who was active in the Baduy land in the 1980s minds if circumcision/ incision of the Baduy is associated with Islam. Moreover, the removal of the foreskin marks that the circumcised is already an adult, therefore religious duties apply to him. The *jaro pamarentah* Saija explains further that Baduy children who have not been circumcised cannot follow religious activities such as to fast, to join the *Seba*, and to pray. If doing so, the activities are invalid.⁶¹

Muslim Baduy, the *jaro pamarentah*, and his staff whom I interviewed between February and June 2016 explained that the technique of circumcision of the Baduy was called *soplak lodong*.⁶² *Soplak* is a Sundanese word which means that part of something is removed with a special technique to form the letter 'u'. *Lodong* is a container made of bamboo which its length is about one metre. The Baduy and many other people in agricultural areas use *lodong* to take and save spring water and palm water (Sundanese: *cai labang*). By the technique of *soplak lodong*, the upper side of the penis' foreskin is removed to form the letter 'u' (see drawing 2.3). The *jaro pamarentah* Saija, however, explained the technique of removing the foreskin differently. He said that the upper side of the foreskin was incised (*diturib*). Now many Baduy boys in Cisaban, Kadukohak, and Batara, for instance, are circumcised by Muslim *bengkong*.⁶³

Scholars argue that circumcision in the Archipelago is not purely Islamic.

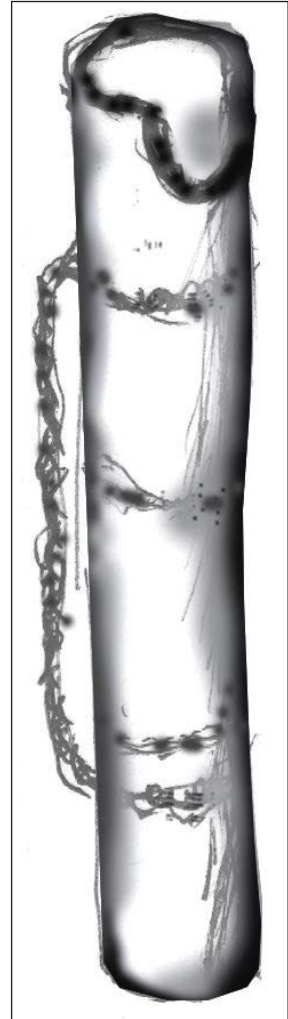
⁶⁰ Interview with Haji Sarmedia via WhatsApp on 10 January 2020.

⁶¹ Interview with Saija on 10 May 2017.

⁶² Interviews with Musa, Iman, Saija, Ikmal on 4 and 6 June 2017.

⁶³ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 18 November 2018.

Drawing 2.3: A *lodong* made of bamboo. Look at the upper side which is called *soplak* in the form of the letter 'U'. Drawing by Ade Jaya Suryani.



Circumcision had even been practised before Islam came and developed in the region. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 67) explain that before Islam came to Java, the people, including the Baduy, had practised circumcision. By referring to the works of G.A. Wilken (1847-1891), B.J.O. Schrieke (1890-1945), H. Kraemer (1888-1965) and W.M. Rikin ([1973] 1994) and the connection between the Archipelago and Mecca through fatwas, Kaptein (1995: 287-289) reveals that the technique of circumcision in the Archipelago is influenced by Islam. In addition, Rikin (1994) shows that Sundanese Christians in Bogor were also circumcised.

Hefner (1985: 34, 144) in his study about tradition and Islam in Tengger demonstrates the same finding. Hindu Tengger males, according to a Dutch report in 1785, were circumcised. When Hefner researched Tengger such a practice still continued. Different from what is found among the Baduy, the people of Tengger denied associating circumcision, although it is called *islaman*, with Islam. Even some communities banned the practice of circumcision to refuse the accusation that to be circumcised means to become a Muslim. Therefore, Hefner concludes that the practice of circumcision (and of marriage) in this Islamic manner was only superficial. They did it because they feared and were pressed by Muslim officials.

5. *Marriage and Fiqh on Purification (ṭabāra)*

The Outer Baduy marry in the Islamic and *adat* ways, whereas the Inner Baduy marry only in the *adat* way. Before the marriage, the bridegroom of the Outer Baduy comes to the *ʾāmil* of Cicakal Girang (later of other villages) to proclaim the *shabāda*. The bride stays at home. But if she does not have a trustee (*wāli*), she also has to declare the *shabāda* together with her groom. The Baduy believe that a marriage without the *shabāda* declaration is considered adultery. If a Baduy

does not so, he must be purified through a ritual of flower-bath. If the doer of the adultery dies before he declares the *shahāda*, his descendants will be punished by God.⁶⁴

Also, the Baduy do not have the concepts of polygyny and polyandry. Even the Inner Baduy do not have the concept of divorce because their marriage is bound by the *shahāda* of *batin*. They will be in their marriage until one of them dies. When one of them does, the other half may remarry. Like Muslims, the Baduy women may not remarry before the *‘idda* period lasts completely. *‘idda* is the period where a divorced woman, either because of the death of her husband or being divorced, must refrain to remarry to make sure that she is not pregnant with a baby of her ex-husband. If the woman is pregnant, the *‘idda* period is 40 days. If she is divorced, the *‘idda* is 3 months 10 days. This period is the same as when her husband dies.⁶⁵

The Baduy also have the concept of *jinabat* and *nifas* the same as in Islam. Haji Idi explains that he got this information from a Baduy leader. The Baduy leader states that *jinabat* is an impure condition because a man and a woman have had a sexual relationship. To make them pure, they have to take a bath of *jinabat*. *Jinabat* also happens when a man ejaculates. *Nifas*, the Baduy call *ngipas*, is the blood that comes out of the womb after giving birth. Because of *nifas*, a woman has to refrain from a sexual relationship for about forty days.⁶⁶

6. Islamic-Arabic Vocabularies

Darmasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 9) mention that the Baduy have lost their old vocabularies and adopted many Arabic-Islamic words in their language. The most important is the word “Slam” which is added in front of their religion and becomes “Slam Sunda Wiwitan”. The Baduy also use times which are used in Islam to mark the prayer times, such as *lohor* (Arabic: *zūhur*, Sundanese of Baduy: *sandekala*), *asar* (Arabic: *‘asr*, Sundanese of Baduy: *burit*), *magrib* (Arabic: *magrib*, Sundanese of Baduy: *sareupna*), and *subuh* (Arabic: *ṣobāḥ*, Sundanese of Baduy: *janari leutik*) (Garna 1988: 262). They also frequently name their God with the designation Allah, for example, in their oath:

“I ask to be witnessed by Guriang Tangtu Tilu Jaro Tujuh. I swear if I lie, [like a tree] at the top I don’t have shoots, at the bottom I don’t have roots, rolling like an egg, being weak like a worm in front of a staring squirrel.

⁶⁴ Interview with Jaro Saija on 3 May 2017.

⁶⁵ Interview with Jaro Saija on 3 May 2017.

⁶⁶ Interviews with Idi on 8 Juli 2017 and 22 November 2018.

Don't give me power by God who has observation, to Allah who provides, to God who has more knowledge, who protects all humans" (Kunia and Sihabudin 2010: 161, 227).⁶⁷

The Arabic-Islamic vocabularies are also used by the Baduy to symbolise the years in a *windu* (a time unit consisting of eight years). The years in a *windu* are labelled with Arabic alphabets. So the years in a *windu* consists of the years of *alif* (ا), *be* (ب), *jim awal* (ج اول), *je* (ج), *dal* (د), *be* (ب), *waw* (و) and *jim akhir* (ج الأخير) (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 150). The events in the chronicle of the *Sajarah Banten* are also put in such a year system (Djajadiningrat 1983). When the Baduy are about to cut branches of trees at the beginning of the planting circle they read a spell which begins with the Islamic phrase "*Allahummal O Allah*" (Garna 1988: 314). In addition, Some Baduy also chant Islamic prayers, mainly the following prayer which is taken from the Qur'an 2:201: "*rabbana' 'atīnā fi al-dunyā hasanah wa fi al-ākhirati hasanah wa qīnā 'aḍāba an-nār*".⁶⁸

C. Conclusion

"Baduy" is the common name to refer to the followers of Sunda Wiwitan who live in the *desa* of Kanekes, Banten. "Baduy" itself is the name of a river and a hill in their land. The Baduy believe that humans, based on their duties, are divided into two groups: those who manage the world and those who become hermits. The Baduy believe that they play the second role. Their land, therefore, is called a *mandala*, a place where hermits live. As the expression of being hermits the Baduy must detach their life from development and modernity. From a linguistic approach, the belief that the Baduy are hermits can be justified. For example, the ancestors of the Baduy are called *batara* (learned people) and some of their villages are called *dangka* (a hermit's abode or sanctuary). The leader of Banten Pucuk Umun and his people might have fled to Kanekes and joined the Baduy when Sunan Gunungjati and Hasanuddin brought Islam to Banten in the 16th century. That another name of Pucuk Umun was Ratu Ajar Domas raises speculation about this connection. In the Baduy land there is a sanctuary which is called Sasaka Domas which means the inheritance of Domas.

⁶⁷ "Kami menta disakisan ku Gurian Tangru Tilu Jaro Tujuh: Aing sumpah, lamun aing bohong, kaluhur ulah pucukan, kahandap aing ulah jangkaran, gurulang gorolong kacara endog, lunglay lingkeuy kacara gewreung di tengah bajing cangkilungan. Ulah diberean daya upaya ku Gusti anu nyidikeun, ka Allah anu nganyayakeun ka pangeran leuwih unginga [uninga] anu nantayungan kasakabeh [ka sakabeh] umat..." (Kunia and Sihabudin 2010: 161, 227).

⁶⁸ Interviews with Idi on 8 Juli 2017 and 22 November 2018. The prayer exists in the Quran 2:21 which means: "Our Lord, give us good in this world and good in the Hereafter, and shield us from the punishment of the Fire!" The translation of the prayer or verse is from Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Study Quran a New Translation and Commentary*, (New York: HarperOne, 2015), pp. 88-89.

Furthermore, the encounter between the Baduy and Muslims have affected the Baduy's religion Sunda Wiwitan. The Baduy believe that the *shabāda* is part of their religion's teaching. They also believe circumcision they practice comes from Islam. The Baduy believe that Muhammad once met their ancestors and asked their leaders (*puun*) to help Muslims when they are in hardship. In family law the Baduy are also influenced by Islam where before marrying Outer Baduy men have to declare the *shabāda*, divorced Baduy women may not remarry before their waiting time (*idda*) lasts, and the Baduy are considered in an impure condition (*jinabat*) after they have a sexual relationship. Besides, the Baduy adopt many terms from Islam. It is not rare, for example, that the Baduy call their God as Allah. Some Sunda Wiwitan Baduy also use Islamic verses in their prayer. These influences are later used by Muslims to attract the Baduy into Islam (chapter 4). But before I discuss that issue, let us see first how the Baduy face the problems of access to land and of the population growth which also lead to conversion.



Resettlement Programme of the Baduy: Development, Religious Missions, and Negotiation Between *Adat* And Modernity

In the previous chapters it has been addressed that the Baduy face the problems of access to land and the population growth. Because of these, the Baduy have begun to manage Muslims' farms since at least the 1950s. The Indonesian government has offered a "solution" to the Baduy and isolated societies since that period through a resettlement programme. What the Baduy and the isolated societies likely did not know is the agenda of the programme. One of them was to prompt them to change their religions to the "monotheistic views" which are synonymous to religions recognised by the state. This chapter will discuss how some Baduy joined the resettlement programme, how the government tried to impose the state's religious ideology upon the Baduy community through the resettlement programme, how the Muslims and Christians started to be involved to change the Baduy's belief, and how the Baduy responded to this situation.

A. Resettlement Programme, Religious Agenda behind It, and the Issue of Identity

1. *National Resettlement Programme*

The Depsos claimed to have had a resettlement programme since 1951. Then in 1964 it run a resettlement programme in Gunung Pandan (West Kalimantan), Hulu Banyu (South Kalimantan), Tanjung (Jambi), Senami (Jambi), Muara Basung (Riau), Sei Alam (Riau) and Bayung Lincir (South Sumatra). The Depsos had a more powerful legal basis to run the resettlement programme when

the government issued Law No. 6/ 1974 about the Main Guidelines of Social Welfare. Article 4 (1d) of the law mentions that the government has to increase the level of civilization of the isolated societies (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1997: iv, v).

Isolated societies are defined by the government as groups that are isolated, scattered, dependent on nature, stagnant, less differentiated, illiterate, and undeveloped. They generally live in mountainous areas in West Java, South Sumatra, Jambi, West Sumatra, Riau, East Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, Maluku, East Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, South-East Sulawesi, and Papua. In 1973, there were approximately 1,586,148 people in Indonesia categorised as isolated, while the whole Indonesian population was between 119 – 131 million (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 4-8, 30-34, Fathuddien *et al.* 1978/9: 8-11, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 72, Muhidin 2002: 192). Two of many agendas behind the resettlement programme, as written in the manual issued by the Depsos, were to develop their socio-economic lives and to convert the people to monotheistic views which are synonymous with ‘religions recognised by the state’ (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 36, 38, 39, 67, Fathuddien *et al.* 1978:3, Persoon 1994: 344).

Responding to this duty, the Depsos issued a decision letter No. 10/ 1975 about the organizational structure and working procedure of the department. The decision letter mentions that the DPMT (*Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing*/ the Directorate of the Development of Isolated Societies) will be responsible for the implementation of the law No. 6/ 1974. In practice, it has to co-operate with the departments of agriculture, health, public works, regional administration, agrarian affairs, religious affairs, education, cooperation, and communication. To organise the resettlement programme of the isolated societies the DPMT established the BKPMT (*Badan Koordinasi Pembangunan Masyarakat Terasing*/ the Coordinating Body of the Development of Isolated Societies) and the BPPMT (*Badan Pembina Pembangunan Masyarakat Terasing*/ the Body of the Development of Isolated Societies) at the central and regional levels respectively (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: iv-viii, 36-37, 42, Anggraeni 2000: 6).

As it is clear from the Depsos’ definition of isolated societies, the government deemed that the isolated peoples were not in line with the government’s hope: they were dependent too much on nature, not religious, and socio-culturally underdeveloped. Therefore, it thought that it had to help the people by creating a programme named the PPMT (*Program Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing*/ the Programme of the Development of Isolated Societies) which covered the aspects

of infrastructure, economy, society-culture, education-spirituality, and health. To achieve the purpose the Depsos assigned to build houses for the people, schools, offices, worship places, roads, sanitary facilities, markets, sports squares, cemeteries, and farms. The building of worship places was considered important to develop the people's spirituality towards the religions recognised by the state (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 38, 67-68, 160-163, 295).

Through the PPMT the Depsos resettled isolated societies to new villages. To do so the Depsos set a standardised process: (1) to motivate the isolated peoples to live in the resettlement villages, (2) to provide physical needs such as farms, villages, houses and public facilities, (3) to provide food, cloth, and medicine, (4) to provide seeds and farming tools, (5) to relocate the people to resettlement villages, (6) to train their people in living as permanent residents, (7) to train the people in improving economic life, (8) to train the leaders of the societies, (9) to educate the people especially in art, religion and communal activities, and (10) to transfer the resettlement programme from the Depsos to the local governments. Each programme lasted for 3-7 years (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 17-24, 62).

2. *Religious Agenda behind the Resettlement Programme*

The DPMT which was responsible for the implementation of the Law No. 6/1974 on social welfare wrote in the manual of the resettlement programme, *Program Operasionil Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing* (1975: 7, 18, 22, 39, 67), that one of the characteristics of the isolated societies is that they believe in animism-dynamism. To make the isolated societies in line with the state's ideology, namely to believe in the one and only God, the directorate DPMT made a cultural-spiritual programme for the resettled societies in the resettlement programme. The manual explains that:

“[the programme] shows a series of activities to lead their beliefs, customs, norms, routine activities, and other metaphysical habits to the monotheistic view. They also have to receive religious education so that they follow the instruction of God” (Direktorat Jenderal Bina Sosial 1975: 38-39).

The duty of the religious aspects in the resettlement villages, or more specifically the duty to convert the isolated peoples to one of the religions recognised by the state, was delegated to the Department of Religious Affairs. Responding to the duty, in 1978/9 the department published *Metodologi Da'wah Kepada Suku Terasing* (the Methodology of *Da'wa* to the Isolated Societies),

a manual about how to run *da'wa* activities to the groups.¹ Republished in 1992/1993, this book explains that the resettlement programme was formally the duty of the Depsos. Because this programme covered many aspects of society, many departments were involved. The Department of Religious Affairs was obliged to manage the peoples' religious life. In doing so it created a programme called *Dakwah Kepada Suku Terasing* (*Da'wa* to Isolated Societies) where one of its agenda was "to develop religious life which means to change their belief from dynamism-animism to the belief in one God". The purposes of *da'wa* to the groups, the book asserts, are to accelerate their civilization to be parallel with that of other Indonesians and to remove and change their belief by converting them to Islam (Fathuddien *et al.* 1978: 2-3, 12-13, 57, 67-68).

By connecting the definition of the isolated group made by the Depsos to the Quran (43:46)², the Department of Religious Affairs perceives that being an isolated group means being in darkness. Therefore, the department had a duty to invite them from "darkness to brightness", to civilise, and to make them live "normally" like most of Indonesians. More concretely, in the context of the resettlement programme, the department had to invite the isolated peoples to abandon their belief in dynamism-animism and to believe in the one and only God. Afterwards, the *da'wa* activity was intended to increase the quality of their social, economic, cultural and political life (Fathuddien *et al.* 1978/9: 12-14).

"The Islamic mission has a goal to change the belief in animism and dynamism and superstitions to the belief in the Oneness of God. Animism, dynamism, and superstitions have made their thought simple, closed, and hard to accept something from the outside. In theory, after the spiritual issues can be changed, to change their social life will be easy." (Fathuddien *et al.* 1978/9: 13).

Moreover, the manual *Metodologi Da'wah Kepada Suku Terasing* (1978/9) suggests that the preachers have to, for instance, understand the people correctly by studying their languages and by living and participating in their social and cultural life. It is indispensable for them to know their taboos and not to break

¹ The 1978 edition was written by Usep Fathuddien, Muslim Abdurrahman, M. Tulus, and Muffich Dahlan. This book was republished in 1979 and 1992. The 1992 edition has more or less the same content as the previous editions but was printed with different authors and editor (A.M. Romly). I refer to the 1979 edition. Other books in this series are *Peta Dakwah* (1992), *Direktori Lembaga Da'wah Seluruh Indonesia* (1980) *Direktori Lembaga Dakwah* (1992), *Fungsi Majelis Taklim dalam Era Globalisasi* (1992), *Metodologi Dakwah Pada Masyarakat Transmigrasi* (1992), and *Metodologi Dakwah Pada Kehidupan Remaja* (1992).

² "And verily We sent Moses with Our revelations unto Pharaoh and his chiefs, and he said: I am a messenger of the Lord of the Worlds" (Quran 43:46), the translation of Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Meaning of The Glorious Koran* (New York, London, Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf 1992: 505).

them. They are also recommended to have a close relationship with the people, especially with their leaders. They have to arrive at the situation where they are not considered as strangers. The preachers also have to understand their psychology and environments. The manual also provides a chapter on how to manage births, circumcisions, and marriages. Circumcision, according to the manual, can be an effective way to convert the boys and girls of the isolated societies (Fathuddien *et al.* 1978/9: 16, 56-63).

3. *The Baduy's Reasons for Joining the Resettlement Programme: the Limited Adat Land and the Population Growth*

The whole size of the Baduy land is 5,136.58 hectares. Around 3,000 hectares of it are located in the Inner Baduy area and around 2,136 hectares are in the Outer Baduy area. and are used mostly for farming and settlements. If this land is divided evenly among 2,948 families (in 2010), each family would get around 1.74 hectares. In fact, many parts of the *adat* land are protected forests. The management of the fields in the Baduy land is shifting or moving from one area to another. Many years ago they would return to the previous fields after they were left for 5-7 years. In recent years they have returned to the fields sooner. Moreover, the inner Baduy manage farms in the inner Baduy villages and may not handle the farms in the outer Baduy areas, and vice versa. Because of the limitedness of the farming area, the Baduy, often manage fields outside of the *adat* land and even opened forest in the forbidden hilltops (Garna 1988: 184-186, 193, Persoon 1989: 6, Persoon 1994: 326-328, Perda No.32/2001, Kurnia and Sihabuddin 2010: 59, Permana 2010: 45, 51, Van Zanten 2020: 32, Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 40).

Haji Sarmedi explained that because of the limited area and the increase of the population, the price of fields in the Baduy land kept increasing. As a comparison, the price of a field in the surrounding area of the Baduy land, for instance, is Rp20 million (around €1,333).³ The price of the same sized field in the Baduy land could be Rp50 million (around €3,333). Although the price of a field in the Baduy land is more expensive, the Baduy still prefer it because it is closer to their houses. Because to have a field in the Baduy land is not easy, many Baduy eventually decided to manage Muslim's farms, for example, in Bojongmanik, Leuwidamar, Muncang, Sajra and Gajrug. This practice has begun since the 1950s.⁴ Garna (1988: 186) even believes that it has been practised since the 18th century.

³ A currency rate is changing, but in this dissertation the rate of Euro in Rupiah is 15,000. This rate is based on the euro-rupiah rate on 1 January 2016.

⁴ Interviews with Sarmedi on 8 August 2017, with Eman on 4 and 6 June 2017, and with Salia on 28 March and 4 June 2017.

Salia is an example of how the Baduy sought a job outside the Baduy land by becoming a labourer in a Muslim's farm. He and his wife left the Baduy land because they did not have a farm to manage. The price of a farm in the Baduy land was very expensive and they could not buy it. Salia said that with Rp50 million (around €3,333) a Baduy could buy about 300 - 500 square metres. This price is as high as in town. Salia and his wife then followed his brother to abandon the Baduy land and they moved to Muncang. What he did there was to take care of rubber and coffee plantations of Muslims. Because the plantations would be sold, Salia then worked in a farm of the ex-regent of Lebak Mulyadi Jayabaya. Besides Salia's family, about six other Baduy families worked there. Later Salia decided to stop working and moved to Palopat where he met Sardaya a brother of Jaro Samin. Sardaya contacted the founder of Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin, Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, and asked him to lend Salia a house which was built by the state-owned company Krakatau Steel. At the housing complex near the pesantren Salia and his family live.⁵

Another example of how the Baduy face the problem of access to land is Eman. His parents decided to follow Jaro Samin to live in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal. Eman grew up and became an adult in the village. Their parents decided to become Muslims. Eman chose to move to the Baduy land, lived there with his brother. Nonetheless, he felt that living in the Baduy land was much harder. Then he decided to return to the resettlement village and followed his parents to become a Muslim. Later he met a Muslim Baduy woman who had left the Baduy land for years. Eman married this woman. Moreover, they lived in a house of Eman's brother. In 2016 the house would be sold by the owner and Eman did not have money to buy it. Finally, he and his family moved to a house provided by the Krakatau Steel company in Palopat. There he made a friendship with Salia.⁶

Eman confirmed that the problem of access to land drove the Baduy to abandon the *adat* land. Those who remain in the Baduy land are who have farms there. In line with the population growth, more and more people leave the land. Even many of the people who have farms also have to find other farms outside the Baduy land because their farms have been planted *durian* and other fruit trees. It is no longer possible to plant rice in the farms. Because the price of farms in the Baduy land is expensive, many decided to rent farms of Muslims. If not, they manage the farms and share the results with the

⁵ Interview with Salia on 4 June 2017.

⁶ Interview with Eman on 4 June 2017. In Chapter 5 we will see how Muslims and Christians tried to solve their problem by providing land and at the same time offered their religions.

**Table 3.1 - The Population Growth of the Baduy
Which Affects their Access to the Farming Area**

Year	People
1822	188*
1888	184*
1899	1,407
1908	1,547
1928	1,521
1966	3,935
1969	4,063
1972	4,077
1979	4,081
1980	4,057
1983	4,574
1984	4,587
1985	4,474
1986	4,850
1990	5,582
1993	5,649
1994	6,483
2000	7,317
2004	7,532 - 7,700
2008	10,941
2010	11,172
2011	11.269
2012	11,279
2013	11.279
2014	11,279 - 11,299
2015	11,290
2016	11,699
2017	11,699
2018	11.699
2019	11.699

Sources: Garna (1988: 52-53, 56, 59), Kurnia and Sihabuddin (2010: 67-71), Pemana (2010: 32), Suryani (1974), Djauhari (1979: 39), BPS Lebak's *Leuwidamar Dalam Angka* 2012 (16), 2013 (16), 2014 (25), 2015 (25), 2016 (3), 2017 (21) 2018 (25), 2019 (25), Statistik Leuwidamar Tahun 2015 (3), Wim van Zanten (2020: 30). * Inner Baduy only. Data from 2011 -2019 are taken from *Leuwidamar Dalam Angka* from the category of the population of the *desa* of Kanekes. But numbers are problematic because there is a village in this *desa*, namely Cicakal Girang, which population is Muslims. The numbers of the population might have included the Muslim population from Cicakal Girang. Data from 2016 – 2019 are probably not updated. The increase of the population happened in the period 1928 – 1966.

owners. Which commonly happens is that the Baduy handle Muslims' farms. They plant rubber and albasiah (*Albizia chinensis*) trees. Until the trees grow high, the Baduy use the land for three to five years to plant rice, bananas, and cassava for their food. Afterwards, the Baduy return the farms to the owners and they seek other farms to manage. The Baduy who have money can buy farms and they become independent. Persoon (1994: 322-323) explains that in the 1980s there were around 1,500 Baduy who managed non-Baduy fields (also see Bakels and Boevink 1988: 79, Garna 1988: 186, Darmasasmita and Djatisunda 1989: 109).

The leader of Jamaah Tablig⁷ in Cikapek Haji Adung⁸ explained that there were hundreds of the Baduy living in the village. They left out the Baduy land and were spread in many *kecamatan* (sub-districts). Cikapek, according to him, is one of the concentrations. "The number of population in the Baduy land increases, while the land is limited. They want to manage farms, but the land is not available," he said. in Cikapek and Bedenglima (both in the sub-district of Leuwidamar) around 300 Baduy families reside in a piece of land disputed by plantation companies. About 17 out of the 300 Baduy families in Cikapek are Haji Adung's neighbours.

The problem of access to land can be understood by looking at the population growth as the result of marriage and new births. The Baduy marry at a very young age, around 12-17 for the girls and 16-21 for the boys (Garna 1988: 52, 105).⁹ After they marry, they start to manage farms. Because they are young, they possibly do not have enough money to buy farms. What possibly happens is that they manage their parents' farms. If their parents do not have one, the next most likely option is that they would manage non-Baduy's farms outside the Baduy land.

A perfect example of how the Baduy faced the problem of access to land was their acceptance of the resettlement programme in 1977. The reason behind the acceptance of the programme, according to Haji Nalim¹⁰, was that the Baduy

⁷ Originating from India, Jamaah Tablig is an Islamic group that focuses on *da'wa*. This group is characterised by the distinct clothes and by the so-called *hunj* (Arabic: خروج) or marching out. Through the *hunj* the people of Jamaah Tablig leave their houses for three day, a week or four months for the purpose of *da'wa*. This group has been active in promoting Islam to the Baduy for 10-15 years.

⁸ Interview with Haji Adung on 8 July 2017.

⁹ Interviews with Eman on 4 June 2017, with Haji Sarmedi via Whatsapp on 12 March 2018, and with Kurnia via Messenger on 13 March 2018. The 1974 marriage law requires the man and woman who will marry to be at least 19 and 16 years old respectively. In practice, like in the Baduy land, many couples married under these ages. See for example: <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/12/18/15413921/ketentuan-batas-usia-nikah-di-uu-perkawinan-mendiskriminasi-kaum-perempuan>.

¹⁰ Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

did not have fields. Because of it, they had to manage Muslims' fields and had to seek other fields every three to five years (Persoon 1989: 12). Bakels and Boevink state clearly that the only reason why the Baduy decided to join the resettlement programme was the limitedness of land. They state:

“That the Baduy decided to move to Gunung Tunggal in 1978 has only one compelling reason: hardly anyone in Kanekes had enough land to live on. The Gunung Tunggal project changed that. The 44 families who live there now have an area of 90 hectares of land and so one can have more land per family than the originally allocated one hectare.” (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 70).¹¹

4. *Resettlement Programme of the Baduy*

The imbalance between the size of the *adat* land and the number of the population has forced the Baduy to seek farming areas outside the *adat* land. To help the Baduy solve the problem, the government of Lebak tried to resettle them in 1950, but did not succeed (Anggraeni 2000: 20). In 1954 a group of government's officials visited the Baduy community. The journalist who followed the visit asked them whether the government would develop the Baduy. He wrote: “Up to now the government has not issued an official statement about the question” (*Pesat*, 31 Agustus 1954: 21). In 1973 the Depsos of Lebak did research on the possibility to develop the Baduy. In 1975 it published the result of its research with the conclusions, among others, that the Baduy community could be classified as an isolated community, its religious belief had prevented them from development, and there were some groups of the Baduy community who would like to adopt changes (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 73-74, 101).

Moreover, within the Baduy community itself the problem of access to land was getting visible (see Persoon 1987: 51). The *jaro pamarentah* Samin then initiated to contact the government. At that time Jaro Samin and his relatives were managing fields in (Pasir) Kopo and Gunung Tunggal. The latter was a rubber plantation but it was no longer productive. Jaro Samin met the governor of West Java Aang Kunaefi Kartawiria (1975 - 1985) to ask the land of the plantation for the Baduy. The governor explained that he had to coordinate with the Depsos first. Jaro Samin then met the Depsos and explained that the Baduy needed fields. The Depsos then included the Baduy society into

¹¹ “Dat de Baduy in 1978 besloten naar Gunung Tunggal te verhuizen heeft dan ook maar één dwingende reden: vrijwel niemand bezat in Kanekes voldoende grond om van te kunnen leven. Het Gunung Tunggal-project bracht daarin verandering. De 44 gezinnen die er nu wonen, hebben de beschikking over 90 ha. grond en dus kan men per gezin over meer grond beschikken dan over de oorspronkelijk toebedeelde 1 hectare.”



Photograph
3.1: Jaro Samin.
Photograph was
taken by Jet Bakels
in 1984. Printed
with permission.

the national resettlement programme of the isolated societies (see Bakels and Boevink 1988: 78, 116-117).¹²

One of the sons of Jaro Samin, Haji Nalim, explained:

“My father talked to the Depsos that the Baduy needed fields. He said that he wanted to be settled. Continuously moving to new areas was troublesome. The Depsos responded to the request by providing the resettlement villages in the ex-rubber plantation area of Cipangembar.”¹³

Contrary to one of the Depsos’ conclusions, the Baduy society was actually not an isolated society. It was and is an open society where its members make contact and do business with wider societies (see Bakels and Boevink 1988: 1, 76, Bakels

¹² Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

¹³ Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

Table 3.2
The Baduy Resettlement Programme 1977 - 1999

No.	Years	Resettlement Villages	Numbers of Families
1	1977/1978	Cipangembar 1 (Gunung Tunggal)	73 - 80
2	1977/1978	Cipangembar 2 (Gunung Tunggal)	75
3	1977/1978	Pasir Kopo 1 (Palopat)	79/ 68
4	1979/1980	Pasir Kopo 2 (Palopat)	75 / 53
5	1985/1986	Kanekes	50
6	1987/1988	Sangkanwangi	50
7	1991/1992	Jalupang Mulya	50
8	1992/1993	Kompol 1 and Kompol 2	50
	1993	Nayagati	?
	1996/1997	Cicakar	?
9	1999	Pasirgintung	83 - 100
10	?	Sukatani 1 Sukatani 2	42
11	?	Jayasari	42
12	?	Cilanggir	37
13	?	Sologor	40
	1977 - 1999	Number of families	± 770

Sources: Bakels and Boevink 1988: 66, Persoon 1989: 10-11, Unpad and Depsos of West Java 1996: 1, Anggraeni 2000: 7, interviews with Haji Sarmedi in May 2017 and November - December 2018. Persoon (1994: 346-348) has a different data. According to him, Pasir Kopo 1 and Pasir Kopo 2 were founded in 1981-82 with 75 and 113 houses respectively.

1989: 360). The Baduy often come to markets to sell their products. Many of them manage Muslims' farms and travel to cities. However, as hermits the Baduy isolate or limit themselves from contacting with the wider society (Darmasasmita and Djatisunda 1989: 9, Persoon 1994: 345). It was because of the lack of land which made them accept the resettlement programme. So, the resettlement of the Baduy was a special case.

The Depsos started the social welfare programme for the Baduy by surveying an area at Blok Pagilan, close to Ciboleger. However, the laboratory assessment stated that it was not good for farming. Then the Depsos examined Gunung Tunggal¹⁴ and Pasir Kopo. The government decided to choose the former with the reasons that it was good for farming, close to the main road and town and surrounded by other villages. More importantly, many Baduy like Jaro Samin, Nalim, Sardaya, Sargawi, and their relatives had managed farms in Gunung Tunggal. Ace Bustaman the owner of the plantation also allowed the area of 92.82 hectares to be used for the resettlement villages of the Baduy. The government of Lebak then took over the ownership of the land where 80 hectares of the land would be used for fields and the rest was for a housing complex (Muliahati *et al.* 1981: 11-15, Garna 1987: 21, 98, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 66, 77-78, Persoon 1994: 343-345, Anggraeni 2000: 6, 21).

Starting from January 1977 the field supervisor Muksin¹⁵ and Jaro Samin visited Bojong Manik, Cileles, Gunung Kencana, Muncang, Cimarga and Leuwidamar (areas where the Baduy managed Muslims' farms) to find the future inhabitants of the resettlement villages in Gunung Tunggal. In April 1977, they obtained 43 Baduy families that were ready to be relocated. They ensured the people that moving to the resettlement villages was like to find a new livelihood (*bubuaran*). In September 1977, they were successful in bringing around 50 families to the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 74, 78, Anggraeni 2000: 19-22).

¹⁴ Gunung Tunggal is the name of a hill in that area. The resettlement villages of the Baduy in the area were Cipangembar 1 and Cipangembar 2 and later Margaluyu and Cihaur. Since the names of the villages were new and did not exist in the map, Bakels and Boevink (1988: 66) state that in the 1980s the resettlement villages were more popular with the name Gunung Tunggal. Now to refer to a wider area people use "Gunung Tunggal" and to specify they mention the names of the villages.

¹⁵ Muksin initially worked as an official of the Depsos of Lebak. After retiring, he was asked by the Depsos to work as a field-guide/ supervisor of the resettlement villages of the Baduy, especially in Gunung Tunggal. Beside Muksin, in that period there were two other field-supervisors, namely Dedi from Leuwidamar and Jamhur from Cilisung. Muksin and his family lived in Cipangembar for eight years. Afterwards, he was asked to manage the Baduy in Pasir Kopo 2 to change the position of Ucen (see also Bakels and Boevink 1988: 71). Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 20 May 2017 and with the wife of Muksin, Enah, on 10 July 2017.

The Baduy who moved to the resettlement villages, such as Jawas, Haji Nalim and Sardaya, explained that the limited Baduy land for farming was the reason why they were willing to move to the resettlement villages.¹⁶ Understanding this situation Muksin and Jaro Samin persuaded the people to live together in the resettlement villages rather than being scattered in the fields of non-Baduy. The fact that the government promised them houses to live in and fields to manage attracted the people. Arji, one of the Baduy, admitted that he moved to the resettlement village because he wanted to develop his farming. In his village in the Baduy land, he said, he could not plant productive trees. Even his clove trees were cut by *adat* leaders. Conversely, in the resettlement villages the *puun* did not forbid the Baduy to do develop farming because the villages were not part of the *adat* land (FASA Unpad 1980: 2-3, Persoon 1994: 355, Anggraeni 2000: 26). Afterwards, the resettlement villages were then inaugurated in 1978 (Muliahati 1981: 1-5, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 67).¹⁷

In 1982 the volcano of Gunung Galunggung erupted and some victims were relocated to the resettlement villages.¹⁸ In the same year the Baduy figure Nalim decided to leave the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggul and opened a new village and he named it Margaluyu which means ‘a proper path’.¹⁹ Narja said that it was Jaro Samin who asked Nalim to open and move to Margaluyu.²⁰ Many Baduy from the resettlement villages of Gunung Tunggul followed him. In 1984, the Department of Agrarian Affairs measured the land in Cipangembar 2 and found that it did not to the government. The Baduy then moved to Cihaur and Margaluyu. In 1985 the Baduy in some resettlement villages gained certainty about the ownership right of the land. Even they obtained 1.5 hectares of land from which was more than the one hectare that was promised. The extra 0.5 hectare was taken from the Baduy who left the resettlement villages and returned to the *adat* land. Two years later, the Baduy in the resettlement received the certificates of their land. In 1987 the resettlement villages of the Baduy were “transferred from the Departement Social Affairs to the Provincial Government” of West Java (Persoon 1989: 11, Anggraeni 2000: 27-29, 32, 39, 45, see also Bakels and Boevink 1988: 93 - 94).

¹⁶ Interviews with Jawas on 21 November 2018 and with Sardaya and Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

¹⁷ Muliahati mentions that the inauguration was held on 25 July 1978, but Bakels and Boevink mention that it was in May 1978.

¹⁸ Interviews with Sardaya on 04 June 2017 and with Enah on 10 Juli 2017

¹⁹ Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 May 17.

²⁰ Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

5. *The Issue of Identity*

In the foundation of the resettlement villages, in fact, the government did not involve the *adat* leaders and somewhat ignored the Baduy's *pikukuh* (guidelines). Their houses in the resettlement villages were quite different from their houses in the Baduy land. They were electrified by a generator, after a renovation the roofs were changed with zinc roofs, and the windows were also made of glass or wire. Unlike in the Baduy land, in the resettlement village they did not have *leuits*, *saung lisungs* and *bale adat*. For farming, they obtained hoes from the government but the Baduy seldom used them. Abas, Udaya, and Tarwi from the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB) introduced modern tools, techniques, and fertilizers to the people. They taught the people how to move from the traditional to the modern ways of farming for two years (Abas Tjakrawiralaksana 1986, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 68, 80 Persoon 1994: 347, Anggraeni 2000).²¹

The decision of Jaro Samin to collect the Baduy from various sub-districts and to invite them to live in the resettlement villages of Gunung Tunggal was challenged by the Baduy leaders. They thought that the resettlement programme was a threat. They asked Jaro Samin to return to the *adat* land to exercise his duty as a *jaro pamarentah*, but Jaro Samin, based on the advice of Muksin, refused. The *adat* leaders could not accept this. Then they sent envoys to Gunung Tunggal to ask Jaro Samin and the Baduy to return to the Baduy land. The *adat* leaders considered the Baduy in the resettlement villages were like a man who sits in the doorway (*malang di tengah lawang*) or a man whose one foot is on a boat and another foot is on another boat. In other words, their identity was unclear (Persoon 1994: 345-346).²²

Finally the *adat* leaders offered the Baduy in the resettlement villages two choices: to return to the Baduy land or to stay in the resettlement villages. Sarmedi explained that even though there were two choices, the *adat* leaders preferred the first one. They encouraged the Baduy to sell their houses in the resettlement villages and return to the Baduy land. But if they wanted to live in the resettlement villages they had to leave Sunda Wiwitan.²³ The Christian Baduy Narja explained that the Baduy may not live outside the *adat* land. In the resettlement programme they lived in the houses provided by the Depsos. This broke the rule and could excommunicate them from the *adat* system.²⁴ Because Jaro Samin himself refused to return, the *adat* leaders changed his position as a *jaro pamarentah* with Nakiwin. The relationship between the Baduy in the resettlement villages and the *adat* leaders was deteriorating. Eventually, the *adat*

²¹ Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

²² Interviews with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017 and with Eman on 04 June 2017.

²³ Interviews with Eman on 4 and 6 June and with Sarmedi on 20 and 24 May 2017.

²⁴ Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

leaders decided to excommunicate the Baduy in the resettlement villages as Baduy and therefore they were not allowed to join *adat* ceremonies such as *kawalu* and *ngalaksa* (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 80-81, 84).

Because of this situation, in 1980 many families in Cipangembar I left the resettlement village. Two years later more families vacated their houses, moving to their original villages. In 1983, there were only 170 out of 300 families in three resettlement villages. Therefore, many houses were abandoned and crumbled. The empty houses were then occupied by the non-Baduy. Haji Nalim²⁵ surmised that 60 families left the resettlement villages of Cipangembar 1 and 2. The houses which were left by the Baduy were then occupied by non-Baduy, including by the victims of Mount Galunggung which erupted in 1982. The Baduy who decided to return to the Baduy land left the Baduy land again. They sought for farms to manage in the neighbouring areas of the *adat* land. They were lamented to leave the resettlement villages (Garna 1988: 62, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 79, Persoon 1994: 348-349, Anggraeni 2000: 27-29, 32, 39, 45).²⁶

Narja added the reasons why the Baduy left the resettlement villages. First, the Depsos halted its donation after six months of resettlement and it affected the livelihood of the Baduy. Second, the Baduy did not get used to being developed. Because of these two, they did not like living in the resettlement villages.²⁷ Moreover, there was a rumour saying that the Baduy in the resettlement villages would be circumcised for the second time, converted to Islam and sent to an empty island through a transmigration programme. The rumour also said that the government would not give them land as it was promised (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 79, Persoon 1994: 346, 349). Eman who joined the resettlement programme said that the rumour was spread by non-Baduy who wanted to possess the houses in the resettlement villages.²⁸

Some Baduy who chose to remain in the resettlement villages reasoned that returning to the *adat* land was not a solution to their problem of access to land. In other words, to have a field was the main reason why they liked living in the resettlement villages. They now could move freely and planted any tree they wanted. They were no longer bound by taboos. They were also able to participate in development and progress as they were campaigned by the officials (Persoon 1994: 362). Eman's parents were an example of the Baduy who decided to remain in the resettlement village. He said:

²⁵ Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

²⁶ Interviews with Eman on 4 June, with Salia on 28 March and with Haji Sarmedi on 20 and 24 May 2017.

²⁷ Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

²⁸ Interview with Eman on 04 June 2017.

“My mother and father thought that rather than returning to the Baduy land, it was better to convert to Islam. Returning to the Baduy land would be hard. They had found their livelihood outside the *adat* land, especially in Cipangembar. Then the *puun* gave them two choices to return to the Baduy land or to convert to Islam. Because the religions that the Baduy knew were only Sunda Wiwitan and Islam and that they also pronounced the *shahāda* of Kangjeng Muhammad, my parents then chose Islam by pronouncing the *shahāda* in Cipangembar in front of Abah Sarmin.”²⁹

As the Baduy in the resettlement villages were no longer recognised by the *adat* leaders, they started to change. Even it was viewed by the government as something good because the Baduy could participate in national development. For example, they broke the taboo of formal education. Actually, the government warned the officials not to introduce it first. It was worried if the people disliked it. Notwithstanding, some children showed their interest in literacy and their parents realised that education was important. The parents hoped that, as long as they did not have to pay, their children would get a formal education. In 1977 there were already 20-25 Baduy children registered at an elementary school. All they needed such as uniforms and books were provided by the government. In 1984, an elementary school was founded in the resettlement village.³⁰ Three years later a programme of Paket A, homeschooling which has the same level as elementary schools, was opened. In 1989 Sapin, a Baduy youth from the resettlement village, graduated from the Senior High School (SMA) of Rangkasbitung. In the same year, Ratna Dewi the daughter of Jaro Samin became a student at a senior high school for health. Another Baduy youth studied at Universitas Advent of Bandung.³¹ The Muslim Baduy youths also attended religious education which was organised in the afternoon at *madrasah*, houses, and mosques (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 85, 103-104, Anggraeni 2000).

Moreover, the Baduy also managed wet rice fields (*sawah*) which were considered easier than to manage dry rice fields (*huma*). Samin, Nalim, Sardaya and Jayman even had fishponds which all of these were taboos. Later in 1998 and 1999, the Baduy received financial support from the government under the programme Credit for Farmers (*Kredit Usaha Tani* KUT) from which they

²⁹ Interviews with Eman on 4 and 6 June 2017.

³⁰ The school building was broken because the soil eroded. The remains of the school still exist in the oil palm plantation near Cihaur. See Photographs 3.7 and 3.8.

³¹ In the later development Ratna Dewi and her relatives from the family of Jaro Samin converted to Christianity. As we will see in chapter five, they are supposed to have a connection with this university. Some Baduy even decided to live in Bandung.



Photograph 3.2: A gathering between Baduy and officials in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggul. Photograph was taken by Gerard Persoon in 1985. Printed with permission.



Photograph 3.3: A house of a Baduy in the resettlement village. Photograph was taken by Gerard Persoon in 1985. Printed with permission.



Photograph 3.4: A house of a Baduy in the resettlement village. Photograph was taken by Gerard Persoon in 1985. Printed with permission.



Photograph 3.5: A house of a Baduy in the resettlement village. Photograph was taken by Gerard Persoon in 1985. Printed with permission.



Photograph 3.6: An oil palm plantation in Gunung Tunggul. A man stands on the location of the ex-building of the elementary school for Baduy children in the resettlement village. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2018.



Photograph 3.7: Bricks of the ex-building of the elementary school which eroded. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2018.

planted ginger in the area of 20 hectares. In addition, they also planted the trees of banana, rubber, coffee, rambutan, cassava, coconut and also corn and paddy. Besides, some of the Baduy worked as labours in factories, housemaids, drivers, and miners. They thought that farming did not suffice them. All of the practices are taboo in the Baduy land, but they broke them (Fakultas Sastra Unpad 1979: 3, 9-10, Muliahati 1981: 17, 1987: 99, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 68-69, 95-96, Garna 1990: 99, Persoon 1994: 355, Anggraeni 2000: 41, 44, 57-58, 63, 65-66, 95).

B. The Emergence of Islamic *Da'wa* and Christian Missionary Activities in the Resettlement Villages

The manual of the resettlement programme issued by the Depsos mentions that one element of the agenda behind the programme was to change the beliefs of the people who are resettled from “animism-dynamism” to “the monotheistic views”. To achieve it the Depsos introduced religious education (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 67-68, Fathuddien 1978: 3). In the resettlement villages of the Baduy, the efforts to change the Baduy’s religion to Islam and Christianity have started since the first years of the resettlement programme. While this section is to show the emergence of Islamic and Christian missions in the resettlement villages, the details and development of the missions and the conversion of the Baduy will be discussed in the next three chapters.

1. Islamic *Da'wa*

Bakels and Boevink (1988: 1-2, 101) state that the resettlement programme of the Baduy was to “integrate [them] with the surrounding Islamic population.” Cooperation with the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama* KUA) was thought to be an effective way to speed the process of integration. Enah³² accounted that her husband Muksin persuaded the Baduy to become Muslims. Muksin also asked his friend Jamhur from Cilisung who was a teacher to teach in the resettlement villages. In the evening the Baduy children came to Muksin’s house to study how to read and write. Gradually, they wanted to study at school. The fact that Muksin had a responsibility for the religious affairs of the Baduy was confirmed by Abah Ewong and Haji Sarmedi. “The Islamic affairs [of people in the resettlement villages] were managed by Muksin,” Abah Ewong said.³³ Haji Sarmedi

³² Interview with Enah on 10 July 2017.

³³ Interview with Abah Ewong on 4 June 2017.

mentioned that Muksin was supported by the Depsos and the KUA.³⁴ Depsos supported Muksin's effort by providing *mukena* (praying clothing for women).³⁵

Bakels and Boevink (1988: 101-102) account how the KUA officials tried to convert Jaro Samin to Islam. On one day Jaro Samin was invited to Muksin's house because KUA officials came from Rangkasbitung. There was also the *camat* of Leuwidamar. They came to the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal to distribute food and clothes and at the same time to introduce Islam to the Baduy. After an hour speech about Islam delivered by a KUA official, the meeting was closed with a prayer and the distribution of the food and clothes to the Baduy. Jaro Samin was also given a package, but he was not allowed to open it there. Before Jaro Samin left for his house he was approached by the *camat* and a hajj. They asked him to convert to Islam. This would become a good model for the Baduy. They added that by converting to Islam he could probably go to Mecca for hajj. When Jaro Samin arrived at his house he opened the package and found a prayer mat. Because he was a Baduy he used the mat as a table cloth.

Moreover, Abah Sarmin³⁶ was the first non-Baduy who resided in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal, became a religious teacher, and later converted about 200 Baduy. From Kopo, Serang, he came to Cipangembar in 1978, only a year after the programme started. He came here because he wanted to live in his own house and land. Previously, he managed the farms of other people. In the harvest period he had to divide the corps into two halves. One half was for him and another half was for the owner of the farm. He knew Cipangembar because he often visited the village and bought cassava from the Baduy. He also had already known Muksin since they were in Kopo. At that time Muksin was a tailor. Sarmin told Muksin who was a field-guide of the resettlement villages that he wanted to become a resident of Cipangembar. When he started to live in the resettlement village he prayed to be able to Islamise at least two Baduy so that he would have Muslim friends. What he did was that after sunset he visited the houses of the Baduy.

Abah Sarmin explained:

“I asked them about how our life would be in the hereafter. During the conversation I inserted information about Islam. I did it for five years. Gradually our conversation was accepted by the Baduy. I told them, ‘if you convert to Islam, you probably become a hajj.’ The Baduy answered, ‘how

³⁴ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 10 July 2017.

³⁵ Interview with Enah on 10 July 2017.

³⁶ Interview with Abah Sarmin on 4 June 2017.

come? To perform hajj, much money is needed.’ He then became a Muslim. In the second year of his conversion, he was funded by the regent of Lebak to go to Mecca. Funded by another man, his wife also went to Mecca. They were Haji Nalim and his wife. Haji Nalim and his family were the first Baduy whom I converted.”³⁷

Three years after Abah Sarmin lived in the village he and other 15 Muslim newcomers told the Baduy that they needed a small mosque (*musola*). Bakels and Boevink (1988: 67-68) state that it was related to Muslims of Cicakal Girang who joined the resettlement programme. After a meeting with the Baduy, it was decided that the mosque would be built on Sunday. The Baduy and their leader Jaro Samin helped the Muslims to found the mosque. Persoon (1989: 12-13) records this situation by saying the process of *da’wa* in the resettlement villages of the Baduy is marked by “the presence of prayer houses, Islamic social workers, [and] the regular visits of the Islamic leaders....”. When there was a check from the Depsos of West Java in 1984 asking about the small mosque, Abah Sarmin, advised by Jaro Samin, told the officials that the wooden building was for a meeting. The *bedug* (a kind of drum) and the *tongtrong* in the mosque, he said, were to call the people when there was a meeting. Nonetheless, the officials were not sure with the explanation. From Abah Sarmin’s accent, they must have been able to identify who Abah Sarmin was. After being insisted, Abah Sarmin admitted that he was a non-Baduy and a Muslim. The officials then told him that the Baduy, through him and other Muslims, could embrace Islam.³⁸

In 1988 the Depag of Lebak founded Al Fitrah Mosque in Margaluyu. Starting from that year Muslim Baduy studied Islam in their own village. Abah Sarmin invited Ustad Hadil, Haji Mursidi, and their *santri* to come once a week to the village to conduct Islamic education. The number of the participants, however, kept decreasing. Other religious teachers like Faton sometimes came to help. Eventually, they handed Islamic education over Abah Sarmin. Every Tuesday he came to the mosque to teach the Muslims and the Muslim Baduy Islam. Since 2015, because of the problem of his vision, he has not been able to come to the mosque. In the meantime Islamic education of the Muslim Baduy in the village is managed by the Muslim Baduy Suparta. In 2018 he died.³⁹

The second religious teacher was Abah Ewong⁴⁰ who came from Babakan Kasilun, Jayamanik, Cimarga. Coming to the resettlement villages in 1981, like

³⁷ Interview with Abah Sarmin on 4 June 2017.

³⁸ Interview with Abah Sarmin on 4 June 2017.

³⁹ Interview with Eman on 8 December 2018.

⁴⁰ Interview with Abah Ewong on 4 June 2017.

Abah Sarmin, Abah Ewong came there with the same reason, namely that he did not have a field. Jaro Madisa recommended him and his family to come to the resettlement villages. Shortly after Abah Ewong resided in the village, other Muslims came. They occupied the houses that were left behind by the Baduy. In the following time the Department of Agrarian Affairs measured the land of Cipangembar 2 and found that the land belonged to other people, not to the government. It was why Abah Ewong, Abdul, and Sawari moved in 1984 to Cihaur. Some Baduy from Cipangembar 2 returned to the Baduy land, many followed Haji Nalim to Margaluyu and some others followed Abah Ewong to Cihaur. In 1986 he opened a *majlis ta'lim* (an informal education for Islamic education) for the Muslim Baduy women. He thought Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and the tradition of the Prophet (*hadith*).

From 1985 onwards, Islamic education of the Muslim Baduy youths were handled by Haji Ading from Majalaya (Bandung). He had a connection with *Rabitat al-Alam al-Islami* (The Muslim World League) in Mecca and came to the resettlement villages of the Baduy based on an appointment of the Depag. It is not known for how long he was there. Afterwards, Syahroni who was sent by Al Wasliyah of Medan arrived in Cipangembar in 1988. Masduki (from the Depag of Lebak), Ahmad Yani (Al Wasliyah), Masta (Al Wasliyah), and Ustad Ulil of Jamaah Tabligh were other Muslim preachers who did *da'wa* activities among the Baduy (Persoon 1994: 361). My informant Eman was one of the Baduy youths who was thought by the preachers. He declared *shahāda* in front of Abah Sarmin and studied Islam to Abah Ewong and Ustad Syahroni of Al Wasliyah.⁴¹

In 1993 Nurkib Ibnu Djais who was an officer at the KUA of Leuwidamar began his *da'wa* activities to the Baduy. He claimed to have converted 70 Baduy families.⁴² In 1996 Suparta, Kasja, and other seven Baduy boys followed university students to Bandung. They were distributed by the students to Islamic foundations in some cities in West Java.⁴³ In 1997 Ahmad Yani left the resettlement villages.⁴⁴ In 2003 Suparta who already hold a bachelor diploma returned to the village and was appointed by Al Wasliyah as a religious teacher in Margaluyu. Assisted by the Muslim Baduy Asturi and Sukma, Suparta and his wife Rosmala Dewi manage Madrasah Al Wasliyah which was founded by Ustad Syahroni. The children of the Muslim Baduy study at this *madrasah*.

⁴¹ Interviews with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017, with Ustad Syahroni on 22 July 2017, and with Eman on 4-6 June 2017.

⁴² <https://www.hidayatullah.com/feature/mereka-memilih-berani/read/2013/11/27/7497/nurkib-ibnu-djais-20-tahun-berdakwah-di-baduy.html>, accessed on 15 February 2016, and interview with Haji Sarmedi on 24 May 2017.

⁴³ Interviews with Ustad Kasja on 9 April, 10 May and 24 May, and with Ustad Suparta on 10 May 2017.

⁴⁴ Interview with Syahroni on 22 July 2017.



Photograph 3.8: Abah Sarmin. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2017.



Photograph 3.9: Abah Ewong. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2017.

2. *Christian Mission*

Persoon's (1994: 361) statement that there were no Christian missionary activities in the Baduy resettlement villages, as can be seen in this section and chapter 5, seems to be untrue. Some Christian missionaries did come to the resettlement villages. Among the first and the most important was Ismail Amaloh, from East Nusa Tenggara. He came to the resettlement villages together with Haji Ading. In the resettlement village of Cipangembar, Ismail lived for around six months in the house of Jaro Samin. During his stay in Cipangembar Ismail trained the Baduy sport, especially football. Eman who joined the plays said that Ismail's football skills were excellent. The sports facilities themselves were provided by the Depsos.⁴⁵ Abah Ewong stated that every afternoon he saw Ismail played football with the Baduy. Ismail asked the Baduy's religion. Abah Ewong accounted:

“He also asked me the same question. I answered that I was a Muslim. He said that he was a Christian. Some of the football players were Muslims like Pain, Owi, Ade, Ardi, and Jamani. After sunset, I invited the Muslims to my house and warned them that the couch was a Christian. I heard that he was from Bandung. He lived here in the house of Jaro Samin for about six months. At that time there had been no Baduy who converted to Christianity.”⁴⁶

The second man who introduced Christianity to the Baduy in the resettlement villages was Anturi. According to the Muslim Baduy Odo, he was a student from a university in Bandung and came to the resettlement to do fieldwork about the resettlement programme. Anturi was probably a student from Universitas Advent Indonesia in Bandung. During his research he cared for the people. When there was a Baduy who was sick, he brought him to a hospital, paid for the medication, and gave the sick's caretaker money. Because of his kindness, many Baduy liked him and chose to convert to Christianity.⁴⁷

And the third who attempted to convert the Baduy to Christianity was Kharel Budiman Silitonga. In his book *Saya Dijuluki Nomensennya Baduy* (I am Called the Baduy's Nom[m]ensen) (1998), he accounts his efforts to introduce and convert the Baduy to Christianity. From Medan he came to Pandeglang in August 1978, no longer after hundreds of the Baduy moved to the resettlement villages of Gunung Tunggal. In Pandeglang he stayed in the house of his friend to study Sundanese language of Banten. After mastering the language he moved

⁴⁵ Interviews with Eman on 4 June 2017 and 20 November 2018.

⁴⁶ Interview with Abah Ewong on 4 June 2017.

⁴⁷ Interviews with Odo on 20 May 2017.

to Malingping, a sub-district in Lebak, and began to introduce Christianity there. Saleh⁴⁸ in Serang from *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) of Banten claimed to know Silitonga. He said that in Pandeglang Silitonga stayed not in the house of his friend, but in that of his brother who was a high-rank official in the Agency of Spatial Affairs (*Dinas Tata ruang*) of Pandeglang. During his mission in Lebak he converted Muslims and the Baduy to Christianity (Silitonga 1998: 86-89).

When the *adat* leaders pushed the Baduy in the resettlement villages to return to the *adat* land, some Baduy decided to choose Christianity. This happened because there were Christian missionaries who cared for them. Knowing this the *adat* leaders became angry. They said that they were allowed to abandon Sunda Wiwitan and the Baduy land, but may not convert to other religions except Islam. The Muslim Baduy Haji Asraf said that when a Baduy did not choose Islam, his relationship with the Baduy society will be cut off. He would become a lost Baduy. If he wants to revert to Sunda Wiwitan, he must convert to Islam first.⁴⁹

Although there was a reminder from the *adat* that they had to choose Islam, some kept their faith in Christianity. The Christian Baduy who remain in Cipangembar are the families of Usman, Narja, Sapei, Alpin, and Tatang. Other Christian Baduy decided to move to Rangkasbitung and Bandung. The Christian Baduy figure Nurgojali (commonly called Windu), a grandson of Jaro Samin, lives in Rangkasbitung. The wife of Jaro Samin, Narisah or Arce, converted to Islam, but later converted to Christianity. Haji Nalim himself⁵⁰ once asked his mother Narisah about her religion. She said that she did not follow the religions of her children.

The family of Jaro Samin is the core narrative in the conversion of the Baduy in the resettlement villages either to Christianity or Islam. Samin was the *jaro pamarentah* in the 1970s and 1980s. Jaro Samin converted to Islam and did a pilgrimage to Mecca. His wife Narisah converted to Islam and lives with her Christian daughter Tati. Some of their children converted to Islam, some others to Christianity, and one remains as the adherent of Sunda Wiwitan. Both the Muslim and Christian converts became figures and had influence in their circles. From the oldest to the youngest, Samin's children are Salinah (Muslim), Tati (Christian), Nalim (Muslim), Narja (Christian), Arsiti (Sunda Wiwitan), Sawitri (Muslim), and Ratna Dewi (Christian). Salinah married the Muslim Baduy Haji Kasmin who is a businessman and a politician (see chapter 7). Nurgojali the son of Tati became a pastor (see chapter 5).⁵¹

⁴⁸ Interview with Saleh on 10 July 2017.

⁴⁹ Interview with Haji Asraf on 24 May 2017.

⁵⁰ Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

⁵¹ Interviews with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017, with Haji Sarmedi on 20 and 24 May 2017 and with Eman on 4 and 6 June 2017. The conversion of the Baduy will be discussed in chapter 6.

The news about the conversion of the Baduy to Christianity arose tension between the Muslims and the Christians. The sports teacher Ismail who converted the Baduy to Christianity was reported to the *desa* office. In the evening the head of the regency-level military (Danramil), the head of police of Leuwidamar, and many people came to Cipangembar. They sought Ismail and forced him not to invite the people to Christianity. They claimed that he not only invited the Baduy but also the Muslims. Eman who was in the location heard that the *desa* officer threatened Ismail by saying, “Where is the man who will disrupt the religion? This is my knife!” Afterwards, Ismail removed the electricity network he had installed in the Baduy’s houses. Eman said that the sports equipment Ismail had distributed was also taken back.⁵² After that event, there was no more information about Christianisation in the resettlement villages.

“The development of Christianity was withstood because there was a strong role of the government, namely when the development of Christianity increased rapidly the government called [the Christian converts] to the *desa* office and officials of the government came to the resettlement villages, therefore, people who converted to Christianity were afraid” (Anggraeni 2000: 120).

Abah Ewong and Haji Nalim⁵³ thought that there were about 20 Baduy people who converted to Christianity at that time. Eman⁵⁴ thought that there were no less than 50 Baduy converting to Christianity, while Haji Sarmedi⁵⁵ believed that the number was more than 70 people. Among the Christian converts were Jawas, Sarip, Sawari, Harun, Satim, Salman, Sardim, Sardawi, Hasan, Sarun, Sapri, Sapei, Usman, Narja dan Ratna. Their family members probably also converted to Christianity. However, some Christian Baduy, for instance, Jawas, Sargawi, Harun, Sawari, Hasan, Sarun, Sardim⁵⁶, Sapri, and Sarip, converted to Islam. There were various reasons why the Christian Baduy converted to Islam, including the pressure from the *adat* and their relatives who converted to Islam. Some stated that they left Christianity because they did not understand the teaching of the religion. Some others, especially from the family of Jaro Samin such as Usman, Sapei, Narja, Ratna, and their family members, remain Christians (Anggraeni 2000).

⁵² Interviews with Eman on 4 and 6 June 2017.

⁵³ Interviews with Abah Ewong on 4 June and Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

⁵⁴ Interviews with Eman on 4 and 6 June 2017.

⁵⁵ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 20 May 2017.

⁵⁶ Sardim is reported to leave the resettlement and lives in Pandeglang.

C. Negotiating *Adat* and Adopting Modernity

Like more than a thousand Baduy who decided to change by leaving Sunda Wiwitan and choosing Islam or Christianity, the Baduy who decided to remain in the *adat* land also changed. They try not to, but changes cannot be stopped. By looking at the reference on the Baduy from the 1950s to the present it is clear that more and more Baduy change. As many Baduy said that their leaders were not as strict to the *adat* as in the past. Or in other words, they have adopted some extent of development and modernity. Persoon (1987: 51) writes: “The long-recognized right of the Baduy to be different, to have a religion of their own and not to change or integrate, not to participate in development processes and to stay away from things that they do not want to interfere with, comes under increasingly strong pressure.”⁵⁷ This section will address how the Baduy negotiate their *adat* and modernity in the forms of tourism, electronics and fashion, modern medication and language.⁵⁸

1. *Tourism*

Jusen⁵⁹, an ex-secretary of the *desa* of Kanekes, stated that the Baduy began to open themselves for tourism since 1990. The *jaro pamarentah* Saija⁶⁰ confirmed that the Baduy land became a tourist destination in the 1990s. It was when Jusen was the secretary of the *desa*. Jusen himself was born in Ciboleger in 1955. At the age of 18 he moved to Jakarta to work. In 1982 he returned to Ciboleger and realised that his village was left behind. He thought that Kanekes could only be developed if people came there. He said that the Baduy were also in an economically difficult situation. Afterwards, from 1988 to 1992 Jusen became the secretary of the *desa* of Kanekes. He met the *adat* leaders and asked whether or not he was allowed to invite people to visit the Baduy land. They permitted him as long as tourists could respect the *adat* of the people. Jusen then went to the Agency of Tourism of Lebak to discuss the idea. Afterwards, he and the government organised a meeting with the Baduy leaders which resulted in an agreement that the Baduy community would become a tourist destination. The

⁵⁷ “*Het lang erkende recht van de Baduy om anders te zijn, om een eigen godsdienst te hebben en niet te willen veranderen of te integreren, om niet te participeren in ontwikkelingsprocessen en zich afzijdig te houden van zaken waar, zij geen bemoeienis mee wensen, komt onder steeds sterkere druk te staan.*”

⁵⁸ Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 20 and 24 May 2017. The largest newspaper in Indonesia, Kompas, published an article on the Baduy who faced modernity and experienced changes. See <http://vik.kompas.com/Baduykembali/>. The same issue was also raised by the Qatari media Al Jazeera as can be seen on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zLoPoU8iCrw>, accessed on 23 May 2016.

⁵⁹ Interviews with Jusen Ciboleger in March 2017.

⁶⁰ Interview with the *jaro pamarentah* Saija on 10 May 2017.

Baduy gave their fingerprints on the agreement and a welcoming statue of a Baduy family was erected in Ciboleger.⁶¹

Afterwards, from 1992 to 1998 Jusen became the secretary of *desa* Sangkanwangi, still in Leuwidamar. In that period he opened a shop where tourists who would visit the Baduy land could buy food and drinks. This shop has become an important stop before the Baduy and tourists continue their trip to the Baduy villages. Besides, Jusen equipped his food shop with a lodge and a gift shop selling Baduy clothes, scarves, bracelets, honey and other products as souvenirs. For tourism and economy, the identity of Baduy is reproduced. Gowns and t-shirts which are non-Baduy dresses are made of the Baduy batik in various sizes. The t-shirts themselves, according to Jusen, are produced by Chinese businessmen in Rangkasbitung. Jusen receives Baduy products which he sells to the tourists.

Tourism has given the Baduy an alternative source of livelihood. The Baduy, especially whose villages are in the border area or along the tracks passed by the tourists, have benefitted from this opportunity by selling drinks, food, and handicrafts on the terraces of their houses. Tourism, according to Haji Sarmedi⁶², has attracted the Baduy to have a house in the villages passed by the tourists, especially in the bordering village of Kaduketug. In the villages there are no more people who work as coolie labourers. The women make handicrafts and sell them on the terrace of their houses. Their husbands seek for honey in the forests and sell it to their consumers at the market outside the Baduy land. Some of them have even sold the products online from which they obtained millions of rupiahs. The *jaro pamarentah*⁶³ and other Baduy⁶⁴ expressed that the number of tourists visiting the Baduy villages was more than a thousand per month especially on long holidays and in the year-end.

Furthermore, the economic impact of tourism can be seen in the availability of tourist services on the internet. The government even believes that the Baduy community can be a world tourist destination. The Indonesian News Agency Antara published news entitled '*Wisata Baduy optimistis mendunia*', Baduy tourism is optimistic to be known globally.⁶⁵ The reasons why the community may receive international visits are that it 'preserves their customs and rejects modernity', has a green environment and produces unique accessories. The same

⁶¹ The statue is very much influenced by the concept of development in the new order's era: a family with two children and the father brings a hoe. In fact, the Baduy do not use a hoe which is taboo.

⁶² Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 20 and 24 May 2017.

⁶³ Interview with the *jaro pamarentah* Saija on 10 May 2017.

⁶⁴ Interviews with the Baduy Musung, in December 2015 and Jaro Saija on 10 May 2017.

⁶⁵ <http://www.antaraneews.com/berita/574620/wisata-baduy-optimistis-mendunia>, accessed on 8 October 2016.

view was expressed by the member of the Lebak Parliament Emuy Mulyanah as reported by the newspaper Kompas.⁶⁶ In 2014, for instance, the Baduy land was visited by 158 foreign tourists from the Netherlands, England, and Switzerland.

How Baduy became the limelight of the government is also evident in the effort to make the architecture of the Baduy house as the *adat* house of Banten. A report by the Agency of Culture and Tourism of Banten mentions that there are some kinds of local houses in Banten including the houses of Baduy, Betawi Ora, Bugis, Citorek, Joglo, Kebaya, Kebaya Susuhunan Panjang, and Chinese. On 5 November 2014 the researchers of the *adat* house of Banten proposed to the government to choose the Baduy house as the *adat* house of Banten. The report also states that it has provided fund for building a Baduy house and buying Baduy housewares as museum collections of Banten.⁶⁷

What the Department of Tourism and Culture of Banten is doing is similar to what the Sarawak Tourism Board is undertaking. The ethnicity and tradition of the Baduy in Banten and Bidayuh people in Sarawak are promoted by the governments to attract tourists. What happens in both areas as the result of what they do can be said the same. It is very striking that Chua (2012: 45) states: "This was not lost on my informants, who, in turn, asked whether those tourists, like others of village lore, thought they were head-hunters or monkeys who live in trees." It corresponds to the words of my Baduy informants: "Tourists may visit our villages, but please don't consider us like animals in a zoo."⁶⁸

The increasing number of tourists, in fact, have changed many aspects of the Baduy mainly its environment and economy. When I visited Outer Baduy villages in December 2015 I saw piles of plastic garbage behind their houses from the snack packages of the tourists. In Gajeboh village the Baduy made rubbish bins from bamboo. Musung in whose house I spent one night said that they made the bins because many tourists came to the village. Some of the houses in the village also had a toilet which is actually taboo. The toilet, he said, is initially for the tourists. Because they already have it, they eventually use the toilet.

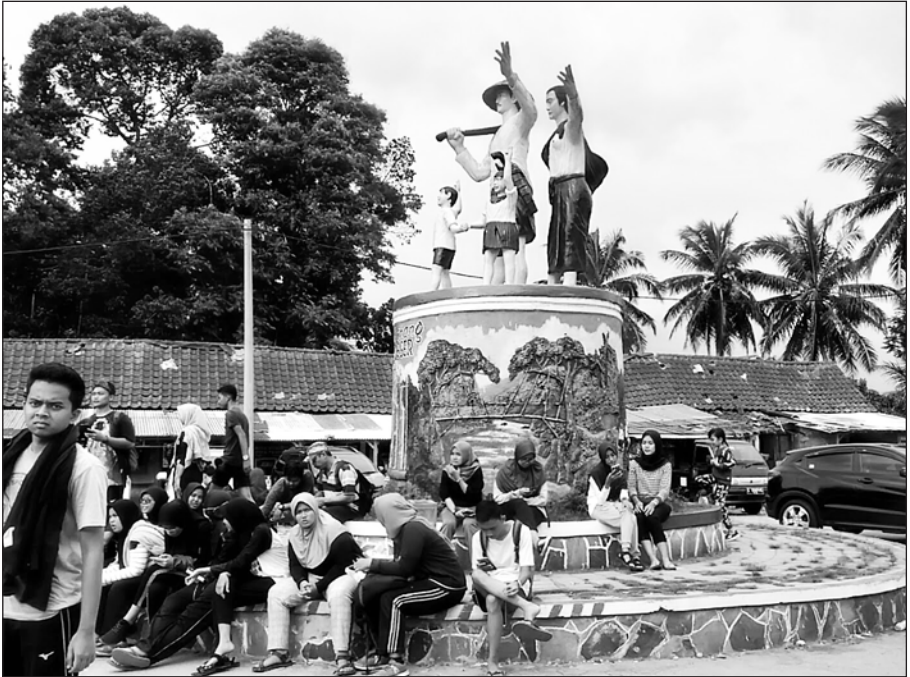
2. *Electronics and Fashion*

The appearance of the Baduy in the bordering areas is more or less the same as that of the non-Baduy. They possess smartphones and wear the same style of dresses. Until the 1980s and the 1990s the raid was still done by the *adat*

⁶⁶ <http://travel.kompas.com/read/2015/03/16/123000727/Obyek.Wisata.Baduy.Bisa.Mendunia>, accessed on 11 October 2016.

⁶⁷ Department of Tourism and Culture of Banten. *Bahan Laporan Penyelenggara Pemerintah Daerah* (Report of the Provincial Government's Programmes), 2014.

⁶⁸ A conversation with the Baduy Ardan at the end of 2017.



Photograph 3.10: A statue of a Baduy family welcoming visitors was erected in 1990. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2017.



Photograph 3.11: Tourists are welcomed by the Baduy in Ciboleger. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2017.



Photograph 3.12: A family takes a picture in the border of the Baduy land in Ciboleger. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2018.



Photograph 3.13: A man looks at a board made by students of Atma Jaya University to remind the tourists to keep the Baduy land clean from garbage. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2018. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2017.

leaders to clear the Baduy from modern products. In the meantime where the use of the modern products such as toilets, t-shirts, and smartphones, is extensive, the *adat* leaders seem to be reluctant. A lot of informants even believe that some Baduy leaders possess cellular phones. “An *adat* leader in an inner Baduy village has a cellular phone,” said one of my informants. In the early 2000s the smartphone of Blackberry was popular and very expensive, but some Baduy are reported to have it.⁶⁹

The Baduy also have motorcycles. Because they cannot bring them into in the Baduy villages, the owners park their vehicles in the villages outside the Baduy land especially at the houses of their brothers and sisters who converted to Islam. Saputra (1959) has seen this acceptance of modernity by the Baduy since the 1950s, started to be more open in the period of Jaro Samin (the 1970s and the 1980s), accelerated in that of Jaro Dainah (in the 1990s) and still continues. How the Baduy have accepted and utilised modern products is also recorded in fictitious works. Sutendy (2015:17-18) in his *Baiat Cinta di Tanah Baduy* (The Faithful Oath of Love in the Baduy Land), for example, writes:

“The youths of the Outer Baduy are now skilful to use handphones, [and they also] wear jeans and t-shirts as youths in cities. A number of people do not longer take a bath in rivers and defecate and urinate in a river⁷⁰ as they used to. Some of them have been brave to have a bathroom and toilet. Even some people connected cables to the electricity network from another [non-Baduy] village, Ciboleger. People whose villages are far from Ciboleger use electricity by buying batteries to illuminate their houses with bulbs and to charge their handphones. Every week they bring the batteries to Ciboleger to be recharged. All of the practices are previously forbidden by the custom.”

The Muslim Baduy Ira accounted that in the past the Baduy leaders checked the obedience of their people. When they found the Baduy having a non-Baduy dress, they burnt it. Now people can easily see the Baduy wear t-shirt and good sandals. Every day people can see the Baduy ride their motorcycles and park them in the border of their land. Now having electronics is common. Ira is sure if one checks the “bags” of the *adat* leader he will find smartphones. “I have witnessed and found it. The taboos are only for the older generation,” Ira concluded.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Interview with Asep Kurnia on 30 March 2017.

⁷⁰ The original text is Indonesian and it is written ‘*singau*’. It think it should be *sungai* or river.

⁷¹ Interview with Ira on 4 June 2017.

3. *Modern Medication*

The Baduy also started to accept modern health service in 1975 when the government sent Idi Rosydi as a special health official for the Baduy (*Mantri Khusus Suku Baduy*). He was allowed by the *jaro pamarentah* Jaro Samin as long as he only trained the Baduy how to live healthy and to treat yaws of the Outer Baduy. One year later the Baduy of Cibeo accepted the programme of the eradication and prevention of infectious diseases. The *puun* of Cibeo, Puun Jandol, was even injected (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 233-241). He also came to the resettlement villages regularly to check the health of the Baduy (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 79).

Furthermore, the Baduy have also permitted Eros Rosita to make the Baduys' houses as a centralised health service (Posyandu). In 2010 there were at least eight posts which were located in Kaduketug, Kadukujang, Gajeboh, Cicakal Muara, Cipaler, Kaduketer, Cicakal Girang and Cisaban. Besides, Rosita also teaches the Baduy women how to become a traditional midwife (*dukun bayi*). Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 242-243) explain that to advance the health of the Baduy, Baduy leaders, Nurani Dunia Foundation and the state-owned company Krakatau Steel founded a centre called *Imah Pangubaran dan Pusat Informasi Baduy* (House of Medication and the Centre for Baduy Information) in Ciboleger. To support the programme the government provided an area of 7,516 square metres behind the house of Asep Kurnia and Eros Rosita. Modern medication, according to Persoon (1994: 366), was one of many efforts to develop the Baduy. The other things were the improvement of the road to the Baduy land and the foundation of schools.

4. *“Polite” Sundanese*

The last example of how the Baduy are changing as the result of adaptation appears obviously in their language. The Baduy, like the majority of Banten and West Java, speak Sundanese. Different from Sundanese of West Java which has obtained much influence from Javanese since the period of Mataram (Moriyama 2005: 10-12), Sundanese of Banten and Baduy do not have a rigid concept of *undak-usuk basa*, which words are proper to be spoken to whom.⁷² Since Banten was part of West Java until 2000, Sundanese of Banten, to a certain degree,

⁷² Although the Bantenese and the Baduy speak the same language, Sundanese of the Baduy has a different accent by emphasizing the consonant of the final syllable. More importantly, different from Sundanese of Priyangan and to a little degree from Sundanese of Banten, Sundanese of the Baduy utilises the same words when they are conveyed to people from all ages. About Sundanese of West-Java, Banten and Baduy, read J.J. Meijer, *Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Baniënsch Dialect der Soendaneesche Taal* (BKI 1 January 1890, Vol.39(2), pp.222-261); Mangoendikaria, *Dialect Soenda Banten* [ca. 1920] D Or. 426; Mikihiro Moriyama, *Sundanese Print Culture and Modernity in 19th - Century West Java*, (Singapore: Singapore University Press: 2005), and Ade Jaya Suryani, *Bahasa Sunda dan Jawa Banten: Imposisi, Peta dan Jati Diri*, (Serang: IAIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten, 2014). The linguistics of Sundanese of the Baduy, read Suria Saputra, *Baduy* (1959), pp.XIII-1-59.

obtained influence from its centre of power. Educational institutions, Sundanese textbooks and teachers were the main channels to transfer the influence. Because the Baduy have fewer contacts with wider societies, their Sundanese is believed to be pure. In the 1950s Saputra recorded that:

“Not only cannot they speak other languages, but they are also abstinent to speak in the languages. Various languages spoken by various nations to speak with them, are responded in their own language. Whether the people who talk with them can understand or not, for them it is not a problem. Instructions, advice, prohibitions are conveyed in their language without borrowing from foreign languages” (Suria Saputra 1959: XIII-1).

What Saputra wrote no longer applies. Now the Baduy speak Indonesian with the tourists. The food shop of Jusen in Ciboleger where tourists stop before and after visiting the Baduy land is a good place to see how the Baduy speak the language. The tourists who do not speak Sundanese are responded by the Baduy in Indonesian. The Baduy who have a wide network with the non-Baduy, like Musung, tend to speak in Indonesian. The Muslim and Christian Baduy who spent many years in West Java, like Kasja and Windu Nurgojali, have lost the accent of the Sundanese of Baduy which has an emphasis on the consonant of the final syllable. Even the Baduy in the resettlement villages of Cipangembar, Cihaur, Margaluyu and Sukatani speak Sundanese like most of the Bantenese.

During my fieldwork I tried to speak with the (Muslim, Christian and Sunda Wiwitan) Baduy with the Baduy accent, but they seemed not to like it. They preferred to speak ‘high’ Sundanese or Indonesian. ‘High’ Sundanese is Sundanese spoken by Bantenese or by the people of West Java. When I kept trying to speak with the accent of the Sundanese of Baduy or in ‘rude’ Sundanese, the Muslim Baduy Eman and Omo, and the Sunda Wiwitan Baduy Saridi, were not impressed. They continuously spoke in ‘polite’ Sundanese. Omo explained why he chose to speak ‘polite’ Sundanese:

“The Baduy may not attend school. Even though I did not attend school, I may not be plebeian. Our life will not change if we don’t want to learn. I benefitted from the tourists. I learned from them how to serve and to communicate. This is the way to study informally. *Urang teu kabagian ngaji, tapi kudu mengkaji* (We are not allowed to obtain a formal education, but we have to think critically). *Teu sakola tapi kudu ngolah* ([We] don’t attend school, but [we] have to be able to manage)”.⁷³

⁷³ Interview with Omo on 10 May 2017.

Omo's knowledge how to communicate with the tourists, serve them and not to be plebeian, has made him visible to the government. Before he decided to become a Muslim he and his friends were often asked by the *desa* government to represent the *adat* community when the regency government, like the Depsos, had a programme. In 2001, for example, he followed an agriculture training organised by the Bogor Institute of Agriculture (IPB) for a month. In 2002 he was also appointed by the government of *Desa Kanekes* to follow a sewing training organised by the Depsos of Lebak. After finishing the training the Depsos gave him and other participants sewing machines. It happened, which is defined by Omo as a success because he learned how not to be plebeian from the tourists. One of many ways to achieve it is to improve his skill in communication or language.

D. Conclusion

Soon after its independence the Indonesian government tried to develop its nation through transmigration and resettlement programmes. In West Java/Banten, the resettlement programme was conducted for the Baduy community, even though it did not qualify the definition of an isolated society. The government through the Depsos began its programme in 1977 and continued to the following years by relocating hundreds of the Baduy to the resettlement villages. When the Baduy started to live in the villages, they soon faced a dilemma. The *adat* leaders reminded them that they were hermits, therefore they had to return to the Baduy land. But returning to the *adat* land was not a solution because they faced the problems of access to land and the population growth. Many of them decided to remain in the resettlement villages, incorporated themselves with the larger society and followed the government's programmes. In fact, those who decided to return to the *adat* land, like those chose to remain in the resettlement villages, eventually had to negotiate their *adat* with modernity which is taboo for the people by accepting tourism, modern medication, electronics, fashion, and 'polite' Sundanese. To make the process of incorporation in the resettlement villages smooth, the government permitted Muslims and Christians to do missionary activities. Because the Baduy in the resettlement villages were no longer recognised by the *adat* leaders as Baduy, they did not have a choice except to convert. How Muslims and Christians did missionary activities will be discussed in chapters four and five respectively.

Islamic *Da'wa* Activities among the Baduy: Muslim Organisations, Local Narratives, and International Interests

In chapter 3 we have seen how Muslim and Christian missionaries came to the Baduy resettlement villages and tried to convert them to Islam and Christianity. This chapter will look at the *da'wa* activities more deeply by paying attention to the preachers and their organisations, fragmentation and unity among the preachers, the position of the Muslim village of Cicakal Girang in the *da'wa* narrative, and how all of these were connected to the international interests. The preachers believed that *da'wa* was an obligation in Islam, but they differed in what ways this obligation had to be practised. This made a kind of fragmentation among the Muslim organisations in performing the *da'wa* among the Baduy. All of them, however, were united to counter the Christianisation among the Baduy and Cicakal Girang provided a historical legitimacy for the Muslim preachers. In doing *da'wa*, Muhammadiyah got support from international organisations.

A. Muslim Organisations and *Da'wa* Movements among the Baduy

The Outer Baduy declare the *shahāda* especially when they marry. Do Muslims think that the Baduy, because of the *shahāda*, are Muslims? If they are not, do Muslims need to invite the Baduy to Islam? All Muslim preachers state that the Baduy are not Muslims. They base their view on the fact that the Baduy do not

perform the other four Islamic pillars¹ and on the politics of religion which groups Sunda Wiwitan into the category of belief systems, and because of it, they are permitted to invite the followers of belief systems to their religions.² The Muslim preachers also agree that Islam obliges Muslims to do *da'wa* activities, but they differ to what extent *da'wa* should be conducted: just to convey the message of Islam or including to invite non-Muslims to Islam.³ Muhammadiyah, Al Washliyah, Jamaah Tablig, Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII), and Nahdlatul Ulama were involved in doing *da'wa* activities among the Baduy (see Persoon 1994: 361).

1. *The Lembaga Dakwah Khusus (LDK) of Muhammadiyah*⁴

¹ Interviews with Ustad Amin on 21 May 2017, Sibly Sarjaya on 21 March 2017, Syahroni on 22 July 2017, Kiyai Matin Jawahir on 14 March 2017.

² The political aspects of *da'wa* and mission will be discussed in chapter 5.

³ They refer to the Qur'an chapter an-Nahl (16:125) that states: "Call unto the way of thy Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation, and reason with them in the better way. Lo! Thy Lord is best aware of him who strayeth from His way, and He is Best Aware of those who go aright." *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran: An Explanatory Translation by Marmaduke Pickthall*, (New York, London, Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 281.

⁴ Founded in 1912 in Yogyakarta, Muhammadiyah is the biggest modernist Muslim organisation in Indonesia and has a concern for *da'wa*. Article 4 of its statute states that "Muhammadiyah is the movement of Islam, *da'wa* of *al-amr bi-l-ma'ruf wa-n-nahy 'ani-l-munkar* (enjoining good and forbidding wrong) and *rajidid* (renewal), which is rooted in the Qur'an and the Sunnah." As a *da'wa* organisation, Muhammadiyah has two targets: the Muslims and the non-Muslims. To the Muslims *da'wa* is as a renewal and to the non-Muslims it is "a call and invitation to embrace the religion" (Zubir and Siandes 1999:12). As apparent in its history, for Muhammadiyah *da'wa* also means to counterbalance the Christian mission (Jainuri 1992, Shihab 1995). For that purpose, for example, in 1965 Muhammadiyah published a booklet entitled *Sekitar Kristologi Khusus untuk Muballigin Muhammadiyah* (On Christology Special for the Muhammadiyah Preachers) authored by Djarnawi Hadikusuma. The idea of the making of the *da'wa* organisation has actually emerged since the 39th Muhammadiyah conference in Padang in 1975. To achieve the purposes of *da'wa*, in its 40th conference which was held in 1978 in Surabaya, Muhammadiyah decided to create a body for a special Islamic mission for the isolated societies (non-Muslims), the society of transmigration, undeveloped societies and the societies which are reluctant to apostasy (Zubir and Siandes 1999: 19-24; Muhammadiyah 1992: 24). The body was called the *Badan Dakwah dan Bimbingan Masyarakat Terasing* (BDBMT)/ the Body of Islamic Mission and Guidance of the Isolated Societies. At that time the leaders of Muhammadiyah, especially H.A. Malik Ahmad, proposed the importance of a *da'wa* organization (Burhanuddin 1990: 23). In the 41st Muhammadiyah conference in Surakarta in 1985, the name BDBMT was changed with *Lembaga Dakwah Khusus* (LDK) or the Special Body for Islamic Mission (Burhanuddin 1990: 24, Zubir and Sandes 1997: 45). Through this body Muhammadiyah would renew Muslims' understanding of Islam, invite non-Muslims to the religion, and counterbalance the Christian mission. Moreover, Muhammadiyah believes that the Christians do mission "With a great fund, skilful men, and a good organization, and deploy modern vehicles such as aeroplanes, helicopters, ships and so on; they have built schools, hospitals, and churches in the forests, and now their activities and efforts increase fast" (Muhammadiyah 1978: 4). For example, for the Christianization programme of Minangkabau the Christians provided US\$ 100 million (Steenbrink 2015: 361). The LDK of Muhammadiyah then categorises the Christian mission as a threat because they have converted not only the isolated societies but also Muslims (Burhanuddin et al. 1990:11-12; Zubir and Siandes 1997:41, 46, 59). In the field the Muhammadiyah preachers and Christian missionaries often targeted the same isolated societies (Burhanuddin et al. 1990; Zubir and Siandes 1997). The LDK of Muhammadiyah even published a book entitled *Potret Gerakan Kristenisasi di Indonesia Versi Da'i LDK Muhammadiyah* (The Portrait of the Christian Movement in Indonesia the Version of the LDK of Muhammadiyah (1999?). Edited by Goodwill Zubir and Sudar Sandes, this book compiles the Muhammadiyah preachers' encounter with the Christian missionaries in a lot of areas in Indonesia.

Being in line with the government's agenda, the LDK (*Lembaga Dakwah Khusus* /Special Missionary Body) of Muhammadiyah cooperated with the Department of Religious Affairs (Depag) and the Department of Social Affairs (Depsos). The LDK of Muhammadiyah trained and sent its preachers to "guide and develop" the isolated societies so that they "become humans who have a religion and obey God" (Muhammadiyah 1978: 4; Zubir and Siandes 1997: 44). In 1979 the LDK sent 38 preachers, followed in 1984-1985 (66 preachers), 1986 (50), 1987 (40), 1991 (50), and 1992 (25) to various areas in Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua, and East Nusa Tenggara. From 1987-1998 they could convert 15,479 adherents of local religions to Islam (Burhanuddin et al. 1990: 7, 9, 28-29, Zubir and Siandes 1997: 43 - 48, 51).

Banten was among the areas to which Muhammadiyah sent its preachers. Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, Engkos Yusroni, Ujeng Suheli, Juanda, Ahmad Hidayat, Namay Rahmawati (the wife of Zainuddin Amir), Astoteles M Noor, Edi Mulyadi and Nurkib were the Muhammadiyah preachers operating in Lebak, Banten (Zubir and Siandes 1999: 75-77). And behind the Muhammadiyah *da'wa* activities for the Baduy was the leader of Muhammadiyah of Lebak and Banten, Hasan Alaydrus.⁵ They tried to renew Muslims' understanding of Islam and to convert the Baduy to Islam. During their mission the Muhammadiyah preachers built mosques in Cicakal Girang (1988/9), Batunagara (1999), Kiara Condong (1999), Palopat (1989), and Kompol (1997). All are named with the names of the sultans of Banten which signs the close connection between Islam and the sultanate of Banten. This also means that *da'wa* activities among the Baduy are the continuation of the *da'wa* activities done by the sultans.⁶ Besides, they also founded *madrasah* such as Madrasah Masyarikul Huda in Cicakal Girang, Madrasah Darul Muhsinin in Nagara, and Madrasah Hizbul Wathon in Kompol.

⁵ Hasan Alaydrus was born on 17 August 1944. When he was a student Alaydrus became the general leader of the PII (*Pelajar Islam Indonesia*, Indonesian Islamic Students) of West Java (1970-1973). Afterwards, he became the leader of the Central PPI from 1972 to 1973. He studied for a year at Universitas Padjadjaran (Unpad) and occupied the position of the General Secretary of the Coordinating Board of West Java Students (1971-1973). From 1972-1973 he became a journalist of Pelita. In the 1960s he and his friends tried to separate Banten from West Java to become a new province, but the central government suspected them of being connected with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Because of this effort they were sent to jail for four months in the Military Command III of Siliwangi. He once became the principal of Senior High School for Technics of Muhammadiyah in Rangkasbitung. From 2000 to 2015 he was the leader of Muhammadiyah of Banten. He also became the leader of ICMI (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia* / the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals) and one of the MUI leaders of Banten. <http://syair-asiman.blogspot.co.id/2014/12/islamkan-seribu-warga-badui.html>, accessed on 13 April 2017; <http://banten.muhammadiyah.or.id/content-3-sdet-sejarah.html>, accessed on 28 September 2018.

⁶ Interviews with Kiyai Zainuddin Amir on 28 March, 6 June and 21 July and Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

a. *Palopat: Zainuddin Amir⁷, His Wife Namay Rahmawati⁸ and Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin*

Among the most important of the Muhammadiyah preachers was Kiyai Zainuddin Amir who in 1984/5 would go to Brunei Darussalam to become a preacher. But his plan was not supported by his parents-in-law. Whatever happened, they said, he had to stay in Lebak. Later Zainuddin's wife Namay Rahmawati who was teaching at a *Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* (SPG, School for Teacher Training) of Muhammadiyah met the leader of Muhammadiyah of Lebak Hasan Alaydrus and told him that her husband graduated from the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) of Serang. Alaydrus then asked Amir to manage the Baduy community in the resettlement villages. From 1986-1993 he joined Muhammadiyah. In 1993 he contacted Goedwill Zubir, one of the managers of Muhammadiyah, and told him that he would stop becoming a preacher of Muhammadiyah.

Afterwards, in 1997 Kiyai Zainuddin opened a *pesantren* which he named Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin (Sulhas). The use of 'Sultan Hasanuddin' as the name of Zainuddin's *pesantren* emerged from the strong belief that the first sultan of Banten Hasanuddin had Islamised Banten. Kiyai Zainuddin uses the name of the sultan to connect the idea of his *da'wa* activities to what Hasanuddin has done. As has been discussed in chapter two, Hasanuddin came to Banten, converted its people, and took over the Sundanese kingdom of Banten Girang (Djajadiningrat 1983, Atsushi 2005).

Like other Muhammadiyah preachers, Kiyai Zainuddin believes that Hasanuddin has made an agreement with the Baduy stating that when a Baduy will leave Sunda Wiwitan, he has to convert to Islam. Therefore, Kiyai Zainuddin thought he had to do *da'wa* activities among the Baduy. To do it he and his *pesantren* have five programmes: (1) Islamisation (conversion), (2) guidance, (3) education, (4) welfare, and (5) resettlement. In the first programme he tried to invite the Baduy to Islam. He claimed to have converted about 500 Baduy

⁷ This section is based on many interviews from March to July 2017. Kiyai Zainuddin Amir graduated for the elementary school (SD) of Anyer in 1974/5. Afterwards, he moved to Tegal Buntu to study at a Madrasah Tsanawiyah (graduated in 1976/7) and a Madrasah Aliyah (1980), and continued his study to IAIN Serang and graduated in 1980/1. Besides, he studied at Pesantren Al Khairiyah of Citangkil and in other *pesantren* in Tegal Buntu, Kubang Ulut (nine years), Pelamunan (one year), and Cikaduen. When he studied at IAIN Serang he studied at a *pesantren* in Benggala and joined the PII, the HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia*, the Association of Indonesian Muslim University Students), and the IMM (*Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah*, the Association of Muhammadiyah Students).

⁸ Coming from Cirende, Namay Rahmawati graduated from an elementary school in 1972, from a junior high school in 1975, and from a senior high school in 1978. In 1980 she continued her study to IAIN Serang and graduated from the institute in 1986. Zainuddin Amir and Namay Rahmawati started to live in Palopat in 1986.



Photograph 4.1: Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin Banten which was founded by Kiyai Zainuddin Amir. Some Muslim Baduy youths study at this pesantren. Photograph was taken in 2017 by Ade Jaya Suryani.

to Islam (see also Zubir and Siandes 1997: 52). In the initial years of his *da'wa* activities, Kiyai Zainuddin socialised with the Baduy by visiting them in their villages and fields. He talked with the Baduy about life and how Islam views it. After many Baduy, mainly from the resettlement villages, converted to Islam, Kiyai Zainuddin stopped this method and focused on his *pesantren*.

In the second programme, guidance, Kiyai Zainuddin taught the Muslim Baduy Islam by visiting their houses in their resettlement villages especially in Kopo 1, Kopo 2 and Sukatani. He and his wife Namay started this programme in 1986. In the first ten years he came there once a week. After Kiyai Zainuddin founded Pesantren Sulhas in 1997, he moved the teaching activity to the *pesantren*. Zainuddin or his wife teach them interchangeably. Like the Baduy in general, most of the Muslim Baduy are illiterate. They do not read the Latin and Arabic scripts.

The third programme, education, includes the foundation of Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (Islamic Elementary School), Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic Junior High School), and Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic Senior High School). Kiyai Zainuddin thought that the awareness of the Baduy of education was low. When

they understood the importance of education they faced the financial problem to pay for the tuition fee. Moreover, after his *pesantren* became a modern *pesantren*⁹, the students, including the Muslim Baduy youths, lived in the *pesantren*. There have been about 13 students who have the Baduy origin. Some of them were funded by their foster parents and continued their study to, for example, UIN Jakarta and Pesantren La Tansa in Lebak.

The fourth programme is welfare. The Baduy, Kiyai Zainuddin said, have to have a prosperous life. By cooperating with the state-owned company Krakatau Steel, the Baduy once managed five hectares of the plantation of Ricinus. Few of them succeeded, but most failed. The plantation was then changed with *jeungjing* (*Albizia falcataria*) trees. From the trees the Baduy could buy from 10-25 grams of gold.

The last programme is resettlement. In 2013 the Krakatau Steel built a resettlement village for the Muslim Baduy in the complex of Pesantren Sulhas. The company collected donation from other state-owned companies and by the donation it built 11 houses. The popular Indonesian preacher Yusuf Mansur also built a house for the Muslim Baduy. The company planned to build 50 houses, but because the management changed, the plan was cancelled. The houses are occupied by Muslim Baduy who initially lived in the Depsos resettlement villages.

Kiyai Zainuddin wished that he could buy 20 hectares of land for 100 Muslim Baduy families. There would be a ranch and fishponds from which the Baduy could get their livelihood. There would be a restaurant and schools too. He had counted the fund he needed to materialise the idea. "I hope I can meet a wealthy man who wants to make the Baduy prosperous. The Baduy who are still the adherents of Sunda Wiwitan will be invited to Islam," he said. Based on the proposal he wrote in 2010, the money he needed to consummate this idea was about Rp200 billion (€13,333,333). In a smaller scale, the project, he said, can be run with Rp7 billion (€466,666). He stated that if Muslims had land for the Baduy, converting the Baduy to Islam would be much easier.

⁹ In Indonesia there are the so-called traditional (*salafiyah*) *pesantren* and modern (*khalafiyah*) *pesantren*. The first teaches the *santri* with traditional methods such as *bandungan* (hearing) and *sorogan* (reading the textbooks under the supervision of the seniors). This kind of *pesantren* does not classify students based on age. All students generally sit on the floor hearing their *kiyai* who explain certain subjects. The modern *pesantren*, like schools in general, classifies students based on age and capability. It uses, for example, rooms, chairs, tables, and other instruments. Some *pesantren* develop these two kinds of *pesantren* at the same time. For the study of *pesantren* in Indonesia read, for example, Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kiyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java*, (Arizona: The Program for Southeast Asian Studies, ASU, 1999).

b. *Ciboleger: Engkos Yusroni¹⁰ and Madrasah Al Hijra*

Engkos Yusroni was appointed as a Muhammadiyah preacher in 1991 and was posted in Kompol. Initially, Yusroni did *da'wa* activities by visiting the Baduy in the adat land. When he came to the Baduy for the first time he brought medicine from his house. When there were Baduy children who were ill, he asked for permission from their parents to enter an empty room in their houses. He put the medicine into the water and gave it to the ill children. Many of them could be cured. Yusroni hid in the empty room because medicine is taboo for the Baduy. Afterwards, in 1999 Yusroni moved to Bunikasih and his position in Kompol was occupied by Astoteles, and then by Kasja. In the new village he bought four hectares of land on which a resettlement village would be founded. He obtained the fund, among others, from the women's wing of Muhammadiyah, Aisiyah. In the same year he founded MTs Al Muhajirin and in 2010 SMK (vocational school) of Muhammadiyah.

As other Muhammadiyah preachers, Yusroni opposes the Christianisation of the Baduy. He believes that the Baduy ancestors have made an agreement with the sultan of Banten that the Baduy who abandon their religion have to convert to Islam. Therefore, Christians may not do missionary activities intended to convert the Baduy. When some Baduy in Gerendeng converted to Christianity, Yusroni and Hasan Alaydrus came to the village. They sent a message to the missionaries not to convert the Baduy to Christianity. According to Yusroni, the Christian missionaries were already active in Gerendeng before moved to Gunung Tunggal. He added that the Christian missionaries were also active in the north shore like in Wanasalam, Ujung Kulon, Wanajaya, Tunggal Jaya, and Labuan where the majority of the inhabitants was Muslims. In 1994 the Christian missionaries were driven away from Gerendeng. A week later with Rp14-17 million (€1,133) Muhammadiyah built a small mosque in the village. This move was supported by a Baduy Muslim Haji Kasmin. Because the Baduy Muslims in the village moved to another village, none could manage the mosque. The mosque was then ruined in 2009.

¹⁰ Engkos Yusroni was born on 15 October 1965 from the family of Mathla'ul Anwar. His mother was from Kubangkondang, Menes, and his father was from Malingping. Both were the people of Mathla'ul Anwar. The *madrasah* of Mathla'ul Anwar in Malingping was founded before 1965. His grandfather was from Kubangkondang, Menes. The latter is the town where the central office of Mathla'ul Anwar is located. The father of his grandfather studied to Abdur Rahim in Mecca. Engkos Yusroni studied at Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) and Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) of Mathla'ul Anwar in Malingping, Lebak. Afterwards, he studied at Pesantren Darul Qalam in Gintung for two years, and moved to Wasilatul Falah of Rangkasbitung. He also studied at IAIN Serang, Banten and graduated from it in 1989. Kiyai Zainuddin and his wife were his seniors at the institute. When he was a student at IAIN Serang he was active in Muhammadiyah. In 1991 Engkos Yusroni moved from Malingping to Ciboleger. The Muhammadiyah preachers Engkos Yusroni and Ujeng Suheli represent themselves as the preachers of Muhammadiyah and Mathla'ul Anwar at the same time.

c. ***Kompol: Kasja¹¹ and Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Hizbul Wathon***

In doing *da'wa* activities among the Baduy Muhammadiyah also sent its preachers to Kompol. Among the preachers were Astoteles M. Noor, Engkos Yusroni, and Hidayat, but they gave up. Afterwards, in 2005 Muhammadiyah sent the Muslim Baduy Kasja and his wife to live in this village. Kasja himself was a son of a Baduy family in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal. When he was 15 years old Kasja and his friends were brought by university students from the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal to Bandung and other cities in West Java. After spending 12 years in Ciamis and finishing his bachelor in Pesantren Darussalam of Ciamis, Kasja returned to the resettlement village. In 2005 the leader of Muhammadiyah of Banten Hasan Alaydrus asked him to become a preacher among the Baduy in Kompol. Not long after their marriage in 2005, Kasja and his wife went to Kompol. Because they did not have a house to live in they lived in the mosque of the village for a year.

Kasja admitted that it was not easy to become a preacher in Kompol. First, financial support from Muhammadiyah was little. Besides, challenges also arrived from the local *kiyai* who considered Muhammadiyah as a new religion or another version of Islam. This accusation appeared because it did not practise, for example, the *qunūt* and the *tahlilan*. But now, Kasja said, the *kiyai* understood what Muhammadiyah was. Another challenge also came from local strongmen. In 2007 local strongmen came to his house, brought a rifle, and asked money to Kasja.

As happened in many Baduy villages that share their borders with non-Baduy villages, many Baduy families in Kompol have broken the taboos. Their houses are electrified by which they have bulbs and television sets. Those who do not have a television set often come to Kasja's house in the evening to watch television. Therefore, his house has become a place where ideas flow from non-Baduy to the Baduy. When I spent some nights at Kasja's house some Baduy youths watched television until midnight. Besides, many Baduy in Kompol also

¹¹ Kasja was born in 1977 (?) and converted to Islam in 1990. In 1991 he studied in Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin in Palopat. A year later he and his seven friends followed university students from Bandung to study in West Java. This programme was based on the cooperation between Muhammadiyah of Lebak and the regional Depag of Lebak. Seven of eight Muslim Baduy youths included Kasja, Muhammad, Mahmud, Ahmad, Parta Supriatna, Ali, and Saprudin. They were adopted by foster-parents and placed in various foundations in West Java. For example, Ali was placed in Ciamis, Parta Supriatna in Tasikmalaya, Mahmud in Bandung, and Saprudin in Bogor. In Ciamis Kasja lived with Irfan Hielmy (1931-2010) who was the head of the MUI of Ciamis, the leader of the *pesantren*, and the rector of Institut Agama Islam Darussalam. In Ciamis Kasja entered the 6th grade of the Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) of Darussalam. He graduated from the MI in 1993, the Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) in 1996, the Madrasah Aliyah (MA) in 1999, and the Institute for Religious Studies, majoring in *Ahwal as-Syahsiya* (Islamic Family Law) in 2004. All were in the *pesantren* of Darussalam. In 2005 he married a woman who has a Baduy background and shortly he was asked by Hasan Alaydrus to become a preacher in Kompol.

have motorcycles and wear clothes as the non-Baduy do. Many roofs of their houses are also not from palm leaves, but already from tiles.

Kasja said that he never invited the Baduy to Islam. What he did was to introduce technology to them. Sometimes he came to his families in the *adat* land and introduced the function of, for example, a laptop or a smartphone. Kasja also shared this method with an Al Jazeera TV journalist.¹² Kasja knew that there were many Baduy who were businessmen and had networks with non-Baduy. He told the Baduy how to use smartphones to contact their customers. Kasja explained to them that with a smartphone they could make an appointment and determine the time and place where they would meet. This method, according to Kasja, is the only possible *da'wa* method. Preachers cannot come to the Baduy's villages and explain to them what Islam is because the Baduy have a religion and hold it tightly.

Although Kasja never invited the Baduy to Islam, he believed that his existence in Kompol had influenced the Baduy to convert to the religion. Social relations and activities as neighbours, and also television, were very instrumental in changing the mind of the Baduy in Kompol. How the Baduy called him '*ustad*' or religious teacher was believed by Kasja as an admission of his position in society. *Da'wa* activities among the Baduy, Kasja believed, was more effective with deeds, rather than with words. When the Baduy had a ceremony of marriage or death, for example, he and other Muslims in the village came to help. Also when they built a house, the Muslims as neighbours came to assist. As a result, 15 Baduy had converted to Islam. The first Baduy in Kompol who converted to Islam were Samin and his family. One of his children studied at a Muhammadiyah school. To support his *da'wa*, Kasja recently formed a foundation (Indonesian: *yayasan*) which he named *Yayasan Baduy Muslim*. Also, Muhammadiyah founded a mosque in the village in 1997 and a *madrasah*, but the *madrasah* did not run well.

d. *Cicakal Girang: Ahmad Hidayat and Madrasah Alam Wiwitan*

In February 1992 Ahmad Hidayat¹³ was offered by Muhammadiyah to join the *da'wa* programme for the isolated societies in Indonesia. It happened when a

¹² See also "The Indonesian tribe that rejects technology" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ei6TFvRG0Cs>, accessed on 24 February 2018.

¹³ Interview with Ahmad Hidayat on 29 March 2017. Ahmad Hidayat was born in 1962 in Garut, but on his identity card it is written that he was born in 1961. He lived in Bandung and in 1975 moved to Cianjur. He pursued his elementary school until the grade 4 in Bandung. Grades 5-6 were finished in 1976 in Cianjur. Afterwards he studied at an MTs of Muhammadiyah (graduated in 1978) and at an MA of Muhammadiyah (1982). He continued his study to IAIN Bandung and graduated in 1988. From 1990-1992 he worked to help Muhammadiyah to build the Islamic Centre of Cianjur. In 1992 he joined the programme of the *Lembaga Dakwah Khusus* (LDK) of Muhammadiyah and was sent to Lebak.



Photograph 4.2: Kasja was one of Baduy children in the resettlement village who converted to Islam and followed formal education. He is now an activist of Muhammadiyah. Photograph was taken in 2017 by Ade Jaya Suryani.

person of Muhammadiyah gave a speech in the Islamic Centre of Cianjur about Muhammadiyah's programme for the isolated societies in Indonesia. To become a Muhammadiyah preacher for the isolated societies an applicant had to have a bachelor diploma and was ready to be placed in an isolated area. Ahmad Hidayat joined this programme by following a two-month training where he learned agriculture, economy, and *da'wa* methods. In March 1992 he was appointed as a Muhammadiyah preacher and would be sent to Mentawai. However, the leader of Muhammadiyah of Lebak Hasan Alaydrus asked the central management of Muhammadiyah to send Ahmad Hidayat to Lebak. Hasan Alaydrus, Ahmad Hidayat said, had a great spirit to convert the Baduy. In March 1992 Ahmad Hidayat went to Lebak to become a preacher for the Baduy society where he was placed in Cicakal Girang.

“I was motivated to change the faith of the Baduy to become Muslims. Besides, I wanted Muslims in Cicakal Girang to understand Islam purely, free of superstition. Islam is easy. Many consider Islam is difficult where a Muslim has to perform the prayer five times a day. When I followed the training in Jakarta Muhammadiyah gave me a mandate to invite people to Islam. That is why we are called *da'i* (the inviter), not *mubalig* (the conveyor).”



Photograph 4.3: Madrasah Islam Swasta (MIS) Masyarikul Huda in Cicakal Girang. Photograph was taken in 2017 by Ade Jaya Suryani.



Photograph 4.4: Pupils of MIS Masyarikul Huda in Cicakal Girang. Photograph was taken in 2017 by Ade Jaya Suryani.

In Cicakal Girang there were four small mosques (*mushala*). Because there was an augmentation of the population, Muhammadiyah built a mosque in 1988/9 which its fund obtained from Saudi Arabia. Besides the mosques, there is also Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) Masyarikul Huda which was founded by the villagers in 1972. This *madrasah*, however, did not run well because it did not have enough teachers. Some teachers such as Asmuni from Sampay, because of a certain reason, left the village. As a result, from 1972 until 1992 the *madrasah* never passed its pupils. A year after Ahmad Hidayat lived in the village the school passed its first graduates. In 1992 the *madrasah* had 30 pupils and increased to 95 in 2017. But almost all of its graduates did not continue their study. The reasons were that the nearest higher school is located outside the *adat* land, about six kilometres away from the village and that they had to help their parents in the fields.

In 2010 the management of the Centre for Research and Development (Puslitbang) of the Ministry of Religious Affairs came to Cicakal Girang to build a school for the Baduy. Because formal education is taboo for the people, it was decided that the school would be built for the Muslims of Cicakal Girang. Founded on 3 June 2010, Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) Alam Wiwitan, the name of the school, became a school for the graduates of the MI to continue their study. At least three Muhammadiyah preachers, Ahmad Hidayat, Ai Dewi and Kasja, were registered as the teachers at the *madrasah*. In 2013 it began to pass its students.

Although Ahmad Hidayat was initially motivated to invite the Baduy to Islam, in fact, he found it difficult. When a Baduy converts he has to leave the *adat* land. The common problem which will immediately appear is that the convert does not have a house to live in and a field to manage, while as a new Muslim he is not allowed by the *adat* leaders to live in the *adat* land. A Baduy once told Ahmad Hidayat, “Sir, I want to become a Muslim. But I don’t know where I should live and work after my conversion.” Ahmad Hidayat thought that other preachers like Kiyai Zainuddin could convert many Baduy because they lived in the resettlement villages. They did not face the post-conversion issue, mainly housing and farming.

e. *Nagara: Ujeng Suheli*¹⁴ and *Madrasah Darul Muhsinin*

Ujeng Suheli was sent to Nagara by the *Lembaga Dakwah Khusus* (LDK)

¹⁴ Ujeng Suheli graduated from Madrasah Aliyah Mathla’ul Anwar of Menes in 1984. In his village Malingping he managed a *madrasah* of Mathla’ul Anwar which was founded by his mother in the 1970s. She graduated from Madrasah Aliyah Mathla’ul Anwar li al-Nahdlatul ‘Ulama (Malnu) in Menes. Ujeng Suheli’s wife died in 2016. With her Ujeng Suheli has 15 children.

Muhammadiyah in 1998 to manage Muslim Baduy families in the village. In that year there were around 30 families, including the families of Baduy Muslims, living in the village. Ujeng, without his wife and children, left his village Malingping for Nagara. Before he came to the village, there was a religious teacher Edi from Tasikmalaya who already lived there for two years. Ujeng and his friend Juanda came to change the position left by Edi. Ujeng who was a teacher at a *madrasah* of Mathla'ul Anwar in Malingping decided to become a preacher of Muhammadiyah in Nagara. He said:

“I was not a righteous Muslim, but when I saw the mosque (in Nagara) unmanaged, the Qur'an torn apart, and there were faeces of chicken and ducks in the mosque, my heart was touched. I accepted the request of Engkos Yusroni even though I had a lot of activities in Malinging.”

In Nagara there were some Muslim Baduy families who converted to Islam in the 1980s. One of them was the family of Haji Saicin (Haji Icin, 60-70 years old) who went to Mecca in 1985. He once told Hasan Alaydrus that he was a descendant of a *puun*. Because of it he would be able to invite other Baduy



Photograph 4.5: Ustad Ujeng Suheli in Nagara. Photograph was taken in 2017 by Ade Jaya Suryani.

to Islam. Therefore, Hasan Alaydrus was interested in him. Besides Haji Icin's family there were other Muslim Baduy families, including the families of Armin, Muhammad and Abdullah. The descendants of Muhammad still live in Nagara. They include Sanen, Nyi Sati, Sawinah, and Saja. The descendants of Abdullah moved to Cicorogol. Because there were no Muslim preachers who could live longer in the village, Ujeng Suheli thought that the characters of the Muslim Baduy and Muslims were not too Islamic. They, he said, seldom did worship.

Six months after living in Nagara Ujeng was registered formally as a Muhammadiyah preacher. Afterwards, he earned Rp100,000 (€7,88) per month. In 2005 the payment increased to Rp300,000 (€23,63) and in 2010 became Rp500,000 (€36,69).¹⁵ Moreover, because Muhammadiyah had a financial problem all preachers for the isolated societies were not paid. Starting from May 2017 Ujeng received the payment again. In doing the *da'wa* activities in Nagara he also obtained support from the senate of Universitas Islam Bandung in the form of one hectare of land. While Ujeng kept being a preacher in Nagara, his friend Juanda was moved by Muhammadiyah to Sarani. Later he returned to Malingping because the resettlement village in Sarani was left by the Baduy.¹⁶

In Nagara Muhammadiyah also founded a mosque. Because the mosque was far from the village and was not used by the Muslims, except by Haji Icin and Ujeng, it was moved to the village to hope local Muslims would use it. While the majority agreed, Haji Icin objected. After the mosque was moved, Haji Ucin kept a distance with the people. Moreover, under the banner of Muhammadiyah, in 1988 Ujeng founded a non-formal school and was named by Hasan Alaydrus 'Madrasah Diniyah Darul Muhsinin'. Later it was transformed into a formal Madrasah Ibtidaiyah. In 2009 Ujeng Suheli got funding from the AusAID from which a building of Madrasah Tsanawiyah was founded. As a form of affiliation, both *madrasah* use the logo of Muhammadiyah. In reality, Ujeng said, Muhammadiyah did not give enough money to run the *madrasah*.

Related to the conversion of the Baduy to Islam, Ujeng Suheli assumed that they converted not because of *hidaya* (divine guidance), but to hope to become like Haji Kasmin, a Baduy businessman who converted to Islam to get more freedom. The Baduy, Ujeng said, saw that converting to Islam could make them rich. In reality, when they converted, most of the Baduy were still more or less the same as when they were the adherents of Sunda Wiwitan. Like admitted by other preachers, Ujeng said that converting the Baduy to Islam was not easy because the preachers had to prepare houses, fields, and jobs for the converts. At the same

¹⁵ Based on the currency rate on 1 January 2010. For the converter, see <https://fxtop.com/>.

¹⁶ Interview with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

time, obtaining support from other Muslims was also difficult.

Assisted by his son-in-law Amir who graduated from Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin and has a Baduy background, Ujeng Suheli focused on giving Islamic lessons to the village children. Ujeng himself once took care of Baduy children Suki and Arman who converted to Islam, but in 2001/2 they returned to the Baduy village Karahril and reverted to Sunda Wiwitan. Besides, some children of the Muslim Baduy families in Nagara were taken care of by their foster parents. Sonif, for example, was taken care of by Jon. Three other Muslim Baduy youths followed their foster parents in Bandung. A son of the Muslim Baduy Jasir studied at a junior high school in Rangkasbitung. The son of another Baduy Muslim, Armin, was studying in Pesantren Ad Da'wah in Rangkasbitung.

2. Al Washliyah of Medan and Madrasah Al Washliyah¹⁷

Founded in Medan in 1932, Al Washliyah¹⁸ sent its preachers to various isolated societies in Indonesia such as on Nias, and East Timor (independent from Indonesia in 2020). To the Baduy society in Gunung Tunggal, Al Washliyah sent Syahroni (b.1960) in 1988¹⁹, and followed by other Al Washliyah preachers Muamar, Sardawana, and Mastajaya in 1992. All of the preachers were sent by the *da'wa* body of the organisation, the MDI (*Majlis Dakwah Islam/* the Assembly of Islamic Mission).

Syahroni went from Medan to Jakarta on 26 November 1988. Al Washliyah then sent a letter to the Depag of Lebak about the mission brought by Syahroni. The Depag sent a letter to the sub-district of Leuwidamar. The sub-district followed the letter by sending a letter to the *desa* office of Leuwidamar. Haji Kosasih from the Depag of Lebak placed Syahroni in Cipangembar. Because he did not speak Sundanese, Syahroni was accompanied by Suryana, the secretary of Leuwidamar sub-district. In Cipangembar they met Haji Nalim who had converted

¹⁷ Except mentioned different, this section is based on my interview with Syahroni on 22 June 2017.

¹⁸ More information about this organization read Khalijah Hasanuddin, *Al-Jam'iyyatul Washliyah 1930-1942: Api dalam Sekam di Sumatera Timur*, (Bandung: Pustaka, 1988); Ansari, *Mission in Christianity and Islam: A Comparative Study of the Ways the Huria Kristen Batak Protestan (HKBP) and Al-Washliyah Spread the Mission in North Sumatra (1930-1965)*, an MA thesis at Leiden University, 1998; Ahmad Hamim Azizy, Taslim HM Yasin and Bachtiar Td Joeseof, *Al-Jam'iyyatul Washliyah dalam Kancab Politik Indonesia*, (Banda Aceh: Yayasan Pena, 2006); Al Rasyidin and Ja'far, *Al Jam'iyyatul Washliyah: Potret Histori, Edukasi dan Filosofi*, (Medan: Perdana Publishing and Centre for Al Washliyah Studies, 2011); Ismed Batubara, *Dinamika Pergerakan Al Washliyah dari Zaman ke Zaman*, (Medan: Perdana Publishing and Centre for Al Washliyah Studies, 2015); and Muhammad Rozali, *Tradisi Keulamaan Al Jam'iyyatul Washliyah Sumatera Utara*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2018).

¹⁹ Two other sources mention that Al Washliyah has been active in Margaluyu since 1969 and 1986. The first source, <http://kabarwashliyah.com/2013/02/27/pw-al-washliyah-banten-resmi-dilantik/>, mentions the year 1969 and it must be wrong because the village was just opened in 1982/3. The second source, <http://poskotanews.com/2012/03/05/pb-al-washliyah-tinjau-madrasah-di-badui-luar/>, accessed on 6 September 2018, mentions the year 1986. Syahroni himself who was sent by the organisation stated that he came to Margaluyu in 1988.

to Islam. When Syahroni came to the village, there had been a mosque founded by the Depag.²⁰ After six months living in the village, they started to teach the Muslim Baduy Islamic creeds and followed by how to read the Quran and how to do worship.

In the seventh month challenges began to appear, especially from the so-called *jawara* (local strongmen). Syahroni said that he was attacked with magical power. Because he was afraid of it, he went to Jakarta to consult the leader of Al Washliyah. The leader gave him a recitation to counter the magic. Besides, challenges also came from a local *kiyai* who asked him about the version of Islam he practised. He explained to the *kiyai* that the people of Al Washliyah were the followers of Sunni Islam and perform the ceremonies of *yasinan*²¹, *tablilan*²², and *qumūt*²³. After being tested Syahroni was permitted to continue his *da'wa* activity in the village.

During his *da'wa* in Cipangembar Syahroni claimed to convert more than a hundred Baduy to Islam. In 1990 alone, he said, he guided the conversion process of 39 Baduy. He also performed mass circumcision where the leaders of Al Washliyah and government officials came. Afterwards, people started to be interested in the organisation. He was asked by the *desa* government to manage the lepers in Cimaung. Sardawana the friend of Syahroni was placed in the village. Besides, the people of Dukuh asked Syahroni to teach them Islam and agriculture. He learnt the latter in Yogyakarta for three months in training which was organised by the local government and the Depag. Besides building a *madrasah* in Margalyu, Al Washliyah also sent Muslim Baduy youths to study in Medan. In 2012 this organisation sent four Baduy to Universitas Al Washliyah (UNIVA) dan Universitas Muslim Nusantara

²⁰ Parta Supriatna gave different information. According to him, the mosque was founded by Al Washliyah in the 1990s. Engkos Yusroni also mentioned that Muhammadiyah built a mosque in the village. It was possible that the Depag, Al Washliyah, and Muhammadiyah and Muslim individuals had built the mosque cooperatively.

²¹ *Yasinan* means to read the *sūrah* (chapter) of *Yā-Sīn* of the Qur'an, which is generally performed in the Friday night. The participants read the *sūrah* and may be added with other *sūrah*. After reading the *sūrah* they pray for the wellness, prosperity, forgiveness of them and the Muslims in general. Eating and drinking as exist in other ceremonies include in this event. *Yasinan* is also performed by traditional Muslims in the first seven days day of a death.

²² *Tablilan* is from *tabhlil* (Arabic: تَبْلِيل) which refers to the declaration of the uniqueness/ oneness of Allah لا إله إلا الله 'there is no god but God'. In traditional Muslim communities in Indonesia, which is often associated with Nahdlatul Ulama, when a Muslim dies the other Muslims will gather mostly in the first week evenings either in the house of the dead or in the mosque to do a ceremony called *tablilan*. During the gathering they read Qur'anic verses, recite the *tabhlil* sentence for a certain number and pray for the dead. The host family, like in many ceremonies in Indonesia, commonly provides food for the participants. Muhammadiyah who brings the idea of the purification of Islam rarely practices the *tablilan* ceremony.

²³ The *qumūt* is practiced by the doer by reading a certain prayer before he prostrates in the last *rakaat* (prostration). The practice of *qumūt* in the down prayer often becomes a marker of the Nahdlatul Ulama culture.

(UMN) Al Washliyah. Three of them could finish their study and another one failed.²⁴

In 1995 Syahroni left the resettlement village. According to Eman, it happened because he had a problem with the Baduy Sarmali. It was said that Syahroni made a joke with him by throwing a coconut shell. Sarmali took the joke personally and as the expression of anger, he hit Syahroni. Syahroni himself has apologised for what he had done. Afterwards, he went to Kalimantan and became a preacher for the Dayak people.²⁵ Sarmali moved to Semarang after he married a local woman. After Syahroni left the village, Al Washliyah sent Yani and Mastar to become preachers in the village, but their presence did not last for a long time.²⁶

In 2003 Parta Supriatna²⁷, a student of Syahroni in Margaluyu, graduated from UIN Bandung. Afterwards, he worked as a teacher at MTs Al Hidayah and an SMP. He said that he had had a dream to develop his village, especially the Muslim Baduy, since he was a student at UIN Bandung. He would build a *madrasah* where the children of Muslim Baduy could study for free. He hoped they would get an education and would not be displaced. Parta knew that there was a *madrasah* founded by Al Washliyah named Al Iqra and it was left by the organisation. Then he went to Islamic Village²⁸ to meet the management

²⁴ Interviews with Parta Supriatna on 10 May 2017 and Syahroni on 22 June 2017. The online newspaper Poskotanews writes that Al Washliyah sent three, not four, Baduy Muslim youths to Medan. [Http://poskotanews.com/2012/06/24/3-siswa-asal-badui-kuliah-gratis-di-univa-dan-umn-medan/](http://poskotanews.com/2012/06/24/3-siswa-asal-badui-kuliah-gratis-di-univa-dan-umn-medan/), accessed on 7 September 2018.

²⁵ In Kalimantan he became a *desa* leader and his wife became a principal of Al Washliyah Kindergarten. In 2000 he left Kalimantan and started to reside in Tangerang.

²⁶ Interviews with Parta Supriatna on 31 August 2017, with Syahroni on 22 June 2017 and Eman on 4 June 2017.

²⁷ Parta Supriatna is the fourth son of the Baduy Imu and Sawanah who joined the resettlement programme. In total Imu and Sawanah have Sapri, Sawari, Iti, Parta Supriatna, Salindra, and Sri Wulandari. Originating from Kaduketug, the family came to the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggul in 1988. Sawanah died when Parta had not entered an elementary school yet. Imu, who was among the community figures, died when Parta Supriatna studied at UIN Bandung. Iti, Parta Supriatna, Salindra, and Sri Wulandari converted to Islam. Sapri and Sawari converted to Christianity, but later they converted to Islam. Imu was among the Baduy who returned to the *adat* land when the *adat* leaders pressed the Baduy in the resettlement villages. By returning to the *adat* land he hoped his children would follow him. In reality, their children chose to become Muslims. Finally Imu returned to the resettlement village and converted to Islam. In his young age Parta often saw his friends studied how to read the Qur'an in the mosque and he joined. He converted to Islam when he was in the fourth grade of the elementary school and was not aware how he experienced the conversion. In the same year a number of IAIN (now UIN) Bandung students came to the resettlement village and took him and his friends to Bandung. They were spread to some *pesantrens* or foundations in Cianjur, Bogor, Tasikmalaya, Ciamis, Bandung and Purwakarta. Parta himself was sent to Tasikmalaya and lived with Ahmad Basor who was a lecturer at UIN Bandung. After Parta finished his study from an elementary school and MTs BPI Batu Rompe in Tasikmalaya he returned to Margaluyu and continued his study at Madrasah Aliyah of Rongkasbitung. Afterwards, he went to Bandung to study at UIN Bandung and graduated four years later.

²⁸ Islamic Village is an educational and residence complex in Tangerang, Banten. This complex was built by Junan Helmy Nasution who was a soldier, preacher and vice founder of Al Washliyah. His son-in-law Ridwan Lubis is the general leader of Al Washliyah. Syahroni said that Ridwan Lubis is his foster-father. He asked Syahroni to live in Islamic Village after he left West Kalimantan.

of Al Washliyah, including Syahroni, to ask about the possibility to continue the programme of Al Washliyah in Margaluyu. The organisation agreed on continuing its support.

In the 2016 congress of Al Washliyah in Bogor Parta expressed his intention to build a Madrasah Tsanawiyah. An Al Washliyah man from Medan stated his willingness to become the sponsor of the foundation of the *madrasah*. He gave Rp25 million and founded a building consisting of four study rooms and a room for the teachers. On 22 April 2016 the *madrasah* was inaugurated by the government and the ceremony was attended by the management of Al Washliyah.²⁹ Thus, Parta manages a kindergarten (TK/TPA, founded in 2017), a Madrasah Diniyah (2005), a Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (2008), and a Madrasah Tsanawiyah (2016). All of the *madrasah* are under the banner of Al Washliyah because they are financially supported by the organisation. Most of the pupils are the children of the Muslim Baduy from the resettlement villages of Margaluyu and Cipangembar. In 2017 there were six Baduy children whose parents managed Muslims' farms in the surrounding areas.

Based on his experience to be taken by the students to West Java, Parta thought that education was the most effective way to change society. He explained:

“I have a dream to educate the Muslim Baduy. I teach them here for free, especially for the Baduy who left the *adat* land and converted to Islam. I hope they will not be displaced and have an education. Since 2008 I have followed the steps of the students who brought us to Bandung. I sent 12 Muslim Baduy children to Bogor, Bandung, and Islamic Village in Tangerang. Some of them study at elementary schools, junior high schools, and senior high schools. I attempt to find foster parents so that they can study at colleges. In 2011 I sent four students (Arafat, Syahril, Andi and Arifin) to Al Washliyah in Medan. Two of them, Andi (the brother of Kasja) and Syahril, have held a bachelor diploma. I will send other students later to the University of Al Washliyah (Univa) of Medan.”³⁰

Parta hoped to be able to convert the Baduy to Islam, but he could not do it directly. Like Ahmad Hidayat, Amin and other *ustad*, he holds the belief that conversion is the matter of *hidaya*. What he can do is to tell the Baduy who are familiar to him by asking them why they break the taboos. Parta tells them if

²⁹ <http://kabarwashliyah.com/2016/04/19/pemerintah-badui-sambut-baik-berdirinya-mts-al-washliyah/>, accessed on 7 September 2018.

³⁰ Interview with Parta on 10 May 2017.

they want to be free, it would be better for them to convert to Islam. If they do so they do not need to hide from the surveillance of the Baduy leaders.

3. *Jamaah Tabligh of Leuwidamar*

Jamaah Tabligh was founded by Muhammad Ilyas al-Kandhlawi in India in 1927.³¹ Its central quarter in Indonesia is located at Masjid Jami of Kebon Jeruk, West Jakarta. Another important quarter is located in Cikampek, West Java. In Lebak, including in Leuwidamar, Jamaah Tabligh has existed since 2005. It happened when followers of Jamaah Tabligh from Majalengka and Jakarta came to Cihaur, a village close to the resettlement villages of Gunung Tunggal. Among the followers were Haji Ratib and the Chinese Muslim Haji Fitroh. They spent three days in Cihaur, three days in Margaluyu, and three days in Rangkasbitung. The followers of Jamaah Tabligh from India and Pakistan sometimes came to Lebak. Dozens of Muslim Baduy joined this group. Afterwards, they often met in Selahaur, Citeras, Cihaur, Margaluyu, Ciboleger and Cikapek.³²

In Cikapek they often met in the house of Haji Adung who is also a follower of Jamaah Tabligh. Haji Adung had joined Jamaah Tabligh since he lived in Harjawana. At that time many followers of Jamaah Tabligh came to his village. Haji Adung often accompanied them to find a mosque where the followers of Jamaah Tabligh spent their days. No longer after that moment he joined the group. Moreover, in 2008 he moved to Cikapek. He explained:

“I decided to live here [in Cikapek] because there are Muslim Baduy and Sunda Wiwitan Baduy. There is a chance (to do *da'wa* activities). When I first came here I found that the Quranic recitation of the Muslim Baduy was not good. I feel that I am sent by God to help them. So far I have converted six Baduy families. Now there are about 20 Muslim Baduy families living here. And about 17 of them do not have land. They built simple houses on the verge of the main road. I am happy to live here because I can socialise with the converts.”³³

When Haji Adung first came to Cikapek the small mosque of the village was not managed well. Some parts of the mosque were broken. Goats often came

³¹ More information about Jamaah Tabligh especially in Southeast Asia read Farish A Noor, *Islam on the Move: The Tablighi Jama'at in Southeast Asia*, (Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press, 2013) and Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad, *From Islamic Revivalism to Islamic Radicalism in Southeast Asia: A Study of Jamaah Tabligh in Malaysia and Indonesia*, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).

³² Interview with Eman in Palopat on 04 June 2017.

³³ Interview with Haji Adung on 8 July 2017.

in and defecated inside it. He contacted Muslims who had a position in the government to ask for help but no one cared. Then one of his friends invited him to meet Ustad Takdir from Yayasan Da'wah Islamiyyah (known as ad-Da'wah) in Rangkasbitung. Through this foundation Saudi people came to see the mosque and agreed on rebuilding it. In 2002 the renovation began. After a few months the fund ran out and the renovation could not be finished. Haji Adung came again to the foundation and it gave more money to finish the work. Besides, he got another fund from a businessman whom he met at the house of Haji Mufasir. The businessman came to Haji Mufasir to ask for advice where he could build a small mosque. He was suggested to donate the money to Leuwidamar. With the money three small mosques in Cikapek, Portal and Bedenglima were erected or renovated.

Haji Adung claimed not to have a grandiose dream about his *da'wa* activities in the region, including to the Baduy. What he does, he said, is only to convey Islamic teachings which he has already known and done. He and other followers of Jamaah Tabligh hoped all of the Baduy would convert to Islam.³⁴ But doing *da'wa* activities to the Baduy is not easy. It is why he, like many other Muslim preachers, focuses on Muslim Baduy. By doing this he hoped that the Muslim Baduy would attract their brothers, sisters and relatives who still adhered Sunda Wiwitan. Furthermore, Haji Adung said that he and other followers of Jamaah Tabligh did not have enough power to manage the Muslim Baduy. Like in many other villages, the Muslim and Sunda Wiwitan Baduy in Cikapek do not have a field to manage. Therefore, they managed other people's fields.

Moreover, the followers of Jamaah Tabligh have a special understanding of how *da'wa* activities should be conducted, namely through a *ḥunūj* (Arabic: going out). By doing the *ḥunūj* the followers of Jamaah Tabligh leave their houses for three, seven, or forty days. During the *ḥunūj* they are encouraged to practise the prophet's tradition for 24 hours. By doing it they believe that Allah will give His *hidaya* which is marked by, for example, the condition where they cannot bear to go to the mosque when hearing an *adhān* (a call for prayer). The logic, the follower of Jamaah Tabligh Iton exemplifies, is like a chicken which is confined in a cage for three days. When the chicken is released on the fourth day, it will not go far from the cage. When a Muslim is "imprisoned" in a mosque for three days, on the following days he cannot be separated from mosques.

Iton explained further:

³⁴ Interviews with Haji Adung on 8 July 2017 and 22 November 2018, Iton Rustandi 24 May 2017, and Samain on 21 November 2018.

“*Da'wa* is *ḥurūj*. *Ḥurūj* is like Abraham who left Hagar and Ismail in Mecca. Because it was God’s command, Allah pulled out the water of zamzam. Now if the wife and the children do not cry because they are left for *ḥurūj*, the *hidaya* is difficult to come. Because of the hardship experienced by the wife, God sends 27 thousand angles. The wife and their children are proud of him, aren’t they? The *ḥurūj* is obligatory. It must be conducted for the whole lifetime. A Muslim has to take ten percent of his time for *ḥurūj*: three days per month or a month per year.”³⁵

During the *ḥurūj* the followers of Jamaah Tabligh practise four deeds chronologically: *da'wa ilā Allah* (invitation to Allah), *ta'lim wa ta'alim* (teaching and learning Islam), *ibādah wa dīkr* (worship and remembrance), and *ḥidmat* (service) (Bustamam-Ahmad 2015). This teaching, according to the followers of Jamaah Tabligh, is extracted from what the Prophet practised: he invited people to know Allah, after knowing Allah they would learn Islam, afterwards they wanted to worship and remember God, and at the end, they would like to serve people.³⁶

Since 2005 the followers of Jamaah Tabligh have come several times to the Baduy land. Their existence can be easily identified by their dress. They wear robes and *cingkrang* (hanging) trousers and walk in a group. By doing the *ḥurūj* to the Baduy land they wanted to show Islam and Muslims. They hoped the Baduy would convert to Islam. The followers of Jamaah Tabligh’s will was mainly driven by the fact that Baduy declare the *shahāda* and are circumcised. These two have indicated the followers of Jamaah Tabligh that the Baduy are actually Muslim. But in practice, doing *da'wa* activities to the Baduy, as also admitted by other Muslim organisations, is not easy. Eman accounted that when the followers of Jamaah Tabligh invited the Baduy to Islam, they responded that those who committed adultery, gambled, drank alcohol, and were jailed were Muslims, not the Baduy. Therefore, the preachers could not continue their preaching. It is also why the Jamaah Tabligh is finally more interested in doing *da'wa* activities among Muslims and Muslim Baduy.³⁷

Like Eman, Haji Adung concludes that inviting the Baduy to Islam is like inviting people who are under the rain to take shelter in a leaking house. This parable arises from the awareness that many Muslims are still far from the teaching of Islam and do not very much care of other people. For the followers of

³⁵ Interview with Iton on 24 May 2017.

³⁶ Interview with Iton on 24 May 2017.

³⁷ Interviews with Haji Adung on 8 July 2017, with Eman on 6 June 2017, and with Iton Rustandi on 24 May 2017.

Jamaah Tabligh, doing *da'wa* activities to the Baduy is difficult not only because the Baduy have a religion, but challenges also come from the Muslim society who considers Jamaah Tabligh as a deviant of Islam. Experience has shown that Jamaah Tabligh was rejected by Muslims in many villages. In 2016 the followers of this group were driven away by Muslims of Margaluyu. The people said that even a poor divorcee was not allowed to sleep in the mosque, why the followers of Jamaah Tabligh who were strong slept there.³⁸ The Muslim Baduy Haji Sardaya³⁹ stated that Jamaah Tabligh was rejected in Margaluyu because people thought that it was not from the same religious stream.

Now people are more open to Jamaah Tabligh. Haji Adung, Eman, Iton and other followers of this group stated that some people began to accept them and let them use their mosques. Approximately nine Muslim Baduy in Cikapek are now followers of Jamaah Tabligh and once practised the *ḥunūj*. Other Muslim Baduy who joined Jamaah Tabligh included Haji Sardaya (the younger brother of Jaro Samin, Palopat), Eman (Palopat), Haji Nalim (Margaluyu), Yani (Margaluyu), Muhammad (Margaluyu), Satra and his son Ijang, Kamsuri and his wife (Cihaur), Ewong and his daughter Sunariah (Cihaur), and Basri (Cihaur). A local *kiyai* named Dahlan, after obtaining an explanation from Haji Adung, became a sympathizer of Jamaah Tabligh.

What the Muslim Baduy love from Jamaah Tabligh is its invitation to do the prayers communally in the mosque. Lately, Haji Sardaya even wanted to leave his village because he did not feel an Islamic nuance and claimed not to have a figure to follow.⁴⁰ This is the same as what was expressed by Ahmad a follower of Jamaah Tabligh in Margaluyu. He said that “what is taught by Jamaah Tabligh is what we usually do every day, namely doing the prayer communally.”⁴¹ Eman who met Jamaah Tabligh first in 2005 stated that in the past he prayed because the prayer was obligatory. Now he does it with full of consciousness, fear, and shame of Allah. “Before I joined Jamaah Tabligh I often abandoned the obligatory daily prayers. Even I felt lazy to do the Friday prayer. But after I joined it, I did not dare to abandon the prayers even once. I would feel a great loss,” Eman said.⁴² Besides, the followers of Jamaah Tabligh also claimed to often experience miracles, especially during the *ḥunūj* (Bustamam-Ahmad 2015: 191-208).

In May 2018 a figure of Jamaah Tabligh, Samain, built a *pesantren* in the resettlement village of Cipangembar neighbouring with Christian Baduy. Many

³⁸ Interviews with Haji Adung on 8 July 2017 and with Eman on 6 June 2017.

³⁹ Interview with Haji Sardaya on 4 June 2017.

⁴⁰ Interview with Haji Sardaya on 4 June 2017.

⁴¹ Interview with Ahmad 25 July 2017.

⁴² Interview with Eman on 6 June 2017.



Photograph 4.6: The followers of Jamaah Tabligh are listening to a religious speech at Masjid Jami (the Mosque of Jami) in West Jakarta. The mosque is one of the centres of Jamaah Tabligh in Indonesia. Photograph was taken in 2018 by Ade Jaya Suryani.

years earlier he sent Ustad Ulil to this village. He and his Jamaah Tabligh friends often sent food and clothes, especially on the days of *'idul fitri* and *'idul adha*, to be distributed to the Muslim Baduy. Samain also sent Ustad Ulil to this village, but later he left Cipangembar for Menes. Samain thought that there had to be someone who could manage the Muslim Baduy society there. Then he and his wife decided to build a *pesantren* in this village. In the first year of its existence, the *pesantren* had just seven students (*santri*) living in there. Besides them, there were some other *santri* from the surrounding villages, but they lived with their parents. The teacher of this *pesantren* is a friend of Samain's son who graduated from the *pesantren* of Temboro in East Java.⁴³

The followers of Jamaah Tabligh often visited the Baduy land and slept in their houses for one or two nights and prayed there so that God would give His guidance to the Baduy. In March 2017, for example, Haji Adung⁴⁴ accompanied the followers of Jamaah Tabligh from India to three Baduy villages. Still in the

⁴³ The *pesantren* of Temboro has more than 17 thousand *santri*, and more than a thousand come from foreign countries. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4029092/kampung-madinah-magetan-punya-lebih-dari-1000-santri-mancanegara>, accessed on 2 January 2020.

⁴⁴ Interview with Haji Adung on 8 July 2017.

same year about 18 followers of Jamaah Tabligh, accompanied by Jaki who married a Muslim Baduy woman, visited a Baduy village. The followers of Jamaah Tabligh from Majalengka also once came to the Baduy land for ten days. They entered Ciboleger, Gajeboh, Cicakal, Cikeusik, Cikertawana and Cibeo and exited in Ciboleger. Samain thought that converting the Baduy to Islam would not be difficult because they already declare the *shahāda*. Let alone if the preacher can provide a house to live in and a field to manage for the converts. Samian's friend Roni alone could invite 23 Inner Baduy to Islam only in five months, from May to September 2018.⁴⁵

4. *Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII): Nurkib Ibnu Djais*

The conservative magazine Hidayatullah (December 2011:28-33) reports that Nurib Ibnu Jais (b. 1966) has started his *da'wa* activity among the Baduy since 1992 after he graduated from UIN Bandung. In 1994 he followed a *da'wa* training organized by the DDII (*Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia*/ the Indonesian Islamic Da'wa Council). The trainees would be sent to several isolated areas in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT). Djais would be sent to NTT, but he refused. He said that he would do a *da'wa* activity among the Baduy in Lebak, Banten.⁴⁶

Nurkib explained that preachers could not come to the Baduy villages and explained what Islam is to the Baduy. What they could do is just to show how Muslims do worship and behave. When Nurkib came to the *adat* land he often asked permission to do prayer in the house of the Baduy. He hoped it would arise the Baduy's curiosity to know Islam. Also when Nurkib chatted with them he tried to insert information about his religion. "When the *hidaya* comes, they will convert to Islam," he said. Since the beginning of his *da'wa* Djais claimed to have been able to convert 70 Baduy families.

Nurkib thought that doing *da'wa* activities by visiting the Baduy in the *adat* land was ineffective. What he did, like done by other preachers, was to visit the Baduy who lived outside the *adat* land, mainly in the villages of Sukatani, Cipangembar, Margaluyu, and Kopo Dua. For Nurkib who lived in Sukatani, it only took some minutes to reach the Baduy in those villages. When he visited the Baduy in the *adat* land, it would take two or three hours. Like other preachers, Nurkib also built *madrasah*. In doing so he joined Yayasan Jakarta Islamic

⁴⁵ Interview with Samain on 21 November 2018.

⁴⁶ Syahroni mentioned that Nurkib Ibnu Djais was the preacher of the Persatuan Islam (Persis). But a figure of Persis of Banten, Aisyah, could not ensure the organisation's involvement in the *da'wa* activities in the resettlement villages of the Baduy. Interview with Aisyah on 27 July 2017. When Nurkib Ibnu Djais was a student at UIN Bandung he joined the IMM. Zubir and Siandes (1997: 94) mentions that Nurkib was a Muhammadiyah preacher.

Moslem Society (Y-JIMS), a foundation which was founded by the Australian convert Gregg William Landy or Lukman Hakim Landy. With the support of this foundation Djais could build 28 *madrrasah*.

Djais, who became a member of *Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah* (IMM) when he studied at UIN Bandung, asserts that the Muslims and Christians snatched to invite the Baduy to their religions. The church, he says, was powerful. It could improve the education and economy of the Christian Baduy. It also sent the Baduy youths to Bandung, Cilegon, and Jakarta. Two of them have become a pastor and a nurse (Windu and Ratna). Windu, he says, targeted the Baduy who live in the sub-districts of Leuwidamar and Gunungkencana. Nurkib estimates that 90 percent of the Baduy who live outside the *adat* land have converted to Islam, and the rest converted to Christianity and remain as the adherents of Sunda Wiwitan. Djais states that he has met the *puun* to remind them that the Baduy may not convert to any religion other than Islam. This reminder refers to the agreement between the ancestors of the Baduy and the Sultan of Banten.

5. *An Organisation with a Nahdlatul Ulama Background: Pesantren Al-Amin of Ciboleger*

As an organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is probably not involved in the dissemination of Islam in the Baduy society. Islamic teachers and preachers who have an NU background and are active in the Islamic proselytization, however, are not few. Among the people are Abah Sarmin, Abah Ewong, and Amin. Because the first two names have been discussed in chapter 3, this section is specialised in Amin⁴⁷ and his *pesantren* Pesantren Al-Amin, in Ciboleger. In the *pesantren* dozens of Muslim youths study Islam. Besides, Muslim Baduy in Ciboleger also study Islam to him. The Muslim Baduy Haji Sarmedi deemed that the *pesantren* was very important not only to teach the Muslim Baduy, but also to attract their relatives to Islam.

Amin started his *pesantren* in 2011. To begin his *pesantren* he moved a hut out of his wet rice field. In the following year he bought land for 30 grams of gold on which a wooden boarding house was founded. To build the boarding house

⁴⁷ Originating from Cihandam, Amin studied in a *pesantren* in Cikaduen, Pandeglang and in a *pesantren* in Cisimeut, Lebak. In the last *pesantren* he spent for five years. In 1996 he went to Mangga Dua, Jakarta, to work. There he met Saifudin. The latter was a friend of his religious teacher who managed the *pesantren* of Cikaduen. In Jakarta Saifudin did business as a seller in the noon and became a religious teacher in the evening. He was often invited to give Islamic teaching (*pengajian*) at several places in Jakarta. Amin often attended the teaching delivered by him. Based on Saifudin's vision, Amin would no longer live in Jakarta, but would return to his village and become a religious teacher. In 2004 he returned to Ciboleger where his parents-in-law lived. He witnessed in the early evenings when Muslim children in rural areas commonly went to a house of a religious teacher, in the village the children played in the mini-bus terminal. He thought to have a place where the children could learn the Qur'an.

he asked wood and bamboos from his parents. From selling rice he was able to build three sleeping rooms for his *santri*. In 2015/6 Amin built more sleeping rooms and a study room (*majlis*). Money as much as Rp25 million (around €666) to buy the materials to build the *majlis* was from a donation of the state-owned company Krakatau Steel. A Baduy man named Musung connected him to the company. Musung told Amin that he was sad to see the condition of the *pesantren*. He said that if his brothers and sisters would convert to Islam, there had been a place to study Islam. Amin hoped he could develop his *pesantren* by buying land which shares its border with his *pesantren*.

In the first year his *pesantren* had twenty *santri*. In 2017 the number increased to about 70. About fifteen of them lived in the *pesantren* and the others lived with their parents. The *santri* came from various sub-districts (*kecamatan*) in Lebak such as Muncang, Sobang, and Leuwidamar. Among the *santri* is Ardi a Baduy teenager from Cisaban. He converted to Islam and left his village. Because no one cared for him, he was taken care of by the *pesantren*. As many other religious teachers in rural areas in Indonesia, Amin himself is not paid for founding the *pesantren* and giving the lesson to his *santri*. Even he and Haji Sarmedi have to support them. In the *pesantren* Amin teaches his *santri* the subjects that are commonly thought in traditional *pesantren*. Different from the other *santri* who study with Arabic books (or often called *kitab kuning*), the Muslim Baduy such as Haji Sarmedi, Lili, Sadiman, Aci, Agus, and Umi study Islam by listening to the *ustad* (*ngaji denge*). Sometimes the wives of the Muslim Baduy join the learning.

For Amin, *da'wa* does not mean to invite non-Muslim to Islam but to invite Muslims to study Islam. After Muslims become more Islamic, he said, non-Muslims will see the characters of the Muslims and probably will be interested in becoming Muslims. By defining *da'wa* as such, for him inviting non-Muslims to Islam is not obligatory. He based his argument on the Quran chapters al-Baqara (2:256) and al-Kāfirūn (109:6). *Da'wa* which means to invite Muslims to study and practice Islam, according to him, can be done through regular teachings, speeches, or direct invitations. *Da'wa* itself needs to be done because not all Muslims understand their religion, even being able to read the Quran. Amin emphasised, “Do what we have known and correct the self before correcting the others. This is my principle.”

Moreover, Amin's definition of *da'wa* comes from the understanding that conversion to Islam is a matter of *hidaya*. In practice, he said, conversion can be seen through causes such as a marriage. He stated that “*li kulli shay'in sababun*” or for everything is a cause. If the message of Islam was conveyed directly, Amin thought that the Baduy would probably not like it. What he and other Muslim Baduy in Ciboleger did is to maintain their good social relation. Haji Sarmedi

and other Muslim Baduy, for example, were often invited by their Baduy neighbours to attend ceremonies in the *adat* land. Likewise, the Muslim Baduy in Ciboleger also often invited the Baduy to attend the Muslims' socio-religious activities. Because of this understanding, Amin and the Muslim Baduy never asked the Baduy to convert to Islam. If the Muslims of Ciboleger invited the Baduy to Islam, Amin was worried there would be a division in society.

Amin and Haji Sarmedi believed that conversion was the result of socialisation (*pergaulan*). They exemplified that many Baduy managed Muslims' fields. They met the owners of the fields and probably talked about many things, including Islam. Then the Baduy were interested in the religion and converted. Amin himself has an experience to guide the *shahāda* declaration of an elderly Baduy Toyib. That *da'wa* should be practised through a social relation was also done by the Muslim Baduy in Ciboleger. Lili and Haji Sarmedi often invited their Baduy relatives, for example, when their children would ascend to a higher grade at the school. The children commonly gave a short speech about a certain religious topic. Their grandparents who are the adherents of Sunda Wiwitan often came to see their grandchildren on stage. A religious teacher also gave a religious speech. Although the speech was not intended for the Baduy, Haji Sarmedi⁴⁸ believed it would influence the understanding of their Sunda Wiwitan families on Islam. He explained:

“The purpose of all of this (the *pesantren* etc.) is for our relatives in the Baduy land (so that they understand what Islam is). This has been proven. We the Muslim Baduy who live here brought our children (from the *adat* land). We are families. Sadiman is my brother. The mother of Lili is my niece. When I converted to Islam my families followed. When Lili converted to Islam, his family also did. The second generation will always be easy. This is a real *da'wa* activity.”

Understanding the important position of Pesantren Al-Amin, Haji Sarmedi was much involved in the *pesantren*. He was active in supporting the *pesantren*, for example, in providing food for the *santri*. Haji Sarmedi also hoped that the *pesantren* would develop because many of his relatives in the Baduy land convert to Islam every year. In 2016 a whole family of Lili's cousin converted to Islam. If the *pesantren* did not develop he was worried to whom they could study Islam. The *pesantren*, for Haji Sarmedi, was a place where the Muslim Baduy could study Islam, keep their faith, and draw their relatives to Islam. He explained:

⁴⁸ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 20 May 2017.



Photograph 4.7: A building of Pesantren Al-Amin in Ciboleger. Photograph was taken in 2017 by Ade Jaya Suryani.



Photograph 4.8: A conversation with the *santri* of Pesantren Al-Amin, accompanied by Haji Sarmedi. Photograph was taken in 2017 by Junaedi.

“In my heart: (if the Baduy convert to Christianity) don't blame them. We have to blame ourselves because we don't invite them, give them enlightenment, prepare a place for them, and so forth. Therefore, I hope this *pesantren* will be getting bigger. When my relatives leave the *adat* land, they can be educated here. After having a strong faith, they will not change their religion. For example, I will not be able to be lured or paid to leave Islam even with hundreds of billion rupiahs. But in the past when I had not known Islam yet, I could be. It is why I put my hope to the *pesantren*.”⁴⁹

Haji Sarmedi expressed his sadness because of his inability to help the Muslim Baduy and to compete with the Christians in doing missionary activities among the Baduy. His house, he said, could only accommodate one or two Muslim Baduy families.⁵⁰ If he had to teach the Muslim Baduy Islam or general education, Haji Sarmedi stated that he would not be able. Like the Muslim preachers, he asserted that the Christians were ceaseless to invite the Baduy to their religion. He believed that the Christians would not invite the Muslims to Christianity. Besides it is difficult, Haji Sarmedi said, it will also trigger “a war” between them.

B. Fragmentation Within the Muslim Society

Although all of the Muslim organisations agree that *da'wa* is obligatory for Muslims and they want the Baduy to convert to Islam, the extent to which *da'wa* should be carried out is different. More than that each organisation accused other organisations of being a little deviant from the spirit of Islam. Jamaah Tabligh is the most severe group accused of being deviant. Some preachers doubt the effectiveness of *da'wa* activities run by this group because its preachers keep rolling in the practice of *ḥunūj*. Muhammadiyah is considered to be part of Islam, but not part of the local community because it does not practise the common socio-religious practices such as *qumūt*, *tablilan*, and *yasinan*. To make sure that Al Washliyah was the same as the majority, its preachers were asked and tested by the local Muslims whether Al Washliyah preachers practised what the local Muslims practised like *qumūt*, *tablilan*, and *yasinan*. Conversely, Muhammadiyah and Jamaah Tabligh preachers consider local Muslims with the Nahdlatul Ulama

⁴⁹ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 2 May 2017.

⁵⁰ When I did my first fieldwork a Muslim Baduy woman and her baby lived in Haji Sarmedi's house. She stopped working as a household helper in a family in Jakarta and returned to Ciboleger. Haji Sarmedi and his wife took care of them.

background as a group that negotiates too easily with the customs and are not too enthusiastic about countering the Christianisation of the Baduy.

The follower of Jamaah Tabligh Bahri viewed that this fragmentation happened because the Muslim organisations focused on religious discrepancies. “Why do the Muslim organisations not move? Because they bring their own flag,” he said.⁵¹ A similar view was also expressed by Haji Igun. He stated that Muslims elbowed each other. For example, in 2016 the followers of Jamaah Tabligh were driven away from a village by the local Muslims. They disliked the followers of Jamaah Tabligh because they did a *huniġ* and slept in their mosque. Also when the followers of Jamaah Tabligh came to Cikapek, a Baduy man reminded his Muslim son-in-law that that Jamaah Tabligh was deviant. The Baduy knew the concept of deviance because he was told by Muslims.⁵²

The Muhammadiyah preacher Kasdi agreed with Bahri that uniting Muslims with other Muslims and making them have a concern about the Muslim Baduy are difficult.⁵³ Like Jamaah Tabligh, Muhammadiyah was also resisted by the Muslim villagers. Some even thought that this organisation was not part of Islam or it was part of Islam but practised Islam differently. The people’s resistance to Muhammadiyah was experienced, for example, by Kiyai Zainuddin in Palopat.⁵⁴ Enah the wife of Muksin explained that in the first years of Muhammadiyah in Palopat none wanted to pray in the Muhammadiyah mosque in Palopat. Zainuddin, Enah said, came to her house to ask her husband Muksin to pray in the mosque.⁵⁵ To avoid misunderstanding of what Muhammadiyah is, in 1997 Kiyai Zainuddin transformed his traditional *pesantren* into the modern one. He wrote on the wall of his *pesantren*, as it still exists today, that the *pesantren* stands upon all groups. “When I am invited to a *tahlilan* ceremony, I will come. When I am asked to lead the ceremony, I will be ready,” he said. In addition, Kiyai Zainudin also found a man who infiltrated his *pesantren* to check whether or not the people in the *pesantren* practised the *qunūt* and the *tahlilan*.⁵⁶

Like Zainuddin, to avoid an unnecessary misunderstanding Yusroni from Muhammadiyah did not name the school he founded as the school of Muhammadiyah, but Madrasah Al-Muhajirin. He decided to do so because people considered Muhammadiyah as a new religion. In the end, Yusroni said,

⁵¹ Interview with Bahri on 24 May 2017.

⁵² Interview with Haji Igun on 22 November 2018.

⁵³ Interview with Kasdi Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

⁵⁴ Interview with Kiyai Zainuddin Amir on 28 March 2017.

⁵⁵ Interview with Enah on 10 July 2017.

⁵⁶ Interview with Zainuddin Amir on 28 March 2017.

people would know that Muhammadiyah was not a new religion.⁵⁷ The same decision was taken by other Muhammadiyah preachers in Cicakal Girang, Nagara, and Kumpul. In Cicakal Girang, Ahmad Hidayat and the people named their school Madrasah Alam Wiwitan. In Nagara the school was named by Madrasah Darul Muhsinin. And in Kumpul the school was named Madrasah Hizbul Wathon.

Such a challenge was also experienced by the preachers of Al Washliyah. When they came to the resettlement villages they were asked by local *kiyai* whether they followed the same denomination (*aliran*) of Islam. They asked Syahroni⁵⁸ about his theological stream. He said that he followed Sunni Islam. The *kiyai* also asked whether he read the *qunūt* when doing the down prayer and do the *yasinan*. Syahroni answered all questions with 'yes'. To make sure that Syahroni was really from the same religious stream, the *kiyai* asked him to recite the *qunūt*. After he did it the *kiyai* believed that Al Washliyah performed the same stream of Islam. Parta Supriatna who manages the *madrasah* of Al Washliyah in Margaluyu asserted that Al Washliyah was accepted by the locals because their *fiqh* is the same as that of Nahdlatul Ulama.⁵⁹

The DDII preacher Nurkib said that there were two hindrances he experienced during his *da'wa* activities among the Baduy. The first came from the Baduy who felt disturbed because more and more Baduy converted to Islam and the second from the Muslim community itself. Some Muslims disliked him doing *da'wa* activities. As experienced by Kasja and Ujeng, a local strongman once came to his house asking Nurkib money and gold. When the strongman knew that Nurkib's father-in-law was a strongman and that he was the strongman's teacher, he apologised. Later Nurkib knew that someone had asked the strongman to kill him (Damanik and Kusmayadi 2011: 31).

C. Cicakal Girang: the Agreement Village and the Countering of Christianization

The Muslim preachers have developed the concept of *da'wa* from merely conveying the message of Islam to countering Christianization. To legitimate their efforts to counter the Christianization of the Baduy the Muslim preachers make use of the village of Cicakal Girang, the only Muslim village in the Baduy

⁵⁷ Interview with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

⁵⁸ Interview with Syahroni on 22 June 2017.

⁵⁹ Interview with Parta Supriatna on 10 May 2017.

land. They show that both Muslims and the Baduy believe that Cicakal Girang is an agreement village between the sultan of Banten and the ancestors of the Baduy. Therefore, the Muslim preachers claim, it is the right of Muslims to invite the Baduy to Islam. And at the same time Cicakal Girang has become a basis to counter the Christianization of the Baduy.⁶⁰

The Muhammadiyah preacher in Cicakal Girang Ahmad Hidayat⁶¹ said that the word *cicakal* could be from *cakalan* which means ‘agreement’ and ‘surveillance’. Danasasmita and Djatisunda (1986: 90) mentions that Cicakal Girang was the place where the sultan spied on the Baduy. An oral tradition in this village, Ahmad said, accounts that Molana Hasanuddin Islamised Banten. Some Bantenese people walked away from the Islamization to the south. Then Hasanuddin sent his people to search for them. The people of Hasanuddin arrived in Cicakal Girang, a high area where people could see its surrounds, and from the area they saw smoke. It was an indication that people were living there who are believed to be the ancestors of the Baduy. Molana Hasanuddin then made an agreement with the people.

The Muhammadiyah preacher Engkos Yusroni stated that Cicakal was a place where the first sultan of Banten Molana Hasanuddin made an agreement with the Baduy. He explained:

“[The word] Cicakal is from *cekalan* which means a place of reconnaissance. Cicakal is the history of Banten where Hasanuddin from the Sultanate of Banten made an agreement with the Baduy. One of the agreed points made by the Baduy and the sultan is that the Outer Baduy who will marry pronounce the *shahāda* there. The Baduy have an agreement that if they leave Sunda Wiwitan they will convert to Islam.”⁶²

The agreement says, among others, that the Baduy may preserve their religion and culture in the three villages Cibeo, Cikertawana and Cikeusik; each village may not have more than 40 houses (see Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 34-37); they may not use modern tools, manage wet rice fields, have four-legged livestock such as cows and buffalos. The Baduy who cannot maintain the agreement have to leave the villages, be circumcised and marry in the Islamic manner. Zainuddin Amir, Engkos Yusroni and Ahmad Hidayat think that this agreement was the sultan’s strategy to convert the Baduy. The Baduy who could not maintain the

⁶⁰ Interviews with Zainuddin Amir on 28 March, 6 June and 21 July, with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April, and with Ahmad Hidayat on 29 March 2017.

⁶¹ Interview with Ahmad Hidayat on 29 March 2017.

⁶² Interview with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

agreement were hoped to convert to Islam. The prohibitions, according to the Muslim's version, are now known as the taboos of the Baduy.⁶³

To protect the agreement the sultan sent his envoy who is called '*amil*'. The word "*amil*" is from Arabic which means a worker or an employee. In the Muslim society, an '*amil*' is also understood as a religious official. For example, a man who manages the *zakāt* is called an '*amil*'. The first '*amil*' who was sent by the sultan, as it is believed by the Baduy and the Muslims, was Ki Ahum. I assume that the real name of Ki Ahum was likely not Ki Ahum. It could be an alteration from Ki Kaum. Ki is from Aki, an appellation to address an elderly man. *Kaum* is the designation of a man who manages a mosque. Therefore, Ki Kaum means an elderly man who manages a mosque. This meaning fits the story of the envoy of the sultan who built a mosque in Cicakal Girang. Ota Atsushi (2006: 235) who studies the history of Banten in the period 1750-1830 mentions *kaum*, besides *habib*, *modin*, and *marbot*, as a group of people who managed a mosque. Examples of *kaum* were Sudiya who lived in Balagëndhong, Gundhul in Serang, Naka and Wiraja in Polopor; and Pranawangsa, Gunēm, Thol Saleh, and Marta in Pontang.

Like the Muhammadiyah preachers, the current '*amil*' of Cicakal Girang Armani⁶⁴ stated that Cicakal Girang was a mandate village in the Baduy land which was allocated for Muslims. The *puun* told Armani that both people agreed that they would remind each other to behave correctly (Sundanese: *daek dibereskeun ku kami jeung ngabereskeun kami*). The *puun* explained that the existence of Muslims, more specifically the '*amil*', in Cicakal Girang was to accept the Baduy's declaration of the *shahāda*. If the Baduy want to convert to Islam, the Muslims have to accept their confession. If they do not want to, the Muslims may not oppress them. Because the Baduy are spread in the *adat* land, in practice some of them declare the *shahāda* before other '*amil*' in the villages of Karang Combong and Dangdang. Sometimes the Baduy call the '*amil*' to come to his house like in the case of the Baduy Narja before he converted to Christianity.

Three leaders of the Baduy society Ayah Mursid, Jaro Sami, and Jaro Dainah have a slightly different explanation about Ki Ahum and the taboos of the Baduy. According to Ayah Mursid, their ancestors asked the Sultanate of Banten to send a religious official for the Outer Baduy who would declare the *shahāda* and marry in the Islamic way. And the man who was sent by the sultan was Ki Ahum. Jaro Sami states that Ki Ahum was asked by the Baduy because there was a visitor who

⁶³ Interviews with Zainuddin Amir on 28 March, 6 June and 21 July, with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April, and with Ahmad Hidayat on 29 March 2017.

⁶⁴ Interview with Armani on 29 March 2017.

died in the Baduy land and needed to be buried according to Islamic teaching. Jaro Dainah, the former *jaro pamarentah*, says that Ki Ahum in Cicakal Girang was to help the marriage of the Outer Baduy. Ayah Mursid explains further that there was an agreement between the Baduy and the sultan that the Muslims in Cicakal Girang would respect the Baduy's customs by not managing wet rice fields (*sawah*), not rearing four-legged livestock, and having simple houses and mosques. Different from the Muslims, the Baduy believe that the taboos were not from the agreement but the teaching of Sunda Wiwitan (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 81-84).

Because of this different interpretation, the relationship between the Baduy and the Muslims in Cicakal Girang was not always harmonious. Conflicts occurred when the Muslims opened a school, improved the path that connects their village with the non-Baduy villages, and built concreted houses. The *puun* once reminded the Muslims of Cicakal Girang about the agreement that the Muslims in the village may not have four-legged livestock, manage wet rice fields, run formal education, and build concreted buildings. The village leader explained to the *puun* that they were not Baduy, but Muslims. They are allowed by Islam to have or to do such things. Muslims in Cicakal Girang asked the Baduy to understand that the taboos are for the Baduy, not for Muslims. The *puun* agreed but still reminded them not to live in luxury. If they do so, they *puun* said, the Muslims must leave the Baduy land.⁶⁵

Believing the existence of the agreement the Muslim preachers often came to the Baduy leaders. For example, the Muhammadiyah preachers Hasan Alaydrus, Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, Engkos Yusroni, and Ahmad Hidayat came to the Baduy land in 1996 and met the Baduy leaders. From 2010 to 2018 almost every year the Muhammadiyah preachers visited the *adat* land and met the Baduy leaders. In 2008, for example, about 30 people, including some from the central management of Muhammadiyah, visited Cikeusik.⁶⁶ Among the purposes of the visit was to remind the Baduy about the agreement. The Baduy explained, according to Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, that both groups had to take care of the Baduy. If possible the Baduy return to the highland (*tonggoh*, the Baduy land) or if, not they have to go to the lowland (*lebak*) by converting to Islam. The DDII preacher Nurkib also often reminded the *puun* that the Baduy may not convert to other religions except Islam because Muslims and the Baduy are brothers (*Hidayatullah* December 2011: 31). That the Baduy and Muslims are brothers

⁶⁵ Interview with Empang the village leader of Cicakal Girang on 29 March 2017, <http://arsip.gatra.com/2008-10-02/majalah/artikel.php?pil=23&id=119308>, accessed on 5 January 2020.

⁶⁶ Interview with Kasja on 24 May 2017.

was also said by the Muslim Baduy Haji Nalim.⁶⁷ The proximity between Islam and Sunda Wiwitan, as has been discussed in chapter 2, emphasises this relationship.

The Baduy leaders also reminded the Muslims not to insist on the Baduy to convert to Islam. Zainuddin Amir quoted the Baduy leaders' statement: "Please take care of them (the Baduy). Teach them to be honest and prosperous. If they want to convert to Islam, no problem. But if possible, before converting to Islam ask them first to return to the Baduy land." From this statement Zainuddin Amir concluded that the Muslims were principally permitted to propagate Islam to the Baduy and Islamise them.⁶⁸

D. The Baduy and International Interests

The Islamic-Christian missionary activities among the Baduy do not only involve the local and national actors, but also international ones. Some informants mentioned that after the Christian Baduy Windu and Ratna graduated from a senior high school they were sent to the US for two years. From the US Windu was sent to Universitas Advent Indonesia in Bandung, then to Bekasi and Banten.⁶⁹ But Windu denied that he once went to the US.⁷⁰ Local Muslims state that Windu could buy tens of hectares of land because he obtained money from the US. A Muslim Baduy who was once invited by Windu to convert to Christianity told the Muslim preacher Irta that the money was from a church which had a connection with the US. With the money Windu had a target to convert at least one Baduy to Christianity per year.⁷¹ A Christian Baduy confirmed that Windu had a target to baptise people, but he did not know the exact number.⁷² Also when Ully Sigar Rusady bought 18 hectares of land in Cihandam for her environmental programme the villagers said that she got funding from the US. The people said that there was a Christian agenda behind her programme.⁷³ In Addition, Ismail Amaloh who was successful in converting quite a lot of Baduy came to the resettlement villages of the Baduy as the representative of the US-based missionary organisation Youth in Mission.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

⁶⁸ Interview with Zainuddin Amir on 21 July 2017.

⁶⁹ Interview with Mirza on 9 April 2017.

⁷⁰ Interview with Windu on 24 November and 15 December 2018.

⁷¹ Interview with Irta on 10 May 2017.

⁷² Interview with Banyu on 20 December 2018.

⁷³ Interviews with Zainuddin Amir on 6 June 2017 and Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

⁷⁴ Interviews with Narja, Windu and Tatang on 24 November and 20 December 2018.

Like the Christian group, the Muslim groups also got funding from or have a connection with foreign countries. The preacher Haji Ading who lived in Cipangembar in the early 1980s was said to have a connection with *Rabitat al-Alam al-Islami* (The Muslim World League) in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. In running its missionary organisation the LDK, Muhammadiyah obtained funding from Libya. The fund was used, among others, to pay the preachers it sent to various isolated societies in Indonesia. In 2010 the financial support for the Muhammadiyah preachers for the isolated societies was stopped. Ujeng Suheli stated that it was related to Libya's president Moammar al-Qadhafi who died a year later.⁷⁵ Muhammadiyah also got money from Saudi Arabia⁷⁶ and a Kuwaiti foundation *Ihya' at-Turath al-Islami*. After Anhar Burhanuddin died, the connection with the Kuwaiti foundation was continued through his friends Bukhari and Syaikh Az-Zawawi. The latter was the leader of *Yayasan Lajnah Khairiyah Musytarakah*, Jakarta. The funding from various foreign donors was used, among others, to build mosques.⁷⁷ The success of Nurkib Ibnu Djais in founding 28 *madrasah* cannot be separated from the fund he obtained from the foundation of Jakarta Indonesian Muslim Society (JIMS) which was founded by the Australian convert Gregg William Landy.

Some Muslim preachers also got funding to build mosques from Yayasan Da'wah Islamiyyah (Ad-Dakwah) of Rangkasbitung. Yayasan Da'wah Islamiyyah was founded by Takdir Urippto Samsudin Ali (Ustad Takdir) in 2001. With the main purpose as a *da'wa* organisation, this foundation has the motto "spreading the tradition of the prophet to the archipelago". Now Yayasan ad-Dakwah has education institutions from kindergarten to college and also a radio station. Takdir's staff, Supardi Umar, explained that Takdir once worked in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, for ten years and therefore he had a wide network with people in Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries. Many people from the countries have donated their money to be used to build mosques, toilets, and classrooms. Umar stated that Yayasan Da'wah Islamiyyah had distributed money for the building about 1,000 mosques in Java and Lampung.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Interviews with Ujeng Suheli on 6 June 2017 and with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

⁷⁶ Interview with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

⁷⁷ Interviews with Kiyai Zainuddin March-July 2017 and with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

⁷⁸ Interview with Supardi Umar on 12 November 2017.

E. Conclusion

The Outer Baduy declare the *shahāda* and because of it, according to Islamic theology, they become Muslims. The Baduy also believe that they are Muslim, but their Islam is different from the Muslim majority because the Outer Baduy believe that they are not obliged to perform the other four pillars of Islam. Influenced by the way the state defines religion and the fact that the Baduy do not perform the other four pillars of Islam, the Muslims believe the Baduy are not Muslims. Related to this, the Muslims differ whether they need to invite the Baduy to Islam. The majority thinks that an invitation (*da'wa*) to the Baduy to convert to Islam is not obligatory. For them, *da'wa* means to educate Muslims to become pious. The Muhammadiyah preachers, however, have a different understanding of *da'wa*. For them, *da'wa* is to invite non-Muslims to Islam, whereas efforts to make Muslims more Islamic is defined as *tabligh*.

Furthermore, the Muslim preachers develop the meaning of *da'wa* from merely conveying the message of Islam or inviting (Indonesian: *mengajak*) non-Muslims to Islam to countering Christianization when realising that Christians persuade the Baduy to Christianity. To do so the Muslim preachers rely on the narrative of the agreement between the sultan of Banten and the ancestors in Cicakal Girang saying, among other things, that the Outer Baduy have to declare the *shahāda* when they will marry and have to convert to Islam when then will leave Sunda Wiwitan. Preachers from Muhammadiyah, Mathla'ul Anwar, Jamaah Tabligh, Al Washliyah, and Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII), and Muslim individuals do *da'wa* activities among the Baduy, especially the Baduy who live in the resettlement villages and who live outside the *adat* land. In running the *da'wa* activities they obtained funding from individuals and organisations in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Libya, and Australia. They used the money to support the preachers and build *madrrasah* and mosques.

In fact, the contestation occurs not only between the Muslims and the Christians but also among the Muslim figures themselves. The religious setting of Leuwidamar, or Banten in general, which could be associated with traditional Islam, challenges the understanding of Islam brought by Muhammadiyah and Jamaah Tabligh. Because of this difference, Muhammadiyah and Jamaah Tabligh were not accepted by the locals with the reason that their Islam was different from theirs. Even Jamaah Tabligh was and is still deemed by local Muslims to deviate from Islam. Its followers were once driven away from a village. Different from Muhammadiyah and Jamaah Tabligh, Al Washliyah which practises the same socio-religious ceremonies such as *tablilan* and *yasinan* experiences fewer challenges. But this contestation becomes less significant when they are faced to the common issue of the Christianisation of the Baduy.



Christian Missionary Activities among the Baduy: Religious Violence, Politics of Religion in Indonesia, and Purchases of Land

While chapter 4 focuses on Islamic missionary activities, this chapter looks at Christian missionary activities among the Baduy. This chapter will also pay attention to the politics of religion in Indonesia which has guaranteed the adherents of the religions recognised by the state to do missionary activities among the adherents of *kepercayaan* (belief systems). The Muslim group used this politics of religion, especially on proselytization and the foundation of worship houses, to counter the development of Christianity among the Baduy community in specific and the Muslim societies in general. The contestation between the Muslims and Christians has caused religious violence mostly against the Christians. Islamic *da'wa* and Christian missionary activities then transformed into the purchases of land for the (future) converts. The reaction of all Muslims to the Christians was rooted in the worries that the Christians would overpower the Muslims. Preventing the Christians to have a church was one way to hinder the development of Christianity.

A. Christian Missionary Activities and Religious Violence in Wanasalam and Leuwidamar

What is seldom discussed in the conversion studies is the contestation among the preachers from different religions when they are doing mission in the same society. In many parts of Indonesia, contestation between Muslims and Christians happens because in doing mission they do not only try to get more converts but

also try to prevent the development of their counterparts. In Manokwari, West Papua, the Christian majority tried to prevent the foundation of Rahmatan Lil ‘alamin Mosque in 2005 and 2015¹. In Jayapura, West Papua, the Christians forbid *da’wa* activities in West Papua on the whole. They also demanded that non-Christian worship places may not be higher than that of the Christian². In Leuwidamar, Banten, Muslims tried to counter the development of Christianity by hindering the foundation of churches. Johan Meuleman (2011: 239) asserts that that *da’wa* in Indonesia:

“... extended beyond religious activities proper; it involved competition for authority; it emulated Christian mission; it was marked by a complicated division of roles between state and non-governmental initiatives; and it developed within particular national and international context.... Finally, *dakwah* in Indonesia was also characterized by emulation of Christian missionary organizations and, in a number of cases, competition with Christianity.”

The emulation and competition with Christians are apparent in the *da’wa* activities among the Baduy which are marked by admiration and annoyance. The Muslim preachers admire the Christians because they believe that the Christians have much money for the missionaries and the missionary programme. This view seems to be common among Muslim preachers in Indonesia (Burhanuddin 1990, Zubir and Siandes 1997, 1999). In Leuwidamar, Lebak, the Muslims heard, for example, that the pastor Windu was paid a quite high salary by the church for his work as a pastor. As an Adventist pastor, he gets a salary and additional incomes from the church³. Because the Christians were rich, the Muslims thought, they could be generous to the Baduy. The Muslim preachers also believed that in doing the mission the Christians were cohesive⁴. Besides admiring the Christians, the Muslims also felt annoyed. They thought that the Christians had taken their right to convert the Baduy. The exasperation at the Christians increased when they heard a rumour saying that the Christians would build the biggest Indonesian church in Lebak. The Muslims tended to believe this rumour because they knew that the Christians had bought some hectares of land in Leuwidamar.

At the same time, the Muslims thought that building a dialogue with

¹ <https://tirto.id/perda-manokwari-kota-injil-demo-menolak-pembangunan-masjid-ddsl>, accessed on 13 January 2020.

² <https://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/18/03/18/p5roix396-gereja-jayapura-protos-pembangunan-masjid-dan-suara-azan>, accessed on 13 January 2020.

³ Interviews with Narja and his daughter on 20 December 2018.

⁴ Interviews with Haji Agung on 8 July 2017, Ustad Ara on 9 April and 10 May 2017, Haji Idi on 8 July 2017.

the Christians was not fruitful. Kiyai Maza in Leuwidamar said that in the meetings the Christians often stated to agree with certain clauses, but in practice, they broke them⁵. This belief was also expressed by the former leader of Muhammadiyah and the MUI, Din Syamsudin.

“... Din had held many dialogues with church leaders, but these talks were not efficient, they were without result because they had no long term effects. Christian leaders continued to steal sheep, to seek converts or what is called Kristenisasi of Indonesia. They had already put aside US\$ 100 million for the conversion of Minangkabau and this led already to 100 recent Christian converts in that strongly Muslim region. Explained that building a dialogue with the Christians is not fruitful.” (Steenbrink 2015: 361)

Because of these situations, the Muslims were worried about the development of Christianity in Leuwidamar. The Muslims could not imagine what would occur in the next ten years if Christian Baduy who lived in other cities returned to Leuwidamar, lived there, married, and had children. The number of Christians would certainly qualify the regulations on the foundation of a worship house. Some Muslim preachers claimed to have spoken about this possibility with the MUI and KUA officials of Leuwidamar, but the officials seemed not to care. Because the warning to Muslims not to sell their land to Christians was ignored and the officials did not care, a number of Muslim preachers tried to hinder the development of Christianity by using the politics of religion, especially on religious proselytization and the foundation of worship places. This effort has triggered religious violence.

1. *An Attack to Christians and a Church in Wanasalam*

In his book *Saya Dijuluki Nomensennya Baduy* Kharel Budiman Silitonga accounts his life as a missionary in Lebak⁶. In August 1978 he went to Pandeglang to study Sundanese language and Bantenese culture. During this period he stayed in his friend's house. An informant from the Persis circle, however, stated that he

⁵ Interview with Maza on 20 March 2017.

⁶ When he was young in Medan, Silitonga once became a thug. He left Medan for Jakarta after he axed the head of a security man. In the capital city, he was unable to earn money as easily as in Medan because of the competition among the thugs was much harder. In this situation, he met his friends who always advised him to live righteously. One of his friends gave him a copy of the Bible, but he tore the paper and used it as the wrap of marijuana. Afterwards, he fainted and when he was conscious he was already in jail. In it, he felt powerless. A policeman offered him a promise letter stating if Silitonga would not commit the crime again he would be freed. After signing the letter he was released. Later he followed his friends to attend church services and repented. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPdLfb7CQQA>, accessed on 9 November 2016



Photograph 5.1: Kharel Budiman Silitonga.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPdLfb7CQqA&t=305s>, accessed on 7 April 2020.

stayed not in the house of his friend, but in that of his brother Hasahatan who was a high-rank official in the Spatial Agency (*Dinas Tata Ruang*) of Pandeglang.⁷ After mastering Sundanese he moved to Lebak to propagate Christianity to Muslims and the Baduy. He began his mission in Malingping, a sub-district in Lebak. In a market, he watched a *debus* performance where the practitioner was invulnerable to hot oil. Silitonga prayed for the failure of the performance. What occurred next, he writes, was that the hand skin of the practitioner blistered. He approached Silitonga, apologised and asked him for a cure. Silitonga utilised this moment to introduce Christianity to the spectators of the performance by playing a cassette and distributing pamphlets about Christianity (Silitonga 1998: 86-89).

⁷ Interview with Ahmad on 25 July 2017.

The market of Malingping was not the only place which Silitonga visited to introduce Christianity. He also came to the market of Bayah where he was identified by the people as a Christian missionary who pretended as a medicine seller. He escaped from the people by running into a jungle, climbed a cliff, fell from it, and fainted. After he was conscious he walked and arrived at an area where he found a stone statue and a spring. He followed the stream of the spring and arrived in an Inner Baduy village. Two Inner Baduy men stopped and interrogated him why he came into the forbidden area. He was brought to the leader of the village and warned him not to visit it again. The *puun* then let him go (Silitonga 1998: 89-92).

On 15 July 1979 Silitonga heard that there had been a man named Ali Jaya Andil in Wanasalam who believed in Jesus. Because the man was a *kiyai*, Silitonga was initially not quite sure. The *kiyai*, Silitonga claims, converted to Christianity after reading the materials that he spread in the market of Malingping. Subsequently, Silitonga stayed in the house of Ali Ara, the student of the *kiyai*. Five months later 24 Muslims converted to Christianity. Later, more and more people came to him to convert to the religion. One of them was baptised on 14 November 1982 at the GPDI (*Gereja Pantekosta di Indonesia*/ the Pentecostal Church in Indonesia) in Bogor, the church in which he later affiliated (Silitonga 1998: 94-98).

According to Hulaela⁸, Andil was a local *kiyai* where his *santri* learned martial arts. People began to dislike him when they suspected one of his *santri* of stealing something. They asked Andil to be responsible for what his *santri* did. The *kiyai* was then brought and jailed in Rangkasbitung. Because people hated him, none of them visited him in prison. During this period, the leader of the Puskesmas (*Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat*/ Community Health Centre) who was a Christian cared for him. He often visited Andil until he was released. It seems that Andil converted to Christianity at this moment. Assisted by the leader of Puskesmas many Christian missionaries came to his village in Kubang Embe, Wanasalam. Some of them came from Bengkulu and Ciranjang (Cianjur).⁹ Among the

⁸ In 1987 the couples Himyar Abas and Hulaela came to Wanasalam as preachers. Besides, they came there to manage a *madrasah* which did not have a teacher. In the same year three Christian missionaries came there. They often gave a service every Sunday in a house in front of Himyar's house. In 1993 Himyar, according to his wife Hulaela, was hit by the villagers because he conducted an Islamic gathering. He was accused of disturbing the Christians. She also said that her husband would be killed. Feeling threatened they left the village. Another problem followed because Hulaela managed the local women's money in the social gathering programme (*arisan*). Because of it she was searched by the *desa* leader. Hulaela and Himyar asked the *camat* (the head of the sub-district) in order that they could return to their house in Kubang Embe. After 20 days leaving the village they returned to the village, managed the *madrasa*, and run the Islamic preaching (*pengajian*).

⁹ About Christianity in Ciranjang, Cianjur, read Mufti Ali, *Missionarisme di Banten* (2009).

missionaries were Ismail who also did missionary activities in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggul. More and more people converted to Christianity. They also sent the Christian converts to school. Suarna the son of Kiyai Andil, for instance, was sent by the missionaries to study at Elo, a Christian school in West Jakarta.¹⁰

Assisted by a man of Wanasalam Silitonga began to convert the Baduy. To do so he bought salty fish and salt to be given to the people whom he would convert. He also violated the taboos intentionally by bringing an electric torch and a radio to the Baduy villages. By doing this he hoped that he would be reported to the *puun*. His plan was successful. Silitonga was brought to and interrogated by Ki Jandol, the Baduy leader of Cibeo. Silitonga admitted to Ki Jandol that he violated the taboos so that he could meet Ki Jandol. Moreover, Silitonga told Ki Jandol that he was the son of Jesus. He visited Baduy villages to “make the Baduy become the students of Jesus.” Hearing this Ki Jandol was angry. He asked Silitonga to prove that he had power. Silitonga prayed. What happened next, Silitonga writes, is that Ki Jandol fell. Blood came out from his mouth. This made the Baduy believe that he was powerful. Silitonga then invited the people to believe in Jesus but he does not explain further whether or not the people converted to Christianity (Silitonga 1998: 100-104).

After that event, Silitonga was allowed to visit Baduy villages without any restriction. He even had a close relation with Sarni the daughter of Ki Jandol. When returning from Rangkasbitung Silitonga told Sarni that he wanted to marry her. She was happy. But when Silitonga asked her father to permit them to marry, Sarni’s father Ki Jandol could not directly answer the proposal. He met other Baduy leaders to ask their advice. It was decided that Silitonga and Sarni could not marry because Silitonga was not a Baduy. At that night Sarni married Sarpan, the son of the Baduy leader of Cikertawana (Silitonga 1998:104-106). Haji Sarmedi was not sure that Sarni married the Baduy man to reject Silitonga’s proposal. In the Baduy society, Haji Sarmedi said, it takes about a year from the proposal to the marriage. Therefore, Sarni should already have had a relation with the Baduy man.¹¹ Failing to marry Sarni Silitonga returned to Wanasalam where more Muslims converted to Christianity (Silitonga 1998:105).

¹⁰ Interview with Hulaela (55) on 29 April 2017. Interview was conducted by my research assistant Rukoyah.

¹¹ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 20 May 2017. Haji Sarmedi explained that from his previous wife Ki Jandol had a son Ayah Mursih. Ki Jandol married another woman Ambu Jala from Kaduketer. Ki Jandol and Ambu Jala married and had Sarni and Alim. Haji Sarmedi estimated that Sarni married the Cikertawana man in 1982/83 and from the marriage they had Samin. It is important to note the naming system in the Baduy society. When a Baduy man and woman marry and have children, the names of parents will disappear. They will take the name of their oldest child. For example, Ayah Mursih means the father of Mursih. Mursih is the oldest child of this Baduy man. Most people forget the real names of Baduy’s parents.

By the conversion of local Muslims to Christianity the number of Christians in Wanasalam increased. They needed a church and would build it, but Hulaela, Himyar and some other Muslims did not agree with the foundation of the church. They sought support from people to stop the foundation of the church. They also contacted a local strongman Surta. After a meeting in an evening, they destroyed the church which was just erected about two or three metres in height. The news of the incident spread beyond the village. Husen as the representative of the Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII) and Engkos Yusroni and An Aliyah¹² from Muhammadiyah came to the location to help and revert the local Muslims.¹³ After the destruction of the church, the Christian missionaries, except Katia, left the village. He remained in the village because he married a local girl and had a child.¹⁴

Silitonga accounted that he was one of the victims in the attack.¹⁵ The *desa* leader even sent him a letter asking him to leave the village, but the letter itself was drawn back. In the night of 29 November 1982 around 15 people came to his house, broke the door, and took him forcibly. They hurt his head, shoulder, arm, and stomach. They also tried to kill his wife Soey Nio Magdalena but they could not find her. On the next day, he was medicated by a doctor. Later he decided to leave for Bogor and joined the GPDI of Gunung Sindur (Silitonga 1998:106-109).

The conflict between the Muslims and Christians continued. Every week

¹² An Aliyah was born in 1963 in Tirtayasa, Serang. When she was at the 3rd grade of Elementary School (1965) his father sent her to the Islamic institution Al Khairiyah in Citangkil, Cilegon. In 1968 she continued her study to a pesantren in Kauman 32 in Yogyakarta. She was close with her teacher (*ibu nyai*), Mrs. Juned. Whenever her teacher went for an Islamic teaching, An Aliyah was invited to join. A year later she moved to another pesantren in Kauman 66, still in Yogyakarta, which was led by Zainab. At this pesantren she was educated strictly. Since she was 23 old An Aliyah has started to become a preacher, especially to teach women at the circles of Islamic teaching (*majlis taklim*). Her husband died in 2000. An Aliyah also took a Baduy girl called Bayi Nurhasanah from Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin. After Bayi graduated from an elementary school, An Aliyah sent her and another foster son Ridwan to Pesantren As-Shidiqiyah in Jakarta Barat. Six months later, because she was ill, An Aliyah took her home, and sent her to Darul Arkom, a pesantren belonged to Muhammadiyah, in Sawangan. But then An Aliyah thought that this pesantren was problematic because it thought that its students do not need to perform the obligatory prayers. A teacher of the pesantren is also said to step on the Quran. When An Aliyah would take Bayi, she was asked to pay the tuition fees. The institution said that Bayi had not pay for four months. The money was taken by one of its teachers, Saifudin Ibrahim, who then converted to Christianity. Bayi and Ridwan were then sent to Pesantren As-Saadah in Serang, and graduated from there in 2001. Afterwards, Bayi studied at Universitas Ibnu Chaldun in Jakarta and married her friend from the same university. They had two children Ramadhon and Jasmin. They lived in Sukabumi as a teacher at a kindergarten school. They moved again to Ciganjur, Jakarta. Besides taking care of Bayi, An Aliyah also took his sister Amanah (from a different mother) who was often called Menol. Bayi and Amanah are the children of the Muslim Baduy Ki Sardaya.

¹³ Interviews with Hulaela on 29 April, Engkos Yusroni on 10 April, and An Aliyah on 2 April, 2017.

¹⁴ Interview with Hulaela on 29 April 2017.

¹⁵ After failing to marry Sarni, Silitonga married Soey Nio Magdalena. Because more people in Wanasalam converted to Christianity, they decided to live in that *desa*.

Christians from Cianjur, Rangkasbitung and Tangerang came to the village to perform religious services. They often gathered in Gopur's house. Gopur was a Muslim, converted to Christianity, reverted to Islam and converted to Christianity again. The Muslim villagers could not accept the fact that there were many Christians from other cities coming to Wanasalam. They contacted *kiyai* and Muslim figures to discuss the possibility to forbid the Christians to come to their village. They wrote a letter stating that they objected to the Christians. The letter was signed by the *kiyai* and Muslim villagers and brought to the *desa* office. Because they thought that the *desa* leader was slow in responding to their demand they came to the sub-district office.

Later the secretary of the sub-district office met Gopur and made an agreement with him stating that there would not be a Christian service at his house. Gopur and his son Cece Rohania agreed. Another Christian Asep disagreed, but he could not resist because he was afraid of being threatened by the Muslims. When the police called the disputing groups to the *desa* office, the villagers were divided. Some supported the existence of the Christians and some other rejected. Those who supported reasoned that the Christians were good at them. And those who refused the Christians argued that they were not from the village. It was decided that there would be no more religious service in the village. After this decision the family of Gopur moved to Binuangun, about ten kilometres away to the south from Wanasalam. The missionaries did not come to the village again. According to Engkos Yusroni, the Christian mission moved to the northern coastal areas of Banten such as Ujung Kulon, Wanajaya, Tunggal Jaya, and Labuan; while Ismail went to Kalimantan.¹⁶

The refusal of the Muslims towards the Christians in the village could also be seen in a letter dated 7 December 1991 sent by the *desa* leader to the pastor Suwandoko. This letter was a response to Suwandoko's letter dated 4 December 1991 that asked permission from the *desa* leader to celebrate Christmas. The *desa* leader responded that he was unable to permit the celebration of Christmas because he was under the pressure of the Muslims. In addition, on 5 December he was reminded by the head of Military Regional Command (*Koramil*) and the head of the police (*Kapolsek*) that any celebration had to get permission from the police, the government of Lebak, and other offices in the sub-district of Wanasalam. The *Koramil* and the *Kapolsek* said that the permission was needed because there would be a general election in June 1992, a reason which seems to be contrived. Because of it, the *desa* leader Ata Wijaya could not permit the Christmas celebration of the year.¹⁷

¹⁶ Interviews with Hulaela on 29 April and Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

¹⁷ I got the letter from a man of Wanasalam around 2008/9.

A document which is called “*Peristiwa 24 September [19]95 di Kubang Embe Wanasalam*” or “The Incident of 24 September [19]95 in Kubang Embe Wanasalam” which seems to be sent by Himyar Abas to the Association of Muslim Scholars (ICMI) of Jakarta accounts a conflict between the Muslims and Christians in Wanasalam. The document reports that in April 1995 there was a construction of a church in the village. The Muslims held a meeting to discuss how to stop it. They collected 231 signatures of the locals as a complaint to the *desa* leader who had permitted the construction of the church. But the *desa* leader denied having permitted the Christians to build the church. The meeting with the *desa* leader and 26 people in the *desa* office ended with an agreement that the construction would be stopped.¹⁸

Still in September 1995 the construction of the church was continued and had reached about one metre in height. Himyar and his group discussed how to stop the foundation of the church. Two youths were chosen to destroy the church. In the following morning, one of them was called by the *desa* leader. He denied what he had done. The *desa* leader showed him the permit of the foundation (*Izin Mendirikan Bangunan/ IMB*) of the church. In other words, he wanted to tell him that the Christians had a permit to build the church and the Muslims may not stop it.

The foundation of the church was continued until 90 per cent. In the evenings the building was guarded. In one evening it was protected by three people: the son of Karel Kasim (Gopur’s younger brother), the son of the Christian missionary Katia and the son-in-law of Gopur, Rakim, who was a Muslim. On 24 September 1995 the Muslim locals discussed the foundation of the church again in the mosque of Uswatun Hasanah in Kubang Embe, Wanasalam. Eventually, led by Surta around 25 people attacked the church. The masterminds of the attack were Obi Dewiwirya and Sayuti. The son of Katia reported the case to the village leader Darmo. When arriving at the location they found the church was ruined and the son of Katia was hurt. He defended himself, but the attackers hit his face with wood. In the morning on the following day, 25 September 1995, policemen came to the location. On 26 September, in the afternoon, the people were gathered in the house of the *desa* leader. The *kecamatan* leader, the commander of the local military, the head of the police, the leader of the KUA, the leader of the MUI also came there and advised the people.

The Muhammadiyah preacher Engkos Yusroni who came to Wanasalam explained that until 1995 there had been 56 Muslims converting to Christianity.

¹⁸ This document mentions that the reporter’s family became the target of anger of the *desa* leader and the Christian group. It corresponds with the story told by Hulaela. In addition, in the document there is a letter sent by the *desa* leader to Himyar Abas. It seems that the document was made by Himyar Abas.

Among the converts were Andil and his family.¹⁹ Another Muhammadiyah preacher An Aliyah who came to the village later explained that the Muslims were brought by the Christians to Gereja Pasundan Rangkasbitung (the Pasundan Church of Rangkasbitung) and were baptised. After their conversion to Christianity was exposed, many Muslims, especially from Muhammadiyah, came to the village. They brought clothes, food and money. Many Muslims who converted to Christianity reverted to Islam.²⁰ In 2015 the *Badan Pusat Statistik* (BPS/ Indonesian Statistic) reported that only 10 Christians were living in Wanasalam and 3 in Kadang Pamidangan. Both are two *desa* in Wanasalam sub-district. The other 53,861 people were Muslims (Kecamatan Wanasalam Dalam Angka 2016: 68-60).

About Christianisation of the Baduy community, Silitonga encouraged churches to introduce the Baduy to Christianity. What they can do, he advises, is to meet the people in their fields. They are the best place because none will disturb the process of Christianisation. He advises the future missionaries to speak in Sundanese spoken by the Baduy and to talk with them about simple topics which the Baduy can understand. Christianisation, he suggests, can also be carried out from home to home. The missionaries can talk about Christian teachings which are similar to the practices of Sunda Wiwitan, like monogamous marriage. He encourages the future missionaries to convert children or foster children (Silitonga 1998: 111-133).

2. *Pressures on Christian Baduy Families in Cipangembar*

When the resettlement villages were opened in Gunung Tunggul (Cipangembar 1 and 2) in 1977, 80 families moved to the villages. In 1985 the regent of Lebak Oman Sachroni came to the villages to give the land certificates to the people. In his speech he said that five religions were recognised by the state and the Baduy had to choose one of them. From around 50 families who remained in the resettlement villages, 20 families chose Christianity and the rest chose Islam. Because each family consisted of around four people, the Baduy who converted to Christianity were about 80 people.²¹

The first man who introduced Christianity to the Baduy in the resettlement villages was Ismail Amaloh (d.2017), from East Timor. He was sent by “Youth with a Mission” (YWAM), a US-based interdenominational Christian missionary organisation. Founded in 1960, YWAM has “tens of thousands of staff”, including from Indonesia, and wants “youth(s) involved in missions.”²² When

¹⁹ Interview with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

²⁰ Interview with An Aliyah on 2 April 2017.

²¹ Interviews with Sapei on 22 December and with Windu on 24 December 2018.

²² <https://www.ywam.org/about-us/>, accessed on 8 January 2020.

Ismail came to the resettlement villages of the Baduy, he was just around 20 years old. There he lived in the house of Jaro Samin for about six months.²³ In 1985 Narja a son of Jaro Samin converted to Christianity and became the first convert, and followed by Sape'i, Pulung and Sapri and their relatives (Anggraeni 2000:118). When Christianity was growing, the number of Christians was about 30 families (around 120 people).²⁴ The Al Washliyah preacher Syahroni stated that after some Baduy converted to Christianity many Christians whom he associated with the ethnics of Ambon and Manado came to Cipangembar and carried out religious services.²⁵

The conversion of the Baduy to Christianity was reported by the local Muslims to the *desa* office. The *desa* officials forwarded the report to the military office (Koramil) and police office of Leuwidamar. They reported that Ismail installed an electricity network to attract the Baduy to Christianity. He also tried to convert not only the Baduy, but also the Muslims, to the religion. Responding to this report, in the evening people came to the resettlement villages of Gunung Tunggal where Ismail and other Christians lived. On the following day three people from the *desa* office, police and military came to the house where Ismail lived. The *desa* official threatened Ismail by saying: "Where is Ismail who wants to scramble the religion (Islam)? Probably he wants to know the taste of my knife."²⁶ The *desa* leader even called the Baduy to come to the *desa* office to be interrogated. This made the Christian Baduy were afraid. Later some of them converted to Islam or reverted to Sunda Wiwitan (Anggraeni 2000: 118, 120).

In 1992 a conflict soon happened when the Muslims found a copy of the Quran on which a cross was drawn. Syahroni invited and led more than a hundred Muslims from the outside of the resettlement villages to attack the Christian Baduy. They threw stones and mud into their houses. The cars' wheels of the Christian missionaries were deflated. During the attack the Muslims took the Christians' sandals and hit some of the Christians. They also brought some Christians to the military office (*Koramil*) reporting that they had violated the regulations on religion, especially on the foundation of a worship place and proselytization. In other words, according to the Muslim group, the Christians may not use their houses as a worship place because it was not. "They did not obtain permission from the neighbours and insulted the Muslims," Syahroni said. He explained further:

²³ Some informants mentioned that Ismail lived in the resettlement village for two years.

²⁴ Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 20 May 2017, Sapei on 22 December 2018, and with Windu on 24 November 2018.

²⁵ Interview with Syahroni on 22 July 2017.

²⁶ Interview with Eman on 4 June 2017. He stated that he witnessed the incident.

“There I saw how the Christians persuaded the Baduy with the material. They also insulted the Muslims. They wrote a cross on the Qur’an. They said that Islam was the teaching of Satan. After hearing it I became angry. When there was a service in the house of Narja, I collected about 125 people from Dukuh. We attacked them.”²⁷

The attack was then reported by the Christians Bowo, Budi, and Ismail to General Moerdani²⁸. A week later three intelligence agents came looking for him. They asked Syahroni whether he knew Syahroni. He said that Syahroni, namely himself, went to Jakarta. Then Syahroni decided to go to Jakarta to consult the leaders of Al Washliyah Harun Amin and Ridwan Ibrahim Lubis. They advised him to write a report to the government and the Depag of Lebak with the Qur’an on which a cross was written as a piece of evidence.²⁹ Afterwards, Narja as the most senior Christian Baduy was called to the military office in Leuwidamar and asked to vow that he would say the truth. A military man showed him the Qur’an and asked him about who made the cross. Narja said that he did not know because he was not the only man who lived in the house. Later it was known that the one who drew the cross was his nephew Sadam who later converted to Islam.³⁰ Narja was also called to come to the Depag office of Lebak where he met its head Isnaini. Isnaini advised Narja to learn Christianity to a *kiyai* or an *ustad*.³¹ Narja complained about the advice and told Isnaini.

“I came from a non-religion,³² so it was free for me to choose any religion. When the regent of Lebak Oman Sachroni came to the resettlement village to give the certificates of land he said that as the followers of Sunda Wiwitan we were not recognized by the *puun* because we lived outside the *adat* land. We had to choose a religion recognized by the government of Indonesia, namely

²⁷ Interview with Syahroni on 22 July 2017.

²⁸ Leonardus Benyamin Moerdani (1932–2004) was a Catholic, the Minister of Defence and Security (1988–1993), the commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (1983–1988), and the leader of the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order (*Pangkopkamtib*) (1983–1988).

²⁹ Interviews with Syahroni on 22 July and Kasja on 24 May 2017.

³⁰ Kokom Baduy said that it was Sadam—at that time he was a junior high school student—who drew the cross on the Quran. Interview with Kokom on 20 December 2018.

³¹ *Kiyai* and *ustad* are basically the same. They are informal teachers, mostly in Java, who teach Islam. However, sociologically a *kiyai* occupies a higher level in society than an *ustad*. The first is often marked by the ownership of a pesantren. Another similar term is *ulama*, a plural form of the Arabic *‘alim* which means scholar(s). Besides becoming a general term covering the terms *kiyai* and *ustad*, an *ulama* is a leading *kiyai*. In other parts of Indonesia other terms such as Tuan Guru are used.

³² It is evident here that Narja did not name Sunda Wiwitan as a religion, but a belief; two concepts which are rooted in the politics of religion in Indonesia which differentiates religion from belief.

Islam *et cetera*. We were not asked to choose a certain religion. It was up to us to choose.”³³

Narja was also called to the KUA office of Leuwidamar. There were the head of KUA Saefuddin, the sub-district head (*camat*), the military commander of the *kecamatan*, and the head of police. They asked him not to use the houses as a worship place. Narja explained that going to the church in Rangkasbitung was far, around 32 kilometres away. The Christians most likely did not have money for the transport fees. He admitted that the Christians conducted a service every week in his house or the houses of the other Christian Baduy. The government officials argued that other people would probably know that some Baduy were Christians and the officials would not be responsible if there was another attack. The officials also required every non-Baduy Christian visiting the Baduy to report himself to the police station.³⁴ They then held a meeting in Margaluyu and concluded that the incident happened because the Christian group did not have permission from the neighbours for using their houses as a worship place, while the regulation required it.³⁵

The Christians thought that the anger of the Muslim preachers at them was related to the pilgrimage programme. The government sent the preachers (because of their successful *da'wa* activities) and the Muslim converts to Mecca for a pilgrimage, but then all of them knew that some Baduy chose Christianity. The leader of the Baduy Jaro Samin who converted to Islam was eventually pressed as well by the Muslims. Let alone those who converted to Christianity were his family members. He felt stressed and would commit suicide with a kind of rifle. A Baduy Christian explained:

“He was the *jaro* of the Baduy who was paid by the government to make a pilgrimage. Some of his children converted to Christianity. He was pressed by the government, the Depag, *ustad*, and people in general. He felt stressed. It happened in the 1990s. A local military officer shot the door of Jaro Samin’s house. There were two bullet holes. [We were said] ‘The Christian unbelievers (Indonesian: *orang kafir Kristen*) may not live here. They are the members of the PKI (the Communist Party of Indonesia)’. Mr Jarkasih’s head, a Christian Baduy, was threatened by a weapon by a local military officer.”³⁶

³³ Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

³⁴ Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

³⁵ Interviews with Syahroni on 22 July 2017 and Kasja on 24 May 2017.

³⁶ Interview with Samian on 15 December 2018.

Moreover, the Christian Baduy claimed not to be allowed to read the Bible and sing religious songs. Every two weeks they had to report themselves to the police and local military offices. Because the Christian Baduy feared the Muslim preachers, they tried not to be noticed by the preachers when they went to the church in Rumbut, Rangkasbitung. The Christians left the house around 4 a.m. They determined to meet at a certain location. To reach it they, around 20 people, took different roads.³⁷ Also when the Christian Baduy gave food to their Muslim neighbours they were often considered by the Muslims to do Christianisation.

“The relation between the Muslims and the Christians became full of suspicion and fear. A Muslim Baduy didn’t want to meet his Christian Baduy friends because he didn’t want to be gossiped by his Muslim friends. Rather than having a problem with the majority, Muslims chose to keep a distance with the (Christian) minority.³⁸”

Around 1996 a tension between local Muslims and the Christian Baduy happened again. At this time Narja invited pastor Purba to celebrate the Christmas in the resettlement villages. The *Suara Pembaharuan*³⁹ journalist Don Hasman came to cover the event. The news surprised the Muslim community.⁴⁰ The Muslims began to pressure the Christian Baduy. They were even provoked when students from Advent University brought a newspaper which reported that 200 Baduy from Kadujangkung and Karahrul had converted to Christianity.⁴¹ Moreover, in 2002 the Christian Baduy got a menace again. At that time seven strongmen came to the Christian families saying that they would convert to Christianity if the Christians could pay them for Rp10 million (€666) per month. This amount was very high. Narja told the people that no one paid the Christian Baduy. They got their livelihood from farming.⁴²

3. *Striking Towards Windu Nurgojali in Gunung Tunggal*

In the resettlement villages of Gunung Tunggal, Windu Nurgojali (b. 1978) was one of some Baduy children who followed formal education. He is the son of Tati and a grandchild of Jaro Samin. Windu graduated from the SD (*Sekolah*

³⁷ Interviews with Windu and Narja on 20 December 2018.

³⁸ Interview with Windu on 24 November 2018.

³⁹ This newspaper was initially named *Sinar Harapan* and changed with *Suara Pembaharuan*.

⁴⁰ Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

⁴¹ Interview with Ustad Kasja on 9 April 2017.

⁴² Interviews with Narja, Windu, and Tatang on 24 November 2018.



Photograph 5.2: Tatang's house in Cipangembar which was accused of being a church. Photograph was taken in 2018 by Ade Jaya Suryani.



Photograph 5.3: Tatang's house was bought by a follower Jamaah Tablig. In this village he built a *pesantren*. Photograph was taken in 2018 by Ade Jaya Suryani.

Dasar/Elementary School) of Gunung Tunggal in 1990 and the SMP (*Sekolah Menengah Pertamal* Junior High School) of Leuwidamar in 1993. Afterwards, he followed the Adventist Christian Bambang Sigit Waluyo to Purwodadi, Central Java. In the city Windu studied at Sekolah Lanjutan Advent Purwodadi (SLAPUR/ Adventist Senior High School) and graduated from it in 1997. From Purwodadi Windu and Bambang moved to Bandung to study at Universitas Advent Indonesia (UNAI) of Bandung. Windu obtained his bachelor in 2001 and master in 2014, both from the Faculty of Philosophy, a faculty which is designed to prepare Christian missionaries. After obtaining his master from UNAI he was appointed as a missionary and gave services in churches in Jakarta. Then he was moved to Lebak where every Saturday he gives services for the Christian Baduy.⁴³

In 2011 Windu experienced violence. Windu and the Muslim locals had a different view about why it happened. According to Windu, this case was personal because the villagers Amri and Ahmad Saepuloh (b.1976) wanted to take the land that Windu bought 20 years ago from Amri's father.⁴⁴ Somehow the case expanded and involved other Muslims and the case became a religious matter. According to the Muslim locals, this case happened because Windu commented on the *'id al-fitr* celebration of the year which fell on two different days. Muhammadiyah celebrated it on 30 August, while the government and the Muslim majority on the next day.⁴⁵ The Muslims disliked Windu's comment and because of it some of them wanted to overrun Windu. The Muslim seniors forbade them to attack him. Ahmad who was Amri's father-in-law expressed that he was brave to strike Windu and he did it. Windu reported the case to the police of Leuwidamar that he was beaten by the Muslims of Cipangembar and Cihaur. The police called both parties to the police station. Many people, including the officials of the Koramil (Military Regional Command) and the MUI, came there. The mass denied having hit him.⁴⁶

The Muslims benefitted the case by pushing an agreement. There were some points in the agreement, but the most important thing is that Windu was not allowed to invite or persuade the adherents of other religions and

⁴³ Interview with Windu on 24 November 2018. See also <http://ffil.unai.edu/tentang/sambutan-dekan/>, accessed on 2 March 2018.

⁴⁴ Interview with Windu on 24 November 2018.

⁴⁵ Interview with Kasja on 24 May 2017. News on the different days of idul fitr in 2011 read, for example, <https://ramadan.tempo.co/read/502641/10-tahun-3-kali-muhammadiyah-dan-pemerintah-beda-lebaran/full&view=ok>. Accessed on 8 May 2017.

⁴⁶ The police document of Leuwidamar and interviews with Kasja on 10 May 2017 and Zainuddin Amir on 6 June 2017.

beliefs to Christianity. What is meant by religion(s) and belief(s) is of course Islam and Sunda Wiwitan. Ahmad was warned not to break the law by hitting other people. Because of his act, Ahmad was jailed for one night. If they failed to obey the agreement they both would be persecuted under the law. The agreement was signed by Ahmad, Windu and three witnesses Asrib, Ewong (Sarwan) and Tatang, on 7 September 2011.⁴⁷ A *kiyai* reminded the Christians that to build a worship place a group is required to fulfil the requirements such as to get permission from 60 neighbours proven by their identity cards.⁴⁸ Some Muslims stated that the agreement was their victory against the Christians.⁴⁹

The Muslim preachers explained that Windu was still active as a missionary. He often came to Gunungkencana and Cileles. The first is a *desa* in Lebak, about 35 kilometres away from Ciboleger to the west and the latter is a sub-district in Lebak, about 20 kilometres from Ciboleger to the northwest. In these two villages some hundred Baduy families lived. Kiyai Maza claimed to have sent a man to check whether or not Windu propagated Christianity in the villages. The man confirmed that Windu had been active there since 2016.⁵⁰

It is a common belief among the Muslims that the Christians are seeking the right moment to build a church and a clinic in Leuwidamar. For example, an *ustad* mentioned that the Christians would build a clinic in a village between Kompol and Ciboleger, but failed because there was a threat from a Muslim. He, an *ustad*, said that the Christians met the village head to ask for a permit to build the clinic. It seems that they obtained it. In the process of the building the *ustad* came to meet the contractor of the clinic and told him: "Please continue the construction if you want to be beheaded!" The *ustad* warned the contractor that if Christianisation happened, the *ustad* would search for him. He also told the contractor if the Christians had a place, it would be easy for them to do missionary activities. Because feeling threatened, the contractor did not continue the project.⁵¹

The Muslim Budi explained that many Christians were visiting the Baduy. The Christians, especially Windu, according to Budi, were interested in converting the Baduy to Christianity. He knew that Windu was known by the Baduy as a generous person. In 2016 Windu rented a house in Ciboleger

⁴⁷ Information from a police document of Leuwidamar.

⁴⁸ Interview with Kiyai Maza on 28 March 2017.

⁴⁹ Interviews with Ustad Imran on 10 April and Kiyai Maza on 28 March, 2017.

⁵⁰ Interview with Kiyai Maza on 28 March 2017.

⁵¹ Interview with Ustad Imran on 10 April 2017.

for Rp6 million (around €100) per year. The house was used as a place to sell oranges. Budi was sure that selling fruits was not Windu's real intention. Budi came to the conclusion because Windu was assisted by about five Baduy. If Windu was able to sell 10 kilograms of orange per day, he would still not be able to pay the rent and his five employees.⁵²

From my interviews with many Muslim preachers it seems that they will not let the Christians build a church in Leuwidamar. They will use any available tool especially regulations on preaching and building a worship house. The pastor Windu and other Christian Baduy are aware of what is happening. The violence they have experienced since the late 1980s taught them about their position in the Muslim majority. Many efforts have been tried to stop the development of Christianity in the villages. They know that their Muslim Baduy relatives are good at them, but they afraid of being close to them. "From the various events we are becoming surer that they try to make us uncomfortable living here," said Windu.⁵³

4. *Threats to the Christian Missionaries in Gerendeng*

A contestation and conflict between the Muslims and Christians also happened in the Baduy village of Gerendeng in 1991. In that year 39 Baduy converted to Christianity. Two Muslim preachers came to the village. They met a Baduy woman whom they asked to tell a Baduy Christian that if the Baduy in Gerendeng converted to Christianity they would burn the village. Two days later about 36 Christians searched for the preachers in Leuwidamar. At that time one of the preachers was in the mosque. The villagers who knew what was happening guarded his house. People from Rangkasbitung whom the preacher called "my troops" were on the way to his village. He said that if the Christian and Muslim groups met, there would have been bloodshed. According to him, the Christians who sought for him came from Cianjur. Moreover, in 1994 the Muslim preachers came again to Gerendeng and drove the Christian missionaries away. The Muslim preachers then built a small mosque there. Afterwards, seven Baduy of the village converted to Islam but they later moved to another village. Accordingly, there were no more Muslims in the village who could manage the mosque. Eventually, after 15 years of its existence, the mosque was dismantled.⁵⁴

⁵² Interview with Budi on 24 November 2018.

⁵³ Interview with Windu on 24 November 2018.

⁵⁴ Interview with Ustad Kusni on 10 April 2017. He stated that the first Baduy who converted to Christianity were the villagers of Gerendeng and followed by that of Gunung Tunggal. But most of informants stated that the Baduy in Gunung Tunggal had converted to Christianity since the 1980s. Missionaries who were active in Gerendeng, Gunung Tunggal and other villages, however, were the same.

5. *An accusation of Doing Christian Mission in Cihandam: Ully Sigar Rusady and a Korean Woman*

Around 1995-1997 a tension happened in Cihandam, a village close to the *adat* land, with the issue of Christianisation. The environment activist Ully Sigar Rusady (b.1952) was accused of trying to convert the Baduy through an environmental programme. The religion of Ully is not known, but her sister Paramitha Rusady is a Muslim. When the case happened people of Leuwidamar deemed Ully as a Christian. For the programme Ully bought 18-20 hectares of land and was managed by Baduy. The Minister of Environment Sarwono Kusumaatmadja was once invited to see the location. The local Muslims believed that Christians were behind this programme and had an intention to convert the Baduy to Christianity. They also believed that Ully got funding from the United States. With the funding people believed that the biggest Indonesian church would be built in Cihandam.⁵⁵

The rumour of Christianisation of the village still continues up to today. The followers of Jamaah Tabligh stated that there was a Korean Christian missionary living in Cihandam.⁵⁶ A radio journalist in Serang claimed as well that he had met the Korean and confirmed that she was a missionary.⁵⁷ Elisa (b.1950), the Christian Korean woman, objected to being called a missionary. She said that she came to and lived in Cihandam to find peace. Born in Korea, she and her family immigrated to the US in 1970. After spending 40 years in the country she retired. Afterwards, when travelling to Jakarta and Sukabumi in 2001 she heard about the Baduy, visited them in 2014, and liked the people. In the same year this Korean American citizen decided to live in Cihandam and spend the rest of her life there. Before buying the land on which she founded her house, she had tried to find land in other villages but the price was expensive. Then she purchased a half hectare of land in Cihandam which belonged to a Baduy for Rp30 million (around €2,000). In her daily life, she was assisted by some Baduy. The Baduy themselves lived in their houses, came to Elisa's house in the morning and returned in the afternoon. From the people she also learned the Indonesian language. Every three months her Korean friends who worked in Cilegon visited her. And once a year she visited the USA.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Interviews with Engkos on 10 April 2017 and Kiyai Zainuddin on 21 July 2017. The latter stated that he was there when the Minister of Environment came to Cihandam.

⁵⁶ Interview with Iton Rustandi on 24 May 2017.

⁵⁷ Personal conversation with Kosim in 2010.

⁵⁸ After a cooperation between the Indonesian company Krakatau Steel and the Korean Posco in 2011 more than 234 Koreans worked in the city. [Http://www.krakatau-posco.co.id/company/our_company](http://www.krakatau-posco.co.id/company/our_company), <https://money.kompas.com/read/2015/04/28/165000526/Geliat.Investasi.di.Ujung.Jawa>, accessed on 3 March 2019, and interview with Elisa on 21 December 2018.

Elisa knew that many local Muslims thought that she was a Christian missionary, but she rejected the accusation. “I am a Christian but I don’t want to be involved in religious matters. People in the mosque are worried that I will build a church,” she said. Muslims locals once visited her asking why she lived in the village, whether or not she would convert the Baduy to Christianity.⁵⁹

6. *Becoming the Target of Christianisation: Cikapek*

The issue of Christianisation also emerged in Cikapek. Hendra stated that Cikapek and its surroundings had become targets of Christianisation. He got the information from a man who once lived in his house. The man was from Lampung. When his parents died, he was taken care of by a Christian and made him convert to Christianity. But he reverted to Islam when he would marry a Muslim woman from Serang. Hendra was interested in him and invited him to live in his house. He stayed there for three months. The man told Hendra to be careful because, the man said, Cikapek and its surroundings had become targets of Christianisation. “I know this because I was a Christian,” he told Hendra. The man also mentioned a car and its registration number plate which was used by the missionary when he visited the areas. The man said that when his son was sick the Christian missionary met him saying that he would pay the medication of his sick son if he would return to Christianity.⁶⁰

A Christianisation effort might also have happened in a Baduy village. Christian missionaries came to the village and distributed books. When a Baduy asked about the books, the distributor said that they were copies of the Bible. If this information is true, distributing books to the Baduy as a missionary method is strange because the Baduy are generally illiterate. The Bible or whatever book would be meaningless because the Baduy would not be able to read them. The Christian missionaries, according to Andri, also distributed necklaces with a cross as their pendant.⁶¹

B. Politics of Religion in Indonesia: the Contestation between Muslims and Christians, the Exclusion of Local Religions, and Permit of the Foundation of Worship Houses

1. *Contestation between Muslims and Christians*

The contestation between Muslims and Christians like what happens in

⁵⁹ Interview with Elisa on 21 December 2018.

⁶⁰ Interview with Hendra on 8 July 2017.

⁶¹ Interview with Andri on 8 July 2017.

Leuwidamar, Lebak, has emerged since the BPUPKI (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan*) the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence) formulated the foundation of the state. At that time the BPUPKI members were divided into two groups: the Muslim nationalists and the secular nationalists. The first wanted the state was based on Islam and the latter wanted a more neutral basis. The dispute between the two brought them to the acceptance of the Jakarta Charter (*Piagam Jakarta*) where Indonesia would not become an Islamic state but the Muslims were allowed to implement the *sharia* for the Muslims themselves. This charter appears as the Introduction to the Constitution.

On 17 August 1945, in the afternoon after the independence declaration, a man who claimed to be the Christian representative came to the vice-president Mohammad Hatta to convey the objection of the Christians of a phrase in the Jakarta Charter: “the belief in the One and Only God, with the obligation to abide by Islamic law for adherents of Islam”. If Hatta and friends did not remove the privilege of Muslims as it is stated in the phrase, the Christians in the eastern part of Indonesia would prefer creating a separate state. Hatta and friends then removed the seven words (in the Indonesian version) of the phrase and it became “the belief in the one and only God” (Indonesian: *Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa*). This phrase also appears as the first principle of the state’s ideology Pancasila. From this principle regulations on religion in Indonesia are derived.

To manage religious affairs in the country, the state created *Departemen Agama* (Depag/ the Department of Religious Affairs) on 3 January 1946 based on the proposal of *Badan Pekerja Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* (the Central Working Body of the Indonesian National Committee) and written on the decision letter No. 1/SD and signed by president Soekarno (Sismono 1991: 1-6, 16). This department was the continuation of the previous offices, namely *Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken* (the Office for Indigenous Affairs) in the Dutch period and *shūmubu* (Religious Affairs Office) in the Japanese period (Nur Ichwan: 2006) Later, based on the regulation issued by the Depag No.1/ 2010 the name *Departemen Agama* became *Kementerian Agama* (the Ministry of Religious Affairs/Mora). Article 4 of the Presidential Regulation No. 83/ 2015 about the Mora mentions, among others, that the Mora has the general directorates of the societies of Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism.⁶² Although Confucianism is mentioned in the law No.1/PNPS/1965 and affirmed by President Abdurrahman Wahid in 2000, this religion is not mentioned to have a directorate in the Mora. Regulation No. 83/ 2015 thus tells us the religions

⁶² The Presidential Regulation No. 83/ 2015 on the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

which are and are not recognised by the state. Local religions, like Sunda Wiwitan of the Baduy, are excluded from what the state calls ‘religion’.

Where religion is managed by a ministry, it is not surprising to find many laws, regulations, decisions, and something alike on religion. Ropi (2017) in his study on regulations on religion in Indonesia enlists around 56 laws and the like. The list will be much longer if the period and area of study are expanded, including the *sharia* by-laws (*peraturan daerah berbasis syairah*) in all regencies in Indonesia. The existence of the Mora and its offices in the lower levels has shown the importance of religion in Indonesia, especially for Muslims. At the sub-district level, it has an office called the KUA (*Kantor Urusan Agama*/the Office of Religious Affairs) which one of its duties is to record the marriages and reconciliation of Muslims.⁶³ The KUA also records the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam.⁶⁴ The extensive number of the Mora offices has made Christians suspicious of the Mora as a medium for Muslims to Islamise Indonesia (Ropi 2000, Mujiburrahman 2006).⁶⁵

2. *The Exclusion of Local Religion from the State’s Definition of Religion*

The first principle of Pancasila which reads “Belief in the one and Only God” has become a paramount foundation of religion in Indonesia. The second most important reference is Article 29 points 1 and 2 of the Constitution which declare, respectively, that: “The state is based on the belief in the one and only God” and that: “The state guarantees the freedom of every citizen to adhere to his religion and to worship according to his religion and belief.”⁶⁶ In the fourth amendment of the Constitution religion and belief are managed by Article 28E points (1) and (2). Point (1) states that: “Every person is free to choose a religion and to worship based on his religion, to choose education and teaching, to choose a work, citizenship, and to choose the place of residence in an area of the country and to leave them, and has the right to return. Point (2) states that: “Every person has the right to the freedom to believe a belief, to express his thought and attitude, based on his conscience.”

However, these legal and political foundations are not without a flaw. The words religion (*agama*) and belief (*kepercayaan*) have arisen obscurity whether

⁶³ <https://bengkulu.kemenag.go.id/artikel/8659-tugas-dan-fungsi-kantor-urusan-agama-kua>, accessed on 15 March 2018.

⁶⁴ Interview with the head of KUA Leuwidamar Abdul Muthi on 2 July 2017.

⁶⁵ Read also a paper entitled “*Masalah surat keputusan Menteri Agama R.I. no. 70 dan 77 tahun 1978*” [S.l. : s.n.], 1978. This paper is anonymous, but reflects Christian views about the regulations.

⁶⁶ Religious freedom is also guaranteed by the MPR provision number XVII /MPR/1998 on human rights. Article 13 of the provision guarantees everyone to adhere to his religion and to worship based on his religion and belief.

a belief is part of a religion or it refers to something else. The most common understanding is that the term religion refers to major religions which in the law No.1/PNPS/1965 include Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism; and the term belief refers to local religions and mystical streams. But the law No.1/PNPS/1965 is not about official religions in Indonesia, but about the Prevention of the Misuse and or Religious Blasphemy. In other words, as admitted by the former minister of Religious Affairs Lukman Hakim Saifuddin (2014-2019), Indonesia never officially recognises or does not recognise a religion.⁶⁷

In practice, however, there is something which is called religion and not-religion (belief system) and this distinction has very far consequences in the life of the followers of beliefs. First, the government made the phrase “religions adhered by most of the Indonesian population” as it appears in the law No.1/PNPS/1965. By referring to the law, the phrase was narrowed and became “religions recognised by the government”. Although this phrase appears in some regulations, in reality, there is no law or regulation which mentions which religion is recognised and which one is not. Furthermore, these phrases have excluded local religions from the state’s concept of religion. According to this concept, a region has to have God, a prophet, a sacred book, and a worship place. Second, regulations on religion assert explicitly that the state guarantees, assists, and protects the religions recognised by the state. Third, the government forbids the adherents of a religion to invite the adherents of other religions. Because local religions are not deemed by the government as religions it means that the government permits the adherents of religions to invite those of local religions. In practice, as it happened among the Baduy, this permit has pushed Muslims and Christian missionaries into conflicts.

Related to this law, attention needs to be paid to the following three issues: (1) The names of the religions recognised by the state seems to appear for the first time the law No.1/PNPS/1965. They obtain a guarantee, assistance, and protection from the state. As the implementation of this law they are managed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. (2) Although Indonesia does not have a law which recognises or does not recognise a religion, in practice religions other than the six religions are called beliefs. The former Ministry of Religious Affairs Saifuddin admits this categorisation.⁶⁸ The decision No. IV/MPR/1978 states that a belief is not a religion and the government has to prevent it from becoming

⁶⁷ See https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2014/09/140918_agama_minoritas, accessed on 4 June 2020.

⁶⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ztieF1R5IIg&list=PLlbh--00xnUuoGU6shDW2MfGQBxdaxat&index=1>, accessed on 16 February 2019.

a religion. Different from the recognised religions, beliefs are managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture. And (3) the state tries to direct the mystical streams and local religions into what the government calls “religions adhered by most Indonesians”. Moreover, in 1966 the People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR) issued the provision No. XXVII/MPRS/1966 on Religion, Education and Culture. Here the MPR does not use the phrase “religions adhered by most Indonesians”, but “religions recognised by the government”, but still it does not mention the names of the religions.⁶⁹

After the concepts of religion and belief were defined, the government permits the adherents of the recognised religions to invite those of beliefs. This permit appears in the joint regulation between the Department of Religious Affairs and the Department of Home Affairs No.01/BER/MDN-MAG/1969 which asserts that the state guarantees religious freedom. Moreover, the government has to guide, support, and protect the efforts of religious development and the worship implementation. Article 1 states that the regent or mayor allows the religious propagation as long as (article 2) it does not make disintegration among the religious adherents; is not carried out with intimidation, inducement, and coercion; and does not break the law, security and public order. In doing so the regent or mayor is assisted by the head of the local department of religious affairs.⁷⁰

Still related to the religious outreach, the Depag issued two decisions No. 70/1978 on the guideline of the religious outreach and No.77/ 1978 on religious aid in Indonesia. These decisions were then compiled in a new joint regulation No. 1/BER/MDN-MAG/1979 on the Guideline of Religious Outreach and Foreign Aid to Religious Organisations in Indonesia. Article 1 of the joint regulation explains that the purpose of this decision is to regulate religious propagation and international aid and to make religious harmony. The same article states that the regulation is not to limit religious guidance, development, and propagation.⁷¹

Article 4, which is often deployed by a religious group to counter other groups and to convert the adherents of local religions, manages the practical issues of the religious proselytization. It states that religious proselytization may not be directed to people who already embrace a *religion* with any means of inducement,

⁶⁹ Provision No. XXVII/MPRS/1966 on Religion, Education and Culture.

⁷⁰ Joint regulation between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Home Affairs No.01/BER/MDN-MAG/1969 on “the Implementation of the Function of Civil Servants in Guaranteeing the Order and Smoothness of the Development and Religious Worship by the Adherents”

⁷¹ Joint regulation No. 1/BER/MDN-MAG/1979 between the Ministries of Religious Affairs and of Home Affairs on the Guideline of Religious Outreach and Foreign Aid to Religious Organisations in Indonesia.

religious publications, and visits to convert the people. It is interesting to note that the word *kepercayaan* (belief) is not mentioned in this decision. As has been mentioned above, local religions are not deemed by the government as religion, but beliefs. In other words, the decision permits the adherents of the religions recognised by the government to invite the adherents of beliefs, including those of local religions, to the religions recognised by the government.

Article 6 (1) of the joint decision mentions that all efforts to obtain international aid for religious organisations have to get a recommendation from the Depag and a permit from the PKKTLN (*Panitia Koordinasi Kerjasama Teknik Luar Negeri*/ the Coordinating Committee for Foreign Technical Cooperation). Article 7 states that religious organisations have to educate and train Indonesians to replace foreign preachers and workers. Article 8 requires the governors or regents to guide and supervise foreign preachers and workers, the activities of religious organisations, the implementation of foreign aids, and the education and training of local preachers.

These regulations on religion and belief have become a legal and political basis for the Muslim and Christian preachers to target the Baduy. One of the leaders of the MUI of Banten Syibli Sarjaya, for instance, bases his argument on the regulations by stating that the government guarantees the adherents of the religions recognised by the government to proselytize their religions to those who have not had a religion (*belum punya agama*).⁷² The same argument comes from one of the leaders of the *Forum Silaturahmi Pondok Pesantren* (the Pesantren Forum) of Banten Matin Jawahir. He stated that Sunda Wiwitan of the Baduy was not a religion.⁷³ This understanding has come up from the dichotomy made by the state. Because *da'wa* for Muslims is obligatory and the government supports the recognised religions to proselytise their religions, both Sarjaya and Jawahir conclude that *da'wa* among the Baduy is necessary. Moreover, in doing *da'wa* activities the Muslims try not only to attract the Baduy to convert to Islam but also to counter Christianity. In doing so they use the regulations on the foundation of worship places.

3. *Deploying Regulations on the Foundation of Worship Houses to Counter the Christians*

The topic of the foundation of worship houses in Indonesian politics has emerged since at least 1960. Article 2 (4) of the MPRS provision No. II/MPRS/1960 states that the government has to “develop the foundation of worship houses and

⁷² Interview with Sibly Sarjaya on 21 March 2017.

⁷³ Interview with Kiyai Matin Jawahir on 14 March 2017.

religious institutions.”⁷⁴ A more specific legal basis of the foundation of worship houses appears in the joint regulation between the Ministries of Religious Affairs and Home Affairs No. 01/BER/MDN-MAG/1969. Article 4 of the regulation states that the foundation of a worship house has to obtain a permit from the regents or mayors. Before granting the permission they have to consult the heads of the local Depag, the Planology Department, and the local religious organisations. If a tension appears among different religious adherents because of proselytization or the foundation of a worship house, article 5 requires the regents/ mayors to make a just solution.⁷⁵

The regulation on the foundation of worship houses reappears in the joint regulation between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Home Affairs No. 9/ 2006 and No. 8/2006.⁷⁶ This regulation requires the governors, the regents/ mayors, the heads of districts (*camat*), and the heads of villages (*lurah*) to “maintain peace and order of society including to facilitate religious harmony” in the levels of province, regency/ city, sub-district and village. Besides, this regulation also addresses the FKUB (*Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama*/ the Forum of Religious Harmony) to conduct dialogues with religious figures, to collect aspiration from religious organisations, to convey the aspiration to the government, and to socialise religious regulations to society.

More importantly, this joint regulation sets the foundation of worship houses. Article 14 mentions that the future worship house will be used by at least 90 followers proven by their identity cards. Besides, the foundation of the worship house should be supported by 60 residents where their support is legalised by the *desa* leader. The committee of the foundation of the worship house also has to obtain written recommendations from the Depag and the FKUB. Article 14 states further that if the committee of the foundation of the worship house cannot fulfil the requirements, the government is obliged to provide a worship place for the adherents of the religion.

In countering the development of Christianity in Leuwidamar Muslim preachers used these regulations on the foundation of a worship house. On the surface the relationship between the Muslims and Christians there is getting better. But the Muslim preachers are still worried that after the Christian Baduy youths finish

⁷⁴ The MPRS Provision No. II/MPRS/1960 about the Main Guideline of the National Development 1961-1969.

⁷⁵ Joint regulation between the Ministries of Religious Affairs and Home Affairs No.01/BER/MDN-MAG/1969 on the Implementation of the Duties of Governmental Officials in Guaranteeing the Order and Smoothness of the Implementation, Development and Worship of Religion by Its Adherents.

⁷⁶ Joint regulations between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Home Affairs No. 9/ 2006 and No. 8/ 2006 on the Guideline of the Implementation of the Function of Regional Leaders (Mayors/Regents) in the Maintenance of Religious Harmony, Empowerment of the Forum of Religious Harmony, and the Foundation of Worship Houses.

their study in cities, they will return to Leuwidamar, marry, and have children. If it happens, it means the number of Christians will increase and qualify the requirement to build a worship place.⁷⁷ The Muslims believe that Windu and his Christian community are financially powerful. In the meantime, according to the Muslims, they are unable yet to materialise their dream to build a church because the followers of Christianity in Leuwidamar are administratively not enough.

A preacher claimed to have conveyed his worry about this issue to the MUI, local *kiyai*, and the *desa* office, but they did not respond to him. He exemplified a case which happened in 2010. At that time he made a photograph of a future church building in Cisimeut and sent it to the regent of Lebak, but the regent did not respond. A year later the foundation of the church would be finished soon. Around August 2011 the making of the foundation was stopped. The reason to stop the continuation of the foundation of the church was that the number of Christians who would use the church was less than is required by the regulation, namely 90 people. So far, the preacher said, the plan to build a church in Leuwidamar and its surrounding sub-districts could be prevented. But he, like some other preachers, was worried that the Baduy Christians would qualify the regulations. When it happens the Muslims will have no reason to forbid the Christians to have a church.⁷⁸

The Muslim preachers know that the Christian Baduy are concentrated in the village of Cipangembar. Even people sometimes refer to the village as the Christian village. The Muslims accused the Christian Baduy in this village of building a church in the form of a house. In 2016 some Muslims reported the so-called church to the police. Some policemen came there to check. The owner of the building Tatang refused his house to be called a church. In fact, Tatang was unable to finish the foundation of his house because the money was used to pay the tuition fee of his children. The eldest who was studying at Universitas Advent Indonesia in Bandung needed around Rp10 million per semester, while the other two children needed around Rp7 million per month. Tatang was sad with the accusation but he felt quite fortunate to have a Muslim Baduy relative Pandi who works in the police. Pandi explained to the people that Tatang's house was not a church. Because Tatang needed money, in 2018 his house was sold to the follower of Jamaah Tabligh Samain. Tatang said:

“People thought that it was a church. It was not. Indonesia is a legal state where it has a regulation which requires us to have 90 future users of the

⁷⁷ Interviews with Ustad Ara on 9 April 2017 and Haji Idi on 20 May 2017.

⁷⁸ Interviews with Ustad Ara on 9 April 2017 and Kiyai Maza on 28 March 2017.

worship house. How will we build a church when the number of Christians is not enough?⁷⁹

Because they did not have a church, to organise a service Windu and his extended Christian families gathered in their houses. But recently they built a small building which they are reluctant to call a church. This building has two rooms: a meeting room, a pantry plus a toilet. The joint regulation No. 9 and No. 8/2006 indeed excludes worship places for families from the definition of a worship house. Article 3 of the decision mentions that “a worship house is a permanent building with certain characteristics which is specifically for worship for its adherents, excluding the worship place for families.”

The pastor Windu said: “We don’t have a church because we are not allowed by the locals to have it. The majority doesn’t want it.” Windu’s elder brother Tatang believed that the reluctance of the majority to allow the foundation of a church was connected to the regulations on the foundation of a worship house. “This is because of the joint regulation between the Ministries (of Religious Affairs and Home Affairs). The government recognises five religions, but their rights, especially those of Christianity, are limited. This is strange,” said Tatang.

C. Competition for Buying Land for the (Future) Converts

Another issue in missionary activities among the Baduy is the competition between Muslims and Christians in buying land for the (future) converts. This issue is connected to the main problem of the Baduy, namely access to land. Some Muslim Baduy who live in Kompol, for example, built their houses on the land of Muhammadiyah. In Cikapek many Muslim Baduy built temporary houses in a disputed land or along the sides of the road. They live there because they do not have money to buy land or a house. Besides, it is not easy to buy land because the owners of land generally do not sell their land unless they need extra money. And when they sell their land, they sell a full block of the land, for example, one hectare. It will be extremely difficult for the majority of the Muslim Baduy to buy such a piece of land.⁸⁰

The Muslim preachers and Christian missionaries understand this problem. Therefore, one of the efforts they do when doing missionary activities among

⁷⁹ Interview with Tatang on 24 November 2018.

⁸⁰ Interviews with Kasja on 10 May 2017, Haji Adung on 8 July 2017 and 22 November 2018, Zainuddin Amir on 28 March and 6 July 2017.



Photograph 5.4: A community of Christian Baduy in Cipangembar/ Gunung Tunggal. Photograph was taken in 2018 by Ade Jaya Suryani.



Photograph 5.5: The pastor Windu Nurgojali gives a service. He is a grandchild of Jaro Samin who obtained his bachelor and master diplomas from Universitas Advent Indonesia. Photograph was taken in 2018 by Ade Jaya Suryani.

the Baduy is to provide land for the (future) converts. The Muslim preachers in Leuwidamar believed that the Christians were rich and this belief came from the information they received that the Christians could buy some hectares of land. Although the Muslims sought to counterbalance the purchase of land, they thought that the Christians were financially too powerful.⁸¹ The Muslims also realised that they actually could not forbid the Christians to buy land and to invite the Baduy to manage it. But the Christians' capability of buying land makes the Muslim worried that in the future the Christian would build a church there. What the Muslim preachers did was to remind local Muslims not to sell their land to Christians. But they also realised that this technique would not be effective. Then to counter the development of Christianity they utilised the politics of religion, especially on proselytization and the foundation of worship houses.

Many Muslim informants revealed that the Christian missionary Windu had bought land in some villages such as in Gunungkencana and Muncang where some Baduy were invited to manage it. The Muslims said that the Christians bought land, invited the Baduy to manage it, teach the Baduy agriculture, maintain their health, and offer their children formal education. In the end, the Muslims believed, the Baduy who lived in the Christian land would tend to Christianity. When a Baduy converted to Christianity, the Muslims said, they would not be surprised. Haji Alo expressed:

“When the Baduy are pressed by the *adat* leaders because they break the taboos, they will choose the Christians who have cared for them. In this situation, we will not be able to counter the Christians and their mission.”⁸²

When the Baduy managed the Christian land, the Muslims heard that most of the results of the plantation, like crops and wood, would belong to the Baduy. The Muslims understood it as part of the Christian missionary efforts as the response to the fact that the Christians could not preach as freely as the Muslims. The purchase of land was thought by the Muslims to be connected to

⁸¹ Information stating that the Christian group is financially powerful is available in many sources especially from the Muhammadiyah circle, for example Anhar Burhanuddin et al., *Lembaga Dakwah Khusus Muhammadiyah*, (Jakarta: Lembaga Dakwah Khusus Muhammadiyah, 1990); Goodwill Zubir and Sudar Siandes, *Dakwah dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Terasing Tanggung Jawab Siapa?*, (Jakarta: Lembaga Dakwah Khusus, 1997); Goodwill Zubir and Sudar Siandes, *Strategi Gerakan Dakwah Muhammadiyah di Pedesaan* (Banda Aceh: Lembaga Dakwah Khusus, 1999); Goodwill Zubir and Sudar Siandes, *Potret Gerakan Kristenisasi di Indonesia Versi Da'I LDK Muhammadiyah*, (Jakarta: Lembaga Dakwah Khusus, 1999?), and Karel Steenbrink, *Academic Study of Indonesian Islam a Biographical Account, 1970-2014* in *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 53, no. 2 (2015), pp. 337-365.

⁸² Interview with Haji Alo 24 November 2018

the Christians' plan to build a church and or a clinic in Leuwidamar. A Muslim Baduy Ara claimed that the pastor Windu told him in 2011 that Windu wanted to build the most luxurious Asian church in Lebak. What the Muslim group was worried about was that the Christians would buy more and more land, their family members would live in a certain village and their existence would meet the regulation to build the church. Ara claimed to have investigated a rumour and obtained information about two people from Jakarta who bought two hectares of land in Leuwidamar for the foundation of a church. The land was located in the village of Lebak Gedong.⁸³

Ara explained further that the Christians had one hectare of land in Cibengkung and eleven hectares in Cisimeut. The Christians bought the land in Cibengkung for Rp300 million. In Cibengkung they would build a church behind the building of the Junior High School (SMP) 2 of Leuwidamar. The Muslims, Ara said, wanted to buy the land back for Rp400 million but they were not sure whether the Christians would want to sell it. Ara also obtained information stating that the Christians had bought three hectares of land in Leuwidamar.⁸⁴

The rumour that the Christians would build a church in Leuwidamar was also heard by Kiyai Maza. He said:

“They would build a church. But it was impossible because there were only 10 (Christian) families. They did a missionary activity by inviting the Baduy. We have converted some of the Christian Baduy to Islam. It happened in 1987-89. (Because of the plan to build the church) tension between the Christians and Muslims rose.”⁸⁵

That the Christians have bought land is also reported by the magazine Hidayatullah by referring to the information provided by the DDII preacher Nurkib Ibnu Djais.⁸⁶ Like what was said by Ara, a Jamaah Tabligh follower said

⁸³ Interview with Ara on 10 May 2017.

⁸⁴ Such a treat is actually common in Banten which is known as the land of *jawara* (local strongmen). When a man declares this statement or something alike such as *'dipaehan dia ku aing'* (I will kill you), it does not mean that he will do it. For example, the current regent of Lebak Iti Octavia Jayabaya (b.1978) came to Ciboleger and found that a public garden was destroyed by the foundation of a building. She yelled madly: *'Disapatkeun beubeung dia nu bogana di dieu. Goblog doang daria. Tolol!'* (I will cut the neck of the owner [of this building] off here. All of you are idiot. Stupid!) Watch the video on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=80iGq6As_hI, accessed on 30 August 2018.

⁸⁵ Interview with Kiyai Maza on 6 June 2017.

⁸⁶ *Hidayatullah* Issue 8, XXIV, December 2011, p.31

that the Christians had bought eleven hectares of land.⁸⁷ The Muslim Baduy who is also a preacher Sunirta even said that the Christians had bought around 30 hectares of land. Some of them are 13 hectares in Cisimeut, 3 hectares in Pasir Gelap, 3 hectares in Cikapek, 3.5 hectares in Palopat, and 1.5 hectares in another village. The fund, Sunirta said, was provided by some churches. He said:

“I have a friend who is close to Windu. He told me that he was offered by Windu to convert to Christianity. If he wanted, his son would be educated by the Christians and would obtain a scholarship. He was once wobbly. He said that the Christian fund was from the US. Sometimes it was more than needed. The Christians have a target to convert at least three Baduy to Christianity. They try to achieve the target by giving the Baduy land and agricultural tools. They also care for the Baduy’s health. The Christians themselves never spoke about their religion to the Baduy.”⁸⁸

The Muslim Baduy figure Haji Sarmedi asserted that Muslims could not blame the Baduy who converted to Christianity because, as when they converted to Islam, they did not have fields from which they could live their lives. His statement does not mean that the Baduy’s conversion either to Islam or Christianity was not sincere. But the access to land is almost always the background of every narrative of the Baduy’s conversion. When the Christians who are rich buy land, permit the Baduy to manage it, let them make use of the crops and finally become interested in Christianity, Haji Sarmedi said, it is understandable. Meanwhile the Baduy who manage Muslims’ fields have to share the crops with the owners of the fields. “So, the Baduy will follow anyone who shows the path. Conversely, we the Muslims keep silent. We don’t prepare land (for future converts). Don’t blame them when they convert to Christianity,” Haji Sarmedi emphasised.

Like the Christians, the Muslims also bought land. Muhammadiyah has four hectares of land in Ciboleger. Universitas Muhammadiyah Tangerang (UMT) donated one hectare of land to Muhammadiyah of Lebak in Wanasalam, where a conflict between the Muslims and Christians once happened there.⁸⁹ In the complex of Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin, Muhammadiyah has around 7,000 square metres of land. The pesantren itself has 8 hectares of which 3 hectares was a donation of the Muhammadiyah preacher An Aliyah and her friends.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Interview with Harun in Ciboleger on 24 May 2017.

⁸⁸ Interview with Sunirta on 10 May 2017.

⁸⁹ Interview with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

⁹⁰ Interviews with Kiyai Zainuddin Amir on 2 December 2018 and with An Aliyah on 2 April 2017.

Muhammadiyah also obtained a land donation in 1994/1995 from Haji Astakari whose son studied at a *Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* (SPG, the school for the teacher training) of Muhammadiyah.⁹¹

The founder of Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin, Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, accounted that a part of his pesantren's land was a donation from many people. The purchase of the land was connected to the issues of Islamisation and Christianisation among the Baduy. To support the *kiyai*, in 1996 An Aliyah collected money from her friends in their *majlis taklim* (religious circle). She also got money from her friend's friends and a rich family in Kuningan, Jakarta. An Aliyah told them that they should support the *da'wa* activities in the Baduy society. The money was then donated through Kiyai Zainuddin Amir for *da'wa*.⁹²

The issue of the purchase of land was also accounted by Soleh. He said that in the past there was a man who would sell his two hectares of land for Rp90 million (€6,000). At that time there was a donor who would give Rp30 million (€2,000). Because Soleh could not afford the rest, the money was given back to the donor. The land itself was then bought by a Baduy. Soleh hoped someday there would be a man who would buy land for the Muslim Baduy or the future converts. He thought it was much better if the land was close to his house so that he could manage, supervise and educate the Muslim Baduy. If the land is spacious, whenever there is a Baduy who will convert to Islam, Soleh will invite him to live there. In 2017 Soleh got a donation in the form of a square field from crowdfunding which was organised by a pesantren leader in Serang. Soleh said:

“If we have land, it will be easy when there is a Baduy who will convert. We can let them occupy the land. If we don't, where will they live unless they can buy it? We are not sure that they have money. In fact, when they will convert they have to sell their land and houses [in the *adat* land]. The prices are determined by the future buyers, not by the sellers. The converts do not have a choice. [In this situation] we are confused.”⁹³

Jamaah Tabligh is another group that has bought land for the Muslim Baduy. The businessman Ilham who had a connection with Jamaah Tabligh expressed his dream to buy land on which he could build a village for the Muslim Baduy. During my first fieldwork, Ilham and a follower of Jamaah Tabligh invited me to see the land. The size of the land is around 19 hectares which shares its border

⁹¹ Interview with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

⁹² Interviews with An Aliyah on 2 April and with Kiyai Zainuddin on 6 June 2017.

⁹³ Interview with Soleh on 24 May 2017.

with the land of the Christians. Ilham was interested in buying the land as a counterbalance to the Christianisation of the Baduy. The price of the land was Rp1 billion and Ilham had money to buy it, but he did not have more money to run the resettlement programme of the Baduy. If he decided to buy the land, he wanted to relocate Muslim Baduy who did not have houses to that land.⁹⁴ As an initial step, Ilham bought around 5,000 square metres of land in Portal for about ten Muslim Baduy families. Jamaah Tabligh also got assistance from Iman and friends from Jakarta. They met Haji Adung during their trip to the Baduy land. After talking about the problem experienced by the Muslim Baduy, they donated 3,000 square metres of land which would be used by the Muslim Baduy.⁹⁵

Recently the Jamaah Tabligh follower Samain bought 4.5 hectares of land in Cipangembar. Previously the land belonged to Christian Baduy families. They met Samain on 21 May 2018 and asked him to buy their land, including a house of the Christian Baduy Tatang. Samain agreed even though the price was high enough. On the land Samain was building a *pesantren* to which eleven *santri* were brought from Subang and Ciputat (South Tangerang). Samain also bought a piece of land close to the mosque of Cipangembar. The mosque itself has been chosen by Jamaah Tabligh as the centre of their *da'wa* activities in Leuwidamar. Besides, in Cibengkung a follower of Jamaah Tabligh has bought land and built 15 houses for the Muslim Baduy. Twelve of the houses have been occupied.⁹⁶

The Muslims preachers believed that if they had empty land they would have been able to invite more Baduy to Islam. A Baduy in Cicakal Girang told the Muhammadiyah preacher Ahmad Hidayat that he wanted to convert to Islam, but he was still thinking where he would live after his conversion.⁹⁷ Haji Sarmedi expressed his sadness because some Baduy Muslims, including his relative, reverted to Sunda Wiwitan. They did it, according to him, because they did not have a house to live in and a field from which they could get a livelihood. Returning to the Baduy land where they still had families became a possible choice. Because the Baduy land is for the followers of Sunda Wiwitan, Baduy who want to return to the Baduy land must revert to Sunda Wiwitan. Around ten Muslim Baduy have chosen to revert to Sunda Wiwitan.⁹⁸

The preacher Ara found that some Muslims had sold their land to Christians with the reason that they needed money. He was worried when the Christians had a spacious area they would live together and their number would qualify for

⁹⁴ Interviews with Ilham and Arwan on 24 May 2017.

⁹⁵ Interview with Haji Adung on 8 July 2017.

⁹⁶ Interviews with Samain on 21 December and with Tatang on 24 December 2018.

⁹⁷ Interview with Ahmad Hidayat on 29 March 2017.

⁹⁸ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 21 December 2018.

the regulation to build a worship place. If selling farms is urgent, the preachers hoped, the owners of fields will not sell it to Christians. Other preachers expressed the same view. Ara said:

“We are confused. Our people don’t want to know. For them, the most important thing is to sell the field at the highest price. The local *kiyai* also seem not to care about this issue. They think that celebrating the *maulud* (the birthday of the Prophet) is a *da’wa* activity. It contradicts my mind. We should have been united. When there is a field that will be sold, we contribute.”⁹⁹

In 2007 a Christian met Ara’s mother to bid a piece of her land. Ara warned his mother not to sell the land because the future buyer was a Christian. If she sold the land, Ara would ask her mother not to call him his son. In addition, close to Ara’s mother’s land there was a house which would also be bought by a Christian. Ara warned the owner of the house not to sell it to the Christian. If he did, Ara said that he would behead the owner of the house.

Muslims in Leuwidamar were worried that Christians one time would overpower the Muslims. Muslims are more numerous than the Christians but they are fragmented and feel powerless. Becoming pugnacious and utilising the politics of religion eventually became an effective way to cope with their internal problem and to counter the development of Christianity. A Muslim preacher stated:

“Doing a *da’wa* activity in the Baduy society must be brave, otherwise the Christians will enjoy the situation. They have much money. Some Christian Baduy are studying at Advent University. They will return and invite their Baduy families to Christianity.”¹⁰⁰

D. Conclusion

Like Muslims, Christians do missionary activities among the Baduy. In the 1980s the number of the Baduy who converted to Christianity probably reached more than a hundred. They converted to the religion after Christian missionaries came to the resettlement villages. The missionaries came from various cities, but the most notable were Ismail Amaloh and Kharel Budiman Silitonga. Coming

⁹⁹ Interview with Ara on 24 May 2017.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Ustad Maftuh on 10 April 2017.

from East Timor, Ismail was sent to the resettlement villages of the Baduy by the US-based interdenominational Christian missionary organisation “Youth with a Mission” (YWAM). Coming from Medan, Silitonga could convert both Muslims and the Baduy to Christianity. In 1993 the Christian Baduy converted from Protestantism to Seventh-day Adventism by the assistance of Bambang Sigit Waluyo. Afterwards, the religious life of these Adventist Baduy is managed by the Baduy pastor Windu Nurgojali who got his bachelor and master degrees from Universitas Advent Indonesia of Bandung.

The Muslims could not accept the fact that some Baduy converted to Christianity. Here *da'wa* which initially means ‘an invitation to Muslims to become more religious’ or ‘an invitation to non-Muslims to Islam’ developed to a counter and counterbalance to Christianity. In doing so some Muslim locals and preachers pressured the Christians. To prevent them from having churches, the Muslims deployed regulations of proselytization and the foundation of worship houses. The regulations forbid people from converting other people who already embrace a religion. Before building a worship house the regulations also require the people to already have 90 future users of the worship house. The Muslims knew that the number of the Christian Baduy was less than 90, but they were still worried that sometime the number could reach the number. Efforts to counter and counterbalance Christianity and to prevent the Christians to have a church have brought the Muslims and Christians into tension, conflicts and violence. Christian and Islamic missionary activities then transformed into the purchases of land for the (future) converts. The Christian missionaries and Muslim preachers knew that the root of the Baduy’s problem was access to land.

Conversion of the Baduy: Patterns, Consequences and Identities

In chapters 4 and 5 we have seen how Muslims and Christians did missionary activities among the Baduy. This chapter presents the result of their mission: conversion. If the Baduy's conversion may be simplified it was their response to the teaching of Sunda Wiwitan which does not allow changes as it appears in the saying "*buyut teu meunang dirobah*" or "the teaching of the ancestors may not be changed". This teaching was challenged by the population growth on the one hand and the limited land on the other. Consequently, not every Baduy had access to the *adat* land and many of them moved out of the land to seek a livelihood. When they were far from the *adat* leaders who controlled their obedience to Sunda Wiwitan, they adapted and integrated themselves to the larger environment which was modern and taboo. At the same time the government, the Muslim preachers and Christian missionaries were interested in developing, modernizing and converting the Baduy. This chapter will describe the conversion of the Baduy as a process of distancing themselves from the restrictions and Sunda Wiwitan and of juxtaposing modernity and development. Special attention will be paid to the patterns and consequences of conversion and the identities of the Muslim and Christian Baduy.

A. Patterns and Narratives of the Baduy's Conversion

There are various patterns of conversion experienced by the Baduy. They include

conversions (1) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam, (2) from Sunda Wiwitan to Christianity, (3) from Sunda Wiwitan to Christianity and then to Islam, (4) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and then to Christianity, (5) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and then to revert to Sunda Wiwitan, (6) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and then to revert Sunda Wiwitan and to reconvert to Islam¹. The background of their conversion narratives is the same: the population growth and the limited size of the *adat* land. At the same time, they were not allowed by the *adat* to develop their fields with modern techniques and tools. Eventually, they decided to manage fields of the non-Baduy and live there for years. This decision made them far from the surveillance of their *adat* leaders and closer to the non-Baduy society and government. Furthermore, this situation made their identity blurred. As Baduy they should have lived in the *adat* land, but in reality, they did not. To make it clear, they chose to convert.

1. Conversion from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam

We do not know the exact number of converts from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam. Many informants believed that the number could be more than 1,000. This number emerges from the following calculation. There were more than 450 Baduy families relocated to the resettlement villages. If each family consisted of four people, then the number could be 1,800. Because some of them returned to the *adat* land, moved to other fields, or converted to Christianity, the number of 1,000 people is not exaggerated. Kyai Zainuddin Amir claimed to have converted more than 500 Baduy to Islam, Abah Sarmin more than 200, Abah Ewong more 100, and Ustad Syahroni more than 200 hundred.² Ustad Kasja from Muhammadiyah who has the *Yayasan Baduy Muslim* (Foundation of Muslim Baduy) has a list of more than 700 Muslim Baduy families.³ They mostly lived in Kompol, Margaluyu, Palopat, Sekilo, Cikapek, and Cikanyere. He believed that there were more converts because many Muslim Baduy did not announce their conversion. Many Muslim Baduy in the resettlement villages said that their conversion was not recorded in a

¹ In the 1950-60s some Muslims escaped to the Baduy land from the persecution of the Darul Islam soldiers. They decided to live in the Baduy land and converted to Sunda Wiwitan. Because their conversion happened before the time frame of the research, this type of conversion is not discussed here.

² Interviews with Kyai Zainuddin Amir on 28 March, 1 and 6 June 2017, Abah Sarmin on 5 June 2017, Abah Ewong on 5 June 2017 and with Ustad Syahroni on 21 July 2017. It is not easy to get an exact number of converts, but their claims can be accepted since the number of Muslim Baduy was more than 1,000. Kyai Zainuddin Amir himself gave me 224 religious conversion certificates of the Baduy from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam. In fact, many more Muslim Baduy do not have a conversion certificate.

³ Interviews with Ustad Kasja on 20-21 May and 20 June 2017.

certificate. As an example here we will look at the conversion narratives of Haji Kasmin and Haji Sarmedi.⁴

a. *The Conversion of the Most Successful Baduy Businessman Haji Kasmin*

Mass conversion of the Baduy to Islam and Christianity happened in the 1980s. Among the Baduy who converted to Islam were the businessman Kasmin and Sarmedi. Kasmin was born in 1958 in Cisaban to the mother Kaice and

4 Actually, in many respects, the best example of a Baduy convert to Islam is Jaro Samin. Because he died in 1994 and data on his conversion is very limited, I chose Haji Sarmedi and Haji Kasmin. Moreover, as individuals, some Baduy converted to Islam before 1977. It was experienced, for example, by Wirasuta, Ayah Yarman and Dascin. Wirasuta (or Budak Buncireung) was a Baduy man who left the adat land to know the outer world where his father pointed him to the Sultanate of Banten. He went and worked there. When he would return to the Baduy land, the adat leaders did not allow him. Wirasuta decided to continue his life in the sultanate and is said to have married a daughter of the Sultan. In return, the Baduy visited (Sundanese: seba) him every year which is now known as the Seba. The Baduy believe that Wirasuta has descended noble people, including Agus Rendra, Aki Candra, Aria Martadipa, Mas Ateng, Apun Daryah, Patih Derus, Mas Lia, Murawan, Den Bagus Jayawinata and Den Ujang or Achmad Djajadiningrat (1877-1943) (Saputra 1959: viii-29-31).

In his autobiography *Memoar Pangeran Achmad Djajadiningrat* (1996) Djajadiningrat narrates that the story of Wirasuta (old spelling: Wirasoeta) happened in the period of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa. For Wirasoeta who was a son of the puun Cibeo the Baduy land was too small. He asked his father to let him work in the sultanate of Banten. His father let him go. With the kris of Kebo Gandar as a gift from his father he went to the sultanate of Banten. He was appointed by the sultan as a servant and then as a soldier, and was married with his daughter. In 1663 he joint an effort to stop a rebellion in Lampung where his hand was hurt. Afterwards, Wirasuta was known as Pangeran Astapati (the prince whose hand died). Achmad Djajadiningrat claims that his ancestor was from this man (Djajadiningrat 1996: 1-5, 440).

The Christian Baduy Kokom accounted a story from Jaro Samin that Wirasuta served in the Sultanate of Banten. When he would return to the Baduy land the adat leaders did not permit him because he had followed the customs of the Muslims. Kokom explained further that the names of Wirasuta (Budak Buncireung) and other ancestors were commonly mentioned by the adat leaders when they prayed. He said: "To pray to God, the Baduy mention the names of their ancestors (guriyang wangatua) and among the ancestors was Budak Buncireung" (interview with Kokom on 20 December 2018).

Another Baduy man who is known to become a Muslim was Ayah Yarmin. He was from Cikeusik and became one of Nyi Gamparan's soldiers. If this information is correct, then he lived in the 19th century because Nyi Gamparan led her soldiers against the Dutch in 1832-1835 (Laora Arkeman 2013: xvi). When Nyi Gamparan's soldiers were defeated by the Dutch, Ayah Yarmin was captured and sent to prison. He then escaped to Baduy villages, but the people did not accept him. He had to become a non-Baduy. He left for Batavia (Jakarta). There he learnt to read and write. Later on, he moved to Sumedang and converted to Islam. He studied the Qur'an and Islamic teaching. Afterwards, he moved to Garut and is said to have performed a pilgrimage to Mecca (Saputra 1959: viii-35 - viii-37).

The last example of the initial converts is Dascin from Cikeusik. When he was seven years old, his father brought him to Sobang to meet a shaman (dukun). The shaman foresaw that he would become a non-Baduy. When 15 years old he quarrelled with his father about overseeing a huma. Dascin left his father's house and stayed at the puun's house. He moved again to his brother's. Because his brother urged him to go back to his father, he went to Sobang. There he started to study Islam and changed his name to Jafar. It made the puun of Cikeusik angry and he cursed him. Arpan the jaro of Kamancing suggested Jafar to meet the regent (bupati) of Serang, Achmad Djajadiningrat, who once told Arpan that any Baduy man who wanted to become a Muslim was advised to meet him. Subsequently, he met the regent and lived with him. Next, he studied at a school in Serang, obtained a diploma and worked as a teacher. When C.M. Pleyte and B. van Tricht came to Baduy land in the 1920s, he became their assistant. And when Achmad Djajadiningrat retired as a regent and moved to Cikampek, Jafar followed him. 'Now he is a devout Muslim, but his Baduy-ness still exists: frank, honest, modest, friendly and bounteous' (Saputra 1959: vi-5 - vi-6).

Photo 6.1: A Conversion certificate from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam. Printed with permission.

إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ
 „Seungguhnya agama yang diakui di sisi Allah adalah agama Islam“
 (QUR'AN SURAT ALI - IMRON AYAT 19)

SURAT PERNYATAAN MEMELUK AGAMA ISLAM

Dengan ini saya (Nama) : Salikin
 Tempat dan tanggal lahir : 1998
 Alamat sekarang : Jalayang Mulya
 Pekerjaan : Tani
 Nama orang tua : _____
 Agama terdahulu : Sunda Wiwitan

Dengan kesadaran dan keikhlasan sendiri menyatakan memeluk Agama Islam dengan membaca DUA KALIMAT SYAHADAT

أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
 " AKU BERSAKSI TIDAK ADA TUNAN SELAIN ALLAH DAN AKU BERSAKSI BAHWA NABI MUHAMMAD ADALAH UTUSAN ALLAH "

Setelah memeluk agama Islam nama resmi saya menjadi :
SALIKIN ABUL KARIIM

Ditandatangani di : Rangkasbitung
 Pada tanggal : 16 JULI 1998
 Yang menyatakan,

Penunjang
SAJUDJIN ANIR
 Sekel I
SAJUDJIN ANIR
 Sekel II
SAJUDJIN ANIR
 Sekel III
SAJUDJIN ANIR

Kepala Kantor Departemen Agama Kabupaten Lebak
H. M. H. H. H. H.
 NIP : 100 011 400

the father Saila. His parents had eight children: Sarwati, Iyah, Haji Kasmin, Sarkati, Haji Dayat, Haji Jahadi, Sawi, and Muhammad Endi. Four of them remained as the followers of Sunda Wiwitan. In 1973 he began doing business by becoming a producer of palm sugar. From 1976-1979 he became a seller of Baduy products such as palm sugar and handicrafts. He sold the products in the market of Ciminyak. From 1979 onwards he expanded his business by selling the products to a larger market in Rangkasbitung. Then in 1984 he followed an informal education *Paket A* (equivalent to elementary school) and in 1995 *Paket B* (equivalent to junior high school). Afterwards, he and his family moved to Ciboleger where his house was close to the houses of elementary school teachers Pak Pito and Pak Asep. They suggested him to pursue *Paket C* (equivalent to senior high school).

Since the 1980s, because of being exposed to the outer world, Kasmin has begun to think to abandon his Baduyness and convert to Islam. His intention was getting stronger when he observed that the *adat* land was limited while the

number of population increased. He explained that his grandfather had eight children and his father also had eight children. “At that time I thought: ‘If I have eight children and each of my children will have eight children, and the size of the *adat* land is stuck, what will happen to my life?’” Kasmin concluded that by becoming a non-Baduy he would still be able to live his life even he did not manage fields. In addition to that, he wanted to send his children to school. He believed with the education his children could live anywhere. Then he asked the *adat* leaders to permit him to send his children to school, but the request was rejected. The leaders said that if Kasmin’s children wanted to study at school, they had to leave the *adat* land. Finally, in 1990 Kasmin, his wife Salinah (a daughter of Jaro Samin) and their four children decided to convert to Islam. They proclaimed the *shahāda* in front of many religious leaders and this event was witnessed by many people. Among the prominent religious leaders were Kiyai Ato, Haji Hasan, Kiyai Syamsudin, and Kiyai Sukiman.

Before he converted to Islam Kasmin had bought a piece of land which belonged to Jaro Tibil. Then he met the leader of Muhammadiyah of Lebak, Hasan Alaydrus, who was looking for land for a mosque. Hasan Alaydrus said that the organisation had had money to build the mosque, but it did not have land on which the mosque would be built. The villagers of Ciboleger said that they already had a mosque and did not have land for the new mosque. Kasmin who heard the conversation between Hasan Alaydrus and the villagers thought to donate a part of his land to hope there would be many people there. If there were many people he would run a business. Then Kasmin said to Hasan Alaydrus and the villagers that he would donate his 1,150 square metres of land in Pelemcondong, close to Ciboleger, to Muhammadiyah for the foundation of the mosque. When the mosque Masjid Maulana Yusuf was inaugurated by the Minister of Religious Affairs Munawir Sjadzali, the master of ceremony explained that the land of the mosque was from the donation of Kasmin. Kasmin who just converted to Islam and registered himself to perform the *haj* was funded by the minister to do the *haj*. Kasmin’s wife also did the *haj*, but funded by herself.⁵

When Kasmin converted to Islam, the regent of Lebak was Endang Suwarna (1988-1993) who was a member of Muhammadiyah. The conversion of Kasmin made the regent proud. Because a regent did not manage person per person, the regent asked Muhammadiyah of Lebak to take care of Kasmin. Muhammadiyah of Lebak itself was being led by Hasan Alaydrus who was active in propagating Islam to the Baduy community. Kasmin himself was in tension with the *adat* leaders because when he was still a Baduy he broke the taboo by having cars

⁵ Interview with Haji Kasmin on 19 December 2018.

and a building. The care of Muhammadiyah to him made him feel supported and wanted to Islamise the Baduy community. Even Kasmin gave his land in Kaduketug and Cisaban, both in the *adat* land, for the foundation of mosques. The *adat* leaders directly refused the idea. Even though the land in Kaduketug and Cisaban belonged to Kasmin, but they were in the *adat* land where only Sunda Wiwitan was allowed to be practised. The plan of the foundation of the mosque was cancelled.⁶

b. The Conversion of the Future Jaro Pamarentah Haji Sarmedi⁷

Like Haji Kasmin, Haji Sarmedi also thought that education was important for him and his children. Resisting the taboo of formal education pushed him to leave Sunda Wiwitan and convert to Islam. Born in 1974 to Marsinun (d. 1989)⁸ and Sanirah in Kaduketug, Haji Sarmedi had seven brothers and sisters: Arkinah, Rami, Runi, Sarmedi himself, Sadiman, and Misnah. Sarmedi married Rubiah (b. 1978) in 1994. From the marriage, they have three children Rano Pratama, Aiman Ramadan, and Riza Amalia Putri. In 1992 Sarmedi became a vice *jaro* managing the external affairs. Both as an individual and as an official he often visited various cities in Indonesia, especially Jakarta and Bandung. He admitted that the visits influenced him. The visits taught him that the world, including the Baduy, was changing. If his children did not have a formal education they would be left behind. He came to the decision that he had to send his children to school, although he knew that it was taboo for the Baduy. He asked permission from the leaders, but they did not give it. They said that Sarmedi had experience in the government and would be appointed to become the *jaro pamarentah*, replacing his father's position. Sending his children to school would be a bad precedent for the Baduy.

From visits to many cities Sarmedi became interested in Islam and the decisive moment was in 2000 when he and his Muslim friends went to Bandung. On the way their friends had to stop because it was Friday and they had to do the Friday prayer. The car was parked in front of the mosque and he waited for them in the car. When his friends came out of the mosque, they shook hands and kissed cheeks each other. "I thought: they are the same as me. They are respectful, but I am not. They respect each other because of Islam." In the following night he was unable to sleep. On Tuesday he still led an *adat* ceremony, in the Thursday night he decided to abandon the *adat*, and on Friday he went to the pesantren of Kyai Syamsudin (d.2015) to declare the

⁶ Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 24 November 2018 and with Haji Kasmin on 19 December 2018.

⁷ Information on the conversion of Haji Sarmedi was based on various interviews with him in January – June 2017 and November 2018 – February 2019.

⁸ Marsinun was the *jaro pamarentah* in the 1970s. He was a son of Dulkasan, a *seurat* or vice *puun* of Cibeo.

shahāda. Actually, Kyai Zainuddin Amir had previously invited him to Islam, but Sarmedi was not interested yet. Afterwards, Sarmedi asked his wife to follow him, but she did not want to. She even asked him to divorce her. His mother Sanirah even said that she would not call him his son. She said, “If I die, don’t visit me and if you die we will not visit you.” The news of Sarmedi’s conversion spread and caused a commotion. He was among the officials who judged people who broke the *adat*, but now he abandoned it himself. After his conversion he went to a family in the housing complex of the Depag officials, whom he called his foster father, in Rangkasbitung. He lived there for a year.

To study Islam he went to the pesantren Al Amin of Kyai Syamsudin in Bunikasih. Besides to Kyai Syamsudin he also learned Islam to the *amil* of Ciboleger, Salika (whom he considered as his father), to Hajah Imu and Ustad Hamim. In a speech (*khutbah*) Kyai Syamsudin said that a Muslim would not be forgiven by Allah before his/her parents forgive him. Listening to this Sarmaedi cried. The *kyai* asked him why. Sarmedi explained that he might have been insubordinate to his mother. Kyai Syamsudin asked Sarmedi to meet his mother and Sarmedi did it. At that time her mother was so kind. Even she asked her grandchildren to collect water for Sarmedi to do ablution. “My mother said, ‘You are a Muslim. A Muslim has to do prayer. Before doing prayer you have to take ablution.’” The statements were understood by Sarmedi as a mark that she had accepted his decision to embrace Islam.

One day his foster father told Sarmedi that his ex-wife was in the pesantren of Kyai Zainuddin Amir in Palopat. She had left the Baduy land because she was unable to bear up living in her parents’ house. If Sarmedi was willing to remarry her, the foster father would take her. Sarmedi himself then went to the pesantren to meet her, but she was in the house of her brother, Haji Sapin, in the same village. To Haji Sapin, Rabiah (the ex-wife of Sarmedi) said that she wanted to become a Muslim. Sarmedi’s foster father, Haji Sarpin, and Kyai Zainuddin suggested Sarmedi and Rabiah remarry. Sarmedi came to Rabiah’s grandfather Hasan to ask his permission and to witness their marriage. Instead, Hasan took his machete and spoke to Sarmedi that he would cut Rabiah’s body in two halves, one was for him and another one was for Sarmedi. Later the Depag leader came to mediate. Hasan was not willing to meet him. Hasan’s wife said that Sarmedi and Rabiah may remarry but without their blessing. They remarried as a Muslim couple. One day they came to Hasan’s house to pick up their children. Hasan told Sarmedi, “It was because of you my daughter converted to Islam. I should kill you.”

Hasan, the father-in-law⁹ of Sarmedi, was an influential religious leader of the village and a wealthy man. Whenever the villagers needed help they could come to him. Hasan once told the villagers that anyone who left the Baduy land was not a good man and would become their enemy. In fact, Sarmedi and followed by his granddaughter Rabiah (Aisah) converted to Islam. Starting from this occurrence Hasan could not say again that leaving the *adat* land was bad. Nowadays, Hasan and the villagers never forbid a Baduy to leave the *adat* land and convert to Islam. Even Hasan often told the families of the future converts that converting to Islam would be fine. He exemplified Sarmedi and Aisah who were still close and good with them after their conversion.

In 2003 Sarmedi asked a *kyai* about how his prayer could be accepted by Allah. Sarmedi wanted to do a pilgrimage. The *kyai* said that Sarmedi had to do the *tahadjjud* prayer, a prayer which is done in the night after sleeping. He started his prayer in a Friday night. On Sunday when he slept the secretary of the *desa* of Kanekes came. He asked Sarmedi to become an officer to welcome the regent of Lebak Yas'a Mulyadi in the *desa* office. Before he went to the office he wore a cap (*peci*). It is a national symbol of clothing but a cap is often associated with that of Muslims. In the office the regent asked, "Do you wear a cap?" In other words, the regent asked whether Sarmedi had converted to Islam. Sarmedi confirmed that he already became a Muslim and that he wanted to do a pilgrimage to Mecca. Yas'a Mulyadi said that there was a land acquisition in Maja. If the programme happened, Yas'a Mulyadi would have money and he would give some of it to Sarmedi for the pilgrimage. Next Friday an official from the sub-district came to meet Sarmedi saying that he had to come to the office of the regent. The regent gave him Rp30 million. He soon went to the Depag office to register himself and then to the bank of BNI to deposit the money. Initially, he was unable to register because the time of registration was already running out. But a man came to the bank to withdraw the pilgrimage registration of his wife because she died in a traffic collision. The chance to do the pilgrimage was given to Sarmedi. In 2004 Sarmedi flew to Mecca for a pilgrimage. A year later his wife did the pilgrimage as well.

After converting to Islam what Sarmedi did next was to approach his family. Her ex-wife who was very fanatic to Sunda Wiwitan converted to Islam four years later and they reunited not long after. His younger brother Sadiman who often mocked him by saying that prayer was to kiss soil also followed him. "Many

⁹ Hasan is actually a grandfather of Rabiah. Because she was taken cared of by Hasan since her childhood she called him father. Sarmedi also mentioned him as his father-in-law.

people from my family and my wife's family have converted to Islam," Sarmedi said. His mother who in the past resisted his decision has accepted his decision. She also told him several times that she wanted to convert to Islam, but she was worried because she did not know how to do the prayer. The attitude of the Baduy to conversion also has changed. Sarmedi explained:

"In the past, when a girl was falling in love with a non-Baduy, her parents thought that it was better to kill her.¹⁰ Now the attitude has changed. 'It is fine to leave the *adat*. A child is still a child. Haji Sarmedi also left the *adat* but he is still good with the family.'

Moreover, Sarmedi and his friend Amin built the pesantren Al Amin, some metres away from his house in Ciboleger. Some of the *santri* were from Muncang, Sobang, and Leuwidamar. Sarmedi thought that it was instrumental in facilitating his relatives who would convert to Islam. "In a year there were some Baduy families converted to Islam. If there was no pesantren, where would the future converts study Islam?" So far, the Muslim Baduy families in Ciboleger such as the families of Sarmedi, Lili, Sadiman, Ardi and Petok studied Islam in this pesantren. Besides, Sarmedi maintained a good relationship with the Baduy, especially with his family. When his father-in-law Hasan was sick and hospitalised, Sarmedi took care of him and paid the treatment. Realising that Sarmedi and Aisah were still good with him, Hasan told the villagers that he would not hinder anyone who wanted to convert to Islam.

Sarmedi said that he never invited his Sunda Wiwitan relatives to convert to Islam. Even when there was a father who told him that his son wanted to convert to Islam, Sarmedi always asked to hold him by saying that Islam was prescriptive. He believed that maintaining a good relationship with them was much more effective than inviting them to Islam orally. When his relatives needed some help, he and other Baduy Muslims would come to help. This has given them a good impression and made them not to hinder the Baduy to convert. As a result, more and more Baduy converted to Islam. For example, two children of Jaro Asrap and a relative of Hasan converted to Islam following Sarmedi and Aisah. Sarmedi said:

"This is a quality method and joyful, but it takes a long time. If after

¹⁰ Like what we have seen in chapter 5 footnote number 86, the word "to kill (Sundanese: *maehan*)" or something alike is only an expression. It never happens in the Baduy land that parents kill their children because they converted.



Photograph 6.2:
Haji Sarmedi in an
interview session. The
photograph was taken
by Junaedi in 2017.

leaving the *adat* land I was not good with my family, the next converts such as Acih and Iwat would probably have not been permitted. The most successful of *da'wa* activity is through the familial relation. I became the example (that converting would be fine). This method does not give a direct result, but the result is gradually visible. This method is what we do to the Baduy. We the Muslim Baduy remind each other to be kind to the Baduy relatives. When our relative dies or conduct a ceremony, we have to come to help. Although we have a different religion we have to care about them.”¹¹

As Sarmedi has experienced, leaving the *adat* land has initially put a convert in a burden because he has to have a place to live and a job from which he can get his livelihood. According to Sarmedi, in the *da'wa* activity to the Baduy attention has to be paid to two things: the Islamic creed and the transition period which lasts around two years. In these years, the convert would experience burdens with housing and job. These two are very closely related to land. The house is built on land and the job, which is farming, is also related to it. His experience shows that before he converted to Islam, many Muslims told him that after he became a Muslim and planned to build a house they would contribute 1,000 bricks and 100 bags of cement. In fact, the promise was never fulfilled. Before he could build a house he had to sleep in a warehouse for three years. His relatives frequently visited him saying if living outside the Baduy land was too difficult, it would be better for Sarmedi to return to the Baduy land. For two years he collected money

¹¹ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 1 June 2017.

to buy land and build a house. To make it happen he ate as little as possible. About his and other Baduy's conversion, Sarmedi concluded, "So the keyword is land."

2. *Conversion from Sunda Wiwitan to Christianity*

The effort to convert the Baduy to Christianity dates back to the 1870s when F.L. Anthing (d.1883) sent his cadres Stepanus, Sondjat and Petrus to the Baduy land (see Jan S. Aritonang 2005: 86, 90-2, 97). Stepanus succeeded in converting a Baduy family consisting of "Kamat, his wife and their four children". Four years later Stepanus left the Baduy land and his position as a missionary for the Baduy was occupied by Sondjat. A few years later Sondjat left the Baduy and delivered the missionary duty to Arjan who worked there until 1882. The death of F.L. Anthing who was the sponsor and the mastermind of the mission in 1883 made the mission stopped. Afterwards, another Dutch missionary A.A. Pennings came to Leuwidamar in 1894 to convert the Baduy, but he failed to get permission from the Resident of Banten. With the permit of scientific research, Pennings could visit the Baduy land but the permit was soon withdrawn (Mufti Ali 2009: 131-133; Pennings 1902: 370-386). In 1961 the effort to Christianize the Baduy was done by the Indonesian Bible Institute. Headed by Detmar Scheunemann, the mission, however, did not succeed (Sikitari 1997: 9).

Afterwards, an effort to convert the Baduy to Christianity happened again in the 1980s when the Baduy joined the resettlement programme. Around 1984 the *adat* leaders reminded the Baduy in the resettlement villages that the leaders could not accept the Baduy to live there. They offered two choices: to return to the *adat* land or to leave it. Around 1985-87 the regent of Lebak Oman Sachroni reminded the Baduy in the resettlement villages that they were no longer recognised by the *adat* leaders as Baduy. They had to choose one of the religions recognised by the state. About 12-20 Baduy families chose to convert to Christianity (Anggraeni 2000: 18).¹² The very instrumental person in the process of the Baduy's conversion to Christianity was Ismail Amaloh (d.2015) from Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara. He came there with Haji Adang Efendi, a Baduy enthusiast from Bandung. Ismail Amaloh and his friend Yudistira¹³ were members of Youth With a Mission (YWAM), an evangelical interdenominational organization which was founded in 1960 in the US (*Christianity Today*, December 2010: 42; Fer, 2012: 1396).¹⁴ Ismail Amaloh lived in the resettlement

¹² Interviews with Sapei on 22 November 2018 and with Narja on 20 December 2018.

¹³ When Ismail Amaloh and Yudistira came there, they were in their 20s and 40s respectively. Interviews with Narja, Windu and Tatang on 24 November 2018.

¹⁴ More information about this organization can be read on its website <https://www.ywam.org/>.

village of Gunung Tunggal for about two years, but some informants mentioned that he lived there for only six months. Later other missionaries or pastors came to Gunung Tunggal.¹⁵

The children and grandchildren of Jaro Samin said that every guest coming to resettlement village of Cipangembar, including Ismail Amaloh, used to stay in the house of the *jaro*. In one morning Ismail read the Bible. Narja who was a son of the *jaro* asked him what the book was. Ismail answered that it was the Bible without which his life would be meaningless. Because Narja did not know what the Bible was, Ismail explained that it was the Quran of the Christians. When Ismail returned to Bandung, Narja borrowed the Bible to progress his reading skill. Because the Bible was written in Indonesian Narja thought that Christianity was easier than Islam whose sacred book the Qur'an is written in Arabic. This comprehension arose because Narja had been exposed to the Qur'an through Islamic teachers like Abah Sarmin.

Realising that Sunda Wiwitan was not recognised by the state as a religion and Christianity was thought to be easier than Islam, Narja decided to choose Christianity. "I came from a non-religious background, then it was free for me to choose any religion," he said.¹⁶ Here it is clear that Narja's concept of religion is very much influenced by the state where he used the word "non-religion" to refer to Sunda Wiwitan. Afterwards, Narja's sisters Tati and Ratna followed him to convert to Christianity. Their children would automatically follow the religion of their parents such as the children of Narja and Rabiah: Nani, Rahmat, and Nia; and those of Tati: Tatang, Windu, Agus, Wawan, and Sari. This pattern also applies to their grandchildren. Other Baduy families, including the families of Sawari, Jawas, Sarip, Ahsan, Sargawi, and Armuda, also converted to Christianity. In the peak period of conversion, the total number was more than 30 families. The Muslims even believed that it was much higher than 30.¹⁷ Because each family consisted of around four members, this means there were more than 120 Baduy who converted to Christianity. Because of the pressure from the Muslim groups and the government, their number decreased. In 2018 they numbered around 70. Before they converted from Protestantism to Adventism, the Christian Baduy were affiliated with *Gereja Kristen Pasundan* (the Pasundan Christian Church) which was located on Sunan Kalijaga Street No.5, Rangkasbitung.

Like Narja, some Christian Baduy had been exposed to Islam before to

¹⁵ Interviews with Windu on 24 November and 15 December 2018 and with Narja on 20 December 2018.

¹⁶ Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018

¹⁷ Interviews with Narja on 20 December 2018, with Windu on 24 November 2018, and with Haji Sarmedi in May 2017 and November 2018.

Christianity. One of Jaro Samin's grandchildren Windu, who was also a pastor, for instance, knew and encountered Islam first and then Christianity. His grandfather Jaro Samin once gave him a copy of the Qur'an. Windu even learned how to read the Qur'an to Ustad Ading and Ustad Yusuf.¹⁸ The Christian Baduy Sapei also had encountered Islam first. He learned Islam to Abah Sarmin. Sapei said that he wanted to read the Indonesian or Sundanese translation of the Qur'an, but the *ustad* said that it was not permitted to translate the Qur'an. Being unhappy with the answer he did not learn Islam again. Later Narja converted to Christianity. His brother Haji Sapin once gave him a copy of the Qur'an, probably to attract Sapei to Islam, but it made Sapei's belief in Christianity even stronger.¹⁹

Windu who claimed to have known Jesus since he was at the grade four of the elementary school explained that the Biblical verses were miraculous. He gave two examples. First, when Ismail Amaloh and the Baduy were playing football it rained. Ismail prayed and the rain stopped in the football field, but not outside. Also when Windu's grandmother was bitten by snakes, Ismail gave her water to which he had read some verses of the Bible. "The grandmother was bitten by snakes more than seven times, she was cured. Conversely, other Baduy who did not believe in Jesus died after being bitten by snakes. Their hands rotted," Windu said.²⁰

The teaching of Christianity has also attracted the Baduy Kokom. Even now he works as a missionary. He explained why he was interested in Christianity.

"I am interested in Christianity because [first] its teaching is clear. Second, Christianity teaches me to pray for all of us. When God guides us, our lives are joyful. Even not only friends, we also have to love our enemies. If someone throws us with stones, we have to reciprocate him with cotton. It means we may not reciprocate. If there is someone who hates us, we pray for him. It means that the teaching of Christianity is great."²¹

The conversion of the Baduy to Christianity in the mid-1980s was soon known by the local Muslims. Let alone some Muslims like Abah Sarmin and Abah Ewong lived in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal. The pressure started to appear. Windu experienced his bad days when he was a pupil at the elementary school. His religious teacher, who was a Muslim, often asked the religions of his students. When he was teaching he often asked: 'who is a Christian?' Windu who was the only Christian pupil raised his hand and followed

¹⁸ Interview with Windu Nurgojali 1 on 24 November 2018.

¹⁹ Interview with Sapei on 22 November 2018.

²⁰ Interviews with Windu on 24 November and 15 December 2018.

²¹ Interview with Kokom on 20 December 2018.

by the laughter of his friends. “The question was continuously asked from grade four to grade six. It was a pressure,” Windu said. But a powerful pressure happened when the Muslims knew that a cross was drawn on the Qur’an. Narja as the oldest Christian was called by the officials of the police, the military, the KUA, and the Depag. Narja said that he did not know who did it. Later he knew that it was done by his nephew who later converted to Islam.²²

The pressure was also strong when the journalist Don Hasman from a major newspaper from Bandung *Suara Pembaharuan* reported the Christmas celebration held by the Christian Baduy around 1996. Jaro Samin who was the leader of the Baduy and also a father and grandfather of some Christian Baduy was not free from the pressure. Jaro Samin himself let his children choose any religion they believed. Because of the pressure, Jaro Samin once asked Narja to leave Christianity and convert to Islam, but Narja refused. Narja also felt hurtful to hear that he and his Baduy relatives converted to Christianity because someone guaranteed their livelihood. In fact, he said, he worked in Bandung by renting a piece of land of Universitas Advent Indonesia.²³ Tatang and Windu argued that the roots of this tension were the joint regulation between the ministries of religious affairs and home affairs on worship places. Narja explained that after the cases happening at the end 1980s and at the beginning 1990s the relationship between the Christian and Muslim Baduy became better. For example, the Christian Baduy families were often invited by the Muslim Baduy Haji Kasmin. When Haji Kasmin was jailed in Bandung because of the corruption case (see chapter 7) his family often stayed in the house of Narja in Bandung. During holidays, they, the Muslim and Christian Baduy, often visited each other.²⁴

Moreover, in August 1991 Narja was called by Yosef a worker in the BUMN (*Badan Usaha Milik Negara* state-owned company) of Perhutani, saying that there was a man named Bambang Sigit Waluyo in Rongkasbitung who wanted to meet him. Then Yosef brought Narja to Rongkasbitung to meet Bambang. He was from Solo, then moved to Jakarta (probably to Taman Mini Indonesia Indah), and Rongkasbitung. Bambang was a bookseller and a voluntary evangelist from the programme of *Tenaga Sukarela Pengembangan Masyarakat* (the Community Development Volunteers) of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. In Rongkasbitung he lived in the village of Rumbut. During the meeting, Bambang proposed some questions such as: “is it true that Narja converted to Christianity?” and “is it true that the service, according to the Bible, should be

²² Interviews with Windu on 24 November and 15 December 2018, with Sapei on 22 November 2018, with Narja on 20 December 2018 and with Ustad Syahroni on 22 July 2017.

²³ Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

²⁴ Interview with Tatang on 24 November 2018.

conducted on Sundays?” By citing Daniel 7:25 Bambang told Narja that the service should be on Saturdays, not on Sundays.²⁵ Understanding the explanation of Bambang, Narja converted from Protestantism to the Seventh-Day Adventism. Afterwards, he often came to Rangkasbitung to hear more about the teaching of this denomination. Some Baduy also often came there. If they were unable to come, Narja explained what he heard from the pastors, including from Pastor Joni Maromon who came from Salemba, Jakarta.²⁶

Windu who was a protestant Christian followed his uncle Narja to convert to Adventism in 1993. Six months later more Christian Baduy also converted to this denomination. Narja, Windu, and Kokom argued that Adventism, like what was told by Bambang Sigit Waluyo to them, was the true teaching of Christianity as it is taught by the Bible. The most apparent is the day of service which should be on Saturdays. They also cited some verses of the Bible on dietary rules which were not followed by many Christians.²⁷ Afterwards, Windu was brought by Bambang Sigit Waluyo to Purwodadi to study at Sekolah Lanjutan Advent Purwodadi (the Senior High School of Adventism), Central Java, and graduated from the school in 1997.²⁸ He, and also Bambang, continued their study at Universitas Advent Indonesia in Bandung. Windu got his bachelor degree in 2001 and his master from the same university in 2014. Furthermore, Windu was appointed as a pastor and he gave services in many churches in Jakarta. Since the last few years he, his wife Elin Maringka, and their three children have been living in Rangkasbitung. Every Saturday Windu went to Cipangembar to give a service for his Christian Baduy families.²⁹

It seems that Bambang was the man who also brought the Christian Baduy Satra, his wife and his first baby Tika in 1994 to move to Bandung when Satra's parents did not agree with Satra's conversion to Christianity. In Bandung Satra worked at Universitas Advent Indonesia as a gardener. From the work Satra, in

²⁵ Daniel 7:25 states that “And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.” Here Bambang interpreted “to change times” as there would be people who changed the time of service from Saturdays to Sundays. Because of this understanding the Adventist Christians, like the Christian Baduy, perform the service on Saturdays. <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Daniel+7%3A25&version=KJV>, accessed on 2 March 2019.

²⁶ Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

²⁷ The Christian Baduy Narja, by referring to the verses of Leviticus 11, explained animals which may and may not be eaten by Christians. For example, four-legged animals may be eaten if they have split hoofs and chew their cud. Leviticus 11:7 mentions that pigs have split hoofs but they do not chew the cud. Narja said that many Christians ate pork which is actually forbidden.

²⁸ Previously, Windu graduated from the elementary school (SD) of Gunungtunggal in 1990 and from the Junior High School (SMP) of Leuwidamar in 1993.

²⁹ Interview with Windu on 24 November 2018.

the end, could buy a field and changed his residency from Lebak to Bandung. He lives there with his wife and their three children. Besides Satra, another Christian Baduy named Nalim was said to have moved to Bandung. In 2003 Narja and his family moved to Parongpong, Bandung, because his children had to study at the university. He built a house not far from the campus. His relative Tatang followed Narja to stay in the same village in Bandung. They moved there because the university required its students to live with their families or to stay in the dormitory. Narja's son Rahmat once studied at the university but he finished his study at a college in Rangkasbitung. While accompanying their children, Narja and Tatang, including probably Satra, worked as farmers by renting some pieces of land of Universitas Advent Indonesia.³⁰

Like Windu, the son-in-law of Narja, Kokom, also met Bambang Sigit Waluyo in 1993. In 1995 Bambang and Kokom went to Cepu and Ngawi, East Java, to give service. Kokom remained there until 1997. Afterwards, Kokom went to Lampung as a missionary. Bambang himself moved in 1998 to Parongpong, Bandung, to study at Universitas Advent Indonesia. He also invited Windu to study at the same university. During his study from 1998-2001 Bambang lived on Jalan Kayu Ambon, Lembang, and gave service in the surrounding areas. In 2001 Bambang was assigned to give service in Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara. From there he moved to Pangalengan, Bandung. Moreover, he was sick because of the kidney disease and brought to Advent Hospital in Cihampelas, Bandung. Later he was brought to Cikini Hospital in Jakarta and died there. Buried in Cibubur, he left his wife and three children Lina, Teti and Dona.³¹

Now the Christian Baduy are spread mainly in Cipangembar, Rangkasbitung, Tangerang, and Bandung. In Cipangembar there were around 5-7 families; in Rangkasbitung there are Windu and his family, in Tangerang there is Ratna who works as a midwife in the Hospital of Harapan Kita, and in Bandung there are Narja, Kokom, Tatang, Satra, and Nalim and their families. Narja and his wife have three children Nani, Rahmat, and Natalia. Nani is married to Kokom, live in Parongpong and have a daughter Sabrina. As a missionary Kokom often went to transmigration villages in Sulawesi, Lampung, and Bangka. He and his colleagues brought food and medicine. Previously, he lived in Ngawi, East Java. Rahmat once studied at Universitas Advent Indonesia, but finished his study in Rangkasbitung. Natalia was studying nursery at Universitas Advent Indonesia. Tatang spends most of his time in Cipangembar, but sometimes he stays in Bandung to look after his children who are studying in the city. Nalim has four

³⁰ Interviews with Tatang on 24 November 2018 and with Narja and his daughter Nani on 20 December 2018.

³¹ Interview with Kokom on 20 December 2018.

daughters Nanih, Jasih, Lilis, and Lina. Nanih is married to a Papuan Adventist Edo Kaperbak who works as a missionary in Papua. Besides, there was also a Christian Baduy boy who was studying and living in Serang. His parents are Baduy who converted to Christianity and later converted to Islam.³²

3. *Conversion from Sunda Wiwitan to Protestant Christianity to Islam*

When some Baduy converted to Islam and some others to Christianity the relation between them became bad. The Muslim Baduy Eman who once lived in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal said that the situation was hostile.³³ This bad relation was followed by the move of the Baduy from Gunung Tunggal to Margaluyu and Cihaur. The move was related to the fact that they occupied a wrong place, on the land which belonged to other people. But it was then understood by some Muslim Baduy as a simultaneous way to keep a distance with their Christian neighbours. This tension drove some Christian Baduy to convert to Islam to maintain their relationships with other Baduy. Among the Christian Baduy who converted to Islam were the families of Sapri, Salman, Sarun, Dayat, Jawas and Hasan. We will look at more details the conversion narratives of Jawas and Hasan.

Jawas³⁴ came from Gajeboh. He did not know when he was born, but he thought he was 83 years old in 2018. In the period of *gerombolan* (horde) or the Darul Islam³⁵ he was 20 years old. People told him that the Darul Islam soldiers existed in Leuwidamar and its surroundings at the end of the 1950s.³⁶ Bakels (1989: 362) mentions that Citorek, which is located around 30 km away from the Baduy land, was a place of the Darul Islam movement in 1957. So we can conclude that in 2018 Jawas was 81 years old. Jawas was born to Haljinim and Jaisah. They had eleven children. Jawas married Aswi and had seven children: two died and the five are still alive. Jawas joined the resettlement programme in 1977 because his economic life was not good and “didn’t have land (fields), while I had many brothers.” Before joining the programme he had moved from one field to another in Bojongmanik, outside the *adat* land, for twelve years. His brother who managed a non-Baduy’s field in Kopo invited Jawas to join the resettlement programme of the Depsos.

³² Interviews with Narja and Kokom on 20 December 2018 and with Hasan on 22 November 2018.

³³ Interviews with Eman on 6 June 2017, 28 March 2017 and 8 December 2018.

³⁴ Interview with Jawas on 21 November 2018.

³⁵ Founded in 1949 by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo and friends, the *Darul Islam* intended to form the Islamic State of Indonesia which was solely on the sharia. They rebelled against the government of Indonesia in some parts of the country, especially in West Java, Sulawesi and Aceh. For an extensive study of the *Darul Islam* read C. Van Dijk. 1981. *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam: the Darul Islam in Indonesia*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

³⁶ In this period some Muslims, to avoid the threat of the Darul Islam, hid in the Baduy land and converted to Sunda Wiwitan.

In the resettlement village Jawas was invited by the Christian Usman to convert to Protestantism. He and his wife converted to this religion. Usman, according to Jawas, told him that after abandoning Sunda Wiwitan it would be better for Jawas to choose Christianity because this religion, compared to Islam, was easier. Unlike Muslims, a Christian did not need to do the prayers five times a day and to fast for the whole month of Ramadan. “Because I didn’t know I converted” and he was baptised in a church in Rangkasbitung. Because the Christian Baduy were affiliated with the Pasundan Christian Church, he must have been baptised there. In his spare time on Sundays he followed other Christian Baduy to attend services in Rangkasbitung. His Christian Baduy friends whom he still remembered were Sapri, Sarip, Sargawi, Sarmuda, Dayat (Sarmuda’s son) and Hasan. He could not remember the exact number of the Baduy who converted to Christianity. But Usman and Narja, both were the children of Jaro Samin, were among the first Baduy who converted to Christianity. In addition, Jawas mentioned that Ismail Amaloh was as one of the missionaries who introduced Christianity to the Baduy.

Jawas lived his Christian life unhappily because his neighbours often told him that Christianity was not good. He felt uncomfortable with their comments and ashamed of himself to his neighbours who converted to Islam. Also, because he was Christian, he was unable to join socio-religious activities organised by his Muslim neighbours. His children Basri, Suhawi, and Arikisan who were close to the religious teacher Abah Ewong also encouraged him to convert to Islam. Jawas explained:

“When I was in the Baduy land, because I knew nothing, my life was restful. When I converted to Christianity my life was no longer restful because I didn’t know what Christianity was. Let alone my neighbours told me that it was not a good religion. The information from my neighbours made my life not calm.”

Afterwards, he converted to Islam by proclaiming the *shahāda* in front of Kyai Mursyidi in Margaluyu. The *kyai* who was from Lebak Masigit often came to the village to teach the villagers Islam. Afterwards, he learned Islam to Abang Sarmin and Ali in Margaluyu. His Christian friends never asked him why he left the religion. Now Jawas and his wife were spending the rest of their life in Cihaur, not far from the house of Abang Ewong. Three of their children also lived there. Another child, Ahmad, had been studying for seven years in the pesantren Wasilatul Falah (Wasfal) in Rangkasbitung.

The second example of the conversion of the Baduy from Sunda Wiwitan to Christianity and then to Islam is Hasan and his wife Siti. Hasan came from

Cisagu, whereas his wife Siti originated from Kadujangkung. In 2011 they moved to Cipangembar and converted to Christianity. Their conversion to Christianity began when Siti was ill. During her sickness Windu, her cousin³⁷, often visited her and brought her to the hospital. To make the medication easy, Hasan and Siti stayed in the house of the Christian Usman in Cipangembar for one year and then they built their own house in the village. For seven years Siti and Hasan became Christians. They learned Christianity through the services that were delivered every Saturday by Windu. Sometimes they attended the service in a church in Rangkasbitung.

In 2017 Siti, followed by Hasan, converted to Islam. Her conversion to Islam happened without a previous consideration. When she went to her field he felt “someone” guided her not to go to the field, but Margaluyu. Suddenly, her heart trembled and she was eager to convert to Islam. In Margaluyu she met her brother and kept crying in front of him. Her brother met the Muslim Baduy Sapri (who was previously a Christian Baduy). Sapri went to meet and invite the religious teacher Abah Ewong. Then the latter guided her to declare the *shahāda*. Because his wife converted to Islam, Hasan followed her. Their son Arhan remains as an Adventist Christian. Siti and Hasan’s relation with Windu is still fine.³⁸

4. *Conversion from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and then to Christianity*

This type of conversion was probably experienced only by one person, Narisah (b.1938) the widow of Jaro Sarmin. Not much information could be gathered about her conversion from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and then to Christianity, except from her son Haji Nalim and her grandson Pastor Windu. Like many other Baduy women who converted to Islam, Narisah must have converted to Islam in the mid-1980s following her husband Jaro Samin. After Jaro Samin died, Narisah was taken care of by Ratna in Tangerang and has been with her for around ten years. When his first son Haji Nalim asked Narisah about her religion, she replied: “*Aing mah teu ka mana-mana*” which means “I don’t go anywhere” or “I don’t follow anyone.” This statement is unclear whether it means that she was still a follower of Sunda Wiwitan. But Haji Nalim was sure that she had left Sunda Wiwitan and converted to Islam. When she followed Ratna, some Muslim Baduy asked the daughter of Jaro Samin Salinah to take care of Narisah because they were worried she would convert to Christianity. Windu confirmed that his grandmother had converted to Seventh-day Adventist Christianity.³⁹

³⁷ Windu’s father is the older brother of Siti’s mother.

³⁸ Interviews with Siti and Hasan on 22 November 2018.

³⁹ Interviews with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017, with Edi on 24 May 2018 and with Windu on 24 November and 15 December 2018.

5. *Conversion from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and Reverted to Sunda Wiwitan*⁴⁰

We do not know exactly whether the Baduy who left the resettlement villages and returned to the Baduy land, such as Juni (from Kaduketug), Arwa (Kaduketug), and Ayah Rabiun (Karahral), in the mid-1980s had converted to Islam or not. But Salia a Muslim Baduy who lived in the resettlement village in Palopat had a story. When he and his family worked in the fields of the former Regent of Lebak Jayabaya, other five Baduy families were working there. Salia and his friends were Muslim Baduy. When he had a problem with them he decided to stop working in the family of the regent and moved to live in Palopat. Later he knew that his friends also stopped working and returned to the *adat* land.⁴¹ Because the *adat* land is the land of Sunda Wiwitan where no believers of other religions are permitted to live there, we could ensure that they reverted to Sunda Wiwitan. Besides, Haji Sarmedi knew that there were no less than ten Muslim Baduy families who reverted to Sunda Wiwitan. Therefore, there were at least 15 Muslim Baduy families who reverted to the religion. Some examples of Muslim Baduy who reverted to Sunda Wiwitan are Widi, Radi, Karia and Sangsang.

Widi lived in Kaduketug with her aunt and uncle. When she was younger she was taken care of by them. Later she worked in a restaurant in Sepatan, Tangerang, had a relationship with a Muslim named Kusnadi. He asked Widi to convert to Islam because he wanted to marry her. Like what we have seen in chapter 1, in Indonesia it is like a legal obligation to marry a woman or a man from the same religion. Then Widi converted to Islam and married Kusnadi. They lived in Tangerang for around six years. During the years she often visited her families in the *adat* land. The couple then faced a conflict. It was said that her husband often gambled, came home late and fumed at her. Being unhappy with the situation Widi returned to her family in Kaduketug, in the *adat* land. Her uncle who acted as her father told her that as a Muslim she should not have lived in the *adat* land.

Widi contacted Haji Sarmedi to help her to divorce her husband. Widi, Haji Sarmedi and her family went to Tangerang to meet her husband and to discuss the continuation of their marriage. Her husband said that he still loved her, but Widi wanted to divorce. She asked him to divorce her and he did. In early 2018 she returned to the *adat* land. Her mother asked her to live with her as a Muslim, but Widi refused because her mother's village was isolated. It would be difficult for her even just to buy foodstuffs. In September 2018 Haji Sarmedi heard that Widi had reverted to Sunda Wiwitan and some Baduy confirmed the news. Haji

⁴⁰ Except mentioned differently, this section is based on my interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 21 December 2018.

⁴¹ Interview with Salia on 10 April 2017.

Sarmedi was very sure that her decision to return to the Baduy land and reverted to Sunda Wiwitan because she did not have a place to live. Joining her mother in an isolated village would not be comfortable for people who had socialised with a lot of people. Haji Sarmedi once offered her to live in his house, but he said that there were already three Muslim Baduy families living in his house.

Widi lives in Kaduketug with her aunt and uncle whom she considers her mother and father. At present Widi manages a kiosk where she sells drinks and foodstuffs. In addition, like many other Baduy women she weaves shawls and sarongs. Her mother was angry at Widi's decision to revert to Sunda Wiwitan. "I am also angry. But if I were her, probably I would have taken the same decision," Haji Sarmedi said. He added, "People, in general, don't care. When they were told that there were Baduy who converted to Christianity or Muslim Baduy who reverted to Sunda Wiwitan, they only expressed their remorse."

Besides Widi, Adi, Karia and Sangsang also reverted to Sunda Wiwitan. The reason was the same: access to land and livelihood. Adi and his family converted to Islam. After some years living in Cibengkung, living difficult lives, and having no house, he often visited his family in the Baduy land. In the land he became a coolie and got enough food. Eventually, in 2010 or 2011 Adi, his wife and their two children decided to return to the *adat* land and reverted to Sunda Wiwitan. In the same period, around 2010, Karia from Cikopek reverted to Sunda Wiwitan. Before converting to Islam he bought palm sugar from the Baduy and sold it in the market. He converted to Islam and lived in the resettlement of Cigumeneng. In the village he did not have a job and returned to the Baduy land and reverted to Sunda Wiwitan. Also, Sangsang converted to Islam around 2002 and lived in Sukatani. When he was there he often became a *muadzin*, a man who calls Muslims to do prayer. Sangsang finally chose to revert to Sunda Wiwitan.

The Muslim Baduy Haji Sarmedi, Asman, Herman, and Ustad Kasja had the same view that Widi and friends' reversion to Sunda Wiwitan was because they did not have a place to live and a field to manage. Haji Sarmedi stated that their reversion was "because they didn't have a place to live and a job. The main thing was a place to live in."⁴² Kasja stated that many Baduy converted to Islam and reverted to Sunda Wiwitan because they had no field and no house.⁴³ The Muslim Baduy from Cisaban Asman argued that the Muslim Baduy reverted to Sunda Wiwitan because they had "less religious education". He agreed with Haji Sarmedi that poverty had driven them to the choice, but, according to him, enough religious education would have helped them in preventing them from the

⁴² Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 21 December 2018.

⁴³ Interviews with Ustad Kasja on 9 April, 10 May and 24 May 2017.

reversion.⁴⁴ Like Asman, the Muslim Baduy Herman believed that faith (*iman*) could prevent a Muslim Baduy from reversion. He exemplified himself who lived in poverty. Until he had grandchildren he did not have a house. He lived in a house provided by Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin and Muhammadiyah.⁴⁵

6. *Conversion from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam to Sunda Wiwitan and Back to Islam*⁴⁶

One example of a Baduy who converted to Islam, reverted to Sunda Wiwitan and reconverted to Islam is Surya. He was born in 1965 to Arji (d.1983) and Suwanah. Surya and his brother Suta are two among twelve children of Arji and Suwanah, but ten of them have died. Surya is the only of the family who converted to Islam, whereas Suta and their mother live in Kaduketug as the followers of Sunda Wiwitan. For Surya, his conversion was to search for freedom.

“I converted to Islam because I wanted to be free. By converting to Islam I would be free even though in reality probably I would have nothing. In the Baduy land everything is forbidden. We are not allowed to have motorcycles, cars and rice fields. I experienced it. Conversely, in Islam we are permitted. So I converted to Islam to achieve this freedom.”

Surya declared the *shahāda* in 1995 in front of Kyai Zainuddin Amir in Palopat. Afterwards, he lived in Bedenglima and then moved to Cipinang, Jakarta. From Jakarta he moved to Kompol. In this village he reverted to Sunda Wiwitan because his mother asked him to do so. He explained:

“I lived with my mother. When I converted to Islam, none of my extended family members was already adult. My mother told me, ‘How if you stop being a Muslim until the grandchildren become adult? Return first to the Baduy (religion and land)?’ I thought about it: ‘I become like this because my mother was pregnant with me for nine months. She took care of me. Now she is becoming older and no one who takes care of her.’ Because I loved my mother I reverted to Sunda Wiwitan. I told to my mother that I would reconvert to Islam.”⁴⁷

At present, Surya lives with his wife, who is his cousin, in Cicanir as Muslim

⁴⁴ Interview with Asman on 15 April 2018.

⁴⁵ Interview with Herman on 10 March 2018.

⁴⁶ Interview with Surya on 22 November 2018.

⁴⁷ Interview with Surya on 22 November 2018.

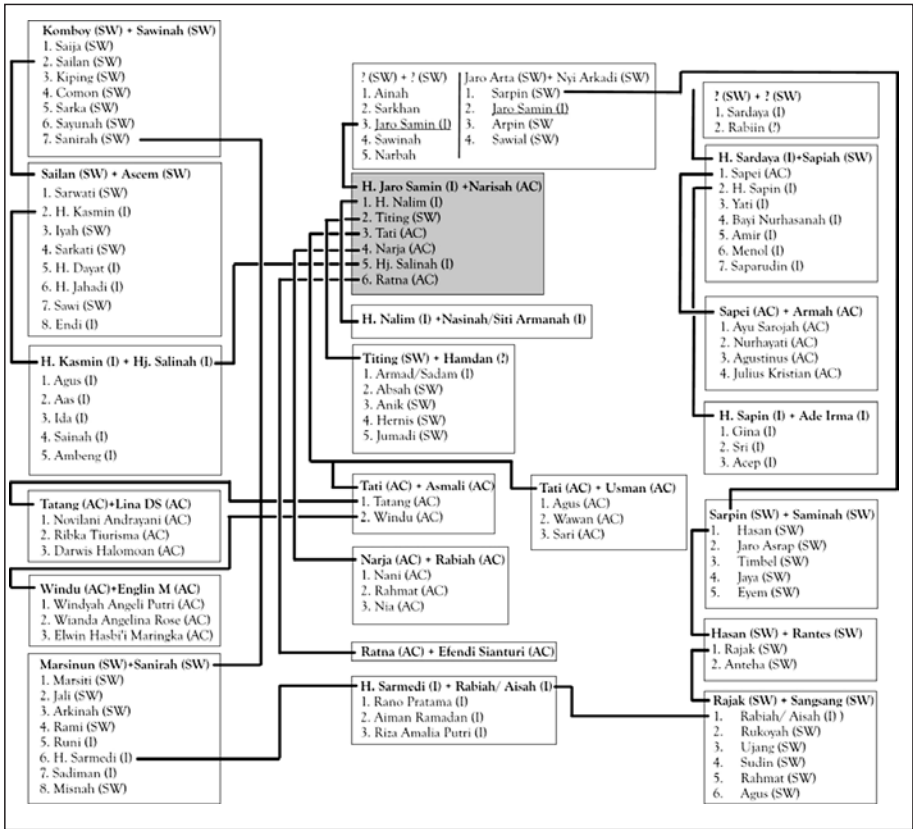


Figure 6.1: Muslim and Christian Baduy and their familial relationship. Note: I=Islam, SW=Sunda Wiwitan, and AC=Adventist Christian.

converts.⁴⁸ They converted to Islam in front of Haji Roni, a man who built a resettlement village in Cibengkung, in August 2018. They did so to find freedom.

“My wife said, ‘Father, you have experienced to become a Muslim. Let’s convert to Islam.’ I replied, ‘Why converting to Islam? I don’t want to convert to Islam.’ It was only a joke. I asked her why. She replied that she wanted freedom. In Islam she may wear whatever clothes she likes, whereas in the Baduy religion it is limited. When a Baduy has a good sandal it cannot be worn. Even it would be cut into pieces.”⁴⁹

⁴⁸ His first wife had died and with her Surya has two children. With the second Surya has a son who lives in the Baduy land as the follower of Sunda Wiwitan.

⁴⁹ Interview with Surya on 22 November 2018.

As just stated by Surya and his wife, conversion is to find freedom. And they already got it. But freedom does not guarantee that they can overcome the problem they experienced as Baduy. Like what was experienced by Sarmedi, Widi, Adi, Karia, and many other converts, Surya and his wife did not have a place to live in or land to manage. After their conversion they moved from one place to another. In 2018 they lived in Cicanir in the house of Pak Otoy. He told the couples that it was better to live together with him rather than living in a field. Surya hoped he would have a house there. Surya said:

“Becoming a Muslim is not arduous. Doing the prayer is not tiring. The heaviest burden is to live the economic life. But I believe that God will give me His sustenance. The essence is from Allah, the method is from humans.”⁵⁰

B. Rituals of Conversion to Islam or Christianity and Reversion to Sunda Wiwitan

One of many reasons why the Baduy converted to Islam is that they can revert to Sunda Wiwitan if in the future they find Islam does not suit them. In other words, the *adat* leaders will accept the Muslim Baduy who decide to become Baduy again, as practised for example by Widi and Adi. The *adat* leaders deem that there is a connection between Muslims and the Baduy in the *shahāda*. The Muslim Baduy Salman explains that this possibility exists because the *adat* has a ritual of reversion for the Muslim Baduy. On the other hand, he added, the *adat* does not have such a ritual for the Christian Baduy.⁵¹ The *jaro pamarentah* Saija, however, explained that everything happening in the *adat* land, not exclusively to conversion and reversion, had to be informed to the *puun*. “When he [a Baduy] wants to leave (the *adat* land), he has to report to the parents and the *puun*. He has to bring a *bokor* and a *kris*. Births and deaths also have to be reported to the *puun*.”⁵²

Related to the conversion of the Baduy to Islam, there are two processes that the future converts will undergo: the process of leaving Sunda Wiwitan and that of coming into Islam. What commonly happened was that the future converts converted to Islam first and afterwards he reported his conversion to the *adat* leaders. Technically, conversion to Islam is very simple, just to proclaim the *shahāda* in front of two witnesses. The *shahāda*, therefore, is like a theological

⁵⁰ Interview with Surya on 22 November 2018.

⁵¹ Interview with Salman on 24 May 2018.

⁵² Interview with the *jaro pamarentah* Saija on 3 May 2018.

wall separating a Muslim from a non-Muslim. By declaring it the convert moves from one side into another. Apart from this formal way of becoming Muslims, the Baduy who converted to Islam were often demanded by the guides or the *ustad* to take a bath first. They were worried that the bodies of the converts were probably impure because of having contacted with impure substance (*najis*) such as faeces, urine, and carrion.⁵³ Afterwards, witnessed by at least two witnesses, they proclaimed the *shahāda*.

The *adat* recommends a Baduy who converts to Islam to perform a ritual called *ngabokor* or *pangrungkup* through which he says a farewell to and asks the *puun* to release him. This means that the convert leaves the Baduy land and culture respectfully. If not, the Baduy believe the convert would fall sick. Kyai Zainuddin Amir accounted a conversion story of 78 Baduy. Two of them performed the ritual of *ngabokor* and the 76 people did not. The two were fine, but the 76 people became sick. After they asked for forgiveness to the *puun* and did the ritual they became healthy again. Kyai Zainuddin said:

“*Ngabokor* is a cultural process of saying goodbye that they will abandon their culture. The *puun* releases them. In our language it is to ask for blessing and in their language the blessing is called *rahayu*.”⁵⁴

Like conversion to Islam, the Christian Baduy Windu explained that the Baduy who convert to Christianity are also recommended to report to the *puun*. But if they do not do it, it would be still fine. Furthermore, Windu explained how to convert to the Seventh-day Adventist Christianity.

“One has to have a will to learn the Bible until he understands that Jesus is God and his personal Saviour, then he writes a request to be baptised, the council makes a decision, and in front of the congregation he has to proclaim 13 vows of the Seventh-Adventist Church, and then he will be baptised.”⁵⁶

When a Muslim Baduy wants to revert from Islam to Sunda Wiwitan he has to follow another ceremony which is called *talibokta*. In this ritual he meets and

⁵³ About how to counteract the impurity in Islam, read “ablution” by Ze’ev Maghen in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three, Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson. Consulted online on 15 April 2019 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_0150.

⁵⁴ According to the standard Indonesia dictionary (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia) the word *rahayu* means safe and peace. <https://kbbi.web.id/rahayu>, accessed on 12 April 2019.

⁵⁵ Interviews with Kyai Zainuddin Amir on 28 March and 6 June 2017.

⁵⁶ Interview with Windu via Whatsapp on 18 March 2019.

expresses his intention to a *juru basa* (message conveyor) who is generally the village leader. By bringing a *bokor* (copper bowl) filled in with the leaves of betel, incense, and a kris, the *juru basa* brings the message to the *jaro pamarentah* by saying “if he is wrong, please advise him; if he is crooked, please straighten”. The *jaro* replies, “If he wants to be righteous, I will convey the message to the *puun*.” The *jaro pamarentah* then brings the bowl to the *jaro* of Cihulu and then to the *puun*. The *puun* will read a spell for the revert. Moreover, the process of leaving or re-entering the Baduy land is the same, except for the message sent to the *puun* which is different.⁵⁷

Surya explained that converting to Islam was easy, by just proclaiming the *shahāda*, but reverting to Sunda Wiwitan was very difficult. One has to do a cleansing ritual and perform a ceremony which is called *talibokta*. To perform the ceremony the revert has to have money around Rp15-18 million (around €2,200). The money will be used to make, among others, 40 *congco*⁵⁸. Because Surya did not have money, until the day I interviewed him he had not been cleansed yet. He asked the *adat* leaders to accept the money he already had, around Rp3 million, but they refused and suggested him to wait for other Muslim Baduy who probably would revert to Sunda Wiwitan. If there are more reverts, the fees can be divided among them.⁵⁹ So far, Muslims, in general, do not consider the reversion of the Baduy to Sunda Wiwitan as a problem. Some Muslim preachers expressed that they were sad with the decision of the Muslim Baduy to return to the *adat* land, but they could not help.⁶⁰

C. Consequences of Conversion: Obtaining Freedom and Moving from the *Adat* Land

When asking about the Baduy’s post-conversion, the converts often quoted the Sundanese proverb saying “*pindah cai pindah tampian*” (literally: the move of water/river, the move of the place of taking a bath)⁶¹. This proverb means that when they move to a certain place, they have to change the place of bathing

⁵⁷ Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 24 November 2018, with Surya on 22 November 2018, with Kyai Zainuddin Amir on 21 Juli 2017, with Windu on 24 November and 15 December 2018, and with the *jaro pamarentah* Saija on 3 May 2018.

⁵⁸ *Congco* is a pyramid of rice added with fish, vegetables, meat, etc. A *congco*, depending on its size, would be enough for around ten people.

⁵⁹ Interview with Surya on 22 November 2018.

⁶⁰ Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 21 December 2018 and with Ustad Kasja on 24 May 2017.

⁶¹ In rural areas people often go to a river to take water, wash clothes and dishes, and bath. When they move to another village, they will go to a different river which automatically they will change the place to take water.

and washing. In other words, every choice, including conversion to Islam or Christianity, has consequences. Two major consequences that would certainly be experienced by every convert are to get freedom and to move from the *adat* land. To a lesser degree, which depends on the individuals, the converts also changed their names and experienced pressure from families.

The first consequence of conversion from Sunda Wiwitan to any religion is to get freedom. This is understandable because the Baduy believe that they are hermits and because of it they have to distance from development and modernity. In living their life as hermits the Baduy have a lot of taboos. Conversion, therefore, was chosen to free themselves from the restriction of these taboos. The strictness of the teaching of Sunda Wiwitan can be seen in the following passage:

larangan teu meunang dirempak (prohibitions may not be broken)
buyut teu meunang dirobah ([the teaching of] the ancestors may not be changed)
lojor teu meunang dipotong (length may not be shortened)
pondok teu meunang disambung ([something] short may not be lengthened)⁶²

This teaching expresses the characteristics of the Baduy as hermits where they avoid changes. As hermits they must detach themselves from modernity which is synonymous to changes. They are not allowed, for example, to develop their farms with a modern tool, including with a hoe which is traditional. Problems emerge when the population increases and the *adat* land does not. In fact, many of them, especially those who live in the bordering villages, have adopted modern life by possessing smartphones and vehicles. To free themselves from the strictness of Sunda Wiwitan and to enable them to use modern products, they chose to convert. The Muslim Baduy Haji Nalim stated that:

“In the Baduy land there are many taboos which cannot be understood, such as the Baduy are not allowed to have a glass and their dress has to be in black. Many young Baduy violate these taboos. In the Baduy land the people are forbidden to do something, but they are not given the reason why they are forbidden. In the Baduy land there are only ‘no’ and ‘taboo’. After becoming a Muslim I become free.”⁶³

Born in 1981 and raised in Kompol, the Muslim Baduy Samin (not Jaro Samin) asserted that his will to have freedom had encouraged him to convert. He met his

⁶² Asep Kurnia and Ahmad Sihabudin, *Saatnya Baduy Bicara*, (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara and Untirta, 2010), vi.

⁶³ Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 Juni 2017.

mother and Baduy leaders and told them that he would convert to Islam. They said that if his intention had been strong, he may convert to the religion. In 2005, he and his wife proclaimed the *shahāda* in front of the Muhammadiyah leader Hasan Alaydrus. When he was still a follower of Sunda Wiwitan, Samin “imagined to convert to Islam to seek for freedom” and after the conversion “I felt free.”

“According to the custom, but many don’t follow it, the Baduy may not wear pants and sandals. (Because breaking the custom) I felt I was like to throw rubbish carelessly. I was a Baduy but I was unlike the Baduy and at the same time I was also not a non-Baduy. A Baduy has to observe the religion of the Baduy, but I didn’t. I often broke it. Rather than making it dirty, I would be better to be free.”⁶⁴

Like what was said by Samin, many Baduy in Kompol and other villages that share their borders with the non-Baduy villages have broken the customs. In Kompol some houses were electrified. It means that they had bulb lamps and some even had televisions. The Baduy in Pajaroan and Kaduketug, for instance, used solar lamps to illuminate their houses. It was also common knowledge that many Baduy had smartphones and motorcycles. Many even believed that most of the Baduy youths and some *adat* leaders had smartphones as well. Every afternoon in Ciboleger we could easily see the Baduy youths were charging their mobile phones in the shops. Some of them even had a power bank which they could use whenever the batteries of their phone were running out. Besides, it was also not rare that they wore non-Baduy clothing and some of their houses have toilets. Such conditions are called by Samin as “to throw rubbish carelessly” and “making it dirty”.

Rather than breaking the taboos, the Muslim Baduy and Al Washliyah preacher Suparta asked such Baduy to convert to Islam. “I never invited the Baduy to Islam. What I did was only to tell the Baduy to abandon Sunda Wiwitan if they want to be free. If they still live in the Baduy land but they break the taboos, they destroy the *adat*,” he said.⁶⁵ As we have seen in the conversion narratives of the Baduy, especially those of Surya and his wife, above, they converted to look for freedom.

Freedom is also manifested in education. The children of the Muslim Baduy were educated at schools and *pesantren* and were supported to continue their studies to universities. Ustad Kasja, Ustad Suparta, and their friends were among

⁶⁴ Interview with Samin on 24 Juni 2017.

⁶⁵ Interview with Suparta on 10 May 2017.

the first generation from the resettlement villages who obtained higher education from universities in West Java. Ustad Suparta who had a connection with Al Washliyah sent Muslim Baduy youths to Al Washliyah colleges in Medan. The youngest brother of Ustad Kasja, Toha, graduated from SDN Jalupang Mulya and SMPN Wanti. Afterwards, he continued his study to Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin. Around 2018 he dropped out. Besides him, Sarinah, Riris Riawati, Arti Amelia, and Fitri Sofiwati were the children of the Muslim converts who were studying at the pesantren of Sultan Hasanuddin. Muslim Baduy youths in Kompol studied at another school outside the village.⁶⁶

Education was also pursued by the Christian Baduy youths. The Christian Baduy, like the Muslim ones, attended formal education in the resettlement villages. Sapei studied at the Elementary School (SDN) of Gunungtunggal from 1985-1991. Windu and Ratna were the first Christian Baduy who obtained higher education. Windu graduated from SDN Gunung Tunggal in 1990, the Junior High School (SMP) of Leuwidamar in 1993, and Adventist Senior High School of Purwadadi in 1997. He continued his study to Universitas Advent Indonesia to obtain his bachelor in 2001 and master in 2014. Afterwards, he worked as a pastor in Jakarta and Lebak. Ratna who was Windu's aunt also got formal education because of which he could work as a nurse in the Harapan Kita Hospital in Jakarta. The children of the Christian Baduy were studying at universities. Some even have finished their studies. The children of Sapei Ayu Sarojah graduated from Universitas Advent Indonesia, Nurhayati graduated from Universitas Serang Raya, Agustinus was studying at SMAN Parongpong, Bandung, and Julius Kristian at SMP Makarios Jakarta. The children of Tatang were also students. The oldest was studying at Universitas Advent Indonesia. Nani, a daughter of Narja, has obtained her bachelor in Management from Universitas Advent Indonesia. Likewise, the other children of Narja, Rahmat and Nia, studied at the university.⁶⁷

The second consequence of conversion from Sunda Wiwitan to any religion is that the converts have to leave the *adat* land. This consequence will be experienced by every convert because the Baduy land is the land of Sunda Wiwitan. In practice, many Baduy chose to leave the *adat* land first and then to convert, rather than the reverse. As has been mentioned several times, the Baduy have a problem of land where the available land and the number of the population are unbalanced. To cope with it they have been searching for and

⁶⁶ Interviews with Kasja and Samin on 10 May 2017.

⁶⁷ Interviews with Sapei on 22 November 2018, Windu on 24 November and 15 December 2018, and with Narja and Nani on 20 December 2018.

managing farms of the non-Baduy since at least the 1950s. During the process they adapted to social and cultural life, which is synonymous with modernity, of the villages in which they lived. Attaching to modernity means detaching from the tradition of the Baduy. When this process was happening, the *adat* leaders pressured them to return to or to leave the *adat* land. Those who thought that returning to the Baduy land meant that they would face the same problem chose conversion.⁶⁸ After conversion, the converts do not have the right to live in the *adat* land. Consequently, besides leaving the *adat* land the converts must sell their houses and farms to the Baduy.

Furthermore, facts show that conversion does not always guarantee that after conversion the converts would own a field. Many Muslim Baduy do not have fields and houses. They are scattered in the sub-districts of Sobang, Muncang, Cimarga, Leuwidamar, Bojongmanik, Cirintun, and Gunungkencana, managing the fields of other people. Haji Adung said, “I am also not a wealthy man, but many Muslim Baduy live in poor houses sized 3x3 square metres.”⁶⁹ Because they did not have a house some of them lived in the houses of other Muslims. Surya and his wife, for example, lived in Cicanir in the house of Pak Otoy. Also, about three Muslim families lived together in the house of Haji Sarmedi in Ciboleger. Muslim Baduy who were living in the resettlement village of the BUMNs (state-owned corporations) in Palopat also did not possess the houses. They, however, were permitted to live there as long as they wanted. The reversion of the Baduy is believed by many Muslim Baduy to be related to the fact that they could not afford land and a house. And the competition among the Muslims and Christians to buy land was driven, among others, by this condition.

The third consequence of conversion which is worth mentioning is pressure. The strength of pressure experienced by the converts is different from one to another convert. Great pressure was experienced by Haji Sarmedi who converted to Islam in August 2000. When he informed his mother that he had converted, his mother said that she was no longer his mother. Besides, she stated that she would not come if Sarmedi dies and asked him not to come to her house if she dies. His father-in-law even pressed him harder. He threatened to kill him and to cut the body of Sarmedi’s wife into two halves. These threats arose probably because his father-in-law was a reputable figure in his village. And he once spoke to the villagers that conversion was a bad choice and the convert would be his enemy. On the other hand, Sarmedi himself was a son of the *jaro pamarentah*

⁶⁸ Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 20 May 2017, and 18 and 20 November 2018.

⁶⁹ Interviews with Haji Adung on 8 July 2017 and 22 November 2018.

where he would be chosen to replace the position of his father.⁷⁰ Unlike Haji Sarmedi, some converts said that their conversion was supported by their families. Sardaya and Saman, for example, came to Puun Ajal in Cibeo telling him that they and other 66 Baduy would convert to Islam. The *puun* permitted and prayed for the people.⁷¹

The fourth consequence of conversion is to change their names. The name change was mainly offered by the guide of the conversion to mark that the converts had changed. It was optional, but many did it especially those who converted to Islam. And what commonly happened, the name change was not radical. The guide only gave an extra name which was more Arabic-Islamic or he changed the old one with a new one but still similar. I suppose that this name change is influenced by the conversion form issued by the Ministry of Religious Affairs where there is the phrase “Islamic name” on it. From all conversion certificates I have, almost all converts changed their names, for example, Arsid becomes Arsid Darussamin, Tope becomes Tope Taufik, and Saiman becomes Saiman Ramdani. In the Christian circle, the name change rarely happened.

For the first generation of the prominent Baduy converts, conversion to Islam could also mean to be funded to do the pilgrimage (*the haj*). They were financially supported by either the local office of Depag or Muslim individuals. The Muslim Baduy who have made the pilgrimage include Jaro Samin (Cipangembar), Haji Nalim (Margaluyu), Haji Jani (Palopat), Haji Jahar (Cilangir), Haji Ecin (Nagara), Haji Dulhamid (Talaga), Haji Jali and his wife, Haji Sarmedi and his wife (Ciboleger), Haji Isa, Haji Nurdin (Cihandam), Haji Ruyani, and Haji Kosasih. Haji Nalim and Abah Ewong explained that Haji Samin went to Mecca in 1983 funded by the head of Depag of Lebak, whereas Haji Kosasih was funded by the regent of Langkat, North Sumatra. The pilgrimage of Haji Nalim and his wife, Haji Sarja and Haji Sardaya was funded by other individuals. The grandfather of Kasja’s wife, Dulhamid, was sent to Mecca by Muhammadiyah of Lebak. Haji Kasmin’s pilgrimage in 1992 was funded by the regent of Lebak Endang Suwarna. His wife also performed the pilgrimage but funded by herself. The Muslim preachers who did the *da’wa* activities for the Baduy have also been sent to Mecca for the *haj* or *umrah* like Ustad Syahroni (Al Washliyah) and Ustad Kasja (Muhammadiyah) (see also Persoon 1994: 361).⁷²

⁷⁰ Interviews with Haji Sarmedi in May 2017 and November 2018.

⁷¹ Interview with Sardaya on 4 June 2018.

⁷² Interviews with Abah Sarmin on 4 June 2017, with Sapei 22 November 2018, with Haji Sarmedi on 24 November and with Ustad Kasja on 9 April, 10 May and 24 May 2017.

D. The Identities of the Baduy Converts to Islam and Christianity

Whether a Baduy convert still deserves a Baduy identity or not, the Baduy leaders and the converts have a different view. The first thought that conversion which was marked by leaving the Baduy land made the Baduy non-Baduy. They termed it “rice which has become porridge can no longer be called rice”. The Muslim and Christian Baduy, however, stated that they were still Baduy, except the fact that they had a different religion. They based their argument about the Baduy identity on the birthplace. In other words, converts who were born in the Baduy land may claim to be Baduy. Some of them, like the Muslim Baduy Haji Sarmedi and the Christian Baduy Sapei, even promoted themselves as Baduy. The children of the Baduy converts who were born in the Baduy land but raised outside felt a half Baduy. And the children of the converts who were born outside the Baduy land, and born after their parents converted, refused to be called Baduy. Eman said, “My children don’t feel as Baduy because they were born as Muslims and were not born in the Baduy land.”⁷³

The identities of the Muslim and Christian Baduy, who labelled themselves or were labelled by the society as “the Muslim and Christian Baduy”, are too weak to last. First, the Baduy community does not recognise the Baduy who have converted as Baduy, they are no longer Baduy. Second, those who stated that they were Baduy are mainly those who were born in the *adat* land. Their children who were born outside the *adat* land were reluctant to be called Baduy. This means when the Muslim and Christian Baduy die, there will be no what we call “the Muslim and Christian Baduy” anymore. Even it is rare for people to use the terms “the Muslim Baduy” and “the Christian Baduy”. People seem to already forget that the Muslim Baduy in Nagari and the Muslim and Christian Baduy in Cipangembar were Baduy. Except that they were born in the *adat* land, the converts have adapted and integrated themselves into the larger society in terms of language, clothing, religion and social life. In terms of language, the Baduy converts do not speak Sundanese like it is spoken by the Baduy. Their Baduy’s accent is already gone. They prefer to speak in Sundanese of the majority which is deemed more polite and soft (*halus*). The disappearance of this identity is the consequence of conversion which is a process of moving away from the Baduy land and culture.

Among the Muslim and Christian Baduy who were proud of being Baduy and promoted their Baduyness are Narja, Kokom, Haji Sarmedi, and Ustad Kasja. Narja explained:

⁷³ Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 24 November 2018, with Eman on 6 June 2017 and 20 November 2018, with Sapei on 22 November 2018, and with the *jaro pamarentah* Saija on 3 May 2018.

“I feel I am still a Baduy. I am proud of being called a Baduy. My last child Natalia was born in Cipangembar. In the campus she often said that she was a Baduy. I am still a Baduy even though I don’t live in the Baduy land and my religion is different (no longer the follower of Sunda Wiwitan). I myself am not allowed by the *adat* leaders to claim that I am a Baduy because I have left the Baduy land; and I am no longer the follower of Sunda Wiwitan.”⁷⁴

A son-in-law of Narja, Kokom, was also proud of being a Christian Baduy. When someone asked his name, he always added to his name ‘Baduy’: Kokom Baduy. He knew that he was not allowed by the *adat* to claim to be a Baduy because he had converted to Christianity. This prohibition exists “because their belief is territorial” which means that the Baduy who live outside the territory may not call themselves Baduy.⁷⁵

Although not popular, Cipangembar is sometimes called “the Christian Baduy village”. This village is inhabited by around ten families. Most of them are Christians. But in mid-2018 a Jamaah Tabligh family bought some squares of land in the village. Afterwards, the family founded a pesantren there. The existence of the pesantren probably would make the designation of the village as the Christian Baduy village disappearing.

Similarly, the designation of “the Muslim Baduy villages” has almost disappeared. People do not call the villages of the Muslim Baduy, such as Cihaur, Margaluyu, Palopat, and Nagara, as the villages of the Muslim Baduy. They simply mention the names of the villages, without associating them to the Muslim Baduy. Haji Nalim and Kyai Zainuddin Amir stated that it was not easy to distinguish the Baduy and the non-Baduy in Margaluyu, Cipangembar, and Cihaur. In terms of religiosity, they saw that the Baduy were even more religious.⁷⁶ The Muhammadiyah preacher in Nagara, Ustad Ujeng, did not use the term “Muslim Baduy” for a very long time.⁷⁷ Different from Haji Nalim, Kyai Zainuddin Amir, Ustad Ujeng Suheli, and Ustad Kasja, maintained the term “Muslim Baduy” by deploying it as the name of his foundation Yayasan Baduy Muslim (Muslim Baduy Foundation).⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

⁷⁵ Interview with Kokom on 20 December 2018.

⁷⁶ Interviews with Kyai Zainuddin Amir on 6 June and 21 July 2017.

⁷⁷ Interview with Ustad Ujeng Suheli on 6 June 2017.

⁷⁸ Interviews with Ustad Kasja on 9 April and 10 May 2017.

E. Conclusion

The conversion of the Baduy to either Islam or Christianity was their response to two opposite poles: the teaching of Sunda Wiwitan on the one hand and the larger society, including the government, on the other. Sunda Wiwitan teaches the Baduy that they are hermits who have to detach themselves from modernity and development. Problems began to happen when their land is limited, but the number of the population keeps increasing. At the same time as hermits they are prohibited by their religion to manage their land with modern tools and techniques. Conversion was eventually chosen by some Baduy to cope with these problems of access to land and the population growth, but this choice was not always successful for everyone.

When the Baduy decided to convert, the state offered only five religions (now six). The choices which were available through missionaries were only two: Islam and Christianity. Islam which was supported by the larger society and the local government obtained more converts indeed. But conversion itself was fluid where a convert could change from one religion to another as we can see from their conversion patterns: (1) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam, (2) from Sunda Wiwitan to Christianity, (3) from Sunda Wiwitan to Christianity to Islam, (4) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam to Christianity, (5) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and reverted to Sunda Wiwitan, and (6) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam, reverted to Sunda Wiwitan and reconverted to Islam. The Muslim majority seemed not to care of the Baduy who reverted to Sunda Wiwitan. The Muslim preachers themselves just regretted their choice, but they could not help.

Conversion, which was meant to look for freedom and from which they hoped to be able to have land or fields, was not always a guarantee for the converts to possess land and a house. Because of the failure some Baduy chose to revert to Sunda Wiwitan. Most of the converts, however, remain as Muslims or Christians because conversion is synonymous with freedom, development, and modernity. For the prominent figures of the first converts in the 1980s and 1990s, conversion could also mean that they were funded by the government and Muslim individuals to carry out a pilgrimage to Mecca. Moreover, the Muslim and Christian Baduy, as a new group, seems too weak to be recognised as “the Muslim Baduy” and “the Christian Baduy” since the Baduy community does not recognise the term “the Baduy” to be attached to the converts. They base their argument on the concept that Baduyness and Sunda Wiwitan are territorial. The children of the converts are also reluctant to be associated with the Baduy.

The Baduy's Efforts to Obtain the State's Recognition for Land and Religion

In the previous chapters, I have discussed how politics influences the life of the Baduy and other *adat* communities (indigenous peoples) in Indonesia, including their conversion to Islam or Christianity. In this chapter I will discuss how the Baduy have redefined themselves not only as hermits but also as citizens. This redefinition is politically important to strengthen their position in the state. Here the Baduy are involved in politics and through it, they, as other *adat* communities and their organisation AMAN do, demand the state to recognise them. The two ex-Baduy Haji Kasmin and Haji Sarmedi also participated in politics and claimed to struggle for the interests of the Baduy. Besides, this chapter will present the latest development of local religions after the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi*) stipulated in 2017 that the followers of the local religions have the same civil rights as the followers of religions recognised by the state. Resistance and support to the decision of the MK from various groups, including the Baduy, will be presented.

A. From Hermits to Citizens: The Changing Views of the Baduy towards Politics 1971-2019

As hermits the Baduy are forbidden to participate in the General Elections (*Pemilihan Umum/ Pemilu*) because it is a product of modernity. For them it was enough to follow the winner of the elections. In Sundanese this view is expressed as '*ilu ka nu meunang*' (which is commonly shortened '*lunang*') or 'to follow the

winner'. This policy was based on the dogma that they were hermits: politics was and is not their duty, but the state's or the government's (Ulumi 2009: 81, 86-87). Not only was the Baduy community not involved in politics, but they asked the government to let them as such. Persoon (1994: 317) writes:

“The Baduy also do not interfere with issues such as political succession and elections. They refrain from interfering with such matters as they wish to be left alone in that regard.”¹

Alim who is the *jaro* of Cikeusik states that following the General Elections is not the Baduy's duty because they are hermits. It is the duty of the non-Baduy (the *menak*, the nobles) who are destined to manage the world. The same statement is expressed by the vice-*jaro* of Cibeo Ayah Mursyid. He asserts that politics is not their world. As hermits, what they need to do is to pray for the *menak*. Politics, he believes, could make his people divided. “Harmony, togetherness, and the unity of customs” will be in danger. Therefore, it is enough for the Baduy to follow the result of the election, without being involved in its process (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 281-283). In the resettlement villages, an effort to persuade the Baduy to follow the general election was done by the government but this effort was refused. They said that *adat* did not allow them to do so (Persoon 1987: 50).

But their view towards the election, or politics in general, has changed: they are not only hermits who live detached from modern life, but also citizens of the state. An important element in the change of the view of the Baduy towards politics is the *jaro pamarentah* who is the government's representative (Ulumi 2009: 86). Besides, the government itself keeps trying to ensure the Baduy about the importance of participating in the election. In the process, the *adat* leaders develop the understanding that they are not only hermits but also citizens of Indonesia. By deploying the concept of citizenship there are rights and responsibilities to fulfil. As citizens, the Baduy have fulfilled their duties including to participate in the General Elections. Now they demand their rights. Two of the most important ones are the state's recognition and protection. Keith Faulks' view about citizenship precisely describes what happens in the Baduy society. Faulks (2000: 4) states:

“The status of citizen implies a sense of inclusion into the wider community. It recognises the contribution a particular individual makes to that community,

¹ “De Baduy bemoeien zich ook niet met kwesties als politieke opvolging en verkiezingen. Ze onthouden zich van inmenging dergelijke zaken zoals zij zelf in dat opzicht ook met rust gelaten wensen te worden.”

while at the same time granting him or her individual autonomy. This autonomy is reflected in a set of rights which, through varying in content enormously over time and space, always imply recognition of political agency on the part of the bearer of those rights. Thus, a key defining characteristic of citizenship, and what differentiates it most from mere subjecthood, is an ethnic participation.”

Furthermore, there is no single view about when the Baduy started to participate in the election. Ulumi (2009: 81) states that it was in 1971, whereas according to Haji Sarmedi² it was in 1977, Judistira Garna (1985) in 1982, and Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010:279) in 1987.³ According to Ulumi (2009: 81), in the 1971 election there should have been 16 voting stations (*Tempat Pemungutan Suara/ TPS*), but the *adat* leaders only allowed two stations one in Kaduketug and another one in the Muslim village of Cicakal Girang. There is not enough information about how the 1971 election was run, except the fact that they preferred not to participate. The same thing happened in the 1977 election (Ulumi 2009: 81).

In the 1982 election, the *adat* leaders' view on politics started to change. The changing view of the Baduy towards politics might have a relation with the fact that three years later, in 1985, the three *puun* of the Baduy sent the *jaro pamarentah* Nakiwin to meet President Soeharto to ask the state's recognition and protection and asked not to be involved in the development programme. In this election they permitted the Outer Baduy to use or not to use their political right. This changing view was merely to respect the government and to fulfil their duty as citizens. But still the Baduy leaders hoped their people would not use it because politics could divide them. Here they rationalised the inhibition of politics from something religious to more sociological and political. For the Inner Baduy the policy was still the same: they were forbidden to participate in the election. Further political participation, like to join a political party, to become a campaigner for a certain political party, or to campaign in the *adat* land in any form, was strongly prohibited. And like in the previous elections the voting stations were only allowed in the two villages Kaduketug and Cicakal Girang. Since around 486 Baduy in the resettlement villages also followed the 1982 General Election, we should add the number of the voting stations (Djoewisno MS 1987: 153, Persoon 1989: 1, Persoon 1994: 50, 313, Van Zanten 1995:

² Chat via WhatsApp on 26 September 2019.

³ Until 2019 the General Elections has been conducted 12 times. They were held in 1955, 1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019.

518). The same policy of the Baduy on politics was applied to the 1987, 1992, and 1997 elections (Ulumi 2009: 83-84; Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 278).

In 1999 Indonesia conducted another election. In this election the Baduy leaders decided not to join. There were two reasons why they came to this decision. First, they thought that the 1999 election was strange because it was undertaken only two years after the 1997 election, which was commonly held after five years. If following the schedule, the next election would be carried out in 2002. Because Indonesia experienced an era of *Reformasi* (Reformation) in which President Soeharto was forced to step down, the election was hastened by the KPU (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum*/ General Elections Commission). In this period about 141 political parties were registered by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights while only 48 of them were eligible to follow the 1999 election. This number was much higher compared to the 1977-1997 elections where there were only three political parties. This huge number of political parties confused the Baduy. The second reason why the Baduy did not follow the 1999 election was that they were about to perform the most sacred ritual of Kawalu which lasted for three months. During this ritual, the Baduy purify themselves. In addition, the non-Baduy are not allowed to enter the *adat* land (Ulumi 2009: 85-86).

In the 2004 election around 6,000 Baduy had the right to vote, but only 100-150 people used it. The ex-Baduy Karman stated that the Baduy were not brave enough to come to the voting station because their leaders discouraged them to participate. Karman came to the voting station and used his and other Baduy's ballot papers. Bili, another ex-Baduy, did the same thing. He used the other Baduy's ballot papers to vote for a certain candidate of Golkar. According to Karman and Bili, there was no witness of the election because "the regent, the *camat* and teachers were all the proponents of Golkar." As a result, Golkar became one of the most chosen parties in Lebak.⁴

Different from the previous elections, in the 2009 election 1,448 of 6,324 vote holders used their right (Ulumi 2009: 90). This number is ten times higher than that of the 2004 participants. Many of them had come to the voting stations since 05.30, while the stations themselves would be open at 08.00. The great participation of the Baduy, compared to the previous elections, might have happened because of two things: first, the intensive persuasion conducted by the government officials and second, the changing view of the Baduy towards politics.

⁴ Interviews with Karman and Bili on 12 December 2018. See also <https://www.jpnn.com/news/warga-suku-terasing-baduy-menggunakan-hak-pilih>, accessed on 7 June 2019; <https://www.jpnn.com/news/suku-pedalaman-baduy-menyambut-pemilu>, accessed on 7 June 2019.

Before the election was held, the government of Banten, the KPU of Banten, and the Ministry of Communication and Information came to the Baduy village of Kaduketug to explain the importance of the General Elections and how to use the ballot paper.⁵ In terms of the change of view, the *adat* leaders stated that the Baduy were also citizens of Indonesia and because of it they had to support or respect the government by participating in the election (Ulumi 2009: 93). The *jaro pamarentah* of that time Dainah spoke about citizenship and the *adat*:

“As Indonesian citizens we have a responsibility (to participate in the election), but we hope people will understand that not all of the Baduy can use their right because they are restricted by the *adat*.”⁶

In this 2009 election 31 political parties participated. The ten biggest parties chosen by the Baduy to represent them in the People's Representative Council of Indonesia (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia* DPR RI) were Golkar (300 votes), Partai Bintang Reformasi (253), Partai Demokrat (224), Partai Persatuan Daerah (102), Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan/ PDIP (65), Partai Nasional Indonesia Marhaenisme (54), Partai Peduli Rakyat Indonesia (24), Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (21), Partai Karya Perjuangan (16) and Partai Republik Nusantara (16). In this election the ex-Baduy Haji Kasmin was the most chosen candidate for a member of parliament in Banten province, for the period 2009-2014, in the voting areas both Kanekes and Leuwidamar (Ulumi 2009: 63, 70-71).

Moreover, the 2014 election was conducted on 9 April 2014 to choose Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla or Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa as the president and vice president of Indonesia for the period 2014-2019. 7,296 Baduy had the right to give their voice. The ex-*jaro pamarentah* Daenah stated that he supported the election and asked the Baduy to make the election successful. He also stated that participating in the election was part of their citizenship. The KPU of Banten and Lebak had come to the Baduy land to socialise the election. In the 2014 election the number of voting stations increased from 2 to 15.⁷ Dainah asserted that 70 per cent of the voting holders would give their vote. He hoped the

⁵ <https://www.jpnn.com/news/suku-pedalaman-baduy-menyambut-pemilu>, accessed on 29 July 2019.

⁶ <https://www.jpnn.com/news/warga-suku-terasing-baduy-menggunakan-hak-pilih>, accessed on 7 June 2019.

⁷ They were in Kaduketug, Marengo, Kadu Jangkung, Ciwaringin, Batara, Cisaban, Cicakal Girang, Cakal Mohara, Cijengkol, Ciranji, Cisadane, Cibogo, Cijajar, Cipaler, and Leuwihandam. Other sources mention the voting stations existed in 12, not 15, villages. See, for example, <http://www.tribunnews.com/pemilu-2014/2014/07/06/warga-baduy-musyawah-persiapan-pilpres>, accessed on 8 June 2019.

chosen candidates would be able to fight for the Baduy's aspiration.⁸ In this election more Baduy participated. Participating in the election was not merely understood by the Baduy to "respect the government", but was also to channel their *aspiration*.⁹

And the latest election was carried out on 17 April 2019 to choose a president and vice-president, and the members of the People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat/ MPR*) and of the Parliament (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/ DPR*). The number of voters in the Baduy land was 6,873. They would give their voice at 27 voting booths, which increased a lot compared to the last election.¹⁰ Sunayah (35), one of the Baduy voters, stated that she did not go to her field because she wanted to vote. She and other voters even had come to the voting stations long before the voting booth was opened. They hoped the candidates they chose could develop the nation.¹¹ In this election the Muslim Baduy Sarmedi became one of the contestants of Golkar to become a member of parliament in Lebak. He deployed the Baduy identity and promised to help the Baduy. His participation in politics will be discussed below.

From the 1971 to 2019 elections the Baduy changed their views about politics. This change is influenced by many factors, but the strongest reason is that the Baduy need the state. The Baduy, as has been mentioned, experience burdens: their land was squeezed and its border was not respected by the non-Baduy. In this very limited area, where half of the *adat* land is a protected forest, the Baduy have to live and get a livelihood. To overcome this problem many Baduy manage the fields of the non-Baduy. But this solution has pushed the Baduy away from the *adat*. Even many of them decided to convert to Islam or Christianity. By changing the view that they are not only hermits but also citizens; they have put themselves into a political relationship with the state where both have rights and duties. Here the Baduy spoke about respecting and supporting the government, developing the nation, the state's protection and recognition, and aspiration.

The impact of the General Elections on the Baduy society, as admitted by the *ex-jaro pamarentah* Dainah, might be not much (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010

⁸ <https://bola.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/jawa-barat-nasional/14/04/02/n3eo66-warga-baduy-siap-ikuti-pemilu-2014>, accessed on 8 June 2019; <https://republika.co.id/berita/pemilu/berita-pemilu/n3paqv/apakah-suku-baduy-ikut-pemilu>; and <https://www.suara.com/news/2014/04/09/210015/antusiasme-warga-baduy-terhadap-pemilu-legislatif>; accessed on 29 July 2019.

⁹ <http://www.tribunnews.com/pemilu-2014/2014/07/09/prabowo-hatta-unggul-di-baduy>, accessed on 8 June 2019.

¹⁰ <https://www.merdeka.com/politik/tolak-golput-suku-baduy-siap-turun-gunung-17-april.html>, accessed on 8 June 2019; and <https://pemilu.antaranews.com/berita/837687/pemilu-2019-di-lebak-berlangsung-aman>, accessed on 25 June 2019.

¹¹ <https://pemilu.antaranews.com/berita/834208/masyarakat-badui-padati-tps-sejak-pagi>, accessed on 25 June 2019.



Photograph 7.1: A Baduy man passes a banner of the 2019 General Election in the border of the *adat* land in Ciboleger. Photograph was taken in 2019 by Ade Jaya Suryani.

280). Let alone the Baduy do not need development. In February 2019, for instance, they rejected the *desa* fund as much as Rp2.5 billion (around €166,666) from the Ministry of *Desa*, Development of Underdeveloped Regions and Transmigration.¹² They were worried that development would destroy their *adat* and environment. The purpose of the Baduy society to follow the General Elections was not to get a development programme, but merely to respect the government. As individuals, the Baduy came to the voting stations to implement the suggestion of their leaders. It was their leaders who decided many things in their social life, including to follow or not to follow the General Elections.

¹² To develop the infrastructure of *desa* the central government through the Ministry of *Desa*, Development of Underdeveloped Regions and Transmigration has expended Rp20,67 trillion (2015), Rp46,98 trillion (2016), Rp60 trillion (2017), Rp60 trillion (2018), and Rp70 trillion (2019). <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/797984/masyarakat-baduy-tolak-dana-desa>; <https://news.detik.com/berita/4428223/ingin-alam-tetap-lestari-masyarakat-baduy-tolak-dana-desa-2019>; <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/02/26/17333511/total-dana-desa-2019-2024-rp-400-triliun?page=all>; all were accessed on 1 October 2019.

B. The Baduy's Effort to Obtain the State's Recognition and Protection

1. *Requests Conveyed by the Adat Leaders to the Government*

It is the state's recognition and protection what the Baduy need, not development. To get them the Baduy have changed their views about themselves, that they are not only hermits who detach from political life, but also members of a state: citizens. Becoming citizens of a state means that the Baduy have rights and obligations to the state. After fulfilling their duties to respect and support the government, now they demand their rights from the state: recognition and protection for their land and religion.

Pertaining to land, Kurnia Toha (2007: 205-206) explains that there are two kinds of disputes about the Baduy land: first, between the Baduy and the government and second, between the Baduy and the intruders. The dispute between the Baduy and the government happened in 1968 when the government of West Java issued the Decision No. 203/b.V/Pem/SK/1968¹³ which claimed that the forbidden forest in Kanekes belonged to the state. Persoon (1994: 366) adds that the government would also divide the Baduy land into three *desa* under the 1979 *desa* administration, but this plan was refused by the Baduy.

“At the end of 1984, the Baduy protested this split idea, and in 1985 the Bupati wrote a letter to the governor asking that the Kanekes split plan be withdrawn because of opposition from the local population. Granting this request indicates respect for the Baduy's high degree of autonomy in ‘internal’ matters.”¹⁴

Moreover, the dispute which often happened is between the Baduy and the intruders. Kurnia Toha (2007: 186-187) states:

“... there are occasional intrusions on their indigenous property rights, especially by people living in the border areas who have tried to use Baduy indigenous property for farming, plantations and cattle tending.”

¹³ The Decision of the Governor of West Java No. 203/b.V/Pem/SK/1968 on *Penetapan Status Hutan “Larangan” Desa Kanekes Daerah Baduy sebagai “Hutan Lindung Mutlak” dalam Kawasan Hak Ulayat Adat Propinsi Jawa Barat* (the Determination of the Status of the Forbidden Forest as an Absolutly Protected Forest in the Kanekes Village Baduy West Java).

¹⁴ “Eind 1984 protesteerden de Baduy tegen deze splitsingsgedachte en in 1985 schreef de bupati een brief aan de gouverneur met het verzoek het plan tot opsplitsing van Kanekes in te trekken vanwege het verzet van de lokale bevolking. Het inwilligen van dit verzoek geeft het respect aan voor de sterke mate van autonomie van de Baduy in ‘interne’ zaken.”



Photo 7.2: The Baduy followed the independence day celebration on 17 August 1985. Photograph by Gerard Persoon. Printed with permission.

To resolve this problem in 1984 the regent of Lebak formed a committee to solve the problems around the Baduy, especially the *adat* land which was trespassed by the Sundanese farmers. The committee had to formulate the boundaries of the *adat* land, to make a development plan for the Baduy (Persoon 1994: 363-265). Afterwards, the *jaro pamarentah* Nakiwin, asked by the three *puun*, came to Jakarta on 27 May 1985 to visit President Soeharto. To him Nakiwin thanked the president for his attention to the Baduy. He also said that the Baduy hoped that the president would always be successful in leading the country. Afterwards, Nakiwin conveyed the main message that the Baduy isolated themselves to follow the *adat* teaching. The Baduy asked the government not to involve the Baduy in the development programme. What the Baduy needed was the state's protection especially from the intruders. The president conveyed the message that the non-Baduy had to respect the Baduy. He also told Nakiwin in order that the *puun* would follow the development happening outside the Baduy land, but the president would not force them to do so. Later on the border of the Baduy land was marked with 548 concrete poles which signed the state's protection and "a number of offenders have been persecuted" (Djoewisno MS 1987: 153, Persoon 1987: 48, 51, Garna 1988: 305, 367, Persoon 1989: 1, Wim van Zanten 1995: 518).¹⁵

Furthermore, in the legal form the recognition of the Baduy land first appeared in 1990 when the government of Lebak issued the local regulation (*perda*) No. 13/ 1990¹⁶ and then followed by the *perda* No. 32/2001¹⁷, and the *perda* No. 590/Kep.233/Huk/2002¹⁸. Article 4 (1) of the *perda* No. 13/1990, for example, states: "... the local government at all levels has an obligation to maintain, protect, and build the culture and *adat* of the Baduy community in their original form which will be useful to support the national development."

The demand for their rights, especially the right to land, can be seen in the messages the Baduy conveyed in the yearly visit of *Seba*: the protection of the *adat* land (in 2003), the protection of the *adat* forest from devastation caused by humans (2004), the reminder that natural disasters could happen because of humans (2005), the demand to eradicate bribery and to enforce

¹⁵ <http://soeharto.co/presiden-terima-utusan-suku-baduy/> (the content on this page is from the newspaper **PELITA 28 May 1985**) and <https://paseban.id/utusan-baduy-menghadap-presiden-soeharto/>, accessed on 8 September 2019. See also the magazine *Selecta*, 17 Juni 1985.

¹⁶ Local Regulation No. 13/ 1990 on *Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Lembaga Adat Masyarakat Baduy Di Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Lebak* (the Fostering and the Development of the Baduy Community Institution in Lebak).

¹⁷ Local regulation No 32/2001 on *Perlindungan Atas Hak Ulayat Masyarakat Baduy* (the Protection of the Adat Rights of the Baduy Community).

¹⁸ The local regulation No. 590/Kep.233/Huk/2002 on *Penetapan Batas-Batas Detail Tanah Ulayat Masyarakat Adat Baduy di Desa Kanekes* (The Decision on the Boundaries of the Adat Land of the Baduy in the Desa of Kanekes).



Photograph 7.3: The *jaro pamarentah* Nakiwin meets President Soeharto asking for protection.

Source: <https://paseban.id/utusan-baduy-menghadap-presiden-soeharto/>



Photograph 7.4: Concrete poles to mark the border of the *adat* land. Photograph was taken in 1985 by Gerard Persoon. Printed with permission.

the law in the government (2006), the invitation to see the Baduy and their land (2007), the invitation to be close to the Baduy and to take care of the environment (2008), the protection of the *adat* land and the law enforcement for the people who pilfered the Baduy land, road refinement, and the support for the election (2009), the protection of 700 hectares of the Baduy's land outside the *adat* land, the increase of the Baduy's welfare, and the demand to issue a law on the protection of *adat* lands (2010) (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 274-275). In 2011 the Baduy, like many *adat* communities in Indonesia, demanded the government to issue the draft bill on the protection of *adat* communities which they thought would be more powerful than the local regulations.¹⁹

In terms of religion, from 1984 to 2006 the Baduy's religion Sunda Wiwitan, based on a local policy, was printed on their identity cards (Garna 1988: 285-288). But in 2006 the government issued Law No 23/ 2006 on the Administration of Population which was amended by Law No.24/2013. These two laws require the column of religion on the identity cards of the adherents of local religions and not recognised religions to be emptied. From 2006 onwards, the issue brought by the Baduy to the government was not only about the protection of the *adat* land, but also their religion. In the 2012 *Seba*, for example, the *jaro pamarentah* of the time Daenah asked the Banten government whether Sunda Wiwitan could be printed on their identity cards. He was worried that the next generations of the Baduy would be confused about the status of their religion in relation to the state.²⁰ The current *jaro pamarentah* Saija hoped that the state would recognise the existence of the Baduy *adat* community and its religion Sunda Wiwitan. He explained:

“We often proposed (to the government) in order that our religion be written on the identity card. We have met the regent, the governor and so on. This issue of religion has also been conveyed to the Ministry of Religion. The (Baduy) people keep asking why the *desa* officials are not able to do so. We the *desa* officials only convey the aspiration to the higher level of government.”²¹

¹⁹ <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/breaking-news/seni-budaya/11/01/10/157537-masyarakat-badui-pemerintah-musti-keluarkan-ruu-adat>, accessed on 8 October 2019.

²⁰ <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/jawa-barat-nasional/12/04/28/m37851-suku-baduy-minta-sunda-wiwitan-dimasukkan-ktp>; <https://www.beritasatu.com/megapolitan/45165/suku-baduy-minta-sunda-wiwitan-ditulis-di-e-ktp>, accessed on 30 July 2019.

²¹ Interview with the *jaro pamarentah* Saija on 10 May 2017.

On 5 May 2019; 1,035 Baduy did a visit of *Seba* to the Banten governor. In front of him they demanded the province of Banten to issue a local regulation on the *adat desa*. One of the Baduy leaders expressed that this proposal had been conveyed to the government, but there was no follow-up. He hoped this regulation would guarantee for the continuity of the Baduy society and their land. They argued that two of many factors that influenced the Baduy were the increase of population and the negative impact of tourism. The governor of Banten Wahidin Halim stated that the Baduy's demand was reasonable and he promised to materialise this regulation. He also considered expanding the size of the Baduy land to accommodate the increase of population.²²

2. In the Name of the Baduy: Haji Kasmin as the Representative of the Baduy in the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR)²³

The effort of the Baduy to get the state's recognition was also taken by permitting Haji Kasmin as their representative in the MPR. This was a difficult choice. Actually the Baduy leaders objected both to have a representative and to send Haji Kasmin. First, the Baduy, as has been mentioned many times here, are hermits and as hermits they may not have an official position. By having a representative in the MPR in Jakarta it implied that they had an office. Second, the Baduy did not recognise any Baduy who had left their Baduyness as Baduy. Haji Kasmin had left Sunda Wiwitan by converting to Islam. So, according to the Baduy he could not represent the Baduy. Law No. 3/1999 on the General Elections²⁴, especially Article 81, however, has made it possible for the Baduy to have a representative in the MPR. If they did not send a representative, the position could be taken over by another person from other group of representatives (*utusan golongan*) (teachers, labourers, etc.). Based on this reasoning the Baduy sent Haji Kasmin.

The story of Haji Kasmin who became the representative of the Baduy in the MPR began when the General Elections Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU*) sent a letter to the *desa* office of the Baduy. The letter contained information about Law No. 3/1999 on the General Elections where Group of Representatives from various backgrounds, as long as fulfilling the requirements, could send their representative to the MPR. The Baduy as an ethnic group could send one representative. Haji Kasmin who already converted to Islam heard about this law and called Sarmedi, a vice-*jaro* of Kanekes, to come to his house.

²² <https://banten.antaranews.com/video/858019/warga-baduy-minta-pengesahan-perda-desa-adat-ke-gubernur-banten> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xIEf8thfkc> accessed on 13 June 2019.

²³ This section is based on my interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 18 and 24 November 2019 and Haji Kasmin on 19 November 2018, except mentioned otherwise.

²⁴ The law can be seen on <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Home/Details/45271>, accessed on 24 June 2019.

Haji Kasmin asked Sarmedi to propose him to the *adat* leaders so that that he could become the representative of the Baduy in the MPR. In a meeting Sarmedi proposed Haji Kasmin to the *adat* leaders, but they objected. They said that the Baduy were not allowed by their religion to occupy a position in an office. Second, any Baduy who had left Sunda Wiwitan by converting to a religion was no longer considered as a Baduy. Haji Kasmin had converted to Islam, therefore he was no longer a Baduy and could not represent the Baduy. Moreover, his plan to build a mosque in the *adat* land has made the Baduy angry at him. Sarmedi himself could not become the representative of the Baduy in the MPR because he was a Baduy and would become the succeeding *jaro pamarentah*.

The *adat* leaders proposed some non-Baduy to represent the Baduy. Sarmedi minded by saying that the non-Baduy probably would not understand the Baduy as they did. Let alone the people who were proposed by the leaders lived in other cities, like Adang Afandi in Bandung and Alim in Semarang. If the Baduy enthusiasts represented the Baduy in the MPR, the situation could be more difficult. For instance, when the Baduy wanted to discuss certain issues with their representative, he would not be easily reached. Sarmedi proposed Haji Kasmin again and told the *adat* leaders that Haji Kasmin was a Baduy. He had made a mistake but he could be forgiven. Sarmedi then asked a Baduy man to invite Haji Kasmin to the *adat* meeting. In front of the *adat* leaders he asked for forgiveness. Haji Kasmin was forgiven and permitted to represent the Baduy in the MPR.²⁵

Remaining as a Muslim Haji Kasmin then became the representative of the Baduy in the MPR from 1999 to 2004. During the period he realised that the political power of the Group of Representatives in the MPR was weak, but he tried to struggle for the rights of the Baduy. He explained:

“In the MPR we fought for the aspiration of the group we represented. There was a working group. But the representatives whose residences were far from the MPR office were not invited because they did not receive a salary. There was only an honorarium of as much as Rp175,000 per meeting. It was not enough even to pay for a hotel room in Jakarta. Those who lived in Jakarta could attend the meetings, but those who lived outside Jakarta only attended the meeting once a year. I brought the aspiration of the Baduy who did not have power over their own land. This issue was brought to the regency and it became a local regulation (*peraturan daerah/ perda*). Now they have right over their *adat* land. I also proposed the refinement of the road from the city to Ciboleger.”²⁶

²⁵ Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 24 May 2017, and 18 and 24 November 2018.

²⁶ Interview with Haji Kasmin on 19 November 2018.

The regulation that Haji Kasmin meant is the *perda* No. 32/2001 on the protection of the *adat* right of the Baduy society which was signed by the regent of Lebak, Moh. Yas'a Mulyadi, on 13 August 2001. The *perda* has guaranteed and protected the *adat* land covering the area of 5,101 ha which all utilisations of the land is fully given to the Baduy. The land shares its borders with the *desa* Cisimeut, Nyagati, Parakanbeusi, Keboncau, Karangnunggal, Cikate, Karangcombong, and Cilebang. More specifically, the *adat* land is marked by River Ciujung, River Cidikit, River Cibarani, and River Cisimeut. The non-Baduy who intrude the Baduy land as its borders have been mentioned could be punished for six months of jail or for money for a maximum of Rp5 million (around \$33) (article 9). Moreover, the right of the Baduy land is communal. To avoid dispute among the Baduy, the government forbids the Baduy individuals to have a land certificate (article 11). In other words, the border within the *adat* land is managed by the *adat* leaders and the government does not want to be involved.²⁷

Moreover, on 10 August 2002 the members of the MPR decided that they would remove the membership of the Group of Representatives (*Utusan Golongan*) from the MPR.²⁸ As the exchange it would form the Regional Representatives Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* DPD).²⁹ When his position as the group representative of the Baduy in the MPR ended in 2004, Haji Kasmin proposed himself to become a member of the DPD from Banten province for the period 2004-2009, but he failed. Haji Kasmin then continued his career in politics by joining the political party Golongan Karya (Golkar) of Lebak. He was chosen by Herry Djuhaeri, the leader of Golkar of Lebak, as the treasurer of the party from 2004-2009. In the next election, Haji Kasmin proposed himself to become the leader of Golkar, opposing the incumbent Herry Djuhaeri. Haji Kasmin got support from Hasan Sochib³⁰, the prominent leader of *jawara* (strongman) in Banten. To make everything run smoothly Hasan

²⁷ Local Regulation No. 32/2001 on the Protection of the *Adat* Right of the Baduy Society.

²⁸ <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/39402/utusan-golongan-dihapuskan-dari-mpr>, accessed on 27 September 2019.

²⁹ The Local Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* DPD) is stipulated in the amended 1945 Constitution Chapter VIIA on The Local Representative Council. Article 22C (1) and (2) state that the members of The Local Representative Council come from provinces which are chosen through a General Election. Each province has the same number of representatives. And the total number of The Local Representatives may not exceed one third of the number of the members of Parliament. For the amended 1945 Constitution, see <http://www.dpr.go.id/jdih/uu1945>.

³⁰ He was the father of the ex-governor of Banten Ratu Atut Chosiyah and was known as the leader of Bantenese strongmen. More details about his influence in the government of Banten, read Syarif Hidayat's '*Shadow State? Business and Politics in the Province of Banten*' in Henk Schulte Nordholt and Gerry van Klinden (eds.), *Renegotiating Boundaries: Local politics in post-Soeharto Indonesia*, (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 203-224.

Sochib funded the election. From the election Haji Kasmin got 21 votes, whereas the incumbent got 12. This result placed Haji Kasmin as the leader of Golkar of Lebak for the period 2009-2013.³¹

Afterwards, from the 2009 election Haji Kasmin became a member of parliament in Banten province from 2009-2014. He was nominated again by Golkar to become a member of parliament for the second term but did not pass. Afterwards, he was proposed to become the regent of Lebak for the period 2013-2018.

“Becoming a member of parliament means to be a representative of the people. The executive is the regent. So, any aspiration proposed by the parliament would be meaningless if the regent or the governor disagrees. I had a chance to become a regent because I was a member of the Parliament in Banten province. To care for the people, especially the Baduy, is not enough with my own money. There should be a development policy. Then there were some people who asked me to become a regent candidate. I answered that I didn’t have money. They said the candidacy would be paid by the party (Golkar). I waited for the support of the party until my money was running out. The donation which was promised never came. In the election I failed.”³²

3. *Haji Sarmedi’s Participation in Politics: a Wish to Fight for the Interest of the Baduy*³³

Sarmedi, a son of the *jaro pamarentah* Marsinun (in office 1967-1975), has been interested in politics since he was very young. In 1992 he became a vice *jaro* who was responsible for the external affairs. Sarmedi was even prepared by the *adat* leaders to become a *jaro pamarentah*. It was not surprising because, besides being a son of the *jaro*, Sarmedi was among the first Baduy who could read and write. In addition, he had a wide network with government institutions. He was even appointed by the Department of Social Affairs (Depsos) as a field companion (*pendamping lapangan*) of the Baduy in the resettlement villages. Sarmedi hoped he would become a civil servant someday in the department, but President Abdurrahman Wahid (1999 – 2001) dismissed the Depsos and the Department

³¹ Interview with Sarmedi on 24 November 2018.

³² Interview with Kasmin on 19 November 2018.

³³ This part is based on my interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 2, 20, 24 May 2017; 18, 24 November and 21 December 2018, unless otherwise mentioned.

of Communication (*Departmen Penerangan*) in 1999.³⁴

In 2004 Haji Sarmede conversed with Haji Kasmin about the party with which Haji Sarmede would affiliate. Haji Sarmede had a plan to join an Islamic-nuanced party like the PKS (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* Prosperous Justice Party), but he doubted that the party would win the election. Islam in Lebak, he said, was traditional, whereas Islam offered by PKS, and also by the PAN (*Partai Amanat Nasional* National Mandate Party), was modern. If he joined one of these two parties, his chance to become a member of parliament would be small. In fact, political parties which were popular in Lebak, and also in Banten in general, were Golkar and PDI-P. In the parliament of Lebak, for example, most of the chairs were occupied by these two parties. "In Lebak, religious parties are less attractive," Sarmede added.

Haji Sarmede began to join Golkar when he visited its office in Rangkasbitung in 2005. He met its leader Herry Djuhaeri and talked about Golkar. Then Haji Sarmede asked him to make a member card which marked his membership in Golkar of Lebak. When Haji Kasmin became the leader of Golkar for the period 2009-2014 Haji Sarmede was chosen as one of his deputies managing the Department of Law and Human Rights.

"My (academic) background is law, a major which is related to politics. Law and politics are brothers. Politics can be valued as virtues if it is used for good purposes, not because of money. If I am invited to discuss (about law and politics), the discussion could last until dawn."³⁵

In 2014 he first became a candidate for the position of the Lebak Parliament from Golkar, but failed. In the next election, which was conducted on 17 April 2019, Haji Sarmede was re-nominated by Golkar. He would become a representative from the Voting Region (*Daerah Pemilihan*) 3 which covers the sub-districts of Cimarga, Leuwidamar, Muncang, Sobang, Bojongmanik, and Cirinten. Leuwidamar the sub-district where the Baduy live would become his mainstay. Besides him, there were other eight Golkar candidates from the same voting region. They were Nana Sumarna, Eboy Kurniati, Mulki Firuzi, Ubaidilah,

³⁴ Sarmede entered Universitas Mathla'ul Anwar and wrote a bachelor thesis in 2013 titled *Pengaruh Hukum Adat Terhadap Hukum Positif: Studi Kasus Sadim* (The Influence of Customary Law on Positive Law: The Case of Sadim). Sadim was a Baduy who murdered a non-Baduy. He was brought to the court and punished. After being released from the jail he was re-punished by the *adat* law for five years. He was isolated and had to work without salary. After a half period of his punishment he died. To avoid a double punishment Sarmede proposes in his thesis that the court should be responsible to determine whether or not the accused is wrong, but the punishment is decided by the *adat*.

³⁵ Interview with Sarmede on 24 November 2019.

Reni Silfaeni, Fitri Yuningsih, Udan Bundani, and Dinar Andriana.³⁶ He dreamt of becoming a member of parliament to help the Baduy community. He explained:

“I intend to help the Baduy. I hope the health centre (*Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat/ Puskesmas*) of Ciboleger can be repaired and improved to be able to manage the patients. The health centre should have had an ambulance in case there are patients who should be brought to the hospital. It often happened that a pregnant Baduy woman was brought from a far Baduy village. When she arrived at the Health Centre there were no proper medical tools. When she had to be brought to a hospital, (because there was no ambulance) she was brought by a motorcycle. It was troublesome.”³⁷

On 22 July 2019 the KPU announced the result of the 2019 election and Haji Sarmede failed again to become a member of parliament in the Lebak Parliament. Those who passed to the Lebak Parliament from the Voting Region 3 were H. Dana Ukon (PKB), Bambang SP (Partai Gerindra), Junaedi Ibnu Jarta (PDIP), H. Hasan Gaos (PDIP), Nana Sumarna SH (Golkar), Tajudin (PKS), Asep Nuh Bin H. Oman (PPP), Rizki Riadi (Demokrat) and Mustopa (Demokrat).³⁸ Haji Sarmede was very sure that money played a very important role in the success of a candidate to become a member of parliament, a regent, and a governor.

C. Ethnicity and Money Politics in the Elections

The two Muslim Baduy Haji Kasmin and Haji Sarmede participate in politics, they claim, to fight for the interests of the Baduy. Their experience shows that ethnicity in small areas like in the *desa* of Kanekes and the sub-district of Leuwidamar was powerful. For example, in the 2009 election Haji Kasmin obtained 721 votes in the *desa* of Kanekes (whereas the second candidate got only 135 votes) and 3,803 votes in the sub-district of Leuwidamar (whereas the second candidate got only 135 votes). In the larger area, namely at the regency level, ethnicity was insignificant. Haji Kasmin and Haji Sarmede claimed that it was money that played the key role there.

³⁶ <https://kpu-lebakkab.go.id/kpu-kabupaten-lebak-umumkan-dct-dprd-lebak/>, accessed on 27 June 2019; interviews with one of the Lebak KPU commissioners Ace Sumirsa Ali via WhatsApp on 9 May and 2 July 2019.

³⁷ Interview with Haji Sarmede via WhatsApp on 9 May 2019.

³⁸ The decision letter of the Lebak KPU of the 2019 election can be seen on the Lebak KPU's website <https://kpu-lebakkab.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/BA-NOMOR-38-TTG-PENETAPAN-KURSI-DAN-CALON-TERPILIH-DPRD-LEBAK.pdf>, accessed on 30 July 2019.

1. *Amir Hamzah-Haji Kasmin: Ethnicity and Corruption*

Amir Hamzah and Haji Kasmin formed one of the three pairs of the regent and vice-regent candidates to rule Lebak for the period 2013-2018. The other two were Pepep Faisaludin - Aang Rasidi and Iti Octavia Jayabaya - Ade Sumardi. The first was supported by Golkar, the second was from independent candidates³⁹, and the last was supported by Partai Demokrat, PDI Perjuangan, Partai Hanura, Partai Gerindra, PPP, PKS, and PPNU.⁴⁰ After the election was conducted on 31 Augustus 2013, the KPU announced on 8 September that 74.60% of the voice holders had given their votes.⁴¹ The result was that Iti Oktavia - Ade Sumardi got 62.37% of the votes; Amir Hamzah - Kasmin 34.69 %, and Pepep Faisaludin - Aang Rasidi 2.94%. The KPU also issued a decision letter stating that Iti Octavia - Ade Sumarwi were the chosen regent and vice-regent of Lebak 2013-2018.⁴²

In the campaign period, Haji Kasmin's ethnicity was attacked by the Lebak Regent Mulyadi Jayabaya who is the father of Iti Octavia. On 27 August 2013, in front of masses in Ona, Rangkasbitung, Jayabaya assaulted him by saying:

“If we want to become foolish, choose the Baduy. If we want to become foolish, choose the son of Kanekes. There are no Baduy people who go to school. [They are] foolish. Do you want to be led by the foolish man?”⁴³

Haji Kasmin knew that this statement was directed to him because he was the only candidate who was from the Baduy origin. He did not deny this fact. Even he admitted that many of his families were still the adherents of Sunda Wiwitan. However, he argued, he was not fully a Baduy because he had left the *adat* land by converting to Islam. Haji Kasmin asserted:

“It is true that I came from the Baduy land. Now I am no longer a Baduy because I have been joining politics for a long time. I am more properly called

³⁹ The regulation of the General Elections No. 8/ 2015 on the election of governors, regents and mayors allows independent candidates to propose themselves or to be proposed by a group of people to become a governor, regent or mayor. Independent candidates are also called non-party candidates.

⁴⁰ <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/10/04/1606497/Demokrat.Desak.Calon.Bupati.Lebak.dari.Golkar.Didiskualifikasi>, accessed on 01 July 2019.

⁴¹ Decision letter No 40/Kpts/KPU.Kab./015.436415/IX/2013

⁴² Decision letter No.41/Kpts/KPU.Kab./015.436415/ IX/2013; <https://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/143766-14-november-pemungutan-suara-ulang-pilkada-lebak.html>, accessed on 1 July 2019; and <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/729095/pasangan-iti-ade-yakin-menang-pilkada-ulang-lebak-banten>, accessed on 8 July 2019.

⁴³ <https://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/136514/hina-warga-baduy-bupati-lebak-tuai-kecamatan>, accessed on 1 July 2019.

Photograph 7.5: A campaign sticker of H. Amir Hamzah and H. Kasmin. Photograph taken in 2017 by Ade Jaya Suryani.



an ex-Baduy. But my family and blood are still Baduy. I regret the statement of the Lebak Regent Mulyadi Jayabaya.”⁴⁴

Supposed to support his daughter, Jayabaya also made a monitoring team through a decision letter on *Pembentukan Tim Monitoring dan Evaluasi Pemilihan Umum Bupati dan Wakil Bupati Lebak Tahun 2013* (The Making of the Monitoring and Evaluation of the Regent and Vice-Regent of Lebak 2013).⁴⁵ This team consisted of 56 officials and civil servants, 28 sub-district heads (*camat*) and 345 *desa* heads in Lebak. Jayabaya also became a campaigner of the pair of Iti Octavia-Ade Sumardi. The team of Amir Hamzah-Kasmin objected

⁴⁴ <https://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/136514/hina-warga-baduy-bupati-lebak-tuai-kecamatan>, accessed on 1 July 2019.

⁴⁵ Decision letter No. 300/Kep.245/kesbangpol&Linmas/2013.

against this regulation which tended to influence people to vote for the pair of Iti Octavia-Ade Sumardi. Iwin (not his real name) who worked as a KPPS⁴⁶ official confirmed that he saw how this team used the government structures to influence people. He said:

“It doesn't need to be discussed (It has been clear). Even a little child knows it. The problem is I don't hold a piece of evidence in the form of writing, recording or photographs. So it is difficult to be proven in front of the judges.”⁴⁷

He explained further:

“Haji Kasmin is foolish but honest. Amir Hamzah has knowledge (to manage the governance). They are a pair. Haji Kasmin is a businessman. People wanted a change. The running system did not humanise laypeople. The *desa* leaders (*jaro*) were pressed with the threat that the PNPM⁴⁸ fund would not be given. Then there was a kind of contest whoever could raise the voting gains would be given a certain reward. The *jaro* then ordered the village leaders.”⁴⁹

The pair of Amir Hamzah – Kasmin could not accept the victory of Iti Octavia – Ade Sumardi. Amir Hamzah's cadres, Kasmin said, pressed Amir Hamzah by saying that there were many violations in the election procedures. They pushed him to file the case. The team of Amir Hamzah-Kasmin then organised a meeting on 9 September 2013 in Hotel Sultan, Jakarta. The governor of Banten Ratu Atut Chosiyah, who was also from Golkar, attended the meeting. Amir Hamzah said to the people that the regent of Lebak Jayabaya used his power and bureaucracy to let Iti Octavia and Ade Sumardi win the election. On 11 September they filed the case to the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi* MK) to cancel the decision of the Lebak KPU and to repeat the election.

To manage the case Golkar appointed Rudi Alfonso and Susi Tur Andayani as its lawyers. Susi contacted the leader of the MK, Akil Mochtar, to pass the file.

⁴⁶ KPPS (*Kelompok Penyelenggara Pemungutan Suara*/ Polling Station Working Committee) is a unit in the KPU who works at the voting station level, who directly manages the voting process in the field.

⁴⁷ Interview with Iwin via WhatsApp on 12 February 2019.

⁴⁸ PNPM (*Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*, National Programme of Society Development) is a national programme to get rid of poverty in Indonesia. The central government provides a lot of funds for this programme. More information about this programme read its official website <http://www.pnpm-mandiri.org>.

⁴⁹ Interview with Iwin on 13 December 2018.

On 22 September, Chosiyah, Tubagus Chaeri Wardana⁵⁰, and Akil Mochtar met in Hotel JW Marriot, Singapore. Here Chosiyah restated the demand to cancel the decision of the Lebak KPU and asked to repeat the election. In Jakarta Akil asked Rp3 billion to the team in order to pass the file. Wawan said that he was able to give him Rp1 billion. Susi contacted Amir Hamzah to provide money. Amir Hamzah took Rp1 billion. He would give the money after he would win the re-election.⁵¹

In a morning when Haji Kasmin was on the way to Bandung, Amir Hamzah phoned Haji Kasmin explaining that Wardana had met the lawyer Susi. Wawan, Amir Hamzah told Haji Kasmin, promised Susi to pay Rp1 billion. A few hours later Haji Kasmin called Susi asking whether it was true that Wardana would give her Rp1 billion. On the phone Susi said that Wardana promised her only Rp1 billion. She asked Kasmin to add more money, but Kasmin said he did no longer have money.⁵²

After getting a promise from the team of Amir Hamzah-Kasmin, the MK issued a decision letter on 8 September to cancel the decision letter of the Lebak KPU on the winning of the pair of Iti Octavia-Ade Sumardi.⁵³ The reason for the cancellation was that the regent of Lebak Jayabaya used his power and bureaucracy to let his daughter win. The KPU decided to repeat the election on 14 November 2013. To do it the Lebak government had to provide Rp10 billion. The election was re-conducted and the result was still the same: Iti Octavia-Ade Sumardi won with 67.74%.⁵⁴

On 25 September 2014 Amir Hamzah-Kasmin were stipulated by the KPK (*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* Corruption Eradication Commission) as suspects in a case of corruption. They were accused of giving Rp1 billion to the leader of the MK, Akil Mochtar, who managed the case. This case was connected to other Golkar politicians, who are sister and brother, Chosiyah and Wardana. Chosiyah herself was the governor of Banten of the time.⁵⁵ In the court Haji Kasmin

⁵⁰ Tubagus Chaeri Wardana is more known as Wawan. He is a younger brother of Ratu Atut Chosiyah and is the husband of the city mayor of Tangerang Selatan, Airin Rachmi Diany. Wawan had been jailed since 2015 because of many corruption cases. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1152590/wawan-suap-kalapas-untuk-menginap-di-hotel-bersama-wanita-lain/full&view=ok>, accessed on 8 July 2019.

⁵¹ <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3081575/suap-akil-mochtar-amir-hamzah-dituntut-5-tahun-penjara-kasmin-4-tahun>, accessed on 8 July 2019.

⁵² Interview with Haji Kasmin on 19 November 2018.

⁵³ Decision letter No. 111/PHPU.D-XI/2013.

⁵⁴ <https://news.detik.com/berita/3031990/ketua-kpud-lebak-mengaku-didatangi-tim-sukses-amir-kasmin-usai-sidang-mk>, accessed on 1 July 2019; and <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-2446932/kalah-di-mk-cabup-amir-hamzah-minta-maaf-kepada-warga-lebak>, accessed on 1 July 2019.

⁵⁵ <https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1034573/149/amir-hamzah-kasmin-ditahan-1439952849>, accessed on 1 July 2019.

denied having bribed Akil Mochtar. Wardana also stated that Haji Kasmin was not involved. But Haji Kasmin was still found guilty and jailed for three years in Sukamiskin, Bandung, because he did not report the case to the police or the KPK. The other suspects were also found guilty and jailed. Amir Hamzah was jailed for three years and five months, Susi Tur Andayani for five years, and Mochtar Akil was for life imprisonment.⁵⁶

2. *Sarmedi and Muslim Baduy Communities: Ethnicity and Elections*⁵⁷

Haji Sarmedi knew that there were many Baduy of Sunda Wiwitan and Muslims. If they supported him, their voting would contribute to his success in becoming a member of parliament in Lebak. As a Baduy he also had a good connection with the *adat* leaders. Even some of his extended-families are Baduy. Both to the Muslim and Sunda Wiwitan Baduy he raised the issue of ethnicity, by saying that if he became a member of parliament he could help them. Haji Sarmedi explained:

“The Muslim Baduy are displaced. They are not recognised by the *adat*. By the government they are less embraced. It is also because the Baduy socialise less. There is also an assumption that the Baduy who left the *adat* land are economically well off. Yes, it is true that some Muslim Baduy became businessmen. But, most of the people are living in miserable conditions.”⁵⁸

From the fact that many Muslim Baduy were displaced, Haji Sarmedi said that he was encouraged to become a member of the parliament. Like what was said by Haji Kasmin, Haji Sarmedi could not help the Baduy as a whole personally. He claimed to have discussed the situation of the Muslim Baduy with the government, but it clarified the problem with the Sunda Wiwitan Baduy, not with the Muslim ones. The Sunda Wiwitan Baduy would certainly deny because for them the Baduy who had left the *adat* land were no longer Baduy. In other words, for the Baduy there were no so-called displaced Baduy. Haji Sarmedi realised that they had a different definition of who the Baduy were. Therefore he thought politics would be a good way to help the Baduy of both Sunda Wiwitan and Islam. To achieve this he joined Golkar.

⁵⁶ Interview with Haji Kasmin on 19 November 2018, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20151221174400-12-99677/amir-dan-kasmin-divonis-tiga-tahun-penjara>; <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/2067349/kasus-suap-akil-susi-tur-andayani-divonis-5-tahun-bui>; <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/06/30/2203501/Mantan.Ketua.MK.Akil.Mochtar.Divonis.Seumur.Hidup>; accessed on 8 July 2019.

⁵⁷ This section is based on my interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 2, 20, 24 May 2017, 18, 24 November 2018 and 21 December 2018.

⁵⁸ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 18 November 2018.

Haji Sarmedi thought that he could be instrumental to help the Baduy if he became a member of parliament himself. He dreamt he could help the Baduy who did not have fields and because of it they had to manage other people's farmland in various sub-districts. Haji Sarmedi then met Haji Kasmin to ask his support. He knew that Haji Kasmin was influential both as a politician and as a Baduy. Let alone Haji Kasmin himself recommended him to participate in the election. By becoming a member of parliament, Haji Sarmedi was sure that he could do a lot of things for the Baduy. Based on this reasoning Haji Sarmedi participated in the 2019 election and was sure Haji Kasmin would support him.

"I become motivated and I am sure if Haji Kasmin 'comes down from the mountain' (*turun gunung*, to participate) he can influence the mass. There are still many people who have sympathy for him. He has a concern for the people, including in religious matters. If Haji Kasmin gives me Rp200 million (around €3,333), but he doesn't come down from the mountain, I will not be happy. But if he comes down from the mountain and doesn't give me money, I think it will be valued more than Rp200 million."⁵⁹

On 19 November 2018 Sarmedi went to the house of Haji Kasmin in Rangkasbitung. In the house there would be a meeting among Muslim Baduy to support Haji Sarmedi in the election. The election itself would be held on 17 April 2019. The place of the meeting tells us the importance of the owner of the house, Haji Kasmin, who was a very rich and influential Muslim Baduy. He was also an ex-candidate for the position of the Lebak Regent 2013-2018. Haji Sarmedi moved to Haji Kasmin to get his support. Other Muslim Baduy, including Haji Nalim, Haji Dayat, Haji Jali, Arman, and Sarpin were also invited to the meeting. It was hoped that they would become Sarmedi's supporters in their villages. Based on Sarmedi's calculation, if all of the Baduy supported him, he would become a member of parliament. To become a member of parliament one had to gain around 12,000 votes. Haji Sarmedi estimated that there were around 5,000 Baduy who had the right to vote. This number could be added by the votes of the non-Baduy. If Haji Kasmin could influence 4,000 Baduy, he was pretty sure he could become a member of parliament. But in fact, ethnicity, like what was experienced by Haji Kasmin, was less important.

In the voting region 3 Haji Sarmedi had to fight against his own fellows from Golkar and he failed to gain enough votes to become a member of the Lebak parliament. Among the Golkar fellows Sarmedi got only 1,493 votes, and the

⁵⁹ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 19 November 2018.

others were Nana Sumarna (3,969), Emboi Kurniati (1,815), Mulki Firuz (205), Ubaidilah (400), Reni Silfiaeni (3,923), Fitri Yuningsih (72), Udan Bundani (67), and Dinar Andriana (266).⁶⁰ Sarmedi failed for the second time. In this election his name appeared only in the fourth rank. Through a decision letter the Lebak KPU announced the winning parties and candidates of the 2019 election. From Golkar from the voting region 3 only Nana Sumarna was elected in the Parliament.⁶¹

After Haji Sarmedi failed twice to become a member of the Lebak Parliament, he would probably give up. He believed that his failures were caused by bad democracy where people tended to choose the candidates who gave them money. He said that he did not have enough money for the General Elections. Many years ago, when he was a contractor, he could be said to have more money. But he already stopped being a contractor because that kind of business, he said, was very close to the practice of corruption. He also believed that spending too much money in the process of candidacy worsened the quality of democracy.

“It will be useless to follow the General Elections again if we don't use money: the result will be the same. I am really sad to realise that in our democracy money speaks. Facts show that the candidates who won the elections of village leaders, the DPR, the DPRD, regents, and governors are those who had a lot of money.”⁶²

To understand what Haji Sarmedi complained about, it is necessary to see how money politics is practised in Indonesia. Edward Aspinall and Mada Sukmajati (2016: 2-4, 19-28) state that the term ‘money politics’ has been used since the 1990s with diverse meanings such as “bribery within legislative bodies”, vote buying, political corruption, and “the practice of distributing cash (and sometimes goods) to voters during the General Elections”. The practice of money politics occurs in the phenomena of patronage (the distribution of material benefits) and clientelism (the power relation among the candidates and voters). Patronage takes various shapes including vote buying, individual gifts, services and activities, club goods, and pork barrel projects; while clientelism emerges in the form of success teams, social networks, and parties. The decision letter on *The Making of the Monitoring and Evaluation of the Regent and Vice-Regent of Lebak 2013* which consisted of 56 officials and civil servants, 28 sub-district

⁶⁰ Decision letter No. 112/PL.01.7-Kpt/3602/KPU-Kab/V/2019.

⁶¹ Decision letter No. 38/PL.01.9-BA/3602/KPU-Kab/VII/2019, <https://kpu-lebakkab.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/BA-NOMOR-38-TTG-PENETAPAN-KURSI-DAN-CALON-TERPILIH-DPRD-LEBAK.pdf>, accessed on 30 July 2019.

⁶² Chat with Haji Sarmedi via WhatsApp on 2 July 2019.

heads (*camat*) and 345 *desa* heads in Lebak was a clear evidence how clientelism works.

Because money politics occurs in the whole process of election Edward Aspinall and Ward Berenschot (2019: 3-4) name democracy in Indonesia as being for sale. First, the candidates have to provide money to be given to the political parties to gain their support (see also Vedi R Hadiz 2002). After getting support from the political parties they form campaigning organisations and recruit workers. Besides giving money to the workers the candidates often offer promises that, after they are elected, they will give projects or positions to the workers. Afterwards, the candidates and workers build networks with community leaders or organisations. For this network building they must spend a lot of money. Money is also distributed to the voters. Since the distribution of money is done in the dawn of the voting day, the act is called the dawn attack (*sejarangan fajar*). If the candidates win, they have to return the favour to their sponsors who provide money in the whole process of election in the form of projects. All of these costs have caused the expenses for the election skyrocket. Aspinall and Berenschot (2019: 2-3) write:

“Politicians who use clientelistic methods to win elections do so by distributing favors, goods, or cash to individuals or small groups of voters, whom they then expect to reciprocate with their votes. These goods and favors can come in multiple forms—from envelopes stuffed with cash to assistance in getting a child into a government scholarship program, from a job as a hospital janitor to a government construction contract.”

....

“At every level, formal political institutions are shadowed by informal, personalized networks through which material benefits and favors flow. Politicians win power, often, by distributing small-scale projects, cash, or other goods to voters or community groups; they get gain the funds they need to campaign by trading contracts, licenses, and other favors with business people; and they engage in constant battles with each other and with bureaucrats in order to wrest control over state resources and turn them to their personal political advantage.”

The practice of money politics in Banten can be seen further in a study by Gandung Ismanto and Idris Thaha (2016: 137-153). They show how money plays a very important role in mobilising the mass in campaigns and in gaining votes. The participants of the campaigns came to the campaigning squares merely because they were paid. They realised that the candidates who invited them to

the square would probably not remember their constituents. Whatever parties and programmes and whichever candidates seem for the people not too relevant. In the end, the most important thing for them was the payment: money. The candidates who built a network with religious institutions such as *pesantren*, *majlis taklim* (informal groups where especially women study Islam) and madrasa, also had to provide a lot of money and distributed it to the people as a sign that they cared for them. To become a member of parliament at the national level a candidate could spend up to Rp5 billion (around €333,333). The same kind of study conducted by Argoposo Cahyo Nugroho (2016: 154) in Tangerang, Banten, shows the same thing.

Commenting about the 2014 election in Banten, the Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) stated that Banten was a province in Indonesia with the highest level of money politics.⁶³ In other words, such practices also happened in other provinces (see Aspinall and Sukmajati 2016: 2). The Bawaslu (*Badan Pengawasan Pemilihan Umum* Elections Supervisory Board) of Banten reported that the regencies of Serang, Tangerang, and Lebak were places where the practices of money politics often happened.⁶⁴ Ari Setiawan, a member of Bawaslu of Serang, a regency in Banten, mentioned that money politics was one of the five cases of violation which was often reported to the Board. The number of cases related to money politics counted up to 40 per cent.⁶⁵ In this situation where money politics played a very important role, Haji Sarmedi tried to become a member of parliament in Lebak and would fight for the interest of the Baduy. The 2014 and 2019 elections have shown him that ethnicity was too weak to be used and money, according to him, was too powerful.⁶⁶

D. AMAN and the *Adat* Communities in Indonesia

1. *The Shrinking Land and Religious Discrimination: the Background of AMAN*

Now we will look at the *adat* movement in the national level and how the Baduy community was involved. Sandra Moniaga (1999: vii) mentions that indigenous peoples are the group the most affected by development policies. To empower themselves, thirteen indigenous peoples, assisted by some non-

⁶³ <https://koran.tempo.co/read/340367/politik-uang-terbanyak-terjadi-di-banten>, accessed on 12 July 2019.

⁶⁴ <https://www.kabar-banten.com/tiga-daerah-paling-rawan-politik-uang-di-provinsi-banten/>, accessed on 12 July 2017.

⁶⁵ <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4482663/bawaslu-sebut-politik-uang-rawan-terjadi-di-serang-banten>, accessed on 12 July 2019.

⁶⁶ Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 24 November 2018.

government organisations, held the first Congress of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (*Kongres Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* KMAN) in Jakarta from 17-22 March 1999. They agreed on forming an organisation that would struggle for “the existence and aspiration of indigenous societies” (Moniaga 1999: ix, AMAN 2001:2). The organisation was named AMAN (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* the Indigenous Peoples’ Alliance of the Archipelago)⁶⁷ and 17 March was determined as the day of its formation. Among the indigenous peoples that formed AMAN was the Baduy community who was represented by H Arifin. “A representative of the Baduy [H Arifin] was selected as the organization’s executive secretary, a wise choice as the Baduy enjoy a privileged position among high government officials” (Persoon 2009: 203). The Baduy through their representative Adang Afandi also came to a seminar held by AMAN on 10 January 2002 in West Lampung (AMAN 2003: 110).⁶⁸ In addition, AMAN activists several times came to the Baduy land to discuss issues on *adat* land.⁶⁹

Some laws that have affected the lives of the indigenous peoples, as the AMAN activist Sandra Moniaga indicates, are Law No. 5/1974 on the local government, Law No. 5/1979 on the *desa* government, Law No. 5/1960 on agrarian affairs, Law No. 5/1967 on forestry, and Law No. 11/1967 on mining. We will look at some cases. Law No.5/1979 has divided and united certain *adat* communities into new different *desa* governments (AMAN 1999). The political territories of *nagari* in Minangkabau, for example, were dismembered by the *desa* law and their name was changed with the term *desa* (Henley and Davidson 2007:12). This law has “wiped out all traditional and local forms of village authority and imposed a uniform structure of *desa* administration” (Persoon 1998: 294). The Baduy themselves succeeded in refusing this policy (Persoon 1994: 366).

Moreover, the *adat* communities were also affected by Law No.5/1967 on forestry. Article 2 of the law mentions that there are two kinds of forest: the state’s forest and smallholders’ forest. The problem is that *adat* forests are included in the category of the state’s forest. To make use of the *adat* forests the *adat*

⁶⁷ “*Adat* communities” (“*masyarakat adat*”) and “indigenous peoples” are two interchangeable terms. The government of Indonesia objects to the term “indigenous peoples” with the argument that, different from Australia and the Americas, almost all Indonesian are indigenous. It prefers the term “*masyarakat adat*”. AMAN also uses this term, but in the English translation it uses “indigenous peoples” (Persoon 1998: 281; Henley and Davidson 2007: 8, 25; Persoon 2009: 203). Since the use of the term “*adat* communities” is getting its currency, I will use that term.

⁶⁸ <https://nationalgeographic.grid.id/read/13288051/baduy-maafkan-kami?page=all>, accessed on 30 September 2019. Haji Sarmedi stated that the Baduy never sent representatives to the congresses and seminars of AMAN. It seems that H Arifin and Adang Afandi appointed themselves to represent the Baduy in the formation of AMAN and its seminars. Haji Sarmedi admitted that people from AMAN sometimes came to the Baduy land to talk some issues on *adat* communities.

⁶⁹ Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 24 November 2019 and via WhatsApp on 15 August 2019.

communities have to consult the law and other regulations (Pradja 1999: 124-125). Following this law in 1968 the governor of West Java issued a decision about *Determination of the Status of the Forbidden Forest in the Kanekes Village Baduy Region* which included the *adat* forest of the Baduy as the state's forest (Toha 2007: 205). Since the implementation of Law No.5/1967 until 1999 there had been around 110 forestry corporations (*Hak Pengusahaan Hutan/HPH*) in West Kalimantan alone. Institut Dayakologi records how these corporations destroyed the forests in West Kalimantan and how the indigenous people, the Dayaks, were directly affected by the deforestation. Conflicts between the corporations and the people were also inevitable (Andasputra 1999).

Loir Botor Dingit who was a leader of an indigenous group in Kalimantan and a participant of the 1999 KMAN, mentioned that Bob Hasan, a Minister of Industry and Trade in the Soeharto era, had a corporation named Kalimanis Group. This corporation had six forestry companies and possessed 1,352,000 hectares of land in Kalimantan. One of his corporations, for instance, operated in an *adat* land, dispossessed its trees and destroyed its environments. When Dingit fought for the rights of the *adat* communities he led, he was intimidated by the police and the corporations (Dingit 1999: 7, 9). Besides to give permits to corporations, the government also used this law to establish national parks on *adat* land (Henley and Davidson 2007: 11).

In terms of religion, most of the *adat* peoples embrace local religions and the government intended to convert them to one of the six recognised religions (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 36, 38, 39, 67; Fathuddien et al. 1978:3). In the 1999 KMAN a participant complained that his religion was not recognised by the government. The government, he said, even pressed the followers of this religion (Kartika and Gautama (eds.) 1999: 26, 29). Henley and Davidson (2007:10) opine that the exclusion of local religions from the definition of religion is rooted in the first principle of Pancasila. I disagree with them because the first principle of Pancasila is relatively clear where it does not differentiate one religion from another. I argue that the exclusion of local religions from the state's definition of religion comes from Article 29 (2) of the 1945 Constitution where the word '*kepercayaan*' first appears. That *kepercayaan* is not a religion is explicitly stated in the decision of the MPR No. IV/MPR/1978. Other laws and regulations on religion which emerged later base their legal reasoning on these articles and decisions.

Kusnaka Admihardja (1999:29) reasons that because the marginalisation of the *adat* communities is done structurally, the approach to eliminate the marginalisation should also be done through the structure (politics and law). The participants of the 1999 KMAN also realised that the suffering they underwent

arose from the fact that their existence was politically weak. One of the speakers in the 1999 KMAN Hubertus Samangun (1999: 133-136) suggested the participants to form an organisation which would facilitate and promote the interests of the *adat* communities. The organisation, which is known as AMAN, would soon play an important role in strengthening the political power of the *adat* communities in Indonesia.

2. *AMAN and the Political Empowerment of the Adat Communities*

AMAN was founded to strengthen the political position of *adat* communities by which they can determine and manage their own lives. An *adat* community is defined by AMAN as: “a group of society which has a genealogical relation [who live] in a certain geographical location and has its own values, ideologies, economy, politics, culture, social, and territory” (AMAN, 2003: 1-2). This definition of *adat* is very similar to that of indigenous peoples as set in the 1997 Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act of the Philippines. Henley and Davidson (2007:3) state that “... *adat* is a complex of rights and obligations which ties together three things – history, land and law –...” They add that *adat* is a “powerful set of ideas or assumptions regarding what an ideal society should be like.” But Hanley and Davidson (2007:4, 35) also remind us that the use of *adat* in their movements can ignite dangers. They exemplify the Dayaks in Kalimantan who used the *adat* justification to perform violence against the Madurese.

The *adat* communities that participated in the first congress of AMAN realised that Indonesia was diverse, as it appears in the statement *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), but their existence was not recognised by the state. And because of it they were exploited by the government, especially by the regency/ city governments, and corporations. With this awareness they demanded the autonomy of *adat* societies (*otonomi masyarakat adat*), in which they have right “to manage their *adat* territories, natural resources, the enforcement of *adat* law and the peoples”. They even released a very strong statement stating that “if the state does not recognise us, we will also not recognise the state”. This statement emerged from the awareness that the *adat* communities had existed long before the formation of the state, but in the process they were neglected, not recognised and they often became the victim of the development policies (AMAN 2001:7-11; Henley and Davidson 2007: 6).

Furthermore, Henley and Davidson (2008:819-825) argue that the *adat* movements in Indonesia are rooted in “the international influences”, “ideological inheritances”, “pressure and oppression under the New Order”, and “opportunities and exigencies of *reformasi*”. Long before the local *adat*

movements in the 1980s and 1990s and the national movement in the post-*reformasi* era, indigenous peoples' movements in other parts of the world had been running. In the US the Native Americans had begun their movement since the 1960s, the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) was founded in Denmark in 1968 to support the indigenous movements in developing countries, Survival International in Britain in 1969, and Cultural Survival in the USA in 1976. In the following years the issue of indigenous peoples has attracted the attention of international organisations, especially the United Nations (UN). In 1977 and 1982 respectively it held Conferences on Discrimination against Indigenous Peoples of the Americas and formed the Working Group on Indigenous Populations. The International Labour Organization (ILO), a body in the UN system, issued Convention No.107 in 1957 and its revision Convention No. 169 in 1989 on indigenous peoples. In 1995 the UN also declared the decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples. The Indonesian *adat* movement also got inspiration from the same movement in the Philippines, especially the 1997 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (Persoon 1998: 282-287; Henley and Davidson 2007: 6-7).

To strengthen the political position of the *adat* groups AMAN has tried many strategies including to eliminate negative terms which were used to refer the peoples such as "the isolated tribes or communities". They also demanded the state to respect the ethnic groups and to involve them when it would issue a policy which was related to the *adat* communities. To make this demand more effective, they demanded the state to "place the representatives of the *adat* communities in the state's bodies" (AMAN 2001: 11). To achieve the targets, AMAN outlines the strategies to take advantages of politics at the levels of community, regency, province, and national. At the community level it teaches political awareness to the members of the *adat* communities. At the levels of regency, province and nation, AMAN does lobby with various institutions and makes a coalition with other groups that have the same concern (AMAN 2003: 12-15, 110).

In the 2014 election AMAN supported the pair of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla. Their support declaration was attended by representatives of *adat* communities from various islands.⁷⁰

Before the election AMAN coordinated with the team of Joko Widodo – Jusuf Kalla about many problems faced by the *adat* communities and, if Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla were chosen, they had to create "an independent and permanent

⁷⁰ <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/05/23/1218537/Aliansi.Masyarakat.Adat.Nusantara.Dukung.Jokowi.Ini.Alasannya..>, accessed on 5 August 2019.

body” to manage the indigenous peoples and to issue a law that would protect them. After some years of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla’s presidency, the General Secretary of AMAN Rukka Sombolinggi thought that they failed to materialise their promises.⁷¹ In the 2019 election AMAN decided to take a neutral stance. It let the members of AMAN choose whichever pair they would prefer.⁷² It viewed that both pairs Joko Widodo - Ma’ruf Amin and Prabowo Subianto - Sandiaga Uno did not take the issue of indigenous peoples seriously.⁷³

Because the main agenda of the formation of AMAN is the recognition of the state of the *adat* communities, it places politics as the main tool. Even the organisation states that it will “influence the political processes and policies at the local, national and international levels which will affect the lives of the *adat* communities” (AMAN, 2001:22). At the international level AMAN cooperated, for example, with the Japan Social Development Fund (JSDF) to run the project “Improving Governance for Sustainable Indigenous Communities Livelihoods in Forested Area Project”. This project lasted from 30 August 2012 to 15 June 2015 where AMAN got funding from JSDF for as much as Rp.28,2 billion (around €1,880,000).⁷⁴ AMAN also cooperates with IWGIA (Henley and Davidson 2007: 8). In its yearly publication IWGIA reports the latest development of indigenous peoples around the world. When reporting on the indigenous peoples of Indonesia, this organisation relies on information from AMAN.⁷⁵

As a result of this *adat* movement, since the formation of AMAN in 1999 there have been changes towards the recognition of the state upon the *adat* communities. After the first KMAN was finished, shortly after the fall of the New Order, there was a sign of the state’s recognition to the *adat* communities in its legal products. Law No.22/1999, for instance, gives more space to the local government to manage themselves, including to change the term “*desa* government” with the equivalent terms (Moniaga 1999: xi-xii; AMAN, 2003: 8-9, 11). Article 111 (2) of the law states that “local regulations as meant in point (1), are obliged to recognise and respect the rights, genealogies, and *adat* of the

⁷¹ <https://pilpres.tempo.co/read/1171844/aliansi-masyarakat-adat-nusantara-bersikap-netral-di-pilpres-2019/full&view=ok>, and <http://www.aman.or.id/2018/12/catatan-akhir-tahun-aman-2018-organisasi-tidak-menyatakan-dukungan-ke-kandidat-capres-cawapres-mana-pun/> accessed on 5 August 2019.

⁷² <https://pilpres.tempo.co/read/1171844/aliansi-masyarakat-adat-nusantara-bersikap-netral-di-pilpres-2019/full&view=ok>, accessed on 5 August 2019.

⁷³ <https://tirto.id/aman-semua-capres-abaikan-hak-masyarakat-adat-saat-debat-pilpres-deMa>, accessed on 5 August 2019.

⁷⁴ <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/267401482125671084/pdf/Audit-Report-TF-12020-AMAN.pdf>, accessed on 6 August 2019.

⁷⁵ The yearly publication of IWGIA can be downloaded from its website <https://www.iwgia.org/en/resources/publications>.

desa.⁷⁶ Later, changes also can be seen in the fourth amended 1945 Constitution. Article 18-B (2) of the amended Constitution asserts that the state recognises and respects the *adat* communities and their traditional rights. *Adat* rights and land are also respected in the MPR decision No. 9/2001 on the agrarian renewal and the management of natural resources (AMAN 2001:18; AMAN 2003: 8-17).

The recognition of *adat* in the local context can be seen, for instance, in the regencies of West Lampung and Lebak. The regent of West Lampung I Wayan Dirpa states that Law No. 32/2004 on local government (which was revised by Law No. 23/2014) has increased the role of *adat* practices and institutions in West Lampung. Responding to Law No. 22/1999 the government of West Lampung changed the term *desa* with the local one *pekon*. In addition, until 2003 West Lampung had issued at least 13 local regulations pertaining to *pekon* (Dirpa 2003: 35-37). Like West Lampung, Lebak also has issued a local regulation to respect and protect its *adat* society, the Baduy, through the local regulation No. 32/2001 on the Protection of the *Adat* Land of the Baduy. This regulation sets the boundaries of the *adat* land (articles 6 and 7) and gives the Baduy full authority to manage and make use of the *adat* land (article 4). A non-Baduy who “disturbs, destroys and use the Baduy land can be jailed for six months or fined for the maximum Rp.5 million” (article 9).⁷⁷

Commenting about *adat* movements in Indonesia Henley and Davidson (2007: 41) state that the *adat* movements have contributed “to the development of civil society, for supporting local land rights, and for bringing pride and a political voice to a marginalized and maltreated section in the Indonesian population”. In line with the *adat* movements in other parts of Indonesia and at the national level, the Baduy changed their world view that they are not only hermits but also citizens of Indonesia. This change is followed by their demand to the government and the state to recognise and protect them, the same demand as voiced by AMAN.

E. The 2017 Constitutional Court's Decision on Local Religions: The Latest Development of Politics of Religion in Indonesia⁷⁸

The *adat* communities, including the Baduy, have struggled for the recognition of their religions. Their religions are not recognised by the state because they

⁷⁶ Law No.22/1999 on Local Government.

⁷⁷ The Local Regulation of Lebak No.32/2001.

⁷⁸ This section is based on the decision of MK No. 97/PUU-XIV/2016, except mentioned otherwise.

do not comply with the definition of religion provided by the state which relies mainly on Islam and Christianity. The adherents of these local religions have been marginalised since the beginning of the making of the state. The first principle of Pancasila asserts that the state is based on the belief in God. At this point, everything is relatively clear. People start to have different interpretations when reading Article 29 (2) of the 1945 constitution which states that “the state guarantees every citizen to adhere his/her religion and to do worship based on his/her religion and belief.” The controversy appears in understanding the last word “*kepercayaan* (belief)”: is belief part of religion or does the word “belief” refer to local religions? In the fourth amended Constitution, the topic of religion exists in Article 28E. Point 1 states that “everyone is free to adhere to a religion...” and point 2 states that “everyone has the right to have a belief...”

In 1953 the government formed the Pakem (*Pengawasan Aliran Kepercayaan dan Aliran Keagamaan dalam Masyarakat*/ Surveillance of Belief and Religious Streams in Society). In that year the BKKI (*Badan Koordinasi Kebatinan Indonesia*/ the Coordinating Body of Indonesian Spirituality) recorded 360 organisations of belief systems. In 1965 the government issued Law No. 1/1965 on Religious Blasphemy. The reason behind the issuance of this law was the existence of many religious streams. The decision of the MPR No. IV/MPR/1973, however, mentions that religions and beliefs are valid and equal.⁷⁹ A reverse view appears in the decision of the MPR No. IV/MPR/1978⁸⁰ which declares that beliefs are not religion. In 2006 the government stipulated Law No. 23/ 2006 on the Administration of Population which was amended by Law No. 24/ 2013. These two laws state that the column of religion on the identity cards of the adherents of belief systems should be emptied.

The exclusion of local religions from the definition of religion has affected greatly the life of the adherents of the religions. For instance, before they could register their marriage to the civil registry office they had to obtain a permit from the court (Agastia *et al.* 1994: vii). If not, their marriage was not considered valid by the state. It means they could not have marriage and family certificates. When the baby was born, he would not have an identity card because to have it he had to have a family certificate. Even if he could have it, his religion would not be printed on his identity card because the law prevented it from doing so. Other problems would soon follow: he would probably not be able to register at a school, apply for a job, or open a bank account. Being unable to bear

⁷⁹ <https://mediaindonesia.com/read/detail/131929-kesetaraan-agama-dan-aliran-kepercayaan> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j0hy16acZ98&t=7s>, accessed on 6 August 2019.

⁸⁰ Decision of the MPR No. IV/MPR/1978 on *Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara* (Main Guidelines of the State).

the problems, many of them decided to convert to one of the six recognised religions. But people challenged such discrimination by bringing the case to the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi* MK).

1. *The Lawsuit against Laws on the Administration of Population*

Laws No. 23/ 2006 and No. 24/ 2013 on the Administration of Population which required the government to make the column “religion” on the identity cards of the adherents of local religions were contested. The lawsuit was proposed by Nggay Mehng Tana (farmer) from East Nusa Tenggara, Pagar Demanra Sirait (student) from North Sumatra, Arnol Purba (entrepreneur) from North Sumatra, and Carlim (entrepreneur) from Central Java. They had their case represented by 18 lawyers on 1 September 2016. The lawsuit was directed to challenge the Law No.23/2006 on the Administration of Population which was amended by Law No.24/2013. The laws ordered that the identity cards of the people whose religions are local religions or religions that have not been recognised by the state should remain empty. The articles they disputed are article 61 (2) of Law No.23/2006 and article 64 (5) Law No.24/ 2013:

Information about religion as it is meant by point (1) for people whose religions are not considered as religion as the law states so or for the adherents of beliefs, is not filled in; but they are still served and recorded in the database of population.

Article 61 (2) Law No 23/ 2006 on the Administration of Population.

The element of population's data on religion as it is meant by point (1) for people whose religions are not considered as religion as it is ruled by the law or for the adherents of belief, is filled in, but they are still served and recorded in the database of population.

Article 64 (5) Law No.24/2013 on the Change of Law No. 23/2006.

These two laws were the source of the religious discrimination the plaintiffs, and many other followers of local religions, experienced. Nggay Mehng Tana, Pagar Demanra Sirait, Arnol Purba, and Carlim account how the laws discriminated them and affected other aspects of their lives. Nggay Mehng Tana states that he is one of around 61,000 - 81,953 followers (in 2008) of the Merapu belief system. The number of the followers has decreased greatly because many of them converted to the religions recognised by the state. They did it to ease civil matters and to access “social donation and public services”. When they were still the adherents of the belief, their marriage was not recognised by the state and not

registered. Accordingly, their children could not have birth certificates and later identity cards.

The problem of civil registry was also experienced by Pagar Demanra Sirait who is a follower of Parmalim. The followers of this belief, around 465 people, are spread in various *kecamatan* in North Sumatera. Because getting an identity card with local religions was not easy, the officials who managed the issuance of identity cards recommended them to choose one of the six recognised religions. In addition, because of adhering Ugamo Bangsa Batak, the column of religion on Arnol Purba's identity card is emptied. As a consequence, he could not apply for a fund from a bank. His daughter's application to a company was rejected because of the same reason. A severe experience was also undergone by Carlim, a follower of Supto Darmo, in Central Java. In the 1960s, he says, the number of the followers of Supto Darmo could be thousands. In the 2000s, there are only around 192 people. People often told the adherents of this belief that Supto Darmo was deviant. When they died, their corpses were rejected to be buried in public cemeteries. Their children were also forced to follow Islamic subjects at school.

On 7 November 2017 a team of nine MK judges, led by Arief Hidayat, stipulated through its decision No. 97/PUU/2017 that article 61 (2) Law No.23/2006 on Population Registry and article 64 (5) Law No.24/2013 on the Change of the Law No.23/2006 are against the 1945 Constitution and therefore it does not have the binding power (see Sudarto 2017). This decision has given fresh air to the adherents of local religions, but hot air to some Muslim groups such as the MUI, the United Development Party (PPP), and Muhammadiyah. Although there is a resistance from these three groups, the adherents of local religions have new hopes for their future. Afiat Ginanjar Akil, a follower of Sunda Wiwitan (not Sunda Wiwitan of the Baduy), responds to the decision of the MK positively. He says:

“This decision delights us. But it is not the end of our struggle. And basically as the adherents of the ancestral teaching we love the [foreign] religions that came in here. So we have no intention to lessen the role of other religions at all. At the same time we want our existence is recognised by all.”⁸¹

The secretary of AMAN Rukka Sombolinggi responds this decision positively. She says that it is a new phase in the history of Indonesia and would be recorded by the *adat* communities that had been discriminated by the state. She hopes after the issuance of the decision of the MK the adherents of local religions can access public funds provided by the state. AMAN, she says, will ensure that the

⁸¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3fgLExxFJZ4>, accessed on 22 July 2019.

government will implement the decision of the MK and that discrimination against the followers of local religions will no longer happen. The same view is expressed by Setara Institute, one of the promoters of religious freedom in Indonesia. In addition, the deputy of Setara Institute Bonar Tigor Naipospos and also Sudarto (2017: 8) state the government should revise other laws which are impacted by the decision of the MK, including the law on marriage.⁸²

Commenting about the MK's decision Minister of Religious Affair Lukman Hakim Saifuddin asserts that:

“The decision of the MK is to fulfil the civil rights of the Indonesian citizens who adhere a religion out of the six recognised religions which is called a belief. They want their civil rights to be recognised by the state. One of the state's recognitions is the identity card. The MK fulfilled this aspiration which in fact had existed since a long time ago.”⁸³

It is very important to underline here that for Saifuddin belief systems are another name of local religions. However, in understanding the local religions he is trapped by two problems: the conceptual and technical. Conceptually, religion, he says, can be approached from two perspectives: the essence and the practice. Essentially, local religions are a religion because “they believe in God(s), teach virtues, avoid badness, have a love for other humans and protect nature.” Practically, religion has expressions like rituals. The first problem appears when Saifuddin judges the local religions with the standard of Islam and Christianity: a sacred book. His view of religion reflects the state's definition of religion from which it includes or excludes a religion into the category of recognised religions. He states:

“They don't have an agreed procedure of ritual so that it is not easy to include them theologically and sociologically into religion. There is no common platform which is agreed by the followers that a certain teaching is fixed (*baku*) because they do not have a sacred book.”⁸⁴

The second problem is that Saifuddin problematizes the technical aspects of the management of the local religions. For instance, he asks where the phrase “Belief in the Almighty God” will be put: in the column “religion”

⁸² <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/suku-baduy-sambut-gembira-putusan-mk-soal-penghayat-kepercayaan.html>, accessed on 2 September 2019.

⁸³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ztieF1R5IIg>, accessed on 22 July 2019.

⁸⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ztieF1R5IIg>, accessed on 22 July 2019; <https://beritagar.id/artikel/bincang/lukman-hakim-saifuddin-secara-substansial-kepercayaan-itu-agama>, accessed on 7 August 2019.

or in a new column? Or will the adherents of local religions have a new [different] identity card.⁸⁵ He also asks in what ministry the belief affairs will be managed: still in the Ministry of Education and Culture or will it be moved to the Ministry of Religious Affairs.⁸⁶

Responding to the decision of the MK, Metro TV did broadcast a discussion entitled *Setelah Kepercayaan Diadministrasikan* (After Beliefs Were Administered) by inviting the member of parliament Sodik Mudjahid, the observer Refly Harun, a representative of the Indonesian Ulama Council (Majlis Ulama Indonesia/ MUI) Masduki Baidlowi, and an adherent of Sunda Wiwitan (not of the Baduy) Afiat Ginanjar Akil. The Deputy of Commission 8 of the DPR Sodik Mudjahid asked all religious adherents to accept the decision of the MK. This is, he says, a new phase in the history of religious life in Indonesia where the state dared to recognise the existence of the belief systems. The government, however, asks the public to use the phrase “*agama dan kepercayaan*” or “religion and belief”, denoting that these two are different. The first, undoubtedly, as confirmed by Minister of Religious Affairs, refers to the religions recognised by the state and the second refers to the local religions.⁸⁷ Without explaining the difference between both, Sodik Mujahid insists that religion and belief are different.⁸⁸

Refly Harun who is known in Indonesia as an observer of state administration questions the possibility of religions other than the six, to be recognised by the state. He argues that the decision of the Constitutional Court should have recognised all religions. Practically, the government has to allow all citizens to fill in whatever religion they believe in their identity cards.⁸⁹ Like Refly Harun, Gunoto Saparie from the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia/ ICMI*) of Central Java thinks that the decision of the MK is still discriminative because it does not guarantee other religions, except the six recognised religions and local religions.⁹⁰ The status of Judaism and Bahai, for example, is not clear because both the law on the Administration of Population and the decision of the MK do not mention these religions. One may ask whether the names of Judaism and Bahai can be printed on

⁸⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ztieF1R5llg>, accessed on 22 July 2019.

⁸⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vOncjsi5T1Q>, accessed on 16 July 2019.

⁸⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FvbgYPXbHs8>, accessed on 17 July 2019.

⁸⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vOncjsi5T1Q>, accessed on 17 July 2019.

⁸⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FvbgYPXbHs8>, accessed on 17 July 2019.

⁹⁰ <https://mediaindonesia.com/read/detail/131929-kesetaraan-agama-dan-aliran-kepercayaan>, accessed on 6 August 2019.

the identity cards of their adherents and whether they can have the same protection and support from the state.

The decision of the MK is also deemed to be discriminative because, unlike the followers of the six recognised religions, the followers of local religions cannot print the name of their religions on their identity cards.⁹¹ Following the decision of the MK, the Minister of Religious Affairs Lukman Hakim Saifudin confirmed that, starting from July 2018, the adherents of beliefs would have identity cards on which the phrase “Belief in the Almighty God” (*Kepercayaan kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*) is printed. What the name of the belief is, however, is not allowed to be mentioned.⁹²

2. *The Baduy's Response to the Decision of the MK*

The Baduy appreciate the decision of the MK on the permit to fill in the column ‘religion’ on the identity cards and family certificates. They say that it is a form of recognition from the state to its citizens. But ‘*Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*’ or ‘belief in the Almighty God’ is not what they want. It is the name of their religion ‘Sunda Wiwitan’ which is printed on their identity cards and family certificates. Baduy leaders and people have told the *jaro pamarentah* Saija about this issue. Although it is not like what they want, until January 2019 more than 4,000 Baduy have had new identity cards on which the phrase ‘*Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*’ is printed.⁹³

A Baduy man named Sarkan states that an identity card and family certificate are important because they often become administrative requirements. He wants that ‘Sunda Wiwitan’ could print on his new identity card, not ‘*Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*’. But this choice is not available because the government has decided that for the adherents of beliefs or local religions it is ‘*Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan YME*’ which is printed on their identity cards. Another Baduy man Santa (45) says that he does not change his identity card with a new one and lets the column religion on his identity card empty because for him ‘belief’ is not his religion, but ‘Sunda Wiwitan’. He hopes the government will consider changing this policy by letting the Baduy mention the name of their religion on their identity cards.⁹⁴

⁹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vOncJsi5T1Q>, accessed on 17 July 2019.

⁹² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ztieF1R5llg>, accessed on 17 July 2019.

⁹³ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190313140835-32-376888/kolom-agama-ktp-warga-baduy-diisipenganut-kepercayaan>; <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4442578/akhirnya-warga-baduy-bisa-tulis-kepercayaan-di-kolom-agama-ktp>; <https://daerah.sindonews.com/read/1382179/174/4462-warga-baduy-miliki-e-ktp-dengan-kolom-kepercayaan-tme-1551177450>; accessed on 2 September 2019.

⁹⁴ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190313140835-32-376888/kolom-agama-ktp-warga-baduy-diisipenganut-kepercayaan>, accessed on 2 September 2019.

As one of the Baduy leaders, Saidi hopes that ‘Sunda Wiwitan’ can be printed on the identity cards of the Baduy. But he is still thankful and happy with the decision of the MK which allows the Baduy, and the other followers of local religions, to have identity cards on which ‘*Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan YME*’ is printed. He states that the inclusion of the religion of citizens on their identity cards is the recognition of the state to its citizens.⁹⁵ The same view is expressed by a Baduy man named Samari (55).⁹⁶

3. *The Support of the Council of Churches in Indonesia in the Decision of the MK*

The group of Christian churches, represented by *Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia* (the Communion of Churches in Indonesia/ PGI)⁹⁷, supported the decision of the MK and pushed the government to soon implement it. The secretary of the PGI Gomar Gultom thinks that the government should soon create the procedure for the implementation of the decision so that local governments have a guide. This is also important because the decision of the MK will be related to other laws. Law No.1/1974 on marriage, for example, mentions that marriage is valid if it is conducted based on the religious teaching of the people that will marry. With the decision of the MK, Gultom argues, the marriage of the adherents of local religions should be validated and recognised by the state. He also argues that by the decision of the MK religions like Judaism can have the same right to be printed on the identity cards and family certificates of its adherents.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/suku-baduy-sambut-gembira-putusan-mk-soal-penghayat-kepercayaan.html> and <https://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/462530/warga-baduy-gembira-dengan-putusan-mk>, accessed on 2 September 2019, accessed on 2 September 2019.

⁹⁶ <https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/3155511/berkat-putusan-mk-warga-baduy-kini-tak-malu-lagi>, accessed on 2 September 2019.

⁹⁷ *Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia* (PGI) is the new name of *Dewan Gereja-gereja Indonesia* (DGI/ the Councils of Churches in Indonesia). The name change was done in 1984 (Hartono 1999: 36, Mmujiburahman 2000: 309). With this new name PGI includes various theological and denominational backgrounds. <https://pgi.or.id/sejarah-singkat/>, accessed on 19 November 2019.

⁹⁸ <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/01/18/10012631/pgi-desak-pemerintah-realisasikan-putusan-mk-soal-penghayat-kepercayaan?page=all>; <https://www.hidayatullah.com/berita/nasional/read/2017/11/14/127939/pgi-dengan-putusan-mk-yahudi-dan-bahai-dapat-menuliskan-agamanya.html>; <https://www.jpnn.com/news/pgi-sambut-positif-putusan-mk-soal-penghayat-kepercayaan>; <https://www.jpnn.com/news/pgi-sambut-positif-putusan-mk-soal-penghayat-kepercayaan>; <https://www.jawapos.com/nasional/11/11/2017/aliran-kepercayaan-masuk-kolom-agama-ktp-pgi-ini-langkah-maju/>; <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/hukum/17/11/10/oz7gjz384-pgi-sambut-adanya-kolom-agama-bagi-penghayat-kepercayaan>; <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/01/18/10012631/pgi-desak-pemerintah-realisasikan-putusan-mk-soal-penghayat-kepercayaan?page=all>; accessed on 2 September 2019.

That decision of the MK means that the adherents of the religions that have been recognised and local religions, and religions that have not been official or recognised such as Baha'i, Judaism, and so on; based on the decision, can write down the name of their religions (on the identity cards and family certificates).⁹⁹

Furthermore, the PGI appreciates the decision and deems it as a step forward from the previous policies which give a privilege only to the six religions. The efforts to get the recognition, it says, was a long process. And this decision has made the PGI believe that the state has taken a step not to discriminate its citizens based on their religions. Moreover, the PGI also expresses that it has been involved in struggling for the right of *adat* societies and their religions, including in revoking Law No.1/PNPS/1965 where the discourse of recognised religions first appears. But this effort, as has been discussed in chapter 5, failed because it was rejected by the MK. Gomar Gultom hopes other discriminative regulations, especially on the rights of *adat* communities, will soon be revoked. Besides, he congratulates the adherents of local religions on the decision of the MK:

“In this occasion the PGI congratulates the brothers and friends of beliefs, Sunda Wiwitan, Parmalim, Merapu, Kejawen and hundreds of other belief systems. All of you are the native and valid holders of this republic who have been here long before the coming of the six recognised religions in the Archipelago.”¹⁰⁰

4. *The Objection of Muslim Groups to the Decision of the MK*

Some Muslim groups such as the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), Muhammadiyah and the PPP, objected the decision of the MK. On 17 January 2018 the MUI conveyed its views about the decision of MK. In summary, it views that the MK has been “careless and hurt the feeling of religious societies, especially Muslims of Indonesia, because the decision means that the MK has aligned belief (*kepercayaan*) with religion (*agama*)”. By referring to the decision of the MPR No.4/1978, the then head of Advisory Council of the MUI Din Syamsuddin states that beliefs are not the same as religions. He expresses that the MK should have invited related parties before issuing the decision. Because of the decision, the MUI, he says, is disappointed. Furthermore, the MUI asks the belief affairs to remain in the Ministry of Education and Culture, to be not moved to the Ministry of Religious

⁹⁹ <https://www.hidayatullah.com/berita/nasional/read/2017/11/14/127939/pgi-dengan-putusan-mk-yahudi-dan-bahai-dapat-menuliskan-agamanya.html>, accessed on 2 September 2019.

¹⁰⁰ <https://www.hidayatullah.com/berita/nasional/read/2017/11/14/127939/pgi-dengan-putusan-mk-yahudi-dan-bahai-dapat-menuliskan-agamanya.html>, accessed on 2 September 2019.

Affairs. The MUI also demands the government to rename the column “religion” on the identity cards of the adherents of local religions with “belief”.¹⁰¹

Like the MUI, the general leader of Muhammadiyah Haedar Nashir expresses his disappointment about the decision of the MK which allows local religions can be printed on the identity cards and family certificates.¹⁰² Nashir says if people in academia think that belief and religion are the same, it will not become a problem. But when this view becomes a positive law, it will bind all citizens.¹⁰³

The PPP is another example of a group that minds the MK’s decision. The Deputy Secretary-General of the party, Ahmad Baidowi, opines that the MK’s decision which allows the word “belief” to be printed on the identity cards of the adherents of local religions could cause “horizontal conflicts”. He argues that “our people are not ready to be different”. He is worried that Muslims will not pray or the Christians will not go to church by saying that they are the followers of a local belief. He is also worried about the supporters of communism, a forbidden ideology in Indonesia, will choose the option “belief” for their identity card.¹⁰⁴ The general leader of the PPP, Djan Faridz, also says that the MK’s decision has made society anxious. “The decision arises worry and anxiety and complicates the government to implement it,” he said.¹⁰⁵

The question is why the MUI, Muhammadiyah and the PPP insist on refusing local religions to be aligned with religions that are already recognised by the state? The statement of Masduki Baidlowi from the MUI might give us some clarity. He states that the decision of the MK could become a challenge for *da’wa* activities.¹⁰⁶ His statement reminds us of the joint regulation between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Home Affairs No.1/1979 on the Procedures of the Application of Religious Propagation and Foreign Aid to Religious Institutions in Indonesia. Article 4 of the joint law asserts that “The application of the religious propagation is not justified towards a man or a group of people who already adhere a religion....”¹⁰⁷ Because in Indonesia local religions

¹⁰¹ <https://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/18/01/18/p2qiq9313-8-sikap-mui-soal-pencantuman-aliran-kepercayaan-di-ktp>, accessed on 22 July 2019; and <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/3172387/mui-curigai-putusan-mk-soal-aliran-kepercayaan-di-ktp>, accessed on 2 September 2019.

¹⁰² <https://www.hidayatullah.com/berita/nasional/read/2017/11/14/127939/pgi-dengan-putusan-mk-yahudi-dan-bahai-dapat-menuliskan-agamanya.html>, accessed on 2 September 2019.

¹⁰³ <https://www.hidayatullah.com/berita/nasional/read/2017/11/11/127776/muhammadiyah-kecewa-putusan-mk-soal-kolom-agama-dan-kepercayaan.html>, accessed on 2 September 2019.

¹⁰⁴ <https://tiro.id/wasekjen-ppp-sayangkan-putusan-mk-soal-penghayat-kepercayaan-czQa>, accessed on 24 July 2019.

¹⁰⁵ <https://news.okezone.com/read/2017/11/14/337/1814134/berpotensi-picu-berbagai-masalah-ketum-ppp-kritisiputusan-mk-soal-penghayat-kepercayaan>, accessed on 24 July 2019.

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j0hy16acZ98>, accessed on 16 July 2019.

¹⁰⁷ Law No.1/1979 on the Procedures of the Application of Religious Propagation and Foreign Aids to Religious Institutions in Indonesia.

are excluded from the definition of religion, religious propagation, therefore, is intended to the adherents of local religions. Baidlowi from the MUI states: "For us in the MUI this [decision] is a challenge to do *da'wa* activities. How our *da'wa* activities facing our fellows from the adherents of belief systems can run well. Even we can invite them to become part of our religion."¹⁰⁸ Here the MUI, Muhammadiyah and PPP try to maintain the previous status quo of local religions in Indonesia.

F. Conclusion

Initially, the Baduy believed that they were hermits and because of it they did not participate in politics. They would approve whichever candidates won the General Elections. Their principle was "to follow the winner" of the General Elections. But then they changed their view that they were not only hermits, but also citizens of Indonesia. By changing this view they began to participate in the General Elections. The *adat* leaders' attitude towards politics changed from just letting their people to participate or not participate in inviting them to participate in the General Elections as part of their citizenship. By becoming citizens they demand the state/ government to recognise and protect their land and religion. Moreover, the *adat* leaders also permitted the Muslim Baduy Haji Kasmin to become their representative in the MPR to strengthen their political position. All of these efforts were fruitful when the border of the Baduy land was marked with concrete poles in the late 1980s and the local government issued local regulations which protect their *adat* rights and land.

To strengthen their struggle, the Baduy and other *adat* communities formed *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* (AMAN) in 1999. AMAN and other organisations have succeeded in pushing the government and the parliament to revise or revoke certain laws that harm the existence of the *adat* communities. The latest development was in 2017 when the Constitutional Court (MK) passed the lawsuit against Law No.23/2006 on the Administration of Population and its amended version No.24/2013, which was filed by four adherents of local religions. Although this decision is still deemed discriminative, it has given new hopes to the adherents of local religions because it has guaranteed their civil rights. The road to the full recognition for their religions seems still long. The

¹⁰⁸ <https://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/18/01/18/p2qiq9313-8-sikap-mui-soal-pencantuman-aliran-kepercayaan-di-ktp>, accessed on 22 July 2019; <https://tirto.id/wasekjen-ppp-sayangkan-putusan-mk-soal-penghayat-kepercayaan-czQa>, accessed on 24 July 2019; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j0hy16acZ98&t=78s> accessed on 22 July 2019.

rejection of the decision of the MK, especially from Muslim groups such as the MUI, Muhammadiyah, and the PPP, remains strong. In addition, from the experience of the Muslim Baduy Haji Kasmin and Haji Sarmedi who brought the Baduy identity into politics we witness that *adat* communities in the wider arena are still weak and vulnerable to the powerful practice of patronage and clientelism.

Conclusion

Before we go further to the conclusion, let us look again at the research questions of this dissertation: (1) Why did the Baduy convert? (2) What conditions have led them to conversion? (3) Why and how did the government impose the state's religious ideology upon *adat* communities in Indonesia, including the Baduy? (4) How did the Muslim and Christian groups utilise the politics of religion to gain more converts from the Baduy? (5) Why and how did the Muslims use the same politics of religion and the traditional narrative of the Baduy to counter the Christianisation of the Baduy? (6) And how did the Baduy respond to the government's policies on religion and development and the missionary activities?

This dissertation argues that the conversion of the Baduy was influenced by their self-concept which requires them to detach from modernity and development, the limited size of their land and the increase of the population. This process of conversion was supported by the politics of religion which differentiates local beliefs (*kepercayaan*) from state-recognised religions (*agama*) where adhering a local belief was considered irreligious (*tidak/ belum beragama*) and backward. To make the adherents of local beliefs religious, the government allows the adherents of major religions to invite the adherents of local beliefs to their major religions. And to develop the adherents of local beliefs, the government created development policies, especially the resettlement programme. For the Baduy society, the programme started from 1977 and lasted until 1999. Besides to develop the *adat* communities, this programme was also to change their beliefs with "monotheistic views". Since Muslims and

Christians targeted the same people, they were involved in tension, contestation and violence. Facing these situations, the adherents of local beliefs fought back the policies in various ways.

A. No Single Approach of Conversion Is Enough, but Not All Are Needed

From studying the conversion of the Baduy, and some reading on the conversion of other groups, I could say that a conversion of a man or a group of people in one place and in a certain period to a new religion cannot be equated with a conversion of a man or a group of people from different backgrounds, even if the conversion is to the same religion. The complexity of environments influences very much the narratives and routes of their conversion. Even if the converts live in the same place (village, city or country), the degree of social, economic and political environments and the power relation among them will still influence the feature of their conversion. Because of this issue, when studying conversion a researcher cannot rely only on one single approach. And because of the absence of certain contexts, not all existing approaches and theories are needed.

When studying conversion, from the very beginning we have to bear in mind that the term of conversion itself is not free from bias. When talking about conversion, we directly think of a process of entering a new religion. Which often happens, a conversion is a process of leaving a religion and entering a new one. In the process of this religious change, a belief and membership move from a religion or non-religion to a new religion. From the perspective of the departed community, religious change is apostasy, whereas from the perspective of the receiving community it is a conversion (Jansen 2006: x, see also Austin-Broos 2003: 1). Even further, Muslim converts are reluctant to name their process of becoming Muslim as conversion, but reversion. They base their argument on the Prophet Muhammad's statement that every baby is born Muslim. It is their parents who make them a Jew, a Zoroastrian or a Christian or a follower of another religion.

Furthermore, because of the various dimensions of conversion, one approach is not enough. And because certain issues are not dominant in a conversion narrative, not all existing approaches are needed. So far scholars have tried to provide diverse approaches to conversion. *Handbook of Religious Conversion* (1992) and *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Conversion* (2014) are two examples of how approaches to conversion need to be considered. They include psychology, sociology, history, demography, geography, anthropology, linguistics,

neuroscience, semiotics and political science. The existence of conversion theories in these disciplines shows us “the complexity and variety of conversion processes” (Rambo 1999: 259), but choosing certain approaches and theories is very much determined by their usefulness in explaining conversion.

“No theory is universally applicable (at least in the human sciences), and no theory is vast enough to embrace everything. In the study of conversion, various theories should be explored and assessed according to the degree to which they point to important and interesting dynamics, processes, and patterns of religious change. Some theories are more useful for particular religions and for certain historical situations.” (Rambo 1999: 260).

Since one approach and one theory are not enough, Rambo (1993) offers what he calls a holistic theory of conversion which he builds from anthropology, sociology, psychology, and religious studies. If possible, he advises a researcher of conversion could also address the issue of conversion from politics and economics. By studying conversion from these four disciplines, he develops his theory which covers seven stages of conversion: (1) context, (2) crisis, (3) quest, (4) encounter, (5) interaction, (6) commitment, and (7) consequences. These stages, in reality, could be a sequence, moving from one stage to other stages, or go back and forth between the stages. And more importantly, the significance of each of these stages is not the same in every experience of conversion. The stage of quest in the conversion of the Baduy, for example, played very few roles. Even for some converts, a commitment was initially not something serious. In most cases, the conversion of the Baduy was based on the consideration of family and community, rather than a personal choice.

Like what Rambo has expressed, a theory is not about right or wrong, but whether it is useful. In the context of the Baduy’s conversion, some theories can explain one or more aspects of conversion. For instance, it is true that the Baduy’s conversion is based on a rational choice because before converting they weighed the advantages and disadvantages of conversion, including which religion they would choose. But just saying that conversion is a rational choice does not give us full comprehension. Therefore, various perspectives are needed to see the many facets of conversion. Moreover, in studying the conversion of the Baduy I benefitted from history, religious studies, political science, and anthropology. The *historical perspective* has explained how the Baduy community changes over time as the result of contact with the wider society, especially with Muslims and Christians. This contact has changed many aspects of the Baduy’s life, including their belief systems.

The *perspective of Religious Studies* has shown, for example, that the core self-concept of the Baduy is asceticism, that the teaching of *da’wa* and mission

is inherent in Islam and Christianity, but its manifestation depends on its environment. Initially, the Muslim preachers understood *da'wa* as an effort to invite Muslims to become better. But this understanding was expanded to the invitation to non-Muslims (the Baduy) to become Muslims when they knew that the Christians did missionary activities among the Baduy. Even some preachers believed that countering mission was part of *da'wa*. Another example of the importance of Religious Studies in the study of conversion of the Baduy is the proximity between the teaching of Sunda Wiwitan and Islam, especially in the *shahāda* and circumcision. This closeness of the religions as the result of a long encounter made the Baduy prefer Islam to Christianity.

Moreover, since the context of Indonesia is religious, even religion becomes a matter of the state, locating conversion in *the political perspective* is inevitable. This dissertation has shown that the state/ government has produced numerous laws which manage the religious life of its citizens. One of them is the creation of the categories of “*kepercayaan*” (belief) and “*agama*” (religion). The first category refers to, among other things, local religions and the second to major and recognised religions. This differentiation has discriminated and affected the followers of local religions and because of this burden, many of them decided to convert to one of the six religions recognised by the state. Besides, the government takes the side of the major religions by permitting their followers to invite the followers of local beliefs to their religions. To hinder the development of Christianity in rural areas in Lebak, Muslims use these regulations on religion especially on proselytization and the foundation of worship places. In other areas where Christians are the majority, they use the same regulations.

Finally, the *anthropological perspective* has shown, for example, the identity formation of the Baduy, Muslim Baduy, and Christian Baduy, the language shift from “rude” to “polite” Sundanese, the processes and patterns of conversion, the ritual of conversion from and reversion to Sunda Wiwitan, and the new name-giving to the converts. This perspective has also revealed the dynamics of *da'wa* and missionary activities, including contestation and religious violence. In short, the anthropological perspective has provided the richness of these various elements and their interplay.

B. The Baduy's Conversion: Ethnicity, the Politics of Religion and Development, and Religious Missions

More than one thousand Baduy have converted to Islam and over hundred Baduy converted to Christianity. Most of the conversion happened after the resettlement

programme was implemented in 1977, but several individuals converted to the religions before that year. When the Baduy were about to leave Sunda Wiwitan, the state offered six religions. But religions which were readily available through preachers, friends, and neighbours were only Islam and Christianity. Islam which was very dominant in the social and religious contexts would certainly get more converts, but the conversion of the Baduy itself was dynamic where some Baduy converted (1) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam, (2) from Sunda Wiwitan to Christianity, (3) from Sunda Wiwitan to Christianity and then to Islam, (4) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and then to Christianity, (5) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and reverted to Sunda Wiwitan, and (6) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam, reverted to Sunda Wiwitan and back to Islam. In short, ethnicity, the politics of religion and development and religious missions were the determining factors of their conversion.

1. *Ethnicity: Asceticism, the Limited Land, and the Increase of the Population*

The existence of the Baduy might go back to the 13th century where they have witnessed political changes around them. Their religion Sunda Wiwitan teaches them that they are hermits and because of it they have to live in the *mandala* as simple as possible. Development and modernity are therefore taboos for them. This self-concept as hermits, however, has been challenged since at least the 1950s when the number of the population kept increasing while the size of their land is constant. The whole size of the Baduy land is 5,136.58 hectares where about 3,000 hectares of it is allocated for a protected forest and the rest is for farming and residence. This means that the farming and residence area which is only 2,136 hectares has to be shared by the whole population which was 11,699 people in 2018. In fact, not every Baduy has the same access to land. And because the Baduy marry at a very young age, around 14 for girls and 17 for boys, access to the land will be much harder in the future. Besides, Sunda Wiwitan does not permit the Baduy to live outside the *adat* land and to manage their fields with modern tools and techniques. Consequently, since at least the 1950s the Baduy have managed the fields of the non-Baduy and this has removed the Baduy farther from their customs.

The government of Lebak has tried to relocate some Baduy into a new area since the 1950s, but this plan failed. Then in the late 1970s the *jaro pamarentah*, Jaro Samin, made a contact with the government of West Java (before 2000 Banten was part of West Java) asking it to give land to the Baduy. The governor of West Java connected Jaro Samin to the Department of Social Affairs (Depsos). The Depsos then included the Baduy into the national programme of the resettlement of the isolated communities. The programme began in 1977 by

opening new villages in Gunung Tunggal (Cipangembar 1 and Cipangembar 2). In the following years new villages were opened in the surrounding of Gunung Tunggal. From 1977 to 1999 more than a thousand Baduy joined the resettlement programme (Saputra 1959, Bakels and Boevink 1988, Persoon 1994, Anggraeni 2000).

When the Baduy began to live in the resettlement villages their *adat* leaders soon objected. As ascetics, the Baduy had to, and still have to, live in the *adat* land. Owning a house outside the *adat* land made their identity blurred: were they still Baduy or no longer? The leaders gave them two choices: to return to the *adat* land or to leave it. Some of them returned the *adat* land and most of them remained in the resettlement villages. Accordingly, those who remained in the resettlement villages were no longer considered by the *adat* leaders as the followers of Sunda Wiwitan. At the same time, one of the goals of the resettlement programme was to convert the isolated communities to “the monotheistic views” (a phrase which was used by the Depsos to refer to the religions recognised by the state). Facilitated by Muslim preachers and Christian missionaries, the Baduy in the resettlement villages left Sunda Wiwitan and converted to Islam or Christianity.

2. *The Politics of Religion in Indonesia and Development*

Besides the asceticism, limited *adat* land, and increase of the population, the conversion of the Baduy is also influenced very much by the politics of religion and development policies. They tried to make the Baduy and other followers of local beliefs in Indonesia religious and developed.

a. *Religions and Belief Systems in Indonesian Politics*

In Indonesia religion is regulated by the Constitution and various laws. The problem is that local religions are not considered as religions. They are only labelled as belief systems or *kepercayaan* and managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture, not by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). Article 29 of the Constitution asserts that (point 1) “the state is based on the belief in the one and only God” and (point 2) “The state guarantees the freedom of each citizen to embrace his religion and to worship according to his religion and belief”. Here two vague terms appear: *agama* (religion) and *kepercayaan* (belief systems). From various laws and regulations which appeared later, it becomes clear that *agama* refers to major religions and *kepercayaan* covers religious sects, local religions, religious and cultural mysticisms, shamanisms, magical-traditional healing, astrology, and Chinese beliefs (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Asdep Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa 2005: 31-32).

Afterwards, from the category “religion” appears the term “religions recognised by the state” which is wrongly based on Law No. 1 /1965 on the Prevention of the Abuse or the Blasphemy of Religion. In fact, as admitted by the Minister of Religious Affairs Lukman Hakim Saifuddin (2014 - 2019), there are no laws and regulations which mention that certain religions are recognised by the state and the others are not. Regardless of the absence of laws that give privileges to certain religions as “religions recognised by the state”, in practice, it has become a common understanding that Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism are religions recognised by the state and are managed by the MORA.

Different from the six recognised religions, local religions are not only not recognised but also not considered by the government as religion. They are grouped into the category of *kepercayaan*. The reason is that they do not fulfil the conditions to be called religion. By relying too much on the characteristics of Islam and Christianity, a religion in Indonesia should have a God, a prophet, a holy book, and a house of worship. Afterwards, Decision No. IV/MPR/1978 states that *kepercayaan* are not religion and the government has to prevent them from becoming religions. This decision has become the path for the adherents of the religions recognised by the state to do proselytization. Not to mention the MORA also issued Decisions No. 70/1978 and No. 77/1978 which were then merged by the MORA and the Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA) into a joint regulation No. 1/1979. The decisions No. 70/1978, No. 77/1978, and No. 1/1979 which have more or less the same articles, for example, prohibit people to propagate religion to those who already embrace a religion. Because local religions are not considered as religion, it means the government facilitates the adherents of religions recognised by the state to invite the followers of local beliefs to their religions.

Moreover, in 1994 the Attorney General of Indonesia issued Decision No. KEP-004/J.A/01/1994 through which the government formed a body named The Surveillance over Belief Streams (*Pengawasan Aliran Kepercayaan*/ Pakem). Consisting of various departments, including the Department of Religious Affairs, the Indonesian Army, the National Intelligence Board (BIN), and the Indonesian Republic Police (Polri) this body oversaw the followers of *kepercayaan* (Sihombing et al. 2008). The peak of discrimination experienced by the followers of local religions began to happen when the government issued Laws No. 23/2006 on the Administration of Population and No. 24/2013 on the Change of the Law No. 23/2006. These two laws ordered the government not to fill in the column of religion in family certificates of the followers of local religions and not-recognised religions. In fact, a family certificate is the source of the issuance of

an identity card. Because the column of religion in the family certificate was not filled in, the same column in the identity card would also be empty.

These laws and regulations on religion have huge implications for the followers of local religions, including the Baduy. Because of these various discriminations, many followers of local religions stopped following their religions and changed with religions which are recognised by the state (see the Decision of the Constitutional Court No. 97/PUU-XIV/2016).

b. Development Policies: Developing Adat Communities and Making Them Religious

After local beliefs were excluded from the state's definition of religion, not recognised, prevented from becoming a religion, overseen and not allowed to be printed on the family certificates and identity cards, their followers (who are mostly from *adat* communities) are considered backward, undeveloped, and not in line with the government's policies. The government characterises *adat* communities, or at that time they were called the isolated communities, as groups of people who are isolated, scattered, dependent on nature, stagnant, less differentiated, illiterate, undeveloped, and not yet religious. They are spread in West Java (Banten), South Sumatra, Jambi, West Sumatra, Riau, East Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, Maluku, East Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, South-East Sulawesi, and Papua.

The effort to progress such groups has been initiated since 1951. In a larger scale, the programme was run in 1964 in West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Jambi, Riau, and South Sumatra. Afterwards, the government formalised the programme by issuing Law No. 6/1974 on the Main Guidelines of Social Welfare. The purpose of this programme can be seen in article 4 (1d) of the law which states that the government has to increase the level of civilization of the isolated communities. The duty of developing the isolated groups became the responsibility of the Depsos, but in practice, it had to co-operate with other departments, including the departments of religion, agriculture, education, health, and public works. The Depsos then created the Programme of the Development of Isolated Communities (*Program Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing*) which for 3-7 years.¹

The Baduy community was an example of how an *adat* community was “developed”, “modernised”, and converted to Islam and Christianity through

¹ Besides being targeted by the resettlement programme, the *adat* communities were also affected by other development policies, including Law No. 5/1974 on the local government, Law No. 5/1979 on the *desa* government, Law No. 5/1960 on agrarian affairs, Law No. 5/1967 on forestry, and Law No. 11/1967 on mining.

the development programme from the 1970s – 1990s. Consequently, all Baduy who joined the resettlement programme have converted either to Islam or Christianity. Other *adat* communities in Indonesia also faced more or less the same challenges. Even indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia and other parts of the globe had common issues. In Southeast Asia, the governments run development programmes to make them developed, connected to the wider world, and modern (Ghee and Gomes (eds.) 1999, Duncan 2004). “These [Southeast Asian] governments want to bring indigenous ethnic minorities into the modern age, to move from more traditional or “tradition-bound” local worlds into larger national and regional networks” (Duncan 2004: 3). On the international level, the annual publication of the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) provides a good overview of various issues faced by indigenous peoples around the world. In line with the government’s programmes, religious organisations and individuals visited the *adat* or indigenous peoples to invite them to their religions (Duncan 1998, Connolly 2003).

3. *Islamic and Christian Missions: Tension, Contestation and Violence*

Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism get many benefits from the politics of religion such as their religions are categorised and recognised by the government as “religion” (whereas local religions are categorised as “belief”), the teachings of their religions are thought from basic schools to universities², the development of their religions is supported by the government³, and more importantly they are allowed to spread their religions to the followers of beliefs⁴.

Islam and Christianity that have missionary characteristics undoubtedly benefit the most. As a piece of evidence, Muslims and Christians in the resettlement villages of the Baduy followed the state’s definition of religion by which they do not consider Sunda Wiwitan as a religion. Because of it, Muslims and Christians did missionary activities among the Baduys in the resettlement villages. The fact that the Baduy declare the *shahāda*, and therefore according to Islamic theology they are Muslims, does not make the Muslims believe that the Baduy are Muslims. They base their argument on the fact that the Baduy do not perform the other four pillars of Islam and on the fact the government labels the Baduy, as

² The Decision of the MPR No. XXVII/MPRS/1966 on Religion, Education and Culture.

³ The Joint Decision between the MORA and MOHA No. NO. 01/BER/MDN-MAG/1969 on the Application of the Government Officials’ Duties in Guaranteeing the Order and Flow of Religious Development and Worship.

⁴ The Decision of the MORA No. 70/ 1978 on the Guideline of Religious Proselytization and the Joint Regulation between the MORA and MOHA No. 1/ 1979 on the Manual of the Application of Religious Proselytization and International Aids to Religious Organisations in Indonesia.

seen in the yearly statistic books issued by the government, as the followers of “a belief” (see Leuwidamar Dalam Angka 2018).

Islamic *da'wa* activities among the Baduy in the resettlement villages were conducted by the preachers of Muhammadiyah, Mathla'ul Anwar, Jamaah Tabligh, Al Washliyah, and Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, and by Muslim individuals who could be associated culturally to Nahdlatul Ulama. These activities were not only as a manifestation of the teaching of Islam but also as a response to the invitation of the government as written in the manual of the resettlement programme. Even for *da'wa* activities among the isolated communities, Muhammadiyah and Al Washliyah had, respectively, the Special *Da'wa* Body (*Lembaga Dakwah Khusus/LDK*) and the Body of *Da'wa* and Communication (*Majlis Dakwah dan Komunikasi/MDK*). Both organisations sent their preachers to resettlement villages in many areas in Indonesia, including to the resettlement villages of the Baduy. In the resettlement villages they founded mosques and schools. In running its *da'wa* programme some of the Muslim groups got funding, besides from their Indonesian members, also from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya.

Moreover, the decision of most of the Baduy to choose Islam was influenced by the proximity of Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and the power of Islamic *da'wa*. The first has been the result of a long encounter between Muslims and the Baduy since the 16th century. This started to happen after Hasanuddin founded the sultanate of Banten in 1526, replacing the Sundanese power in the region. Afterwards, Hasanuddin or his successors sent a religious official (*āmil*) to whom the outer Baduy declare the *shahāda* when they will marry. As a result of this long encounter between the Baduy and Muslims, Sunda Wiwitan teaches about the existence of prophets like Abraham, Solomon, and Muhammad. In family law the Baduy use the Islamic concepts of *'idda*, *junub* and *ngipas* (*nifas*). Some Baduy also recite Arabic prayers which are commonly recited by Muslims. The Baduy calendar also names the years in a *windu* (eight years) in Arabic such as *alif*, *ha*, *dal*, etc. More importantly, their religion gets an extra word “Slam” from “Islam”. So, according to the *jaro pamarentah* Saija, the full name of the Baduy's religion is Slam Sunda Wiwitan (see also Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 138-143, 161). The addition of “Slam” in front of “Sunda Wiwitan” must have existed no earlier than the 16th century.

Unlike Islam which has made a contact with the Baduy community in the 16th century, Christianity just made a contact with the Baduy in the late 19th century through the Dutch missionary F.L. Anthing and his local cadres such as Stepanus, Sondjat, and Petrus. Stepanus succeeded in converting a Baduy family consisting of Kamat, his wife and their children (Pennings 1902: 370-386, Ali 2009: 131-

133). In 1961 the effort to Christianize the Baduy was done by the Indonesian Bible Institute. Headed by Detmar Scheunemann, the mission, however, did not succeed (Sikitari 1997: 9). Moreover, more than a hundred Baduy converted to Christianity when Christian missionaries came to the resettlement villages. Among the most remembered missionaries were Ismail Amaloh from East Timor and his friend Yudistira. Both were members of Youth With A Mission (YWAM), an evangelical interdenominational organization based in the US.

Other Christian missionaries were Anturi and Kharel Budiman Silitonga. People heard that Anturi was a student from Universitas Advent Indonesia in Bandung. Coming from Medan, Silitonga came to Pandeglang first in August 1978 to learn Sundanese. Afterwards, he visited the Baduy land and converted Muslims and the Baduy to Christianity (Silitonga 1998). Some pastors and Christians from Jakarta, Tangerang, and Cianjur sometimes also came to the resettlement villages of the Baduy. In the meantime, the religious matters of the Christian Baduy are managed by the Baduy pastor Windu Nurgojali who got his bachelor and master degrees from Universitas Advent Indonesia.

From the perspective of the Muslims, Christians, government and converts, conversion from Sunda Wiwitan means freedom, development and modernity. After conversion, they could send their children to school, wear fashionable clothes, and have electronic devices and vehicles. Although in the meantime some of them cannot do so, they have the possibility to do so because they are no longer bound by the *adat* and taboos. For the prominent figures of the first converts to Islam in the 1980s and 1990s, a conversion could also mean going to Mecca for the pilgrimage. Conversely, from the perspective of the Baduy, conversion means to become impure. The ex-Baduy who want to return to the Baduy land or revert to Sunda Wiwitan have to be purified through the very expensive ritual of *talibokta* or *ngabokor*. A Baduy can be impure as well when he has extensive contacts with the non-Baduy. For instance, the *jaro pamarentah* is considered impure and because of it, he may not visit the sanctuaries.

The fact that some Baduy and Muslims converted to Christianity made the Muslim preachers develop the definition of *da'wa*. Initially, *da'wa* means an invitation to Muslim fellows to become better Muslims. By the existence of Christian missionary activities, the meaning of *da'wa* was developed to an invitation to non-Muslims (the Baduy) and to the counter to Christianisation. To counter the Christian missionary activities, the Muslim preachers used two sources: (1) the narrative of the agreement between the ancestors of the Baduy and the sultanate of Banten and (2) the regulations on proselytization and the foundation of worship places.

The narrative of the agreement between the ancestors of the Baduy and the

sultanate of Banten refers to the existence of a Muslim village in the Baduy land: Cicakal Girang. This is the only village in the Baduy land which is inhabited fully by Muslims. Both Baduy and Muslims believe that the existence of this village goes back to the period of the sultanate of Banten. They state that Cicakal Girang is a piece of land on which the ancestors of the Baduy and the sultanate of Banten made an agreement. The vice-*jaro* of Cibeo Mursid, the *jaro* of Cibeo Sami, and the *jaro pamarentah* Dainah state that the Baduy leaders in the past asked the sultan of Banten to send a religious official (*‘amil*) to whom the outer Baduy would declare the *shahāda* when they would marry. The *‘amil* was then asked to live in Cicakal Girang to guide the outer Baduy to declare the *shahāda*. Because of this agreement, the Muslim preachers stated that it was the right of Muslims to convert the Baduy, or it was Islam the religion which the Baduy should choose when they would leave Sunda Wiwitan. The Muslim preachers stated that the *shahāda*, circumcision and the word “Slam” in front of “Sunda Wiwitan” (Slam Sunda Wiwitan) were the signs of the relation between Muslims and the Baduy.

A tension which was followed by violence happened, for example, when the missionary Silitonga (1998) targeted Muslims in Wanasalam. Around 56 Muslims in the village converted to Christianity. They even built a church in 1982 which sparked a conflict between the Muslims and Christians. To halt the development of Christianity and the foundation of the church, the Muslims used the government officials, the police and the military (Anggraeni 2000: 120) and the regulations on preaching and the foundation of worship places such as the Decision No. 01/Ber/Mdn-Mag/1969⁵, the Decision No. 70/1978⁶, the Decision No 77/1978⁷, the Joint Decision No. 1/ 1979⁸, the Joint Decision No. 8 and No. 9/ 2006⁹. Some Muslim preachers believed that the Christian Baduy would not be able to build a worship house because their number was less than 90 people.¹⁰ The Christian Baduy were aware of the fact that the Muslims would not let them have a worship house because their number was less than was required by the regulation. Nowadays, they have a small house which they use regularly for a

⁵ The joint regulation between the MORA and MOHA No. 01/Ber/Mdn-Mag/1969 on the Application of the Government Officials in Guaranteeing the Order of the Religious Development and Worship.

⁶ The Decision of the MORA No. 70/1978 on Religious Proselytization.

⁷ The Decision of the MORA No 77/1978 on International Aids to Religious Organisations in Indonesia.

⁸ The Joint Decision between the MORA and MOHA No. 1/ 1979 on Religious Proselytization and International Aids to Religious Organisations in Indonesia.

⁹ The Joint Decision No 8 and No 9/ 2006 on the Manual of the Application of the Duties of Regent/ Mayor in Maintaining Religious Harmony, the Empowerment of the Forum of Religious Harmony and the Foundation of Worship Places.

¹⁰ A document called “Peristiwa 24 September [19]95 di Kubang Embe Wanasalam” or “An Incident of 24 September [19]95 in Kubang Embe Wanasalam” and interviews with An Aliyah on 2 April 2017, Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017, and Lilis Hulaela on 29 April 2017.

religious service, but they are reluctant to call it a worship house.

In the context of the relation between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia, Ismatu Ropi (2000) states the relation is fragile, filled with “mutual distrust and hostility”. Ropi (2000) and Mujiburahman (2006) explain further that Indonesian Muslims fear for Christianisation, while the Christians fear for the establishment of the Islamic State of Indonesia. Alwi Sihab (1995) even argues that one of the main reasons for the emergence of Muhammadiyah was to counter Christianisation. Afterwards, this organisation formed the *Lembaga Dakwah Khusus* and its preachers report how they encounter with the Christian mission in various parts of Indonesia (Burhanuddin et al. 1990, Zubir and Siandes 1999). Like Ropi, Mujiburahman (2006) shows a negative image of the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia, but both of them see the emergence of dialogue between the Muslims and Christians.

In fact, a contestation occurred not only between the Muslims and the Christians but also among the Muslims themselves. The religious setting of Lebak, or Banten in general, which can be associated with traditional Islam or Nahdlatul Ulama, was challenged by modern Islam brought by Muhammadiyah. Al Washliyah that practised the same socio-religious ceremonies such as *tahlilan* and *yasinan* experienced less pressure. Because of this difference, Muhammadiyah and also Jamaah Tabligh were not quite acceptable by the locals. Jamaah Tabligh which practises *khuruj*, leaving houses for certain days for a religious purpose, was and is still deemed by some Muslim locals to deviate from Islam. Its followers were once driven away from a village. Meuleman (2011: 262) has noticed this phenomenon and says that *da'wa* organisations in Indonesia are “characterized by competition for authority and power.” But this contestation becomes less significant when they are faced to the common issue of the Christianisation of the Baduy.

C. The Baduy's Response to the Politics of Religion, Religious Missions, and Internal Problems

To respond to the politics of religion and religious missions the Baduy have changed their views about themselves from merely as ascetics to citizens. By becoming citizens they supported the government to conduct general elections in the *adat* land and encouraged their people to participate in them. In return, they demanded the state and government to recognise and protect them.

The *jaro pamarentah* Nakiwin was sent as a special envoy of the Baduy to the palace to meet President Soeharto on 27 Mei 1985 (Djoewisno MS 1987: 153,

Persoon 1989: 1, Van Zanten 1995: 518). The Baduy also sent Haji Kasmin to represent the Baduy community in the People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* /MPR). Haji Kasmin claimed that he fought for the Baduy's interest, especially for their land rights. The issue was then brought to the local government and became the local regulation No. 32/2001 on the protection of the *adat* right of the Baduy society. The *adat* leaders also conveyed their will through the yearly *Seba* to be recognised and protected.

The Muslim Baduy Haji Kasmin and Haji Sarmedi also joined the political party Golkar, they claimed among others, to help the Baduy community. In 2013 Haji Kasmin became a candidate of the vice-regent of Lebak. In the campaign period, his ethnicity was attacked and humiliated by Mulyadi Jayabaya the regent of Lebak at that time. Eventually, Haji Kasmin failed to become a vice-regent of Lebak. Even he was jailed because he was silent when knowing the bribe case conducted by his team. Haji Sarmedi who proposed to become a member of the parliament of Lebak also failed in the 2014 and 2019 elections. What the Baduy community is doing today, like what is voiced by the Indigenous Peoples' Alliance of the Archipelago (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara*/ AMAN), is to demand the government to legalise the draft of Adat Law which will empower the political position of the *adat* societies. If their efforts succeed, let us say their belief systems are recognised as religions and equated with the six religions, regulations that permit missionary activities which target the followers of local religions will become automatically invalid.

Besides, to lessen the problem of access to land and the increase of the population the Baduy also have opened their villages as a tourist destination since 1990. The secretary of the *desa* of Kanekes, Jusen (1988 - 1992), asked the *adat* leaders whether or not he was allowed to invite tourists to visit the Baduy land. They permitted him as long as the tourists could respect the *adat* of the Baduy. Jusen then went to the Agency of Tourism of Lebak to discuss the idea. Afterwards, he and the government organised a meeting with the leaders of the Baduy which resulted in the agreement that the Baduy community would be a tourist destination. A statue of a Baduy family, in the welcoming posture, was erected in Ciboleger to sign the opening of the *adat* land as a tourist destination. In the meantime, the Baduy land is visited by hundreds of people every month. The number of visitors could even reach a thousand in the year-end. The government of Lebak even believes that the Baduy community can be a world tourist destination because the Baduy community 'preserves their customs and rejects modernity'.

D. The Future of the Baduy and Other *Adat* Communities in Indonesia

After knowing that more than a thousand Baduy have left the *adat* land and converted to Islam or Christianity, and besides that, the Baduy who remain in the *adat* land also have changed, one may ask: what will happen to the Baduy and other *adat* communities in Indonesia in the future? Because humans have the capacity to choose a decision and their life is influenced by almost unlimited variables, predicting the future of humans will almost be impossible. But our knowledge about what happened in the past could give us some insight into what might happen in the future if and only if the current conditions still exist and other new developments do not emerge.

Let us look at least at two existing situations: local religions are not deemed by the state as religion and Muslims and Christians have an interest in converting the followers of beliefs to their religions. In addition, embracing a local religion is also considered backward and not-yet religious or irreligious. To make them developed and religious, the government designed a resettlement programme and permitted the adherents of the recognised religions to do missionary activities among the followers of local religions. In 2006 and 2013 the government even issued laws No. 23/2006 on Civil Registry and its amendment No. 24/2013 which forbade the names of beliefs to be printed on family certificates and identity cards. (In the case of the Baduy, before 2006 the government of Lebak allowed ‘Sunda Wiwitan’ to be printed on the identity cards of the Baduy). This politics of religion which has excluded local religions from the state’s definition of religion has forced many followers of local religions to convert to the religions recognised by the state.

Adat communities have tried to strengthen themselves politically by forming AMAN in 1999. They, assisted by other organisations, have succeeded in revoking some laws. As individuals, four adherents of beliefs have succeeded in suing Law No. 23/2006 and Law No. 24/2013 in the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi* MK). In 2017 the MK, through its decision No. 97/PUU-XIV/2016¹¹ resolved that the word “*agama*” (religion) in the laws “does not have legal power” and the laws are against the Constitution. The revocation of the laws by the MK, therefore, has guaranteed the civil rights of the followers of beliefs. However, the decision is still discriminative because, unlike the religions recognised by the state, the names of beliefs may not be printed on their identity cards.

¹¹ Although the year of the letter number is 2016, the decision was decided on 18 October 2017 and read by the MK for public on 7 November 2017.

In fact, when the state defended the rights of the followers of beliefs there were still pros and cons. The MUI, the United Development Party (PPP), and Muhammadiyah have expressed that they objected with the decision of the MK. Even after the MK issued its decision, these Muslim groups still tried to influence the follow-up of the decision. Based on the proposal of the MUI, the word “*agama*” on the identity cards of the followers of beliefs is removed and changed with “*kepercayaan*” (belief). Afterwards, the content of the column “*kepercayaan*” is “*kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*” or “Belief in the One and Only God”.¹² Different from the Muslim groups, the Christians, as represented by the *Persekutuan Gereja-gereja Indonesia* (PGI), appreciated the MK’s decision and asked the government to implement it soon.

Although the Muslim and Christian groups have a different stance on the MK’s decision, in the field both of them are still active and do missionary activities among the followers of local religions. In other words, even when the followers of local religions already got their political and legal rights, in the field they are still targeted by *da’wa* and missionary activities. On the one hand, the followers of local religions cannot control and escape from these *da’wa* and missionary activities which are inherent in Islam and Christianity. Many publications (e.g. Burhanuddin 1990, Duncan 1998, and Zubir and Siandes 1999) have shown how Muslims and Christians come to remote areas to introduce their religions and if possible to convert them. And on the other hand, the followers of local religions do not do the same thing because their belief systems, like Sunda Wiwitan, do not have a missionary characteristic.

From these two existing situations, the choices for the *adat* communities are limited. For Persoon (1994) who studied the Baduy, the Orang Rimba, and the Mentawaians, the choices for the *adat* communities were two: to escape (*vluchten*) or to change (*veranderen*). With the current situations, in my view, the choice is only one: to change. And that choice is what is taken by the Baduy. Since the 1950s researchers have noticed that the Baduy were changing, although it was not yet much. In the 1970s and 1980s, more than a thousand of the Baduy decided to leave the *adat* land by converting to Islam or Christianity. The Baduy who remained in the *adat* land also change by breaking many taboos. One of the many is to have smartphones from which they, for example, watch videos on YouTube. So, if no extraordinary political changes happen in the future, such as the state’s recognition of local religion as religion, conversion to the major religions, fast or gradually, is inevitable.

¹² <https://tirto.id/kelumit-kisah-penghayat-sebelum-kepercayaan-dicatat-di-ktp-dhTF>, accessed on 22 November 2019.

The Baduy themselves have realised that they cannot resist changes. They believe in a prophecy which says that in the future there will be a war between the Baduy and non-Baduy and the Baduy will be defeated (the magazine *Pesat* 31 August 1954: 21). When I did my fieldwork a Muslim Baduy also accounted this prophecy. Being defeated means that they cannot be purely hermits. They have to adopt some changes. Commenting about all changes experienced by the Baduy, a Muslim Baduy Musa said that the Baduy were already politically defeated by the government through the development programme. Their conversion to Islam or Christianity, he said, is another piece of evidence that the Baduy are defeated. Many people in the field said that the Baduy were no longer unique. “They are already the same as us!” they said. A Muslim Baduy was even pessimistic that the Baduy community would cease in the next fifty years. His worry is probably exaggerated. But the fact that the Baduy, like other *adat* communities, are changing is an undeniable reality.

E. My Impression of Doing This Research

Finally, from my experience of doing research on the conversion of the Baduy I get the impression that religion is like a shop: people will remain in the shop or come to it if the shop can provide what the people need. Otherwise, if the shop cannot provide what the people need, they will leave it. By this impression, I do not mean that the Baduy’s conversion is not sincere, but various elements have certainly influenced their decision and the motives for the conversion were not always religious. In other words, this is far from the common belief that conversion happens because of the divine guidance (*hidaya*) where converts do not have a decision, but they are chosen by God. In fact, the marketplace where religions exist is influenced by various elements such as the politics of religion, the teachings of the religions, the proselytisers, the adherents of the religions, and the missionary activities—just to mention a few. In a different context, conversion is like what Keebet von Benda-Beckmann (2013) calls as “forum shopping” where people choose what legal institution fits them best.

By looking at the abandoned religions, such as Sunda Wiwitan, I could say that a religion will last as long as it can provide what people need. What people need, in fact, varies from one person to another person, from place to place, and from time to time. Therefore, to last longer a religion must have a capability to grasp this spectrum. Sunda Wiwitan is left by some of its followers because this religion is very strict. For example, this religion forbids its followers to develop agricultural techniques and tools. In reality, their land is limited and

the population increases. For those who do not have access to land, leaving the religion seems to be a rational choice. This also happens in the West where society experiences secularisation: people put religion as a personal matter or even leave it because they think that religion cannot answer their problems anymore (Dogan 2002: 144, Kauffman et al. 2011, Berger 2014, Franck and Iannaccone 2014).

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- Law No. 5/1979 on *Pemerintahan Desa*.
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Interviews	Dates
Abah Ewong	5 June 2017
Abah Sarmin	5 June 2017
Abdul Muthi	2 July 2017
Ahmad	25 July 2017.
Ahmad Hidayat	29 March 2017
Ai Dewi	29 March 2017
Aisyah	25 July 2017
Amil Cicakal Girang	29 March 2017
An Aliyah	02 April 2017
Andri	8 July 2017
Ara	10 and 24 May 2017
Armani	29 March 2017
Arwan	24 May 2017
Asman	15 April 2018
Bahri	24 May 2017
Banyu	20 December 2018
Bili	12 December 2018
Budi	24 November 2018
Chatibul Umam	10 May 2017
Dace	24 May 2017
Edo	18 and 24 November 2018
Elisa	21 December 2018
Eman	4 and 6 June 2017 28 March 2017 20 November 2018 8 December 2018
Empang	29 March 2017
Enah (Ibu Muksin)	29 March 2017 10 July 2017
Haji Adung	8 July 2017 22 November 2018
Haji Agung	8 July 2017
Haji Alo	24 November 2018
Haji Idi	8 July 2017 22 and 24 November 2018
Haji Igun	22 November 2018
Haji Kasmin	19 November 2018
Haji Nalim	24 June 2017

Haji Sardaya	04 June 2017
Haji Sarmedi	2, 20, 24 May 2017
	1 June 2017
	18 and 24 November 2018
	21 December 2018
	9 May 2019
	2 July 2019
	15 August 2019
	24 November 2019
	10 January 2020
Harun	24 May 2017
Hasan	22 November 2018
Hendra	8 July 2017
Herman	10 March 2018
Hulaela	29 April 2017
Idi	8 July 2017
	22 November 2018
Idras	22 November 2018
Idris	04 June 2017
Ikmal	4 June 2017
Ilham	24 May 2017
Iman	04 June 2017
Iras	22 July 2017
Iton Rustandi	24 May 2017
Iwin	13 December 2018
	12 February 2019
Jamaah Masjid Alfitrah Margaluyu	04 June 2017
Jaro Saija	10 May 2017
Jawas	21 November 2018
Jusen	2 May 2017
Kamran	4 June 2017
	12 December 2018
Kasdi Yusroni	10 April 2017
Kasja	10 and 24 May 2017
Kiyai Matin Jawahir	14 March 2017
Kiyai Maza	6 June 2017
	20 and 28 March 2017
Kiyai Zainuddin Amir	1 and 6 June 2017
	28 March 2017

	21 July 2017
	2 December 2018
Kokom	20 December 2018
Laksana	21 December 2018
Matin Jawahir	14 March 2017
Miranti	20 December 2018
Mirza	9 April 2017
Mura	4 June 2017
Musa	4 June 2017
Nani	20 December 2018
Narja	20 December 2018
Odo	22 November 2018
Omo	10 May 2017
Sadam	13 December 2018
Saija	3 and 10 May 2017
Salia/Musa	4 June 2017
	28 March 2017
Salman	24 May 2018
Samain	21 November 2018
Samin	10 May 2017
	24 June 2017
Sapei	22 November 2018
Sardaya	4 June 2018
Saridi	22 July 2017
Sidi	24 November 2018
Siti	22 November 2018
Soleh	24 May 2017
Suerta	21 December 2018
Sunirta	10 May 2017
Supardi Umar	12 November 2017
Surya	22 November 2018
Sybli Sarjaya	21 March 2017
Tatang	24 November 2018
	15 and 20 December 2018
Ustad Amin	21 May 2017
Ustad Ara	9 April 2017
	10 May 2017
Ustad Engkos Yusroni	10 April 2017
Ustad Imran	10 April 2017

Ustad Kasja	9 April 2017 10, 20, 24 May 2017
Ustad Kusni	10 April 2017
Ustad Maftuh	10 April 2017
Ustad Parta Supriatna	10 May 2017 31 August 2017
Ustad Syahroni	22 July 2017
Ustad Ujeng Suheli	06 June 2017
Windu	24 November 2018 15 December 2018 18 March 2019

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<https://www.hidayatullah.com>
<https://www.iwgia.org>
<https://www.jawapos.com>
<https://www.jpnn.com>
<https://www.kabar-banten.com>
<https://www.liputan6.com>
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Samenvatting

De Baduy vormen een Sundanese etnische groep die leeft in *desa* Kanekes, provincie Banten (Java, Indonesië). De Baduy hebben een godsdienst, Sunda Wiwitan, die hen voorschrijft dat zij kluizenaars zijn. Als kluizenaars moeten ze, volgens hun godsdienst: (1) het heilige gebied van Sasaka Pusaka Buana in Cikeusik beschermen; (2) het heilige gebied van Sasaka Domas in Parahyang in Cibeo beschermen; (3) zorgen voor de koningen en de adel; (4) kluizenaar worden in Kanekes; (5) jagen op dwergerten, eekhoorns en vis; en (6) ceremonieel reukwaren verbranden, devote handelingen verrichten en een speciaal soort voedsel maken.

Het eerste geschrift over de Baduy is van C.L. Blume uit 1822. Sinds dat jaar zijn er talloze boeken en artikelen over de Baduy verschenen. De vroegste bronnen probeerden de oorsprong van de Baduy en allerlei aspecten van hun leven te verklaren. Sinds de jaren zeventig van de vorige eeuw begonnen waarnemers melding te maken van het feit dat de Baduy een probleem hadden met de toegang tot land en stelden de mogelijkheid om een deel van hen buiten hun *adat*-land te vestigen ter discussie. Hoewel jarenlang boeken en artikelen de verschillende aspecten van de Baduy gemeenschap besproken, vergaten zij te vermelden dat er meer dan duizend Baduy bekeerd zijn tot de islam en meer dan honderd tot het christendom. Mijn onderzoek beoogt dit verschijnsel te verklaren door de kernvraag te stellen: waarom verlieten de Baduy hun godsdienst?

Om deze vraag, en andere daaraan gerelateerde vragen te beantwoorden, heb ik veldwerk verricht gedurende meerdere maanden in 2017 en 2019. Dit onderzoek heeft betrekking op de periode 1977-2019, namelijk vanaf het jaar

van de acceptatie van het *resettlement* programma tot twee jaar na de goedkeuring door het Constitutionele Hof van de rechtszaak tegen de wetten over de bevolkingsadministratie. Om te verklaren waarom de Baduy hun godsdienst verlieten, gebruik ik de theorie van L.R. Rambo over bekering die aandacht besteedt aan (1) context; (2) crisis; (3) zoektocht; (4) ontmoeting; (5) interactie; (6) verplichting; en (7) gevolgen van bekering.

Op basis van mijn onderzoek concludeer ik dat de Baduy hun godsdienst verlieten vanwege de volgende samenhangende aspecten: (1) ideeën uit Sunda Wiwitan en over de etniciteit van de Baduy; (2) de beperkte omvang van hun *adat*-land; (3) de bevolkingsgroei; (4) de islamitische en christelijke missie-activiteiten en (5) de politiek ten aanzien van ontwikkeling en van religie in Indonesië. Laat ons in meer detail naar deze aspecten kijken.

Sunda Wiwitan schrijft voor dat de Baduy kluizenaars zijn. Als kluizenaars moeten ze in het *adat*-land leven en ontwikkeling en elementen van moderniteit vermijden. Problemen ontstaan als de bevolking in omvang blijft toenemen terwijl de omvang van hun gebied constant is, namelijk 5.135,58 ha. Ongeveer 3.000 ha. is bedekt door een beschermd bos en de rest wordt gebruikt voor nederzettingen en landbouwvelden. Als dit resterende deel van het gebied gelijk verdeeld zou worden onder de 11.172 Baduy (in 2010), zou ieder persoon 0,45 ha hebben. Omdat de bevolking toeneemt en het de mensen niet is toegestaan om nieuwe technieken te ontwikkelen en moderne landbouwmiddelen te gebruiken, wordt de toegang tot het land steeds schaarser. Vanwege deze problemen hebben de Baduy tenminste sinds de jaren '50 van de vorige eeuw land bewerkt van niet-Baduy. Door deze keuze kwamen zij ver buiten het bereik van de controle van hun leiders en kwamen ze in aanraking met de levensstijl van de niet-Baduy in termen van ontwikkeling en moderniteit.

Deze situatie werd verder versterkt door de ontwikkelings- en godsdienstpolitiek in Indonesië. Nadat Indonesië de onafhankelijkheid had uitgeroepen in 1945, probeerde de overheid de natie te ontwikkelen door, onder andere, transmigratie- en *resettlement* programma's. Tot 2005 werden er 142.984 gezinnen, meestal vanaf Java, naar de dunbevolkte eilanden overgeplaatst. Een poging om de zogenoemde 'geïsoleerde gemeenschappen', zoals de Baduy, te herhuisvesten, was begonnen in 1951. Een meer serieuze poging werd gedaan in 1974 nadat de regering wet No.6/1974 op het gebied van Sociaal Welzijn had uitgevaardigd. Van 1977-1999 waren niet minder dan 600 Baduy gezinnen betrokken bij dit *resettlement* programma. Deze beslissing veroorzaakte een identiteitsprobleem onder de Baduy die deelnamen aan dit programma omdat de *adat*-leiders hen niet langer als Baduy erkenden.

Het feit dat de Baduy in de *resettlement*-dorpen door de *adat*-leiders niet

langer erkend werden, kwam overeen met de hoop van de overheid. Daardoor zou het mogelijk worden voor de overheid om hun sociale en economische leven te ontwikkelen en hun godsdienst te veranderen van Sunda Wiwitan naar 'monotheïstische godsdiensten'. Met 'monotheïstische godsdiensten' bedoelt de overheid islam, protestantisme, katholicisme, hindoeïsme, boeddhisme en confucianisme. Gerelateerd aan dit begrip zijn er in Indonesië zogenaamde 'erkende' en 'niet-erkende' godsdiensten. De eerste term omvat de zes godsdiensten en de tweede verwijst naar verschillende geloofssystemen, inclusief de lokale godsdiensten. Ondanks het feit dat deze termen worden gebruikt, is er geen enkele wet die deze categorisering hanteert. De overheid en de mensen baseren deze categorisering dikwijls op de wet No. 1/1965 over religieuze blasfemie. In deze wet worden de zes 'erkende' godsdiensten genoemd als godsdiensten die aangehangen zouden moeten worden.

Deze categorisering heeft enorme consequenties. Ten eerste, de zes officiële godsdiensten vallen onder het Ministerie van Godsdienstzaken, terwijl de geloofssystemen onder het Ministerie van Onderwijs en Cultuur vallen. Verder vaardigde het parlement in 1978 een besluit uit (No. IV/MPR/1978) waarin stond dat zogenaamde 'geloofssystemen' geen 'godsdiensten' waren en dat de overheid moest voorkomen dat zij een godsdienst zouden worden. Bovendien vaardigde het Ministerie van Godsdienstzaken de besluiten No. 70/1978 en No. 77/1978 uit die daarna bij elkaar werden gebracht in een nieuwe gezamenlijke regeling tussen de Ministeries van Godsdienstzaken en van Binnenlandse Zaken, No. 1/BER/MDN-MAG/1979, over de 'Richtlijnen voor Religieuze Voorlichting en Buitenlandse Hulp aan Religieuze Organisaties in Indonesië'. Artikel 4 van deze regeling vermeldt dat religieuze bekeringsactiviteiten niet gericht mogen worden op mensen die al een officiële godsdienst aanhangen. Omdat lokale godsdiensten niet als 'godsdienst' beschouwd worden, betekent dat artikel dat missionarissen zich kunnen richten op de aanhangers van lokale godsdiensten om hen te bekeren.

Op grond van de leerstellingen van hun godsdiensten over missie en op grond van de godsdienstpolitiek van Indonesië, voeren moslims en christenen missioneringsactiviteiten uit in gemeenschappen van 'geloofssystemen' door heel Indonesië en concurreren ze in pogingen om meer bekeerlingen te maken. De islamitische en christelijke missionarissen zijn ook de Baduy gemeenschap binnen gegaan. Van de kant van de moslims, zijn – naast onafhankelijke predikers – zij verbonden aan de speciale missie-afdeling van de Muhammadiyah (*Lembaga Dakwah Khusus/LDK*), Al Washliyah uit Medan, Jemaah Tabligh, Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, en Pesantren Al-Amin uit Ciboleger. De LDK van Muhammadiyah had zelfs een relatie met *Rabitat al-Alam al-Islami* (The Muslim

World League) in Saoedi Arabië en de organisatie van *Ihya' at-Turath al Islami* in Kuweit.

De Moslims zijn actief in het doen van missioneringswerk onder de Baduy en claimen zelfs dat de islam de enige godsdienst is die gerechtigd is missie te bedrijven, vanwege de volgende overeenkomsten tussen de moslims en de Baduy: (1) Cicakal Girang in het Baduy-gebied is een moslim dorp waarvan de geschiedenis terug gaat tot de 16^e eeuw; (2) de Buiten Baduy doen de geloofsbelijdenis (*shabāda*) ten overstaan van een moslim beambte (*āmil*) als zij willen trouwen; (3) Baduy mannen zijn besneden en ze geloven dat deze gewoonte uit de islam afkomstig is; (4) de huwelijksregels zoals de gewoonte van *'idda*, zijn gelijk aan die van de islam. Vanwege deze overeenkomsten, stelt de *jaro pamarentah* Saija zelfs dat de Baduy moslims zijn, maar dat hun islam verschilt van de islam van de meerderheid in het land.

Net zoals de moslims, waren de christenen ook geïnteresseerd om missioneringswerk te doen onder de Baduy en hen tot het christendom te bekeren. De eerste christelijke missionaris onder de Baduy was F.L. Anthing (1820-1883) die er in slaagde tenminste één Baduy familie te bekeren. In 1961 was er Detmar Scheunemann van het Indonesische Bijbel Instituut maar hij had geen succes. Daarna, in de periode van de *resettlement*, waren er behoorlijk veel missionarissen die naar de *resettlement* dorpen kwamen. Onder hen waren Ismail Amaloh (uit Oost-Timor) die lid was van Youth with a Mission (YWAM), een christelijke missie-organisatie die gevestigd is in de Verenigde Staten; Anturi (Bandung), Kharel Budiman Silitonga (Medan), en Bambang Sigit Waluyo (Purwodadi). Twee Baduy, Windu Nur Gojaloi en Kokom, werden zelfs pastor en missionaris. Omdat de wortel van het Baduy probleem de toegang tot land is, zijn in aanvulling hierop islamitisch en christelijke missionarissen ook in competitie om land te kopen voor (toekomstige) bekeerlingen.

Vanwege deze onderling verbonden aspecten, verlieten veel Baduy het Baduy-gebied, sloten zich aan bij het *resettlement* programma en bekeerden zich tot de islam of het christendom. Het aantal bekeerlingen stond niet vast omdat sommigen van hen hun godsdienst weer veranderden nadat ze waren bekeerd. De bekeringspatronen die ik ben tegengekomen gedurende dit onderzoek waren: (1) van Sunda Wiwitan naar islam; (2) van Sunda Wiwitan naar christendom; (3) van Sunda Wiwitan naar christendom en daarna naar islam; (4) van Sunda Wiwitan naar islam en daarna naar christendom; (5) van Sunda Wiwitan naar islam en toen weer terug naar Sunda Wiwitan; (6) van Sunda Wiwitan naar islam, vervolgens terug naar Sunda Wiwitan en daarna opnieuw bekeerd tot de islam.

Tenslotte kan, op basis van de bekeringsverhalen van de Baduy, geconcludeerd worden dat hun bekering een proces was waarbij ze vooral burgers werden van

de Republiek Indonesië. Dit proces begon met het idee dat de Baduy kluizenaars waren. De problemen ontstonden toen hun bevolkingsaantal maar bleef groeien, terwijl de omvang van hun *adat*-land gelijk bleef. Geconfronteerd met deze problemen, veranderde het perspectief dat zij niet slechts kluizenaars waren maar ook burgers. Doordat zij burgers werden, bouwden ze ook een relatie op met de staat van rechten en plichten. Zij vroegen de staat en de overheid om hen te beschermen en op hun beurt zouden ze de overheid volgen bijvoorbeeld door deel te nemen aan de algemene verkiezingen en door bekering tot de islam of het christendom, twee van de zes 'erkende' godsdiensten in Indonesië. Het verlaten van de geïsoleerde gemeenschappen en het bekeren tot één van de zes godsdiensten waren belangrijke aspecten van het *resettlement* programma dat onder andere beoogde deze gemeenschappen te incorporeren binnen de hoofdstroom van de Indonesische maatschappij.



Summary

The Baduy community is a Sundanese ethnic group which lives in the *desa* of Kanekes, Banten province (Java, Indonesië). The Baduy embrace the religion of Sunda Wiwitan that teaches them that they are hermits. As hermits, they must (1) protect the sanctuary of Sasaka Pusaka Buana, (2) protect the sanctuary of Sasaka Domas, (3) take care of kings and guide the nobles, (4) become hermits in Kanekes (5) *kalanjakan kapundayan* (hunt lesser mousedeaders, deers, squirrels, and fish); and (6) *ngukus ngawalu muja ngalaksa* (perform the ceremonies of burning fragrance and *kawalu*, do veneration and make a *laksa*, a kind of noodle).

The earliest source on the Baduy is from C.L. Blume in 1822. Since that year up to now, many books and articles on the Baduy have been written. The earlier sources tried to explain the origin of the Baduy and many aspects of their life. Since the 1970s observers began to mention that the Baduy faced the problem of access to land and questioned the possibility of relocating some of them out of the *adat* land. For years, books and articles have discussed various aspects of the Baduy community. But they forget to mention that there have been more than 1,000 Baduy converted to Islam and more than a hundred to Christianity. My research aims to explain this phenomenon by asking this core question: why did the Baduy leave their religion?

To answer that question and other related questions I did fieldwork for several months in 2017 and 2019. This research covers the period of 1977-2019, namely from the year of the acceptance of the resettlement programme until two years after the Constitutional Court approved the lawsuit against the laws on the Administration of Population. To explain why the Baduy left their religion, I

utilise Rambo's theory of conversion which pays attention to the (1) context; (2) crisis; (3) quest; (4) encounter; (5) interaction; (6) commitment; and (7) consequences, of conversion.

From my research I conclude that the Baduy left their religion because of these interconnected aspects: (1) the concepts in Sunda Wiwitan and the Baduy's ethnicity, (2) the limited size of their *adat* land, (3) the population growth, (4) Islamic and Christian missionary activities, and (5) the politics of development and religion in Indonesia. Let us look at these aspects in more detail.

Sunda Wiwitan teaches that the Baduy are hermits. As hermits, they must live in the *adat* land and avoid development and features of modernity. Problems appear when the number of the population keeps increasing while the size of their land is constant, namely 5,136.58 hectares. Around 3,000 hectares are covered by a protected forest and the rest is used for housing and agricultural fields. If this remaining part of the land was divided evenly among 11,172 Baduy individuals (in 2010), each person would have about 0.45 hectare. While the population is increasing and the people are not allowed by the *adat* to develop new techniques and use modern tools of farming, the access to land is becoming scarce. Because of these problems, the Baduy have managed non-Baduy's fields since at least the 1950s. This choice has made them far beyond the control of their leaders and made them closer to non-Baduy's lifestyle in terms of development and modernity.

These conditions were accelerated by the politics of development and religion in Indonesia. After Indonesia proclaimed its independence in 1945, the government tried to develop the nation through, among others, transmigration and resettlement programmes. Until 2005 around 142,984 families, mostly from Java, were relocated to more sparsely populated islands. An effort to resettle the so-called "isolated societies", like the Baduy, had been begun since 1951. A more serious attempt was done in 1974 after the government issued the law No.6/1974 on Social Welfare. From 1977-1999 there were no less than 600 Baduy families joining the resettlement programme. This decision caused the problem of identity among the Baduy who participated in the resettlement programme where the *adat* leaders no longer recognised them as Baduy.

The fact that the Baduy in the resettlement villages were no longer recognised by the *adat* leaders was in line with the government's hope. Therefore, it would be possible for the government to develop their social and economic life and to change their religion from Sunda Wiwitan to "monotheistic views". By "monotheistic views" the government means Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Related to this term, in Indonesia, there are the so-called "recognised" and "non-recognised" religions. The first

term includes the six religions and the second refers to various belief systems, including local religions. Even though these terms are used, there is no single law that mentions this categorisation. The government and people often base this categorisation on the law No.1/1965 on religious blasphemy. In this law, the six religions are mentioned as religions that are embraced by the majorities. So, this law is nothing to do with the recognition of religions in Indonesia.

This categorisation has huge consequences. Firstly, the six official religions are managed by the Ministry of Religion (Depag), while belief systems are managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Furthermore, in 1978 the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) issued the decision No. IV/MPR/1978 which declared that belief systems are not religions and the government must prevent them from becoming a religion. Moreover, the Depag issued decisions No. 70/1978 and No.77/ 1978 that were then compiled in a new joint regulation between the Depag and the Department of Home Affairs No. 1/BER/MDN-MAG/1979 on the Guidelines for Religious Outreach and Foreign Aid to Religious Organisations in Indonesia. Article 4 of the regulation mentions that religious proselytisation may not be directed at people who already embrace an official *religion*. Because local religions are not considered as a religion, this article meant that missionaries could target and convert the adherents of local religions.

Responding to the teaching of their religions on the mission and the politics of religion in Indonesia, Muslims and Christians perform missionary activities among communities of belief systems throughout Indonesia and compete to get more converts from them. The Muslim and Christian missionaries also entered the Baduy community. From the Muslim's side, besides independent preachers, they are affiliated with the Body of Special Missions (*Lembaga Dakwah Khusus* LDK) of Muhammadiyah, Al Washliyah of Medan, Jamaah Tabligh, Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII), and Pesantren Al-Amin of Ciboleger. The LDK of Muhammadiyah even had a connection with *Rabitat al-Alam al-Islami* (the Muslim World League) in Saudi Arabia and the foundation of *Ihya' at-Turath al-Islami* in Kuwait.

The Muslims are active in doing missionary work among the Baduy, and even claim that Islam is the only religion entitled to perform the mission, because of the following connections between Muslims and the Baduy: (1) Cicakal Girang in the Baduy land is a Muslim village that is believed to date back to the 16th century, (2) the Outer Baduy proclaim the *shahāda* (the confession of faith) in front of a Muslim official (*āmi*) when they will marry, (3) Baduy men are circumcised and they believe that this practice is from Islam, (4) the marriage rules, such as the practice of *'idda*, are similar to the teaching of Islam. Because of these connections, the *jaro pamarentah* Saija even states that the Baduy are

Muslim, but their Islam is different from Islam of the majority.

Like Muslims, the Christians were also interested in doing missionary work among the Baduys and converting them to Christianity. The first Christian missionary among the Baduy was F.L. Anthing (1820-1883) who succeeded in converting at least one Baduy family. In 1961 there was Detmar Scheunemann from the Indonesian Bible Institute, but he did not succeed. Afterwards, in the resettlement period, there were quite a lot missionaries coming to the resettlement villages. Among them were Ismail Amaloh (from Timor Timur) who was a member of “Youth with a Mission” (YWAM), a Christian missionary organisation that is based in the US; Anturi (Bandung), Kharel Budiman Silitonga (Medan), and Bambang Sigit Waluyo (Purwodadi). Two Baduy, Windu Nur Gojali and Kokom, even became a pastor and missionary. Besides, because the root of the Baduy’s problem is access to land, the Muslim and Christian missionaries also compete to buy land for the (future) converts.

Because of these interconnected aspects, many Baduy left the Baduy land, joined the resettlement programme, and converted to Islam or Christianity. The number of converts was not fixed because some of them changed their religion again after they converted. The patterns of their conversion which I have encountered during this research were from (1) Sunda Wiwitan to Islam, (2) from Sunda Wiwitan to Christianity, (3) from Sunda Wiwitan to Christianity and then to Islam, (4) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and then to Christianity, (5) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam and reverted to Sunda Wiwitan, (6) from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam, reverted to Sunda Wiwitan and reconverted to Islam.

Eventually, from the Baduy’s conversion narratives, it can be concluded that their conversion was a process of becoming citizens of the Republic of Indonesia. This process started with the belief that the Baduy were hermits. Problems appeared when the number of the population kept increasing, while the size of the adat land was limited and remained constant. Facing these problems, the Baduy then changed their view that they were not only hermits but also citizens. By becoming citizens they built a right-obligation relation with the state. They asked the state/government to protect them and they would follow the government by, for example, participating in the General Elections that were previously considered taboo. Many of them also joined the resettlement programme and converted to Islam or Christianity, two among the six “recognised” religions in Indonesia. Abandoning isolated societies and converting to one of the six religions were important aspects of the agenda of the resettlement programme which aimed, amongst other things, at including these communities into the mainstream of Indonesian society.

Ringkasan

Komunitas Baduy adalah kelompok etnis Sunda yang tinggal di desa Kanekes, Banten. Orang-orang Baduy memeluk agama Sunda Wiwitan yang mengajarkan mereka bahwa mereka adalah petapa. Sebagai petapa, mereka harus (1) *ngareksakeun Sasaka Pusaka Buana* (melindungi Sasaka Pusaka Buana), (2) *ngareksakeun Sasaka Domas* (melindungi Sasaka Domas), (3) *ngasuh ratu ngajayak menak* (mengasuh raja dan membimbing bangsawan), (4) *ngabaratapakeun nusa telu puluh telu, bangawan sawidak lima, pancer salawe nagara* (menjadi petapa di 33 nusa, 65 sungai, 25 pusat negara), (5) *kalanjakan kapundayan* (berburu kancil, rusa, tupai dan ikan); and (6) *ngukus ngawalu muja ngalaksa* (melaksanakan upacara pembakaran kemenyan dan kawalu, dan membuat laksa).

Sumber paling awal tentang Baduy adalah dari C.L. Blume pada 1822. Sejak tahun itu sampai sekarang banyak buku dan artikel tentang Baduy telah ditulis. Sumber-sumber paling awal mencoba menelaskan asal mula orang Baduy dan banyak aspek dari kehidupan mereka. Sejak tahun 1970an para pengamat mulai menyebutkan bahwa orang-orang Baduy menghadapi masalah akses ke tanah dan mempertanyakan kemungkinan merelokasi sebagian dari mereka keluar dari tanah adat. Selama bertahun-tahun, beragam buku dan artikel mendiskusikan berbagai aspek dari masyarakat Baduy. Tetapi mereka lupa menyebutkan bahwa telah ada lebih dari 1.000 orang Baduy masuk Islam dan lebih dari 100 masuk Kristen. Penelitian saya bertujuan untuk menjelaskan fenomena ini dengan menanyakan pertanyaan penting ini: kenapa orang-orang Baduy meninggalkan agama mereka?

Untuk menjawab pertanyaan ini dan pertanyaan-pertanyaan terkait

lainnya saya melakukan penelitian lapangan selama beberapa bulan di 2017 dan 2019. Penelitian ini mencakup periode 1977-2019, yaitu dari tahun penerimaan program pemukiman kembali sampai dua tahun setelah Mahkamah Konstitusi menyetujui gugatan hukum terhadap Undang-Undang Administrasi Kependudukan. Untuk menjelaskan mengapa orang-orang Baduy meninggalkan agama mereka, saya menggunakan teori pindah agama Rambo yang memberikan perhatian pada (1) konteks, (2) krisis, (3) pencarian, (4) perjumpaan, (5) interaksi, (6) komitmen, dan (7) konsekuensi, dari pindah agama.

Dari penelitian saya, saya menyimpulkan bahwa orang-orang Baduy meninggalkan agama mereka karena aspek-aspek yang saling terhubung berikut: (1) konsep-konsep dalam Sunda Wiwitan dan etnisitas Baduy, (2) ukuran tanah adat yang terbatas, (3) pertumbuhan penduduk, (4) kegiatan misi Islam dan Kristen, dan (5) politik pembangunan dan agama di Indonesia. Mari kita lihat aspek-aspek tersebut lebih rinci.

Sunda Wiwitan mengajarkan bahwa orang-orang Baduy adalah petama. Sebagai petama mereka harus tinggal di tanah adat dan harus menghindari pembangunan dan sifat-sifat modernitas. Masalah mulai muncul saat jumlah penduduk terus meningkat sementara ukuran tanah adat mereka konstan, yaitu 5.136,58 hektar. Sekitar 3.000 hektar diperuntukan untuk hutan lindung dan sisanya untuk rumah dan ladang. Jika bagian yang terakhir ini dibagi rata di antara 11.172 orang Baduy (pada 2010), masing-masing orang akan memperoleh sekitar 0,45 hektar. Sementara penduduk bertambah dan orang-orang tidak diizinkan untuk mengembangkan tehnik-tehnik baru dan menggunakan alat pertanian modern, akses terhadap tanah menjadi semakin sulit. Karena masalah-masalah ini, orang-orang Baduy telah mengelola ladang-ladang non-Baduy sejak paling tidak tahun 1950an. Pilihan ini membuat mereka berada di luar jangkauan pengawasan pemimpin mereka dan menjadikan orang-orang Baduy lebih dekat dengan gaya hidup non-Baduy dalam hal pembangunan dan modernitas.

Keadaan-keadaan ini dipercepat oleh politik pembangunan dan agama di Indonesia. Setelah Indonesia memproklamkan kemerdekaannya pada 1945, pemerintah berupaya memajukan bangsa melalui, di antaranya, program transmigrasi dan pemukiman kembali. Sampai 2005 sekitar 142.984 keluarga, terutama dari Jawa, direlokasi ke pulau-pulau yang jarang penduduknya. Sebuah usaha untuk memukimkan kembali apa yang disebut masyarakat terasing, seperti orang-orang Baduy, telah dimulai sejak 1951. Sebuah usaha yang lebih sungguh-sungguh dilakukan pada 1974 setelah pemerintah mengeluarkan undang-undang No.6/1974 tentang Kesejahteraan Sosial. Dari 1977-1999 ada tidak kurang dari 600 keluarga Baduy ikut program pemukiman kembali. Keputusan ini menyebabkan masalah identitas di antara orang-orang Baduy yang berpartisipasi

dalam program pemukiman kembali di mana pemimpin adat tidak lagi mengakui mereka sebagai orang Baduy.

Fakta bahwa orang-orang Baduy di kampung-kampung pemukiman tidak lagi diakui oleh pemimpin adat mereka adalah sejalan dengan harapan pemerintah. Dengan demikian, ini akan menjadi mungkin bagi pemerintah untuk mengembangkan kehidupan sosial ekonomi mereka dan mengubah agama mereka ke “pandangan-pandangan monoteistik.” Apa yang disebut “pandangan-pandangan monoteistik” oleh pemerintah adalah Islam, Protestan, Katolik, Hindu, Buddha, dan Konghucu. Terkait dengan istilah ini, di Indonesia terdapat istilah “agama yang diakui” dan “agama yang tidak diakui.” Istilah pertama termasuk enam agama tadi dan istilah kedua merujuk ke berbagai sistem kepercayaan, termasuk agama-agama lokal. Meskipun kenyataan bahwa istilah-istilah ini digunakan, tidak ada satu undang-undangpun yang menyebutkan kategorisasi ini. Pemerintah dari orang kebanyakan mendasarkan kategorisasi ini kepada Undang-Undang No.1/1965 tentang penodaan agama. Dalam undang-undang ini enam agama disebutkan sebagai agama-agama yang dianut oleh mayoritas. Dengan begitu, hukum ini tidak berkaitan dengan pengakuan agama-agama di Indonesia.

Kategorisasi ini memiliki konsekuensi yang sangat besar. Pertama, enam agama resmi dikelola oleh Kementerian Agama (Kemenag), sedangkan sistem kepercayaan diatur oleh Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Selanjutnya, pada 1978 Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (MPR) mengeluarkan peraturan No. IV/MPR/1978 yang menyatakan bahwa sistem kepercayaan bukan agama dan pemerintah harus mencegah mereka untuk menjadi agama.

Lebih lanjut, Depag mengeluarkan peraturan No. 70/1978 dan No.77/ 1978 yang kemudian digabungkan menjadi peraturan bersama antara Depag and Departemen Dalam Negeri (Depdagri) No. 1/BER/MDN-MAG/1979 tentang Tatacara Pelaksanaan Penyiaran Agama dan Bantuan Luar Negeri Kepada Lembaga Keagamaan di Indonesia. Pasal 4 peraturan tersebut menyebutkan bahwa penyebaran agama tidak boleh diarahkan kepada orang-orang yang sudah memeluk agama. Karena agama-agama lokal tidak dianggap sebagai agama, pasal ini berarti bahwa misionaris dan pendakwah bisa menyasar dan mengkonversi pemeluk-pemeluk agama lokal.

Menanggapi ajaran agama mereka tentang misi/ dakwah dan menanggapi politik keagamaan di Indonesia, Muslim dan Kristen menjalankan kegiatan misi/ dakwah di antara masyarakat kepercayaan di seluruh Indonesia dan bersaing untuk memperoleh penganut baru. Misionaris Muslim dan Kristen juga masuk ke masyarakat Baduy. Dari sisi Muslim, selain pendakwah independen, mereka berafiliasi dengan Lembaga Dakwah Khusus (LDK) Muhammadiyah, Al

Washliyah Medan, Jamaah Tabligh, Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII), dan Pesantren Al-Amin Ciboleger. LDK Muhammadiyah bahkan memiliki hubungan dengan *Rabitat al-Alam al-Islami* (Liga Dunia Muslim) di Saudi Arabia dan Yayasan *Ihya' at-Turath al-Islami* di Kuwait.

Orang-orang Muslim aktif dalam melakukan kegiatan dakwah di antara orang-orang Baduy, dan bahkan mengklaim bahwa mereka adalah satu-satunya kelompok yang berhak menyebarkan agama di antara orang-orang Baduy karena hubungan Muslim-Baduy berikut: (1) Cicakal Girang di tanah Baduy adalah sebuah kampung Muslim yang dipercaya berasal dari abad ke-16 Kesultanan Banten, (2) orang-orang Baduy Luar membaca *shahāda* (pengakuan iman) di depan seorang *ʿamil* saat mereka akan menikah, (3) Baduy laki-laki disunat dan mereka percaya bahwa ajaran ini berasal dari Islam, (4) peraturan-peraturan pernikahan, seperti praktek *ʿidda*, mirip dengan ajaran Islam. Karena hubungan-hubungan ini, jaro *pamarentah* Saija bahkan menyatakan bahwa orang-orang Baduy adalah Musli, tetapi Islam mereka berbeda dari Islam mayoritas.

Seperti Muslim, orang-orang Kristen juga tertarik dalam melakukan kerja misi di antara orang-orang Baduy. Misionaris Kristen pertama di Baduy adalah F.L. Anthing (1820-1883) yang berhasil mengkristenkan paling tidak satu keluarga Baduy. Pada 1961 ada Detmar Scheunemann dari Institut Injil Indonesia, tetapi dia tidak berhasil. Selanjutnya, pada periode pemukiman ada cukup banyak misionaris yang datang ke kampung-kampung pemukiman. Di antara mereka adalah Ismail Amaloh (dari Timor Timur) yang merupakan anggota “Youth with a Mission” (YWAM), sebuah organisasi misi Kristen yang berbasis di Amerika Serikat; Anturi (Bandung), Kharel Budiman Silitonga (Medan), dan Bambang Sigit Waluyo (Purwodadi). Dua orang Baduy, Windu Nur Gojali dan Kokom, bahkan menjadi pastor dan misionaris. Selain itu, karena akar masalah Baduy adalah tanah, da'i Muslim dan misionaris Kristen berlomba membeli tanah untuk (calon) muallaf.

Karena aspek-aspek yang saling terhubung ini, banyak orang Baduy meninggalkan tanah ulayat, bergabung dengan program pemukiman, dan masuk Islam atau Kristen. Jumlah yang pindah agama tidak pasti karena beberapa dari mereka mengganti agama mereka lagi setelah pindah agama. Pola-pola dari pindah agama mereka yang saya temui dalam penelitian saya adalah (1) dari Sunda Wiwitan ke Islam, (2) dari Sunda Wiwitan ke Kristen, (3) dari Sunda Wiwitan ke Kristen kemudian ke Islam, (4) dari Sunda Wiwitan ke Islam kemudian ke Kristen, (5) dari Sunda Wiwitan ke Islam dan kembali ke Sunda Wiwitan, (6) dari Sunda Wiwitan ke Islam, kembali ke Sunda Wiwitan dan pindah lagi ke Islam.

Akhirnya, dari narasi-narasi pindah agamanya orang-orang Baduy, ini dapat

disimpulkan bahwa pindah agamanya orang-orang Baduy adalah proses menjadi warga negara Indonesia. Proses ini bermula dari keyakinan bahwa mereka adalah petapa. Masalah-masalah muncul saat jumlah penduduk terus naik, sedangkan ukuran tanah adat terbatas dan konstan. Menghadapi masalah-masalah ini, orang-orang Baduy kemudian mengubah pandangan mereka bahwa mereka bukan hanya petapa, melainkan juga warga negara. Dengan menjadi warga negara mereka membangun hubungan hak dan kewajiban dengan negara. Mereka meminta negara/ pemerintah untuk melindungi mereka dan mereka akan mengikuti pemerintah dengan, misalkan, berpartisipasi dalam Pemilihan Umum (Pemilu) yang mulanya dianggap tabu. Banyak di antara mereka juga bergabung dengan program pemukiman dan masuk Islam atau Kristen, dua di antara agama “yang diakui” di Indonesia. Meninggalkan masyarakat terasing dan masuk ke salah satu dari enam agama adalah aspek-aspek penting dari agenda program pemukiman yang dimaksudkan, di antaranya, untuk masuk ke dalam masyarakat arus utama Indonesia.



Curriculum Vitae

Ade Jaya Suryani was born in Pandeglang (Banten, Indonesia) in 1981. He graduated from the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) of Banten in 2005 and got a bachelor's diploma in *Jinayah Siyasah* (Islamic Criminal Law and Politics). In 2007 he got a scholarship from the *Training of Indonesian Young Leaders* programme to study for a Master's degree in Islamic Studies at Leiden University and graduated in 2008. Afterwards, in 2016 he began his doctoral programme at the same university with the scholarship from the Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP). Since 2010 he has been working at the State Islamic University (UIN) Banten as a teaching staff. Among his works are *Perempuan Banten Pergi ke Arab: Migrasi, Ekonomi, dan Agama* (2010), *Sunda dan Jawa Banten: Imposisi, Peta, dan Upaya Mencari Jati Diri* (2014), *Kamus Sunda Dialek Banten* (editor, 2014). He also wrote popular articles in magazines and newspapers and screenplays for a television station. He can be contacted via his e-mail address ade.jaya.s@uinbanten.ac.id.

From Respected Hermits to Ordinary Citizens

The Conversion of the Baduy,
Ethnicity and Politics of Religion
in Indonesia (1977 - 2019)

This dissertation argues that the conversion of the Baduy was influenced by their self-concept, which requires them to detach from modernity and development, the limited size of their land, and the increase of the population. This process of conversion was supported by the politics of religion, which differentiates local beliefs (kepercayaan) from state-recognised religions (agama) where adhering to a local belief was considered irreligious (tidak/ belum beragama) and backward. To make the adherents of local beliefs religious, the government allows followers of major religions to invite the adherents of local beliefs into their faith. Furthermore, to develop the adherents of local beliefs, the government created development policies, in particular a resettlement programme. The programme aimed at Baduy society began in 1977 and lasted until 1999. Besides developing the adat communities, this programme was also aimed at changing their beliefs so that they align with “monotheistic views”. The fact that Muslims and Christians were targeting the same group of people caused tension, contestation, and violence. Confronted with this situation, the adherents of local beliefs fought back and resisted the policies in various ways.

