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# 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 pillars<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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.

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

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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 39<sup>th</sup> Muhammadiyah conference in Padang in 1975. To achieve the purposes of *da'wa*, in its 40<sup>th</sup> 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 41<sup>st</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> Besides, they also founded *madrasah* such as Madrasah Masyarikul Huda in Cicakal Girang, Madrasah Darul Muhsinin in Nagara, and Madrasah Hizbul Wathon in Kompol.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

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

a. *Palopat: Zainuddin Amir<sup>7</sup>, His Wife Namay Rahmawati<sup>8</sup> 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

<sup>7</sup> 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).

<sup>8</sup> 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*<sup>9</sup>, 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.

<sup>9</sup> 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 Yusroni<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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: Kasja<sup>11</sup> 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

<sup>11</sup> 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 6<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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 Hidayat<sup>13</sup> was offered by Muhammadiyah to join the *da'wa* programme for the isolated societies in Indonesia. It happened when a

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

<sup>13</sup> 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*<sup>14</sup> and *Madrasah Darul Muhsinin*

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

<sup>14</sup> 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).<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

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

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

<sup>16</sup> 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 Washliyah<sup>17</sup>

Founded in Medan in 1932, Al Washliyah<sup>18</sup> 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 1988<sup>19</sup>, 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

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

<sup>18</sup> 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).

<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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*<sup>21</sup>, *tablilan*<sup>22</sup>, and *qumūt*<sup>23</sup>. 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

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> *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.

<sup>22</sup> *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.

<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

In 2003 Parta Supriatna<sup>27</sup>, 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 Village<sup>28</sup> to meet the management

<sup>24</sup> 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.

<sup>25</sup> 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.

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

<sup>27</sup> 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 Rangkasbitung. Afterwards, he went to Bandung to study at UIN Bandung and graduated four years later.

<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.”<sup>30</sup>

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

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

<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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.”<sup>33</sup>

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

<sup>31</sup> 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).

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Eman in Palopat on 04 June 2017.

<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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:

<sup>34</sup> 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 *ḥunūj*. *Ḥunūj* 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 *ḥunūj*, 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 *ḥunūj* is obligatory. It must be conducted for the whole lifetime. A Muslim has to take ten percent of his time for *ḥunūj*: three days per month or a month per year.”<sup>35</sup>

During the *ḥunūj* the followers of Jamaah Tabligh practise four deeds chronologically: *da'wa ilā Allah* (invitation to Allah), *ta'lim wa ta'ahim* (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.<sup>36</sup>

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 *ḥunūj* 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.<sup>37</sup>

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

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Iton on 24 May 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Iton on 24 May 2017.

<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> The Muslim Baduy Haji Sardaya<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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.”<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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

<sup>38</sup> Interviews with Haji Adung on 8 July 2017 and with Eman on 6 June 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Haji Sardaya on 4 June 2017.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Haji Sardaya on 4 June 2017.

<sup>41</sup> Interview with Ahmad 25 July 2017.

<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup>

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 Adung<sup>44</sup> accompanied the followers of Jamaah Tabligh from India to three Baduy villages. Still in the

<sup>43</sup> 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.

<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup>

#### 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.<sup>46</sup>

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

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Samain on 21 November 2018.

<sup>46</sup> Syahrini 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 Amin<sup>47</sup> 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

<sup>47</sup> 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 €1,666) 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 Sarmedi<sup>48</sup> 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:

<sup>48</sup> 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*.”<sup>49</sup>

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.<sup>50</sup> 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

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 2 May 2017.

<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

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.<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> 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 *qumūt* and the *tahlilan*.<sup>56</sup>

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,

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Bahri on 24 May 2017.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Haji Igun on 22 November 2018.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Kasdi Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with Kiyai Zainuddin Amir on 28 March 2017.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Enah on 10 July 2017.

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Zainuddin Amir on 28 March 2017.

people would know that Muhammadiyah was not a new religion.<sup>57</sup> The same decision was taken by other Muhammadiyah preachers in Cicakal Girang, Nagara, and Kompol. 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 Kompol 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 Syahroni<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup>

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

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

<sup>58</sup> Interview with Syahroni on 22 June 2017.

<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup>

The Muhammadiyah preacher in Cicakal Girang Ahmad Hidayat<sup>61</sup> 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.”<sup>62</sup>

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

<sup>60</sup> 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.

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Ahmad Hidayat on 29 March 2017.

<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup>

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 Armani<sup>64</sup> 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

<sup>63</sup> 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.

<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup>

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.<sup>66</sup> 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

<sup>65</sup> 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.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with Kasja on 24 May 2017.



was also said by the Muslim Baduy Haji Nalim.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup>

#### 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.<sup>69</sup> But Windu denied that he once went to the US.<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> A Christian Baduy confirmed that Windu had a target to baptise people, but he did not know the exact number.<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Zainuddin Amir on 21 July 2017.

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Mirza on 9 April 2017.

<sup>70</sup> Interview with Windu on 24 November and 15 December 2018.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Irta on 10 May 2017.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Banyu on 20 December 2018.

<sup>73</sup> Interviews with Zainuddin Amir on 6 June 2017 and Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> Muhammadiyah also got money from Saudi Arabia<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Interviews with Ujeng Suheli on 6 June 2017 and with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Engkos Yusroni on 10 April 2017.

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

<sup>78</sup> 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.

