



Advancement of Baduy Muslims (Historical Overview of Religious Conversion in The Baduy Community)

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Abstract: Many people think that the Baduy people are very fanatical in carrying out their customary system and, at the same time, rejecting outside influences, including Islam. However, researchers found different evidence for this assumption. This study aims to provide a historical overview of the connectedness of the Baduy people to the Islamic religion so that some Baduy residents in *Kampung Landeuh* have now converted their religion to Islam. By using historical research methods, researchers collect sources, criticize sources, interpret information, and then write about the progress of Baduy Muslims. This research resulted in three significant findings. *First*, the Baduy people have known Islam since the beginning of the spread of Islam in Banten, when *Prabu Pucuk Umun* and his retainers were still living in Banten, before handing over the power of Banten to *Maulana Hasanuddin*. *Second*, there was a gradual transfer of the beliefs of the Baduy people from *Sunda Wiwitan* to the *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan* during the time of *Maulana Yusuf*; until now, some Baduy people have embraced Islam. *Third*, there has been an increase in the number of Muslim Baduy because more and more Baduy people have left their traditional environment to live in *Kampung Landeuh*.

Keywords: Baduy people; Muslim Baduy; *Sunda Wiwitan*; *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan*

Abstrak: Banyak orang beranggapan bahwa masyarakat Baduy sangat fanatik dalam menjalankan sistem adat sekaligus menolak keras pengaruh luar, termasuk Islam. Namun, peneliti menemukan bukti yang berbeda dari anggapan tersebut. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk memberikan gambaran sejarah tentang keterhubungan masyarakat Baduy dengan agama Islam, sehingga beberapa warga Baduy di *Kampung Landeuh* saat ini telah mengkonversi agama mereka sebagai penganut Islam. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian sejarah, peneliti mengumpulkan sumber, mengkritisi sumber, menafsirkan informasi, kemudian menulis tentang kemajuan Muslim Baduy. Penelitian ini menghasilkan tiga temuan penting. *Pertama*, masyarakat Baduy telah mengenal Islam sejak awal penyebaran Islam di Banten, ketika Prabu Pucuk Umun dan para punggawanya masih bermukim di Banten, sebelum menyerahkan kekuasaan Banten kepada Maulana Hasanuddin. *Kedua*, terjadi perpindahan kepercayaan masyarakat Baduy secara bertahap dari *Sunda Wiwitan* menjadi *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan* pada masa Maulana Yusuf, hingga saat ini beberapa warga Baduy telah menganut Islam. *Ketiga*, terjadi peningkatan jumlah Baduy Muslim karena semakin banyak masyarakat Baduy yang meninggalkan lingkungan adatnya untuk tinggal di *Kampung Landeuh*.

Kata Kunci: masyarakat Baduy; Baduy Muslim; *Sunda Wiwitan*, *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan*



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Introduction

The Baduy people have a mythology that the first humans created by God took place in the villages of Cikeusik, Cikertawana and Cibeo. Therefore, the three villages are the centre of the world whose purity, sanctity and sustainability must be maintained. Traditional leaders (*Pu'un*) always supervise the Baduy community to maintain the purity, sanctity and sustainability of the three villages in the Kanekes area (Dienaputra, 2011).

This myth gives rise to distinctive views and attitudes, including that the Baduy tribe is prohibited from hoeing the ground, prohibited from wearing footwear, prohibited from using modern technology, and so on (Suryani, 2019). Views and attitudes are like a plague that distinguishes the Baduy people who reject modernity from outsiders who accept modernity (Twikromo, 2008). However, currently the Baduy people are in a dilemmatic position as follows.

First, the dilemma is related to the increasing number of Baduy residents and the limited availability of living space in the Kanekes customary area (Sujana 2020). As a result, some Baduy people leave their traditional territories to find a new living space. Second, the dilemma is related to the young Bedouin generation's curiosity towards foreign cultures, including the desire to use modern technology. As a result, some of the younger generations of Baduy are starting to use modern technology, for example, mobile phones. Third, the dilemma arises in the era of globalisation, where the Baduy people are increasingly open to the outside world. More and more Baduy residents are taking advantage of modern technology.

Some of the dilemmas above have caused some Baduy residents to violate the customary system (*Pikukuh Baduy*) so that they are subject to customary sanctions in the form of being expelled from the Inner Baduy (*Baduy Dalam/Tangtu*) area. Apart from that, Baduy residents deliberately leave their customary territory to seek a new, more accessible environment. The event of the departure of the Baduy people from their customary territory has become a factor in the increase in the settlements of the Baduy people, not only in the Inner Baduy (*Baduy Dalam/Tangtu*) area but also in the Outer Baduy (*Baduy Luar/Panamping*) area, and the *Baduy Dangka* area. Some Baduy people even choose to mingle with society in general.

The Inner Baduy community (*Baduy Dalam/Tangtu*) is led by a traditional leader (*Pu'un*) who guides spiritual affairs. The Inner Baduy community (*Baduy Dalam/Tangtu*) has unique characteristics such as adherents of the *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan*, not using modern technology, wearing white clothes complete with white headbands, not wearing footwear, not using vehicles, not going to formal school, and so on (Sujana, 2020; Edwar, et al., 2021)

The Outer Baduy community (*Baduy Luar/Panamping*) occupies a settlement outside the Inner Baduy community settlement (*Baduy Dalam/Tangtu*). The number of the Outer Baduy community (*Baduy Luar/Panamping*) is much greater than the Inner Baduy community (*Baduy Dalam/Tangtu*). However, their commitment to implementing the customary system (*Pikukuh Baduy*) is looser. They still live in the Baduy traditional area and adhere to the *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan*. However, they send their children to formal schools, use cellphones and other

electronic devices, wear black clothes and headbands, use motorized vehicles, etc. (Sodikin, 2022)

Outer Baduy community (*Baduy Luar/Panamping*) settlements are scattered in the western, northern and eastern parts of the Inner Baduy community (*Baduy Dalam/Tangtu*) settlement. Each Outer Baduy community (*Baduy Luar/Panamping*) settlement is led by a village elder (*Kokolot Lembur*). Basically, residents of the Outer Baduy community (*Baduy Luar/Panamping*) are migrants from the Inner Baduy community (*Baduy Dalam/Tangtu*), either moving on their own accord (*undur rahayu*) or moving because they were expelled from the Inner Baduy community (*Baduy Dalam/Tangtu*) because they are considered to violate the customary system (*Pikukuh Baduy*).

Meanwhile, the *Baduy Dangka* community live in the outermost layer and is seen as the lowest Baduy community. The *Baduy Dangka* community is not strictly bound by the customary system (*Pikukuh Baduy*). In fact, not a few in the *Baduy Dangka* community have decided to leave the Baduy community (the local term is *landeuh*). They occupy an area known as *Kampung Landeuh*. Administratively, the *Baduy Dangka* community settlement is outside the area of Kanekes Village. Not a few of the residents of *Kampung Landeuh* have converted their religion to become adherents of Islam (Sopian., 2022). They generally dress like non-Baduy people, such as using cellphones, electronic equipment, motorized vehicles, going to school, trading, etc.

Even though the Baduy community groups have their own settlements, they still maintain good relations with each other. Apart from being bound by kinship, they also create a system of protection for one another (Kurnia & Sihabudin, 2010). The phenomenon of the departure of the Baduy people from the traditional environment (the local term is *landeuh*) indicates the occurrence of religious conversion in the Baduy community. This fact encourages the writer to research: "Advancement of the Baduy Muslims (Historical Overview of Religious Conversion in the Baduy Community)".

Research Methods

This research examined the historical overview of religious conversion in the Baduy community. Considering that the required data relates to data on the history of religious conversion of the Baduy community, the research was conducted using historical research methods, beginning with collecting historical sources, examining historical sources critically, synthesizing historical data, and compiling a historical essay (Abdurrahman, 2011). Historical research methods are related to tracing historical sources to obtain historical facts and present them in written and non-written form (Basundoro, 2021).

Fraenkel and Wallen explain that historical research is a systematic data collection activity to describe and explain important events that occurred in the past (Fraenkel, et al., 2011). Meanwhile, Sjamsuddin and Ismangun explain that the events studied in history focus on the most important events. These events have human meaning, and then the relationship between each event and its arrangement chronologically is studied (Najamuddin, L., 2012; M ARIF n.d.)

The main steps in historical research are: (1) search for sources of information or traces of the past (*heuristic*), (2) examination of sources of information or traces of the past (*critic*), both external criticism and internal criticism, (3) interpretation or interpretation of information obtained from historical sources or traces (*interpretative*), (4) narrative or presentation in the form of historical stories (*historography*), both in the form of writing and non-writing (Padmanabhan, 2014). These steps are carried out in an integrated manner with one another.

Result

The existence of the Muslim Baduy community did not happen suddenly. It can even be traced to the following five phases: (1) the introduction of Islam during the time of Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah, (2) the initial phase of the Baduy community during the Maulana Hasanuddin era, (3) the phase of forming Baduy Muslim settlements during the time of Maulana Yusuf, (4) the phase the joining of the Baduy people during the reign of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, and (5) the development phase of the Baduy settlements during the independence period. Each phase is marked by the internalisation process of Islam among the Baduy community, thus providing the foundation for the progressive increase of the Baduy Muslim community.

The initial phase of Islamic da'wah during the time of Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah

At the beginning of the 16th century, Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah began to spread Islam in the coastal areas of Banten. At that time, the Banten region was controlled by the Sultanate of Cirebon. The manuscript of *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari* (written by Prince Aria Carbon in 1720) of *Pupuh XIX* explains that Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah spread Islam to Banten. When Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah married the Banten Regent's sister, Nyai Kawunganten, the ruler of Banten and most Banten officials and people decided to embrace Islam (Permana, 2017). This fact shows that marriage has become an effective channel of Islamization in Banten society at that time.

It should be noted that during the reign of Prabu Surosoan, Banten was part of the Pajajaran Kingdom centred in Pakuan (Bogor). The acceptance of Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah as part of the Banten ruling family provided a solid foundation for implementing Islamic da'wah. In the manuscript of *Pustaka Pararatwan i Bhumi Jawadwipa Parwa I Sargah 4* and the manuscript of *Pustaka Rajya Rajya i Bhumi Nusantara Parwa II Sargah 4* it is stated that: "*Ateher kamasturing ikang sangan manganugrahani ring Susuhunan Jati kawasan dumadi Panetep Panatagama Rat Sunda I Bhumi Jawa Kulwan itig tamalah ing kitha Carbon*" which means *Wali Sanga* bestows Susuhunan Jati (Rosidin, 2019) who is in charge of spreading Islam in the West Java region based in the city of Cirebon (Ajta & Ekajati, 1987). The Exhibition Room of the Old Banten Site contains artifacts in the form of ancient maps and descriptions of the atmosphere of Banten at that time and explains the process of spreading Islam in the Banten area which was carried out before the spread of Islam in the Sunda Kelapa area (Permana, 2017).

At that time, the people of Banten who lived in political centres were Hindus/Buddhists and mixed with *Sunda Wiwitan* beliefs. Meanwhile, those living in the interior generally adhere to the *Sunda Wiwitan* belief. The King of Pajajaran Prabu Jayadewata 1518 wrote the Book

of *Sanghyang Siksa Kandang Karesian*. The book contains general moral guidelines and practical provisions for the people of Pajajaran drawn from Hindu/Buddhist principles combined with pre-Hindu/Buddhist traditions (Notosusanto, & Poesponegoro, 2019). Furthermore, the Book of *Sanghyang Siksa Kandang Karesian* becomes a guide for adherents of the *Sunda Wiwitan* belief.

The formation phase of the Baduy community during the Maulana Hasanuddin era

As explained in the previous section, the marriage of Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah to Nyai Kawunganten is a strategic step to spread Islam in the Banten region. This is evidenced by the decision of Nyai Kawunganten, Prabu Surosoan, several courtiers and the people of Banten to embrace Islam (Kurniawan, 2021). While Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah continued actively spreading Islam, Prabu Surosoan's son Arya Surajaya continued to adhere to the *Sunda Wiwitan* belief.

After Prabu Surasowan's death, Banten's power was inherited by Arya Surajaya, who had the title Prabu Pucuk Umun. At the same time, Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah returned to Cirebon to continue his political power. Long before that, Pangeran Cakrabuana had indeed confirmed Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah as the crown prince with the title of *Tumenggung Nagari Cirebon*. Therefore, the spread of Islam in the Banten region was entrusted to his son, Maulana Hasanuddin (Mahmudah, n.d.).

Maulana Hasanuddin was a staunch Islamic preacher. His preaching received wide acclaim from the people of Banten, including among ascetics (*Resi*) in various areas of Banten, including 800 ascetics (*Resi*) who were previously followers of Prabu Pucuk Umun. Maulana Hasanuddin's da'wah activities are increasingly visible with the formation of an increasingly strong Banten Islamic community (Solehat, 2019). Banten developed into a centre for the spread of Islam in West Java and parts of Sumatra. Especially with the establishment of an Islamic college at the *Kasunyatan Banten* Mosque (Syarif and Jakarta, 2016). At the *Kasunyatan Banten* Mosque, the ulama, especially Kyai Dukuh or Pangeran Kasunyatan, actively taught Islam to the people of Banten (Saefullah, 2018; Said, 2016; Muslimah, 2017).

It was this fact that prompted Prabu Pucuk Umun, in his capacity as the successor to the power of Banten and at the same time as a follower of the *Sunda Wiwitan* belief, to make an agreement with Maulana Hasanuddin through the medium of cockfighting. The winning party will inherit Banten's power, whereas the losing party must be willing to leave power in the Banten region (Permana, 2017).

Because he lost the cockfight, Prabu Pucuk Umun voluntarily handed over the power of Banten to Maulana Hasanuddin. Furthermore, Prabu Pucuk Umun and his courtiers withdrew to the South Banten area. They live in the upper reaches of the Ciujung River, around the Mount Kendeng area. Prabu Pucuk Umun asked his courtiers to guard and manage the forest area in the Mount Kendeng area. They are the Kanekes people's forerunners, now known as the Baduy tribe. The description shows that Prabu Pucuk Umun pioneered the Baduy village's development in Kanekes, while Maulana Hasanuddin was the successor to Banten's power. It is important to note that the Baduy community and the Banten Sultanate family have kinship

ties. The surrender of Banten's power by Prabu Pucuk Umun to Maulana Hasanuddin was carried out peacefully. The departure of Prabu Pucuk Umun and his courtiers to the Kanekes area was voluntarily driven by political factors, not by the rejection of Islam. This is reinforced by the information in the Mertasinga Manuscript that Prabu Pucuk Umun had embraced Islam (Rosidin, 2019)

Another version of the origins of the Baduy people, such as the Van Tricht version which explains that the Baduy people are native to the Kanekes area (Rahman et al., 2020; Suhadi, 2012), was appointed as a *karesian mandala* or hermitage complex belonging to the rishis by the third Sundanese King named Rakeyan Darmasiksa. These statements actually reinforce each other. That when Prabu Pucuk Umun and his courtiers arrived at Kanekes, it was possible that there were already people living in the area.

The phase of legalization of marriage during the Maulana Yusuf era

His son, Maulana Yusuf, continued the power of Maulana Hasanuddin in Banten. Maulana Yusuf became famous after 1579, succeeding in controlling Pajajaran's power centre in Pakuan Bogor (Michrob, 1987). Mastery of the entire Sunda region was inspired by his desire to spread Islam to penetrate the corners of Banten (Sujana, 2020). The Banten History Book explains that the ulema assisted Maulana Yusuf in preaching the Islamic religion (Rohman, 2011; Mirajiani, et al., 2019)

The Sultanate of Banten imposed a tax on Banten's territory, which was paid annually at the time of facing procession, known as *Seba*. The Baduy people, for the first time, carried out the *seba* procession when Banten was under the reign of Sultan Maulana Yusuf (1570-1580) (Hadiwibowo, 2013). At that time, the Baduy people handed over their crops and at the same time reported various events that occurred in the Baduy area (Mirajiani, et al., 2019). The *Seba* procession carried out by the Baduy community is, at the same time, their acknowledgement of the power of the Sultanate of Banten. On the other hand, the *Seba* procession has opened up opportunities for the Baduy people to get to know Islam (Sujana, 2020; Edwar, et al., 2021).

The Baduy people think *Seba* is a need that cannot be ignored. Their crops could only be enjoyed after they carried out *Seba* to the Sultan of Banten, whom they considered *Bapa Gede* and *Ibu Gede*. (Setiadi, 2023). *Seba*, which is held every year, brings the Baduy community closer to Muslims and increases their knowledge of Islam. So it is not surprising that the Baduy people call their beliefs the term *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan*, in contrast to *Sunda Wiwitan*, the belief of pre-Islamic society. The term *Selam* is nothing but the local pronunciation of the term Islam. This fact also indicates that preaching activities to the Baduy community have been carried out since the early era of the Sultanate of Banten. Furthermore, the Baduy people know and practice the *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan* through oral narratives and examples given by traditional leaders from generation to generation.

There is an interesting incident related to the closeness of the Baduy people to Islam, related to the existence of *Kampung Cicakal Girang* as a Muslim village which began to develop in the Outer Baduy (*Baduy Luar/Panamping*) area since the time of Maulana Yusuf. *Kampung Cicakal Girang* existed not long after the Baduy community developed. At

that time, there was an agreement between the Sultan of Banten and the Baduy community that the Baduy people were welcome to continue to adhere to the *Sunda Wiwitan* belief. However, when they married, they were required to marry according to Islamic law in the presence of officers. Before getting married, the bride and groom are also required to read the shahadah as recited by Muslims as follows: "*Asyhadu alla ilaha illallah wa asyhadu anna Muhammadar-Rasulullah, Allahumma sholli ala sayyidina Muhammad wa'ala ali sayyidina Muhammad,*" followed by reading the translation in Indonesian Java-Banten as follows: "*Nyakseni isun ing satuhune kalakuan ora nana prince anging Allah, lan nyakseni isun satuhune Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad iku utusan of Allah, Allahumma sholli ala sayyidina Muhammad wa 'ala ali sayyidina Muhammad.*" (Personal Interview with A. Rosyid, on March 9, 2021).

In respect of the regulations of the Sultanate of Banten, the Baduy community legalizes marriage in front of the village head in Leuidamar. However, because Leuidamar was far from Kanekes, the Baduy people asked the Sultan of Banten to send a cleric (*penghulu*) to the Baduy area. The Sultan of Banten granted this request by sending a cleric (*penghulu*) named Ki Arsakum. Ki Arsakum and his entourage were stationed in *Kampung Cicakal Girang* with the main task of legalizing marriages for the Baduy community according to Islamic religious procedures. The Baduy people call *Kampung Cicakal Girang* the *Penghulu Ratu* (Personal Interview with A. Rosyid, on March 9, 2021). Ki Arsakum and his entourage became the pioneers of the founding of the Baduy community in *Kampung Cicakal Girang*.

The phase of political accommodation for the Baduy people during the time of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa

An interesting statement from Achmad Djajadiningrat states that his ancestor, Wirasoeta, came from the Baduy. It is said that Wirasoeta is the son of a *Pu'un* Cibeo who wants to get out of the traditional Baduy environment, which he feels cramped. For this reason, Wirasoeta asked his father for permission to serve in the Sultanate of Banten. Luckily, this wish was approved, and even his father explained the route to the centre of the Sultanate of Banten. After going through a long process, Wirasoeta finally started his career as a soldier for Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa. Wirasoeta was a talented soldier who had a glorious career. Finally, he was appointed a prince and even became a governor in the Sultanate of Banten (Edwar, et al., 2021; Mujiat, 2022). Achmad Djajadiningrat's statement shows that the Sultanate of Banten during the reign of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (1651-1683) accommodated the aspirations of the Baduy people to develop their careers to the fullest. On the other hand, this phenomenon shows no conflict between the Baduy people and the Sultanate of Banten. Instead, there was a positive synergy between the two parties, so the Baduy people and Islam got closer.

Sartono Kartodirjo views Achmad Djajadiningrat's memoir, which states that his ancestors came from the Bedouins, as an intellectual history that seeks to reveal Achmad Djajadiningrat's socio-cultural background so that socio-cultural factors that influence Achmad Djajadiningrat's character can be extrapolated (Fauzia, 2008).

The development phase of Kampung Landeuh during the independence period

The Baduy people, who cannot carry out their customary system (*Pikukuh Baduy*), finally choose to leave the Baduy customary territory (the local term is *landeuh*). So, the growth of *Kampung Landeuh* was caused by the existence of Baduy residents who left their traditional territories. Consequently, they no longer have the right to occupy or cultivate land in the Baduy customary area. Jaro Saija, Head of Kanekes Village, explained that the total population of Baduy is 13,600 people. As many as 800 Baduy people live in 3 Inner Baduy communities (*Baduy Dalam/Tangtu*), while 12,800 Baduy people live in 62 Outer Baduy communities (*Baduy Luar/Panamping*) and *Baduy Dangka* (Arifiani, et al., 2019).

In the era of independence, there was a significant increase in Baduy Muslims due to the involvement of various parties, government agencies and social institutions. Government agencies are carried out by the Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Education and Culture, and related agencies from the local government by providing humanitarian assistance and religious guidance to the people of *Kampung Landeuh*. Not a few people from *Kampung Landeuh* eventually converted to Islam. The religious conversion of the Baduy community to Islam has occurred massively since 1974 after the Lebak District Social Service carried out a program to build Baduy settlements in Cipangembar and Margaluyu. At that time, it was recorded that 86 Baduy people living in Margaluyu embraced Islam after following an explanation about Islam. The entry of the Baduy people into Islam was caused by many factors, including because of interaction with Muslim communities. They were expelled from the Baduy area due to violating the customary system because they were looking for a new living space outside the Baduy customary territory and because they married a Muslim (Edwar, et al., 2021; Mujiat, 2022; Kurnia & Sihabudin, 2010).

Recently, more and more social institutions have provided assistance to the Baduy community in *Kampung Landeuh*. The social institutions referred to include: *Yayasan Spirit Membangun Ukhuwah Islamiyah (YASMUI)*, *Baitul Maal Hidayatullah (BMH) Perwakilan Banten*, *Gerakan Sedekah Jum'at Ponpes (GSJP)*, *Pelayan Yatim Duafa (PYD)*, *Yayasan At-Taubah 60 BSD Tangerang*, *Yayasan Bangun Sejahtera Mitra Umat (BSMU)*, *Inisiatif Zakat Indonesia (IZI)*, *Forum Masjid dan Mushalla BSD (FMMB)*, *Dompét Dhuafa Cabang Banten*, *Institut Kemandirian Dompét Dhuafa*, *Yayasan Askar Kauny*, and others.

Yayasan Spirit Membangun Ukhuwah Islamiyah (YASMUI) initiated the construction of the Baduy Muslim Village in the Barokah Valley, Bojong Menteng Village, Ciboleger District. This village is quite representative because there are parking lots and other buildings such as mosques, Islamic boarding schools, and schools, as well as plantation and agricultural land. Within five years, *YASMUI* is targeting the construction of Muslim Baduy settlements on an area of 25 hectares in the Barokah Ciboleger Valley to accommodate as many as 100 Muslim Baduy families. *YASMUI* created a program to promote the Muslim Baduy community living in the Muslim *Kampung Lembah Barokah Ciboleger*, both in deepening their understanding of Islam and building economic independence. The Muslim Baduy community is spread out in the Arrojak, Arrohman, Arrohim, and Assalam Clusters.

Baitul Maal Hidayatullah (BMH) Banten Representative, *Gerakan Sedekah Jum'at Ponpes (GSJP)*, and *Pelayan Yatim Duafa (PYD)* guided the Muslim Baduy community. In addition, the Baduy Mualaf Islamic Boarding School will also be built. *Yayasan At-Taubah 60 BSD Tangerang* also built a village for the Muslim Baduy community in *Kampung Landeuh*. A Muslim Baduy named Muhammad Kasja, Ustadz Kompol, is the coordinator of the Muslim Baduy community in *Kampung Landeuh*. There is a program to establish an Islamic Center Building considering that since 1990 until now there have been around 400 Muslim Baduy families in *Kampung Landeuh* accompanied by 80 Islamic Religious Counselors or *Penyuluh Agama Islam (PAI)* and a Functional Islamic Religious Counselor or *Penyuluh Agama Islam Fungsional (PAIF)*. In 2018, in *Kampung Landeuh*, a representative Mushalla Al-Husna and At-Taubah Mosque were also built. Recently, the *Yayasan At-Taubah 60 BSD Tangerang* rebuilt 45 houses for the Muslim Baduy community in Bojong Menteng Village, Lebak District, Lebak Regency. Of the 45 houses, 35 are inhabited by Muslim Baduy residents, consisting of 120 people.

The Yayasan Bangun Sejahtera Mitra Umat (BSMU) collaborated with the *Inisiatif Zakat Indonesia (IZI)* to develop Bina Baduy Mualaf in Gunung Anten, Cimarga, Lebak. Likewise, the *Forum Masjid dan Mushalla BSD (FMMB)* guides the Muslim Baduy community in Cibengkung Village, Bojong Menteng Village, Leuidamar District, Lebak Regency. The area of the Baduy Muslim village is about 2.5 hectares and is inhabited by 20 Muslim Baduy families. *Dompot Dhuafa Cabang Banten*, in collaboration with the *Institut Kemandirian Dompot Dhuafa*, conducted training for three Muslim Baduy villages in Lebak Regency. The *Yayasan Askar Kauny* also regularly sends Islamic religious teachers and initiates development and empowerment programs for the Muslim Baduy community in Cikapek Village, Lebak Parahiyang Village, Leuidamar District, Lebak Regency. The *Yayasan Askar Kauny* builds livestock and plantation areas by synergizing human and natural resources in the local area. Various kinds of humanitarian programs accompanied by Islamic da'wah played by various social institutions have increasingly increased the number of Muslim Baduy people living in *Kampung Landeuh*.

Discussion

Researchers use the perspective of Pierre Felix Bourdieu's theory to study the development of Muslim Baduy. The basic idea of Pierre Felix Bourdieu is understanding how individuals interact to form a practice, how a practice can occur, and what is involved in a practice. Through this understanding, the relationship between the elements of *habitus*, *arena*, *capital*, *practice*, and *power* in the life of the Baduy people will be seen. Bourdieu's thoughts are mixed using the constructive-structuralism method, in which he tries to synthesize a theory that emphasizes structure and objectivity with a theory that emphasizes the role of actors and subjectivity. Bourdieu's theory is practical theory, which combines agent-centred theory and structure-centered theory in shaping social reality (Umanilo, 2014).

According to Bourdieu, humans will constantly interact individually and in groups as social beings. In the interaction process, there will be an internalization of the value system and

system of norms that apply so that unconsciously, there will be habituation related to the system of values and system of norms concerned. *Habitus* is a system that occurs through a combination of objective structures and subjective phenomena in social reality. *Habitus* is internalizing various socio-cultural values through a sense of play (feel for the game) to give birth to various social structures. That is why Bourdieu's theory is also known as constructivist structuralism. In this case, Bourdieu takes part from the perspective of structuralism and sees an objective structure in a position free from the agent's consciousness and will, which can guide and control its practice (Grenfell, 2010)

Bourdieu's understanding can be used to explain the development of the Muslim Baduy community. As it is known that at the beginning of its development, the Baduy people were followers of *Sunda Wiwitan*. However, the presence of Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah's entourage, especially after the marriage of Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah to Nyai Kawunganten (Permana, 2017), has aroused the sympathy of the aristocratic elite and the people of Banten towards Islam so that religious conversions have taken place to adhere to Islam. The religious conversion event of several aristocratic elites and the people of Banten certainly provided information about Islam to King Pucuk Umun and the royal courtiers still living at the Surosoan Palace then.

Maulana Hasanuddin's glorious reputation for spreading Islam has made the Banten area increasingly bustling with Muslim activities, including as a gathering place for Islamic scholars to teach Islam to anyone. Even Banten began to develop into a centre for spreading Islam in West Java and parts of Sumatra. This condition was the background for Prabu Pucuk Umun's decision to hand over control of Banten to Maulana Hasanuddin in 1525. Several sources explain that Prabu Pucuk Umun and his courtiers decided to move to the Kanekes area and develop the Bedouin settlement after the power transfer.

When Maulana Yusuf (1570-1580) succeeded in taking over all of Pajajaran's powers, the Sultanate of Banten implemented a policy that all people in the Banten region were obliged to practice Islamic law. However, the Sultanate of Banten provides particular policies to the Baduy people. The Baduy people are allowed to continue to adhere to *Sunda Wiwitan* as long as they are willing to get married according to Islamic procedures, complete with the recitation of the shahada for the bride and groom. To facilitate Islamic marriage, the Baduy community proposed that the Sultan of Banten send a *Penghulu* to the Kanekes area. This event shows that Islamic principles are increasingly grounded in the life of the Baduy people.

During Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa's reign, Baduy residents wanted to serve the Sultanate of Banten, among others; this was done by the son of a traditional leader (*Pu'un*) in Cibeo Village named Wirasoeta. Thus, the Baduy people are getting closer to the Banten people who are Muslim. The closeness between the Baduy people and the people of Banten is an essential factor in religious conversion, in which the *Sunda Wiwitan* beliefs are transformed into the *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan*.

There are fundamental differences between *the Sunda Wiwitan* and the *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan*. For example, in the *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan*, there is a circumcision ritual (*nyelamkeun*) and the shahada (*sadat buhun*) pronouncement. At the same time, *Sunda*

Wiwitan's belief does not recognize these two things. The *nyelamkeun* ritual is a purification ritual that every Baduy people must perform before reaching adulthood. Basically, the *nyelamkeun* ritual is a stage where Baduy people are considered valid and, at the same time, obligated to carry out customary provisions (*Pikukuh Baduy*). In the *nyelamkeun* ritual, boys go through a circumcision procession, while girls go through a *peperan* procession, which is similar to circumcision for Baduy girls. The ritual of *nyelamkeun* is synonymous with circumcision among Muslims.

Meanwhile, Baduy shahada (*sadat buhun*) is carried out by Baduy residents in several rituals, including before marriage. The *sadat buhun* text is: “*Asyhadu syahadat sunda. Zama Alloh ngan sorangan. Kaduana Gusti Rasul. Katilu Nabi Muhammad. Kaopat umat Muhammad. Nu cicing di bumi angaricing. Nu calik dina alam keueung. Ngacacang di alam mokaha. Salamet umat Muhammad.*” The English translation is: “*Sundanese Asyhadu shahada. Zama Allah Allah is only one. The second is the Apostles. The third are the prophets Muhammad. The fourth is the ummah of Muhammad. Who lives on solid earth. Who sits in the realm of fear. Explore the realm of lust. Save the ummah of Mohammed.*” Although Baduy shahada (*sadat buhun*) is synonymous with mantras, it shows a powerful Islamic influence.

In fact, many Baduy people choose to leave the Baduy customary area (the local term is *landeuh*), both because of their own volition and because they were expelled due to violating the customary system (*Pikukuh Baduy*). This fact becomes a trigger for awareness for the Baduy people that they need to adapt to the changes and developments of the times. This awareness develops in line with the fact that life in the Inner Baduy (*Tangtu*) area is increasingly difficult and economic opportunities are increasingly open outside the Inner Baduy (*Tangtu*) area.

In the era of independence, especially since the 70s, several government and community organizations were present among the Baduy people in *Kampung Landeuh*. Their presence was accompanied by an Islamic da'wah program, as well as building various facilities such as houses, mosques or prayer rooms, educational institutions, and so on. Da'wah Islamiyah, like that, is a factor in the occurrence of religious conversions in the Baduy community, so recently, the number of Baduy Muslim communities has been increasing (Faturohim, et al., 2021). In addition, the increasingly intensive interaction between the Baduy people and outsiders has opened up their knowledge of the positive aspects of Islamic society. This last fact is an essential factor in the religious conversion of the Baduy people to Muslims (Pambayun, et al., 2022; Suryani, 2019).

The phenomenon of religious conversion of the Baduy people is relevant to Bourdieu's view, which states that social reality is the result of a dialectical relationship between individuals (as agents or subjective structures) and social reality, which has a system of values and norms (as objective structures). The dialectics in question involve subjective elements, which include individual cognitive structures, individual mental structures, individual experience structures, and so on, which have dialectics with objective structures. It is this dialectic that gives rise to practices that occur in an arena in the form of the Kanekes region and its surroundings. Practices involving *habitus* that take place in an arena will bring out social,

economic, political, cultural, and so on capital inherent in the lives of the Baduy people. Meanwhile, *habitus*, *arena*, and *capital* will produce symbolic power, as seen in the conversion of religion from Sunda Wiwitan to *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan*. Finally, some of the Baduy people became Muslims (Shusterman, 2015).

Habitus becomes an intermediary for individuals with social reality because individuals use *habitus* in dealing with social reality. Even though the interaction between individuals and social reality occurs in an *arena*, resulting in a network of relations of objective positions. *Habitus* also includes individual knowledge and understanding of social reality, contributing to the relevant social reality. Thus, knowledge and understanding have constitutive abilities in shaping social reality. The area around the Islamic community of Banten has stimulated a new *habitus* and even a new *arena* for the Baduy community (Grenfell, 2010).

On the other hand, *habitus* is a historical product formed during human interaction with society in a specific time and space. *Habitus* is not a natural trait but results from a learning process during social interaction. *Habitus* is closely related to the arena because practice occurs in an *arena*. Therefore, *habitus* is understood as a cultural action. That individual actions are influenced by a system of values/norms or social structures in the society where the individual is located. Practice is not determined objectively or subjectively by individual free will but results from a dialectical process between the two. *Habitus* is the result of a long-lasting collective life. *Habitus* can last a long time but may change over time. *Habitus* can lead to social life, but on the other hand, *habitus* can also be caused by social life. That is why Bourdieu describes *habitus* as a system of durable and changeable dispositions that serves as a generative basis for objectively structured and integrated practices (Kultural et al. 2016).

Based on Bourdieu's understanding of the *Habitus Arena Theory*, we can strengthen the notion that the trend of religious conversion among the Baduy people will continue to occur. This is at least caused by three supporting factors as follows. *First*, there is a relational closeness between the Baduy community and the Banten Islamic community that has occurred since the beginning of the Baduy community until now. *Second*, there is the phenomenon of the departure of the Baduy people from their traditional Baduy territories, which is still ongoing today. *Third*, the role of government agencies and community organizations in building Baduy settlements in *Kampung Landeuh* accompanied by Islamic da'wah programs.

Conclusion

The Baduy community, known to be very strict in maintaining the traditional system (*Pikukuh Baduy*), has two dimensions that should be observed.

First, there is a relational closeness between the Baduy community and the Islamic community of Banten, which takes place in several phases as follows: (1) the initial phase of Islamic da'wah during the time of Sheikh Syarif Hidayatullah, (2) the formation phase of the Baduy community during the Maulana Hasanuddin era, (3) the phase of legalization of marriage during the Maulana Yusuf era, (4) the phase of political accommodation for the Baduy people during the time of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, and (5) the development phase of *Kampung Landeuh* during the independence period. The closeness of the Baduy people to the Islamic

community of Banten is strengthened by various channels, including marriage, politics, education, and da'wah, so that it becomes a factor of religious conversion, which takes place in stages. Initially, the Baduy people adhered to the *Sunda Wiwitan* belief, then slowly changed to the *Agama Selam Sunda Wiwitan*, and recently, there has been an increase in the number of Baduy Muslims living in *Kampung Landeuh*.

Second, there is encouragement for some Baduy people to leave their customary territory (the local term is *landeuh*), both because of their desire to change their fate and because of being expelled due to a violation of the customary system (*Pikukuh Baduy*). They live in *Kampung Landeuh*. *Landeuh* phenomena like that still occur today. The *landeuh* phenomenon indicates a shift in the orientation of some Baduy residents who initially adhered to customary norms (*Pikukuh Baduy*), switching to Islamic norms obtained from the Banten community.

Third, the Baduy people who live in *Kampung Landeuh* are declared to have violated adat, so they have lost their right to inhabit and cultivate land in the Baduy customary territory. That is why, in general, the Baduy people who live in *Kampung Landeuh* experience economic difficulties. The assistance from government agencies and community organizations is a solution to the economic difficulties they face, especially those related to providing housing, jobs, educational facilities, religious facilities, and so on. Along with the presence of government agencies and social institutions, Islamic da'wah activities are carried out for the Baduy people who live in *Kampung Landeuh*—one of the phenomena confirming that the development of Baduy Muslims is necessary.

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