

## Muslim Baduy: Conversion and Changing Identity and Tradition

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### **Abstract:**

*This study raises the main issue of the religiosity of Muslim Baduy after converting to Islam in Leuwidamar, Lebak-Banten. The discussion aims to reveal the factors and the process of converting to Islam, to discover the religious behavior after converting to Islam and the impact of religious conversion on social and cultural changes of Muslim Baduy. The research is a descriptive-analytic study with an ethnographic method by using participant observation, in-depth interviews and documentation techniques. By using Rambo's theory on the religious conversion stages and Glock and Stark's theory on the religiosity, it has resulted a conclusion that the religiosity of Muslim Baduy in Leuwidamar, Lebak Regency, Banten is seen as a dynamic process based on the findings: 1) the conversion of Baduy people to Islam is due to political, theological, psychological, and sociological factors. 2) In one hand, Muslim Baduy leaves some tradition of Baduy particularly the rituals of Sunda Wiwitan and practices their obligation as a Muslim. On the other hand, Muslim Baduy still practices some Baduy tradition which is in line with Islamic shari'a.*

**Keywords:** *Indigenous Religion, Muslim Baduy, Religious Conversion.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The Baduy Muslim community comes from Outer Baduy residents who converted to Islam, gradually leaving the values and practices of Sunda Wiwitan culture along with their increasing knowledge and insight about Islam. Currently, these communities are located in several sub-districts within the government area of Lebak Regency, Leuwidamar District, Cimarga, Muncang, Sobang, Bojongmanik, and Cirinten. In the Baduy community, there are three social groups, including the Tangtu Baduy, Panamping Baduy, and Dangka

Baduy. The Baduy community is known for its local wisdom, which can conserve and preserve the environment in managing and processing its nature based on the customary law in the *pikukuh karuhun*. They have no desire to meddle in other people's affairs. In addition, another uniqueness of the Baduy community is evident from the customs, language, clothing, buildings, and religion (Syarbini, 2015, hal. 55).

Several studies have been carried out related to the Baduy theme, namely "The Meaning of the Tradition of Seba Baduy People"(Hakiki, 2014). "Religion and Social Change of Indigenous Peoples: A Study on Shifting Obedience to *Pikukuh* in Baduy People"(Sujana, 2018). "Protection of Indigenous Peoples: A Study on the Implementation of Customary Rights and Baduy Natural Resources"(Bara, 2010). "Ethnomathematics of the Baduy Community"(Arisetyawan, 2015). "Between Islam and Islam Sunda Wiwitan"(Aliyudin et al., 2020). "I Want School: A Portrait of Education in the Muslim Community of Muallaf Baduy Banten"(Hakiki, 2015). "The Absorption of Islamic Law in Indigenous Communities (Legal Anthropology Studies in Baduy, Kampung Naga and Marunda Pulo)"(Misno, 2019). "The Baduy Community in the Struggle of Three Networks of Meaning"(Amaliyah, 2018). "Sunda Wiwitan Baduy: The Religion of Protecting Nature in Kanekes Village, Banten"(Wahid, 2011). "Development of Local Wisdom Religious Education in Baduy Ulayat Land"(Murtadlo, 2017).

The description of the background of the problem seems to be in Skinner's opinion, which reveals that environmental conditions will shift the desired organizational behavior with the risk of loss of tradition and punishment resulting from violations (Skinner, 1969, hal. 2). This indicates that the religiosity of the Baduy Muslim community has a significant impact on religious, social, economic, and cultural changes. This change occurs through assimilation and acculturation of two cultures, namely Baduy and Islam, which produces a distinctive Muslim Baduy.

There are many studies about Baduy, though this study focuses on the religiosity of Baduy Muslims, especially those who live in Leuwidamar sub-district. The study aims to describe and analyze the religiosity of Baduy Muslim community in Leuwidamar Lebak district. It intends to find out the factors and the process of religious conversion of Baduy people to Islam, the religious behavior of Muslim Baduy after converting to Islam and the impacts of religious conversion on their social and cultural changes. Those problems will be analyzed by Rambo's theory on the religious conversion stages and Glock and Stark's theory on the religiosity. This descriptive-analytical study uses an ethnographic method. In collecting the data, the author used participant observation, in-depth interviews and documentation techniques. The collected data are obtained to reveal the religiosity and to describe the religious life of Moslem Baduy community after converting to Islam. It is also used to provide an overview, analysis, and interpretation of cultural patterns such as behavior, beliefs, and language (Cresswell, 2012, hal. 462).

## **DISCUSSION**

Baduy Muslim villages are scattered in several areas of Lebak Regency, in the Districts of Leuwidamar, Sobang, Muncang, Gunung Kencana and Bojongmanik. The emergence of this Muslim Baduy village is inseparable from the dynamic phenomenon of Baduy people's life. The interaction between the Outer Baduy and outside Baduy communities continuously causes people to open themselves to modern life. In addition, the Outer Baduy community can discover Islam more closely so that many Outer Baduy residents convert their religion to Islam.

Baduy People have encouraged converting to Islam due to several factors, such as theological, psychological, and sociological factors. Politically, the central government of Indonesian Republic had released the policy on Fostering the Social Welfare of Isolated Communities (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Sosial Masyarakat Terasing) in 1977 located at Gunung Tunggul. Theologically, Islam is seen as a rational religion. There is no taboo (pamali) in Islam as in Baduy believe. Islam also has particular rules as mentioned in the Qur'an and Hadith. Psychologically, Islam is deemed as a religion that can accommodate the problems of life due to the pressure from customary rules that are not flexible with the conditions of the times. While sociologically, the limited area for farming has led many Baduy people to exodus from Kanekes area for survival. This condition enable them to interact and build the communication with Muslim community outside Baduy. It is appear that the difficulty of fulfilling their daily needs make Baduy residents convert to Islam.

Generally speaking, those factors are different from the religious conversion carried out by the Samin community in Kudus and Pati, Central Java. Among the factors causing the Samin community in converting to Islam comprise of the pressure from Kudus and Pati governments, especially required by village officials in enrolling schools and marriage. There is also an opposing view from a society that the Samin people are godless, dissidents, and cohabitants. The fading of Samin's teachings among the younger generation is due to parents' absence of an optimal role to teach Samin's instructions. There is no regeneration of leaders in the Samin community. Land that is used as an economic resource is limited (Rosyid, 2013).

Thus, the factors causing the religious conversion of the Baduy people and the Samin people have differences. Baduy people have their awareness to change their beliefs from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam. Meanwhile, in Samin community, there is a pressure from local government officials and opposing views from outside Samin communities towards the religious behavior of the Samin people. The description above shows that the motive of the Baduy community in converting to Islam is generally because they want to be free from the rigid Baduy customary rules, and there is no room for compromise to change. According to the informants, it is tough for him to avoid standard prohibitions in daily life practice. As a result, many Baduy residents commit violations outside Baduy and within the Baduy area itself.

### **Stages of the Religious Conversion Process of the Baduy People to Islam**

Explanation of the stages of the religious conversion process carried out by the Outer Baduy community to Islam. The author uses the sequential stage model of Lewis R. Rambo. For him, religious conversion is a series of elements that are interactive and cumulative over time. In his model of systemic stages, Rambo describes seven locations, namely: 1) Context, 2) Crisis, 3) Search, 4) Meeting, 5) Interaction, 6) Commitment and 7) Consequences (Rambo, 1995, hal. 16). Related to this, Rambo explained that this stage model is appropriate because, in addition to conversion, it is a process of change that shows the sequence of operations from time to time. Still, also sometimes there is a back and forth effect between stages. In addition, Rambo said that each step has a group of themes, patterns, and processes that characterize it and can be seen as certain elements or periods during the change process.

In addition, the Baduy community and Islam have historical ties, which are characterized by the existence of the Cicakal Girang Muslim village located on the Baduy ulayat land. The Muslim community in Cickal Girang is not a native of the Baduy tribe, but

they are immigrants. According to the Baduy figure's explanation, the existence of Cicakal Girang is a form of appreciation from the Baduy elite for the Banten sultanate government regulations to place their representatives as administrators who ratify and record marriages of Outer Baduy residents. The envoy from Banten sultanate government who was stationed in Cickal Girang was named Ki Ahum. According to an agreement between the government of Sultanate Banten and the elite Baduy, the village of Cicakal Girang is the residence of Ki Ahum and all of his descendants who were tasked to accompany the Outer Baduy residents who were about to get married. Thus, Cicakal Girang is not a place to convert Baduy people to Islam and not a place for Baduy people who want to convert their beliefs to Islam.

### **Religious Beliefs of Muslim Baduy Community**

The religious base of the Baduy community is Sunda Wiwitan, that is to give respects to their ancestors and to believe in one power, namely Batara Tunggal. Baduy community describes Batara Tunggal in two dimensions. The first dimension is as a power in the form of global invisible force, and the second is in the form of a supernatural human being. In his dimension as a magical human form, the Single Batara sent seven Batara as his descendants to the world of kabuyutan (ancestral places) as the starting point of the Sasaka Pusaka Buana Bumi, namely: Batara forerunner, Batara dua or queen, Batara tilu or Puun, Batara opat or menak, Batara lima or daughter galuh, Batara genep and Batara seven or Prophet Muhammad SAW.

The Baduy community as a whole firmly holds the aspects of belief above. However, as there are many Baduy people convert to Islam, it proves that Baduy culture has become a subject to a social world and new culture. Both of them are not static but dynamic aspects. The change of belief from Sunda Wiwitan to Islam is carried out by the Baduy community in a long process; started from getting close to Islam until confirming to accept Islam. This lengthy process implies that Muslim Baduy community has thought and considered all the benefits and risks before acknowledging Islam. The result is that they have accepted Islam voluntarily, which comes from the heart without any coercion from anyone, any institution, or because of anything.

One of the most important and central aspects of Islamic doctrine is monotheism which is the foundation of all Islamic teachings (Madjid, 1995, hal. 2). Tawhid is also a total human commitment to God as the only source of value because God's will become a value for a monotheist (muwahhid). Therefore, a monotheist will not accept any authority and direction except Allah SWT. This commitment is totality, cheerful and solid, including love and devotion, obedience and submission, and the will to carry out the will of Allah SWT (Rais, 1992, hal. 13). In this context, commitment is limited to a vertical relationship with God and includes a horizontal relationship with humans and all creatures. According to Fazlur Rahman, the following relationship requires law for humans both as individuals and as collective or social existence (Rahman, 1979, hal. 1).

One of them was Nalim, who explained his beliefs when he embraced Sunda Wiwitan and became a Muslim. He said that in the Sunda Wiwitan belief, there is no proper place to be used as a source of reference, except that the words of parents must be like that and must not be changed as in the Baduy term "lojor teu beunang diteukteuk, pondok teu beunang disambung, buyut teu beunang dirobah" (long should not be cut, short should not be spliced, taboo should not be changed). There is no definite reason why something long should not be missed, why something short should not be joined, and why taboos should

not be changed. Until now, all Baduy residents do not know how to answer. Because this has become an inviolable rule and whoever violates it will be punished by Puun, it will be disastrous.

Furthermore, Islam for Nalim has opened up space for him to see and organize his life. Islam has provided a complete explanation for itself about the origin of human creation, how humans live, and where humans will go. Such teachings are not found in the instructions of the Sunda Wiwitan Baduy. Life in Baduy is cyclical, spent only looking for food and drink, building a house to sleep in, going to the fields in the morning, and returning home in the evening. Baduy residents do not aspire to build a capable and superior next generation for their children's future, so they don't depend on their lives in the fields. In Margaluyu Village, Muslim Baduy residents all aspire to have pious and knowledgeable children, go to school and enter Islamic boarding schools.

Nalim's open thinking is a consequence of embracing Islam. He believes that Allah SWT is the only one who has the right to be worshiped and has no partners with Him. He also believes that Allah SWT has created angels with their respective duties, sent Prophets and Apostles to set good examples for humanity, sent down holy books such as the Torah, Zabur, Gospel, and the Qur'an, which contained shari'ah that all humankind must implement, the Day of Resurrection which will occur on the Last Day and qadha and qadar. Today's beliefs have formed a balanced life, not only building horizontal but also vertical relationships. As he said in the interview that:

"In the old Sunda Wiwitan belief, there is no right place like worshipping Allah. In the past, how about parents, if parents said "like that, it has to be like that" it can't be disputed as long terms can't be cut, short can't be spliced, taboo can't be changed. Then there is no thought that man has come from, where he is now and where he is going, that teaching is in Islam. In traditional Baduy, there are no such teachings or regulations. Anyway, life in Baduy is just looking for drinking, rice to eat, a house to sleep in, going to the fields in the morning, going home in the afternoon, that's all. There is no successor system, for example, aspiring to have pious, knowledgeable children, go to school to a higher level, enter Islamic boarding schools to become the successors of religion, nation, and state. The thought emerged after converting to Islam. Suppose in Islam it is clear that everything is worshiped only one, namely Allah SWT and nothing else. In that case, angels are creations of Allah that must be believed in, the Apostles as messengers of Allah, the books of Allah, the Day of Judgment and the provisions of Qadha and Qadar." (Interview with Nalim, a Muslim Baduy Community Leader in Margaluyu Village, Lebak, January 8, 2020).

Several informants then gave almost the same explanation about their belief in Allah SWT. The informants were Omo, Samin, Sapinah, Rukman, Rasman, and Aldi. As he confessed in the interview session that they claimed to have faith in Allah sincerely, which came from themselves, there was no coercion from anyone and for anything. In addition, they revealed that they still need guidance, especially regarding aqidah. Regarding this dimension of belief, Omo said that the first thing that must be believed in is Allah SWT as the basic foundation of faith in Islam. In addition, a Muslim must believe in creatures such as Angels, Apostles, Holy Books, the Day of Judgment, and Qadha and Qadar. All of this faith he obtained independently when he was still a traditional Baduy citizen. Since he is not like the previous informants, namely Muhammad Sarmedi and Muhamad Kasja, who can read and write, he mostly listens to religious lectures from ustadz through grand

recitations on the commemoration of Islamic holidays and the Youtube channel. He also wondered why most of the indigenous Baduy did not know the pillars of Sunda Wiwitan. If he compares with the Muslim people he meets even though he is a thug, he can know and understand the basics of the pillars of faith and the pillars of Islam. This is what became his admiration for Islam. As he said in the interview:

"If the basis of belief in Islam is to believe in Allah SWT as the One God, there is nothing else that must be worshiped except Him. According to my understanding, other than Allah are His creatures. This kind of teaching has not been found in traditional Baduy; the problem is that most Baduy people do not know about the pillars that exist in Sunda Wiwitan....please ask them. In Islam, even though he is a thug, surely if he is asked about the pillars of faith and the pillars of Islam, he can answer it even if he does not pray." (Interview with Omo. Residents of Kompol Village, Lebak, July 8, 2020).

Thus, based on the informants' explanations, the Muslim Baduy community has abandoned its old beliefs as followers of the Sunda Wiwitan Baduy. Currently, the Baduy Muslim community has believed that Allah SWT is the only God who must be considered and worshiped and has no partners. Belief in Allah SWT depends on each other's experience in getting guidance, such as Nalim, who said that the provisions in Islam all refer to the Qur'an as the word of Allah SWT, which was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad and Hadith as words, deeds and approval of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. In addition, Muhammad Kasja and Muhammad Sarmedi believe that Allah SWT is a God who must be worshiped and carried out all His commands and prohibitions. This belief departs from his life experience that all indigenous Baduy people are prohibited from learning to read, write, and even go to school. This is the trigger for both to have the ability to read and write. From the results of their reading, they brought them to know Allah SWT, and in the end, they both converted to Islam. Finally, they are people who are disappointed with the culture of the indigenous Baduy community for the restrictions that limit their lives. So this makes them embrace Islam sincerely and consciously that comes from the heart.

### **The Religious Practices of the Muslim Baduy Community**

This section describes the religious practices of the Baduy community after becoming Muslim. When they became adherents of Sunda Wiwitan, the Muslim Baduy community still carried out traditional Baduy spiritual methods, which were carried out in ceremonies. The ritual activities of the Sunda Wiwitan belief include: 1) Kawalu, which is a ritual carried out by the Baduy people to welcome the month of Kawalu, which is considered a holy month by fasting in three months, namely the months of Kasa, Karo, and Katiga, respectively. The month is held only one day, which is devoted to the residents of the Baduy Dalam. 2) Ngalaksa, which is a big ceremony for the Baduy community as a sign of gratitude for having passed the holy months of Kawalu. The term ngalaksa is also known as Lebaran for the Baduy tribe. 3) Seba, which is an activity carried out by the Baduy tribe by visiting the local government which intends to establish friendship between the Baduy tribal community and the regional government of Lebak Regency and Banten Province. 4) Harvest ritual, this ritual is carried out by all members of the Baduy community, which is intended as a sign of respect to Dewi Sri (symbol of prosperity) accompanied by *angklung buhun*. 5) Birth ceremony, this ceremony begins with the *Kendit* ceremony, which is the seventh-month pregnancy ceremony. Then after birth, the baby is given incantations by the *parajis*. On the seventh day, a baby rescue event will be held.

After that, Angiran is a ceremony held on the fortieth day of birth. The last is the shaving ceremony by giving a name by traditional elders (Maharani, 2009: 199).

After becoming Muslim, the religious practice of the Sunda Wiwitan Baduy has been abandoned by the Muslim Baduy because this is done as their commitment to Islam and as a consequence of their faith in Allah SWT, namely by carrying out all His commands and staying away from His prohibitions. As Nalim said:

"Back when they still adhered to Sunda Wiwitan, residents of the Cipangembar settlement liked to join kawalu in Baduy. Many people wanted to follow the kawalu custom. After converting to Islam, he no longer participates in activities in Baduy, such as kawalu, ngalaksa, Seba, and others. But now, I do worship according to Islam. As far as I know, the kawalu ceremony was lost in settlements after people converted to Islam. Before converting to Islam, the customs in the settlements still used the customs of the traditional Baduy. There are no problems from far away because all the behavior of residents of settlements before Islam, their behavior exactly follows the customary Baduy." (Interview with Nalim. Muslim Baduy Community Leader Margaluyu Village, Lebak, January 8, 2020).

The religious practice of the Baduy Muslim community is different from the spiritual practice of the Sunda Wiwitan Baduy, where ritual practices include prayer, fasting, zakat, and hajj as contained in the pillars of Islam. Prayer is one of the rituals of Muslims, which provides for obligatory and sunnah prayers. The obligatory prayer consists of five prayers in a day and night, namely the dawn, dhuhur, asr, maghrib, and isya prayers. While the sunnah prayer consists of many kinds where if it is done, it can be rewarded and not done, it does not make it a sin. In addition, the implementation of prayer can be done individually or in the congregation. From the results of the author's observations and interviews in the Baduy Muslim village in the Leuwidamar sub-district, it appears that the Muslim Baduy community has performed the five daily prayers, and most of them do not pray in congregation in the mosque but individually at home or in the fields.

Landeuh Village, Ciater Village, and Lembah Barokah Village looked deserted during the day. Because the residents mostly went to the gardens, fields, and rice fields, only a few people seemed to be seen in the village, such as children and mothers. The jami' mosque also looks deserted because there are no congregations who come to perform congregational prayers. As Sudin said, they may serve the dhuhur prayer in their respective fields, or they may not achieve the blessing because the awareness within each individual has not yet emerged. Towards the afternoon, residents began to arrive from their respective gardens and fields. Still, the Maghrib and Isha prayers did not appear crowded by residents who wanted to pray in the congregation.

However, in the Kasepuhan Indigenous community, Banten Kidul Cisolak, Sukabumi Regency, Islam and local beliefs run in harmony, leading to good and prevent evil. However, in its religious practice, it is dominated by local ideas inherited from their ancestors, such as giving offerings, burning incense, carrying out traditional ceremonies, installing reject reinforcements at the door, etc. This practice can also be seen in everyday life, especially in terms of farming. Belief in ancestors is expressed through symbols in taboos, such as the taboo on selling rice, the taboo on removing rice on birthdays (wedal), the taboo on whistling around the village, and the taboo on cultivating the fields on Fridays and Sundays. In addition, the Indigenous people of Kasepuhan Banten Kidul believe in Dewi Sri or Dewi Padi, also known as Nyi Pohaci Sang Hyang Sri Ratna Inten Purnama Alam Sajati; where the Goddess of Rice resides in rice only once a year. As a result the

indigenous people of kasepuhan are obliged to plant rice once a year and cannot be separated from various ceremonies, such as sasarap, ngaseuk, spread, mipit, ngadiukeun, nganyaran, ponggokan, and seren taun (Firmasyah, Putrisari, dan Rohmayani, 2018, hal. 9).

The traditional community of Kampung Naga in Tasikmalaya Regency also still maintains the customs of the karuhun. This tradition can be witnessed in the implementation of traditional ceremonies, such as the seclusion ceremony, the hajat sasih ceremony, and other ceremonies. First, the seclusion ceremony is held on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays that all citizens, both men, and women, must follow. This ceremony aims to allow residents to calm themselves from all the activities that have been done. They believe that if this ceremony is not carried out, it will be disastrous in their lives. Second, the Hajat Sasih ceremony is carried out by all traditional residents of Kampung Naga, both living in Kampung Naga and outside Kampung Naga. This ceremony aims to ask for blessings and safety from the ancestors of Kampung Naga (Grandfather Singaparna) and be grateful for the gifts that Allah SWT has given to the residents of Kampung Naga. The Hajat Sasih ceremony is held in Muharram on 26-28, Maulid month on 12-14, Rewah month on 16-18, Shawwal month on 14-16, and Great Raya month 10-12 (Hamid, 2018, hal. 16).

Religious practices in the Indigenous people of Kasepuhan Banten Kidul Cisolok Sukabumi, Kampung Naga, and the Nunuk Baru Indigenous Community still carry out collaborative practices between Islam and their respective ancestral traditions in the form of offering, burning incense, obeying customary rules, and so on. Thus, the author finds different things in the Muslim Baduy community who have converted from the Sunda Wiwitan belief to Islam, where the Muslim Baduy community in Margaluyu Village, Pal Opat Village, Kompol Village, Ciater Village, Landeuh Village, and Valley Barokah Village in the Leuwidamar sub-district, the Baduy customs have broken away. As a result, the religious practice of the Baduy Muslim community in Margaluyu Village, Pal Opat Village, Kompol Village, Ciater Village, Landeuh Village, and Valley Barokah Village in the Leuwidamar District does not have any syncretic elements, namely combining Islamic teachings with local Sunda Wiwitan Baduy beliefs.

In addition, the religious practices of the Samin community in Kudus, Pati, and Blora post-conversion do not feel burdened by their new religion. Most of them do not try to understand the teachings of Islam so that in practice, they do not perform worship according to the demands of Islam. For the Samin people, the Essence of religion is living together and not harming others, which they believe in and implement in their behavior. Therefore, the Samin residents who converted to Islam were only temporary. The conversion he did was only used as an adaptive strategy for the implementation of the marriage. So that this case is different from the Baduy community, who converted their religion to Islam even though there was a small number who returned to their original beliefs. However, most Muslim Baduy people try to understand Islamic teachings from various sources and media then practice them in daily life by Islamic demands.

### **The Religious Experience of the Muslim Baduy Community**

The religious experience of Muslim Baduy community, the author has conducted interviews with several informants who had spiritual experiences after they converted to Islam. Nalim said that he felt cared for by Allah SWT when he prayed about his desire to convert to Islam in 1983. In his prayer, he said that he would be given away ease, fluency, and istiqomah in accepting Islam as his way of life in the future. In his confession, he

always gets convenience in getting information about Islam even though the guidance only came four years later. However, he should be grateful that he was given an easy way to accept Islam for an extended period. This is not like his two brothers who converted to Christianity. Another experience is when performing prayers for the first time. He felt the presence of Allah SWT in his blessings which he believed to be the Essence who had given his affection with all the conveniences that had led him to the path of truth. He felt inner peace because he had felt that Allah SWT cared for him in every word and step. He felt his worldly detached for a moment because as long as he lived the teachings of Sunda Wiwitan, he was always haunted by a sense of anxiety about the future of his life. It is as he said that:

"My inner experience when I converted to Islam was that I always found it easy when I searched for information about Islam. Three years before converting to Islam, I prayed to Allah SWT to make it easier for me to convert to Islam. Alhamdulillah, my prayer was answered, namely, in 1987, my wife and I converted to Islam. Another experience is when performing prayers for the first time. There I felt great joy because it was as if God was present. Another inner experience is that I feel free from the life of the world where I always used to feel anxious because I always thought about how to eat tomorrow and was always scared by customary rules." (Interview with Nalim. Baduy Muslim Community Leader in Margaluyu Village, Lebak, January 8, 2020).

The religious experience that Samin had experienced was that he felt the peace of mind and happiness in life shortly after reciting the two sentences of the creed. He thinks that he is clean without having to be cleaned by others, as is the case in the traditional Baduy. Because he is well aware that he is a person who has polluted customs and is looked down upon by the Baduy people, the consequence is that if one wants to be clean from violations, then one must be cleansed through traditional rituals performed by people from Baduy Kajeroan. On the other hand, in Islam, he feels an inner satisfaction where Islam has allowed him to pray and ask forgiveness directly from Allah SWT as if Allah is close to him.

This dimension also often involves feelings, sensations, or views that arise outside the person's alleged contact with phenomenal consciousness. Religious experiences shape the opportunities limited by those who experience them instead of connecting the self and the phenomenal consciousness. There is an assumption that religious people will one day experience a spiritual emotion, as stated by Stark, who revealed that the aspect of a perceived relationship with a supernatural agent is a characteristic of religious experience (Stark, 1965, hal. 97). Especially in popular Islam, Waardenburg argues that communication with the divine is very general and not knowledge, but participation inexperience is a significant concern in popular Islam (Waardenburg, 2002, hal. 7). Extraordinary things or events are perceived as external signs. Good or bad influences are often ascribed to Allah SWT, who is believed to get rewards or punishments from human actions in the world. This relates to the subtype of responsive religious experience in which Stark explains that divine actors are perceived as seeing the presence of human actors (Stark, 1965, hal. 97). The followers of the most orthodox Islamic traditions, especially the younger generation who display a more rational approach to Islam, do not believe that Allah Almighty will punish in this world but the hereafter. Therefore, this dimension not only measures the level of religiosity but is also able to distinguish between different types of religious orientations.

### **Aspects of Knowledge in the Religion of the Muslim Baduy Community**

The Baduy community is known as a society that does not have a literacy culture. The knowledge received by Baduy residents as a whole is transmitted through speech traditions from generation to generation. So it is scarce to find Baduy residents who have literacy skills. This is also one of the big problems that Muslim Baduy community faces, where they cannot read and write. Meanwhile, writing and reading are effective means of receiving information and knowledge about Islam. Until now, the delivery of Islamic learning for the Muslim Baduy community is generally delivered through lecture or oral methods.

Currently, Margaluyu village has changed. People's knowledge of Islam has increased because it has been supported by the second generation who have educated from elementary to university levels. They study in public schools and Islamic boarding schools, and even some of them have been able to become scholars, such as the Supriatna Party, Sururi, Syahril, and others. In addition, the existence of mosques and madrasa buildings located in Margaluyu Village also contributes to providing Islamic knowledge from children, adolescents, adults to the elderly. The mosque in Margaluyu Village is not only used to carry out congregational prayers; it is also used as a place for regular weekly recitations for mothers on Wednesdays and Sundays, while for fathers on Saturdays. At the same time, madrasas are places where children receive religious education and general education in Islamic educational institutions, Madrasah Ibtidaiyah and Madrasah Tsanawiyah Jam'iyah al-Washliyyah.

In Ciater Village, the Muslim Baduy community has received religious guidance from the BMH (Baitul Maal Hidayatullah) preachers. The spiritual knowledge of the Baduy Muslim community in this place is still basic because most of them converted to Islam relatively recently; about a year or two ago, they converted to Islam. Before converting to Islam, they also knew about Islam through direct vision as the culture of Muslims around Baduy worship. In addition, they also often listen to lectures by ustadz in recitations, both directly and through radio, TV, and Youtube media. This basic knowledge is a provision for deciding to become a convert. After they become Muslims, their knowledge of Islam is straightened out through guidance ustadz from BMH (Baitul Maal Hidayatullah). Although their knowledge of Islam is still at a basic level, they have disengaged themselves from activities related to adat Baduy. They are currently worshiping in Islamic ways, such as praying five times a day, fasting Ramadan, etc. The Baduy Muslim Village of Ciater is still relatively new. Still, it requires facilities for coaching facilities, such as a mosque, so that Islamic development in this village can run smoothly. So far, coaching has been carried out in a small prayer room in the form of a stage used to recite the Koran for children, mothers, and fathers. In this training, the Muslim Baduy community in Ciater Village gained knowledge about the procedures for purification, prayer procedures, prayer readings, aqidah lessons, daily prayers, and other basic Islamic knowledge. This is as expressed by Ustadz Endi Haryono that:

"Dakwah here is very challenging because the available facilities are still limited, so that religious development is still not optimal. However Insha Allah, after the mosque being built is completed, religious development will be maximized. The coaching here focuses on the problem of monotheism, learning iqro, learning how to purify yourself, reading prayers, daily prayers, how to do mu'amalah in Islam and others which will be delivered in stages" (Interview with Ustadz Endi Haryono, Ustadz Advisor in Ciater village, Lebak, July 10, 2020).

Knowledge is very much needed in religious commitment because the teachings and rituals must be known if the belief is believed and practiced. Therefore, all religions encourage their followers to know their history, traditions, and scriptures (Stark dan Glock, 1968, hal. 141). The purpose of the description above is that this dimension is related to knowledge about religious teachings guided by the holy book. For example, they are learning about the pillars of faith and the pillars of Islam (Ancok dan Suroso, 2001, hal. 79).

Knowledge of the content of religion is also expected to be carried out by all believers in all religions. However, as Glock points out, it is tough to determine the meaning of religious content to every Muslim. This is even more difficult in the case of Islam because of the absence of a central religious authority in Islam. In general, the contents of the Qur'an and Sunnah are the primary sources of Islamic knowledge, and it is hoped that believers will at least know the contents of both (Glock, 2006, hal. 98).

The description above explains that Muslim Baduy community already has sufficient basic knowledge about Islam. Although Muslim Baduy community has not been able to explore the contents of the Qur'an and al-Hadith, at least they already know what is mandated and what is forbidden in Islam. With sufficient knowledge of Islam, the Muslim Baduy community can break away from the rules and rituals of the Baduy customs. Therefore, the Muslim Baduy community does not mix the teachings of Sunda Wiwitan into Islamic teachings.

### **Consequences of Muslim Baduy Society after Converting to Islam**

This dimension explains the individual behavior of the Muslim Baduy community in carrying out their religion and practicing it in daily life. In this case, a Muslim is obliged to carry out Allah's commands and stay away from His prohibitions. In addition, socially, a Muslim must enforce *Amar ma'ruf nahi Munkar* (ordering the good and forbidding the evil) amid his community. Among the consequences faced and experienced by the Muslim Baduy community include: staying away from polytheism, practicing worship, staying away from prohibitions, doing good, catching up. Therefore, the main task of the Baduy Muslim community is to catch up in these various aspects to be on a par with other Muslim communities. This can be an excellent example for his brothers and sisters in Baduy, where the life of the Muslim Baduy community is more colorful and exciting to live. Do not let there be talk in Baduy that the migration of Baduy residents to Islam is also the same condition; there is no change from the previous state. As Saija said that "urang Baduy anu asup Islam geh sarua keneh bae teu sugih-sugih, maybe we should die bae" (Baduy people who convert to Islam are in the same condition not rich) (Interview with Saija. Community leaders and the head of the RT of Kampung Pal Opat, Lebak, January 7, 2020).

### **Socio-Cultural Changes in the Religion of the Baduy Muslim Community**

Theologically, religion is understood as a belief that strengthens belief in God by carrying out His commandments and avoiding His prohibitions as the implications of that belief. Whereas in a sociological perspective, religion is seen as a social fact where its rituals impact actions, speech, morals, and behavior. Thus, religion is a belief system that manifests in its adherents' social behavior system, which includes the experience of individuals or groups in which the behavior appears to be closely related to the religious belief system.

Religion will undergo a process of adjustment to the existing culture of society. There is a compromise of values or symbols between the incoming religion and local

culture, resulting in a new form with differences with local religion or culture. This adaptation process occurs naturally in a society that is undergoing a process of meaning. As a result, the original form of religion that enters an organization cannot be found in its entirety, but there is a bending of values (fluidity). This bending event makes cultural symbols undergo metamorphosis according to their new meanings (Kahmad, 2011, hal. 75). The description above relates to the socio-cultural changes in the Muslim Baduy community, where Islamic teachings can accommodate the cultural values of the indigenous Baduy community. Although, on the other hand, some Baduy people can accept the importance of Islamic teachings, which then become a synergy between the two, even the Muslim Baduy community can fully accept Islam as their new belief.

### **Social Interaction of the Baduy Muslim Community**

Social interaction is an inevitable reality in people's lives. As social beings, humans have the instinct to relate to each other between individuals and groups. As a result, these relationships have an impact on dynamic changes in society. In this case, Soerjono Soekanto said that interaction is a process in which community members communicate with each other and influence each other's actions and thoughts. The interaction has an associative form and a dissociative form. Associative structures can form patterns of cooperation, accommodation, and assimilation. Meanwhile, dissociative social interactions create opposite, competing, and conflicting ways to end the social conflict (Soekanto, 2007, hal. 78).

The religious life of the Baduy Muslim community seems to have been influenced by several religious mass organizations, including Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama, which look harmonious (Haryati, Gunaryo, dan Tohir, 2020, hal. 15). However, this harmony cannot be separated from the efforts of people who interact socially well. According to Nalim, the residents of Margaluyu village absorb all religious sects that are considered by the Shari'ah and are suitable to carry out. This is because the Baduy Muslim community members often come from various denominations, including Nahdatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Persis, LDII, etc.

Even though the Muslim Baduy community has left the traditional Baduy, they still often visit their relatives who still live in Baduy. Religiously, the Baduy Muslim community currently does not have any relationship, but socially they still have kinship lines. Therefore, they like to visit each other and meet both individuals and groups, especially in family events, such as weddings, deaths, circumcisions, etc. In addition to the Baduy residents, the Muslim Baduy community also interacts with other residents, such as religious groups, the government, business people.

According to Parson's terms quoted by George Ritzer, social interaction includes three systems: first, the social system resulting from social interaction between humans (Al-Zaman, 2020, hal. 19). In this case, Parsons emphasizes the importance of a social system that regulates sources of tension that can create stability. Second, the personality system includes various dispositions of needs formed by society's value system and socialization. This disposition arrangement can maintain the social order of the community. Third, the cultural approach. This system can make people communicate and regulate their every action. The cultural system seems to be more visible in the Muslim Baduy community, from the social interaction between Muslim communities in a pluralistic religion.

Furthermore, the social integration that exists in the Baduy Muslim community comes from existing local traditions, such as tahlilan, hajatan and pengajian akbar are media

for bridging and reducing the tensions among the community. It needs to be emphasized again that social integration of the Baduy Muslim community is created by making norms and values born of culture as determinants of human action. Agreement on shared values is at the heart of the social order of the Baduy Muslim community. By paying attention to norms such as equality, justice, and shared goals, the community harmonizes one's actions with the actions of others.

Talcott Parson's structural approach is a cultural system that integrates the Baduy Muslim community in a plurality of religions: Society consists of interconnected systems, in local traditions that exist in society, inter-Muslim communities (Muhammadiyah, NU, Persis, and LDII) interact with each other. Other. The mutual influence of social interaction in a plurality of religions is reciprocal because the exchange runs in a balanced way, not from the hegemony of other groups (Mustofa, 2019, hal. 65). Although social integration has not yet reached perfection, the cultural system in the Baduy Muslim community is dynamic because there are always adjustments to bridge deviations (accommodation). Understanding the values that exist in society is an essential factor in strengthening the integration of the Baduy Muslim community (Wibisono, Ridho, Sarbini, dan Kahmad, 2021). The view of structural functionalism theory is that there are always basic principles and goals from most members of society who consider and accept something true. Therefore, the value system inherent in the Baduy Muslim community can strengthen community integration and stabilize the socio-cultural system of the Muslim Baduy community.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation above, this research concludes that the religiosity of Baduy Muslim community in Leuwidamar District, Lebak Regency, Banten is seen as a dynamic process. The author obtained this conclusion based on the findings: Baduy people generally convert their religion to Islam based on political, theological, psychological, and sociological factors. Politically, the central government of Indonesian Republic had released policy on Fostering the Social Welfare of Isolated Communities (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Sosial Masyarakat Terasing) in 1977 located at Gunung Tunggal. Theologically, Islam is seen as a rational religion. There is no taboo (pamali) in Islam as in Baduy belief. Islam also has particular rules as mentioned in the Qur'an and Hadith. Psychologically, Islam is deemed as a religion that can accommodate their lives comparing with Baduy customary rules. While sociologically, the limited area for farming has led many Baduy people to survive by leaving Kanekes. This condition enables them to interact and communicate with Muslim community and get closer to identify Islam. By being a Muslim, they have a new identity and an obligation to perform a new tradition in Islam. Consequently, Muslim Baduy has left some tradition of Sunda Wiwitan Baduy, such as nganyaran, kawalu, ngalaksa, and Seba. However, Muslim Baduy still practices some Baduy tradition which is, in their perspective, not contradicted with Islamic shari'a.

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