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Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage
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Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic Indonesia

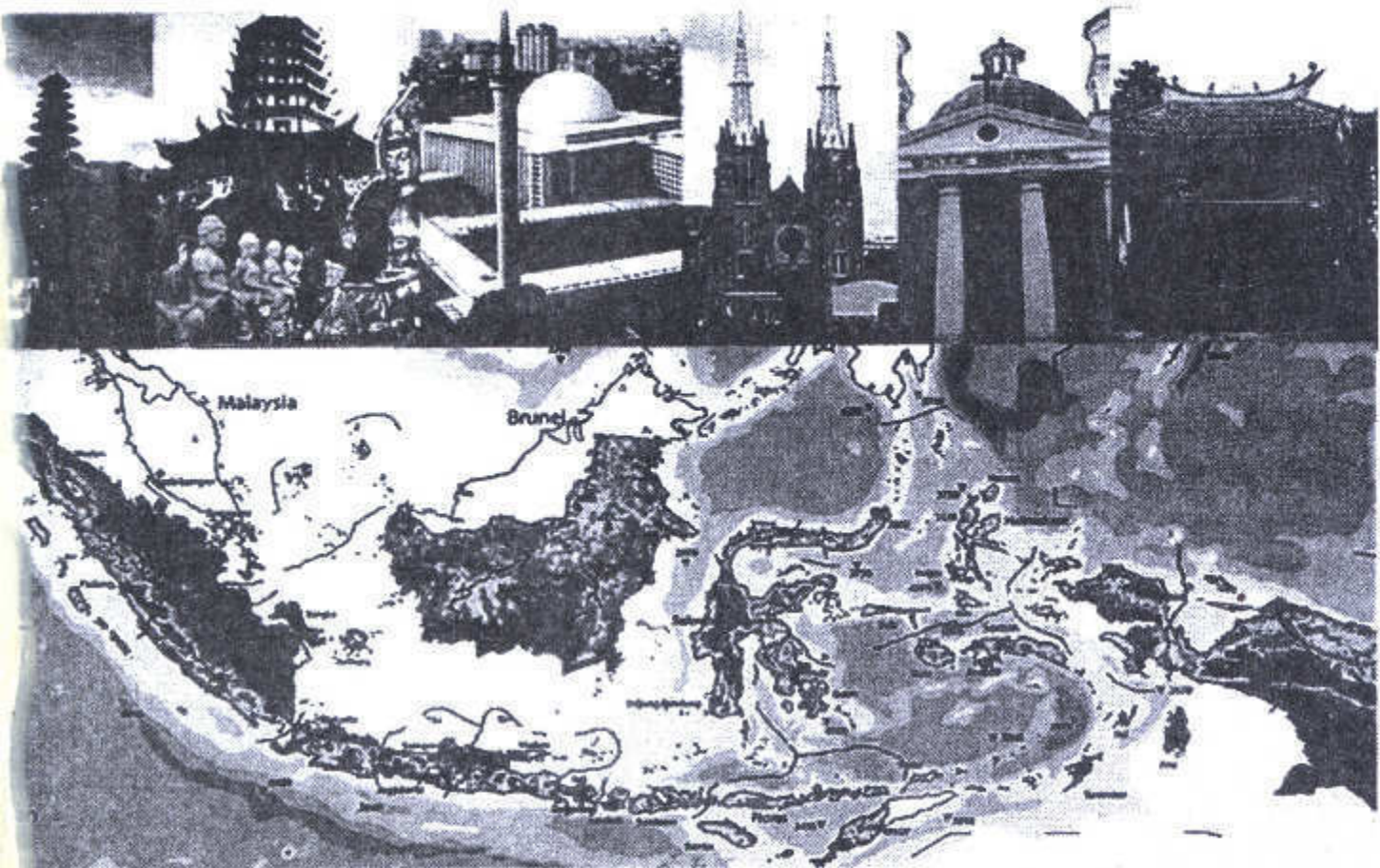


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EDITORIAL NOTES

This edition is concerned with the problems of Muslim movements and social history in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. The purpose of this edition is not totally different from the previous edition that is to promote the cultural heritage of Islam in Indonesia in particular and the world-wide in general. Apart from that, it is certainly to develop ideas relating to the development of Islamic thoughts and movements, social history as cultural heritage in order to be widely known, read and reviewed by the academic community at large.

Studies on this edition include a few posts on “The *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah* in Southeast Asia: The Literature of Malay-Indonesian ‘Ulama’ and Reforms”, “The Meccan Fatwas and the Globalized Discourse of Exclusion: The Case of Anti-Ahmadiyah Movements in Indonesia”, “Women, Leadership, and Mosque’s Cultures: Indonesian Heritage in New York City”, “Adat, Islam, and Dakwah Movement in Bayan, North Lombok”, “مباحث الإيمان”, “على نظرة أهل السنة والجماعة”, “Hajj Transportation of Netherlands East Indies, 1910-1940”, and “تطور المسلمين في بورما بعد استقلاله”.

The first article is written by Azyumardi Azra on *Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah* in Southeast Asia. This study focusses on the literature used by Malay-Indonesian Ulama and reforms performing their idea to their society. Azra highlights that the Malay-Indonesian ulama were mostly responsible for earliest reforms of Islamic teaching and Muslim life in the archipelago.

Further study is written by Dadi Darmadi focussing on the historical and global contextualization of intolerance towards religious minority group, such as Ahmadiyah, and it analyzes the recent increased animosity towards them in Indonesia. Dadi Darmadi argues that to understand the current persecution of Ahmadiyah one must begin with an examination of the early

transnational efforts to marginalize Ahmadiyah and their effects on Muslim communities. The Meccan fatwas in focus – and their reproduction – provide an example of the ways in which such globalized discourses of exclusion regarding a particular religious group were strategically framed and mobilized in i.e. Lahore, Mecca and few other places, and how these historical and theological factors at play could provide more insight into the rising political intolerance and the criminalization of religious views in Indonesia.

The third article is written by Fakhriati which talks of the use of certain papers in the writing of Islamic manuscripts in Aceh. The article argues that there are two types of Acehnese manuscripts' papers: traditional and imported papers with unique and spesific images of watermark. The dominant watermark appeared in the imported papers were crescents which symbolized the typical characteristics of the Islamic sign. Studying on such papers indicates the relationship between the country of producers and the country of of the the paper user.

The next article is written by Erni Budiwanti which discusses about local customs, religion and the reaction of Tuan Guru as teachers and leaders for traditional Islamic school (*Pesantren*). Tuan Guru had took significant role as a cultural broker. They acted not only for teaching religious matters, but transformed local customs to acceterate global need for maintaing ecological balance. The mission has put them into two dilemma. On the one side, they attempt to alter local customs which had many sacral values, and on the other sides, they solve community problem on education and treat enviromental balance.

Further article is written by Sofyan Hadi which studies on manuscript of *Khabar Nazam Usiyat* collected by family of Syekh Muhammad Said Bonjol, Minangkabau, West Sumatra. He concludes that this manuscript contained a model of Al-Gazali's *Tasawuf Akhlaqi*. This manuscript emerged as a response and critics to theological concept occurred at that time in Minangkabau.

Further article is written by Erlita Tantri which highlights on mechanism of Hajj Transportation and its significance in Netherlands East Indies, from 1910 to 1940. From her research, she concludes that during the above period, the role the Dutch colonial to hajj took an important part which they regarded as economical and political issue which effected to colonial sustainability.

The next article is written by Ali Fahrudin which is about the history of arising Rohingya Muslims in Burma and their *jihad* for seeking their authority. In his works, Ali argues that Rohingya Muslim had no status in their country which then posited them in low level of the Burma community. They in fact should have the right as other community.

ADAT, ISLAM, AND DAKWAH MOVEMENT IN BAYAN, NORTH LOMBOK

by Erni Budiwanti

Abstract

Of the three millions Lombok population the Bayanese cover around 5,000 people, who have embedded Islam since 16th century ago. Despite their adherence to Islam, they still hold very strongly the *adat* (custom) to worship divine ancestors and various guardian spirits. This has instigated *dakwah* (missionary) movement led by Tuan Guru (teacher) and his loyal disciples to purify Islamic ritual that violates the *tauhiid* (monotheism). They act as the agents of change who want to transform the Bayanese syncretic belief. The mission has put the Bayanese in dilemma. On one hand, it is very sensitive because it attempts to alter the sacred ancestral values which are highly respected. On the other hand, this mission offers free education and ecological project which intends to increase the living standard of local Bayanese.

Keywords: *adat, Islam, da'wah movement, and Tuan Guru*

Introduction

Bayan is one of the 10 villages of Bayan sub-district located in the north of Mataram the capital city of West Nusa Tenggara Province. Before 2008, Bayan was part of the administrative government of West Lombok Regency. Since 2008 Bayan together with Tanjung, Gangga, Gondang, and Kahyangan sub-districts constitute an autonomous regency of North Lombok. Bayan refers to both sub-district (*kecamatan*) and village (*desa*) areas. This village consists of around 4,452 people and is divided further into 10 *dusun* (hamlets).

Bayan is also called *Bayan Beleq* or great Bayan. This name refers to ancient Susuhunan (Sultanate) Bayan royal territory covering the whole sub-districts of Bayan up to sub-district in West Lombok, and Menang Baris in Eastern Lombok. Bayan Beleq was the centre of royal administration of Susuhunan Bayan, and the hub of important activities i.e. trade, politics, religion, and culture. A long asphalt road divides Bayan into two sub-villages of West Bayan (Bayan Barat) and East Bayan (Bayan Timur). These sub-villages are inhabited mostly by noble people believed to be the descendants of Susuhunan Bayan royal family and his deputies (*pepatih*).

Bayan Beleq is renowned for its sanctuary complex where the old *adat* mosque (*masjid adat*) and the ancestral burial compound (*makam keramat*) are located. This sanctuary is the main symbol of early islamization in Bayan. Local narratives explained that the Javanese *Wali* (saint) stayed for quite sometime in Bayan to teach Islam and to build the mosque here. The *makam keramat* (sacred tombs) are believed to be the *Wali*'s main disciples who helped the *Wali* to continue spreading Islam in the neighbouring areas of Bayan Beleq i.e. Sukadana, Anyar, Karang Salah, Karang Bajo, Sesaid, and Loloan. And the burials are named after these places: *makam Sukadana*, *makam Anyar*, *Makam Karang Salah*, *makam Karang Bajo*, *makam Sesaid*, *makam Loloan*¹, *makam Titi Mas Penghulu* and *makam Lebai Antasalam*.

Though modern bureaucracy has replaced Bayanese aristocratic rulers, traditional *adat* functionaries represented by figures like *Pemangku*, *Pembekel*, *Kiai*, and *Toak Lokaq*

¹ Sukadana, Anyar, Karangbajo, Loloan are among the villages of Bayan sub-district. Sesaid is the sub-village of Sukadana, and Karang Salah is the sub-village of Bayan Beleq.

continued. They are the key players whose roles are vital for the continuity of the Bayanese *adat*.

Bayanese Transcendental Realm: The Ancestral and Guardian Spirits

The Bayanese belief includes faith and behaviour strongly related to their natural surroundings and the deceased kinsfolk. Though they claim themselves as Muslims, observing the five daily prayers, fasting, paying alms and doing hajj are mostly absent. Bayanese belief focuses mostly on the spirits of ancestors and inanimate objects such as mountain, river, forest, village, kampong, hamlet, and house. Spirits guarding the inanimate objects are called *roh penunggu* (guardian spirits). Both the guardian and the ancestral spirits possess supernatural power subordinated to God. Bayanese trace their ancestral of origin from Adam and Eve, and acknowledged them as the eldest ancestors of all human beings. Besides, the spirits of great grandparents who died over hundreds of years ago are venerated as their lineal ancestors (*leluhur*). They view that the deceased ancestors live in the world of spirit which is sacred, contrasted to the world of living descendants which is profane. Upon one's death, his/her soul moves to higher stage dwelling in a spirit world (*alam halus*) which is purified and eternal. Subsequent post mortuary rituals (*gawe pati*) are conducted on the 3rd, 7th, 9th, 40th, 100th and 1000th day after burial held by the living descendants to secure the purified position of the deceased. The belief in mortality of the body and the immortality (eternity) of the spirit ties the Bayanese with their ancestors and the deceased. These ties persist in one's life span and permeate into every aspect on an individual and collectives activities.

Religious tradition (*adat beragama*) control Bayanese behaviour in relation to the spirit beings. They perceive that the ancestors and guardian spirits possess supernatural power

enabling them to mediate with God. They are seen as intermediaries who are able to intercede on God and thus function to bring further the needs of the livings.

Like human beings, they can be benevolent or malevolent, depending on how the livings treat them. They can send their wrath even to their own descendants if they are not well attended or forgotten. This gives the reason for the livings to always involve these spirits in any ritual activity. Due to this belief, the Bayanese perform certain rituals to pacify them to maintain harmony and a balance cohabitation with them. Consequently whenever they conduct ceremonies such as the commemoration of Islamic holydays, individual moments in live, and rice production cycles, the above spirits are invoked. Nanda aptly writes this situation as follows:

Religious practices are aimed at ensuring success out a wide variety of human activities. Rituals are performed to call on supernatural beings in the hope that they will aid particular individual or community, such as to control forces that appear to be unpredictable, such as those in the natural environment upon which human depends on survival (1991: 79).

The obligation to the above spirits is thus transcendental and immanent. It includes the past, the present, and the future as linear and concurrent, as Nanda describes it:

The supernatural can be seen as part of the natural and as intervening in all aspects of life. The kin group includes both living relatives and dead ancestors. The success of ordinary undertakings in the physical world is ensured by enlisting the help of supernatural powers. Natural disasters, illness, and misfortune are believed to be caused by extra human or supernatural spirits. Natural and supernatural, human an natural, past, present, and future may be perceived as a unity in a way that violates the logic of western thought (1991:362).

A few days before a certain ritual ceremony takes place, the family contacts the spirit guarding the house (*epen bale*) and the kampong or village (*epen gubug*) by putting chewing items in the upper corner side of the house. They would also paid homage to the burial site of the deceased relatives, cleansing (*menyapuk*) and leaving the chewing betel stuff on each of their graves while announcing their plan and inviting them to go home to join the ceremonies with them. On the next day, they would perform the *mengolam*, where they collected the betel set on each of the grave. The *menyapuk* (cleansing the grave) and *mengolam* marked the preliminary of actual ceremonies. At the end of ceremony the Kyai rubs the forehead of every participant with the betel juice using his right thumb symbolizing that the living participants receive the blessings from the spirit beings from where the betel was collected before.

The Bayanese also hold the above ceremonies for the spirits of ancestral lineage resided in *makam keramat*. *Mengosap* and *Mas Do'a* are more refined formal language than *menyapu* and *mengolam* as they are directed to ancient ancestors buried in graveyard. Similar rituals are also held prior to big ceremonies involving the whole community members, such as in important days of Islam (Iedul Fitri, Iedul Adha, and Maulud Nabi)².

The Bayanese perform Islamic practices such as circumcision, the Maulud and Ied, by giving their ancestors and guardian spirit offerings. This is critically seen by Islamic missionaries i.e. Tuan Guru and his followers as depraving *tauhid* (absolute monotheism).

I will refer to Hefner's (1985) work on the Hindu Tenggerese where he distinguished *adat* and religion. He stressed

² Iedul Fitri is communal prayer marking the end of fasting month. Iedul Adha is communal prayer held to mark the day of sacrifice. Maulud Nabi is the celebration of Prophet's birthday.

that *adat* is human creation, while religion has much higher position since it is sent down to man through divine revelation. For this reason *adat* thus cannot surpass religion. In his words: “because religion is God-given while *adat* is a man-made, religion thus must stand above the vagaries of regional custom and diverse local ways. He continued further, stating “if there are opposing views between the two, *adat* must be transformed in a way that accommodates religion (Islam)”. Similar to Hefner who put religion (Islam) above the *adat*, Hamka also pointed out that *adat* is ruled by religion, whereas religion (Islam) is based on *syari'ah* (Islamic jurisprudence), *syariah* stems from Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah/Al-Hadits (*Adat bersendikan agama, agama bersendikan syara', syara' bersendikan Al-Qur'an and sunnah/hadis*).

Unlike the above ideal, Bayanese apply no clear boundary between *adat* and religion. They observe that religion and *adat* are entangled. *Adat istiadat beragama* is their phrase to unify religion and *adat*. *Adat* and religion are two side pictures of the same coin. To some extent, *adat* is even preferred and more widely practiced than Islam. The absence of nearly all obligatory practices in Islam and the veneration of spirit beings prove further that *adat* is practised beyond the *syari'ah*.

The confession of Islam does not diminish the role of *adat*. *Adat* and Islam are cohabiting. And this cohabitation is obvious when Arabic prayer is uttered to carry out an *adat* ritual which is not prescribed in Islam. In spite of removing the ancestral customary belief, Islam gives more accentuation of *adat* in the use of the Arabic payer formula in any *adat* function. For example *Alip* -- a ritual to renovate the ancestor grave shelters in which the bamboo walls and thatch roof are repaired. Though this ritual which is neither recommended nor obligated in Islam, Arabic prayer is uttered to legitimize the necessity of holding this ritual. Embedded in *adat* is local ceremonial details which are not recognized in Islam.

Life in Bayan is highly ritualized. Ritual is ubiquitous and permeates into any single aspect of individual and community lives. Every individual life cycle is ceremonialised to mark the subsequent stages of development -- from being born, married, untill death and post-death. It is also the case for the rice cycle, each of its successive stages of planting, fertilizing, pesticing, and harvesting is always ceremonialised. Each rite of the passage is carried out to ensure the well-being of a particular person, family, and the sustainability of food stock. Arabic prayers, taken from certain verses of the Qur'an, are uttered to islamize the customary rituals.

Early *Dakwah*: Wali's Movement

H.J. de Graaf viewed that Islam was disseminated around the globe through trading activities, the Wali's preaching, and conquering the local rulers (1970: 123-4). Similarly, Taufik Abdullah (1991) depicted that Islamisation throughout the island of Java was conducted by subjugating the local kings as the locus of power, such when the Majaphait- a Hindu kingdom of East Java - was conquered by Sultan Agung, a Central Javanese Kingdom of Demak. Besides conquering the local authority, as Taufik said, Islam was also brought through trading activities in which traders were also the proselytizers.

By the end of the thirteenth century, Islam had been established in North Sumatra; by the 14th Century in northeast Malaya, Brunei, the southern Philippines and among some courtiers of East Java, and the 15th Century in Malacca and other areas of the Malay Peninsula. Although it is known that the spread of Islam began in the west of the archipelago, the the process was complicated and slow.

Islam was spread in the eastern island of Indonesia, such as Bali, Lombok, and Sumbawa by means of sea port trading

activities and the Wali journey, instead of by waging war. It was carried out neither with force nor war. In other words the spread of Islam from the coastal area of Java to other islands of Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa was characterized by trade and the Wali movement (see Azra 2006).

From Sumatra, Islam was brought further to the north coast of Java through trading. The sea port trading on the strait of Malacca of Malay peninsula flourished around 13th until 15th century. The Arabian along with other Muslim merchants from Gujarat, Madagascar, Malabari-India entered the archipelago through the Malacca Strait. Malaca, Penang, Palembang, and Aceh are among the sea ports where they anchored their vessels to trade with the locals. These Muslim merchants supplied the royal families with various goods brought from home ranging from jewelries, household ceramics, silk, perfumes to spices. Because of this role, they were known as the royal traders or those who were dealing business with members of local rulers.

A good business implied cordial relationship, and it also facilitated inter-marriages between overseas traders and the locals. They finally became permanent members of the communities, and taught Islam to the locals who previously were animists. King, royal relatives, and other nobles serving his royalty were among the first group who converted to Islam. When the local rulers had been Islamized, the laymen and followers would easily follow.

Like in any other parts of Indonesia, Lombok also accepted Islam peacefully. People in Lombok adopted Islam directly from the Javanese Wali (Saint). The Wali sailed from Java sea to the East, embarking on missionary activities on the islands of Bali, Lombok, and Sumbawa. It was due to the physical mobility of this sacred figure that enabled the Sasak -- the indigenous people of Lombok -- to adopt Islam directly from him and his disciples. As it was pointed out by De Graff: tradings across harbors (port tradings) were not the only way to convey Islam to the coastal

communities. The Wali's trip across the seas, and his further penetration from the coastal to rural communities paved the way to the dissemination of Islam to the hinter land of Lombok. And this includes the mountaineous areas of Bayan and Sembalun of North Lombok, Gunung Pujut and Rembitan of Central Lombok. The legendary Islamic missionary of the Wali was not only acknowledged by the Javanese, as S. Soebardi (1976) cited, but also recognized by people in Lombok.

Local myth narrated by a Pemangku in Eastern Bayan revealed that a Javanese *Wali* (saint), Sunan Ampel, landed his vessel in the 16th century at *Labuhan Carik* (Carik port) which is now part of the Anyar's village territory³. From Labuan Carik, this Wali and his followers continued travelling to Bayan Beleq where they were all welcomed by the indigeneous ruler, Susuhunan Bayan. The hospitality of the king and his people enabled the Wali and his disciples to live for quite some time in Bayan. Their stay brought fundamental influence in the life of the locals . The Wali and his disciples finally succeeded to convert the King and his subjects to Islam peacefully. The way Islam was proliferated, exactly reflects the basic meaning of Islam itself i.e peace. Islam spread out peacefully. Sunan Ampel used a very personal approach to Susuhunan Bayan. This explains that Islam came not as result of external conquest. Though there is a port in Anyar, Islam came to Bayan not by means trading.

People call the Wali who came to Lombok '*Wali Rauh*'. *Rauh* derives form Javanese word, *rawuh*, meaning to arrive. The phenomena of *Wali Rauh* signifies the influence of Javane vernacular in the Sasak dialect.

Another piece of evidence showing that the locals accepted Islam from the Javanese saint is the ancient palm leaves

³The distance from Anyar to Bayan Beleq is only around 3 kilometres.

manuscripts (*lontar*) written in old Javanese script (*bahasa and huruf Jawa kawī*). The Sasak called them *Jejawen* or *Takepan* or *lontar*. Lontar “Kawitan” and “Layang Ambia” are some of the textual manuscripts, reinforcing the essential role of the Javanese saint in Islamizing Lombok. These lontars are usually read in special occasions, such as in circumcision and hair-shaving ceremonies. Lontar Kawitan describes the story of Prophet Muhammad from his birth, early childhood to prophecy. According to one of the Pemangkus, included in this lontar is a prayer of remembrance on the origin of human beings and the creation of the universe. This prayer mentioned that God had created the Nur Rahmat before the universe. Nur Rahmat is believed to be the soul of prophet Muhammad.

Layang in Javanese means *surat*. Surat stems from an Arabic word, *surah*, meaning a chapter of the Quran. *Al-Anbiā'* is also an Arabic word, meaning messenger. *Surah Al-Anbiā'* is actually the 21st surah of the Qur'an depicting the story of God's messengers bringing salvation for the life here and the hereafter.

The Kiai Penghulu explained that the palm leaves manuscript written in ancient Javanese script and language served the evidence that the Javanese Saint came to Lombok to teach Islam in *Jawi (Javanese)*.

Uttering syahadah in Javanese instead in Arabic for the solemnity of marriage oath in Bayan is also an evidence of the Wali's legacy that Islam was taught in Javanese rather than in local dialect.

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. Wa asyhadu ALLAH illahailahu wa asyhaduanna Muhammadarrasulullah. Wanashadu ingsun sinuru setoken anak sine orani Pangeran anging ALLAH Pangeran kang sebenere. Lan ingsun ngangeruhi satuhune Nabi Muhammad utusan dening ALLAH. ("In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, I bear witness that (there is) no God except Allah, and I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah.").

Local mythology explaining the origin of the water springs reinforces further the locals' belief that the Bayanese adopt Islam from the Javanese saint. "Lokok Jawa", "Ampel Duri", and "Ampel Gading" are among the springs associated with the Wali's name i.e. Sunan Ampel, and the place where they came from, i.e. Java.

Sunan Giri was believed to be the successor of Sunan Ampel. Giri Menang (meaning the victory of Giri) is where the office of West Lombok regency (*Kabupaten Lombok Barat*) located. Giri is taken from the Wali's name Sunan Giri. Giri Menang is a place to symbolically mark the Wali successful mission in propagating Islam throughout the island of Lombok. Sunan Giri's mission was eventually continued by his grandson, Sunan Prapen, who was also recognised by another name Pangeran Senopati.

The Bayanese conversion to Islam is also evidence from the word Bayan itself. The Karang Salah Pemangku explains that "*Negareng Suwung*⁴" was the original name of Bayan. Bayan is an Arabic word which literally means bright light, and symbolically connotes to clear explanation. The name of Bayan is given after the King and his subjects became Muslims. The Karang Salah Pemangku illuminates further that the word Bayan is associated with: i) *Bayanudin*, taking the root from the words *Bayan* (explanation) and *din* (religion), meaning clear explanation of religion i.e. Islam, ii) *Bayanullah* stems from the words *Bayan* and *Allah*, meaning the explanation coming from God in the form of *firman* (God's words) or *wahyu* (divine revelation sent down to Muhammad Saw.) i.e. the Qur'an, iii) *Nurul Bayan* which

⁴ *Negareng* is *negara* or state. *Suwung* means silent. *Negareng Suwung* refers to a silent state since the population growth was still very limited, not so many people were around.

derives from the word *nur* (the light) and *Bayan* (explanation), meaning the enlightenment i.e. the Qur'an.

TGH (*Tuan Guru Haji*) Abdul Karim, a *pesantren* leader in Telaga Bagik- subvillage of Anyar- stated that Bayan marks islamization. He admitted that "Bayan" is the only place in West Nusa Tenggara province refering its name from the holy Qur'an. There are 3 surah in the Qur'an, he mentioned, stating the word "Bayan" i.e. Surah Āli Imrān: 138, Surah Ar-Raḥmān: 4, Surah Al-Qiyāmah: 19. He concluded that the name of "Bayan" is given by the Wali with the expectation that Bayan can be the centre of Islam.

Recent Development of *Dakwah*: Extending *Pesantren* Circle

Nowadays Tuan Guru and his loyal disciples continue the Wali's mission of propagating Islam. If the Wali worked to lay the foundation of Islam, Tuan Guru's mission is oriented to purify parts of *adat* which are incompatible with Islam. Tuan Guru who, after doing hajj took intensive study at Mecca, attempted to impart the true Islam in his home village. The growth of his Islamic class, marked by pupils (*santri*) throughout and outside the island of Lombok, represents his increasing influence. The activity of Tuan Guru is not limited within the physical boundary of his *pesantren*. TGH Safwan, founder of pondok *pesantren* Nurul Hakim, Kediri of West Lombok, has placed around 32 alumni of his pondok *pesantren* to work as *da'i* in various villages of Bayan and Kahyangan sub-districts since 1980.

TGH Safwan built the "Albayani" mosque in 1984 in Karang Bajo village, and the "Alfaruq" in 1993 in Bayan Barat sub-village from where the *da'i* teach Bayanese children and kids to read the Qur'an. Quranic class helps them to recognize Islam in the very early age. However, since most kids stop learning Qur'an when they finish primary (grade 1 to 6) and junior (grade 7, 8, 9)

schools, it cannot be guaranteed whether they would keep practicing what the *da'is* had taught to them. Moreover, if they live with their families and neighbours they will go back into the *adat* style.

Besides mosque, *Tuan Guru* also built *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* Babul Mujahidin in Bayan. Despite the exemption from tuition fee, most Bayanese' parents show lack of interest in furthering their children education to *Madrasah Tsanawiyah*. In 2011 the *Madrasah* had only around 38 children who were mostly migrants 'children living in the near hamlets of Ancak and Lokok Aur which are around 2 kilometres away from Bayan. Parents who are loyal to their *adat* were reluctant to let their children enter Islamic school.

In recent years more locals are involved in *dakwah* activity. Since 2010 a native Bayanese from Bayan Barat has been elected as the Headmaster of *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* Babul Mujahiddin. There are also three other Bayanese teach in the *Madrasah* after finishing STAI (Institute for Islamic Studies) Nurul Hakim, Kediri. TGH Safwan mentioned the reason for recruiting the locals for the *Madrasah* is to cultivate a sense of belonging. One day, as he mentioned, when they are really ready, *Tuan Guru* will hand over the administrative management of the *Madrasah* to the locals. In this way he prepares them to participate in the process of *dakwah*, giving them the opportunity to take over the missionary in the future.

As far as *adat* is concerned, the *da'i* from pondok *pesantren* and the local ones (*da'i asli Bayan*)⁵ found not easy to teach something against *adat*. They faced challenges especially from the

⁵ *Da'i asli Bayan* is natively born in *desa* Bayan or other villages within Kecamatan (sub-district of) Bayan, distinguishing them from other *da'i* coming from outside Bayan (*da'i luar Bayan*).

adat figures (*tokoh-tokoh adat*) for introducing program against *adat*.

The community bond to *adat* seems not to be the sole factor leading to the low acceptance of the *dakwah*. It seems that the *da'i* have little experience and lack of skill to approach the locals. They would rather work in the mosque and *Madrasah*. The activity of *dakwah* is confined mostly in these vicinities. Instead of approaching the locals outside the mosque and *Madrasah*, the *da'i* passively tend to receive the locals who come to them and to follow their activities.

In the early period of missionary, the *da'is* were even reluctant to respond invitations whenever a family invited them to a family ceremony. They told the main reason for not attending was dietary taboos that they strictly observe. They were not sure whether the buffalo whose meat cooked for these events, were slaughtered according to the prescribed ways of Islam. They further explained that locals were accustomed to mix the blood of slaughtered buffalo and chicken with vegetables as part of the main dish, and served rice wine (*aik poteng*) as appetizer and desert. Since food was not offered only to the guests, but also as food-offering for the ancestors and guardian spirits, fulfilling *adat* invitation, in their opinion, would mean to justify or give further legitimation of the *adat* belief.

Though the *da'is* resided in the heart of Bayanese enclave, they tended to disengage from the social surrounding by preventing themselves from any *adat* invitation. Taking distance from the *adat* activity means isolated themselves from the community's life. The isolation sometimes put the *da'is* in difficult situation when they required urgent help, for example when the dai's wife was to deliver her baby. At night he had to walk to Ancak – a hamlet around two kilometres away from Bayan Beleq - to pick up a mid-wife since he was reluctant to ask help from the locals. During the harvest season he completely

depended on the *Madrasah* pupils to guard the rice crop alternately before and after they were harvested, piled it into rice sacks and transported to his house.

Unlike the early missionaries overemphasizing precepts like *halal* and *haram*, the later ones used a slight different approach in dealing with the locals. They took up any *adat* invitation since they believed that it was culturally sensitive to refuse it. Not responding to an invitation would be judged as a denial not only to their hospitality, but also to their *adat* system as a whole. Fulfilling an individual or social invitation is a means of showing one's care and attention. It is also a symbolic exchange, since the locals would do the same when they were invited for certain event by the missionaries. In an *adat* community marked by strong kinship ties and cooperative work (*gotong royong*), one's value is judged from his share.

***Dakwah* and Environmental Project**

Apart from the objective of reform religious ideas, TGH Safwan has also involved in the community development project to improve the living standard of the locals. The *da'is*, working as the extension of his hands, provided him with information to identify main issues faced by the villages. For example, when the *da'i* worked in the village of Segenter, Bayan Sub-district they discovered that villagers here had problem with water supply forcing them to travel a long distance to collect water for various household needs. Based on this report, Tuan Guru then took an initiative to build pipes and water reservoir inside the mosque complex with the financial aid from the *al-Râbitah al-Islamî*, allowing people to fetch water at the mosque. In due course more and more villagers gradually became regular mosque attendants.

Since 1980 Tuan Guru Safwan has successfully distributed millions of seeds in other pondok *pesantren*, and various places in

Bayan with the help of the *da'i*. TGH Safwan collaborated with *Gerbang Emas* (Gerakan Membangun Ekonomi Masyarakat), an environmental organization funded by the Provincial Government to grow various trees such as *jati* (*tectonia grandis.*), *jati putih*, and *mahoni* (*swietenia mahagoni*) and allocated them to some critical areas of Bayan. His biggest plantation project is in Dusun Banteq of Desa Akar-Akar of *Kecamatan Bayan*. Assisted by his disciples and by working together with the locals, they have cultivated and taken care more than 50, 000 *jati* and *mahagoni* trees. His long and arduous works had rendered him the *Kalpataru*⁶ awarded directly by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in the Presidential palace, Istana Merdeka, Jakarta on the 7th of June 2011.

Giving his reason to be involved in environmental project, he illuminated five principles: 1) *hibzul nafsi* (take care of the soul), so do not hurt and do not kill; 2) *hibzul nasab* (take care of blood links), so that you know exactly who you are and your family; 3) *hibzul mal* (take care of property and belongings) for the continuity and well-being of your *nasab* (lineage) in the future; 4) *hibzul akal* (look after your mind), to think for the betterment; 5) *hibzul bii'ah* (look after the environment) since all the living creatures are mutually dependant. In his mind planting trees is *sadaqah jariyyah*⁷, the reward of this deed is everlasting.

⁶ Every year the Kementrian Lingkungan Hidup (Ministry of environment) awards a trophy called hadiah kalpataru, and an amount of money to individuals and institutions promoting ecological achievement. Every province is given the chance to select a nominee based on the criteria made by the Ministry. Pondok pesantren Nurul Hakim was selected for fulfilling the criteria.

⁷ Among the attitude or behaviours considered to be *amal* or *sadaqah jariyyah* are: i) spreading useful knowledge, making discovery and invention from which any body can take advantage out of such knowledge and invention, iii) building institution or organisation benefiting its users (such as hospitals, orphanages, roads, bridges, schools, etc), iii) prayer of a pious son/daughter marking successful parenting.

Apart from religious mission to purify the *adat* belief, *da'i* and Tuan Guru also performed important role as development agents in accelerating the central government's policy for an eco-friendly life style. This is one among so many ways to overcome global warming and to provide the locals with a better living environment.

Conclusion

The *dakwah* activity is considered as an endless task for the Muslims. This activity, pioneered by Javanese Walis was successful in converting the locals nominally. There seems to be different degrees or qualities in the ways Islam is absorbed, adopted, and practiced in everyday life. Though Islam has become religion of the community, it does not remove the old customary (*adat*) belief strongly imbued with spirit worship. Instead of decreasing the outstanding role of *adat*, the acceptance of Islam though only partially even strengthens further the importance of *adat*. This is obvious from the prayers adopted from Qur'anic verses to Islamize the *adat* rituals. As Cess van Dijk argues: "when Islam came, it was confronted with already well-established societies with elaborate social structure and deeply rooted beliefs. Islam became the official religion of these societies, but it did not prove easy to replace the old beliefs and customs (1984:7)".

The basic religious syncretism lays on the preservation of ancestral customary belief alongside partial acceptance of Islamic tenet. The co-existence and intermixed practices of the two portrays startlingly unique picture of *adat* in Bayan, especially when it is compared to the ideal standard of Islam practiced in Arabian countries. As a result the expression of religiosity ("Islamism") in Bayan is not the same compared to that of other Muslims living in different parts of Lombok. The invocation to ancestors and the guardian spirits is the main fundamental thing that distinguishes Bayanese from other Muslims.

Bayanese syncretism had instigated the charismatic and inspirational leader i.e. Tuan Guru, to impart pure Islamic teachings. The mission of propagating Qur'anic Islam initiated by the Javanese saints is now continued by Tuan Guru assisted by his loyal disciples who mostly graduated from his pondok *pesantren*. The current *dakwah* attempts to involve locals in the teaching and management of *Madrasah* by offering free education to the locals to take higher Islamic learning in Pondok *Pesantren* Nurul Hakim, Kediri. In spite of free exemption of higher education, Bayanese shows lack of interest in taking this opportunity. Only a few of them took this offer especially after the *da'i* made untiring effort to persuade their parents.

Tuan Guru is an outstanding figure whose domain is not limited within religious sphere, but exceeded to accelerate the global need for maintaining ecological balance. Tuan Guru Safwan was the only pondok *pesantren* figure in West Nusa Tenggara province who successfully carried out his environmental concern as important part of his missionary movement. He and his loyal disciples, supported by the government act simultaneously as religious reformers and environmental protagonists.

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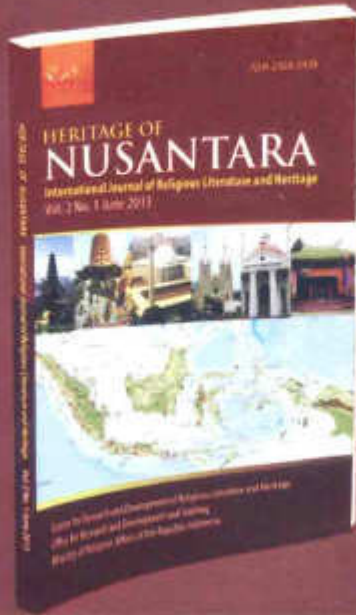
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