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How is it Possible?

Abdul Aziz

The Jamaah Tabligh Movement in Indonesia: Peaceful Fundamentalist*

Abstrak: Konsep “salafi” merupakan hal menarik yang patut dicermati. Konsep ini berkaitan dengan sebuah ideologi atau faham yang mengajarkan agar umat Islam mencontoh perilaku Nabi Muhammad dan para sahabatnya. Dalam konteks Indonesia, terutama pada periode belakangan, ideologi salaf tidak jarang menjadi inspirasi munculnya berbagai gerakan, baik yang berhaluan keras maupun tidak.

Bagi kalangan aktivis Muslim radikal, ideologi salaf, yang pada awalnya mungkin hanya menekankan pada pemurnian akidah, menjadi semacam ideologi perlawanan terhadap berbagai paham yang tidak sesuai dengan nilai-nilai Islam. Fenomena sejumlah organisasi keagamaan, seperti FPI, Hizbut Tahrir, MMI, dan lain-lain, merupakan contoh bagaimana ideologi salaf menjadi kekuatan untuk melakukan protes dan perlawanan secara radikal terhadap berbagai perilaku dan ideologi lain yang dianggap tidak sesuai dengan ideologi serta perilaku Nabi dan para sahabatnya.

Akan tetapi, selain oleh kelompok-kelompok yang dikategorikan sebagai radikal di atas, konsep salafi juga dijadikan sebagai ideologi oleh kelompok lain yang sama sekali jauh dari kesan radikal. Salah satu di antara organisasi yang memiliki karakter demikian adalah Jamaah Tabligh, sebuah organisasi keagamaan yang dinisbatkan pendiriannya kepada Maulana Muhammad Ilyas, seorang ulama India yang lahir pada akhir abad ke-19.

Berbeda dengan organisasi-organisasi Islam radikal yang sama-sama mengusung ideologi salaf, Jamaah Tabligh—kendati pada masa awal berdirinya juga tidak lepas dari aktivisme politik—lebih mengedepankan aspek dakwah dengan metode yang sederhana, yakni memobilisasi unit-unit kecil sekitar 10 orang anggota untuk disebarakan ke berbagai pelosok desa dan kota. Unit-unit kecil yang kemudian disebut “jamaah” ini ditugaskan mengajak kaum Muslim untuk berkumpul di masjid, dan mendiskusikan pesan-pesan keagamaan.

Artikel ini merupakan studi awal atas fenomena Jamaah Tabligh di Indonesia, menyangkut sejarah awal kemunculan, mekanisme keorganisasian dan keanggotaan, pokok-pokok ajaran dan pandangan keagamaan, serta pola aktivitas gerakannya. Tulisan yang bersifat antropologis ini secara acak mengambil contoh kasus fenomena Jamaah Tabligh di Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, dan Ngawi.

Dijelaskan bahwa kelompok Jamaah Tabligh pertama kali datang ke Indonesia pada sekitar tahun 1952. Sejak awal, kelompok ini menamakan dirinya "jamaah khurūj", yakni jamaah yang pergi keluar (Arab: khurūj) untuk berdakwah, melatih memperbaiki diri, dan mengajak kaum Muslim untuk melaksanakan ajaran-ajaran Islam dengan mencontoh perilaku Nabi dan para sahabatnya. Pada perkembangan berikutnya, konsep "khurūj" ini menjadi ciri khas aktivitas Jamaah Tabligh, di mana setiap anggotanya diharuskan untuk menyisihkan sebagian waktunya untuk melakukan kegiatan dakwah ke luar tempat tinggalnya sendiri. Lama khurūj bagi setiap anggota ini sekurang-kurangnya 3 hari dalam 1 bulan, 40 hari dalam setahun, atau 4 bulan seumur hidup.

Gerakan Jamaah Tabligh di Indonesia mulai menampakkan geliatnya secara intensif pada sekitar tahun 1974 dengan pusat dakwahnya di Masjid Kebon Jeruk, Jakarta Pusat. Hingga kini, aktivitas Jamaah Tabligh di Masjid Kebon Jeruk ini terus berjalan, dan menjadi pusat koordinasi kegiatan dakwah semua anggotanya yang tersebar di berbagai wilayah di Indonesia.

Dalam tulisan ini juga dikemukakan bahwa pada dasarnya apa yang disampaikan oleh Jamaah Tabligh adalah ajaran-ajaran Islam sunni yang sudah banyak diketahui dan bahkan diamalkan oleh sebagian besar masyarakat Muslim di Indonesia. Hanya saja, yang membuat kelompok ini tampak berbeda dari Muslim pada umumnya adalah, antara lain, karena model interpretasinya yang cenderung harfiyah (literal), misalnya berkaitan dengan mode berpakaian atau penampilan fisik, semuanya harus disesuaikan dengan kebiasaan yang dilakukan oleh Nabi serta para sahabatnya.

Di wilayah-wilayah yang menjadi fokus pembahasan artikel ini, tampak bahwa pesan-pesan keagamaan yang diusung oleh kelompok Jamaah Tabligh dikemas dan disesuaikan dengan kondisi serta respon masyarakat setempat. Namun, satu hal yang dilakukan secara seragam adalah bahwa pesan-pesan keagamaan yang terumuskan sebagai "upaya menghindari diri dari membuang waktu membicarakan sesuatu yang tidak bermanfaat, dan menjauhi maksiyat yang dilarang Allah" tersebut disampaikan dengan cara damai tanpa kekerasan.

The Jamaah Tabligh Movement in Indonesia: Peaceful Fundamentalist*

خلاصة: تعد فكرة "السلف" أمرا مثيرا للاهتمام تجدر ملاحظته، وهي تتعلق بالإيديولوجية أو المذهب يدعو إلى الاقتداء بالنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وأصحابه؛ وفي إندونيسيا بالذات وبالأخص في الآونة الأخيرة كانت الفكرة في كثير من الأحيان مصدر إلهام لنشوء مختلف الحركات الدينية سواء متشددة أم لا.

وبالنسبة إلى الحركة الإسلامية المتطرفة فإن مذهب السلف الذي يحتمل أن يكون في الأصل مذهباً يدعو إلى تنقية العقيدة قد صار إيديولوجية المقاومة ضد مختلف المذاهب المخالفة للقيم الإسلامية، فظاهرة عدد من المنظمات الدينية مثل جبهة الدفاع عن الإسلام (Front Pembela Islam / FPI) أو حزب التحرير أو مجلس المجاهدين بإندونيسيا (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia / MMI) وما إلى ذلك أمثلة تثبت إلى أي مدى كانت فكرة السلف قوة تقوم بالمعارضة والمقاومة بشكل متشدد ضد أي سلوك أو موقف أو إيديولوجية تخالف ما عليه النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وأصحابه.

على أنه بالإضافة إلى هذه الطوائف التي تعد متشددة كانت فكرة السلف إيديولوجية لطائفة أخرى لم يكن لها أية صلة بالتشدد إطلاقاً، ومن المنظمات التي تتميز بهذا الطابع هو جماعة التبليغ وهي منظمة دينية ترجع جذورها إلى مولانا محمد الياس (Maulana Muhammad Ilyas) العالم الهندي الذي عاش في القرن التاسع عشر الميلادي.

وخلافاً للمنظمات الدينية المتشددة التي تشترك معها في تبني مذهب السلف فإن جماعة التبليغ - وإن لم تخل أول أمرها عن النشاط السياسي - تفضل أن تقوم بالدعوة بالمنهج البسيط، وذلك بتعبئة وحدات صغيرة تتكون من حوالي عشرة أشخاص يتم بعثها إلى مختلف القرى والأرياف، وهذه الوحدات الصغيرة التي يطلق عليها فيما بعد اسم "جماعة" مكلفة لدعوة المسلمين إلى الاجتماع في المسجد للتواصي حول أمور الدين.

وهذه المقالة تمثل دراسة أولية حول جماعة التبليغ بإندونيسيا، وهي تناول تاريخ نشأتها وآليات تنظيمها ونظام عضويتها وآرائها وتعاليمها الدينية الأساسية وكذلك منهج نشاطها الحركي، وهذا البحث القائم على المنهج الأنتروبولوجي يأخذ عينة بشكل عشوائي عند جماعة التبليغ في عدد من المدن: باندونج (Bandung) ويوغياكرتا (Yogyakarta) وسوراكرتا (Surakarta) ونجاوي (Ngawi).

ومن الواضح أن جماعة التبليغ ظهرت لأول مرة في إندونيسيا سنة ١٩٥٢م، وكانت الجماعة يطلقون على أنفسهم جماعة الخراج أي الخروج للدعوة وتربية النفس ودعوة المسلمين إلى تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية بالاعتداء بالنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وأصحابه، وفي تطور لاحق أصبحت فكرة الخروج علامة خاصة لجماعة التبليغ حيث يجب على كل عضو منها أن ينفق من وقتها للقيام بالدعوة بأن يخرج من موضع إقامته، ومدة الخروج تتراوح بين ثلاثة أيام أو شهر واحد أو أربعين يوما في السنة أو أربعة شهور في العمر كله.

وقد بدأت حركة جماعة التبليغ بإندونيسيا تبرز في الأفق بشكل مكثف حوالي سنة ١٩٧٤م وتمركزت دعوتها بمسجد كيون جيروك (Kebon Jeruk) بجاكرتا العاصمة ولم يزل نشاطها في هذا المسجد مستمرا حتى الآن وصار مركزا للتنسيق بين أنشطة الدعوة وجميع أعضائها المنتشرين في مناسق إندونيسيا كلها.

ويؤكد هذا البحث أيضا أن ما تقوم به الجماعة بالتبليغ عنه كان من التعاليم الإسلامية على المذهب السني التي سبق أن يعرفها ويعمل بها معظم المجتمعات الإسلامية بإندونيسيا، ولكن الذي امتازت به الجماعة عن غيره من المسلمين عموما أسلوبهم في فهم الدين بشكل أكثر حرفيا كأسلوبهم في اللباس ومحاولتهم أن يكون مظهرهم موافقا لما كان عليه النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وأصحابه.

وفي المناطق التي تدخل في مجال هذا البحث يظهر أن الدعوة الإسلامية التي يقوم بها جماعة التبليغ تم إعدادها بحيث تتوافق مع استجابة المجتمع والأوضاع المحلية، ولكن القاسم المشترك في جميع أعمال الجماعة هو تبليغ أمور الدين "حتى يتم تجنب النفس عن إضاعة الوقت في الحديث عن الأمور التي لا طائل تحتها أو البعد عن المعاصي التي حرمها الله تعالى" بشكل سلمي بعيد عن العنف.

Over the last three decades, the Indonesian Islamic community has witnessed the emergence of a number of new religious movements that can generally be differentiated from the religious movements that were established before independence, such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Thus far there have not been many attempts to map the presence of these new movements, so the general community's understanding of these movements is very limited and there is a strong possibility of misunderstandings arising, leading to the disruption of social order.

Several of these religious movements clearly demonstrate characteristics that can be differentiated from the predeceasing movements, particularly from the radical nature of views, attitudes and actions in community and religious life, such as the Islam Isa Bugis Movement or the Islam Jamaah Movement. However a number of other movements are not widely known, including Jamaah Tabligh,¹ whose members wear a different type of "fashion" that is quite striking compared to the "fashion" of the general community.

Mapping all the new Islamic movements requires the support of a satisfactory theoretical construct so that their presence can be understood contextually. One of the relevant theoretical frameworks for this mapping is one that can be categorised as Islamic Fundamentalism. Borrowing John O. Voll's category,² this term (Islamic Fundamentalism) is used to refer to all movements, events and people involved in strengthening a return to the fundamentals of the belief and mission of Islam in the final decades of the twentieth century.

The key words "fundamentalism", "fundamentalist movement" and "fundamentalist group" certainly cause debate, particularly in relation to the accuracy of these words when they are attached to a particular group or movement. Concerns related to inaccuracy and generalisation in the theoretical frameworks used to understand particular social tendencies, such as religious movements, can probably be skimmed over if a number of specific clues are considered. In the context of fundamentalism or fundamentalist groups, there are at least five clues that can be of assistance.³

Firstly, fundamentalism is a trend of "fighting back", so it is not an exaggeration and nor is it insulting to call these groups "militant" in terms of using words, viewpoints, right to vote, and even bullets. In this respect, the correct key word to describe their situation is reactive (although there is not necessarily always a reaction-

ary), because these fundamentalist movements often emerge from groups that firmly maintain traditions and which perceive various challenges to or disturbances in their main identity, both on a personal and a group level. They don't want to deal with issues that they believe to be trivial, but rather with issues that they consider to be central, and they believe that if they lose this central issue it means they have "lost". Thus, they react and fight back with their entire capability.

Secondly, these fundamentalist movements are "fighting for" something. What they fight for originates in their worldview, which is passed down and continuously reformed. If they feel that their most intimate area, such as their family, is under attack then they will respond by protecting and maintaining this area, which includes their understandings about issues of gender, caring for children, and children's education. They will fight to maintain their concepts about what should be done in life and in health, both in the laboratory and in clinics. There is a possibility that a number of them will be passive so that they don't attract attention and when the issue flares up they will struggle to change the situation.

Thirdly, fundamentalism also means "fighting with" the conceptual sources that they specially choose. Fundamentalist movements obtain their name from this choice: the struggle for a return to the truth (or what they consider to be truth) of what they believe to be the prosperous past, in order to develop imagined or actual ideal concepts and conditions. They then choosing one of these concepts as the fundamental one, which indicates that fundamentalist groups are also selective. They believe that they have adopted the entire purity of the past, even though their energy is allocated only to matters that strengthen their identity, ensure the continuation of the movement, build defences around their environment and increase the gap between themselves and others. These fundamentals, both the practical and doctrinal, often change and become symbols or become sanctified.

Fourth, fundamentalist groups or movements also "fight against" other groups. They may be general or specific enemies. However, in almost all cases, with no regard for whether this enemy comes from outside or from within their group, they will certainly become the target of attacks. The enemies from the outside may be infidels, agents of holy power that are the enemy, people who carry out modernisation, but they may also be friendly messengers who want to compromise, take the middle road or those who "agree to dis-

agree". At the same time, those from within the group who are considered to be a disturbance are those who are moderate, who want discussions about modernisation, or demand that the movement is adaptable.

Fifth, fundamentalist groups "fight under" the name of God, particularly those movements that have the characteristics of a divine religion. This is highly potential in fundamentalist groups with followers who are convinced that they have received a holy call to carry out God's message to oppose resisters.

Mumtaz Ahmad⁴ sees Jamaah Tabligh as a fundamentalist movement as a result of a number of indicators. First, the movement tends to interpret the Qur'an and the Ḥadīth in a very literal way; second, they strongly oppose liberal understandings of Islam; third, this movement claims that they are working to bring about a return to pure Islam, and fourth, they believe that their movement is a valid response, based on Islam, to the challenges of modernity, so that in this respect they are often close to Islamic traditionalism. However, there is also an opinion that Jamaah Tabligh is "fundamentalism of another form", because they don't encompass radicalism as other fundamentalist movements do and instead they emphasise peaceful proselytisation methods.

History of the Movement⁵

The birth of Jamaah Tabligh cannot be separated from the development of the Muslim community in India and in South Asia in general from the end of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century. Although Islam had entered long before and Muslim kings governed the Indian people for more than seven hundred years, Muslims were still a minority in the region. Their political defeat by the English from 1750-1850 had undermined the superiority of the culture and politics that they had long been cultivating. At the same time, the Hindus that they had previously governed began to make advances in various fields, leaving the Muslims far behind, thanks to their acceptance of modern education and the opportunity to enter modern work sectors that were made available by the English colonial government. At the same time, the Hindus also rode the wave of a return to Hindu religion and the strengthening of the national identity based on Hinduism, which had taken root long before the arrival of Muslim authorities.

Faced with pressure from the English authorities (or local Raj who supported the English) who considered Indian Muslims to be

agitators for social revolution, and apprehensive about Hindus who surpassed them in the fields of economy and education, the Muslim community faced a number of choices with equally large consequences. One of the choices made by most 'ulamā' and members of the Indian Islamic community was to remove themselves from the main current of modernisation pioneered by the English, and to seek composure within the past glory of Islam. These efforts included asserting a return to cultural traditions that originated in Islam, along with protecting their value structure and traditional institutions from the attack of modern Western concepts and institutions. This choice was likewise made by the *Sūfi* 'ulamā' from the Naqshabandiyyah *Sūfi* Order (*ṭarīqat*) in Deoband, the area from which the founder of Jamaah Tabligh came. A small group of Muslims, led by Sayyid Ahmad Khan, decided to fully accept Western modernisation and adapt to scientific and technological advances. Another small group, led by Sayyid Amir Ali, decided to accept Western advancement whilst still seeking their own identity through a reinterpretation of traditional legacies using new values.

Attempts to assert a return to the religious and cultural traditions of the former Islamic glory had in fact been made since the 16th century when Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624), leader of the Naqshabandiyyah Order, led a reformation movement that blocked the combining of Islam with Hindu elements that was being carried out by the Mogul authorities. These efforts were continued by the *Sūfi* activist Shāh Walī Allāh (1702-1762) and then by another Naqshabandiyyah leader, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd (1786-1831). In this traditional Naqshabandiyyah environment, the founder of Jamaah Tabligh, Maulānā Muḥammad Ilyās, accepted and developed its scholarly traditions. Thus, at least in the early phase of the formation of Jamaah Tabligh, the path of *Sūfi*st reformation that emphasised orthodox Islamic *sharī'ah* was clearly visible in the proselytising activities of Muḥammad Ilyās, though he did not bequeath the political activism of the order to the Jamaah Tabligh proselytising movement.

The birth of Jamaah Tabligh was in fact a direct reaction to the emergence of aggressive Hindu proselytisation movements, such as the *Shuddhi* (Purifying) and *Sangathan* (Consolidation) movements, which made wide-reaching attempts in the early 20th century to "return" to Hinduism those who had "left" the religion and converted to Islam during the period of Muslim political power in India. The main target of these right-wing Hindu movements were

those they called “borderline Muslims” who still maintained many beliefs and cultural habits that had come from Hinduism. Maulānā Muḥammad Ilyās, founder of Jamaah Tabligh, believed that only a grass-roots Islamic movement could challenge the efforts of *Shud-dhi* and *Sangathan*, through “purifying” these “borderline” Muslims and educating them about basic faith and worship in order to save them from the process of Hinduisation.

Muḥammad Ilyās, born in 1885 in the village of Kandahlah, Saharanpur, Uttar Pradesh, was fully aware that creating a movement such as this would not be easy. He had been appointed to a good position as a teacher at the famous Mazāhirul ‘Ulūm Madrasah (Islamic school) in Saharanpur on his return from his pursuit of knowledge in Deoband. During that time he prepared a small team, consisting of young staff members who were graduates of the Deoband and Saharanpur Madrasah, to proselytise in the Mewat region, near Delhi, which was an area occupied by “borderline Muslims” of the Rajput ethnicity, called the Meo. Most of the Meo still used Hindu names at that stage, many of them worshipped Hindu gods in their houses and celebrated Hindu holidays, even though they had been Islamised since the 12th century. The proselytisers were sent to them with the duty of building a network of mosques and madrasah in order to re-educate them.

However for Muḥammad Ilyās, this model of proselytisation through madrasah turned out to be ineffective because the teachers who were sent there only repeated what they had learned during their education, and were unable to become skilled proselytisers who moved from door to door in order to remind the Muslims who lived there of their obligations. The madrasah appeared to be good only for producing religious functionaries, not proselytisers, so he felt unsatisfied with the proselytisers who were sent to him. For him, the continuation of proselytisation was only guaranteed in the hands of people who were willing to sacrifice themselves and proselytise without material assistance from others. Muḥammad Ilyās then decided to leave Mazāhirul ‘Ulūm and move to the Basti Nizāmuddīn area, near Delhi, in order to introduce the Jamaah Tabligh movement through proselytising from door to door (henceforth known as *khurūj*) in around 1921. This movement was formally announced in Mewat in 1926 and it used *khurūj* to emphasised the obligation of Muslims to sacrifice time to proselytise from house to house and from mosque to mosque. The movement quickly received a very good response from a number of ‘*ulamā*’, including

Shaikh Rashīd Aḥmad Kankui, Shaikh ‘Abdurrahīm Shāh, Shaikh Iḥtishān (who became his brother-in-law) and Abū Hasan ‘Alī An-Nadwī who was known as the director of Dārul ‘Ulūm Lucknow.

After succeeding in “Islamising” Mewat, in 1944 Shaikh Muḥammad Ilyās passed away and the leadership of Jamaah Tabligh was taken over by his son, Maulānā Muḥammad Yūsuf (1917-1965). The success of Muḥammad Ilyās can be seen from the fact that when in 1941 Jamaah Tabligh held its first Conference in Mewat, it was attended by 25,000 people, many of whom walked, and Shaikh Abul A’lā Maudūdī believed that the Jamaah Tabligh movement was a large step in the process of Islamising the Indian Muslim community. Jamaah Tabligh also made rapid advances under the leadership of Muḥammad Yūsuf. During this period, Jamaah Tabligh expanded so that the movement’s proselytisation far exceeded the Mewat area, and spread to all of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, South-East Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and the United States of America.

The key to the success of Jamaah Tabligh was located in their simple method of proselytisation, namely the mobilisation of small units, consisting of approximately 10 members, that were distributed throughout various remote villages and towns. These units, called “*jamā’ah*”, would visit a neighbourhood, invite the Muslim community to gather at the mosque and then deliver religious messages to them. The contents of the messages were formulated in a simple way, consisting of six obligations that must be carried out by all Muslims:

1. Express the Islamic profession of faith correctly in Arabic and believe and understand its meaning. The aim was to assert a return to the Oneness of God, discard worship of all except Allah and strengthen loyalty towards the Prophet Muhammad.
2. Must know the correct way to perform obligatory prayers and be devout in accordance with the rules of *sharī’ah*.
3. A Muslims may not refer to him or herself as a good Muslim except after “possessing knowledge” about the basic Islamic beliefs and practicing them. A Muslim must also regularly perform *dhikr* (recitation of the profession of faith) in order to implant the habit of remembering Allah all the time. In order to supply basic religious knowledge, the members of Jamaah Tabligh were directed to read seven works written by Maulānā Muḥammad Zakariyyā, an expert in the Ḥadīth, famous in the Saharanpur Madrasah and one of the early supporters of this

movement. These seven compositions were collected into a book called *Tablighi Nisab* (The Jamaah Tabligh Curriculum) and included the life stories of the Prophet's companions, the moral superiority of Prayer, *dhikr*, alms-giving and the *hajj* pilgrimage, along with the customs related to respecting the Prophet and the Qur'an. Maulānā Ilyās did not write a single work, so this book often became a reference for the proselytisers in their introductions at Jamaah Tabligh meetings.

4. All Muslims are obliged to honour and respect other Muslims (*Ikrām al-Mukmin*). This attitude is not only a religious obligation, but also a basic rule for effective proselytising. Maulānā Muḥammad Ilyās always stressed that polite behaviour, a moderate attitude and speaking with good manners would attract more followers than scientific discussions and rhetorical skills.
5. A Muslim must also always implant sincerity and honesty in every action. Everything must be done because of Allah.
6. The sixth obligation, a differentiating and innovative feature of Jamaah Tabligh, is that they proselytise in small groups using *khurūj* (literally meaning "go out", which means to go out of one's own neighbourhood in order to proselytise), travelling from one place to another, paying for themselves. Maulānā Ilyās believed that proselytising is not compulsory only for "professional" '*ulamā*', but is the obligation of every Muslim and as a result all Muslims must set aside a portion of their time to *khurūj* "following the path of the Prophet and proselytising from house to house, from town to town and from country to country" because of God.

These six principles of proselytisation are the "ideology" of Jamaah Tabligh and must be strictly carried out by its followers. Later on, Maulānā Ilyās implemented an additional rule, requesting all members of Jamaah Tabligh to avoid wasting time talking about useless things and to protect themselves from immoral acts forbidden by Allah.

Jamaah Tabligh in Indonesia

The first Jamaah Tabligh group to come to Indonesia is thought to have originated in India and was led by Miaji Isa. They arrived in Medan in around 1952 and called themselves *Jamā'ah Khurūj*, namely a group travels on the path of Allah to practice self-improvement and invite others to be loyal to Allah. This movement only began to demonstrate intensive activities in around 1974 at the Kebon Jeruk

mosque in Jakarta. At that time, Jamaah Tabligh activities at the mosque were pioneered by a retired ABRI (Indonesian Armed Forces) Lieutenant Colonel called Dzulfikar. The mosque in Kebon Jeruk is still used as the national headquarters and has 12 people chosen as those in charge of the proselytising activities of Jamaah Tabligh on a national level, called *Ahlus Syuro*.

As explained by Jamaah Tabligh proselytisers and proselytisation organisers in many places, they understand this movement as a religious group that is determined to proselytise Islam to the Muslim community so that they are aware of and carry out their obligations as Muslims, with reference to the examples provided by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. The emphasis placed on methods of struggle carried out by the Prophet's companions is based on the belief that whatever was done by the companions was in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet. In other words, what was given as an example by the companions was the most precise implementation of the Prophet's teachings. This is mainly referred to in order to overcome the decline of the Islamic community and the deviation from religious teachings that has taken place throughout the Muslim world. Atheism and wickedness have rapidly increased and millions of Muslims have fallen into polytheism and atheism. In their view, indifference towards religion has become normal in current society, and this causes the increase of stupidity within religion in the Islamic community.

A Jamaah Tabligh leader has specifically stated that damage emerges everywhere at the same time as thousands of '*ulamā*' and religious experts are present. Thus, widespread denial has occurred simultaneously with the building of millions of mosques and madrasah. Religious devotion is often separated from its spirit, so that prayer, for example, can no longer combat shame and disavowal. Rational reason can no longer provide a remedy for this illness that has afflicted the community. The only solution is the development of an awareness within every Muslim that they are obliged to preach, and through this preaching they have the opportunity to once again firmly hold onto Islamic teachings.

Maulānā Muḥammad Zakariyyā refers to another reality faced by the Islamic community in his work entitled *Faḍīlat Tablīg*. Here it is argued that indifference towards compulsory religious devotion is not only occurring amongst common Islamic people, but also amongst those who are recognised as '*ulamā*'. The violation of religious regulations is something normal, whilst insulting basic reli-

gious teachings is an everyday occurrence. As a result of this situation, many 'ulamā' distance themselves from the community, so ignorance about religious teachings increases. On one side, the community complains that there is no one who really wants to teach Islam to them. Conversely, the 'ulamā' complain that there is no one in the community who really wants to take action. These kinds of complaints can clearly not be accepted, because it is the responsibility of every Muslim to study and obtain a deep understanding of Islam.

With this kind of background knowledge, several pioneers in the movement began their attempts at proselytising. However, the historical background of their involvement in Jamaah Tabligh is relatively varied, so the early development of this movement was quite different in a number of places. However, it can be said that this movement appeared in a number of places in Indonesia, particularly Java, in the 1980s.

In Bandung, for example, the Jamaah Tabligh group began to appear in around 1987. At that time, a group of proselytisers from Syria, Medan and Jakarta visited the Agung Kotamadya Bandung mosque for the first time. A small group led by A. Muzzakir, an Indonesian police hero, intended to carry out *fi sabīlillāh* (fighting in the way of God) proselytisation for around 15 days. During that visit, they stopped by a number of places and mosques around Bandung, including the Muslim Amal Bakti Pancasila mosque in Antapani Tengah, Cicadas. The early activities of the Bandung Municipality Jamaah Tabligh took place at the Agung Bandung mosque. However, when it was felt that Jamaah Tabligh was not receiving enough support from the surrounding community, the activities were moved to the Amal Bakti mosque in Cicadas. At this mosque, Jamaah Tabligh obtained a strong foothold, and received a number of facilities from the mosque, such as bedrooms, bathroom facilities, use of amplifiers and speakers and so on.

This Bandung Jamaah Tabligh only began to send small groups from their *jamā'ah* to various mosques in the Bandung Municipality in 1993. These groups eventually increased and were not limited only to the Bandung Municipality, but also travelled to other towns such as Ciamis, Tasikmalaya and Indramayu. However, one of the pioneers, A. Muzzakir, had been performing *khurūj* since 1990 with groups in Yogyakarta, Medan, West Nusa Tenggara and in India and Pakistan. Another member of the *jamā'ah* followed in his footsteps and made time to travel overseas to places such as Bangkok,

the capital of Thailand, and India and Pakistan. As a result of these kinds of activities to set Jamaah Tabligh in motion, A. Muzzakir was included in the 12 people appointed by Jamaah Tabligh as the "Ahlu Syuro" at the national level.

It cannot be confirmed when the Jamaah's proselytising activities began in the Surakarta (Solo) Municipality. However, since 1962 proselytisation activities have been carried out by people whom the general community consider to be "foreign" (meaning their activities and physical appearance were relatively different from the local style), both those from outside the area and from overseas, in particular people from India and Pakistan. They went to the An-Ni'mah mosque, in Tegal Sari, Tanjung Anom village (now included in the Jotakan village), stayed for a while and proselytised. They then left and from time to time returned without notifying the local population.

The Tegal Sari An-Ni'mah mosque (more commonly known as Tanjung Anom mosque, despite being located in Jotakan) was founded in around 1960 by Ustadz H. Ismail, a local whose father was from Pakistan (called Ustadz Abdul Rahim) and whose mother was Javanese. Possibly because of the origins of Almarhum Ismail's father, Almarhum had a long-standing relationship with the proselytisers from India and Pakistan. Therefore, in around 1962, the Tanjung Anom mosque was often visited by people from India and Pakistan. They often stayed for a while, then left and occasionally returned again. This continued until around 1980. They generally attracted the attention of the local community because they wore clothing that resembled Arabic dress, with ankle-length, long-sleeved tunics and turbans (called *Tob* or *Gamish* in Saudi Arabia, originating from the words *thaub* and *qamis* which have the same meaning, namely tunic). Generally speaking, they also grew beards without moustaches. Eventually the local community came to know them as activists and proselytisers from the *Jamaah Tabligh* or *Jamaah Jaulah* movement.

It was only in around 1981 that this Jamaah Tabligh group began to receive sympathy from a small number of people in Solo, which then led to the formation of small groups of proselytisers, including those at the Tanjung Anom mosque. The number of active participants in the Jamaah began to increase, though membership was still limited. The presence of Jamaah Tabligh members in Tanjung Anom began to develop from 1982 when the Jamaah made up of members of the general community filled the mosque at ev-

ery permanent event held by the Jamaah. The activists from the Jamaah generally came from outside Tanjung Anom where they attended the events and then returned home. Several of these outsiders lived near the mosque and married locals. For example, Hadi Muhammad, a core proselytiser at Tanjung Anom, came from Pacitan, East Java.

The development of Jamaah Tabligh at the Tanjung Anom An-Ni'mah mosque is inseparable from the tenacity of a number of eminent figures who became core proselytisers, namely Abdul Jamil (son-in-law of H. Ismail, founder of the An-Ni'mah mosque), Hadi Muhammad who is one of the managers of the An-Ni'mah mosque, and Abdul Rahim whose father, like H. Ismail's father, is from India. Another leader who pioneered the formation of Jamaah Tabligh in Tanjung Anom was Abdul Halim, a batik entrepreneur and former leader of Indonesian Chamber of Commerce (KADIN) in Sragen. They coordinated proselytisation activities in groups within the community that were considered to be not spiritual enough. Those who proselytised travelled around the villages in the subdistrict, or received guests, both those from other areas who were attending events and guests from overseas, such as those from India, Pakistan and Malaysia. These relatively time consuming activities were possible because the majority of Jamaah Tabligh activists at Tanjung Anom worked in private sectors as traders, tailors etcetera, and only a few were civil servants.

From the beginning the attitude of the local community was unsympathetic towards the presence of this group, and a number of community members opposed them, to the point where a large member of these Jamaah Jaulah members reside in other places and only a very small numbers of locals from Tanjung Anom attend the Jamaah's activities. Although the presence of Jamaah Tabligh does not have the support of the local community who believe the dissemination of teachings to be deviant and exclusive, to the point that they often receive abuse, slander and are occasionally driven out, they still continue their mission without losing hope. If in carrying out their proselytisation mission they are accepted in the community, they will say *astagfirullāh* (as an expression of feeling responsible). Conversely, if their proselytisation is rejected, they will say *alhamdulillah* (as an expression of feeling thanks for the God's trials upon them).

The strong presence and foothold of Jamaah Tabligh in Yogyakarta is closely linked to the figure of Kyai Na'man, the retired

Head of the Office of Religious Affairs in the Department of Religious Affairs. Soon after retiring, he took on the duty of spiritual adviser at the Sardjito Hospital. In his own neighbourhood he was known as Kyai and as a Jamaah leader, as well as being the *Imām* at the Al-Ittiḥād Mosque, located in Jl. Kaliurang, KM 2, or one kilometre from the Gajah Mada University campus and next to his house. There he handled the Al-Ittiḥād Kindergarten and often gave lectures in places aside from his own neighbourhood. He is also quite well-known in Muhammadiyah because he was once one of the organisation's managers at the branch level.

According to Kyai Na'man, in around October 1988, the Al-Ittiḥād Mosque welcomed seven guests from Pakistan. They were invited by Kyai Na'man to stay and sleep on the mosque verandah (*serambi*). Before coming to Al-Ittiḥād, these guests had stayed at the Lempuyangan mosque in Yogyakarta for three years. However, the surrounding community and mosque congregation were indifferent towards their proselytising activities, and during that period the guests only slept on the mosque's verandah. When Kyai Na'man met them, he invited them to the Al-Ittiḥād Mosque, taking into consideration the obligation to respect guests, particularly those who have come from overseas with the aim of proselytising. During their stay at Al-Ittiḥād they diligently cleaned all parts of the mosque, inside and out, including the place for ablutions and the pond. They often performed *dhikr* and evening prayer. They often gave cakes to the children who liked to come to the mosque. After around seven days at Al-Ittiḥād, they asked permission to go to the Janti Mosque which is located not far from Al-Ittiḥād. Apparently their arrival invited suspicion from the local community, so that after only one night at Janti they were driven away. As a result, they once again returned to Al-Ittiḥād.

The situation did not end there, because a number of Janti residents then reported to the security agency the presence of "suspicious" foreign guests. Through the local village chief, Kyai Na'man received a copy of an order from *Bupati* Sleman that requested the village chief expel the seven guests. However, the village chief was not brave enough to carry out this order, because they were called the "Kyai's guests". Eventually, the local District Military Command (KODIM) interfered by inviting a number of the Janti mosque officials and Kyai Na'man to discuss the issue. In this meeting heated dialogue took place between the KODIM commander and Kyai Na'man. However in the end KODIM was convinced that there was no appropriate reason to forbid the guests' activities.

From that moment on, Kyai Na'man was able to receive these guests calmly, even though he did not yet know what Jamaah Tabligh was and who these seven guests actually were. Only after they had been given the opportunity to hold a number of dialogues did they introduce themselves and the purpose of their visit to Indonesia. They said that the visit was intended for no other purpose than to fulfil the call of *jihād* through preaching. Their speech was graceful and did not indicate any interests aside from carrying out the obligation of proselytisation, which made Kyai Na'man anxious to know even more about the mission of these seven guests. Therefore, when these guests returned home to their own countries, Kyai Na'man was invited to the headquarters of the Jamaah Tabligh movement in India. Around five months after the guest returned home, in March 1989, Kyai Na'man travelled to India with the aim of seeking clarification about the sources of Jamaah Tabligh's teachings. On arrival in India, Kyai Na'man was happily received by the leaders of the movement. After a period of time he was sent to Kashmir with 15 other people from England, Thailand, Australia, Malaysia and the Philippines. During their time in Kashmir they were sent to various areas to each carry out proselytisation duties.

Whilst carrying out these missionary activities during the month of Ramaḍān, Kyai Na'man had an extraordinary spiritual experience which then strengthened his resolve to continue proselytising with Jamaah Tabligh. After his time in Kashmir, Kyai Na'man returned to India and then continued on to Pakistan. During his time in this country Kyai Na'man undertook further religious education, at the same time as attending an international gathering (*ijtimā' akbar*). During this event the participants swapped their experiences, discussed a number of issues and made plans for preaching in various countries. From Pakistan he continued his journey to Bangladesh and Thailand, which in its entirety took five months. During this journey he paid for food with money from his own pockets for only two days and the rest of it came from the generosity of other Jamaah Tabligh members.

Before Kyai Na'man made his journey, there were already around 13-15 followers of Jamaah Tabligh at the Al-Ittiḥād Mosque. Soon after his return, the Jamaah grew to around 50 people. This total increased every week, thanks to each of the members' preaching activities from time to time in a number of places. Because the area surrounding the Al-Ittiḥād Mosque included student residences, the Jamaah Tabligh's religious study groups (*pengajian*) were often at-

tended by students, along with members of the general community. At the *pengajian* every Saturday night, the mosque held around 10000 people, with Jamaah from various corners of Yogyakarta. Documenting the total number of participants was not considered by the Jamaah Tabligh movement to be important, because their main aim was only to preach.

In the region of East Java, Jamaah Tabligh's activities also began to expand in around the mid-1980s. This began in around 1986, with the arrival of a small group of Jamaah Tabligh proselytisers from Pakistan, led by Professor Shobur, at the Al-Fatah Mosque, in the area of the Al-Fatah *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school), Temboro, Magetan regency. Their journey aimed to introduce the preaching that existed in Pakistan, which they wanted to develop in all countries of the world, including Indonesia. Their arrival was well received by the leaders of the *pesantren*, because it was in accordance with the wishes of Ustadz Uzairon (son of the late KH Mahmud and founder of the Al-Fatah Temboro *pesantren*) who had previously gained religious knowledge in Mecca. After comparing their proselytisation program with the missionary activities in Saudi Arabia and Egypt, Ustadz Uzairon was then determined to help the program develop in Indonesia, as intended by these guests. Thus, this proselytisation program began to be introduced around the *pesantren* owned by his father. Due to its central role, the Al-Fatah Mosque in Temboro is still maintained as the headquarters of Jamaah Tabligh in the East Java and its surrounding regions.

From Temboro, the Jamaah Tabligh activities extended to other areas, including to its neighbouring regency, Ngawi. The spread of this movement is closely linked to the role of an employee of the Department of Religious Affairs, a teacher at the Magetan State Islamic Senior High School (MAN), called Marhaban, who lived in Purwosari, in the Kwadungan regency, Ngawi. The involvement of Marhaban in the dissemination of Jamaah Tabligh in Ngawi began with a meeting between him and the leader of the Al-Fatah *pesantren*, KH Uzairon. At this meeting they talked about plans to develop the Jamaah Tabligh missionary activities in Ngawi and surrounding areas. Marhaban considered Ustadz Uzairon's intentions positively, because before the meeting was held he already knew something of the aims of Jamaah Tabligh's proselytisation activities. However, before the proselytisation plan was implemented, Marhaban felt the need to first more deeply understand the purpose, aims and arrangement of these missionary activities.

The Jamaah Tabligh missionary activities pioneered by Marhaban in his village of Purwosari, Ngawi, were initially opposed by the local community. This was because the common people of this village believed that Marhaban and his colleagues were a group that taught deviant and exclusive teachings. For similar reasons, their arrival in the villages around Purwosari also received abuse, insults and expulsion. Even under such conditions, the members of Jamaah Tabligh remained undaunted and understood that the obstacles they were experiencing were a challenge to continue the development of their proselytisation, because they were convinced that such proselytisation activities are in the framework of finding God's favour. These undaunted efforts began to flourish as the residents of Purwosari and surrounding villages slowly began to accept the presence of Jamaah Tabligh's activities. This about face occurred in around 1991 and the movement's influence in Ngawi was formally established.

From Purwosari, Jamaah Tabligh extended to its neighbouring village, Tirak, still in the Kwadungan regency, and a Tirak resident called Abdul Ghoni acted as the pioneer in his village. Thus, the movement's activities were linked to other villages. As the activities in Tirak increased, this village was established as the headquarters (*Mahallah*) at a Village level. In Purwosari a discussion circle (*halaqah*) was formed to coordinate the increasing number of missionary activities at a regency level. Even now, all regencies in Ngawi have their own *halaqah*. These developments are largely attributed to the Jamaah Tabligh members who travelled to the villages in each regency, who were supported by the activities of groups of Jamaah Tabligh guests from outside Ngawi, from other provinces, or from other countries such as India, Pakistan and Malaysia.

Organisation and Membership

It is safe to say that all Jamaah Tabligh activists object to and reject their group being referred to as an "organisation", the reason being that their activities are efforts at proselytising and preaching as carried out by the Prophet and his companions, with the main aim being to bring prosperity to mosques throughout the world and invite every Muslim to be conscious of their religious obligations. Aside from that, networks between Jamaah Tabligh groups tend to be loose, meaning that they don't have a firm structure that is set for a particular period, nor do they have a vertical hierarchy with clear organisational responsibility. As a result, they do not have a

basic budget or a household organisational budget, they don't have a standard treasury, nor do they have a standard system of organisational supervision. Under these sorts of conditions, the Jamaah Tabligh movement is a "religious organisation" that does not need to register with the governmental authorities, as is customary for religious organisations that are formally registered with government departments. Moreover, their activities do not require permission, because they are informal and tend to be personal.

However, this does not mean that the group does not have a leadership hierarchy at all. The coordination of proselytisation, involving a number of people working together and moving from place to place, certainly requires "organisational" regulation. There is also naturally a process of differentiating between those who have a long involvement in the group and those who have only just joined. Thus, although it is loose, hierarchy based on (religious) knowledge, seniority and "flight time" in proselytising and *khurūj* or *jaulah* can be found in Jamaah Tabligh. A vertical structure also exists, though it is as flexible as the leadership hierarchy, which tends to be more religious. This structure is not only related to the Jamaah Tabligh's existence in Indonesia, but also to the movement's international network.

The flexible nature of the organisation allows management of the activities to be loose and impermanent. Although there are a number of terms that are generally used by this movement, such as *Markaz* (which literally means "centre"), *Zone*, *Halaqah* ("meeting place") or *Mahallah* (which means "place to stop"), the use of these terms is also flexible, without obligation, and they are used only to simplify the coordination of a number of activities. Likewise, in terms of the management structure, there are terms that are generally used by the group. For example, the *Istiqbāl* section manages the outside (or overseas) guests who are performing *khurūj*, or members of the general community who are interested in joining activities held at the *Markaz*. Thus, the *istiqbāl* section can be called a type of protocol section. There is also the *Tashkīl* section, with the main function of monitoring the development of proselytisation groups in *Zones* and *Mahallahs*, registering new members, managing the division of target areas for proselytisation (*khurūj* targets), and so on. There is also the *Khidmat* section, which mainly prepared and makes logistics available, both the *Markaz* (food preparation) and *khurūj* logistics (for proselytising outside one's own neighbourhood).

For example, the management of Jamaah Tabligh in the Band-

ung Municipality *Markaz* at the Amal Bakti Pancasila Antapani Tengah Mosque consists of managers (in other areas called *Amīr*), secretaries and a number of assistants. These managers have the duty of motivating, guiding and supervising all of the Jamaah's activities. The Secretary is obliged to document the results of the daily and weekly meetings. The assistants have the duty and obligation to assist the managers, in accordance with their field. The assistants in the organisational "structure" in Bandung consist of personnel from the *Istiqbāl* division, *Tafakkud* (selectors of those who will carry out *khurūj*), *Tashkīl*, *I'lān* (information section), *Mimbar Wala* (Chairperson in meetings or discussions) and the *Khidmat* division. Aside from the relatively long-term managers, management is not permanent, both in terms of personnel and time limits. This means that those people chosen as functionaries in the management can change from time to time. Usually these changes are decided in a meeting with participants made up of managers at the *Markaz* level with the addition of senior activists.

In the Surakarta Municipality there is a structure called *Markaz*, under the leadership of an *Amīr Markaz*. The *Markaz* in Surakarta is at the An-Ni'mah mosque, Tanjung Anom and coordinates its *Amīr*-ship at the Zone level, which is an area of proselytisation decided upon together with the *Markaz* leader. In both the *Markaz* and zone, an *Amīr* is usually chosen through acclamation from the senior proselytisers. In leading and carrying out proselytisation activities, the *Amīr* are assisted by a number of members of management who are organised according to the handling requirements of the activities, namely the *Tashkīl*, *Khidmat* and *Istiqbāl* divisions. Uniquely, aside from functioning as the Surakarta Municipal *Markaz*, the An-Ni'mah Tanjung Anom mosque also functions as the centre of the Surakarta Middle Zone activities, and as the Regional *Markaz* for the whole of Central Java. The coordination of the regional *Markaz* is handled by the National *Markaz*, located in the Kebon Jeruk mosque in Central Jakarta.

The Surakarta Municipality is divided into five (5) zones which are all further divided into *Mahallah*. The total division of *Mahallah* in each zone depends on the number of mosques that can be made prosperous in the respective zone. The five zones are:

1. West Zone, consists of 15 *Mahallah* (centre of activities at the Ta'mīrul Islām Pesantren, Lawiyan)
2. Middle Zone, consists of 15 *Mahallah* (centre at Tanjung Anom mosque)

3. East Zone, consists of 12 *Mahallah* (centre at Muttaqin UNS Solo mosque)
4. South Zone, consists of 11 *Mahallah* (centre at Solo Baru mosque)
5. North Zone, consists of 6 *Mahallah* (centre at the Mujahiddin mosque).

In the Ngawi Regency, East Java, the management of Jamaah Tabligh is only at the *Halaqah* level, which is actually the same as a zone, being underneath the *Markaz*. This is because the Ngawi Jamaah Tabligh zones "have their main office" at the Al-Fatah mosque, Temboro, Magetan, which functions as the *Markaz* for the East Java region. The division of *Halaqah* for the Jamaah members in the Ngawi Regency consists of:

1. West Ngawi (subdistrict Walikukun, Mantingan, Ngerambe, Sine, Jogorogo, Kendal). West Ngawi is divided into two:
 - a. West Ngawi, North, oversees Walikukun and Mantingan *Halaqahs*;
 - b. West Ngawi, South, oversees Ngerambe, Sine, Kendal and Jogorogo *Halaqahs*.
2. East Ngawi (subdistrict Pitu, Ngawi, Geneng, Kwadungan, Padas, Pangkur, Karangjati, Bringin, Paron, Kedung Galar). The East Ngawi *Halaqah* are divided into two, the North and South sections of East Ngawi.
 - a. the North section of East Ngawi *Halaqah* includes Pitu, Ngawi, Padas, Karangjati and Bringin
 - b. the South section of the East Ngawi *Halaqah* includes Geneng, Kwadungan, Pangkur, Kedung Galar and Paron.

As already mentioned, the organisational leadership of Jamaah Tabligh is in the hands of an *Amīr* (literal meaning: leader) who is chosen in each Jamaah group, at both the *Markaz* and lower levels. Although the use of this term is not absolute, a *Markaz Amīr*, or the equivalent position with a different name, is found at every *Markaz*, and in every zone there is an *Zone Amīr* and at every *Mahallah* there is a *Mahallah Amīr*. The duties of these *Amīrs* are limited to "administration" and the regulation of meetings. They transfer responsibility for leading prayers to those who fulfil the requirements of *Imām*. The appointment of an *Amīr* is carried out in meetings that occur at agreed upon intervals, for example every 40 days. Every member has the right to be appointed *Amīr*.

The Jamaah Tabligh *Markaz*, both national and regional (regency/town) are vital for regulating the mobility of members in their proselytisation activities. Amongst the most important functions of the *Markaz* are:

1. A place for the proselytisers who have come from other areas or overseas to stay.
2. A place for reciting the Qur'ān, especially to deepen religious understandings, and study lectures.
3. For *i'tikāf* (reside at the mosque) and *dhikr*.
4. As a meeting place. Issues that are dealt with include: listening to reports from the *Amīr* on missionary activities, dealing with problems that arise in the proselytisation activities and finding solutions, making an inventory of the names of those in the congregation prepared to preach, along with dividing responsibility for proselytisation targets.

Because there is no reliable data on the Jamaah members who join and leave the group as a result of the organisational flexibility (even though there is the *Tashkīl* division), the total number of Jamaah Tabligh participants cannot be calculated in a definite manner. Prioritised above everything formal, such as registering these participants, is the understanding that the participants want to follow Islamic teachings as demonstrated by the Prophet. They are encouraged to be available to proselytise Islamic teachings to other members of the community. Thus, their membership consists of people who have joined the congregation to proselytise in the path of Allah.

Within the Jamaah Tabligh group there are also methods to recruit new members or Jamaah participants. Firstly, they visit certain mosques to join in congregational prayer. After that, they will decide upon one of these mosques to function as the centre of proselytising activities. From this mosque, they will then carry out *jaulah*, which means they will go from house to house around the mosque and invite the residents to make the local mosque prosperous. *Jaulah* usually takes around two and a half hours and is usually carried out after 'Ashr prayer. If a member of the Jamaah is sick, then they will immediately be visited, or, if required, the Jamaah will consider accepting responsibility for payment of their medicine. If they meet a person during their *jaulah*, they will invite that person (without caring if they are a local resident or not) to make the local mosque prosperous and join in their *pengajian*, along with discussing various religious and daily problems.

After the initial process above, they implement further methods so that the new Jamaah are available to support the proselytisation activities as preachers. There are at least three stages in their method of encouraging a person to become a preacher and perform *khurūj*. The first stage is called *Tarhīb*, which is promoting the benefits associated with proselytising, both for the person themselves and the community. At this level the emerging Jamaah have not yet been invited to participate in proselytisation in other areas. The second level is *Tashkīl*, which is an invitation to participate in missionary activities not only in their own mosque, but also in other places. When they are at this level, the desire to proselytise outside (*khurūj*) begins to emerge amongst the new Jamaah, but they will not be allowed to fulfil their desire as easily as that. The third level is called *Tahayya*, which is the offer of joining in *khurūj*, starting with one day, three days, 40 days and so on. Various considerations are heard by the senior leaders before those concerned are declared suitable to reach this third level and join in *khurūj*.

With recruitment patterns such as this, those who join in proselytisation activities are broadly differentiated into two types, *maqāmī* and *intiḳālī*. Those identified as *maqāmī* (literal meaning: local) are the Jamaah members who only have enough available time to attend religious meetings of around two and a half hours each day. These meetings are held at each house with the family or at the mosque with the surrounding community, so they are just "local" members. Those called *intiḳālī* (literal meaning: move) are those who have enough time to proselytise outside in the name of Allah (*khurūj*) for around three days each month; or around 40 days each year; or around four months during their lifetime.

As a general picture, according to information from a Jamaah Tabligh activist in Antapani Tengah, around 2000 people have joined the *khurūj* Jamaah in the Bandung Municipality, with around 300 people who are active in the Jamaah's activities. They are mostly aged 20-40 years. They mostly work as traders, or are public university students, public school students and youths who have left school. Although Jamaah Tabligh membership is quite large, it is "restrained", meaning that a large number voluntarily participate in the activities held by the group, although a large number are not continuously active. They must also demonstrate proper conduct and politeness, which is required to manage the relatively large number of people, and flexible leadership to ensure they don't be-

come an uncontrolled mass. This can be seen from the conducting of various meetings or *ijtimā'*. The methods of "restraint" are not material, such as providing money, but are sufficient, including naming the important intentions of worship and pious deeds at every meeting.

The members who carry out *khurūj* cannot be released from restraint either. Aside from the *Amīr* mechanism, where a *khurūj* group is always led by an *Amīr Khurūj*, all the Jamaah who have carried out *khurūj* also report their activities to each coordinator, at the *Mahallah*, zone or *Markaz* level. In order to avoid the possibility of the emergence of an unknown Jamaah, Jamaah Tabligh in East Java for example stresses the requirement that every Jamaah group receives a recommendation from the *Amīr Markaz*. Therefore in Ngawi, when *khurūj* proselytising activities are carried out in East Java and its surrounding areas, both by members of the group who reside in the Ngawi Regency and those from outside the province, the group brings with them a letter created by the *Markaz*. If there is a Jamaah from outside East Java that carries out *khurūj*, with its target areas in the East Java Province, that group must report to the regional *Markaz* in Temboro. With this report, the *Markaz* releases a letter of duty that is signed by KH Uzairon Thaifur Abdullah as *Markaz* leader, with the names of the leaders and all the involved members of Jamaah Tabligh.

Main Teachings and Religious Views

According to Jamaah members, the basic teachings developed by the Jamaah Tabligh movement are no different from the teachings developed by other groups within Islam, particularly followers of the *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* school of thought. As is generally the case with Muslim groups, Jamaah Tabligh uses the Qur'ān, Ḥadīths and examples from the life of the Prophet's companions as the sources of their Islamic teachings. This group accepts almost all religious thought from *Sunnī* Schools of thought and tries not to make an issue of the differences that grow among them. As a result, the Jamaah Tabligh group accepts members from the various schools of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) thought that exist in Indonesia.

Accepting the validity of various different thoughts or schools of *fiqh* thought as references that can be used by every member of Jamaah Tabligh means that they must avoid points of difference and focus their attention on issues that can be agreed upon by all

followers of *fiqh* thought. Issues that can easily be agreed upon include *fadā'il al-a'māl*, which is a religious activity that acts as a something that perfects the main activity, dividing leadership (such as prayer leader or as *Amīr Khurūj* for example) amongst the followers of different schools of *fiqh* thought.

Uṣūl al-Dakwah

As already touched upon above, the Jamaah Tabligh movement has developed a simple proselytisation message, made up of six fundamental teachings. Muḥammad Ilyās then added one more principle, which was formulated to “avoid wasting time talking about useless things and to protect themselves from immoral acts forbidden by Allah”, to the point where this seventh principle encompassed many things. In reality, amongst members of Jamaah Tabligh, this seventh principle is understood to contain twenty basic (*uṣūl*) proselytisations that from area to area are formulated relatively similarly and with only slightly different categories.

In Bandung, for example, the six fundamental teachings that form the movement's ideology are understood by members of the Jamaah as six characteristics that the proselytisers must have in order to return to the life of the Prophet's companions. However, these six characteristics are not the only characteristics of the companions, but only a number of the most important characteristics to practice. If a person can apply these characteristics, then all of their other practices will become easier.

Aside from these six characteristics of the companions, the *jamaah* in Bandung is introduced to twenty *uṣūl al-dakwah* (proselytisation fundamentals) that must be faithfully followed by proselytisers when carrying out their missions. These twenty suggestions can be categorised into five groups as follows: (1) Four things that must be increased: *dakwah ilā Allāh* (proselytisation in the path of Allah), *ta'allum wa ta'līm* (study and teaching religion), *dhikr wa al-'ibādah* (reciting the profession of faith and worship), and *khidmah* (honour and respect); (2) Four things that must be protected: loyalty towards leaders as long as the leaders are faithful towards Allah and the Prophet, prioritising *ijtimā'* (collective) deeds over *infirādī* (individual) deeds, highly respecting the mosque, being patient and tested; (3) Four things that must be decreased: time for eating and drinking, time for sleeping and resting, time outside the mosque, time for inconsequential chatting; (4) Four things that must be left behind: hope for anything except from Allah, begging for anything

except from Allah, using goods owned by others without permission from the owner, along with waste and extravagance; (5) Four things that must not be touched: it is forbidden to speak about political issues, both domestic and international, it is forbidden to speak about errors or differences in religious opinion, it is forbidden to speak about issues of social status (rank, position and status) because there is only trust in God, it is forbidden to ask for funds and talk about community scandals.

In Surakarta, the six proselytising ideologies of Jamaah Tabligh are also called the "six characteristics of the Companions", which all proselytisers must have in order to carry out their missionary activities. The twenty proselytisation principles are categorised into three parts: (1) Eight things that must be done: loyalty towards the *Amir Khurūj* as long as he is loyal to Allah and the Prophet, maintaining (playing an active role in its implementation) *ijtimā'* deeds rather than *infirādī* deeds, being patient and tested, maintaining the respect and cleanliness of the mosque, activating oneself in proselytising, increasing *dhikr* and worship, involving oneself in *ta'allum wa ta'līm* and, finally, respect, which means being prepared to serve the needs of the members of the *khurūj* group; (2) Eight things that must be avoided and that must not be touched: discussing practical politics, both domestic and international, discussing *khilāfiyyah* (different religious interpretations amongst various Islamic schools of thought), discussing (comparing) the social status of a person or community, discussing (criticising, disparaging and so on) community scandals, extravagance (waste) in any form, greed towards the property of others, begging from others except from Allah, using goods owned by others without permission from the owner; (3) Four things that must be decreased: food and drink, sleep, useless discussion, time outside the mosque.

In Yogyakarta, the proselytisation activities that are strongly emphasised to the Jamaah, in accordance with the teachings developed by Shaikh Muḥammad Ilyās, include four things: (1) the importance of *dhikr*; (2) maintaining prayer; (3) seriousness of reading the Qur'ān; (4) imitating the behaviour of the Prophet's companions, along with imitating the Prophet's behaviour. Emphasis on *dhikr* means that on the face of it, the movement appears to be *ṣūfīst*. However, *dhikr* in Jamaah Tabligh does not base its recitation on the teachings of a particular teacher (*murshid* or *wālī*) who is believed to have a genealogy tracing back to the Prophet, as found in *tarīqat* (*Ṣūfī* order) traditions. *Dhikr* means remembering Allah

through reciting the *tayyibah* sentence (*Lā ilāha illā Allāh* —there is no god but Allah) as much as possible, wherever, and in whatever situation. Therefore, *dhikr* is the same as one of the principles or basics of proselytisation that is given to Jamaah Tabligh members in other places, namely the principle of “*dhikr* and worship”. The fourth aspect, namely the companions’ characteristics, consists of the six principles or ideologies that are the fundamental teachings of the Jamaah Tabligh movement.

The practice of *dhikr* (*dhikr Allāh*) as believed to be one of the most important fundamentals of proselytising, with reference to a number of verses in the Qur’ān, such as: Sūrah al-An’ām: 52; al-A’rāf: 55-56; al-A’rāf: 180; al-Shūrā: 110.

Function of the Mosque

Jamaah Tabligh believes that in Islam mosques are the centre of light and illumination, the source of knowledge and guidance. Every person who enters a mosque should draw Islamic knowledge and become pious, because it is there that knowledge should be studied. At the mosque the human spirit is purified through religious devotion consisting of *ṣalāt*, *dhikrullāh*, *du’ā*, *tilāwat al-qur’ān* (recitation of the Qur’ān) and so on. Within it each member of the Jamaah can obtain moral education. These reasons can explain why Jamaah Tabligh positions the mosque as the centre of proselytising activities. They believe that many mosques currently do not function in this way. Many elderly people, for example, face difficulties in finding a suitable place to increase their religious knowledge, or experience comfort of their faith. This is the kind of function that Jamaah Tabligh wants to create in the mosques that they are making prosperous, namely the mosques where the management is available to accept Jamaah Tabligh activities.

So that each mosque that is targeted for proselytisation can be prosperous, it is hoped that the proselytisers can implement five programs:

1. Daily thought (in the form of daily meetings of the Jamaah members about various issues related to their lives, including their children’s education)
2. The first *jaulah*, which means having good friendships with the residents living around the mosque, carried out for at least two hours a day
3. Daily *ta’līm* (instruction) about works of excellence (*fadā’il al-a’māl*)

4. Second *jaulah*, namely weekly friendly visits to the closest mosques to make these mosques prosper
5. *Khurūj*, to proselytise outside, at least three days a month.

Guidance is not only found in the mosque, but can also be obtained in the home, provided that the home is created for that purpose. During the time of the Prophet, if a person wanted to know Islam it was enough for him to go to the mosque, and if he wanted to know Islamic law, it was enough to go to market because that was where Islamic law was implemented. According to Jamaah Tabligh analysis, this kind of situation is no longer found.

Tablīg, Khurūj and Allah's Promise

As mentioned previously, this movement emphasises the importance of *Tablīg* (preaching), which is a specific feature of the movement. Here *tablīg* means preaching outside (*khurūj*) in the path of Allah and every member is obliged to adhere to His law. Several rational and textual considerations are used by Jamaah Tabligh as a basis for the obligation to perform *khurūj*. The rational considerations that they use for every Muslim having to preach can be seen from the words of a Jamaah Tabligh leader called Shaikh Anshory, as follows:

“Islamic people generally just transfer their proselytising duties to religious scholars. Even though every Muslim is commanded by Allah to guard against immorality. Although it is acknowledged that preaching is the main duty of religious scholars, Islamic people in general also shoulder this duty. Because of that, I call upon all Muslims to gather their time and energy to preach. A person does not need to have the title of religious scholar in order to preach.”

Shaikh Muḥammad Ilyās says:

“Outside on the path of Allah is another type of *jihād* (holy war). Because *jihād* in the path of Allah for 40 days in each year greatly assists a person in reaching their life goals (namely loyalty towards religious commands). Or at least a person should attend meetings (program) once a week at a mosque and practice with these skills.”

The textual considerations as the basis of *tablīg/khurūj* refer to the following verses of the Qur’ān, such as: *Sūrat Fuṣṣilat*: 33, nli ‘*Imrān*: 104, *al-Taubah*: 1-2, *al-Dhāriyāt*: 55, *al-Taubah*: 41, *Hāmīm*: 43, *Yūsuf*: 108, *al-Anbiyā*: 107, and some of the Prophetic traditions (*hadīth*).

According to Jamaah Tabligh, Islam as taught by the Prophet demands that every Muslim sets aside a portion of their time to carry out proselytisation duties, whenever and wherever. Carrying out *khurūj* is an indication of the completion of a person's faith, so that to carry out this duty, this person does not need to wait until they are skilled in preaching, but it is enough to join Jamaah Tabligh programs and phase by phase take the steps to make the mosque prosperous, as mentioned above. *Khurūj* is carried out level by level, starting with three days a year, then 40 days a year, increasing to four months, then increasing again to a full year. If the large problem of leaving one's family for a full year to proselytise can be overcome, then it is easier to overcome small problems.

Khurūj, along with being a way to proselytise to other people, basically constitutes a form of mental and spiritual development for the person who is performing it. Through *khurūj*, the person hopes to transform their personality, from the personality of a normal person to the personality of a preacher, through to the personality of the Prophet. When this transformation takes place, through *khurūj* this transformation is spread to the family, mosque, neighbours, and to the broader community.

For Jamaah Tabligh, *khurūj* does not mean leaving one's family and abandoning responsibility, because prior to departure, family matters must still be taken care of. Every person who is going to *khurūj* must first be sure that their family's basic needs will be sufficiently fulfilled for the period of their absence. The *Markaz* leader also appoints someone to monitor the development of the families of those who are fulfilling their *khurūj*.

However, in reality, participants in Jamaah Tabligh activities in various areas are made up of a variety of people with different professions such as traders, farmers, labourers, farmhands, private white collar workers and civil servants, who experience many obstacles in carrying out *khurūj*. This means that *khurūj* often causes a struggle between the obligation to fulfil the family's basic needs and the obligation to proselytise. Several steps have been developed to manage this problem. For example, a civil servant only carries out *khurūj* in the afternoon and evening in close areas, so that they can still go to their office in the morning. This is also the case for traders, who adjust their *khurūj* program in accordance with their trading activities, such as trading on normal days and taking weekends off, so that their days off can be used for *khurūj*.

Aside from practical steps, Jamaah Tabligh has also developed a religious doctrine in the form of a "concept" about the way to make

a living. According to Jamaah Tabligh, a person's livelihood can be obtained in two ways, through *Tajribah* (experiment) and through God's promise. In the first method, for example, a person sells goods for a living, then he makes a profit and with this profit he can pay for his family's basic needs. This is likewise the case for those who work in offices or factories, they use their energy for wages and with this wage they fulfil their family's basic needs. This method is often not enough to fulfil the family's needs, even when both husband and wife work. With the second method, a living can be made through conviction in Allah's promise, through carrying out the obligations commanded by Allah. For example, Allah promises that He will provide unexpected fortune to those who are pious towards Him. Allah also promises to give His blessings to those who pray faithfully. Therefore, *khurūj* is also a test for a person, whether or not he believes Allah's promise. Thus far, they can prove Allah's promise, because their families are generally fine, their wives are well and their children are faithful and well behaved.

The Consultation (Mushāwarah) and Lifestyle

According to Jamaah Tabligh, Islam stresses *mushāwarah* as a highly important fundamental that should be emphasised, particularly those related to the Islamic community's interests. With *mushāwarah*, all matters or issues related to the desires and interests of the Muslim community can be accurately solved together. This is because having a variety of different opinions in *mushāwarah* is not useful and will result in implementation that is not truly agreed upon by all parties, which is not based on feelings of responsibility. *Mushāwarah* are a noble activity, used to produce an agreement through discussions on certain topic, with this agreement ratified by a unanimous vote by members present at the *mushāwarah*, such as in appointing the *Amir Khurūj* (group leader).

As a result, in Jamaah Tabligh, *mushāwarah* is a highly important action which need to be implemented when deciding the nature of the movement and the steps the Jamaah will take in carrying out their proselytising. Every step of the preaching is discussed beforehand in an orderly and manner and consequentially the later steps must be in accordance with the decisions made at this meeting.

Aside from the *mushāwarah*, everyday lifestyle must be in accordance with the patterns exemplified by the Prophet's companions. For example, style of dress includes wearing Muslim clothes such

as a *baju gamis* (Arab style shirt) and *baju kurung* (long women's tunic) and a *sarong*. At the same time, they implement what they believe to be the method of eating and drinking according to Islam, meaning that before eating they must:

- a. Wash their hands in flowing water
- b. Sit on a plaited mat (*topang*)
- c. Place everyone's food on the same tray
- d. Take food from the outside of the tray, starting with three fingers

The usual way of drinking is by holding the glass with three fingers and to anticipate if there is poison in it, before lifting the glass a person recites the following prayer three times: "*sarāhum rabbuhum, sharāban ṭahīrā*", then after saying *bismillāhirrahmānirrahīm* (In the name of God), the drink is swallowed. After finishing the drink, the person says *alḥamdulillāh* (Praise be to God).

Jamaah Tabligh members sleep in a special way, stretched out to the North, with folded hands as a pillow. Before going to sleep they must take *wudū* (ablution) water, perform 2 cycles of *ṣalāt*, read a sleep prayer, and continue by reading *Sūrat al-Fāṭihah*, *al-Ikhlās*, *al-Nās*, then blow on their hands and wipe their head, face and body except for the feet and genitals.

Maintaining a beard is an example taken from the Prophet Moses, whilst moustaches must be cut, because *Fir'aun* purportedly had a moustache. The original reason for the obligation to grow a beard was because the Prophet Muḥammad once smiled upon seeing one of his companions, because he saw many angels hanging from his beard.

As social etiquette, members of Jamaah Tabligh never make an issue of their social status, not only because they follow a simple lifestyle, but also because they believe that a person's wealth is better if a quarter of it is allocated to proselytisation as a provision for the hereafter. They are also not allowed to discuss differences in religious understanding (*khilāfiyyah*) so that harmony amongst them is protected.

About Women

Although Jamaah Tabligh acknowledges that the main function of women (mothers) is to manage the household and children at home, they also acknowledge the obligation of women, in the same way as men, to proselytise (*khurūj*). So that women's main function con-

tinues properly, a process must be created so that women can achieve awareness and make the decision themselves to stay and manage the home. If a woman goes out, she only has one aim, to *khurūj*, the same as for men. This also means that domestic duties in the home are no longer monopolised by women, but also demand a contribution from men. When a husband leaves to *khurūj*, he must organise his own personal needs, such as cooking or washing his clothes. In the situation where the wife leaves the husband to *khurūj*, the husband is required to manage the children and household like a woman. Therefore, the spirit of gender equality is implanted when the obligation to proselytise is felt together by husband and wife.

In order to avoid the accusation that men neglect their homes and children, many Jamaah Tabligh groups have now developed methods that are believed to be appropriate for overcoming this problem. In Surakarta, for example, they have developed a program for mothers with the aim that the relationship between wives is the same as the relationship between husbands: full of love and affection, Islamic fraternity, helping one another, and so on. If a situation arises where a husband and wife both carry out *khurūj*, their children are usually left with members of Jamaah Tabligh who are not performing *khurūj*. The family who looks after these children treats them the same as their own children.

In carrying out the obligation to preach, women have the opportunity to experience "vertical mobility" amongst the women members of the jamaah through their own ability and piety, without consideration of their social or economic status. Thus, a lower class woman can become a leader and supervise proselytising activities, or become the leader of all the women's groups in the Jamaah if their individual capacity allows it. In a community that prioritises status symbols in marriage, such as is the case in India and Pakistan, Jamaah Tabligh marriages are simple and are only attended by a small number of people, with the piety of those who are marrying constituting their "capital", which is obviously a "revolution" in life attitude, moving towards egalitarianism. Women, and also men, are no longer seen from the angle of social or economic status, but from the angle of piety and devoutness, because the two parties do not pursue social status in public life.

The concept above that theoretically takes gender into consideration does not automatically mean that every husband and wife experiences the same level of comfort. It is highly possible that a husband under the protection of *khurūj* neglects his basic obliga-

tions towards his family. However, awareness about gender equality has apparently become a collective reference for Jamaah Tabligh, which appears, for instance, in Surakarta.

The Movement's Patterns of Activity

In order to obtain a detailed picture of the activities of Jamaah Tabligh, two actual examples from Bandung and Yogyakarta are analysed below.

In Bandung

In this town, a number of activities are carried out before and after groups of proselytisers are sent to *khurūj*. These activities take place along with the other activities in the mosque that has become the *markaz*. The activities usually include:

a) *Pre-preaching Consultation* (mushāwarah)

The *mushāwarah* is held in Bandung every day, and also every week. The daily *mushāwarah* is a requirement carried out by the *Halaqah* (a branch of the *Markaz*) and the *Mahallah* (part of the *Halaqah*) in various areas in Bandung. The weekly *mushāwarah* is usually led by the person in charge (*shūrā* expert) at the Municipality level, with representatives from the *halaqah* at the Amal Bakti Mosque at Antapani Tengah, Cicadas. At this mosque, according to its function as the local mosque, the daily *mushāwarah* is always attended by the leaders and senior members of Jamaah Tabligh, including the *Markaz* leader.

- The material discussed at the meetings is usually related to:
- Preparedness of the Jamaah that is going to carry out *khurūj*. In this respect the meeting's participants report on who is ready to depart and to which target area they will travel. They also report on the *niṣāb* (time limit) promised by the candidate, such as three days, 40 days or four months. Taking into consideration the preparations of the Jamaah, the division of groups and target areas for proselytisation can be confirmed. Generally speaking, proselytisation target areas can be differentiated into four types: areas in faraway countries, areas in close countries, areas in medium-distance countries and domestic areas. The payment and logistics preparations are also reported in the meeting.
 - Newly active Jamaah. This is intended to monitor the Jamaah that are in the process of carrying out *khurūj*. All the Jamaah

activities in the community are reported in meetings such as this. This report includes difficulties faced by the Jamaah, such as lack of funds, members of the Jamaah who are unwell, or financial difficulties experienced by the families of the Jamaah who have been left behind. If a significant problem arises, the person in charge immediately sends a delegate to help with these difficulties (this step is called *nuṣroh* which means "aid"), thereby helping the Jamaah who are currently performing *khurūj* to overcome their problems.

- Solving problems. In every *mushāwarah*, various problems that are taking place are also discussed. For example, obstructions in the program's implementation, problems with serving the Jamaah, reports from Jamaah who have returned to the *markaz*, reports on the responses of the communities who were visited, or their sympathy.
- Division of duties. In the weekly *mushāwarah* discussion focuses on issues related to who has responsibility for carrying out proselytisation efforts. The leader from every small proselytising group assembles into a united team with responsibility for all members. These functions or duties do not need to be performed by different people or officials. This means that it is always possible to double up functions. In the Antapani Tengah *Markaz*, the weekly *mushāwarah* is usually combined with the weekly *ijtimā'* (meeting) held every Thursday night, which is known as "*malam markaz*" (*markaz* night). This activity is organised by the person in charge of the Bandung Municipality area and is attended by members of the Jamaah from various *halaqah* or *mahallah*. The Jamaah Tabligh members come to each mosque *markaz* and bring food and a sleeping mat so that they can stay the night at the *markaz*.

b) Preaching Preparations: Formation of the Jamaah

Those who are available to preach and who have registered themselves with the *tashkīl* official are immediately placed in a group of around 10 people. This group disperses soon after they have carried out their preaching duties, in exactly the same way as people who have finished praying in congregation. One of the members of the group who is capable of organising them is appointed the group leader (*Amīr Khurūj*). The choice of *amīr* does not depend on skill in terms of religious knowledge, but on experience in leading a Jamaah group.

The *amīr*'s duties include:

- Acting as moderator if there is a difference of opinion between members of the group. Because of this, he must speak gracefully with all members and must not be harsh towards them;
- Creating calm and composure amongst the group members, preventing them from shameful and useless actions;
- Dividing duties amongst the group's members to carry out the program;
- If the group's discussions deviate from the path decided upon, the *amīr* must politely straighten out the divergence so that the fighting spirit of the members is not weakened
- Reminding members of the group about the important meaning of piety towards Allah and making provisions for the hereafter.

c. Preparations and Departure of the Jamaah

Before sending the proselytisers to a mosque in a particular area, those in charge of Jamaah Tabligh delegate several people to approach the local community and ask permission to carry out their proselytisation activities. Once the Jamaah has entered a mosque in the neighbourhood, the main objective is to hold a meeting about the mosque program that is to be implemented.

Every Jamaah member who is to enter the community is first asked to prepare themselves, in both material and non-material terms. The first preparation is money as payment for the journey, food and other personal needs. As much as possible all payment is handled by each member of the Jamaah. If capable, a member can quietly help other members of the Jamaah who need it. The second step is preparation of Jamaah members in terms of religious knowledge and the intention to deliver their religious knowledge in the *mudhākarah* (*ta'lim*) program at the mosque.

Once they have decided upon a time to depart, the Jamaah first meets at the mosque *Markaz* to receive any explanations (*bayān*) that are considered necessary. Then they take ablutions to carry out two suggested prayers (*naḥilah*). After this they all gather to pray together and ask for mercy, help and guidance from Allah so that they succeed and consistent (*istiḳāmah*) in carrying out their preaching, and to never neglect to perform *dhikr* and to distance themselves from idle talk.

Information about the weekly *ijtimā'* meetings at the *Markaz* mosque in Antapani Tengah can be used as an example of the activities that are carried out by these small groups of proselytisers in the mosques they

are to visit. These weekly *ijtimā'* begin on Thursday afternoon after afternoon prayer and carry in until Friday morning after dawn prayer. Those with the responsibility as proselytiser (*juru bayan*) are chosen at the weekly meeting on Wednesday afternoon at the *Markaz* mosque. These *juru bayan* are those who are prepared with full enthusiasm and thought.

The sequence of weekly *ijtimā'* activities is as follows:

Taqrīr

Taqrīr is a repetition of the importance of pious faith and deeds. *Taqrīr* occurs at around 17:00 (five p.m.) through until *magrib* (sunset prayer). At this activity a lecture is given about the characteristics of the Prophet's companions that include the 6 characteristics that are the standard doctrine of Jamaah Tabligh.

Bayan magrib

After sunset prayer, *bayan magrib* is carried out by the person in charge of the Bandung Municipality Markaz. The material delivered is almost the same as the material delivered in *taqrīr*. The difference is that the *bayan magrib* is more detailed and deeper. Its quality depends on the *juru bayan*.

During the lecture he illustrates the lifestyle of the Prophet and his companions. The lecture is delivered confidently and enthusiastically, with the hope that the Jamaah are moved by and involved in this atmosphere.

Ta'lim akhīr

The *bayan magrib* is followed by '*Isyā'* prayer in congregation and eating together. The *juru bayan* then gives a recitation of the Qur'ān and reads the holy book called *ta'lim akhīr*. The text that is read is *Hayāt al- Ṣaḥābah*, which is a standard reference text for Jamaah Tabligh. This text is only read for around 20-30 minutes. This is intended as reflection before sleep so that they can follow the companions' lifestyle.

Bayan subuh (dawn)

Approximately one hour before dawn, the Jamaah are woken up by the person appointed this duty in order to prepare for *subh* prayer. After this prayer has been performed, they gather, form a circle (*halaqah*), sitting with knees bent and folded to one

side, facing the *juru bayan*. The *juru bayan* sits on a chair and faces the Jamaah. The material that is delivered is actually the same as that in *taqrīr* and *bayān magrib*. Only the time is relatively shorter because it is usually joined with the meeting about the results of *tashkīl* registration.

In Yogyakarta

Detail of Jamaah Tabligh activities at the Al-Ittihād mosque in Yogyakarta can be seen from the routine public religious consultation (*pengajian*) that is carried out on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday every week. The listeners at every recitation can change, increase or decrease. However, for Jamaah Tabligh, this recitation is an established activity, meaning that the results of all proselytisation efforts strongly depend on the results of this recitation activity. One of these recitations can be chronologically illustrated as follows:

One afternoon, approaching afternoon prayer, the Jamaah, mainly made up of young children, began to arrive at the Ittihād Mosque. A number of the some 200 people came from Yogyakarta and others came from outside the town. When it was time for afternoon prayer, they formed rows in order to pray together, led by Kyai Na'man as *Amīr Markaz*. Once the prayer was finished, they did not *wird* as is usually carried out by followers of the *Ahlussunnah wal-jamaah*. However, soon after praying, one of the members of the congregation stood to give a talk, while the rest of the congregation sat in a circle and tried to get closer to the young *ustādh*. Wearing a long white shirt (*gamis*), he calmly sat on a small bench and began to speak without the use of an amplifier. In a well-mannered manner he invited the attendees to increase their faith, piety and acts of devotion. In his talk he did not forget to invite them to go out on the path of Allah.

Whilst the young *ustādh* was speaking, the number of people in the congregation increased, with people coming from all directions. A number of them wore *gamis* and white *kopiah*. By sunset the number of people in the congregation had reached around 600. The Al-Ittihād Mosque is not owned solely by Jamaah Tabligh, however in reality a large number of the people who filled the mosque were Jamaah Tabligh members or sympathisers.

Soon after the end of *magrib* prayer, Kyai Na'man, as *Amīr Markaz*, stood to deliver a number of messages, which invited the attendees to promise to continue the Prophet's struggle. After that, a person

wearing a *gamis* stood to act as MC and invite others to speak. When this speaker said his name, he stepped to the front of the congregation that filled the mosque. As was the case at the speech after '*ashr* prayer, the congregation tried to sit close and encircle him. This circle is called *halaqah* and is formed as imitation (*itbā'*) of the Prophet tradition. The speaker was a student in a university in Bandung who was performing *khurūj*. His lecture lasted around 45 minutes and was delivered with a clear voice and oration that touched the hearts of his listeners. This was indicated by the fact that when the speaker presented stories of human wickedness, the attendees replied with "*masya Allah*". When the speaker appealed for all members of the Jamaah to be ready to proselytise, they replied with "*in-sya Allah*" (God willing). Although during his speech he did not quote verses of the Qur'ān in its original language and only used its translated meaning, the Jamaah did not stop paying attention and listened to him engrossed.

The lecture was about "the importance of God's guidance", with an emphasis on the requirement of every person to go out and proselytise on the path of Allah. He said that it is a sign that a person has received guidance if "we put the strength that is within ourselves into religious deeds". In his opinion, the proof that a person has guidance is when "there are two interests at the same time, namely between worldly matters and religious matters, and we chose 'religious matters'".

In order to strengthen the argument that a person should depart for religious interests, the speaker repeated questions that are often asked, such as is it religious argumentation that a person must proselytise for three days, 40 days or four months? Other questions that he asked included why disseminating religion must involve leaving behind one's family? What if there is no religious expert in the local community? Why must proselytising be carried out through travelling far? Next the speaker answered these questions himself by an offering analogical question: "what about people who like to travel overseas, to all corners of the earth, leave their home, leave their family and their neighbourhood only with the aim of making a living? Is there no livelihood around where they live? Why must they travel far to foreign countries?"

The speaker then took the example of the struggle of the Prophet and his companions in proselytising. He said that when the Prophet faced opposition from infidels who asked him to stop proselytising

ing, the Prophet replied: "If the sun were located in my right hand and the moon were located in my left hand, I would not stop these proselytisation efforts". The speaker then said that when the companions heard the Prophet's attitude, they asked permission from the Prophet to disseminate religion across the earth's surface. In their opinion, proselytisation did not mean leaving worldly affairs and only managing religious matters. The Prophet himself brought the message that worldly matters are also important. Likewise the Prophet's companions had families, had children, wives and jobs. But they understood that worldly enjoyment is only momentary, and as a result they prioritised religious interests.

According to the speaker, proselytising means disseminating the seeds of faith and God's mercy to the whole world. He then quoted the Prophet's promise: "Whoever within himself has the seeds of faith, if only as big as a crumb, Allah will reply with heaven ten times bigger than this earth." Therefore, religious scholars say that our job as Muslims is to spread God's mercy and peace to all corners of the earth. Later when we have entered heaven, the Prophet will hold a huge party and everyone we have met in this world will be invited. "We will have a huge party, we will receive all of humankind, because there, in heaven, there is a place with expansive gardens. Every Friday, the people in heaven will be invited by Allah the Almighty and Allah will offer whatever they request. At that time Allah will also grant out wishes". "Allah", he said, "will give drinks without springs, milk without milking a cow, pure honey and fruits to our heart's desire. If we want to eat that fruit whilst sitting, its tree will bend down. If we want to eat it whilst standing, the tree will stand at the same height as our body."

At the end of his speech, he once again appealed to every member of the Jamaah to go out and proselytise: "The field of proselytisation extends to everywhere. Many groups are active, but even more groups are still required". Faith, in his opinion, "is perfected in two ways, through enjoying faith itself and going out and spreading it. The Prophet and his companions spread out to various surfaces of the earth to perfect faith and pious deeds". He then asked who was prepared to proselytise for 40 days. Several members of the congregation then responded by raising their hands and saying: "I (and their name), *insya Allah* (God willing)!" At the same time, one of the *Tashkil* officials noted the names of those available in his book.

The *pengajian* after *magrib* prayer was then carried out until 'Isyā prayer, with almost the same pattern, beginning with planting faith, continuing with the growth of the spirit of *jihād* (holy war) in Allah's path and finishing with the offer for whoever was ready to leave to proselytise. For those who were ready, unity in the Jamaah was first developed through four similarities, namely through having the same thoughts, having the same aims and intentions, having the same speech and having a united heart and the same love and affection. They were then grouped into groups for the *khurūj* program, a 3 day group, 15 day group, 40 day group, a 4 month group and so on.

Community's Reaction and Response

In terms of the community's and government's response to the presence of Jamaah Tabligh in various different regions, some of them express sympathy and others express antipathy. This pro and contra reaction is almost evenly spread in all areas visited by the Jamaah Tabligh proselytising groups. These pro and contra attitudes can be seen from the examples below.

In Yogyakarta

The community's response to the *pengajian* at Al-Ittihād and other mosques in various places in Yogyakarta led by Jamaah Tabligh is relatively diverse. A student at Gajah Mada University (UGM) said: "At first I was suspicious, hopefully this Jamaah isn't like Darul Arqam which is prohibited by the government. But after I joined in, it turned out that the contents of their *pengajian* were neutral, and very impressive". Next, two lecturers at UGM became *amīr* of Jamaah Tabligh and when they asked for permission from the Rector of UGM to *khurūj* overseas for 3 months, the Rector granted them permission. However, there was also opposition from the academic community. A reason given by a lecturer at IAIN (State Institute for Islamic Studies) Sunan Kalijaga is that many of the students who join Jamaah Tabligh neglect their studies and drop-out, because their time is taken up with *pengajian* and *khurūj*. This lecturer was concerned that Jamaah Tabligh, as a religious movement that is active in the student community, could make them stupid because it is not oriented towards intellectualism.

Because the leading figure in Jamaah Tabligh Yogyakarta, Kyai Na'man, is known as a formal leader of Muhammadiyah, the Central Muhammadiyah Management, through its General Leader, Kyai

AR Fakhruddin (Pak AR), has invited him three times to hold a dialogue about the Jamaah Tabligh movement. During these meetings, Kyai Na'man explained, amongst other things, that this movement in fact puts the Muhammadiyah mission into practice. "We always offer the invitation to increase faith up to the level of the true (*haqīqī*). We proselytise with knowledge and *dhikr*. We try to maintain Islam everywhere. We perform *khurūj*, or proselytise, because we don't want Islam to just be stagnant well water, but running water which is ready to wet everyone". According to Kyai Na'man, this is all in accordance and in line with the mission of Muhammadiyah, though his explanation was not convincing enough for the management of Muhammadiyah to support this movement.

From the general public, a report was made by the Head of the Karang-Malang Hamlet to the Blimbingsari Village Chief about "the existence of people who bring stoves and kettles who make the community restless and nervous." Based on this report, the Village Chief then summoned Kyai Na'man as the person in charge. The Kyai took this opportunity to voice his concern because the Village Chief accepted this false report. He asked the Hamlet Head what he meant by "restless community". "If my members steal, only then can they be said to be causing restlessness" said Kyai Na'man. At another time he was also summoned by the local Police office. Here the police demonstrated a sympathetic attitude, apologised and said that it should have been the police who came to him, rather than summoning Kyai Na'man. Polsek then took the opportunity to thank him for the proselytisation activities, because thanks to this proselytising, many people who had been "black" had now become "white". "Continue on" said the Polsek police.

Delivering his observations, the Head of the Office of the Department of Religious Affairs in the Sleman Regency said that the presence of the Jamaah Tabligh group at the Al-Itihād Mosque at first caused restlessness and suspicion amongst members of the community. However, after a series of explanations about Jamaah Tabligh's activities, members of the community attended their *pengajian* and heard the contents of their lectures delivered during this *pengajian*, and their suspicion slowly disappeared. According to this Department Head, seen from the deeds they perform, there is nothing that is negative, and in fact their actions are positive, such as performing compulsory prayers at the beginning, a lot of *i'tikāf* at the mosque, a lot of reading the Qur'an, *dhikr*, and diligently performing evening prayer. The Head of the Office of Religious Af-

fairs at the Depok subdistrict, Sleman regency, said the same thing. He said that after observing the activities carried out by Jamaah Tabligh, it would be unreasonable if they were driven away or their arrival were not received in their area of work.

A female member of Muhammadiyah, Mrs Muin, acknowledged that initially she was suspicious of this group who proselytised from mosque to mosque, bringing with them stoves, pots, washbasin, trays and so on. However, after learning about their aims and intentions, such as inviting people to love their mosque, a lot of *dhikr*, reading al-Qur'an, eating together in a simple way, not being allowed to differentiate between groups, not being allowed to discuss errors or scandals in the community, Mrs Muin's suspicion gradually disappeared, though she did not join them but quietly allowed them to carry out their activities. This kind of attitude was also found in another resident, who was initially suspicious. However, over time he saw that there were members of the community who were interested in joining in, and also those who were quiet and did not hamper their activities.

In Surakarta

As already touched upon earlier, of the members of Jamaah Tabligh whose *markaz* is the Tanjung Anom Mosque in Surakarta, a large number are outsiders and only a few come from the local population. Although the teachings and forms of religious worship developed by Jamaah Tabligh are no different from what they do, the local residents from around the mosque still believe that the activities of this group are not a part of them, though they don't impede or oppose them. For their own needs, they hold *pengajian* every Sunday night, which is separate from the *pengajian* of Jamaah Tabligh (which is held twice a week at the same mosque).

However, the attitude of acceptance towards this movement by the local community is also balanced by another attitude of support. This can be seen from the stories of several people who became members of the Jamaah. For example, a man from Medan, aged 32 years, called Sumadi, who was married with two sons, was attracted to Jamaah Tabligh because alongside their simple Islamic teachings, they also acted as a compass for getting through life, which is marked by development and advancement. He said that he was happier living in a *pesantren* and proselytising in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet, and teaching a simple way of life. This is different from the experiences of two other residents

called Dalino and Mursjidi. They both said they were attracted to Jamaah Tabligh's teachings only because their neighbours invited them to *pengajian* at the mosques. However, eventually they both became involved in Jamaah Tabligh because their activities were highly positive for self-improvement, with guidance from the Qur'an and Hadiths, whilst their proselytising always taught them to perform noble deeds.

A *batik* maker from Sragen called Abdul Halim who was at one time the leader of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in that town, joined Jamaah Tabligh in 1984 when he met with his predecessor at the Chamber of Commerce who was unexpectedly visited by a guest from Pakistan. After they had befriended and held discussions with this Pakistani, he began to feel a change in his way of thinking. Thus, from his *batik* activities he then "changed direction" towards religious activities. He then founded a mosque, and eventually established a *pesantren* in Surakarta, managed by a Jamaah Tabligh activist. He also felt the need to pay special attention to and guarantee a closer relationship with the middle to lower class community.

A religious investigator in Serengan, Surakarta, called Agus Pramono explains that community does not question the existence of Jamaah Tabligh in the area. However, there are a few special conditions for them, including the style of everyday dress that cannot be accepted/approved by the community because it is considered to be different from the style of dress of the general Indonesian community. The community can accept and has no problems with their methods of worship, because in worshipping they can adapt with the community and can generally be accepted by other groups in the community. Mulyadi, a community leader in Tanjung Anom, said that initially this group was not accepted by the local community because they only wanted to associate within the group. After developing somewhat, this group was eventually united with the community and there were no problems with any of their activities, even though they were still limited.

An interesting instance was also recounted by Suharno, leader of the An-Ni'mah mosque management who is also an employee of the local Ministry of National Education office. As manager of a mosque occupied by Jamaah Tabligh, Suharno understands the attitude and opinions of the local community towards the presence of Jamaah Tabligh at this mosque. As far as he can see, the community basically do not object to the activities of this group, because in

terms of their worship, association and behaviour, they are no different from the local community. Only their style of dress and their method of proselytising from house to house occasionally gives rise to misunderstandings, particularly for those who are working or who are relaxing after work. There are still many members of the community who are unable to accept this method of proselytising from house to house (*jaulah*).

In Ngawi

The existence of Jamaah Tabligh activities in the Ngawi Regency has received a reaction from various parties. K.H. Solehan, a religious leader in the Sumengko village, said that in 1996 a group from Jamaah Tabligh came to the Sumengko village, Kwadungan sub-district, Ngawi regency, for three days. But their presence was rejected by the community because the community did not want to accept their lectures, because the contents of the lectures they gave were far behind the contents of the lectures delivered by other '*ulamā*'. The local community also did not like their *khurūj* activities because of the requirement that they leave behind their families. The community asked, in attempting to reach heaven, is it not a sin if the family one leaves behind experiences a lack, which eventually results in a not harmonious (*saktmah*) family.

A religious investigator in the Kwadungan subdistrict, Abdul Hakim, sees the *khurūj* activities from two angles, positive and negative. The positive is that *khurūj* disperses Islam, whilst the negative is that *khurūj* requires that they leave behind their family, which causes restlessness in previously peaceful communities. Because of this problem, there are also families that experience rifts between husband and wife. As a result, he encourages consideration about a member of the community that only works as a farmer or labourer and is invited to *khurūj*. He proposes that every member of the community that performs *khurūj* must leave their family with sufficient provisions, meaning enough food.

Muhin, Leader of the NU branch in Kwadungan says that the Jamaah Tabligh activities are fine, as long as they don't cause unrest within families. He acknowledges that in the quite painstaking dissemination of their teachings to the community, this Jamaah does not tire of inviting people again and again to come to their worshipping activities, until they decide to join. The Jamaah has good intentions in carrying out their door to door activities, but the people who are approached question their actions because they are

immediately invited to pray, even though the local community is already quite religious. For Muhin, a person's awareness of the need to worship cannot only be interpreted as the result of a *khurūj* group, but it is better interpreted as guidance from Allah, because sometimes awareness of worship is implanted, sometimes it isn't.

Muhin also proposes that every member of Jamaah Tabligh who wants to enter the Kwadungan subdistrict should be involved in all activities held by the local 'ulamā', such as *tahlilan* (ceremony of *dhikr*) and *manakiban* (recitation of history of the Prophet). According to Muhin, if their teachings are in accordance with the *sunnah* (the way of the Prophet), they would join in the religious activities held by the local 'ulamā' if invited. However, unfortunately they often don't attend. Jamaah Tabligh members don't want to be involved in local religious activities, even though the majority of Kawdungan residents follow the *ahlussunnah* understandings that are basically no different from theirs.

From the government's perspective, the Kwadungan Subdistrict Head complains that the Jamaah Tabligh members who come to the region sometimes do not obey local rules, such as asking for permission and reporting their identities. As Head of the subdistrict, he hoped that these rules would be heeded, for ease of carrying out their duties together. But Suparto, Head of the Tirak village, Kwadungan, allows Jamaah Tabligh activities to be carried out freely in his village, because in the Tirak community, which previously did not perform religious worship well, now almost 90% of the population correctly performs their prayers five times a day.

According to Ramadhan, Head of the Section for Information on Islam at the Department of Religious Affairs in Ngawi, Jamaah Tabligh teachings do not need to be discussed, because their enthusiasm for proselytising should be given the thumbs up. However, their presence occasionally gives rise to conflict, as was the case in the village of Purwosari. There, the Jamaah Tabligh leader was involved in conflict with his own brother, a conflict that should not have occurred because it was not caused by teachings. He suggested that they must be straightened out before their thoughts about proselytising can be carried out without permission. Their arrival should be reported to the local government agency, particularly if they come from overseas.

Conclusion

The analysis above can be concluded with the following points: *First*, The Islamic teachings delivered by the Jamaah Tabligh proselytisers are basically no different from the Islamic teachings and religious understandings already held by the local community. Through using the Qur'ān, the Prophet's Ḥadīths and the behaviour of the Prophet's companions as references for the religious understandings that they proselytise, Jamaah Tabligh is in fact included in the Sunnī Islam "family", which is followed by almost all Muslims in Indonesia. They refer to the companions' behaviour in their proselytisation activities because they believe that the behaviour of the Prophet's companions can be imitated by the community, because these companions were normal people, whilst the Prophet was an extraordinary person whom it is difficult to match.

Second, the striking features of Jamaah Tabligh that cause a number of local communities to consider them as a foreign religious group or "weird" are their mode of dress and physical presentation, along with their style of proselytising which emphasises the journey outside one's own area and which is carried out from house to house. This feature is what often causes misunderstandings, even though the religious teachings that they are preachings are the same as those held by the community.

Third, the characteristics above are closely related to the lifestyle of Jamaah Tabligh activists who demonstrate patterns of simplicity, as simple as life during the early phases of Islam, around 14 centuries ago, which they consciously choose and use as their reference. Their thoughts remember those of *Sūfīs* who prioritise the hereafter as the ultimate aim of their lives. This is further strengthened by the large amount of attention they pay to performing purifying religious worship (*faḍā'il al-a'māl*) in their everyday lives. The desire to return to a simple lifestyle like that during the period of the Prophet and his companions, and using this period as a reference for modern life, 14 centuries later, is a specific feature of Jamaah Tabligh as an Islamic fundamentalist movement.

Forth, in carrying out its proselytisation mission, the Jamaah Tabligh movement turns mosques into activity headquarters. According to their concept of proselytisation, mosques are a central teaching and divine inspiration. All of their proselytisation activities, for themselves, their families, their neighbourhood and local regions, and overseas, originate from the mosque. Alongside a number of other proselytisation principles, independence and sincerity

have special emphasis as ethics of proselytising, to the point where all payments and needs for proselytising (*khurūj* or *jaulah*) are the responsibility of each member of the Jamaah.

Fifth, concepts related to the requirement of every Muslim to set aside a portion of their time each year to proselytise (*khurūj* or *jaulah*), is a source of motivation that will possibly never dry up in Jamaah Tabligh, as the activities of this group are highly relevant to increasing the piety of the community.

Sixth, the main problem this group faces in the community is located in their inability to separate religion from culture. That which in fact constitutes culture, such as mode of dress or physical presentation (beard without a moustache, eating from one tray etc.) is considered to be part of their religious teachings. However, one of the secret strengths of the proselytisers of the past, which meant that Islam was broadly accepted in the Archipelago, was their ability to use local culture as a medium for Islamic proselytisation. Therefore, the unwillingness of a number of local communities to accept the presence of Jamaah Tabligh must be construed as these local residents believing that their local traditions and customs have already been received by Islam, or at least that they are not in conflict with Islamic teachings. Thus, they feel that they no longer require reference to other cultures that they perceive as foreign or strange. Furthermore, there is an indication that a number of Jamaah Tabligh members are unwilling to be involved in the proselytising activities performed by local religious leaders, so that they are always considered as guests.

Seventh, another problem that can give rise to misunderstandings in the community is the "hit and run" method of proselytising carried out by people unknown to the local community. The concept of helping with the prosperity of mosques and turning them into centres of knowledge and divine inspiration is constant and in accordance with Islamic teachings. However, making the mosques prosperous with religious teachings and at the same time using them as places to continue double lives (including cooking and sleeping), causes new cultural problems for the local community. Even if this kind of benefit for the mosque is not categorised as "improper" in the local culture, this type of situation can still present new customs that give rise to culture shock for the local community.

Eight, in terms of substance, the activities of Jamaah Tabligh can contribute to the development of piety in broader society. The Islamic teachings that they disseminate are not new and are already

accepted in the community. Thus at a certain level this group develops an attitude of reconciliation between various schools of thought or understandings in Islam. There perhaps needs to be more thought about the development of technical cooperation between local community groups and this group in terms of developing an independent and sincere model of proselytisation, but without having to use new cultural references and norms that feel foreign to the community. For example, if the community objects to their mosque being used for the everyday activities of the proselytisers, it would be better if in the future they could build an additional mosque construction so there is the possibility of them properly receiving guests in the mosque environment. Or for these travelling preachers to be offered an appropriate communal place to stay amongst local residents (such as a house that is collectively used), which is leased for a special price and which is close to the mosque that they are making prosperous.

Endnotes

- * This article has been translated by Lucy Rhydwen-Marett from the original in Bahasa.
1. *Jamaah* meaning "congregation" or "assembly" and *Tabligh* meaning "religious sermon".
 2. John O. Voll (1991) "Fundamentalism in the Sunni Arab World: Egypt and the Sudan" in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds) *Fundamentalism Observed*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, p. 347
 3. These five clues are summarised from Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds) *Fundamentalism Observed*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, p. ix-x
 4. See Mumtaz Ahmad (1991) "Islamic Fundamentalism in South Asia: The Jamaat-I-Islam and the Tablighi Jamaat of South Asia" in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds) *Fundamentalism Observed*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, p. 458
 5. The main sources for this section about *Jamaah Tabligh* are: 1) Mumtaz Ahmad "Islamic Fundamentalism in South Asia: The Jamaat-I-Islam and the Tablighi Jamaat of South Asia" in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds., 1991) *Fundamentalism Observed*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, pp. 510-524; 2) Mumtaz Ahmad *The Tabligh Jamaat*, article on website <http://www.icna.org> pp. 1-4; 3) Website <http://www.angelfire.com> : *Historical Background of Islamic Fundamentalism*, pp. 11-21; 4) Mumtaz Ahmad: "Muhammad Ilyas" in *Great Muslims of the 20th Century*, Wyswyg://2/file/Muhammad Ilyas.htm.
 6. The written sources for this section include: 1) Summary of the research report Puslitbang Kehidupan Beragama, Badan Litbang Departmen Agama about *Jamaah Tabligh* in Indonesia, particularly in Java. In Bandung by Ahsanul Khalikin and Mursyid Ali; in Solo by Abdul Aziz and Muchtar; in Yogyakarta by Marzani Anwar; in Ngawi by Nuhrison M. Nuh and Syahrial; 2) "Bermula dari India", article *Suara Hidayatullah*, published October 1999, as cited by website <http://www.hidayatullah.com/sahid/9910/ihwal2.htm>
 7. The sources for the example of Bandung are taken from the report on research into *Jamaah Tabligh* by Ahsanul Khalikin and Mursyid Ali (Puslitbang Kehidupan Beragama; 1998); The example of Yogyakarta is taken from the research report by Marzani Anwar (Balai Penelitian Keagamaan; 1994).

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- Suara Hidayatullah, "Bermula dari India", article in publication October 1999, as cited by website:
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