

THE ISLAMIZATION OF *SUKU ANAK DALAM* IN JAMBI AND THE ANIMISM CLAIM: From Aqidah to *Fiqh al-Ṣalāh* Consolidation

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30631/al-risalah.v21i1.794>

Submitted: August 05, 2021; Revised: October 13, 2021; Accepted: November 08, 2021

Abstract: This paper discusses the Islamization of *Suku Anak Dalam* in Jambi (Jambi's people of the jungle/ the SAD) as well as proves that the Islamization has moved from the realm of aqidah to the deepening of fiqh, especially *fiqh al-ṣalāh*, unlike the previous researchers' accusation who generalized that animism is still attached to the SAD who have converted to Islam. This paper applies field study principles combined with qualitative and quantitative research methods by applying sociocultural anthropology theory, with a research object being the SAD residing in Pelempang Village, Muaro Jambi. This paper concludes that SAD's Islamization has succeeded in removing animist teachings that are not in line with Islamic values. However, SAD's understanding of *fiqh al-ṣalāh* is still relatively low. This is due to a low level of education, inability to read and write, remote geographical locations, barriers between the SAD and other residents, and the absence of teachers of *fiqh al-ṣalāh* who maintain an active and consistent presence in the area.

Keywords: Islamization, People of the Jungle, Animism, Aqidah *Fiqh al-Salāh*.

Abstrak: Tulisan ini mendiskusikan Islamisasi Suku Anak Dalam (SAD) di Jambi sekaligus membuktikan bahwa Islamisasi tersebut sudah beranjak dari ranah akidah ke pendalaman fiqh khususnya *fiqh al-ṣalāh*, bukan seperti dakwaan para peneliti terdahulu yang mengeneralisir paham animisme masih melekat pada SAD yang telah pindah agama. Tulisan ini menerapkan prinsip-prinsip kajian lapangan dengan menggabungkan antara metode penelitian kualitatif dan kuantitatif dengan menerapkan teori antropologi sosial budaya, sementara objek penelitian ini adalah SAD di Desa Pelempang, Muaro Jambi. Tulisan ini menyimpulkan bahwa Islamisasi SAD desa Pelempang, Muaro Jambi berhasil melepaskan ajaran-ajaran animisme yang tidak sesuai dengan ajaran Islam. Hanya saja, pemahaman mereka terhadap fiqh *fiqh al-ṣalāh*, tergolong rendah. Hal ini dilatarbelakangi oleh tingkat pendidikan yang rendah, umumnya tidak dapat baca tulis, letak geografis tempat tinggal terpencil, adanya pembatas antara SAD dengan warga luar, serta tidak adanya tenaga

pengajar yang fokus mengajarkan *fiqh al-ṣalāh* secara giat dan konsisten di wilayah tersebut.

Kata Kunci: Islamisasi, Suku Anak Dalam, Animisme, Akidah, *Fiqh al-Ṣalāh*.

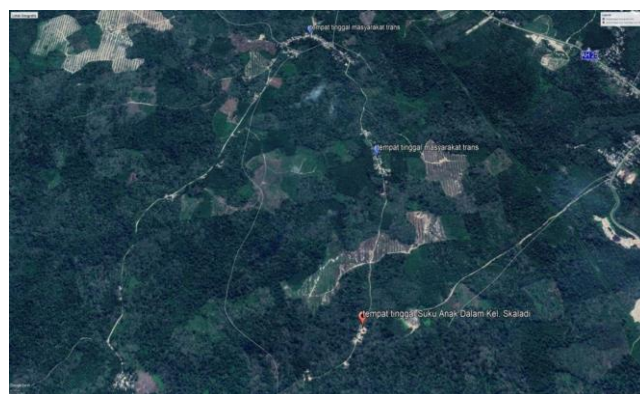
Introduction

This paper will prove that the Islamization of *Suku Anak Dalam* (Jambi's people of the jungle/the SAD) residing in Pelempang Village, Muaro Jambi, has moved from the realm of *aqidah* to the deepening of *fiqh*, especially *fiqh al-ṣalāh* (understanding of prayer procedures), unlike previous researchers' claim who generalized the SAD who have converted to Islam find it difficult to turn away from their ancestors' animistic and dynamism beliefs.¹ This paper will also show that the SAD's Islamization is still in the early phase, just like the early Islamization phase of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago which according to Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas is in the level of *aqidah* and *sharia* introduction.² Therefore, the Islamization of SAD's *aqidah* and subsequently the Islamization of the *Shari'a*, focused on *fiqh al-ṣalāh*, will be discussed here.

Fiqh al-ṣalāh or an understanding of all matters relating to *farḍ* prayers is required for a Muslim in conducting the second pillar of Islam. However, for people who have just converted to Islam or those whose level of religious understanding is still low, such as the SAD of Pelempang Village, it is still a problem, owing to limitations in implementing Islamic

law correctly.³ For this reason, the religious life of the Pelempang's SAD by focusing on their efforts in increasing their knowledge of *farḍ* prayers (the five compulsory daily prayers), their level of *farḍ* prayers, and their obstacles in implementing *farḍ* prayers will be discussed here. The discussion employs two research methods, namely the qualitative method through observation, interviews, and literature; and the quantitative method to support observation, interviews, and literature by using questionnaires for data collection.

Figure 1: Location of the SAD in Pelempang, Muaro Jambi, Jambi Province



Studies relating to the SAD have thus far been conducted by many researchers. Mailinar and Bahren Nurdin, for instance, wrote "*Ke-hidupan Keagamaan Suku Anak Dalam di Dusun Senami III Desa Jebak Kabupaten Batanghari Provinsi Jambi*". Their study shows that the SAD of Dusun Senami III, Jebak, Batanghari who have embraced Islam consider the religion in harmony with their traditions. SAD's conception of Islam which is still mixed with their traditional beliefs is manifested in various religious rituals such as *tahlilan* and *basale*.

¹ Sumantho Al Qurtuby and Tedi Kholiludin (Ed.), *Agama dan Kepercayaan Nusantara: Agama dan Kepercayaan Masyarakat Suku Anak Dalam (Orang Rimba) di Provinsi Jambi*, (Semarang: Elsa Press, 2019), p. 121; Lukman Asha, "PEMAHAMAN AGAMA ISLAM PADA SUKU ANAK DALAM," *Prodising ISID*, no. 1 (2020): 144; Bahren Nurdin and Mrs Mailinar, "Ke-hidupan Keagamaan Suku Anak Dalam Di Dusun Senami III Desa Jebak Kabupaten Batanghari Jambi," *Kontekstualita: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 28, no. 2 (2013): 267.

² Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam and Secularism* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1993), P. 248.

³ Fachruddin Saudagar, *Pemberdayaan Model Entry Point Komunitas Adat Terpencil (KAT) di Provinsi Jambi* (Jambi: Dinas Kesehatan dan Kesejahteraan Sosial, 2002), p. 34.

The low level of religious understanding among SAD members is due to low education and geographical conditions that restrict ustadz and religious teachers to visit.⁴

Rahmi Hidayati in *"Pergeseran Sistem Perkawinan dan Perceraian Pada Suku Anak Dalam"* has successfully shown that there has been a shift in the SAD's family law system, both before and after converting to Islam, especially in matters of marriage and divorce. In the past the SAD used to marry based on their traditions, yet now they adopt the tradition of the community in which they live. In formal juridical terms, Islamic law in the field of family law in the SAD community already exists and is applied, but most of SAD's marriages are not recorded.⁵

Pahmi in *"Religi Suku Anak Dalam Suatu Kajian Antropologis"* also demonstrates that SAD's religious life has shifted from an original religious understanding to a new one (Islam). This is due to social interactions with the outside world, especially with Jambi's rural communities whose members are predominantly Muslim, resulting in new insights and experiences and shifting their old religious concepts.⁶ Meanwhile, Mira Roma Yunita in *"Makna Menjadi Muslim Pada Suku Anak Dalam di Taman Nasional Bukit Dua Belas Kabupaten Sarolangun, Provinsi Jambi"* concludes that being Muslim for the SAD is for security reason. Every subject has a desire for a more secure life through a religion.⁷

Khairun Najib in *"Government Ecology and the Indigenous Religion of the Suku Anak Dalam: Intersubjective Relations In Forest Conservation in Jambi, Indonesia"* concludes that the SAD believes that the world is not only inhabited by humans, but also animals and *badewo* that have a role in forest conservation.⁸ Finally, M Hambali in *"Metode Dakwah Pada Suku Anak Dalam Jambi: Studi Kasus Desa Nyogan Kecamatan Mesotong Kabupaten Muaro Jambi"* concludes that da'wah for the SAD is done in accordance with the stages of Islamic communication theory.⁹

From the above studies, it is clear that there has not been a discussion of a combination between SAD's level of Islamization and *fiqh al-ṣalāh*. For this reason, this paper begins by discussing the Islamization of the Pelempang's SAD in Muaro Jambi by focusing on the Islamization of aqidah. Next, this paper examines SAD's understanding of *fiqh al-ṣalāh*.

The SAD in Pelempang: From Aqidah to Fiqh al-salāh

The origin of the SAD is not yet known. All the writings, research, people's narratives, and SAD's own stories have not yet clearly confirmed the origin of SAD's ancestors. In his research, Wandu said that currently there are two SAD groups who have different languages, physical forms, places of residence and customs. Those who live in South Sumatra's forests speak the Malay language, have yellow skin, and have the body posture of the Mongoloid race. On the other hand, those who live in Jambi's forest are categorized into the

⁴ Bahren Nurdin and Mailinar, "Kehidupan Keagamaan Suku Anak Dalam Di Dusun Senami III Desa Jebak Kabupaten Batanghari Jambi," *Kontekstualita: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 28, no. 2 (2013): 267. Ibid.

⁵ Rahmi Hidayati, "Pergeseran Sistem Perkawinan Dan Perceraian Pada Suku Anak Dalam," *Al-Risalah* 16, no. 1 (2018): 151-68.

⁶ Pahmi, "Suku Anak Dalam Suatu Kajian Antropologis," *Jurnal Religi*.

⁷ Mitra Roma Yunita and Yohanis Franz La Kahija, "Makna Menjadi Muslim Pada Suku Anak Dalam Di Taman Nasional Bukit Dua Belas Kabupaten Sa-

rolangun, Provinsi Jambi," *Jurnal EMPATI* 3, no. 1 (2014): 124-33.

⁸ Khairun Najib, "Government Ecology and the Indigenous Religion of the Suku Anak Dalam: Intersubjective Relations in Forest Conservation in Jambi, Indonesia," *Jurnal Manajemen Hutan Tropika* 26, no. 3 (2020): 303-15.

⁹ M. Hambali, *Metode Dakwah Pada Suku Anak Dalam (SAD) Jambi* (Thesis pada Fakultas Ilmu Dakwah dan Ilmu Komunikasi Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2019).

wedoid race, a mixture of Vedda and Negrito.¹⁰ Research conducted by Budhi Vrihaspathi Jauhari and colleagues also yields the same argument that the SAD is a mixture of the Vedas and the Negrito tribes with the result called the Weddoid Tribe. Other information says the SAD were soldiers of the Pagaruyung Kingdom.¹¹ Meanwhile, according to Rubiyanto, the SAD of Pelempang Village are from South Sumatra.¹²

According to local customary institutions, the Pelempang Village's SAD transmigrated from Markandang Village to Pelempang Village.¹³ They initially practiced mysticism (*kebatinan*). *Kebatinan* is derived from the word *batin* which means the inside of the human body. Meanwhile, *kebatinan* is a practice that explores religious teaching. People generally refer themselves to *kebatinan* because the teaching has its philosophy and mystics.¹⁴ When linked to Animism and Dynamism, SAD's main beliefs before converting to Islam, *kebatinan* belongs to Animism. This is because Animism is the belief in spirits that stand apart from humans mixed with human affairs and are supernatural.¹⁵ In Animism there are mystical elements such as magic and mysticism. So, it can be concluded that the belief held by the SAD of Pelempang is Animism.

However, as the time went by, traditions taught by their ancestors began to disappear,¹⁶ and conversion from their ancestral beliefs to Islam took place around 1930 but they did not know what Islam was due to different preachers coming to teach Islam to them. Currently, in line with technological progress, SAD's beliefs are replaced by religion, while another driving force for the shift is social interactions between outside communities and the SAD.¹⁷ Of several attempts by religious preachers to have them converted, Islam is their choice.¹⁸

At first the Islamic preachers only taught for 1 (one) or 2 (two) months, but this became a concern for SAD's traditional institutions because the SAD did not know anything about Islam in that short period of time and they did not know anything about the basics of Islam. Besides, there were no religious activities that had actively been carried out in SAD's daily life because the religious facilities they had were not able to hold gatherings.¹⁹

In terms of religion, before Heriyanto's presence, their fate was still uncertain even though they had embraced Islam. This is because the previous preachers only pursued the completion of their program targets. They did not teach the SAD further about Islam and the preachers did not know what the SAD really needed.²⁰

Over time, Heriyanto's presence produced good results, from the construction of a mosque in Lubuk Kayu Aro Village which is SAD's life center in Pelempang, to helping the community build a traditional hall for SAD's gatherings, to building a madrasa for SAD

¹⁰ Sumantho Al Qurtuby dan Tedi Kholiludin (ed.), *Agama dan Kepercayaan Nusantara...*, p. 105.

¹¹ Budhi Vrihaspathi Jauhari and Arislan Said, *Jejak Peradaban Suku Anak Dalam: Perjalanan Upaya Pembinaan dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Pedalaman Jambi* (Jambi: Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan, 2012), p. 15-16.

¹² Interview with Rubiyanto, Jenang of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

¹³ Interview with Soleh, Temenggung of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

¹⁴ Ahmad Saepudin, "Islam Indonesia: Dialog Dua Kebudayaan (Studi Perbandingan Antara Budaya Islam Dan Kepercayaan Kebatinan Asli Indonesia)," *Tatar Pasundan: Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan* 13, no. 2 (2019): 191-201.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁶ Interview with Soleh, Temenggung of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

¹⁷ Interview with Soleh, Temenggung of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

¹⁸ Interview with Rubiyanto, Jenang of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

¹⁹ Interview with Rubiyanto, Jenang of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

²⁰ Interview with Site, Imam of Skaladi Mosque, Pelempang, 26 February 2021.

children to study Islam.²¹ In the last five to seven years, the SAD whose geographical location is far from Lubuk Kayu Aro, namely the SAD of Pelempang, Muaro Jambi, have asked for a traditional hall as a place for them to gather or hold activities. This is because the location of Lubuk Kayu Aro is so far from their residence, about a 30-minute ride if the road conditions are good and it is not raining.²² The Pelempang's SAD decided to build their own neighborhood association around 2017, namely RT. 12.²³

Currently, religious facilities in Pelempang Village can hold religious activities or become a place for the SAD to study Islam. Facilities to support SAD's activities in Village Pelempang are as follows:

Table 1. SAD Facilities in Pelempang Village, Muaro Jambi.²⁴

No.	Facility	Location		
		Simp. Pangera-tan	Lubuk Kayu Aro	Pelempang
1	School	0	0	0
2	Mosque	1	1	1
3	Madrasa	0	1	0
4	Puskesmas	1	0	0
5	Customary Office	0	1	1

With these facilities, SAD's religious activities run actively, including a weekly *Yasinan* for men and women,²⁵ daily recitations at the mosque except Fridays, religious school activities held in the afternoon at the madrasa

ibtidaiyahofLubuk Kayu Aro.²⁶ Likewise, for the Pelempang's SAD, their children or parents who want to learn Islam will be taught by Site, and the shcedule is after every congregational *fard* prayer at the mosque.²⁷

Unlike other Jambi's tribes who still preserve their ancestral cultures, such as the Kerinci tribe who still perform ritual dances, *asyek*, the *ngangah* tiger dance and other traditional ceremonies,²⁸ the Pelempang's SAD have abandoned their ancestral cultures since long ago. This is inseparable from the flow of information, learning, and knowledge obtained by the SAD. They consider that the cultures are recommended to apply in this era and no one teaches the cultures either from the information or today's technological sophistication. This is also inseparable from the role of Islam which is their guidance of today.²⁹

That they leave the tradition not without a reason. As explained by Tomenggung Sholeh, the *besale* ceremony, for example, besides there are no more capable shamans, *besaleis* not in line with Islamic teachings.³⁰ Since 1975 there has been a change in SAD's wedding, which was initially carried out with mysticism and customary ceremony only, now weddings are held at a local Office of Religious Affairs (KUA).³¹

In terms of religious understanding, there are different rates of change between the Pelempang's SAD and the SAD of Lubuk Kayu Aro. Several sources said the changes that occurred in SAD's Lubuk Kayu Aro are

²¹ Interview with Hermanto, mam of Lubuk Kayu Aro Mosque, Pelempang, 06 February 2021.

²² Interview with Rubiyanto, Jenang of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

²³ Interview with Rahman, Mangku Adat of the SAD in Pelempang, 06 February 2021.

²⁴ Interview with Bambang, Pangeratan Head, 05 February 2021.

²⁵ Interview with Site, Imam of Skaladi Mosque, Pelempang, 26 February 2021.

²⁶ Interview with Hermanto, Imam Masjid Lubuk Kayu Aro, Pelempang, 06 February 2021.

²⁷ Interview with Site, Imam of Skaladi Mosque, Pelempang, 26 February 2021.

²⁸ Budhi Vrihaspathi Jauhari and Arislan Said, *Jejak Peradaban Suku Anak Dalam..* p. 84.

²⁹ Interview with Soleh, Temenggung of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

³⁰ Interview with Soleh, Temenggung of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

³¹ Interview with Rubiyanto, Jenang of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

faster than the Pelempang's SAD.³² This can be seen from the existence of Madrasa Diniyyah and mosques for gaining religious knowledge. In addition, in the Lubuk Kayu Aro community, religious activities are carried out every day except Friday nights, namely learning the Quran for children in the afternoon and evening.³³ This is because Lubuk Kayu Aro is the SAD center in Pelempang and in which religious mentoring was first carried out by preachers including Heriyanto.³⁴ In the past, the SAD of Pelempang did not know for sure the rules of prayers, but now they are in the process of learning to pray and prioritizing religious lessons to their children.³⁵

Examining *Fiqh al-salāh* Understanding

1. *Improving Fiqh al-Ṣalāh Knowledge*

In improving knowledge of *fard* prayers, religious leaders must not only teach the essential rules, but it also requires SAD's internal intent. This is to achieve the expectation so it is in accordance with what is done. Carrying out religious training is something that is quite difficult for preachers especially when considering the objects being people who do not know the basics of religion and what Islam really is.³⁶

There have been changes in SAD's life in the last few years. The existence of NGOs, organizations, or missionaries encourages people to make changes. These changes also include

basic knowledge of Islam.³⁷ Various efforts have been made by Islamic religious leaders, programs in government's plans and several NGOs that help the SAD of Jambi Province, but not all of these efforts run smoothly and are accepted by the SAD, as happened in Pelempang, especially among the SAD of the *Skaladi* group, who were the subject of this research. In recent years, there has been a change of lifestyle in this area, which is also supported by the efforts made by religious leaders, religious organizations, the region's customary institutions and the government to support these changes. One of the efforts is to bring in preachers or religious leaders who have a high spirit and willingness to help the SAD who are willing to live there although in slightly inappropriate conditions. Expenses of the Islamic mentors are borne by the institution that sent them. The mentors not only help in the religious field, but also in education, economy, and society. The mentors give ideas or directions that are well received by the community.³⁸ This is also applied to the Akit Tribe of Sonde Village, Meranti Regency and the indigenous tribes in South Kalimantan.³⁹

The religious leaders in Pelempang Village, in communication with the region's customary institution, have convinced the community of the importance of learning Islam, set mentoring goals because with this scheme the programs planned for SAD's progress are more focused and structured. Without clear goals, it could adversely affect their lives and the programs cannot be carried out in a participatory manner. In addition, the village government has approached the relevant agencies to bring in competent preachers to settle and teach Is-

³² Interview with Wahyudi, Chairman of the Pelempang Village Government, 29 September 2020.

³³ Interview with Hermanto, Imam of Lubuk Kayu Aro Mosque, Pelempang, 06 February 2021.

³⁴ Interview with Rubiyanto, Jenang of the Pelempang SAD, 30 January 2021.

³⁵ Interview with Rahman, Mangku Adat of the SAD in Pelempang, 06 February 2021.

³⁶ Mila Wahyuni, "Strategi Komunikasi Islam Dalam Pembinaan Agama Pada Suku Anak Dalam Bukit Duo Belas Kecamatan Pauh Kabupaten Sarolangun Provinsi Jambi," *AL-BALAGH: Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* 1, no. 1 (2016): 149-73.

³⁷ Budhi Vrihaspathi Jauhari and Arislan Said, *Jejak Peradaban Suku Anak Dalam..* p. 116.

³⁸ Interview with Rubiyanto, Jenang of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

³⁹ Hasbullah, "Kehidupan Keberagamaan Masyarakat Suku Akit Di Desa Sonde Kabupaten Kepulauan Meranti," *Sosial Budaya* 15, no. 1 (2018): 5.

lam to the SAD community.⁴⁰ However, there has been no certain answer from the agencies.⁴¹ Furthermore, routine and participatory mentoring is not only carried out by preachers but also by the leaders of the region's customary institution.

Efforts made by the SAD's customary institution particularly include, inter alia, a customary leader who regularly reminds the community of the importance of learning how to pray during gatherings using good and gentle communication that can be accepted or understood by the SAD. This is important owing to the fact that the SAD cannot easily and quickly understand information conveyed by other people.⁴² Religious mentors deliver lectures during *yasinan* about the procedures for doing *fard* prayers correctly. In addition, the mentors have built a mosque for the SAD to worship, which has received financial assistance from the Saudi Arabia government for its construction.⁴³

With the mosque now available, customary leaders and institutions hold discussions with the community and form the mosque administrators.⁴⁴ Currently, besides holding lectures during every gathering, other things that the administrators do to improve public understanding of *fard* prayers are to conduct calls to prayer regularly and hold congregational *fard* prayers in the mosque. This is done so that

people are interested and participate in congregational *fard* prayers at the mosque.⁴⁵

2. Levels of Understanding

Religious understanding, be it *aqidah* or *fiqh al-ṣalāh* of the SAD is complex, because it involves all aspects of life, influencing the social, cultural, educational, and economic sectors. Adequate knowledge and understanding is required so that all activities carried out in the fields are well organized and in line with religious rules.⁴⁶

In general, SAD's religious understanding already in the level of knowing the basics of Islam, which can be seen in those who have claimed to be Muslim that they do not eat animals considered haram in Islam, their marriage is done based on Islamic procedures, there are Islamic symbols such as Alquran, prayer veil, hat, or Arabic writings in their houses, and their use of Islamic greetings when meeting other people or entering their houses.⁴⁷

Likewise, the Pelempang's SAD also have this basic knowledge, but there are some differences between them and the SAD from other groups. The Pelempang's SAD are a modern group and a role model for other SAD communities.⁴⁸ Even so, the Pelempang's SAD have a low level of Islamic knowledge and understanding.⁴⁹ This can be seen in *fard* prayers which are daily worship.

⁴⁰ Interview with Bambang, Pangeratan Head, 05 February 2021.

⁴¹ Interview with Wahyudi, Chairman of the Pelempang Village Government, Muaro Jambi, 29 September 2020.

⁴² Wahyuni, "Strategi Komunikasi Islam Dalam Pembangunan Agama Pada Suku Anak Dalam Bukit Duo Belas Kecamatan Pauh Kabupaten Sarolangun Provinsi Jambi." p. 162.

⁴³ Interview with Rubiyanto, Jenang of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

⁴⁴ Interview with Rubiyanto, Jenang of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

⁴⁵ Interview with Site, Imam of Skaladi Mosque, Pelempang, 26 February 2021.

⁴⁶ Hasbullah, "Kehidupan Keberagamaan Masyarakat Suku Akit Di Desa Sonde Kabupaten Kepulauan Meranti." p. 3.

⁴⁷ Fachruddin Saudagar, *Pemberdayaan Model Entry Point Komunitas Adat Terpencil (KAT) di Provinsi Jambi*, p. 34.

⁴⁸ The data is based on Asman Hatta's story at the time of observation.

⁴⁹ Interview with Wahyudi, Chairman of the Pelempang Village Government, 29 September 2020.

Table 2. Summary of Questionnaires and the Ability Test of the SAD in Pelempang, Muaro Jambi.

No.	Name	Statement										Percentages of
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
		I know the law of fard prayers	I know the number of rak'ahs of fard prayers and the number of fard prayers	I know the requirements in performing <i>fard</i> prayers, be it <i>fard</i> requirements or accepted conditions	I know that before performing fard prayers it is required to purify or thaharah	I understand I purify myself by performing ablution in movement, recitation and pillars.	I know the intention recitation of <i>fard</i> prayers	I know all <i>fard</i> prayer pillars, from the <i>tak-biratul ihram</i> to <i>salam</i>	I know <i>fard</i> prayer recitations	I know the good and correct movement of the <i>fard</i> prayers	I know the recitations of dhikr and prayers after <i>fard</i> prayers	Total Marks
1.	Nunah	3	3	1	5	3	4	5	5	4	2	70%
2.	Rini	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20%
3.	Jumijah	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	24%
4	Deriman	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	62 %
5	Salbia	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	28%
6	Desi	3	5	3	4	3	2	2	2	3	1	56%
7	Yuna	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	30%
8	Hasanah	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	3	2	2	38%

Assessment Variables:

1 = Don't Know

2 = Little bit Know

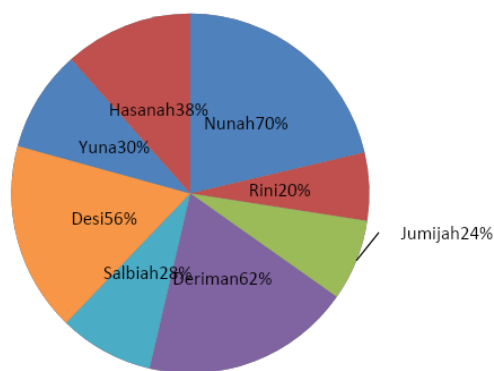
3 = Know

4 = Understand

5 = Fully Understand

Based on the questionnaire table and the ability test, it can be seen that not all of the people know how to perform *farḍ* prayers in accordance with the Shafi'i school of thought, nor do all of them know the requirements and the conditions of *farḍ* prayers.⁵⁰ Between those who know how to perform *farḍ* prayers and those who do not, the ratio is 1 in 10 people.⁵¹ Wandu found the same thing that even though the SAD are already Muslim and live in the forest, they do not really understand the religion they embrace. Not all of them know what to read in a *farḍ* prayer even though they can practice the prayer requirements.⁵² It can be clearly seen in the following pie chart:

Figure 2. Percentages of *Fiqh al-Ṣalāh* Understanding of the SAD in Pelempang Village, Muaro Jambi.



This survey was conducted among the Pelempang SAD. Based on the survey, 8 respondents are about 29.6% of the population. The residents have different levels of understanding abilities with different educational backgrounds. Nunah, for instance, went to elementary school only, but he received regular guidance from Hermanto as the Kayu Aro mosque's imam so he has a good *fiqh* of prayers understanding.⁵³ Deriman, also has a good

understanding, and actively receives direct guidance from Heriyanto.⁵⁴ Desi, a 14-year old, is quite familiar with *fiqh* of prayers understanding. He got this at school and taught it to his mother. By contrast, others only know certain parts. This has become a reflection that the Pelempang's SAD's understanding of *fiqh al-ṣalāh* is in the low category.⁵⁵ This is supported by the residents' opinions who met and talked with researchers on different occasions.

From the observations, interviews, and questionnaires, and skills test, it shows that not all of the Pelempang's SAD know how to perform *farḍ* prayers based on Sharia, and all the requirements and the conditions. There are still many who do not know the practice, the requirements, and the provisions of *farḍ* prayers. This demonstrates that the understanding of the Pelempang's SAD of *fiqh* of prayers is low.⁵⁶ This phenomenon is also supported by respondents' opinions and Wahyudi's story as a Pelempang village government's official that the Pelempang's SAD have a low level of Islamic knowledge. For this reason, the SAD have not been able to carry out religious activities independently, and they still really need guidance from people who understand *fiqh al-ṣalāh* such as *farḍ* prayers and are able to consistently guide them according to the insights they need.⁵⁷

3. Obstacles

From the factors written in the SAD's religious sphere and the efforts made, this obstacle should not have greatly affected the implementation of *farḍ* prayers *fiqh* because the existing facilities and progress are sufficient to support the implementation. It is a different story that the Pelempang's SAD mostly do not

⁵⁰ The data was obtained from the questionnaire and the ability test, 23 April 2021.

⁵¹ Interview with Rubiyanto, Jenang of the Pelempang SAD, 06 February 2021.

⁵² Sumantho Al Qurtuby and Tedi Kholiludin, *Agama dan Kepercayaan Nusantara...* p, 120.

⁵³ Interview with Nunah, Skaladi's SAD Member, 23 April 2021.

⁵⁴ Interview with Deriman, Skaladi's SAD Member, 23 April 2021.

⁵⁵ The data was obtained from the questionnaire and the ability test, 23 April 2021.

⁵⁶ The data was obtained from the questionnaire and the ability test, 23 April 2021.

⁵⁷ Interview with wahyudi, Chairman of the Pelempang Village Government, 29 September 2020.

know how to carry out *fard* prayers based on Sharia.⁵⁸

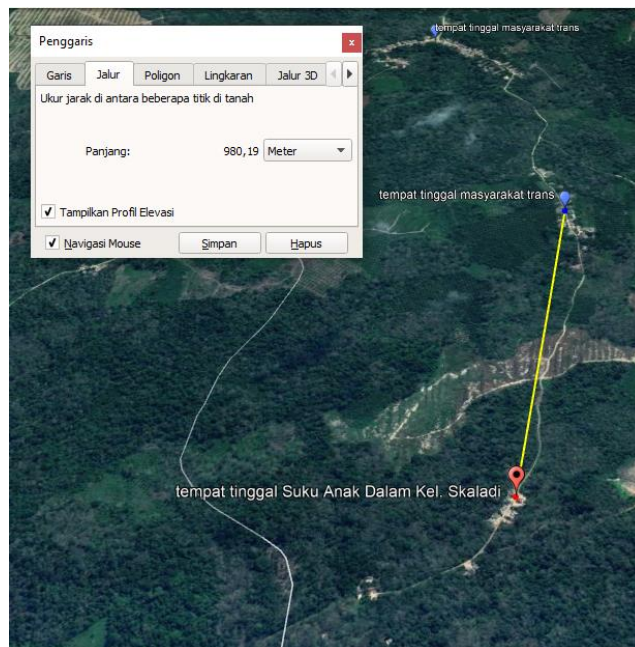
According to Bahren Nurdin and Mailinar, the main obstacle for the SAD to fully implement Islam is their lack of knowledge about the religion. Islamic education in secondary schools is considered to have failed to meet their needs of Islamic knowledge.⁵⁹

Based on the data collected, in terms of education, the Pelempang's SAD have a fairly low level of education, with 31% of their population not having any education, while around 45% admit that they only attended elementary school (SD). 13% of the population who never go to school are children, and it is still unclear how their future education holds. There are several family groups who are closed-minded and unwilling to have their children educated.⁶⁰ Lacking awareness on the importance of education for supporting the community is a key factor in the low level of education among the Pelempang's SAD.⁶¹ There are about 4% of the population who went to junior high school, while 7% others attended high school. Most of those who went to high school are from mixed marriages. Most people cannot read and write due to the low level of education among the Pelempang's SAD⁶² and consequently it is an obstacle for them to learn and apply fiqh of prayers.

Apart from a low level of education, other factors that are impactful are socio-culture, while social interaction also affects and becomes obstacles to the development and application of fiqh prayer, especially *fard* prayers. This happens because the geographical loca-

tion of the Pelempang's SAD is remote and on the village's far edge.

Figure 3. Distance Between SAD's Residence in Pelempang and Transmigration Community.⁶³



Based on the map above, it can be seen that the distance between SAD's in Pelempang and the transmigrants' village is approximately 1 kilometer, which is quite far if one travels on foot and when the weather is not conducive. This is the main obstacle for mentors in doing their job.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ The data was obtained from the questionnaire and the ability test, 23 April 2021.

⁵⁹ Mailinar and Bahren Nurdin, "Kehidupan Keagamaan Suku Anak Dalam Di Dusun Senami III Desa Jebak Kabupaten Batang Hari." p. 266.

⁶⁰ Interview with Hasanah, Skaladi's SAD Member, Pelempang, 23 April 2021.

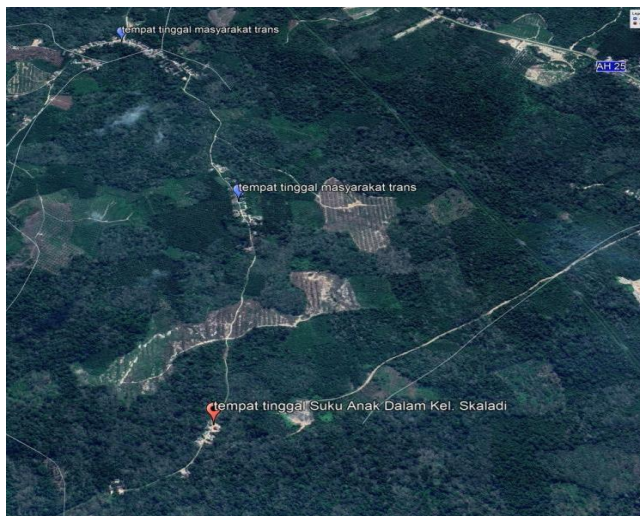
⁶¹ Interview with Site, Imam of Skaladi Mosque, Pelempang, 26 February 2021.

⁶² Interview with Rahman, Mangku Adat of the SAD in Pelempang, 06 February 2021.

⁶³ The data is based on Google Earth.

⁶⁴ Interview with Site, Imam of Skaladi Mosque, Pelempang, 26 February 2021.

Figure 4. Location of SAD's Residence in Pelempang, Muaro Jambi.⁶⁵



On the above map, it can also be seen that SAD's residence is isolated, remote, and located on the far edge of the village, and there are no more villages nearby. This affects SAD's social interaction that there seems to be a barrier between them and the outside community.⁶⁶

Another obstacle to the implementation of *fard* prayers fiqh, as said by Site, the Skaladi mosque's imam of Pelempang Village, is the absence of teaching staff who focus on fixing the *fiqh of al-ṣalāh* among the SAD.⁶⁷ The obstacle is also the cause why the SAD of Senami are unable to fully implement Islam. The minimal presence of religious teachers is the reason why Islamic teachings are poorly understood by the SAD.⁶⁸ This is supported by the opinions of the community and local customary institution. If there were teachers who consistently and routinely teach the SAD *fiqh al-ṣalāh*, it would be unlikely that they cannot

apply the fiqh of *fard* prayers based on Sharia and the Shafi'i school of thought.⁶⁹

However, they do not have special funding⁷⁰ for the SAD and to bring in teachers who can stay and actively teach Islam to the SAD, especially fiqh of *fard* prayers requires quite a lot of money.⁷¹

These obstacles also occur in other remote indigenous communities such as the Akit Tribe of Sonde Village whose low level of education and lack of religious guidance carried out by either the government or the community causes syncretism in their religious practices.⁷² The same story happened in the Mentawai Islands that low education, remote location, and an assumption that religion is a mere formality were the obstacles in religious progress in the islands.⁷³

Of the many factors that hinder the application of fiqh of *fard* prayers among the Pelempang's SAD, the most influential factor is the absence of consistent and routine teaching staff who teach them fiqh of worship, especially *fard* prayers that are a very important worship and are done every day.

Conclusion

Islamization of the Pelempang's SAD in Muaro Jambi, Jambi Province is the same as that in the Malay-Indonesian islands that the SAD have gradually abandoned their old tradition (animism) which is not in accordance with Is-

⁶⁵ The data is based on Google Earth.

⁶⁶ Interview with Wahyudi, Chairman of the Pelempang Village Government, 29 September 2020.

⁶⁷ Interview with Site, Imam of Skaladi Mosque, 26 February 2021.

⁶⁸ Mailinar and Bahren Nurdin, "Kehidupan Keagamaan Suku Anak Dalam Di Dusun Senami III Desa Jebak Kabupaten Batang Hari." p. 267.

⁶⁹ Interview with Hasanah, Skaladi's SAD Member, 23 April 2021.

⁷⁰ Interview with Bambang, Pangeratan Head, 05 February 2021.

⁷¹ Interview with wahyudi, Chairman of the Pelempang Village Government, 29 September 2020.

⁷² Hasbullah. "Kehidupan Keberagamaan Masyarakat Suku Akit di Desa Sonde Kabupaten Kepulauan Meranti." p. 9.

⁷³ Lukmanul Hakim, "Pemberdayaan Muslimah Minoritas Melalui Pembinaan Peningkatan Kualitas Keagamaan Di Kepulauan Mentawai," in *International Conference on University-Community Engagement* (Surabaya, 2016), 1051.

lamic teachings. This success is inseparable from the services of mentors, the customary institution and the Pelempang Village Government who have helped and provided facilities such as mosques, madrasas, and customary halls. Yet, despite having discarded animism, SAD's understanding of *fiqh al-ṣalāh* is still relatively low. This can be seen in the interviews and the questionnaires that on average the SAD do not know the theory and implementation of *fard* prayers. This is due to, *firstly*, in general, they cannot read and write because of the low level of their education; *secondly*, their remote geographical location which becomes an obstacle for teaching staff to focus on teaching *fiqh al-ṣalāh* actively and consistently; *thirdly*, there is a barrier between the SAD and outsiders. Thus, the Islamization of the SAD should focus on the deepening of *fiqh*, especially *fiqh al-ṣalāh*, unlike the previous scholars' claim that the SAD who have converted to Islam are very difficult to break away from their ancestors' teachings.

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