UGA SUNDANESE AHMADIYYA: LOCALITY OF MAHDIISM IN WEST JAVA

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Abstrak

Kata Kunci:
Ahmadiyah,
Imam Mahdi,
Uga, Sunda

Kajian tentang Ahmadiyah sudah sangat banyak dilakukan, baik fokus maupun pendekatannya. Namun, hanya sedikit Sarjana yang menganggap budaya lokal sebagai sarana penting gerakan Ahmadiyah. Kajian ini memfokuskan pada pemanfaatan budaya lokal berupa uga dalam tradisi Ahmadiyah Sunda. Uga adalah tradisi lisan berupa ramalan mistik leluhur di Sunda akan datangnya perubahan penting di tengah situasi krisis. Kajian ini merupakan studi etnografis terhadap tradisi uga di kalangan pengikut Ahmadiyah di Kuningan, Tasikmalaya, dan Bandung. Uga Ahmadiyah tersebut kemudian dianalisis dengan menggunakan pendekatan interpretatif. Hasil studi menunjukkan, bahwa setidaknya ada enam uga yang berkembang di kalangan Ahmadiyah di Bandung, Garut, Singaparna, Tasikmalaya, Ciamis, dan Manislor Kuningan. Berbagai uga itu merepresentasikan hubungan simbolis antara harapan masyarakat Sunda tentang perubahan situasi dengan keyakinan mesianis di dalam Ahmadiyah. Ugas ini mampu membentuk pengalaman, identitas dan memperkuat akar ideologi mistik Ahmadiyah pada masyarakat Sunda. Dengan demikian, kasus ugas Ahmadiyah Sunda merupakan salah satu bentuk strategi akulturasi budaya lokal, yang menambahkan kategorisasi lain dalam konteks gerakan Ahmadiyah di berbagai negara di dunia.

Abstract

Studies on Ahmadiyya have been very extensive, both in their focuses and approaches. However, few scholars consider local culture tobe an important part of the Ahmadiyya movement. This study focuses on the use of local culture in the form of *uga* in the Sundanese Ahmadiyya tradition. *Uga* is an oral tradition of ancestor mystical prophecy in Sunda on the coming of an important change in a situation of crisis. This is an ethnographic study of the Sundanese *uga* among Ahmadiyya followers in Kuningan, Tasikmalaya, and Bandung. The *uga* of Ahmadiyya is then analyzed using an interpretive approach. This study shows that there are at least six *ugas* of Ahmadiyya in Bandung, Garut, Singaparna, Tasikmalaya, Ciamis, and Manislor Kuningan. These *ugas* represent a symbolic meeting point between the expectations of Sundanese about the change of a situation and the messianic beliefs of Ahmadiyya. *Ugas* can shape the experience and identity of the Sundanese people and strengthen the roots of the mystical ideology of Ahmadiyya. Hereby, the case of *uga* Sundanese Ahmadiyya is a strategy of acculturation of local culture, which added another categorization in the context of the Ahmadiyya movement in various countries around the world.

Introduction

Ahmadiyya is an Islamic movement founded in the 19th century by a charismatic leader, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908). This is one of the most controversial movements in the history of Islam. Until now, in many Muslim countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Indonesia, and others, Ahmadiyya wad considered "deviant" because its founders claimed to have received revelation and called themselves Imam Mahdi. In Indonesia, Ahmadiyya has been the target of attacks several times. The brutality of the attack on Ahmadiyya occurred in Cikeusik in 2011.

Even though many other Islamic groups fought against them, Ahmadiyya can survive by maintaining its continuity in people's lives. Many scholars admit that there are many factors that support its sustainability in Indonesia, such as leadership factors, spiritual ethical approaches, economic strengthening through fundraising *(chandah),* educational development, the use of print and electronic media, social service, and others.[1]

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[1] Kunto Sofianto, *Tinjauan Kritis Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia,* Dissertation Universitas Kebangsaan Malaysia (Bangi: Neratja Press, 2014), 301-315; Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Conversion to Ahmadiyya in Indonesia: Winning Hearts through Ethical and Spiritual

However, despite these several factors, almost no scholars consider local cultural factors as an important channel for strengthening the Ahmadiyya movement in Indonesia. Only Rohmana's previous study considered the use of local culture in the form of Sundanese poetry entitled *Imam Mahdi's pupujian* which developed among Ahmadis in Tasikmalaya and Kuningan.[2] Apart from that, the study of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia tends to be dominated by theological, historical, sociological, and political studies rather than its relation to local culture.[3] Iskandar, for example, considers a rational approach to be the driving force for the development of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. He stated that there is no evidence that touches the hearts of Muslims to enter Ahmadiyya.[4] A conclusion is inaccurate when looking at the development of Ahmadiyya Qadian or the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Jama'at (JAI) in West Java. Ahmadiyya is pretty much embraced by Sundanese Muslims and is influenced by the teachings of oral traditions such as *uga* foresight and mystical dreams, which are considered out of date.[5]

Also, there is an opinion that, so far, various Islamic movements, including the Ahmadiyya, are considered to be less emphasizing the use of local cultural channels than strengthening the economy and electronic media. They are considered to only use local languages as a means of spreading their teachings, such as through lectures, translations of the Qur'an, and religious books.[6] Some scholars consider such an effort to be no longer significant in the present era, in line with the stronger dominance

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Appeals," *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 29, no. 3 (2014): 657–690, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/562682.

[2] Jajang A. Rohmana, "Sundanese Ahmadiyya's Pupujian of the Mahdi in West Java," *Ulul Albab* 20, no. 2 (2019): 203–232, https://ejournal.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/ululalbab/article/view/5689/pdf.

[3] See a survey of the bibliography literature of Ahmadiyya in Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims,* 19-26; Iskandar Zulkarnain, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2005), 19-40; Kunto Sofianto, *Tinjauan Kritis Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia,* 17-52.

[4] Iskandar Zulkarnain, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia,* 252, 278.

[5] Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims,* 142.

[6] Ajip Rosidi, *Gerakan Kasundaan*, Bandung: Kiblat, 2009, 71-72.

of the national language.[7] This assumption is not entirely correct if you look at the case of the development of Ahmadiyya in West Java. The local cultural factor is one of the important keys to the acceptance of Ahmadiyya, especially JAI, in an area considered to be the largest Ahmadiyya center in Indonesia, with the number of followers reaching up to 70-75 percent.[8] The acculturation approach of Sundanese local culture in the Ahmadiyya tradition is taken in various ways, not only through the translation of the Qur'an and Ahmadiyya books into Sundanese and oral literature in the form of Imam Mahdi's poetry,[9] but also by communicating his teachings through oral traditions with a mystical sense like *uga.*

Uga, or *cacandran,* is an oral tradition in the form of a traditional forecast from the ancestors of the arrival of a very important change regarding state or regional matters.[10] This is where the mystical Sundanese hope for a change behind the crisis due to economic pressure and political turmoil meets the millenarian belief of the coming of Imam Mahdi in Ahmadiyya. *Uga* seems to be an attempt to reiterate the millenarian awareness of Ahmadiyya when it was first born in India during the British colonial era and then came to Sundanese land.[11] For this reason, *Uga* cannot be ignored in strengthening the ideological roots and spread of Ahmadiyya in Sundanese society.

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[7] Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Sectarian Translation of the Qur'an in Indonesia: The Case of the Ahmadiyya," *Al-Jāmi'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 52, no. 2 (2015): 251–282, https://www.aljamiah.or.id/index.php/AJIS/article/view/334.

[8] Kunto Sofianto, *Tinjauan Kritis Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia,* 172.

[9] Djajadi, et al., *Ayat-ayat Pinilih tina Alquran* (Jakarta: Islam International Publications Ltd. 1988); The Committee for the Translation of the Sundanese Qur'an with the approval of Hazrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad Khalifatul Masih IV a.t.b.a, *Kitab Suci Al-Qur'an Tarjamah Sunda,* 3 Jilid (Jakarta: Jamaah Ahmadiyah Indonesia, 1998); Anonimous, *The Holy Qur'an with Translation & Commentaryin Sundanese,* 5 Volumes, Published under the auspices of Hadrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad (Islamabad: Islam International Publications Limited, 2001).

[10] Sundanese Language & Literature Institution Dictionary Committee, *Kamus Umum Basa Sunda* (Bandung: Penerbit Tarate, 1980), 80 dan 547. Suwarsih Warnaen et.al, *Pandangan Hidup Orang Sunda seperti Tercermin dalam Tradisi Lisan dan Sastra Sunda* (Bandung: Depdikbud, Director General of Culture for Research and Assessment Project Section of Sundanese Culture, 1987), 7-9.

[11] Herman L. Beck, "The Rupture of Ahmadiyya with Muhammadiya", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 161-2/3, 7 (2005), 215.

Therefore, the study of *Uga* in the Sundanese Ahmadiyya tradition is very significant. It shows the strong influence of Sundanese local culture on the Ahmadiyya body. This study is an ethnographic study of the Sundanese oral tradition among the followers of Ahmadiyya in Kuningan, Tasikmalaya, and Bandung. The Ahmadiyya *Uga* is then interpreted with an interpretive approach. The interpretive approach seeks to understand the culture from within, according to the category of the owner of the culture itself.[12] Therefore, this study understands tradition as one of the Sundanese Ahmadiyya identities. It is cultural acculturation in the area with the largest number of Ahmadiyya followers in Indonesia, which may add to the various categorization contexts about the Ahmadiyya movement in various countries in the world.[13]

Compared to studies of other religious movements, studies on Ahmadiyya have been very widely carried out. As an international movement, Ahmadiyya has received a lot of attention from scholars. Various perspectives are used, including historical approach, theological approach, teaching dissemination, networking among countries, and the persecution of Ahmadiyya in the context of criticism of civil rights freedoms. Scholars have also paid great attention to the Ahmadiyya issue in Indonesia, especially after the 1998 Reform and the escalation of conflict and violence against Ahmadiyya in various regions. Generally, studies on Ahmadiyya in Indonesia also focus on the issue of violence against Ahmadiyya from multiple perspectives, including theology, social, political, gender, state policy, religious freedom, and religious fatwas.[14]

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[12] Cifford Geertz, *The interpretation of Culture,* New York: Basic Books, 1973, 29-30, 77.

[13] Andrea Lathan, "The Relativity of Categorizing in the Context of the Ahmadiyya," *Die Welt des Islams* 48, no. 3 (2008): 372–393, https://brill.com/view/journals/wdi/48/3/article-p372_4.xml.

[14] For instance, Ahmad Najib Burhani, "The Ahmadiyya and the Study of Comparative Religion in Indonesia: Controversies and Influences," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 25, no. 2 (2014): 141–158, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09596410.2013.864191. T. Breidlid, "The Legitimization of Violence Against the Ahmadiyya Community in Indonesia," *Kawistara: Jurnal Ilmiah Sosial dan Humaniora* 3, no. 2 (2013): 165–77, https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/kawistara/article/view/3979.; Nina Mariani Noor, Siti

Some scholars also try to criticize through historical tracing to explore the contribution of Ahmadiyya in the course of Indonesian history and its contribution, especially in the translation and interpretation of the Qur'an in Indonesia. Through an anthropological approach, this study focuses on the use of *Uga* in the Ahmadiyya tradition in West Java, which includes Tasikmalaya, Garut, Bandung, Ciamis, and Kuningan. This study seeks to develop several existing studies by focusing on the significance of local Sundanese cultural harmony in strengthening the Ahmadiyya identity in West Java.

Ahmadiyya in West Java

In 1998, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad founded the Ahmadiyya, an international organization. Ghulam Ahmad was born in Qadian on February 13, 1835, and died in Lahore on May 26, 1908. In late 1890, Ghulam Ahmad declared himself *Imam Mahdi* and *Al-Masih Al-Maw'ud* (Al-Masih who was promised) by the Prophet Muhammad to revive Islam and enforce Islamic law at the end of time. Ghulam Ahmad's recognition as Imam Mahdi was based on the revelations he recognized as having been received from God. After Ghulam Ahmad's death, the Ahmadiyya leadership was continued by *Khalifatul Masih*. Currently, Ahmadiyya is led by Mirza Masroor Ahmad, the fifth *Khalifatul Masih,* who dwells in

Syamsiyatun, JB. Banawiratma, "In Search of Peace: Ahmadi Women's Experiences in Conflict Transformation," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 15, no. 1 (2015): 135–164, https://ijtihad.iainsalatiga.ac.id/index.php/ijtihad/article/view/343/275.; Daniel C. Bottomley, "The KTP Quandary: Islam, the Ahmadiyya, and the Reproduction of Indonesian Nationalism," *Contemporary Islam* 9, no. (2015): 1–16, https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11562-014-0302-2.; Fatima Zainab Rahman, "State Restrictions on the Ahmadiyya Sect in Indonesia and Pakistan: Islam or Political Survival?," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (2014): 408–422, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10361146.2014.934656.; Bastiaan Scherpen, "Enforcing Religious Freedom in Indonesia, Muslim Elites and the Ahmadiyah Controversy after the 2011 Cikeusik Clash" dalam *Islam, Politics and Change, The Indonesian Experience after the Fall of Suharto,* ed. Kees van Dijk and Nico J.G. Kaptein, Leiden University Press, 2015; Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Treating Minorities with Fatwa: A Study of Ahmadiyya Community in Indonesia," *Contemporary Islam* 8, no. (2014): 285–301, https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11562-013-0278-3.

London, England.[15]

Ahmadiyya was then divided into two groups: Qadian and Lahore. The two have fundamental differences in many aspects of their teachings. Ahmadiyya Qadian, or JAI, believes in Ghulam Ahmad as a prophet, while Ahmadiyya Lahore, or the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement (GAI), believes in him as a religious reformer (*mujaddid*).[16] Some scholars consider the GAI to be a more modern and liberal intellectual movement. Its members are close to most Muslims, keep their distance from mythology against Ghulam Ahmad, and identify as a Muslim missionary movement encouraged in the spirit of religious freedom. This is different from JAI, which tends to be a mystical and conservative movement. Some scholars have even concluded that the GAI method of preaching Islam encourages people to convert to Islam rather than join the organization. On the other hand, JAI encourages people to become followers rather than convert to Islam.[17]

In Indonesia, Ahmadiyya has spread along with the development of a large flow of nationalities amidst an uncertain political, economic, and religious situation. This movement started since the nationalism that was developed was still a cultural pattern, which appeared before the 1920s, until the idea of an independent Indonesia with a spirit of nationalism, anti-colonialism, and anti-Dutch and Western imperialism. The various organizations that emerged in Indonesia at that time were included in the national movement organization as well as reformist organizations within Islam. All of these organizational movements show the same goal, i.e., the search for a new community and identity that is still bound to their respective ethnic and religious cultures. The emergence of Islamic reform movements in Egypt and India that have influenced some reform movements in Indonesia has prompted a revival of the awareness of

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[15] Kunto Sofianto, *Tinjauan Kritis Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia,* 1-2.

[16] Iskandar Zulkarnain, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia*, 3.

[17] Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims,* 69 and 86.

Muslims about themselves, which has been declining for a long time.[18]

Among scholars, there are differences of opinion about the contribution of Ahmadiyya to the Islamic Reform movement in Indonesia. Noer and Mukti Ali, for example, tend to be skeptical of the contribution of this movement and consider it not to be playing an important role in the reform movement in Indonesia.[19] On the other hand, Benda, Wertheim, Zulkarnain, Blood, and Burhani argued that Ahmadiyya has contributed to modern thinking in Indonesia, regardless of the extent of their contribution. For them, Ahmadiyya, as a religious movement in Indonesia, is considered a significant reformer in the Islamic thought movement.[20] This movement aims to adapt Islamic religious ideas in Indonesia to new developments as a result of the development of science and technology.

Ahmadiyya Qadian came to Indonesia around 1925, or one year later after Lahore, while the Christian mission in Southeast Asia got stronger. However, the arrival of Ahmadiyya Qadian in Indonesia cannot be separated from the influence of the Ahmadiyya in Lahore that came earlier. Not long after three Indonesian students were delegated from Sumatra to Lahore and then to Qadian, they prompted the delegation of Maulana Rahmat Ali Haot (1893-1958), Ahmadiyya Qadian's first missionary, to come to Tapaktuan Aceh on October 2, 1925. For a mission movement, Rahmat Ali was quite successful and could attract the attention of Indonesian Muslims. Not only in Aceh, but Rahmat Ali also succeeded in spreading Ahmadiyya to reach areas in West Sumatra and South Sumatra.[21]

However, since its inception, Ahmadiyya Qadian has not developed. The number of followers is relatively small compared to other reforming

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[18] Iskandar Zulkarnain, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia*, 4-10.

[19] Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), 168.

[20] Iskandar Zulkarnain, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia,* 276; Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims,* 99-100.

[21] Kunto Sofianto, *Tinjauan Kritis Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia,* 113-114.

mass organizations. In Sumatera, for example, there are only a few cities, such as Tapaktuan (Aceh), Padang, Bukit Tinggi (West Sumatera), Palembang, Lahat, and Lubuk Linggau (South Sumatera). In Java, there are only a few cities, such as Bandung, Bogor, Garut (West Java), Purwokerto, Wonosobo, Surakarta (Central Java), Surabaya (East Java), and Jakarta. Until the end of the Dutch colonial era, there were around 10,000 Ahmadi Qadians and 1,000 Lahore Ahmadis.

In West Java, the development of the Ahmadiyya followers was divided into three phases: the Dutch colonialism (1931-1942), Japanese occupation (1942-1945), and the independence phase (1945-present). The coming of Ahmadiyya to the Sundanese region began when Rahmat Ali arrived in Batavia in 1931. He tried to do preaching *(da'wah)* activities, one of which was debate and Arabic language courses. Some Sundanese people from Garut and Sukabumi who witnessed the debate and learned Arabic finally started getting to know Ahmadiyya and founded the Ahmadiyya Community in Batavia in 1932. Rahmat Ali then expanded the spread of Ahmadiyya to Bogor and managed to attract sympathy until the Bogor branch of Ahmadiyya was founded as the second Ahmadiyya branch in Java in the same year.[22] Furthermore, several Ahmadiyya branches were also established around the Bogor area, such as Cisalada, Cibitungkulon, Sindangbarang, Ciherang, Pasirayunan, Cibitungwetan, Ciaruteun, Depok, and Citeureup.[23]

In 1934, Rahmat Ali designated Entoy Mohammad Toyib from Singaparna, Tasikmalaya, to spread the Ahmadiyya in West Java. Entoy succeeded in getting several traders from Tasikmalaya in Jakarta to join Ahmadiyya. They got to know Ahmadiyya not long after the debates in Bandung and in Jakarta with A. Hassan (1887-1958), an activist who defended Islam and a teacher of the Islamic Union *(Persatuan Islam, Persis)*.[24]

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[22] Iskandar Zulkarnain, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia,* 223.

[23] Kunto Sofianto, *Tinjauan Kritis Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia,* 128.

[24] Anonimous, *Officieel Verslag Debat antara Pembela Islam dan Ahmadiyah Qadian* (Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, 1986).

Besides, several people from Sukapura and Tasikmalaya such as E. Syarif and Surjah, also came to Entoy and learned about Ahmadiyya. The two of them then spread the Ahmadiyya teachings through pamphlets and established an Ahmadiyya committee in Indihiang, Tasikmalaya, in 1935. In 1941, the Tasikmalaya Ahmadiah chapter was successfully established. The Ahmadiyya influence in Tasikmalaya was finally getting stronger after two figures from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Kersamenak joined the Ahmadiyya.[25]

E. Syarif then succeeded in inviting Sadkar (Sadi'an Kartawijaya), a teacher from Garut who was assigned to Sukapura, and some of his friends, such as Didi Kantadiredja and the Head of Cisaatgirang Village. Sadkar is a Sundanese cultural expert who was once the Head of the Garut Culture Department. He has played an important role in spreading Ahmadiyya through Sundanese books, magazines, and hymns, especially in Wanasigra, Tasikmalaya, and Garut areas.

Entoy also invited many religious leaders, such as Moh. Anwar Sanusi, a member of the reformist Islamic organization *Ahlus Sunnah Cilame* Council (*Majelis Ahlus Sunnah* Cilame, MASC) Garut.[26] He was invited to debate by the Ahmadiyya, represented by Abdul Wahid in Singaparna. The absence of Sanusi made Ahmadiyya's prestige even higher, and around sixty people eventually took allegiance. This success was followed by the establishment of the Ahmadiyya branch in Singaparna in 1940. The Ahmadiyya was later more widespread, reaching Wanasigra, the Garut-Tasikmalaya border area, from 1949 until the establishment of its branch in 1952.[27] Wanasigra, which is located in Tenjowaringin Village, Tasikmalaya, is an area with the biggest followers of Ahmadiyya in West Java, about four thousand people, or 80 percent of the population.[28]

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[25] Kunto Sofianto, *Tinjauan Kritis Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia,* 132; Iskandar Zulkarnain, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia,* 227.

[26] Tentang MASC dan Anwar Sanusi, lihat Mohammad Iskandar, *Para Pengemban Amanah, Pergulatan Pemikiran Kiai dan Ulama di Jawa Barat, 1900-1950* (Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa, 2001), 171-4.

[27] Kunto Sofianto, *Tinjauan Kritis Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia,* 135.

[28] Uwes Fatoni, "Respon Da'i terhadap Gerakan Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) di

From Tasikmalaya, Ahmadiyya then spread to various other areas in West Java, including Cianjur in 1936, Bandung in 1938, Sukabumi in 1940, Ciamis in 1942, Banten in 1947, Cirebon in 1952, and Subang in 1975. Previously, Ahmadiyya had already developed in Garut around 1935 after Entoy invited Udin Sayudin, his close friend during his exile in Boven Digul, to convert to Ahmadiyya. The Ahmadiyya missionary, Abdul Wahid, also has an important role in this city because he comes from Tapaktuan and has studied in Qadian.

In 1936, the Ahmadiyya people in Sanding, Garut, succeeded in establishing the first Ahmadiyya mosque in Indonesia. Abdul Wahid succeeded in getting H. Basyari Hasan, an ajengan from Samarang, Garut, to take an allegiance. He was the one who succeeded in spreading Ahmadiyya in Cirebon and Manislor, Kuningan, in 1953. He also succeeded in convincing Ahmadiyya's teachings about Imam Mahdi in accordance with the ancestral testament in the form of *uga*, to which the Manislor community believed.[29] It is the area with the second-largest Ahmadiyya followers in West Java, with 3,026 people, or 80 percent of the total population.[30]

Until now, it has been estimated that there are around 18,000 Ahmadiyya followers spread across almost all districts and cities in West Java. The 2009 data state that West Java is the province with the largest number of Ahmadiyya's followers (0.3 percent) of the approximately 400,000 Ahmadis in Indonesia.[31]

Tenjowaringin Tasikmalaya," *Jurnal Dakwah: Media Dakwah dan Komunikasi Islam* 15, no. 1 (2014): 49–65, https://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/dakwah/jurnaldakwah/article/view/2014.15103.

[29] Chatib Saefullah, *Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) di Manis Lor* (Bandung: Pusat Pengembangan dan Penelitian UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2016), 123.

[30] Abdul Syukur, "Gerakan Dakwah Ahmadiyah: Studi Kasus Jamaah Ahmadiyah Indonesia Desa Manis Lor Kecamatan Jalaksana Kabupaten Kuningan," *Kalimah: Jurnal Studi Agama dan Pemikiran Islam* 15, no. 2 (2017): 169–189, https://ejournal.unida.gontor.ac.id/index.php/kalimah/article/view/1490.; Chatib Saefullah, "Ahmadiyah: Perdebatan Teologis Dan Masa Depan Dakwah," *Anida: Aktualisasi Nuansa Ilmu Dakwah* 15, no. 2 (2016): 225–247, https://journal.uinsgd.ac.id/index.php/anida/article/view/1170.

[31] Bruce Vaughn, "Indonesia: Domestic Politics, Strategic Dynamics, and American

The Ahmadiyya in West Java has been spreading rapidly since the 1940s until now. Entoy and Abdul Wahid, as preachers of the Ahmadiyya assigned by Rahmat Ali, have very important roles. For more than half a century, Ahmadiyya in West Java has succeeded in making this area the center of Ahmadiyya with the largest number of followers in Indonesia. Many factors influence Sundanese acceptance of Ahmadiyya's teachings. One of the most prominent teachings offered and easily accepted is the use of millenarianism or messianic beliefs that exist in Sundanese society. It is through this belief that Ahmadiyya followers are convinced, that the *Imam Mahdi* they are waiting for has arrived in the figure of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.[32] The belief in millenarianism, which is called *Uga* in Sundanese society, is used as a means to facilitate acceptance of the teachings of Imam Mahdi in Ahmadiyya. It can be seen in the case of H. Basyari's allegiance (bai'at) to Ahmadiyya, which was then followed by the Manislor community in Kuningan.

Uga in Sundanese Tradition

In the belief of the Sundanese people, *uga,* or *cacandran* is considered as a form of ancestral forecast *(karuhun)* of the arrival of a very important change regarding state or regional problems in the future. The Sundanese, for example, often say, *geus ninggang kana ugana* (it has arrived at the appointed time) when the event predicted by the ancestors has come.[33] The concept of *uga* is transmitted through oral tradition and is usually held by future generations from generation to generation. *Uga* has been around for a long time, long before the advent of Islam among the Sundanese people. In several regions, for example, as shown in table (1), there are also some kinds of *Uga,* such as *Uga Bandung, Uga Galunggung,* and *Uga Banten.*[34]

Interests," Congressional Research Service, 17 June 2009, p. 20.

[32] Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims,* 83-84.

[33] S. Coolsma, *Soendaneesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek.* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1913), 409.

[34] Suwarsih Warnaen et.al, *Pandangan Hidup Orang Sunda,* 9-10.

Uga origin	Utterance	Translation
Uga Bandung	*Sunda nanjung, lamun nu pundung ti Bandung ka Cikapundung geus balik deui.*	The Sundanese will have glory if those who are disappointed in Bandung go to Cikapundung and come back again.
Uga Galunggung	*Sunda nanjung lamun pulung turun ti Galunggung*	The Sundanese people will have a high degree of respect if the pulung comes down from Galunggung. Pulung means "something that has fallen" (holy light that falls from the sky).
Uga Banten	*Nagara Kartaraharja lamun Lebak Cawene geus kapanggih*	The country will be just and prosperous if Lebak Cawene is found.

Table (1): Examples of *Uga* in Sundanese society

As a forecast, *Uga* leads to various interpretations. Many people perceive *Uga's* utterance literally. This situation then causes frustration for those who believe it because what they have waiting for in accordance with their interpretation of the prophecy has not yet come. However, those who believe in the truth of *Uga* also use it as a prophetic ideology to understand the signs of the times. People who believe it might also hope that the change will bring prosperity, happiness, and physical and spiritual peace.[35]

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[35] Suwarsih Warnaen et.al, *Pandangan Hidup Orang Sunda,* 7.

Among Javanese people, this kind of belief is not much different from *Jayabaya's* forecast about the arrival of the figure of Ratu Adil. Ratu Adil is always identified as a new leader who will bring the people into a new atmosphere. This perception is usually associated with the coming of Imam Mahdi. Such an Islamic messianic has experienced acculturation with Javanese messianism, as found in Jayabaya's forecast. The appearance of Pangeran Diponegoro (1785-1855) is also considered part of the evidence of this "power of forecast". The arrival of Ratu Adil at that time was an expectation of millenarianism inherent in the imagination of the Javanese peasants in opposing the Dutch colonialists.[36] Similar beliefs were also felt when Sarekat Islam (SI) was founded in Java. There is an assumption that many have entered SI because of millenarian and messianic hopes.[37]

In the Sundanese tradition, the concept of Ratu Adil is generally not associated with a person but is more symbolic. Besides, in the Sundanese tradition, the hope of social and political change did not give birth to a movement that was revolutionary but passive; surrender meant waiting patiently and steadfastly for what is believed to be the promise of the ancestors.[38] However, in some cases, this view is not always correct, as the issue of Ratu Adil has also been widely discussed, especially when there were rebellions in West Java.

The case of a peasant rebellion in Cilegon, Banten, in 1888 followed the various millenary movements that accompanied the anxiety and social upheaval that were happening on the Java Island at that time. Religious leaders played an important role in developing and disseminating historical forecasts and visions about the coming of Imam Mahdi or Ratu Adil, then interpreting them into deeds by drawing the masses to revolt.[39]

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[36] Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855* (Leiden: KITV Press, 2008), xiv.

[37] Takashi Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*, terj. Hilmar Farid (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1997), 90.

[38] Suwarsih Warnaen et.al, *Pandangan Hidup Orang Sunda,* 25-26.

[39] Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888, Its Conditions, Course and Sequel* ('S. Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), 4.

This also happened in the Kartosuwiryo case (1905-1962), the main figure in the DI/TII rebellion in the middle of the 20th century, who was described as a mystic and, by his followers, considered practicing Joyoboyo's expertise and Imam Mahdi or Ratu Adil. Some think that God has chosen him to be a leader through *Wahyu Cakraningrat Sadar*, a revelation that is only given to kings. He has been chosen and given the title *Khalifatullah* with a set of amulets and power.[40]

The teachings about *uga*, which come from the Sundanese tradition, are currently undergoing what is called cultural acculturation.[41] The development of Islamic teachings did not diminish people's belief in them. The term also became more developed when it met with the beliefs of Imam Mahdi in Islam. In the Sundanese Ahmadiyya, *uga* also experienced acculturation when it came into contact with the teachings of Imam Mahdi in Ahmadiyya, so that it was gradually accepted and processed into Sundanese Ahmadiyya culture. Here, the Sundanese carry out an acculturation process so that Ahmadiyya's teachings are accepted in their tradition. The belief in the *uga*, which contains forecasts and expectations of the Sundanese people for future changes, meets the belief in the coming of Imam Mahdi in Ahmadiyya. Therefore, the teachings of Imam Mahdi and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad are no longer considered odd and merely on the surface, but have undergone deep acculturation and merged into the tradition of Sundanese life through belief in *uga*.

Imam Mahdi and *Uga* in the Sundanese Ahmadiyya Tradition

Ahmadiyya is a school of Islamic thought and movement based in India. This movement emphasizes ideological-eschatological aspects because it is Mahdist in the belief that Al-Mahdi is seen as a "Savior of Peace." Amid the Ahmadiyya of Qadian and Lahore, this teaching has absolutely no difference but is different from the views of Mahdiism held

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[40] Chiara Formichi, *Islam and the Making of the Nation: Kartosuwiryo and Political Islam in 20th Century Indonesia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012), 36.

[41] Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1990), edition 8, 247-248.

by the Sunnis. Mahdiism is generally a tradition of the Islamic movement, although with different features. Not only Sunni and Ahmadiyya, but Mahdiism teachings also exist in Shia and the Mahdi movement in Sudan, which is very anti-colonialism.

According to Ahmadiyya's beliefs, Al-Mahdi has a duty to reconcile the divisions of the Muslim community, both in terms of faith and sharia. Ahmadiyya wants the unity of Muslims as in the past. More than that, Al-Mahdi is also believed to have the goal of reuniting all religions, especially Christianity and Hinduism, to merge with Islam.[42] The teachings of Imam Mahdi are based on the belief in a savior or messiah for people who are oppressed due to the rampant tyranny of the rulers. Such a savior figure was known as "the Promised Mahdi" (*Al-Masih Al-Maw'ud*). Imam Mahdi is known as Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

According to Ahmadiyya, the doctrine of Al-Mahdi cannot be separated from the issue of the advent of Isa Al-Masih at the end of time. This is so because Al-Mahdi and Al-Masih are one person, whose arrival God has promised. God has given him the task of killing the Dajjal and destroying the cross, which entails refuting Christian religious arguments with solid proof and illuminating their adherent to Islam's true nature. As an imam at the end of time, Imam Mahdi is believed to be a prophet who receives revelations but does not carry new laws. He was simply assigned to re-enforce the Shari'a of the Prophet Muhammad throughout the world.[43]

The strong belief in Mahdiism is considered ambiguous when one sees that the development of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia is one of the efforts to respond to the impurity of Islamic practices and teachings in Indonesia that have resulted in the decline of Islam. This ambiguous attitude is

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[42] Azyumardi Azra, "Pengantar" dalam Iskandar Zulkarnain, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia,* x.

[43] Iskandar Zulkarnain, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia,* 83-4. Tentang dalil-dalil Imam Mahdi menurut Ahmadiyah, lihat Sadkar, *Tanda-tanda Ahir Zaman: Maluruh Kasumpingan Isa Almasih & Imam Mahdi Nu Dijangjikeun sarta Tanda-tanda Kasumpinganana* (Bogor: Neratja Press, 2015), eiditon 4, 20-28.

addressed to Ahmadiyya Qadian rather than Lahore. The Qadian Ahmadiyya tends to have strong elements of millenarianism and mysticism, such as a strong belief in dreams. It is different from the Lahore Ahmadiyya, which is more intellectual in teaching Islam.[44]

The strong belief in the millenarianism of Imam Mahdi among Qadiani makes it easy for this movement to adapt to the millennial beliefs of the Muslim community in Indonesia. In Indonesia, the majority of Muslims who adhere to Sunni tenets have believed in the coming of Isa Al-Masih and Imam Mahdi as Ratu Adil at the end of time. Therefore, such a belief makes it easier for Ahmadiyya to influence the understanding of other Muslims with the teachings of Imam Mahdi, according to the Ahmadiyya version.

In the case of Qadiani in West Africa, for instance, it is very unique. Thousands of people joined the Ahmadiyya based on what they heard long ago from the words of their ancestors: that one day a disciple of Imam Mahdi would come to teach among them. Thousands of people joined the Ahmadiyya when Maulana Abdul Rahim Nayyar, the first Ahmadi missionary to Africa, arrived at what is now known as the golden coast, or what is now known as Ghana.[45]

The same story of millennialism has also developed among Ahmadis in Indonesia. *Tapaktuan,* where Ahmadiyya's first missionary, Rahmat Ali, arrived for the first time in Indonesia, also has millennial beliefs about Imam Mahdi. *Tapaktuan,* or *Tapaktawan*, is literally interpreted as "feet that are full of blessings." This is believed to be a good sign for spreading Ahmadiyya teachings in the area.[46] Realizing this situation, several Acehnese students in Qadian sent letters to their hometowns, informing them that when the first Imam Mahdi emissary arrived in Tapaktuan, the Acehnese should receive him well. The contents of the letter were clearly

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[44] Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims*, 75.
[45] Iskandar Zulkarnain, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia,* 278; Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims*, 89-90.
[46] Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims*, 90.

intended to prepare for Rahmat Ali's presence and to spread Ahmadiyya teachings using the public's belief that Imam Mahdi would come. The letter seemed to be effective because there were hundreds of people waiting for Rahmat Ali to arrive at Tapaktuan. Although fewer people were joining than those in West Africa, the enthusiasm of the people when welcoming the arrival of Imam Mahdi or his emissary was quite high, at least a good sign at the beginning of his presence.[47]

Within the Sundanese Ahmadiyya community in West Java, Ahmadiyya has utilized local people's beliefs about the coming of Imam Mahdi in several areas. Ahmadiyya has succeeded in using the *uga* as a traditional Sundanese prophecy to facilitate acceptance of Ahmadiyya's teachings about Imam Mahdi. It is where *uga*, which was originally the belief of the local community, acculturates the Ahmadiyya belief that Imam Mahdi will come. The propriety of the predictions about Ahmadiyya through *uga* is sometimes also received through dreams in the form of instructions to convert to Ahmadiyya. Table (2) shows several forms of the local community that are considered to conform to the teachings of Imam Mahdi and are spreading among Ahmadiyya members in several regions.[48]

Adherents	*Uga*	Translation
Ahmadiyya Bandung	*Di mana geus kajadian Bandung heurin ku tangtung, Imam Mahdi bakal sumping ka nyéngsérét palebah hanjuang tujuh ngariung*	If the city of Bandung is full of people and buildings, then Imam Mahdi will come to Nyengseret around the grove of seven Hanjuang trees.
Ahmadiyya	*Jaga mun geus kajadian*	In the future, when it

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[47] Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims*, 90.

[48] Kunto Sofianto, *Tinjauan Kritis Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia,* 13-14; An Interview with Anis, a member of Ahmadiyya Bandung at Mubarok Mosque, Jl. Pahlawan Bandung, Monday, August 15, 2016 at 14:28.

Garut	*di Cimanuk lebah lembur Leuwidaun, aya sasak tilu ngaréndéng, Garut bakal ribut kasumpingan Imam Mahdi*	happens in Cimanuk, around the village of Leuwidaun, that there are three bridges lined up, Garut will be excited about the arrival of Imam Mahdi.
Ahmadiyya Singaparna	*Di mana geus aya Cina nu bebetah di puseurna Mangunreja, Singaparna bakal kasumpingan tamu Ratu Adil Imam Mahdi, sumpingna ti tatar kulon, dianteur ku nu jajap turunan ménak turunan Salawu, datangna ka Heulangmangkak*	If there are Chinese people who are already feeling happy at the center of Mangunreja, Singaparna will have a guest from a Queen of Justice, Imam Mahdi, who came from the West, accompanied by a descendant of the Salawu aristocracy who came to Heulangmangkak.
Ahmadiyya Tasikmalaya	*Talingakeun ku maranéh, mun geus leungit batu nungku di Ciwulan, palebah lembur Sabodog, bakal sumping Imam Mahdi nyelang sindang sapeuting di Leuwipanjang, terus laju ka Cicérét, ka Cisaat*	Remember, if my stone is gone in Ciwulan, around the Sabodog village, then Imam Mahdi will come, stop for one night at Leuwipanjang, continue to Ciceret, to Cisaat Cibuyutan, and get out of the city to Kedunghalang.

	Cibuyutan, ka girang ka Kedunghalang	
Ahmadiyya Ciamis	*Di mana geus kajadian Sukapura mangku Galuh rajana malati kembar, éta tanda Ratu Adil Imam Mahdi enggeus sumping, kudu pada naréangan*	If there is an incident and Sukapura is carrying Galuh, the king of twin jasmine, that is a sign that the Queen of Justice, Imam Mahdi, has come, so people must look for him.
Ahmadiyya Manislor Kuningan	*Ciri winci ratu adil Imam Mahdi enggeus sumping ka buana panca tengah, di mana geus datang ka Manislor, haji urang Garut nu datangna husus ngajarkeun agama. Pék tuturkeun ku maranéh. Sakitu sakadar bukti conto.*	The sign of the period of the fair queen of Imam Mahdi has come to the world, where he has come to Manislor, a Garut pilgrim who came specifically to teach religion. Come on, follow all of you: that is just an example of evidence.
	Maranéh kudu asup agama tapi tunggu agama anu sajati, nyaéta nalika engké datang haji anu mawa béja yén Ratu Adil Imam Mahdi geus datang, tah éta anu sajati téh, maranéh kudu ngaguru ka dinya.	You all have to have a religion, but wait until the true religion of Islam comes, that is, when one day a pilgrim comes bringing the news that a Queen of Justice, Imam Mahdi, has come. That is true Islam, and you all have to

| 49 | learn from him. |

Table (2): *Uga* spreading among the Sundanese Ahmadiyya

Some of these *uga* are examples of how Ahmadiyya followers try to express their belief that the Ahmadiyya's teachings they follow are part of the *uga,* or forecasts, of their ancestors. Imam Mahdi, who was promised to be the Queen of Justice, is believed to have arrived, along with the teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, through the Ahmadiyya movement. This is where the belief in the truth of *uga* among Sundanese people gained legitimacy with the arrival of Imam Mahdi, who was taught in the Ahmadiyya movement.

In the case of Ahmadiyya in Manislor Village, Jalaksana, Kuningan District, for example, Ahmadiyya missionaries have since the beginning realized the importance of their position in the form of a mystical belief in the arrival of Imam Mahdi. Saefullah, or it *uga* or *wangsit,* which comes from Prabu Siliwangi.[50] He is considered a hero of Sundanese culture because he represents the identity and ideal type of Sundanese human life.[51] The figure of the Sundanese king is the most respected, so it serves as legitimacy for the strong roots of the locality of that forecast.

The *uga* was then used as a means of spreading the Ahmadiyya, and it is very fruitful. The congruence of this expression with the arrival of a haji from Garut, Mama Ajengan Haji Basyari Hasan (H. Basori), as an Ahmadiyya missionary, was able to attract the attention of the Manislor society. The *uga* that is meant here is "*Ciri winci Ratu Adil Imam Mahdi enggeus sumping ka buana panca tengah, di mana geus datang ka Manislor, haji urang Garut nu datangna husus ngajarkeun agama. Pék tuturkeun ku maraneh. Sakitu sakadar bukti conto*" (A sign of the period of the Queen of Justice, Imam Mahdi has come to the world, where he has come to Manislor, a Garut

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[49] Another version of Ahmadiyya Manislor is also taken from Chatib Saefullah, *Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) di Manis Lor*, 106.

[50] Chatib Saefullah, *Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) di Manis Lor*, 107.

[51] Edi S. Ekadjati, *Kebudayaan Sunda,* Jilid 2 (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2009), edition 2, 84 and 116.

pilgrim who came specifically to teach religion. (Come and follow it by all of you; that is just a proof of example).

The congruence of the *uga* of the ancestors with the arrival of the emissary of Imam Mahdi, H. Basyari, is a success story of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia, which is often told because seventy percent (70%) of the five thousand people of Manislor are Ahmadiyya. The story of Ahmadiyya's advent began in 1953, when the *Kuwu,* or village head of Manislor, E. Bening, met Sutardjo (d. 1968), an Ahmadi who was a police officer. Sutardjo told about the arrival of Imam Mahdi, i.e., Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. The belief that the arrival of the Queen of Justice, Imam Mahdi, or Savior is not something new for *Kuwu* and Manislor society. Except for being a belief of the society, the *Kuwu* has also learned about Imam Mahdi since at HIS, Pasundan school, from his teacher, who was also an Ahmadi. Therefore, after receiving news from Sutardjo, *Kuwu* then pondered and thought about the news for several days. He was also loaned the book The Truth of Christ in the End Times by Rahmat Ali. Not long after, Bening had a mystical experience in the form of a dream that Ghulam Ahmad was the long-awaited Imam Mahdi. In his dream, he saw two sons, one very bright and the other gloomy. He also felt his body smell good. *Kuwu* later converted to Ahmadiyya and was taken for an oath by Haji Basyari from Garut, who was deliberately invited to Manislor by the Cirebon branch of Ahmadiyya. This was later followed by his family and several villagers who shared the same beliefs.[52]

The mystical experience of *Kuwu* Bening, which is highly respected in Manislor society, has an important position. He is considered a milestone in the acceptance of Ahmadiyya in the area. Not only that, the mystical belief in the truth of Imam Mahdi within Ahmadiyya got stronger when the tragic death incident occurred--the mysterious murder of a rich woman who is considered very anti-Ahmadiyya. Previously, it was reported that she often distributed money to Ahmadiyya Manislor

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[52] Djohan Effendi, "Ahmadiyah Qadyan di Desa Manislor," *Jurnal Ulumul Qur'an,* Vol. 1 1990/1410 H, 101.

followers to leave Ahmadiyya and succeeded in persuading two of them.[53]

Some scholars have other versions regarding the conversion of the Manislor society into Ahmadiyya. According to one version, Haji Basyari from Garut brought Ahmadiyyah during the conflict between *Kuwu* Bening and Kyai Marjan, the village's head. A dispute that is considered to reflect competition between *abangan* and *santri*. Although this assumption is questioned by other scholars.[54] It is said that the dispute between the village head and the *Kuwu* involved the Kuwu's own brother, an Ahmadi who came from Padang. He dared to proclaim the truth of Ahmadiyya amid the Friday prayer congregation at the Village Mosque, until a quarrel occurred with the *ketib*. Since then, Ahmadiyya followers have built their own mosque not far from Manislor Village.[55]

Mystical stories about the conformity of *uga* with the arrival of Imam Mahdi also developed in the Ahmadiyya Garut circle. Here it is believed that there is an *uga* stating that ""*Lamun di Garut geus ngadeg tilu sasak ngajajar Imam Mahdi bakal sumping*" (If there are three sasak in a row in Garut, Imam Mahdi will come). Ahmadiyya followers believe that the *uga* corresponds to the real situation in Garut. In his interpretation, Bubun Sadkar, an artist, and son of Sadkar, the first generation of Ahmadiyya Garut, illustrates that what is meant by the three-lined bridges are the Cimanuk bridge, the train bridge, and the PTG bridge. According to Bubun, although the new bridge was built on the Kerkhoff canal road, because of its strength, the PTG bridge collapsed, so there are still three-lined bridges in Garut.[56] This kind of interpretation is strongly believed to be true among Ahmadiyya circles because it is considered to strengthen mystical beliefs about events that

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[53] Djohan Effendi, "Ahmadiyah Qadyan di Desa Manislor," 105.

[54] Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims*, 91-92.

[55] Rosidin, "Sikap pemerintah terhadap konflik keagamaan: Kasus Ahmadiyah Manislor," dalam *Kumpulan makalah yang dipresentasikan pada the 11th Annual Conference on Islamic Studies: Merangkai mozaik Islam dalam ruang publik untuk membangun karakter bangsa, Bangka Belitung, 10-13 Oktober* 2011 (Jakarta: Direktorat Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama RI), 443.

[56] An Interview with Bubun Basyariat Sadkar at JAI Garut Branch Office, Jl. Ciledug, Tuesday, August 16, 2016 at. 10.30.

actually occur in society.

A similar story is also found in Cisalada, Bogor, one of the oldest branches of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. Before the arrival of Ahmadiyya, one of the village elders predicted that Imam Mahdi would come to his village one day. He said, "Follow what he says, even though he is good at playing snakes." A gesture referring to the tradition of a snake charmer with the flute, which is similar in India. Based on this belief, when an Ahmadiyya preacher arrived, the people took allegiance and followed his teachings. Ghulam Ahmad was the Imam Mahdi who was predicted to have arrived.[57]

Some stories about the people joining Ahmadiyya can be found in many places, such as in the cases of Ahmadiyya Wanasigra and Lombok. The belief in the coming of a savior, Imam Mahdi, or Ratu Adil (Javanese, Sundanese), or Mas Panji Selapang (Lombok), can be found in many cultures, traditions, and ethnicities. In many cases, Qadiani uses this belief to spread its teachings.[58] Some of the senior Ahmadiyya followers in Bandung who were met, for example, also confirmed this *uga*, although he might not be very popular among Ahmadiyya youth. The story of the Ahmadiyya *uga* has been spread for a long time so that it is known by most Ahmadiyya followers, especially the older generation.[59] Although there is uncertainty about whether this story about the Ahmadiyya *uga* was used as an official lecture and teaching material for Ahmadiyya missionaries to spread their teachings in society.

The peaceful acceptance of Ahmadiyya in West Java cannot be separated from the kinship nature of the local people, which tends to be loose and open to the influence of outside religious teachings. Therefore, the religious life of the Sundanese people is diverse, including both local religious beliefs such as Sundanese Wiwitan, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. Since the collapse of the Sundanese kingdom that

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[57] Agung P. Iskandar, "Mengunjungi Kampung Ahmadiyah di Cisalada, Bogor," http://m.jpnn.com/news.php?id=102060 (accessed on Tuesday, 23 August 2016 at 12.07).

[58] Ahmad Najib Burhani, *When Muslims are not Muslims*, 92.

[59] H. Mansur, a member of Ahmadiyya in Bandung at his house, Monday, 15 August, 2016 at 14.00.

embraced Hinduism in 1579, Sundanese people generally follow Islam. However, the arrival of Dutch colonialism in the next period made Sundanese Muslims experience economic difficulties. So, it can be understood when they expect the arrival of Imam Mahdi, as reflected in the variety of *uga* of the ancestors who are believed to have originated from Prabu Siliwangi, the symbol of the Sundanese kingdom most respected to this day. The arrival of Ahmadiyya to the Sundanese land, carrying the mission of Imam Mahdi in the figure of Ghulam Ahmad, seemed to find momentum when meeting with the forecast of the ancestors in the *uga*.

According to Redfield's study, Ahmadiyya teachings tend to blend in with Sundanese traditions through *uga* within the confines of the modest Islamic tradition that Ahmadiyya adhere to. *Uga* is not a highly revered tradition or an orthodox form of a religious center that the affluent regularly practice. It is a small or heterodox tradition situated on the edges of Islam, combining it with elements of local traditions and practices. *Uga* is a belief that is practiced by ordinary people in their daily lives. It is believed to be *taken for granted*.[60]

For the Sundanese Ahmadiyya society, *uga* symbolically becomes a means for Ahmadiyya followers to maintain their existence in West Java. As an Islamic activism group, the existence of Ahmadiyya cannot be separated from the symbols, language, and cultural history of society. It grows and develops along with the disappointment and suffering due to political exclusion, economic deprivation, and a growing sense of inability to deal with outside powers. It made the Sundanese Ahmadiyya try to create various means, including through cultural channels such as *uga*, to motivate, inspire, and demand loyalty from their groups. *Uga* becomes a kind of "moral guarantee" that is owned by encouraging individual interests and guiding them.[61] Ahmadiyya in West Java tries to use the

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[60] Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture, An Anthropological Approach to Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), 70. Fiona Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion, An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 25.

[61] Quintan Wiktorowicz, ed. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 25.

symbols, language, and history of the Sundanese culture that are contained in the *uga* amid the suffering and hopes of the people for change. It appeared along with the increasing disappointments and suffering of the Sundanese people, which then became a shared belief with the hope of the coming of a savior through the arrival of Imam Mahdi.

Through the process of acculturation, *uga* in the Sundanese Ahmadiyya tradition is culturally transformed into a Sundanese Ahmadiyya cultural identity. The concept of identity here is related to the concept that Ahmadiyah has about themselves and their image in the eyes of others. Identity makes it possible to see the similarities and differences between oneself and others. Sundanese Ahmadiyya tries to continue to produce its identity, construct and reconstruct Sundanese local culture, and use it as a system of identifying or representing itself in dealing with other Sundanese people.[62] The Sundanese Ahmadiyya identity has been developed through a long process. Sundanese cultural channels, such as *uga*, are used to facilitate acceptance of the Sundanese people and, at the same time, strengthen their existence through a system of cultural representation. A similar thing and, at the same time, different from other Sundanese people.

The Ahmadiyya people, which are often considered *the others*, identify or define themselves, how they relate to others, and what motives may arise. So, when that interaction occurs, identity is formed.[63] Therefore, the Ahmadiyya identity is actually the result of construction because it was established by a majority Muslim group that considers them to be *the others*. From this perspective, identity actually contains the processes of encounter and negotiation. The Sundanese Ahmadiyya identity is therefore more of a process of fluid self-representation, dealing with and

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[62] Yekti Maunati, *Identitas Dayak: Komodifikasi dan Politik Kebudayaan* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2006), cet. ke-2, 1. See also about the study of the ethnic identity of local communities in Irwan Abdullah, *Konstruksi dan Reproduksi Kebudayaan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007), edition 2; Thung Ju Lan at.al., *Klaim, Kontestasi & Konflik Identitas: Lokalitas vis-à-vis Nasionalitas* (Jakarta: LIPI, 2006); Ubed Abdilah S, *Politik Identitas Etnis* (Magelang: Indonesiatera, 2002).

[63] Martin Lukito Sinaga, *Identitas Poskolonial "Gereja Suku" dalam Masyarakat Sipil, Studi tentang Jaulung Wismar Saragih dan Komunitas Kristen Simalungun* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004), 5.

resisting to the representation of strong parties or the self of that society. So it can be said that there is a temporary attachment to a form of discourse (Sundanese) that tells of this identity.[64] Therefore, the construction of the Sundanese Ahmadiyya identity is established when dealing with the majority group. The Ahmadiyya group tries to negotiate and contest culturally in building its identity. The choice of the Ahmadiyya movement in West Java to use Sundanese cultural channels such as *uga* cannot be separated from these negotiation efforts.

Conclusion

This study shows that the strong basis of Ahmadiyya in several areas in West Java, is among others things, influenced by the use of Sundanese local cultural channels by the Ahmadi in developing their teachings. Apart from using the Sundanese language and translating the Qur'an and books into local languages, including Sundanese, it is also carried out by strengthening the Sundanese oral tradition treasury, such as *uga*, or the forecast of Sundanese ancestors. Through *uga*, Ahmadiyah can reconcile the traditional Sundanese millenarianism belief in the coming of changes in the future on the one hand with the teachings of Imam Mahdi among the Ahmadi on the other. It shows the uniqueness of the locality of the Ahmadiyya movement in West Java in conquering the hearts and attention of the Sundanese.

This study is very important in the effort to uncover the treasures of the Sundanese oral tradition that are spread among the Ahmadiyya, which may be disliked and considered less important by Sundanese Muslims in general. Mainstream Sundanese Islam in West Java generally considers Ahmadiyya a "deviant" group. Therefore, they are considered "improper" to hold Islamic status. Therefore, the various efforts that have been made by Ahmadiyya in developing Islamic traditions in Indonesia are generally considered less significant. In fact, this is one of the important

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[64] Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspective* (London: Pluto Press, 1995), 60.

distinctions in the identity of the Ahmadiyya movement in Indonesia that enriches the type of categorization of Ahmadiyya in the world. This study at least shows the contribution of Ahmadiyya in the development of Sundanese traditional culture in West Java, in the form of *uga,* which is integrated into the idea of Islamic theology, in the form of the teachings of Imam Mahdi, or Mahdiism. It is an important effort made by Ahmadiyya in harmonizing local messianic teachings with the Islamic teachings they believe.

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Interview:

Anis, a member of Ahmadiyya Bandung, was at Mubarok Mosque, Jl. Pahlawan Bandung, on August 15, 2016 at 14:28.

Bubun Basyariat Sadkar at JAI Garut Branch, Jl. Ciledug, on August 16, 2016 at. 10.30.

H. Mansur, a member of the Ahmadiyya.