

From Manuscripts to Moderation: Sundanese Wisdom in Countering Religious Radicalism

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Abstract: Deradicalization has been a topic of interest among writers since the 19th century, when religious radicalism began to spread in the Islamic world. Tubagus Ahmad Bakri (TAB) wrote numerous religious texts against religious radicalism. His writings have contributed to developing a harmonious and tolerant social religious order. This writing attempts to map out the religious deradicalization concepts in the writings of Sundanese religious figures who made efforts to develop a comprehensive and tolerant religious ideology. This study shows how the Sundanese manuscripts have contributed to developing a moderate religious ideology that rejects radical religious texts and sets in motion an anti-radicalism social movement in the community. Employing the critical discourse analysis method, this study has revealed that TAB's religious writings contain three important elements that counter religious radicalism: First, the importance of religious tolerance, the need for moderate religious understanding, and strong adherence to local wisdom. Second, rejection of radical religious texts, such as texts that prohibit having a *madhhab*, prohibition of *istighasa*, and declare making a pilgrimage to tombs as a misguided practice. Third, social commitment to religious moderation is marked by a movement of writing and translating religious books, community learning, and anti-radicalism campaign through community religious studies.

Keywords: Deradicalization; Religious Ideology; Sundanese manuscripts; Tubagus Ahmad Bakri.

Abstrak: Deradikalisasi telah menjadi konsen para penulis naskah sejak abad 19, sebagai antisipasi merebaknya radikalisme agama di dunia Islam. Tubagus Ahmad Bakri (TAB) merupakan ulama Jawa Barat yang produktif menulis teks-teks keagamaan anti radikalisme. Upaya TAB sedikit besarnya telah membawa perubahan dalam membangun sistem kehidupan sosial keagamaan yang harmonis dan toleran. Secara khusus, tulisan ini memetakan konsep deradikalisasi keagamaan yang dilakukan tokoh Sunda dalam manuskrip serta bagaimana upaya membangun ideologi keagamaan yang komprehensif dan toleran. Sejalan dengan itu, studi ini menunjukkan bagaimana manuskrip Sunda turut memberikan kontribusi merumuskan ideologi keagamaan yang moderat, menolak teks-teks keagamaan radikal dan melakukan gerakan sosial anti radikalisme di tengah-tengah masyarakat. Jenis penelitian ini adalah deskriptif kualitatif dengan pendekatan metode analisis wacana kritis. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa teks-teks keagamaan TAB mengandung tiga hal penting dalam menangkal paham radikalisme agama, *pertama*, paham deradikalisasi keagamaan TAB meliputi pentingnya toleransi beragama, perlunya penguatan paham keagamaan moderat, dan berpegang teguh kepada keraifan lokal. *Kedua*, penolakan terhadap teks-teks keagamaan radikal, seperti teks-teks pelarangan bermadzhab, pengharaman *istigatsah* dan penyesatan ziarah kubur. *Ketiga*, moderasi agama yang dibangun TAB dilakukan dengan komitmen sosial yang ditandai dengan gerakan penulisan dan penerjemahan kitab-kitab keagamaan, pembelajaran komunitas dan kampanye anti radikalisme melalui pengajian-pengajian kepada masyarakat.

Kata Kunci: Deradikalisasi; Ideologi Agama; Naskah Sunda; Tubagus Ahmad Bakri.

1. Introduction

Since its arrival in Indonesia, Wahhabism has encountered resistance from various elements of the community. The resistance because of Wahhabism was considered to be contrary to the ideology of Indonesia, namely Pancasila (Aritonang, 2020). Wahhabism, with its textual method of *da'wah* that declares others who have different religious understanding as heretics or even infidels, has been met with resistance by the heterogeneous Indonesian Muslim community. Wahhabism radikal movement was well documented and countered by Indonesian ulamas. As Terrorist action based on the Wahhabi doctrine consider that, outside of their beliefs and doctrines are referred to "Kafir" (Abidin, 2015; Aritonang, 2020). The resistance is apparent among others in the writings of the Archipelago's Muslims ulamas. The deradicalization manuscripts were written the local languages (Javanese, Sundanese, Buginese, et cetera) using the Arabic script known as *Pegon Arabic*. Many Sundanese manuscripts of various topics written by Muslim ulamas are available both in the National Museum in Jakarta and in the Netherlands. Sundanese manuscripts that deal with Wahhabism and critique against it are rarely found.

To this day, most Sundanese manuscripts and their studies have tended to deal with three things: First, culture (Darsa, Sofianto, & NS Suryani, 2000; Jamaludin, 2018; Sumarlina, Permana, & Darsa, 2020). Darsa studied fragments of the Sundanese manuscripts of Parahyangan stories written in the sixteenth century CE on palm leaves using ancient Sundanese language and script. The manuscript describes a system of government of the ancient Sundanese community. Second ethics (Azizah, 2020; Ruhimat, 2017). Azizah (2020) stated that the teachings of Sangyang Siksakandang Karesian manuscript had universal values that could be implemented in modern culture, for example, the importance of finding a proper and ethical teacher who has great knowledge, having mutual respect for fellow human beings, and avoiding negative attitudes. Third, the teachings of Sufism and *tariqah* (Haerudin & Koswara, 2018; Rohmana, 2017). Rohmana (2017) reported that in West Java, many Sufi works were written in Sundanese, one of which is Sundanese Sufi literature written by Haji Hasan Mustafa. The work explains the concept of *wahdatul wujud*. There are not many studies that counter Wahhabi radicalism in Sundanese manuscripts.

This article aims to supplement some previous studies that have not dealt with deradicalization movements by studying the manuscripts of West Javanese ulamas. In particular, this writing attempts to map out the religious deradicalization concepts in the writings of Sundanese religious figures who made efforts to develop a comprehensive and tolerant religious ideology and a more harmonious social order. In line with this, this study shows how the Sundanese manuscripts have contributed to developing a moderate religious ideology that rejects radical religious texts and sets in motion an anti-radicalism social movement in the community. These are the main focus of this article.

This article stems from the argument that Wahhabism was an important issue in the 19th century Sundanese Islamic discourse. Nevertheless, this discourse rarely made it into a monograph or a manuscript. The TAB manuscript is one of the manuscripts that seriously counter the movement of Wahhabi radicalism, and they demonstrate TAB's commitment to mobilizing the anti-Wahhabi movement in the community.

2. Method

This study used a qualitative approach and literature research. The analysis data used critical discourse analysis. The primary source used for this research is the book "*Idhah al-Karathaniyyah fi Ma Yata'alqu bi Dhalalah al-Wahhabiyyah*" and "*Tadzkirah al-Ikhwan fi Tarjamah Salimah al-Manan fi Daf'i Syubahat Dzaw at-Tughyan*" by Tubagus Ahmad Bakri (TAB). These books were chosen for the important role they play in developing religious moderation and social tolerance in the Sundanese community. The secondary sources for this research are articles discussing religious moderation and tolerance and anti-radicalization movements. Three dimensions of the collected data were analyzed following van Dijk's model of discourse analysis, namely the text, the social cognition, and the social context (Darma, 2009).

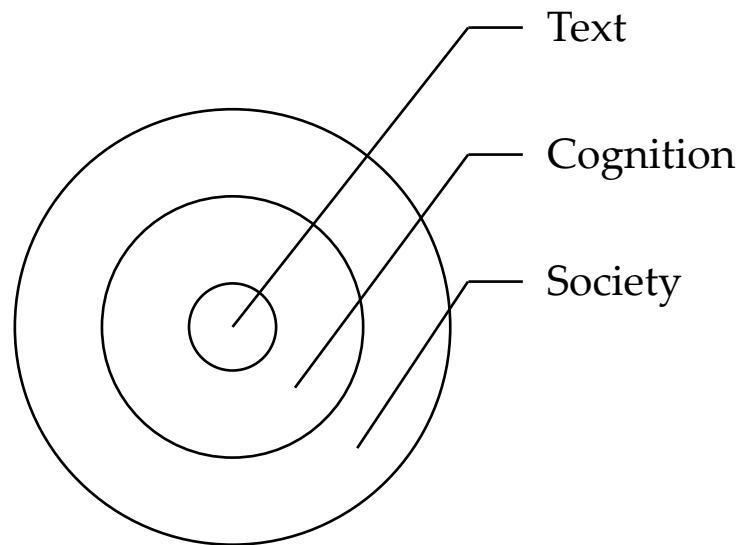


Figure 1 Van Dijk Model of Analysis

Van Dijk model of analysis is a model of analysis that tries to elaborate discourse elements so that they can be used for practical purposes. According to Dijk, it is not enough for discourse research to be based solely on text analysis, because text is only the result of a production practice that must also be studied. Therefore, it is necessary to see how a text is produced and why it is as it is. A text is created in a discourse practice. Therefore, van Dijk describes discourse as consisting of three dimensions, namely text, social cognition, and social context. Dijk combines these three discourse elements in a single unit of analysis to investigate how the text structure and discourse strategy are used to emphasize a certain theme. Social cognition studies the induction process of news texts that involves cognition of the individual and the journalist. Meanwhile, the third aspect, i.e. the social criticism, examines the construction of the discourse about a particular issue in the community.

3. Literature Review

Deradicalization and Religious Ideology

Deradicalization is defined as a planned, integrated, systematic and continuous effort to reduce or even reverse the spread radicalism (Ipandang & Umiarso, 2022). Ipandang (2021) Deradicalization is implemented in several stages, namely identification, rehabilitation, reeducation, and social reintegration. Deradicalization can also be referred to as a preventative measure to counter radical actions in the community. Koehler (2017) stated that in some countries, deradicalization has become a program that focuses on the role of the state and civil society to counter and break the psychological or ideological commitment of terrorists or members of an extreme organization. Accordingly, deradicalization has its emphasis on psychological intervention (Muluk, Umam, & Milla, 2020). This is in line with the view of Elshimi (2015) that deradicalization does not extend to mitigation of violence, but rather a person's subjective attitude in looking at things critically. Similarly, Muhanna-Matar (2017) shows that self-deradicalization is considered effective in preventing the rise of radical ideology without abandoning Islamic values and identity. Self-deradicalization takes place when a person feels uncomfortable being in a radical community.

In the Indonesian context, deradicalization process can be carried out through religion by strengthening the understanding of Pancasila values based on enhanced insight of moderate Islam (Ihsan & Fatah, 2021). Enhancing deradicalization efforts by means of religion is contrary to Western views on deradicalization process. Accordingly, Schmid (2013) suggests that changing the mindset of the radicals is one of the methods of deradicalization. The concept of deradicalization through mindset

change can also be called as a self-strategy to refute the general assumption that deradicalization aims to prevent acts of violence (Sirry, 2020). Therefore, deradicalization can also be understood as an effort to build an inclusive attitude in understanding different beliefs.

Experts of humanity and social sciences have defined ideology through meaning, structure, and function approaches in their respective traditions. The term ideology was introduced by Antoine Destutt de Tracy in 1796 as a label for the science of ideas. This notion is different from how it is used today (McLellan, 2008). In the works of Marx and Engels reproduced in the contemporary era, the existing ideology is capitalism as a means of mass deception. Along the same line, Gramsci developed Marx and Engels' concept of ideology into the concept of cultural hegemony, ruling with the consensus of the ruled (Daldal, 2014). In this concept, the worldview of the ruling class becomes the accepted cultural norms. (Nascimento, 2021). According to Frankfurt School, the dominant ideology discourse is reproduced by the mass media (Forchtner, 2011). Ideology is also understood by Foucault and Derrida as a means of oppression and a conceptualization of hegemony that has surpassed the state ideology. They also suggest that ideology is heteronormative (Foucault). In linguistic approach, ideology is defined as a belief system shared by a social group that serves as a strategy to increase the group's identity in society. Therefore, ideology can also be understood as a cognitive model in the minds of a social group that contains a value system and shapes their outlook (Fabiszak et al., 2021).

Ideology applies not only in the context of state but also in religious teachings (Hartanto, 2016) In religion, ideology is based on the scripture of the respective religion. Ideology can also be understood as a link between minds, beliefs, myths. Ideology influences actions. It is the kind of ideology that institutions have as their foundation and objectives. For example, the ideology of *salaf pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) which is identified with maintaining Islamic orthodoxy in the *pesantren* system by maintaining the *salaf* tradition based on Asy'arian *aqidah* and Syafi'i school of thought (mahzab)(Ma'arif, 2014). Religious ideologies can be understood in the extreme as in the case of jihad ideology of terrorist groups who think that they need to work up the declining religious zeal by committing atrocities that threaten public peace (Moghadam, 2008). Extreme religious ideology or what is often referred to as radical ideology is rooted in psychological quest for self-identity (Kruglanski et al., 2014). Extreme ideologies are often associated with individuals who have deviant way of thinking from religious teachings. The focus ideology to be discussed in this article is wahabism, which is considered an extreme ideology.

4. Result and Discussion

Deradicalization concepts "in TAB's texts

Deradicalization has been a concern of playwrights since the 19th century. Ajengan Tubagus Ahmad Bakri (TAB) is one of the local clerics who has been very productive in writing and translating religious texts. The religious texts written by TAB do not only cover matters of worship such as prayer, zakat, fasting or other religious matters, but also matters of religious understanding concerning social life and religious tolerance. There are three things that TAB does in building social harmonization and religious tolerance, namely writing religious deradicalization texts, rejecting religious texts that have radical views, and making social commitments in the midst of society. The three efforts made by TAB have brought changes in a harmonious and tolerant system of social and religious life.

TAB's deradicalization ideas and points of view text is explained in two books: First "*Idhah al-Karathaniyyah fi Ma Yata'alqu bi Dhalalah al-Wahhabiyyah*" (Bakri, n.d.). This book was written using Pegon Arabic and Sundanese. The book with a thickness of 47 pages explains about the radicalization of the Wahhabis and about Islam moderate. The second is "*Tadzkirah al-Ikhwani fi Tarjamah Salimah al-Manan fi Daf'i Syubahat Dzaw at-Tughyan*" (Bakri, 1967). This book was written in Cibulang Purwakarta on 1388H or 1967M. The book with a thickness of 27 pages contains verses or poems in Arabic as well as explaining their meaning in Sundanese.

In general, TAB's ideas are shown in the following table 1.

Table 1. Deradicalization concepts in TAB's texts

Text	Meanings	Remarks
اوراغ ساديا- أهل السنة والجماعة جو غجون كان غاجلانكن أيام إسلام إيتو إيتوانى إنى أوله جدى سلى حسودان (Bakri, n.d., p. 46)	All of us - <i>Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah</i> - are peaceful in practicing the religion of Islam, each of us should not envy and hate each other.	Tolerance
وجب سكايبه مكلف الاكي أويوي انوت كا (سود الأعظم) تكسن جمهور العلماء. (Bakri, n.d., pp. 31-32)	It is obligatory for all <i>mukallaf</i> (accountable adults) both male and female, to follow " <i>sawad al-'dham</i> ", i.e. <i>jumhur ulama</i> (the majority of ulamas) especially the ulamas of the four schools of thought.	Moderation
تظهر في بلدان جاوا الشرق # آثارهم فادفعوا بدق كوس تيمبوغ د جاوا تيمور اثرنا # قوم وهابي اواس چغجتنا كودو توك كوجلان نولومة لمبوت # لمون ت كاتداه كوات بائي يومفوت	(The Wahhabi has appeared in East Java. They must be avoided. You have to repudiate them in a gentle way, if you can't, it's better that you avoid them).	Local wisdom
ياأخواني احذرو بتخديعتهم # في دينكم خافو بتليستهم (Bakri, 1967, p. 23)	O my brother, be afraid of the tricks of the Wahhabis, in matters of religion they always distort [facts] to suit their understanding.	

Data shown in Table 1 show that the concepts of deradicalization in TAB's books can be grouped into three categories: First, tolerance. Tolerance and mutual love is a religious decree and should be a characteristic of a Muslim as has been exemplified not only by Ajengan Tubagus Ahmad Bakri but also the ulamas before him. It is important that friendship be cultivated, hostility (*tadaabur*), hating each other (*tabaagudh*), breaking friendship (*taqaathu'*), mutual jealousy (*tahaasud*), division (*iftiraq*), and making various kinds of unfounded religious practices be avoided.

Second, moderation. In an effort to anticipate radical movements, TAB emphasizes the importance of tolerance of religious practices and mutual understanding of all kinds of differences. Especially if the difference concerns the issue of *khilafiyah*, whose source and scientific *sanad* are mutually clear. TAB explicitly suggests that we look at the issue objectively and not cause debate among Muslims. According to TAB, it is obligatory for all *mukallaf* (accountable adults), both male and female, to follow "*sawad al-'dham*", i.e. *jumhur ulama* (the majority of ulamas) especially ulamas of the four *madzhab* (schools of thought) who adhere to the ideology of *ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah* (Bakri, n.d., pp. 31-32). Thus, TAB wants to show religious moderation by developing moderate understanding of Islam based on the principles of balance (*tawazun*), moderation (*tawasut*), and tolerance (*tasamuh*).

Third, local wisdom: TAB put a strong emphasis on local wisdom as a way to deal with differences in religious understanding. This local wisdom is manifested in a gentle attitude as opposed to argument and violence. The Wahhabi has appeared in East Java. They must be avoided. You have to repudiate them in a gentle way, if you can't do it, it's better that you avoid them (Bakri, 1967, p. 23). TAB also recommends that every Muslim must be careful so that they would not be deceived by the tricks of the Wahhabi. This is because the Wahhabi group is very good at twisting religious teachings according to their wishes.

This is the concept of moderate religious ideology formulated by TAB in religious texts which counters radical religious texts. The formulation of ideology, including religious ideology, is an

essential guideline for the community. This view is in line with the view of Hartono (2016) who suggest that ideology is not only relevant in the context of state but also in religious teachings.

TAB's rejection of radical doctrines and radical texts

Among the controversial teachings of the Wahhabi is the prohibition for Muslims to follow a *madzhab* (school of thought), particularly the four schools of thoughts (Syafi'i, Hanafi, Maliki dan Hanbali). According to Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, following a *madzhab* (or having a *hujah*/argument) is part of the practice of the ignorant age (*jahiliyah*); therefore, it needs to be destroyed. In essence, the texts written by the Wahhabi founder forbid Muslims to have a *hujah* (argument) using the arguments based on the opinions of previous ulamas (*mutaqaddimiin*), a practice that is common among Muslim groups in Indonesia, the majority of whom adhere to the *madzhab* system, especially that of the *ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah*. TAB responded to Wahhabi's understanding by explaining the importance of following the school of thought (*madzhab*) of the four imams, i.e. Syafi'i, Hanafi, Maliki, and Hambali. TAB also enjoins Muslims to follow or adhere to *Swyawadul al-Adham* in which the imams of the four schools of thought are part (Bakri, n.d., p. 32).

Table 2. TAB's points of rejection of Wahhabi teaching in the manuscript

Rejected Wahhabi's Doctrines	Reason	Remarks
Prohibition to follow a school of thought (<i>madzhab</i>)	It is necessary to hold on to <i>Syawadu al-Adham</i> in which the four Imams are part of.	Manuscript of <i>Idhah al-Karathaniyyah fima Yata'alaqu bi Dhalalah al-Wahhabiyyah</i> (Bakri, n.d., p. 32)
Declaring that visiting tombs as a misguided practice	Visiting the grave to the Prophet's tomb is very permissible, because it was practiced by the Companions and those who came after them.	<i>Tadzkirah al-Ikhwān fi Tarjamah Salimah al-Manan fi Daf'i Syubahat Dzaw at-Tughyan</i> (Bakri, 1967, p. 12)
Prohibition against <i>Tawasul</i> and <i>Istighatsah</i>	<i>Tawasul</i> is permissible and it has become a collective agreement among Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah.	<i>adzkirah al-Ikhwa, Tarjamah Salimah al-Manan fi Daf'I Syubahat Dzaw at-Tughiyān</i> (Bakri, 1967, p. 14)

Among the most controversial teachings of Wahhabism that often provoke social conflicts among Muslims is the prohibition of and declaration that visiting tombs is misguided. This issue is often mentioned in the books written by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab and his followers. Declaration that visiting the tombs is misguided was swiftly responded by TAB. In his book, he argued that visiting the Prophet's tomb is very permissible, because it was practiced by the Companions and those who came after them. He wrote:

إن زيارتكموا قبر النبي # فحالة لاشك ذات طلب
من سلف وخلف بعيدهم # فزاره أصحابه من بعدهم

Meaning: "Indeed, the pilgrimage to the Prophet's tomb is a permissible act, because the Companions and ulamas, both past and present, also do it" (Bakri, 1967, p. 12).

The verse written by TAB above explicitly states that making a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet, his companions and those after him is perfectly permissible. Therefore, there is no need for Muslims in Indonesia who want to pray and make the pilgrimage to the tomb to be hesitant about doing it. In the subsequent verses, TAB also explains the importance of making a pilgrimage to the tombs of the Prophets, the martyrs, the pious people, the saints received guidance from Allah SWT.

Wahhabi's view on *Istighatsah* and *Tawassul* also frequently create social conflicts in the community. Wahhabis strictly forbid a Muslim to do *istighatsah* and *isti'adzah*. This issue is frequently discussed in the books written by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab and his followers, such as in the book of *Tauhid*, Which contains verses and hadiths which, according to them, prohibit the practice of *istighatsah*. Wahhabism also declares *Tawasul*, as part of *istighatsah*, as *syirk*. In this case, Ibn Wahhab views people who beseech other than Allah as absolutely shirk, because this request is considered worship. This view was firmly refuted by TAB. He explained that it is permissible for a Muslim to do *istighatsah* and *tawasul*. Indeed, your *tawasul* to these people (the prophets, companions, martyrs, saints and righteous people), according to the four sunnah experts is correct and the ulamas have agreed to do it, both while they are still alive and after their death. Indeed, according to the ulamas, *tawasul* after their death is preferable. He wrote:

أَهْلُ جَمَاعَةٍ فَقَدْ صَحَّ بَدَا	#	إِنَّ تَوَسَّلْكُمْؤَا بِهِمْ لَدَى
كُوَاكِبُوغْنَا جَلْم نُوْبِيء سَكَابِيه	#	سَالْأِيَانَا يِيْن تُوَسَلْنَا مَانِيه
مَغْكََا اِيْت صَحِيْح سَكَابِيه مُوْفَقَةٌ	#	مُوغْكَوَه اِهْل السنَّة تِي اِمَام نُوَاوْفَت
فِي حَيِّهِمْ كَذَلِكَ بَعْدَ مَوْتِهِمْ	#	لَا فَرْقَ فِي ذَلِكَ بَيْنَ كَوْنِهِمْ
وَقَتُّوس جُوْمَنْغ سِرْغ بَعْد فُوْفُوْسْنَا	#	تِيَا بِيِيْدَا دِيْنَا اِيْت تُوَسَلْنَا
تُوَسَل بَعْد المُوْت اِفْضَل دِي فُوْجِي	#	سَمَالِه غَدَاوَه بَعْض مَشَايْخِي

Meaning: "Indeed, your *tawasul* according to the Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah is correct. There is no difference between *tawasul* made to those who are still alive and to those have passed away. *Tawasul* made to someone who has passed away is even preferred" (Bakri, 1967, p. 14).

TAB's Arabic-Sundanese verse above explains that *tawasul* to a noble person is permissible and that it has become a consensus among the ulamas of *ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah* including the four *imams*, namely Imam Syafi'i Imam Hanfi, Imam Maliki and Imam Hambali. *Tawasul* can be made to a living person or a person who has died. According to ulamas, *tawasul* made to a person who has passed away is even more preferable. That was TAB's explanation on the permissibility of *tawasul* which the Wahhabi has prohibited.

TAB's social commitment (writing books, teaching deradicalization to the community, supporting similar movements)

Another effort made by TAB is to build social commitment is initiating the writing and translation of religious texts into local languages (vernacularization). TAB's books were written not only in *fusha* Arabic but also the *Pegon Arabic* (Sundanese written in Arabic script). They are narrated in prose (*natsr*) and in poetry following the tradition of religious book writing in the Arab world. The use of *pegon* Arabic and poetry serves many purposes, one of which is to make it easier for the community to understand and practice moderate religious teachings.

TAB's social commitment was also shown through community education of religious deradicalization. The community education was given to the *santris* (students of the *pesantren*) and was aimed at giving enlightenment (preventive deradicalization) and maintaining moderate Islam (preservative deradicalization). Thus, TAB's approach to deradicalization was proactive, in that it instructed and provided a more holistic understanding of Islam to the students. With a more comprehensive understanding of Islam, the students were expected to be able to practice tolerant Islamic values and become a model to their communities.

TAB's other social movement is campaigning for *ukhrawah Islamiyyah* and anti-radicalism. He did this through his sermons in the community. Through his campaign, TAB tried to provide an understanding of the root of moderate Islam in Indonesia to the community so that they have the knowledge and can practice compassionate Islam and uphold the spirit of brotherhood. TAB's efforts were aimed not only at promoting moderate religious ideology but also maintaining social harmony.

TAB put his ideas in writing which he delivered in routine religious gathering sermons every Tuesday (referred to as *Selasaan*, from the word *Selasa* [Tuesday]) and Thursday (called *Kamisan*) to the community. The goal of these routine religious gatherings that were attended by students as well as the general public were to persuade and inspire the attendees to a better life and develop character that befits religious teachings so that life is more meaningful and blessed. It is a lesson whose wisdom is still relevant for today dan the future (Afidah et al., 2020).

Discussion

Religious radicalism continues to grow and flourish in different countries to this day, including in Indonesia. This hard-line Islamic movement is thought to have originated from the the Wahhabism, a religious movement that advocates harsh method of da'wah and often opposes different religious beliefs. The spread of Wahhabi teachings is getting stronger through the propagation of doctrinal religious texts contained in the books they teach (M. Misbah, 2014). The books are read literally and believed firmly so that they take the teachings of the books as absolute truth (Darma, 2009). This kind of textual understanding tend to create an a priori, strict, and exclusive mindset among the Wahhabi followers, hence they teach their religious understanding radically. This is in line with the opinion of Lukin (2017) that texts have interpretations that affect the context. TAB responded to such conditions by carrying out a religious deradicalization movement. The TAB movement model is quite effective in responding to the religious radicalism movement and build a system of religious moderation. The TAB movement and thought are also crucial in curbing religious radicalism from spreading further. What TAB has done is a proactive de-radicalization effort that is carried out personally in the midst of the community. In this model of deradicalization, the government and all elements of the community are involved (Rokhmad, 2012).

The religious texts that Ajengan Tubagus Ahmad Bakri (TAB) wrote contain three important points that promote religious moderation in Indonesia. First, religious moderation can be cultivated through religious deradicalization. TAB's religious deradicalization approach focuses on the importance of religious tolerance, the need for strengthening moderate religious understanding, and adherence to local wisdom in dealing with all kinds of differences. Second, rejection of radical religious texts. TAB rejected three radical religious views, namely prohibition to follow a school of thought (*madzhab*), prohibition of *istigatsah* and making pilgrimage to the tomb. Third, the religious moderation that TAB promoted was implemented through social commitments. These social commitments are marked by the writing and translation of books on religious deradicalization, community education, and anti-radicalism campaigns through religious study gatherings in the community. These deradicalization approaches made a significant social contribution in developing a comprehensive religious ideology and a more harmonious social life.

Manuscripts are handwritten works which store various expressions of human creativity, taste, and initiative. Manuscripts are useful intellectual property of the past that the following generations can reflect upon. This is because, the reading and understanding process of texts is an active process that creates not only a reality that is understood by the writer, but also the object and the constructed interpretation of the text (Yang & Li, 2018). In addition, a manuscript text constitutes an important part of context building needed for interpretation (Mantzavinos, 2014). TAB's deradicalization manuscripts have contributed to containing the spread of Wahhabi's radical religious ideas. Furthermore, TAB's deradicalization manuscripts can also be considered as a social literacy movement because they are written both in Arabic and in the local language. TAB's manuscripts became a reference and a guideline for community of the time and a tool for this social movement that aimed at inspiring the community for social change and a better life.

Some manuscripts do discuss counter Wahhabism, but they are not comprehensive in terms of Wahhabi history, its rejection in Indonesia, and social mobilization against Wahhabism (Faqih, 2016). Hence, the emphatic differences between this study and previous studies are as follows: First, the focus of this study is on TAB's religious deradicalization texts, considered a treasure of the Archipelago, that play a significant role in the development of religious civilization in Indonesia. Second, the study

concentrates on TAB's rejection of radical religious texts propagated by hard-line Islamist groups. Third, it also highlights TAB's social commitment to the religious deradicalization movement and the establishment of a system of religious moderation. This research is also in line with findings from other studies on religious moderation (Hernawan, Riyani, & Busro, 2021) which emphasizes that manuscripts are also a source of religious moderation.

The ideas contained in the TAB's deradicalization texts play a role in and contributed to the development of religious moderation and tolerance. TAB's efforts were aimed at rejecting radical text and raising the community's awareness of radicalism. Accordingly, Schmid (2013) suggests that one of the ways to deradicalization is by changing the mindset of the radical people. TAB's religious texts are also easier to accept and understand by the general public. It is because they are not only written in Arabic but also written and translated into Sundanese, the vernacular of West Javanese people. To disseminate TAB's ideas to a wider audience, it is better that these Sundanese deradicalization text be translated into Indonesian. TAB's social commitment of writing and translating religious books on and preaching moderate Islam to the community can also be imitated and continued by the family and also the students.

5. Conclusion

Deradicalization has become a concern among manuscript writers since the 19th century. Ajengan Tubagus Ahmad Bakri (TAB) is a prolific local ulama who has written and translated significant number of religious texts. The religious texts written by TAB do not only cover matters of worship such as prayer, zakat, fasting or other matters of worship, but also about religious understanding that deal with social life and religious tolerance. There are three things that TAB did to develop social harmony and religious tolerance, namely writing essays on religious deradicalization, rejecting radical religious texts, and creating an anti-religious radicalism movement in the community.

This paper is expected to provide scientific contributions, especially to the efforts to reject religious radicalism, and develop religious moderation and social harmony in the community. However, it is recognized that this paper only examines a small part of socio-religious thoughts contained in the TAB manuscript, particularly those that deal with deradicalization and anti-radicalism movement in the community. This research has not fully examined TAB's social movements and the community's level of acceptance of his ideas and social movement. Therefore, the writer hopes that there will be further studies on the level of acceptance of the West Javanese people, both pro and con, of TAB's writings and actions at that time considering that people in West Java have diverse religious ideologies.

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