

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM IN THE DISTRICT OF DAIRI, NORTH SUMATRA PROVINCE

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ABSTRACT: *The coming of Islam in the district of Dairi started from Barus and developed by people from Aceh (some of them are clerics) who one of them is Koser Maha. Among of the developers of Islam in Dairi is still a mystery of their existence, such as Teuku Panjang Rambut (a Royal Man from Aceh with long hair) who was able to change his being or performance, and he is still alive as it is believed by the local people. Although the majority of the population of Dairi are non-Muslims, the teachings of Islam, however, can be received by the society because there are similarities between the teachings of Islam and the culture of the Pakpak (the indigenous inhabitants of Dairi). The spread of Islam in Dairi was done through relation of kinship, ethical examples, mysticism, and olah kanuragan (martial arts) and kesaktian (magical power). These methods were very different from the way the Dutch colonial when spreading Christianity in Dairi that is done through the genocidal extermination or ethnic cleansing so that many Pakpak people were expelled from Dairi to some neighboring regions in order to save themselves. Luckily, even though the Muslims are minority in Dairi, but social relation in terms of religious harmony is very good.*

KEYWORDS: *Dairi, Koser Maha, Pakpak, Islamization*

INTRODUCTION

The district of Dairi is one of the Islamic propaganda regions for Muslims. As an Islamic propaganda territory, the process of Islamization in Dairi somewhat different ground from elsewhere. According to Anas Mahmud, the District of Dairi as well as Angkola, Simalungun, and Karo are inland regions which is an agricultural area that was controlled by tribes and clans that until the 19th century still inherited the life pattern of ancestral religion called animism and dynamism in which the kings and *datu-datu* had a very big role in transforming the pattern of religious life.¹

Besides the transformation of animism and dynamism into the Christian teaching done by the *datu-datu*, the process of Islamization in Dairi, in the colonial time, faced too many obstacles from the Dutch government through the *adviseur voor Inlandsche* who then initiated the separation of the Batak people from the Malay Muslims by way of christianizing Batak people who believed in *perbegu* (local religion), prohibited raising Muslim village chief for villages

¹Anas Machmud, "The history of Islamic proselytizing in North Sumatera at the entrance era and Islamic development in North Sumatera" in A. Djalil Muhammad and Abdullah Syah, The history of Islam and its development in North Sumatera (Medan, MUI, 1981), p. 116.

with non-Muslim population,² and even cut off trade relations between Dairi and the District of Singkil in which its population had converted to Islam. However, these efforts was unable to stop the process of Islamization in Dairi.

There was a number of names of Muslim preachers in Dairi both from local man such as Koser Maha who spread Islamic teachings through his family lines approach, and from outside such as Haji Ibrahim who was an Islamic teacher came from Runding (an area in Aceh Province),³ Shaykh Abdurrauf al-Singkili from Singkil, Tengku Ponds Blooms from Gayo district, and Guru Gindo, a teacher from West Sumatra. These Muslim preachers competed against the Christian missionary, which had successfully christianized some *Pertaki*, to convert the local people into Islam.⁴

Up to the year 1968, the Muslim population in Dairi was only 29.814 peoples, while the Christians reached 114.642 and the Catholics were 15.823.⁵ If the number was percentized, it meant that 22.85% of the populations were Muslims in 1968. Even 12 years later, based on the census of 1980, from 242.215 the inhabitants of Dairi it were only 41.206 converted to Islam⁶ or about 17:20%. Based on the quantity within the span of 12 years, it could be seen that there was a growing number of Muslim populations with total 11.828 peoples, but, based on its percentage, the number decreased by 5.64%. Therefore it is interesting to examine in greater depth how the actual development of Islam in Dairi.

There are two research problems that will be answered in this writing that are: how was the history of the coming and the development of Islam in Dairi. This research purpose are to know the history of the coming and the development of Islam in Dairi.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research Approach

Methodologically this research is a historical research that is trying to construct past events systematically and objectively by collecting, evaluating, verifying, and synthesizing evidence to establish the facts and obtain robust conclusions.⁷ The approach taken is a sociological approach that attempts to describe the social sides of the events that occur whether religious, social, political, and even ideological movements so that the process of structuring social relations between various components of society can be described properly.⁸

Location and Subject Research

²Aqib Suminto, *The Islamic politics of Ducth* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), p. 185-187

³Mudin Maha, “The history of Islamic proselytizing in Dairi regency” in A. Djalil Muhammad dan Abdullah Syah, *The history of Islam and its development in North Sumatera* (Medan, MUI, 1981), p. 257-259

⁴Flores Tanjung, *Dairi in the flash of history* (Medan: Perdana Publishing, 2011), p. 22

⁵Payung Bangun, “Batak Culture” in Koentjaraningrat, *Human and culture in Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1995), p.113

⁶Mudin Maha. “The history of Islamic proselytizing in Dairi regency” p. 255.

⁷Sumadi Suryabrata, *Research Metodology*(Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 1995), p. 16.

⁸Dudung Abdurrahman. *Research Method of History* (Jakarta: Logos, 1999). p. 12-13

This research was conducted in the district of Dairi, while research subjects are some religious leaders in Dairi.

Data Collection Method

In historical research, the first thing conducted is to collect data called *heuristic* that is obtained through library (*library research*). Furthermore, in order to support the primary sources above, Researchers conducted in-depth interviews with the parties related to this research, such as religious leaders in the District of Dairi.

Data Analysis

Collected data were analyzed by using content analysis that is a research technique for making inferences that can be replicated and be valid through deep attention to the context. It is also called research technique to describe the content of communication objectively, systematically and quantitatively.⁹

Theoretical Study

1. The Coming of Islam to the District of Dairi

There is no certain information when the real time Islam came to Dairi. However, in the literature study, there are three major theories that can be referred, namely the theory of Barus, the theory of Aceh and the theory of the border.

First: Theory Barus

Dada Meuraxa states that the coming of Islam to the Land of Batak originated from Barus. According to him, Barus was the first place that accepted Islam, even in advance than of Samudera Pasai. This opinion is based on a tombstone found in Barus bearing the name of Ruknuddin, died on the night of the month of *Safar* 48 H / 672 AC, written with Arabic script (*abjadiyah*) using the letter "*h min*" at the age of 102 years 2 months and 10 days.¹⁰ Dada Meuraxa comes to this conclusion after receiving information from the Agency of Old Tombs Committee Maintenance in Barus who have met an old cemetery on behalf of Ruknuddin who died on the evening of 13 *Safar* year 48 of the *Hijra* with the age of 102 years 2 months and 10 days. On the gravestone are written letters of the Arabic alphabet "*h min*".¹¹ If the reading of the committee in Barus, and of Dada Meuraxa is true, it means that before the year 48 H there were Muslims settled in Barus in a fairly long period. That means that Islam had entered in Barus in the first century of Hijra or in the 7th century AC. The reading of Dada Meuraxa, however, is disputed by *Ustaz* Mohammad Arsyad Thalib Lubis who stated that the words "*h min*" on the tombstone did not indicate the year of Hijra. On the other around, the script can be read that Ruknuddin, the person whose name appears on the tombstone died in 802 AH,

⁹Klaus Krippendorf, *Content Analysis: Introduction to the Theory and Methodology* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 1993), p. 15-19.

¹⁰Hasyimsyah Nasution, Tradition Hegemony toward the Islamic development in Batak Karo society in North Sumatera, in, *Journal Analytica Islamica*, Year 1 Vol 1 No.1, 1999, PPS IAIN North Sumatera, p. 46

¹¹The informations about Dada Meuraxa can be seen in, *The history of Islamic entrance to Indonesia*, (t.tp.t.th) p. 131-132.

plus a month plus 16 days. He interpreted the words "*h min*" with the usual Arabic letter, the year 802 AH / 1400 AD.¹²

Second: Theory Aceh

This theory states that Islam came to Dairi brought by the *ulama* (Islamic preachers) from the District of Singkil, Aceh, such as Haji Ibrahim from Runding, Abdurrauf al-Singkili, Tengku Telaga Mekar from Gayo. These facts indicated that the *ulama* from scholars Aceh were the person who had played a major role in the development of Islam in Dairi. Dairi and Singkil, as a producing region of *kapur barus* (camphor), were an integrated part of Barus region before the arrival of the Dutch.¹³ The relationship between Dairi and Singkil was not only in relation to the trade of camphor, but also in religious transfer as stated by Flores Tanjung that Islam has been existed for a long time in the land of Pakpak (other name of Dairi). Territorially, this was likely because of the impact of the closeness of Pakpak to Aceh in the North and to Barus in the South. Flores Tanjung also mentions that Abdurrauf al-Singkili was first of the Pakpak people who studied Islam intensely. However, serious and systematic islamization just carried out by Tengku Telaga Mekar from Gayo. Later on, the followers of Tengku Telaga Mekar became the elemental forces that fought against the Dutch in the District of Dairi. The next wave of islamization developed in the time of Guru Gindo. Around 1926, he left his village for going to West Sumatra to spread Islamic teachings. Through Singkil and Runding finally he arrived in Sidikalang, the Capital City of Dairi. He was successfully islamized some *pertaki*, including whom from the clan of *Bintang* and *Ujung*. In his *da'wa* (preaching), Guru Gindo competed with Christian Zending who also successfully christianize some *pertaki*.¹⁴

Third: Border Theory

The third theory that can be used is border theory in which Islam came to Dairi caused by the influence of the kingdoms that were around the border of Dairi such as the Haru Deli Tua kingdom, the Haru Langkat kingdom, and the Haru Pane kingdom. These three kingdoms in the XV century were conquered by the Aceh Islamic empire in the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda.¹⁵ (kl. 1650s). As it is cited by Groonevelt from the record of China "*Yang Yai Sheng Lan*" in 1416 declared that the King of Haru kingdom and all the people already become Muslims.¹⁶ It is important to note that it was estimated in around 1416 as Groeveldt's note from the Chinese record said that the king of Haru kingdom and all the people have converted to Islam (the King and the people are Mohammadans). In addition, genealogically the people of Haru kingdom still have a relationship with the Karo tribe who settled in Karo highland.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Gusti Asnan. *World maritime of west coast of Sumatera* (Ombak, 2007)

¹⁴Flores Tanjung, *Dairi in the flash of history*, p. 18.

¹⁵ More information about Sultan Iskandar Muda see in, Denys Lombard, *Kerajaan Aceh; Zaman Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636)* (Le Sultanat d'Atjeh au temps d'Iskandar Muda (1607-1636). trns. Winarsih Arifin, (Jakarta: KPG. 2006). p. 134-137

¹⁶ Mohammad Said, "Sejarah Masuknya dan Berkembangnya Dakwah Islam ke Sumatera Utara": comparative paper in *Seminar Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Sumatera Utara*, MUI SU (Medan:1981) p. 73

There is a possibility that this familial lines also became a highly effective way of spreading Islam in the Karo highland.¹⁷

DISCUSSION

Muslim in Dairi: Interaction Majority-Minority

The land of Dairi is also often called as “the land of Pakpak” because the origin people of the area is Pakpak people.¹⁸ Since 2003, Dairi was divided into two districts, namely the district of Dairi and Pakpak Barat. According to various historical literature, the land of Dairi is a large region, and it was divided into 5 regions (*Suak/Aur*), namely: Suak Simsim, Suak Pegagan, Suak Keppas, Suak Boang, and Suak Kelasen.¹⁹ Although the people of Dairi have different *Suak*, but they admit that they originated from the same ancestor, and from the same origin, namely Pakpak. Thus, the region of traditional Pakpak community (customary law) is not identical with administrative region in the Dutch era and after Indonesia's independence. In the Dutch colonial period, the governmental region was always changing according to the interests of the Dutch colonial government.²⁰

In term of quantity, Muslims are minority group in Dairi. In the year 2011, the number of Muslims as many as 81.634 people, or approximately 25.81% from the whole population. Even if there is the concept of majority-minority, but the relationship of interaction between these two groups (Christians and Muslims) existed in the community through dynamic and elegant social interaction.

The Entry of Islam into Dairi

Historically, the coming of Islam to Dairi was inseparable from the history of the arrival of Islam in the Batak region which had begun in the year 1500, and the development of Islam in Aceh. From trade and territorial relation with Aceh, it is supposed that Islam came into Dairi for the first time. In this early time, According to Flores Tanjung, the first Pakpak people who embraced Islam is Abdurrauf al-Singkili, a great scholar who was born in Singkil in 1593²¹. Although Abdurrauf al-Singkili was stated as the first Pakpak people who studied Islam, but a search of the existing literature do not give an idea whether Abdurrauf developed Islam in Dairi. The possibility that Abdurrauf al-Singkili regarded as Pakpak first convert to Islam was due to his birth place in Simpang Kanan, Singkil, that was including Dairi region before. Likewise with Simpang Kiri, Lipat Kajang, Gelombang and Runding, these regions come in and become South Aceh region since the Dutch government annexation, and it was still applied until the Dutch surrendered to the Japanese occupation in 1942.

¹⁷ *Ibid* p. 73

¹⁸ Flores Tanjung, *Dairi dalam Kilatan Sejarah*, p. 18.

¹⁹ Wahyudhi, dkk, *Etnis Pakpak dalam Fenomena Pemekaran Wilayah* (ttp: Yayasan Sada Ahmo – Asian Foundation, tt), p. 2.

²⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹ Flores Tanjung. *Dairi dalam Kilatan Sejarah*, p. 22

In the next period, the development of Islam in Dairi was also inseparable from the history of the arrival of the Dutch to Dairi in the pursuing of Sisingamangaraja XII, the king of Batak People. Sisingamangaraja XII, he was also named as *Patuan Bosar Ompu Pulo Batu*, ascended the throne in 1876 succeeded his father Sisingamangaraja XI named *Ompu Sohahuaon (raja Imam)*. Between 1883-1884, Sisingamangaraja XII successfully managed to consolidate his forces troops with the Aceh's, and with the Aceh Muslim leaders to increase his combat capability troops. Exchange of officers also carried out, in which the Aceh trained officers participated in Sisingamangaraja XII troops to help the winning strategy of war, while the Batak officers continued to be trained in Aceh. One of them is Guru Mengambat who became the warlord of Sisingamangaraja XII, and he was given a religious degree as *Tengku Aceh (Tengku is religious call name for an ulama-religious scholar in Aceh society)*.²² In 1883, with the reinforcement troops from Aceh, offensively Guru Mengambat attacked the Dutch troops in Uluan and Balige in May 1883 while the Dutch troops tried to pursue Sisingamangaraja XII. The Dutch troops could not find Sisingamangaraja XII because he had moved to Paya Raja, Kelasén Dairi.

As a king and head of war, Sisingamangaraja XII was wanted by the Dutch, and that is way the Dutch Army always pursued him in many operations, but they always failed in their pursuing. Then in 1906, the Dutch returned to Dairi led by Captain Van Vureen conducted an operation to search for Sisingamangaraja XII in Dairi, and about 3 years their effort ended with the shooting of King Sisingamangaraja XII in Dairi in the year 1907. King Sisingamangaraja XII himself according to some literatures is a Muslim, but he did not proselytize to encourage the people around him to convert to Islam.²³

If the information that Sisingamangaraja XII has become a Muslim is true, it is discovered a new proof that Islam for the people in Dairi is not a new thing, because as it is seen in the struggle map of Sisingamangaraja XII he was in about 4 years (1903-1907) staying in Dairi, although not settled in order to avoid the Dutch. In 1908 Koser Maha (*Pemahur Maha*) a *Pertaki* from village Kneppen (nowdays Kneppen changed to be sub district of Siempat Nempu) continued the struggle against the Dutch who had performed some penetrations not only to conquer Dairi but also to spread Christianity. Then Koser Maha went to Batu-Batu, a sub district of Simpang Kiri (Aceh), in order to help the king of Batu-Batu to fight against the

²² The information based in Kort Verslag Residen L.C Welsink in August 16th 1906. In the note mentioned, a commander SISINGAMANGARAJA XII named Guru Mengambat from Salak (Pakpak Hasundutan District now) had converted to Islam. This information was obtained by Welsink of Ompu Onggung and Defence Batu. In a confidential letter to the van Oorlog Departement, Dutch, Lieutenant L. van Vuuren and Berenshot on July 19, 1907 stated, *Dat bet vaststaattedat de oude S .S. M. Met zijn zonnns tot den Islam waren over gegaan, al zullen zij wel niet Mohamedan in merg en been geworden zijn* (That's for sure that the old S.S.M. with his sons had converted to Islam, although the Islam value has not pervasive core of their beings yet). See <http://www.wikipedia.com>

²³ The Dutch newspaper Algemcene Handelsblad on edition July 3, 1907, state that, *Volgens berichten van de bevolking moet de togen, woordige titularis een 5 tak jaren geleden tot den Islam zijn bekeerd, doch hij werd geen fanatiek Islamiet en oefende geen druk op zijn omgeving uit om zich te bekeeren* (Based on the people news, it's correct that the king (Singhamangaraja) since five years ago had converted to Islam. But he is not a Muslim fanatic, so he does not suppress the people around him to converted to Islam too). See <http://www.wikipedia.com>.

Dutch. Koser Maha was well and warmly accepted by the king of Batu-Batu not only because of tribal familial relationship, but the king of Batu-Batu felt the need to add his strengthness to fight against the Dutch as well.²⁴

After some time, Koser Maha and some friends from Batu-Batu back to hold the propagation of Islam in the area quietly and secretly so that the propaganda could be accepted by his closed friends and families in some villages such as the village of Kneppen, Kuta Dallang, Kuta Tengah, Maha Bunga, Pengkirisen, Kutantuang, Tambahan, Kuta Taduk-Tanduk, Mbinara, Tuntung Batu, Kintara, Bintang, and of others, especially in sub district of Siempat Nempu and Silima Pungga-Pungga.

The Dutch already smelt that Koser Maha has been communicating to the King of Batu-Batu, and saw the development of Islam, especially in Siempat Nempu and Silima Pungga-Pungga. The Dutch colonizers called the people who converted to Islam under the name of "*Slimin*" which means a rebel against the Dutch. Around 1911, Koser Maha asked the King of Runding to send Islamic teacher (*muballig*) to his region (in around Siempat Nempu district) in order to teach people who had already converted to Islam, as well as carrying out circumcision because as it is described above that there was no one who had been circumcised, and there was no one who had been learning the teachings of Islam. The King of Runding approved the request of Koser Maha by sending an Islamic teacher called Haji Ibrahim. Then by the coming of the teacher, several lectures and circumcision conducted clandestinely.

As a result, door to door socialization of Islam conducted quietly by Haji Ibrahim succeeded so that many Pakpak people became Muslims. However, education through recitation (reading the Quran) just has been done after the establishment of *surau* (a small building for worshipping) in Kneppen (since 1914 to nowadays, the *surau* becomes a Mosque; Mosque *al-Muharram*). The development of Islamic teachings became more intensive after the existence of Mosque Bintang (1918) and Mosque Lama (1925) in Sidikalang, the capital city of Dairi. Haji Ibrahim was in Dairi from 1911 until 1912 and then he returned to Runding to meet his family after spreading the values of faith to those who had embraced Islam in Dairi. Since 1912 thank to the faith and spirit of Islam that had been growing, some people started to study Islam (reading the *Quran*) outside the region. Among them were Abdullah Geruh Maha (his nick name is Pangkoncil) and Musa Lembeng went to Kedah, Malaysia, and after 3 year staying there they returned to Dairi. The effort of studying Islam in Kedah, Malaysia, was also followed by some new converts such as Mukhtar Manik, Djabbar Sagala, Makleman Pasaribu, and Hasan Banuarea, and after some times they also returned and spread Islam in their respective villages.

In 1917, Guru Gindo Muhammad Arifin, an educated Islamic scholar, came from West Sumatra to live in the city of Sidikalang. He was very persistent to spread Islamic teachings not only in the city of Sidikalang but also to villages around mountaineous area of the city of Sidikalang. Even in some specific cases, he also did some negotiation with the officials of the Dutch Government while many people were too oppressed. Master Gindo born in Runding

²⁴ Mudin Maha. "*Sejarah Berkembangnya Da'wah Islamiyah di Kabupaten Dairi*", p. 261.

(Aceh) so proficient language and customs Pakpak and Dairi people can simultaneously approaching a steady basis. Master Gindo's arrival to Dairi evidently inspired her relatives from West Sumatra and helped spread Islam. In fact, according to Flores Tanjung, the overseas such as Malay, Javanese increased in number after Guru Gindo enter the world the greatness of Islam. The Javanese come and become employee in the government, private companies and in the informal sector. Whereas the Minangese running cullinary (restaurant) and gold businesses.²⁵ Then after 1917 more muslim merchants came to Sidikalang both to run busisness and to spread Islam.

In search of the historical development of Islam in Dairi, there were some other Islamic preachers besides Koser Maha, Guru Gindo and Haji Ibrahim such Zulkarnain with his called name is Syekh Panjang Rambut. Syekh Panjang Rambut or Zulkarnain was spreading Islam by using ilmu batin (a mystical approach). This method was considered the most appropriate approach due to the construct of Pakpak society was still bound to the mystical things.

According to Thomaw W. Arnold, *Kaum Padri* (a religious movement of West Sumatra called Padri) also took a role in spreading Islam during the wartime of Padri. In case of this group came with sword, the spread of Islam to the Batak region came to be failed, and it caused the region was abandoned and many people were killed. Due to the information that Dutch could win the battle of Padri and conquered the southern of Batak region, the Islam began to develop in a peaceful manner mainly because of the efforts of *dakwah* conducted by *Pamong* (village officials) consisting of the Malay, traders and other religious teachers.²⁶

After the independence of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, the activities of *dakwah* becoming increasingly widespread done by religious figures both individuals and social religious organizations, such as al-Washliyah founded in Medan North Sumatra 1930, who spread the *dakwah* not only to their families but also to the non Muslims of the local people. As the result, Islam was well accepted because of the teachings of Islam are really in accordance to the soul of human freedom not only in term of devotion to God but also in term of social and political life as anation state. In other words, Islam can construct their outer and inner life in the world and in the hereafter. That is why, it was becoming more and more people embraced Islam volunterily, and within the years of 1950-1965 Muslims existed almost in every sub-district in Dairi although the number was not significant.

Constraints of Spreading Islam in Dairi

a. Dutch East Indies Government's supported to the Christianization

The history and the development of Islam in Dairi could not be separated from religious competition between Islam and Christianity that involving the Dutch government through the *Adviseur voor Inlandsche zaken* as advisors to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies. Although Islam had been spread out quickly in coastal areas of North Sumatra for a long time, but it could not easy to enter the Batak Region, including Dairi. This was because of the Batak people were still remained faithful to the teachings of their ancestors.

²⁵ Flores Tanjung. *Dairi dalam Kilatan Sejarah*, p. 31.

²⁶ Thomas W. Arnold. *Sejarah Da'wah Islamiyah*, p. 322.

Related to this religious competition, in 1849, the Assistant resident of Mandailing Angkola had the idea to separate ethnic Malay Muslims through the of christianizing the Batak people. The effort of christianizing the Batak people became stronger by the coming of Christian missionaries in Batak region in 1857 in where Islam had grown in Batak region (especially South Tapanuli), and ofcourse the rivalry between Islam and Christianity automatically in a high tention.²⁷ Christian missionaries, in this case supported by the Dutch Army, in spreading the teachings of their religion using the violence way and even torture against Muslims. They did not hesitate to commit genocide²⁸ against Pakpak people who has different ideolgy with them.

b. Difficult the road the villages

Dairi is a region located in isolated, mountainious rural area, full of forest a long the way, still very minimal transportation, and even many villages could only be reached by foot at least till 1950s. Transportation for bringing agricultural products and basic commodities were still relied on horse (*hoda boban*). This condition caused the propagation of Islam was choked up because of the difficulty of reaching the areas in remote locations. Even more when it rained, the streets were slippery and muddy so it was very difficult to relate one village to another.

c. Lack knowledge of culture

For preachers who came from outside usually faced some troubles of understanding of the local customs. Although with good intention but it wrong in the way of expression could cause of lack of sympathy for the audience. A preacher should know before the person who was the object of preaching (*mad'u*), because there were things that are considered *taboo* or forbidden by the *mad'u* in one area but they were usual things in an other. When a preacher has known the object of his message well, then he will be easily to convey the mission or knowledge that he wants to share to the local communities. Just as well, if the preacher has the capability of speaking by using the local language used by the *mad'u*.

d. Frequent change of preachers

There was almost never found an Islamic preacher who is able to stay for a long time in remote areas, particularly if the preacher was a man of a city, or a man who does not belong to the remote areas, and even it has become a habit that most of the preachers just come and stay in the areas relatively for a very short time. Every preacher had his own subject, model and method of preaching that caused the audience (*mad'u*), sometimes, to be confused. This often happened because it was less recognized by the preachers so that they their subject always fallen in debatable issues of the Islamic teachings. As the result, the impact of the *dakwah* seemed not to be significant, and even triggered feud among the audience. A preacher must be wise in conveying his message in order to avoid confusion about the teachings of Islam, especially if it was related to debatable issues.

²⁷ Aqib Suminto. *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), p. 187

²⁸ Interview with some local leaders.

e. Lack of funds and supports

Because of lacking fund so that activities and constructions of *dakwa* in Dairi became difficult and slow to develop, including lack of fund for teachers or *muballighs* expences, and for *mosques*, *mushalla* or even *madrasah* building. One other reason is there were not any Islamic social organizations that deal with the continued maintenance of the problems needed by the new converts (*mua'llaf*).

Da'wah Method in Dairi

a. **Through cultural and familial relation** in which it was supposed that by way of understanding and identifying the customs of local people the *dakwah* preached and accepted openly with honesty and with the real love to Islam. For Pakpak people, kinship is something that is taken for granted. Besides that, the brotherhood of Pakpak people is bound by a cultural system that is called *Sangkp Nggluh* that consists of *Kula-Kula* or *Puang*, with *Siboltok* and *Berru*. *Kula-kula* is the origin of his family wife and *Berru* is wife taker family. *Siboltok* is a friend of same clan. Batak Pakpak Dairi has same kinship system of principle with Dalihan Na Tolu that kinship is something inevitable.

b. **With understandable language** in which the preacher knows the abstinence-prohibition, and knows what the audience like or not like related the propagation. Besides the family approach, the spread of Islam in Pakpak also be done by using the customs and traditions that have been living in the Pakpak people as media propaganda. The developers of Islam in Pakpak really understand the psychology of the people that one of them is difficult to accept something new before they see the alternatives. It turns out in certain circumstances, not simply by the absence of alternatives, but there must be a guarantee that the new one is better with being replaced. Thus, to avoid rejection and failure in the development and spread of Islam, the preachers' using the language could understand and grasp true Pakpak taboos and traditions that they believe.

c. Giving Examples and Inclusive in Community Life.

One method used to develop Islam in Dairi is the preacher really inclusive in public life. The preacher of Islam in Dairi before really feel the difficulties felt by people who get propagation, for example when there is misfortune, pain, and other disasters preachers focusing attention to cope with sincerity.

d. With Sufism and Magic science methods

One measure of the greatness of a person and will determine its position in the midst of Pakpak society is the magic science, such as martial arts, immune, resistant hacked, can subdue wild animals, could uproot a tree nut, can treat sick people, including diseases caused envy of others to communicate with spirits.

The development of Islam in Dairi

The development of the propagation of Islam in Dairi is inseparable from Islamic educational efforts by the construction of religious schools, for example, the *madrasah* and Islamic High School for Teachers, both private and state owned, founded by some Muslim leaders, such as

M. S. Berutu, Moh Nuh Rahim Padang, H. M. Idris Pandiangan, Ja'far Bata Bintang, and Mushin Gajah.

In addition, the stretching of the development of Islam in Dairi began in 1968 when there was a program from central government on the appointment of religious teachers for Islamic studies on a big scale. While in terms of providing places of worship have also been very good. Currently there are some mosque and mushalla in every district and village in Dairi.

Majority-Minority Relations

Religious harmony is one of the main problems studied by many intellectuals. This is due to the complexity of this issue because it often leads to make complex problems. The religious harmony concept or inter-religious dialogue should be based on four elements, they are:

1. Joint voluntary desire for coexistence must be born of self each without coercion
2. The existence of a set of mutually agreed objectives
3. Cooperation to achieve the objectives that have been agreed
4. Maintain harmony by upholding respect and trust each other²⁹.

Basically Christian-Muslim relations in Dairi work in harmony. This is most likely due to the strong cultural / indigenous community Dairi. This local knowledge also can not be separated from the culture of people who support it. Local wisdom, usually include all the elements of human culture, which includes a system of religious, linguistic, economic, technological, educational, social organization, and the arts. Local wisdom stems from the idea or ideas, which are then applied in the practice stage, and the creation of cultural material. The wisdom will continue to evolve with the times, the intensity of social interactions, and sociocultural enculturation. Moreover, in a world that knows no boundaries, as now, local knowledge is very colored by the thought of human insight and use it.

Views of community life Pakpak Batak Dairi be hold live this life comes from Sangkp Ngglluh which means Protector of Life. Protector of life for the Batak Dairi people is a cultural value that becomes a source of behavioral attitudes in the social life of their culture. Batak Pakpak Dairi believe that by conducting livelihood based on Sangkp Ngglluh they will always be safe and prosperous.

Sangkp Ngglluh in three forms, namely: Kula-kula or Puang, With Siboltok, and Berru. By Siboltok is a friend has a same clan. Kula-kula is the origin of his wife family Berru is wife taker family. Batak Pakpak Dairi has a same kinship system of principle with the Dalihan Na Tolu. Realization of behavior based Sangkp Ngglluh attitude earlier in Sangkp call or Protective Indigenous Peoples, or often called Sulang Silima. So far, it has never happened in Dairi inter-religious conflicts that cause bloodshed.

Religion in public life compound can act as a unifying factor (integration) and can also act as a factor breaker (disintegration), the phenomenon is influenced by four things:

- (a) The religion theology and doctrine

²⁹ Abdul Aziz Utsman Alt-Waijri, *Islam dan Kerukunan Antar Umat Beragama di Abad Ke-21 in Harmoni, Multikultural and Multireligius* journal, Vol.III, No.11 Juli-September 2004, p. 19-20.

(b) the attitude and behavior on understand and appreciate the religious proficiency level of its adherents.

(c) socio-cultural environment that surrounds it.

(d) The role and influence of the religious leaders in directing his followers³⁰.

CONCLUSION

Islamic teachings are basically almost the same as the native culture Pakpak Dairi, so that due to the similarity of Islam welcome in Dairi. Method of spreading Islam in Dairi done through kinship, imitation, teaching mysticism, and olah-kanuragan or magic. This science magic much in demand due to self-defense from enemy attack. Although not frontally, Islam continues to grow up in Dairi through preachers who come from outside Dairi and native son who returned to Dairi after studying outside his homeland. The number of people studying outside Dairi due to the lack of educational facilities at the venue. Desire of Islam development in Dairi feels when the appointment of teachers of Islamic religion in 1970 by the Ministry of Religious Affairs to teach in schools.

Muslim life in Dairi although a minority still can be said to be in harmony with other people. Peaceful interaction is driven by the spirit of tribalism, even though they are of different religions, but they are still one family, Pakpak people. Although there are things that can lead to conflict, such as marriage and death ceremonies, but it can be eliminated. They prefer the family, because even though they have different religions, they still have blood ties with each other. Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) plays an active role if it appears ripples of religious conflict in the community. Unheard of in Dairi conflicts that cause bloodshed.

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³⁰ Muhammad Tholhah Hasan, *Islam dalam Perspektif Sosio Kultural*, rev. 3 (Jakarta: Lantabora Press, 2005), p. 293.

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