
The Condensation of Islam and Nusantara's Culture

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Abstract

Islam in Nusantara has a unique character, which is the result of a long-term interaction process between religion and culture. Such condensation is crystallized in idea, conduct, and path. This article tries to elucidate the mixture process underwent in the light of cultural anthropology by relying on data contained in historical, social, and cultural sources. This study concludes that Islam-Nusantara condensation appeared in the form of politics, education, and culture, which is the result of the Islamization process. The manifestation of political condensation takes form in Islamic-Javanese kingship produced by Islamization efforts using power authority and Islamic theocracy. The appearance of educational condensation can be mirrored in santri community with its orthopraxy trend brought about by the enlightenment of 'ulemas with their stronger religious orientation. The last is the cultural condensation identified in kejawen society which is caused by the syncretic approach of Islamization that combines Islamic Sufism and Javanese mysticism.

Keywords: Islam, Java, Anthropology, Culture Condensation.

INTRODUCTION

Islam, which was originally revealed in Arab in the 6th century, vastly spreads to the east side of the world through expansion, particularly during the era of the four chaliphates (khalifah al-rasyidun) from 632 to 631. Since its birth toward the recent time, Islam as the religion brought by Muhammad, has become the second world largest religions in the world with believers of around 23% of the world population.¹ Twelve percent of the muslim believers (around 1.6 million) was from Indonesia. In this sense, Indonesia is considered as the largest Muslim country in the world with around 87% of its citizen are Muslims.²

¹ Drew Desilver dan David Masci, "World Muslim Population More Widespread than You Might Think," *Pew Research Center* (blog), diakses 20 Mei 2021, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/31/worlds-muslim-population-more-widespread-than-you-might-think/>.

² World Population Review, "Muslim Population By Country 2021," diakses 20 Mei 2021, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/en/country-rankings/muslim-population-by-country>.

The journey of how Indonesia (Nusantara) becomes the world largest Muslim country can be traced back to nine to ten century ago.³ This fact has proven that Islam can be accepted by Nusantara community regardless cultural differences. On the other hand, as stated by Hermansyah, Islamic universities are accepted in all parts of the world which, to some extent, are different culturally. It has also signified the fact that Islam can be contextualized in different settings with its distinctive pattern according to the “local Islamic culture”. Thus, the implementation of Islamic religious values varies between one cultural community and another.⁴

The historical record shows that Islam’s condensation appeared in the form of politics which manifested in Islamic-Javanese kingship in Nusantara. Zainuddin and Graaf recorded that since the 13th century, Islam has become the “official religion” of Samudera-Pasai in Melaka.⁵ Similarly, in around the 16th century in Java, the kingship of Demak has established a domination of Islam upon Buddhism Majapahit dynasty. Demak has been noted as the prime contributor of local Islamic political foundation under the Muslim Javanese leaders.⁶ These early established Islamic kingdoms demonstrated significant role in the process of Islamisation in Nusantara, either from its cooperation with foreign Muslim empires⁷ or local religious leaders appointed by the kings.⁸

The span of Islam in Nusantara (especially Java) has significant role in establishing and shaping social institutions which are able to educate and instil some important Islamic values in Javanese society. Pesantren, since the establishment of ‘Ampel Denta’, has become the centre of Islamic teaching which teaches islamic values using local teaching technique model.⁹ During the process, as stated by Ninian Smart, “the religious value and ethic control” of Kyai (religious leader) could be considered as the key factor as well as the key actor of santri community establishment in both

³ Raden Abdulkadir Widjoatmodjo, “Islam in the Netherlands East Indies,” *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1942): 48, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2049278>.

⁴ Hermansyah, “Islam and Local Culture in Indonesia,” *Al-Albab* 3 (1 Juni 2014): 56–57, <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v3i1.94>.

⁵ H.M Zainuddin, *Tarich Atjeh dan Nusantara*, 1 ed., vol. 1 (Medan: Pustaka Iskandar Muda, 1961), 250.

⁶ H. J. de Graaf, *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700, Islamic States in Java 1500-1700* (Netherland: The Hague-Martinus Hijhoff, 1976), 3, <https://brill.com/view/title/23395>.

⁷ Zainuddin, *Tarich Atjeh dan Nusantara*, 1:250.

⁸ Ali Sunarso, “Historiography of Indonesian Islam (Historical Analysis of the Transitional Era of Social and Political System in Java in the 15-16th Century and the Contribution of Javanese Kings in Islamization),” *IJISH (International Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities)* 1, no. 1 (7 April 2018): 17, <https://doi.org/10.26555/ijish.v1i1.129>.

⁹ Herman, “Sejarah Pesantren Di Indonesia,” *Al-TA’DIB: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Kependidikan* 6, no. 2 (1 Juli 2013): 148, <https://doi.org/10.31332/atdb.v6i2.311>.

internal and external pesantren community.¹⁰ In this instance, pesantren contributes to the establishment of unique local Islamic group. In Geertz terminology, “santri” is often opposed with other group namely “abangan”, in terms of their religious practices. Santri is labelled as orthodox, while the other one (abangan) is labelled as sincretic.¹¹

The above overview has highlighted the long dynamic interaction process of Islam, social, politic, and culture of Islam in Nusantara (Indonesia). To some extent, the process has contributed to the condensation of “Islam [in] Nusantara” toward its unique model and distinctive characteristics. This article aims to investigate the history of the process and form of struggle between Islam and local culture in Nusantara by examining the process of condensation of religion and culture since the arrival of Islam in Indonesia to the recent times. This study includes a brief historiography of religions, especially Islam, and Nusantara's civilization and/as well as the process and manifestation of both religion's and civilization's encounter, which in turn, construct a distinctive Islamic identity. This notion has prompted the use of "condensation" term from the discipline of psychology, which is the combination of various meanings, concepts, or emotions into one image or symbol.¹² It aims to give the feel of a blend that is truly rooted in the followers of Islam in Java.

METHOD

This research is historical in nature relying on historical documents from relevant sources. The sources used in this study are historical documents on Islam in the archipelago (Nusantara). The data is analyzed using cultural anthropological approach.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Putting the Term “Nusantara” into Perspective

Nusantara (the Archipelago) literally means a group of islands (the order of islands). Vlekke describes the geographical position of this island group from Sumatra in the west, Java and Sunda in the middle, the islands of Borneo and Maluku in the north, and New Guinea in the east.¹³ In this sense, it can be concluded that the term "Nusantara" refers to a group of islands that are now included in the territory of Indonesia, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea.

¹⁰ Baca: Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, Nachdr., Anthropology/Comparative Religions (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996), 177–80.

¹¹ Geertz, 126–27.

¹² American Psychological Association, *APA Dictionary of Psychology*, ed. oleh Gary R. VandenBos, Second Edition (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2015), 229.

¹³ Bernard Hubertus Maria Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia*, Revised edition (W. Van Hoeve, 1960), 1–4.

Hans-Dieter Evers perceives a changing pattern in the use of the term "Nusantara" in the history of Southeast Asia. The initial appearance of the term can be traced in *Serat Pararaton* since 1305. It firstly appeared in the narration of the Palapa Oath expressed by Patih Besar Gajah Mada (d. 1364). In addition, the word also appeared in *Negarakertagama*, Malay History, and the Illuminated Letter of the King of the Archipelago (1791-1886). However, the previous mentioned sources did not display a clear picture of the exact location of the area being referred to.¹⁴

In his study of *Negarakertagama*, Anwar found that the archipelago covers five regions, namely Malay, Tanjungnegara, Hujung Medini, Java, Makassar and Dwipantara. In the current nation-states period, Malay refers to the entire territory of the island of Sumatra, which in the 14th century was concentrated in Jambi and Palembang and up to Barus in the west. The Tanjungnegara covers Kalimantan, Brunei and the southern Philippines. Hujung Medini consists of Peninsular Malaysia, Segenting Kra (Isthmus of Kra) which is the closest part of Malaya, and Singapore. Furthermore, Java refers to the island of Java and its surroundings including Bali, Badahulu, Lo Gajah, Guron, Sukun, Taliwang, Pulau Sapi, Dompoo, Sang Hyang Api, Bima, Serantau, Hutan Kendali, Pulau Guron, Lombok Merah, Sasak, Bantayan, Luwuk, Udamakatraya and the surrounding area. Meanwhile, Makassar designates the archipelago around Sulawesi and Waning which is the ancient name of the western region of Papua New Guinea. The last region, Dwipantara, is a term for another sovereign territory and has international relations with the archipelago which refers to the areas of Sri Lanka, Myanmar and China, Ayuthia, Thailand (Ayodhyapura), Dharmarajanagara/Ligor (Darmanagari), Martaban, Thailand (Marutma), Rajjuri, southern Thailand (Rajapura), the Menam River Bay (Singhaagari), Cambodia (Campa), and Annam in Vietnam (Yawana).¹⁵ Within the above mentioned limits, it can be said that Nusantara refers to the identity of sovereignty and cooperation between countries (allies).

Jan B. Avé, referring to Berg, stated that "Nusantara" is used to describe the area of the archipelago, especially Indonesia. For Javanese speakers, the term is sometimes used to refer to islands outside Java. This definition is approved by *the Ledien linguistic school*.¹⁶ This definition is in line with Hall's study which stated that the archipelago is centered on the island of Java. This information can be based on the fact that Gajah

¹⁴ Hans-Dieter Evers, "Nusantara: History of a Concept," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 89, no. 1 (2016): 4–5, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ras.2016.0004>.

¹⁵ Od M. Anwar, "Contextualizing Nusantara Studies," *Journal of Nusantara Studies (JONUS)* 1, no. 1 (26 Juni 2016): 2–3, <https://doi.org/10.24200/jonus.vol1iss1pp1-6>. Bandingkan: Od M Anwar, Zulayti Zakaria, dan Wan Ahmad Fauzi bin Wan Hashim, "Nusantara: Delineating Its Authentic Map Based on Indigenous Sources," *Intellectual Property Rights: Open Access* 4, no. 2 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.4172/2375-4516.1000163>.

¹⁶ Jan B. Avé, "'Indonesia', 'Insulinde' and 'Nusantara': Dotting The I's and Crossing The T," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145, no. 2/3 (1989): 230.

Mada was the Commander in Chief and subsequently became the Prime Minister (Mahapatih) in the Majapahit kingdom which was based in Java.¹⁷

Henceforth, the archipelago became the contestation area in the 19th to the 20th century. This was the time when the area around Malay and Indonesian were struggling for independence. Soekarno (d. 1970), according to Evers, claimed "Nusantara" as a larger territory for the new state (Indonesia), based on Ki Hajar Dewantara (d. 1959) and Ernest Douwes Dekker (d. 1950) opinions. The Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation (1963-1966) over Sarawak and Sabah on the island of Borneo resulted from Sukarno's rejection on the claim of Malaysia upon the two territories.¹⁸ This information shows us that for Soekarno, Indonesia has the right to claim the geographical territory of the archipelago.

Indonesia's claim upon Nusantara territory is based on the historiography of the Javanese kingdom. On the contrary, Malaysia defines "Nusantara" according to the basis of cultural cluster. In principle, "Nusantara" is defined as a landscape that has a unified culture and language. It includes Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the southeastern part of Thailand, Philippines, Brunei, Timor Leste and Taiwan, but does not include Papua New Guinea.¹⁹

In order to define the geographical boundaries of the archipelago, the author chooses to use the terminology issued by the Language Council which explicitly mentions Indonesia.²⁰ In this instance, the intended boundary is the demarcation line of the modern Indonesian territory, in which the west is bordered by Sabang, the east is Merauke, and the north is Kalimantan.²¹ This definition is based on the consideration of avoiding the tug-of-war "trap" between territory based definition and cultural cluster definition. In addition, the author realizes that Malay culture is also widely spread around the Sumatra Island. Within certain extent, the writer considers Malay culture as part of the cultural diversity in Indonesia, in addition to Javanese culture, which is considered as the origin of Nusantara culture in the perspective of the Majapahit era. Thus, Nusantara, in this article, is perceived in the setting of Javanese and Malay cultures. The two are included in the modern Indonesia's territory as two major cultural backgrounds that have been condensing with Islam since several centuries.

¹⁷ Kenneth R. Hall, "Majapahit Empire," dalam *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, ed. oleh Nigel Dalziel dan John M MacKenzie (Oxford, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2016), 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118455074.wbeoe134>.

¹⁸ Evers, "Nusantara," 5–7.

¹⁹ Evers, 8.

²⁰ Pusat Bahasa, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2008), 1009.

²¹ "Indonesia," dalam *Wikipedia*, 19 Mei 2021, <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Indonesia&oldid=1024000953>.

Historiografi Nusantara Pra-Islam

Historiography of the Pre-Islamic Archipelago

Before discussing the core topic of how Islam comes into Indonesia, it would be beneficial to explain the condition of the pre-Islamic society in Nusantara. This would explicate a brief description of how the native cultural structure interacts with a new religion from Arabia.

G.J.F Biegman assigned the term of "ancient" to the period before and during the development of Hinduism. He described that, during that ancient time, the Dutch East Indies society believed the existence of soul (spirit) in any material, the greater the material, the greater the power it possessed. In addition, they believed that departed people have similar life to the livings in the afterlife. Therefore, they put various kinds of food, tools and weapons in the graves. Agus Sunyoto stated that the temporary best term to describe this belief is animism-dynamism. In this context, the belief correlates with the existence of Nusantara's indigenous beliefs known as *Kapitayan*.²²

Kapitayan believes in a single substance called *Sahyang Taya*. The citizen of Nusantara believe that the existence of God is beyond humans' comprehension. In Javanese idiom, it is called "*tankena kinaya ngapa*" (which means that God's existence can't be apprehended). This understanding signifies the hidden element of God's existence. However, with this so-called hidden existence, humans can digest it through supernatural radiating attributes called *To* or *Tu* (*Sahyang Tunggal*). The supernatural attributes manifested in two characteristics namely *Sahyang Wenang* (in the form of virtue) and *Sahyang Manikmaya* (in the form of evil). On the other hand, the form of worshiping (*Sembah Yang*) for *Kapitayan* followers is to provide some offerings which should be placed on certain objects that are believed to be manifestations of *Sahyang Tunggal*.²³

Following the ancient era is the era of Hinduism. No specific records of when and where Hinduism came into Nusantara. However, according to Biegman, since the 2nd century most of Java citizen are Hindu. During that time, Java is called as *Jaba-diu*

²² According to the writer's analysis, Sunyoto shows a paradoxical side in giving the term 'animism-dynamism' to the belief system at that time, especially to the original beliefs of the archipelago. In the beginning, he rejected the use of the term. Later, he agreed with the term by referring to P. Mus, Berg, and Held. Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Wali Songo* (Kerjasama Pustaka IIMaN, Trans Pustaka, and LTN PBNU, 2012), x, 12, 13, 158, 173, 429. In writer's view, this term may have a discontinuity nuance, as conceptualized by E.B. Taylor and J.G. Frazer. Both conceptualize that animism will gradually disappear, replaced by religion and will be replaced by knowledge. In contrast, Sunyoto, thinks that the ancient culture of the archipelago is not extinct, but assimilated. see: Daniel L. Pals, *Eight Theories of Religion*, 2nd ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 29–31.

²³ Sunyoto, *Atlas Wali Songo*, 14–17.

(*Djaba-dioe*). *Jaba* means barley or rice, while *dioe* means soil.²⁴ This terminology most likely refers to fertile agrarian conditions where rice are mostly planted in the area.

In the early days, Hinduism brought positive impacts for Nusantara's civilization. Many of Nusantara citizen studied metallurgy, literacy, various arts such as gamelan and wayang, sculpture, farming and brick making. According to Biegman, Nusantara's society did not purposefully study the skills, they only observed Hindu immigrants and imitated their way of life. Another positive impact, according to Biegman, is the moral influence. Hinduism has transformed the frugal character of Javanese society into more subtle character.²⁵

In the sociological context, two types of social stratification can be found in the ancient and Hinduism era. According to Sunyoto, during the Kapitayan period, the Nusantara's community consisted of two main caste: clergies and ordinary citizen. The caste division could be identified through their ways of performing religious rituals (*puja bhakti*). The clergies tend to perform their worshiping in a special place called *Sanggar* or *Langgar*. While the ordinary citizen mostly perform their religious practices in any sacred places.²⁶ On the other hand, Hinduism in Nusantara is quite similar with Hinduism in India. Thus, the stratification are divided into four major castes. First, the Brahmins who have the highest stratification rank. A brahmin is often associated with and expected to be *Pandhita* (religious leaders). Second, the Knights who are mainly commanders who lead groups or troops. Third, *Vaisyas* who are similar to working class of merchants (merchants), farmers, craftsmen and fishermen. The last caste is *Sudra*. They are often identified as the descendants of the *taluk* (*taalok/hina*), lowly society. Based on the aforementioned caste, it can be concluded that this so-called caste has transformed from religious based stratification into social based stratification. This transformation has signified the prominent influence of Hinduism in Nusantara's society. Hinduism mostly begins from community leaders.²⁷

An inscription in Kalimantan stated that Buddhism period have developed in Nusantara from the 4th to 5th century.²⁸ This historical record is in line with the records of a Chinese explorer named *Fa Hsien* in 414. The record showed that he stopped in an area called *Ye-Po-Ti* which was believed to be Java (*Jawadipa*). Another explorer who was also from China in 519 stated that there was an area called *Kan-to-li* (presumably Sumatra) which was ruled by Buddhists. However, the historical records does not indicate an exact explanation of when was Buddhism firstly introduced to the

²⁴ G. J. F. Biegman, *Hikajat Tanah Hindia*, 4–5.

²⁵ G. J. F. Biegman, 5.

²⁶ Sunyoto, *Atlas Wali Songo*, 16–17.

²⁷ G. J. F. Biegman, *Hikajat Tanah Hindia*, 5.

²⁸ Busro Busro, "Agama Buddha di Indonesia: Sejarah, Kemunduran dan Kebangkitan" (INARxiv, 28 Desember 2017), 1, <https://doi.org/10.31227/osf.io/4ypcf>.

archipelago (Nusantara). Another historical record was proposed by Busro. In his study, he stated that the existence of Buddhism can be seen through two prominent Buddhist kingdoms. In this instance, he classified the era into two periods: the Srivijaya period and Syailendra period.²⁹

The Srivijaya is believed to have established since the 7th century (around the year of 671 or 696 AD. in other sources) in Palembang, South Sumatra.³⁰ The Syailendra, in Java, is assumed to have emerged a century after the Srivijaya.³¹ During the period of the Medang Kingdom or Ancient Mataram in Java, there were two congruent dynasties with different religious tendencies, namely Sanjaya with a Hindu Shiva belief (Saivism) and Syailendra that leaned towards Buddhism. However, according to Hall, the two kingdoms then feuded in around 856 AD.³²

The arrival of Buddhism in Nusantara, to some extent, has caused some changes in the caste structure that has been constructed by Hinduism. Buddhism, through the Brahma's views, taught the principle of equality to the society. In this instance, Buddhism had won the sympathy of the lower "caste" citizen. In turn, many nobles and officials embraced Hinduism, while ordinary people were attracted to Buddhism because it promoted equality.³³

After the Medang kingdom era, Java was successively ruled by several dynasties, among the largest were Kahuripan (1019-1045),³⁴ Janggala (1045-1136),³⁵ Kadiri (1045-1222),³⁶ Singasari (1222-1292),³⁷ and Majapahit (1293-1528).³⁸ This last mentioned kingdom has a direct contact with Demak kingdom, which was the first Islamic Sultanate in Java. Later, Demak successfully became the Islamic sultanate that

²⁹ Busro, 2–3.

³⁰ Pierre-Yves Manguin, "Srivijaya, Kingdom Of," dalam *The Encyclopedia of Empire* (American Cancer Society, 2016), 1, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118455074.wbeoe155>; Busro, "Agama Buddha di Indonesia," 3; Abdur Razzaq, Sari Lestari Zainal Ridho, dan Asmuni Asmuni, "The Kingdom of Sriwijaya in The Development of Islamic Civilization and The Economy in Nusantara Before 1500 AD," *Journal of Malay Islamic Studies* 1, no. 1 (30 Juni 2017): 40, <https://doi.org/10.19109/jmis.v1i1.3790>.

³¹ Hans Hägerdal, "Sailendra Empire of Java," dalam *The Encyclopedia of Empire* (American Cancer Society, 2016), 1, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118455074.wbeoe151>.

³² D. G. E. Hall, "Problems of Indonesian Historiography," *Pacific Affairs* 38, no. 3/4 (1965): 534, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2754037>.

³³ G. J. F. Biegman, *Hikajat Tanah Hindia*, 7.

³⁴ "Kerajaan Kahuripan," dalam *Wikipedia bahasa Indonesia, ensiklopedia bebas*, 14 Agustus 2020, https://id.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Kerajaan_Kahuripan&oldid=17298256.

³⁵ "Kerajaan Janggala," dalam *Wikipedia bahasa Indonesia, ensiklopedia bebas*, 11 Agustus 2020, https://id.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Kerajaan_Janggala&oldid=17289407.

³⁶ "Kerajaan Kadiri," dalam *Wikipedia bahasa Indonesia, ensiklopedia bebas*, 11 Agustus 2020, https://id.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Kerajaan_Kadiri&oldid=17289414.

³⁷ Kenneth R. Hall, "Singhasari Kingdom of Java," dalam *The Encyclopedia of Empire* (American Cancer Society, 2016), 1, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118455074.wbeoe135>.

³⁸ Kenneth Hall, "Majapahit Empire," 2016, 1, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118455074.wbeoe134>.

ruled over Java. This will be discussed further. During that time, most citizen embraced Kejawen belief (Javanese Mystery/Mysticism),³⁹ Hinduism, Buddhism, and began to recognize Islam.

The Encounter between Islam and the Archipelago (Nusantara)

The arrival of Islam in Indonesia is a debatable issue among historians. Most of them stated that the first nudge of Islam (Muslims) with the archipelago began in the 7th century AD, or the first period of the Islamic calendar (Hijriyah). This opinion was mentioned by W.P. Groeneveldt, T.W. Arnold, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Atas, George Fadlo Hourani, J.C. Van Leur, Hamka, and Uka Tjandrasasmita. The second opinion was narrated by C. Snouck Hourgonje, J.P. Moquette, R.A. Kern, Haji Agussalim, and Hoesein Djayadiningrat. They stated that Islam arrived in Nusantara in around the 13th century AD. These different opinions have triggered the Indonesian government to hold an International Seminar in Medan in 1963 entitled "The Arrival of Islam in Indonesia". The seminar ended up in supporting the first opinion.⁴⁰

Naquib al-Attas argues that in the early days of the development of Islam, the Prophet sent several companions, one of whom was Sa'ad b. Abi Waqqas (d. 674) to Canton (Guangzhou) China and was well received; Islam then spread around the area. Many of these Chinese Muslims, in the 7th century, then sailed south to Palembang and Kedah (Nusantara's territory).⁴¹ On the other hand, the second opinion is based on archaeological findings and the result of the Mongol invasion of Baghdad.⁴² No new evidence was found afterward, especially when the author conducted this research. However, this second opinion is often referred to the "Islamization" process.⁴³ In this notion, the writer's tentative conclusion is that the first opinion describes the interaction between Islam and the people of the Archipelago, while the second opinion perceives the arrival of Islam in Nusantara as a "planned program".

In the context of the encounter between Islam and the Archipelago, Nasution summarized at least several theories, including: Arab, Persian, Ghujarat-India, Chinese,

³⁹ Direktorat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa dan Tradisi Direktorat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa dan Tradisi, *Ensiklopedi Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa* (Jakarta: Direktorat Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa, 2010), 46, <http://repositori.kemdikbud.go.id/cgi/users/home?screen=EPrint::Edit&eprintid=12735&stage=core#>.

⁴⁰ Anzar Abdullah dan I. S. Wekke, "Origins of Islam in Indonesia," *International Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics* 119, no. 18 (Special Issue) (2018): 1159–60.

⁴¹ Othman bin Mohd Yatim dan Abdul Halim Nasir, *Epigrafi Islam Terawal di Nusantara*, Cet. 1 edition (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1990), 12.

⁴² Uka Tjandrasasmita, *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara* (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2009), 13.

⁴³ Michael Laffan, *Sejarah Islam di Nusantara*, ed. oleh Munawir Azis dan Agus Hadiyono, trans. oleh Indi Aunullah dan Rini Nurul Badariah, 1 ed. (Yogyakarta: Benteng, 2015), 2.

and Turkish theories. The first theory is as mentioned in the previous discussion.⁴⁴ Another record stated that the spread of Islam in Nusantara began in the 8th century by the great-grandson of the Prophet, Abdullah b. Hasan Mutsanna b. Hasan b. Ali (d. 704). He came to Nusantara with merchants and lived in Jeumpa (Aceh).⁴⁵ The second theory is stated by Hourgonje and Moquette. They believed that Islam came from Gujarat because India-Nusantara trade relations has been established for a long time. In addition, archaeological findings in the form of tombstones in Pasai (1296) and Gresik (1082), signified an initial indication of the existence of Muslims in the archipelago. These tombstone showed some similarities with the tombs in Gujarat.⁴⁶

The next theory stated that Islam in Nusantara was brought by persians. This opinion was based upon the similarity of Islamic cultural practices between the two territories, such as Ashura, the use of Arabic-Iranian terms in the teaching of the Qur'an, similarities between Sufism and Jurisprudence with Malabar, and the tombs in Pasai and Gersik (archeological evidence in 12th century AD). One of the supporters of this theory is Hussein Djajadiningrat. On the other hand, Chinese theory described that Islam spread through Guangzhou Muslim traders in Lobu Tua and Barus (North Sumatra) in the 15/16th century.⁴⁷ According to Kurniawan, quoting Al-Qurtuby, Islam was firstly brought to Java by an expeditionary fleet led by Zheng He, who was of the Hanafi school of thought.⁴⁸

The last theory stated that Islam arrived in Nusantara from Turkey. According to Gulliot in Nasution and Syafrizal, this theory was expounded by Martin van Buruinessen. Islam arrived in Nusantara was brought by Turkey because of the existance of the influential Kurdish clerics in Indonesia. The clerics' teachings have played significant role and become the reference for Islamic teachings in the society. Also, the significant role of Syatariyah Order brought by Ibrahim al-Kurani and the popularity of the book of *Barzanji* in Indonesia are proof of this theory.⁴⁹ In his study, Anthony Reid stated that Nuruddin ar-Raniri (d. 1658) in *Bustān al-'Ārifīn* wrote some information that the Sultan of Aceh Ala'udin Ri'ayat Syah al-Kahar (1537-1571) sent a

⁴⁴ Fauziah Nasution, "Kedatangan dan Perkembangan Islam ke Indonesia," *Mawa'izh: Jurnal Dakwah dan Pengembangan Sosial Kemanusiaan* 11, no. 1 (4 Juni 2020): 32–36, <https://doi.org/10.32923/maw.v11i1.995>.

⁴⁵ Hilmy Bakar Almascaty, "Relasi Persia Dan Nusantara Pada Awal Islamisasi: Sebuah Kajian Awal Pengaruh Persia Dalam Politik Aceh," *Media Syari'ah : Wahana Kajian Hukum Islam Dan Pranata Sosial* 15, no. 1 (30 Agustus 2017): 61, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jms.v15i1.1764>.

⁴⁶ Nasution, "Kedatangan dan Perkembangan Islam ke Indonesia," 33.

⁴⁷ Nasution, 35.

⁴⁸ Hendra Kurniawan, "The Rules of Chinese in Coming of Islam to Indonesia: Teaching Materials Development Based on Multiculturalism," *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal* 27, no. 2 (19 September 2017): 248, <https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v27i2.8660>.

⁴⁹ Nasution, "Kedatangan dan Perkembangan Islam ke Indonesia," 36.; Achmad Syafrizal, "Sejarah Islam Nusantara," *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 2, no. 2 (5 Desember 2015): 240, <https://doi.org/10.19105/islamuna.v2i2.664>.

letter to *Sultan Rum* asking for help, he then responded by the coming of cannon makers to help facing the enemy in Melaka (Portuguese).⁵⁰ These records show that some kingdoms in Nusantara have established an alliance with the Ottomans.

The above mentioned theories have signified the fact that Islam that has been brought by every figure from different part of the world, has had its own influence on Islamic culture (in) the archipelago. Therefore, this research is not intended to participate in the contestation or investigate the most valid theory. Rather, positions the theories as sources of Islamic multiculturalism that have been encountered by the local people of the archipelago. In this notion, it is important to note that the term "Islam" referred by this article is not only a religion, but also a system of culture, symbols and values. In anthropology of cultur, this principle is known as religion of [Islam] as *the model for reality*.⁵¹

The arrival of Islam in Nusantara, to some extent, has contributed to the establishment of several Islamic Kingdoms such as Jeumpa, Peurlak and Samudra-Pasai which were situated and centered on the island of Sumatra. Meanwhile, many people from Arabia, Gujarat, Persia and Tjulan came to Aceh and interacted with the indigenous people called Mante tribe. The mixture of those nationalities was later known as 'Aca', which later split into several tribes, including Aceh-Gayo, Aceh-Alas, Aceh-Kluwat, Aceh-Singkel, Aceh-Jamai (Tapak Tuan), Aceh-Tamiang and Aceh-Simeulu. The aforementioned tribes have different languages and traditions. However, most of them embraced Islam as their belief.⁵²

In his book, Sunyoto illustrated that in the 10th century AD, many foreigners migrated to Java, especially the Persian clans, including the Lor clan (912), Jawani clan (913), Shia clan (969) and Rumai clan (no record). Most of the migration happened during the reign of Ruknuddaulah b. Hasan b. Buwaih ad-Dailami. The last two clans were believed to be scattered in West and North Sumatra. R. Tanoyo revealed that prior to the eformentioned migration, Sultan al-Gabah of the Rum Sultanate sent around 20,000 families to Java, but many of them were killed, leaving only around 200 families. Following that, many religious leaders were sent, one of them was Shaykh Subakir, a very well-known figure in mystical-mythological stories among Javanese.⁵³

⁵⁰ Anthony Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence in Western Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 396–97.

⁵¹ For further reference, see: Bassam Tibi, "Religion, Culture and Social Reality: Islam as a Cultural System, and Its Diversity," dalam *Islam between Culture and Politics*, ed. oleh Bassam Tibi (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2001), 28–52, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230514140_2.

⁵² Zainuddin, *Tarich Atjeh dan Nusantara*, 1:115–16.

⁵³ Sunyoto, *Atlas Wali Songo*, 51–52.

However, the saga of al-Gabah messengers has not been scientifically proven. Thus, 'at best', it can only be called as legend.⁵⁴

As for Java, the first Islamic kingdom was the Demak Sultanate, which was based in Bintara, Central Java. Previously, on the north coast of Java, the Muslim community had been dominating due to the mixed blood of immigrants and locals. This phenomenon has reduced the power of Majapahit in the region. Graaf mentioned that at a later stage in 1527, a radical Muslim group attacked the residence of Majapahit's nobles. The attack had actually ended the Buddhist-Shivaist dynasty in Java.⁵⁵ Ricklefs asserted that before 1486, a dispute within Majapahit had caused the Majapahit's capital to be moved to Daha (Kediri). This matter is debatable because various historical records describe the Sultanate of Demak as the direct successor of Majapahit. In this sense, the above historical records have possibly led to two historical versions of the establishment of Demak, which are 1478/1479 and 1527.⁵⁶

The effort of spreading Islam in this era was carried out by several methods such as politics, education and culture. The first method is by war. It was carried out by invading the 'non-Islamic' kingdom, as seen in the attack on Majapahit. The second method is opening religious education institutions or Islamic boarding schools, as Sunan Gresik and Ampel have done. The third is through the acculturation of Islam and Nusantara's culture.⁵⁷ The last mentioned method will be discussed further in the next part of the article.

Putting aside the above discussion and looking back through the 15th century to examine another aspect of the Chinese encounter with Javanese. Cheng Hoo (Zheng He, d. 1435), a Muslim admiral of Hui ethnic descent born in Yunnan, is believed to have visited Java several times. This phenomenon has been indicated as the key to the birth of the Chinese-Muslim community who inhabit the North Coast of Java, such as Surabaya, Semarang, Jakarta, Lasem, Demak, Cirebon, Banten, and Gresik; particularly when Raden Patah (d. 1518), who was of Chinese descent, held power in the Sultanate of Demak. Another important figure is Tan Ling Sing, known as Kyai Telingsing by the Javanese. Tan Ling Sing played an important role in teaching Islam and became a friend of Sunan Kudus and Ja'far Sadiq. Evidence of the presence of this community can be

⁵⁴ Muhammad Farid, "Sejarawan NU: Hati-hati Memahami Sejarah," Oktober 2019, <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/111752/sejarawan-nu--hati-hati-memahami-sejarah->.

⁵⁵ Graaf, *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700*, 3.

⁵⁶ M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since C. 1200*, 4. ed (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 54–55.

⁵⁷ Herman, "Sejarah Pesantren Di Indonesia," 148.

seen from the architecture of the Chinese-style mosques spread across the North Coast of Java.⁵⁸

The historical records show that the Sultanate of Demak did not stay long. Soon after, in 1568, the power of Demak was transferred to Pajang which lasted only for about 18 years (collapsed in 1586). In the following year, the last King of Pajang, namely Prince Benowo, was conquered by Panembahan Senapati (d. 1601). The victory was marked as the establishment of the Mataram Sultanate which lasted until 1755 (168 years).⁵⁹

The greatest king of Islamic Mataram was Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma (d. 1645) who ruled in 1613-1645. The title of Sultan was obtained from sending an envoy to Syarif Makkah in 1641. Prior to that, the title of *Sunan/Susuhunan* was used for 17 years. Following that, the name of the Mataram king was changed into Sultan Abdul Muhammad Maulana Matarani.⁶⁰ At this time, Mataram had been threatened by the VOC trading partnership. The history recorded two attacks on Batavia, in 1628 and 1629, had been carried out by the sultan to conquer Banten, but failed.⁶¹ During this era, a significant decline of Mataram was recorded. Until in 1755 the Giyanti Agreement was signed between Sunan Pakubuwono III (d. 1788), Prince Mangkubumi (Hamengkubuwono I, d. 1792), and the VOC. The agreement resulted in the division of Mataram into two territories: Surakarta and Yogyakarta Hadiningrat.⁶² It is important to note that Islamization during the Mataram period suffered a setback due to colonial influences. The most possible method is through education and culture, which will be discussed in the next section.

One important point that should be considered is the role of Turkey in the spread of Islam in Nusantara. Based on the available evidence, the Turkey-Nusantara relationship is only with Aceh, not related to any Sultanate in Java.⁶³ According to Azyumardi Azra, in the 17th century, Turkey's role was more as a guarantor of security

⁵⁸ Sumanto Al Qurtuby, "The Tao of Islam: Ceng Ho and the Legacy of Chinese Muslims in Pre-Modern Java," *Studia Islamika* 16, no. 1 (2009): 57–66, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v16i1.489>.

⁵⁹ William Bradley Horton, "Mataram, Sultanate Of," dalam *The Encyclopedia of Empire* (American Cancer Society, 2016), 1–3, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118455074.wbeoe293>.

⁶⁰ M. C. Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries*, 1st ed, Signature books (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2006), 51.

⁶¹ M.C. Ricklefs, "Islamising Java: The Long Shadow of Sultan Agung," *Archipel* 56, no. 1 (1998): 472–73, <https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1998.3503>.

⁶² Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since C. 1200*, 131–32.

⁶³ This was based on the document analysis and *press release* upon a documentary film entitled "Jejak Khilafah Nusantara" (2020) which claimed the the Demak and Yogyakarta sultanate are considered as the representation of Turkey Chaliphate, referring to Peter Carey and Ismail Hakki Kadi illegally. For further reference, see: Peter B. Carey, "Diponegoro and the Ottomans: The Use and Abuses of History," accessed at 25 Mei 2021, https://www.academia.edu/43992144/Diponegoro_and_the_Ottomans_The_Use_and_Abuses_of_History

in the hajj traffic from the archipelago to Haramain, and at the same time, facilitated the network of scholars to study in Turkey.⁶⁴ So far, based on the writer's research, it can be concluded that Islam which developed through this network was actually originated from Arabia.

The Condensation of Islam and Culture in Nusantara

The previous two sections have discussed the condition of Nusantara's society before and after the arrival of Islam. It can be stated that Islam [in] Nusantara is a form of condensation between Islam and the existed culture in Nusantara. The condensation was cristalized from the Islamization process discussed above. It is understandable that a complex cultural interaction and exchange has been involved in this matter such as Islamic-Malay and Javanese cultures. However, it is impossible to fully explore the matters. Therefore, this article focuses on the most prominent matters.

Based on Pires' notes, Ricklefs conceptualized that the Islamic culture of Javanese was formed through simultaneous process of Javanization of Islam and Islamization of Java. This means Muslim immigrants become Javanese, and Javanese become Muslim. This can be seen through names, clothing, use of language, attitudes, and wedding procedures.⁶⁵ Both cultures blend in and become very natural in every aspect of life.

Anthropologically, Javanese names indicate gender or class. Names ending in 'o', for example, refer to men, while 'i' refers to women, such as Sunarto for man and Sunarti for woman. Likewise, the suffix 'em' or 'en' refers to the lower class. Javanese names also have two categories: *jeneng alit* and *jeneng sepuh* which are only owned by men. In addition, various Javanese names have a neutral nuance, in terms of two alternative names or aliases. Thus, many Javanese have two names. One of the names was originally from Sankrit and the other name is from Arabic (as a sign of Islamic nuance).⁶⁶ One of the examples is the name of Raden Patah. His real name is Jin Bun (Chinese) and Raden Bagus Hasan (Javanese).⁶⁷ Furthermore, some names are a fusion of 'Arabic' and Javanese. Some names are constructed through Arabic names with a

⁶⁴ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern "Ulamā" in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Southeast Asia Publications Series (Crows Nest, NSW: Asian Studies Assoc. of Australia in assoc. with Allen & Unwin, 2004), 2–3.

⁶⁵ Ricklefs, *Mystic synthesis in Java*, 17–20.

⁶⁶ Joel Kuipers dan Askuri, "Islamization and Identity in Indonesia: The Case of Arabic Names in Java," *Indonesia* 2017 (1 April 2017): 32–33, <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.103.0025>.

⁶⁷ Marwoto Pataruka dkk., "The Influence Of Raden Fatah Towards Spiritual Value On Tombs And Great Mosque Of Demak," *International Journal of Scientific & Technology Research* 8 (17 Desember 2019): 1046.

Javanese ending signifier such as Sayidin (for man), Sayidatin (for woman), Jumino (for man), Jumi-nem (for woman), and so on.⁶⁸

As for the language condensation, many Javanese terms refer to some Islamic meanings and concepts. In his study on *primbon*, Dreves, in Rickfles, catches several terms. "*pangeran*" refers to Allah, "*sembahyang*" means prayer, "*tapa*" or "*atapa*" means ascetic (*riyadhah* in Arabic), *suwarga* and *neraka* (*jannah wa nar*), and "*sukma*" which refers to soul or immaterial element of human. On the other hand, some Arabic words are also used for Javanese terminologies such as *nabi*, *wali*, *dun-nga*, *setan*, *jin*, *malaikat*, and *napsu*. Further, Rickfles stated that some concepts in the book of *primbon* are the fusion of Javanese mysticism and Sufism. Unfortunately, he did not continue the discussion towards the internalization process of the concepts.⁶⁹

According to Sunyoto, the use of the ancient terms above has helped Islam, as the Religion of Tawhid, to set foot in Java.⁷⁰ Among the famous figures who spread Islam in Java are Walisongo. Related to this, an interesting fact was revealed by Widjoatmodjo. Many of the Islamic cultural values in Nusantara are 'mostly' formed by legends (folklore). The legend depicts some religious guardians who have magical abilities (defined as *karamah*). In other words, the stories are not based on historical order and tend to be myth-centric.⁷¹ Presumably because their presence is referred to as *sunan* or *susuhunan*. The word *sunan* is originated from the ancient language of *Suhun/Sinuhun/Kasuhun* which means lord, as a form of respect toward teachers who are considered sacred. In this sense, the word *sunan* has the same meaning as *mursyid* (spiritual teacher) or *ulil amri*, which is believed to have *karamah* (extraordinary abilities) in Sufism tradition.⁷²

Another important historical record is the emergence of Javanese (Islamic) Calendar which was established by Sultan Agung and applied throughout the territory of Mataram in 1633 AD. This calendar system is a combination of the Saka solar calendar originating from India and the Hijriyyah lunar system from Arabic. Instead of eliminating the Saka system, the Javanese (Islamic) calendar uses it and changes the names of the listed months into Arabic names. For example, the month of *Sura* is taken from *Ashura*, *Sapar* from *Shafar*, *Mulud* from *Rabi'ul Awwal* in which the birthday of the Prophet is commemorated. One of the factors to establish this calendar is the difficulty often faced by Javanese Muslim community in determining religious

⁶⁸ Askuri Askuri dan Joel Corneal Kuipers, "The Politics of Arabic Naming And Islamization In Java: Processes of Hybridization and Purification," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 56, no. 1 (14 Juni 2018): 81–82, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2018.561.59-94>.

⁶⁹ Rickfles, *Mystic synthesis in Java*, 22–23.

⁷⁰ Sunyoto, *Atlas Wali Songo*, x.

⁷¹ Widjoatmodjo, "Islam in the Netherlands East Indies," 48.

⁷² Sunyoto, *Atlas Wali Songo*, 150–51.

commomeration days. Previously, they have to match the two calendars. In Rickfles's term, Sultan Agung is the pioneer of the *Anno Javanico* calendar.⁷³

Based on the above discussion, we can summarize that the focus cultural da'wah is the reception Nusantara' community toward Islam through cultural entry points. The previous discussion also noted that prior to the arrival of Islam, ancient cultures, Hinduism and Buddhism have formed Javanese society. In this instance, the condensation develops through the 'transformation' of religious terms into Islamic values. The condensation process has built a new perspective for the society that the previous symbols have incorporated the 'Islamic' values. From this perspective, it can be seen that the religious leaders (*wali-wali*) have implemented a long-term strategy by binding religious meanings and values with pre-existing symbols.

The result of the condensation between animism, Hinduism and Islam is the Abangan society or *Islam Kejawen* (Javanese Islam). Mulder argues the Javanese animism's view which emphasizes the harmony of living beings (*manunggal ing kawla gusti*) and the origin and final principle (*sangkan paraning dumadhi*), along with Hinduism and its hierarchical principle, combined with Islam values have formed a distinctive pattern of teachings and morals. These teachings are manifested in the practice of *slametan*, *wayang*, individual mysticism practices, and other social ethical rules such as *mikul dhuwur mendhem jero*, *rukun*, *tepa sli-ra*, and other Javanese terminologies.⁷⁴

The second condensation form of the Islamization strategy is through education. In this notion, pesantrens have played an important role in shaping the culture of *santri* groups since the 13th century, which were mostly situated along the North Coast. Unlike the previous ones, *santri* has a strong tendency towards religious piety, which is obtained from their orthodox educational base (unreflective faith) in pesantren.⁷⁵ One of the most common types of education in pesantren community is studying the yellow book (*kitab kuning*). Students (*santri*) insert Javanese words between the Arabic sentences written in the book according to the explanation of the teacher (kyai). In this process, *santri* learns Islamic values and Arabic language at the same time. This system has been nurtured and implemented in most of pesantren until today, especially in the traditional (*salaf*) ones.

⁷³ Ricklefs, "Islamising Java," 473–74.

⁷⁴ Bandingkan: Niels Mulder, "Abangan Javanese Religious Thought and Practice," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 139, no. 2 (1983): 260–67, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003444>; I Ketut Ardhana, "Syekh Siti Jenar and Danghyang Nirartha," dalam *Proceeding Book of International Seminar, Tolerance and Pluralism in Southeast Asia* (UHI Denpasar: Denpasar, 2018), 35.

⁷⁵ Andrew Beatty, "Adam and Eve and Vishnu: Syncretism in the Javanese Slametan," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2, no. 2 (1996): 273, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3034096>.

The yellow book (*kitab kuning*) teaching system has an inverse pattern compared to the previous model of condensation. If the first pattern is 'Islamization of Java', this pattern tends to be more as 'Javanization of Islam'. As it has been mentioned earlier, the Arabic terms and their concepts are translated into Javanese. This means that this process does not involve 'transferring meaning', but only translating Arabic into another language (which is Javanese). Thus, the use of language is nothing but textual and literal, nor meaning reconstruction. However, it is important to carefully consider the interchangeable concepts and meanings between the two languages. For example, the word "*nabi*", which means a noble person in Islam, is added with the word "*Kanjeng*" in Javanese and Sundanese society. However, this does mean that *Kanjeng* always means prophet. In contrast, the word *Péngeran* always means Allah in the Javanese context.

In Geertz's study in Modjokuto, the *santri* culture is described as *kolot* (old-fashioned) because of its strong commitment to the Shari'a.⁷⁶ Rickfles interprets this attitude is related to the orthopractic's perception of their religious practices. In this notion, as described by religious anthropologists, the two groups mentioned above are experiencing a cultural contestation as mapped out by the 'Geertzian' circles.⁷⁷ In his research, Rickfles revealed that this contestation only appeared in the 19th century. This fact is based on a diachronic study of the term Abangan through Dutch missionaries writings and the archives of Kudus' Regent.⁷⁸

The contestation was won by the *santri* group, while the Abangan were not considered as an official religion, rather an unofficial religion or a belief. Even in the KBBI, Abangan is defined as "Muslims who do not practice the teachings of Islam comprehensively".⁷⁹ According to Hefner, the main factor of the 'defeat' is the growth of religious schools that teach doctrinal Islam, especially Islamic boarding schools that are linked to the Middle East. Another cause is the influence of the PKI 'commotion' occurred toward the end of Sukarno's leadership. Abangan was considered to be close to the Communist Party. Thus, the *santri* groups who were members of NU (*nahdlatul Ulama*) considered them as infidels. On the other hand, this has caused the abangan groups to be reluctant to worship in mosques. Apart from the aforementioned matters, the most influential factor which remove Abangan from the religious nomenclature is,

⁷⁶ Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, 130.

⁷⁷ Sebutan yang digunakan oleh Beatty untuk menyebut antropolog yang mengikuti trikotomi *santri*, *abangan*, *priyayi* yang delalu diposisikan sebagai rival. Baca: Beatty, "Adam and Eve and Vishnu," 173.

⁷⁸ M.C. Rickfles, "The Birth of The Abangan," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia and Oceania* 162 (1 Desember 2008): 37, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003673>.

⁷⁹ Pusat Bahasa, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, 2.

according to Hefner's term, the 'standardization of religion' issued by the Minister of Religious Affairs in 1952. The bill made certain criteria for a belief and religious practices to be included as religion.⁸⁰ In this regard, the government has ended the Islamic status of Abangan group thoroughly.

Having mentioned the triumph of the santri groups on the cultural war against the Abangan, new challengers occurred in the socio-political, ideological, religious and cultural arenas in Nusantara. According to Fealy, the post-Suharto era is considered as the mushrooming period of radicalism in Indonesia, which is a threat to the nation. This assumption is based on the vision and mission of the radical movement groups that seek to establish the caliphate system and the supremacy of sharia law.⁸¹ As an effort to counter the radical movement, NU (nahdlatul ulama) as the organizational base of the Santri group, claims itself as a moderate Muslim by promoting the concept of "Islam Nusantara". The term moderate refers to the concurrent reception of religion and nationality. Islam incorporates morality and religious spirit (*akhlaq al-karimah*), while nationality encompasses diversity and humanity.⁸²

The above point of view highlights Santri as the promotor of religious and cultural harmony jargon, an idea that, at first glance, is the same as Abangan's. However, if we look closer, we will find two different elements. The culture referred to by Abangan is the one being formed during the Hindu-Buddhist period, while the second is the democratic and tolerant culture of Nusantara.

CONCLUSION

Based on the above reviews and discussion, it can be stated that Islam in the archipelago (Nusantara) is the result of local culture and religion condensation through a long-term interactions which lead to Islamization. The Islamization process ventured through three methods namely politics, culture, and education. The three methods have their own influence in the formation of Muslim-Nusantara community. Political Islamization was achieved by invasion through the hands of the Muslim kings of the Archipelago. This period started from Samudera-Pasai to the Sultanate of Mataram. The education method was carried out through Islamic educational institutions that have been started during the time of Sunan Ampel who founded the pesantren in the 14th century. This method had gained momentum through its broad and strong network with the Middle East which in turn produced Kyai, who are essential to the formation of the

⁸⁰ Robert W. Hefner, "Where Have All the Abangan Gone? Religionization and the Decline of Non-standard Islam in Contemporary Indonesia," dalam *The Politics of Religion in Indonesia* (Routledge, 2011), 80–83.

⁸¹ Greg Fealy, "Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia: The Faltering Revival?," *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2004, 104–8.

⁸² Evers, "Nusantara," 10.

santri community. The santri community is characterized as having a stronger religious tendency. The last method is by internalizing Islam in the animism and Hinduism culture that lives within Nusantara society. This method forms the Abangan society that runs Islam in a syncretic manner. Santri and Abangan are perceived as competitors, in which both groups are trying to place a heterodox position toward the subordinate.

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