

## JAVANESE ISLAM; A BLEND OF JAVANESE CULTURE AND ISLAMIC MYSTICISM VIEWED FROM POST-COLONIAL PERSPECTIVE

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### **Abstract**

*This study simultaneously examines and explains about Javanese Islam (Islam Nusantara), which represents the characteristic of several Moslem in the world. The term 'characteristic' refers to the combination of Javanese culture (Javanese indigenous belief, Hindu and Buddha) and the intrinsic dimensions of Islam itself. This combination is a correlation of Javanese mysticism and Islamic mysticism. Those two concepts of mysticism substantively contain the teaching of the unity of God (tauhid). It enables the acculturation of Islam and Javanese culture. This study will use the reconstruction of the thought of Sufi teachers in Majelis Shalawat Muhammad in Surabaya and Bojonegoro as the research basis since Sufi teachers are considered as the prevalent subaltern in the post-colonial study. Therefore, this study is expected to be able to thoroughly explain how the subjects of Islamic mysticism can understand the dialectics of Islamic mysticism and Javanese mysticism itself. In sum, the combination of those two mysticism is considered to eventually emerge 'Islam Nusantara' as a special characteristic of Indonesia.*

*Makalah ini membahas dan menunjukkan tentang Islam Jawa (Islam Nusantara) yang merupakan ciri khas beberapa Muslim di dunia. Karakteristik yang dimaksud adalah kombinasi budaya Jawa (agama asli Jawa, Hindu dan Budha) dengan dimensi intrinsik Islam itu sendiri. Kombinasi ini terjadi karena keterkaitan atau pertalian antara dua mistisisme, yaitu mistisisme Jawa dan mistisisme Islam. Kedua konsep mistisisme tersebut sebenarnya mengandung*

ajaran keesaan Tuhan (*tauhid*). Hal inilah yang memungkinkan terjadinya akulturasi antara budaya Jawa dan Islam. Kajian ini menggunakan rekonstruksi pemikiran para guru sufi di Majelis Shalawat Muhammad di Surabaya dan Bojonegoro sebagai basis penelitian. Para guru sufi tersebut dianggap sebagai golongan tertentu (*subaltern*) yang umum dibahas dalam kajian pasca-kolonial. Oleh karena itu, kajian ini diharapkan mampu menjelaskan secara menyeluruh tentang bagaimana para pelaku mistisisme Islam dapat memahami dialektika antara mistisisme Islam dan budaya asli Jawa (*mistisisme Jawa*) itu sendiri. Singkatnya, pertemuan antara kedua mistisisme inilah yang pada akhirnya dianggap melahirkan Islam Jawa atau 'Islam Nusantara' yang kemudian menjadi ciri khas Indonesia.

**Keywords:** *Islamic mysticism; Javanese mysticism; Subaltern.*

## Introduction

AH. Johns is an Australian anthropologist who breaks the deadlock and also puts forward a new theory that Sufis play a vital role in the process of spreading Islam in *Nusantara*, compared to other Muslim groups (John, 1993). This theory breaks the previous theory, which believes that merchants through the trade route are more meritorious in spreading Islam in *Nusantara* (Azra, 2007). The first view at the same time also weakens the theory which states that the spread of Islam in *Nusantara* is because of the political power of the Islamic kingdom on the coastal area of Sumatra (Malacca, Samudera Pasai, etc.), Java (Demak, Pajang, Mataram), and other Islamic kingdoms in *Nusantara* (Muqoyyidin, 2012).

Johns' view is strengthened by tracing the role of Sufis in the spread of Islam in *Nusantara*. Even though the massive spread was in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but it can be traced even since the 7<sup>th</sup> century. A Chinese source reports that towards the end of the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, an Arab merchant became the leader of an Arab Muslim settlement on the coastal area of Sumatra. Some of these Arabs are reported to have married local women, which then became the founder of a Muslim community consisting of Arabic immigrant and residents (Azra, 2007). The discovery of Fatimah's tomb, in Laren, Gresik, listed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, reinforces the fact that Islam had arrived in Java in that century (Amin, 2009).

Johns stated that "Sufi theory" would be a reliable "theoretical basis" in explaining acculturation of Islam to local culture in an academic framework. The following explanation will refer to the internal treasures perspective as

part of the local traditions and culture owner. At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Sufi teachers, represented by *Walisanga*, focused more on “contents” than “containers” in Islamizing the indigenous population. According to Johns and based on the results of tracking against local sources (Malay-Indonesian), the teachings of *wihdad al-Wujud* Ibn al-Arabi have developed since the 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries on the coastal area of Sumatra (Johns, 1993). This doctrine, in particular, became the “spirit” of the Sufis in the subsequent spread of Islam in Java because it focused more on the substance of Islam. In Islamic terms, this substance is interpreted as Sufism or mysticism. This phenomenon is usually characterized by strong charismatic authority and magical power. Sufis could marry the daughters of local nobles. Through this cross marriage, the Sufis were finally able to Islamize the royal rulers in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Aziz, 2013).

Based on the Javanese context, the fall of Majapahit was accompanied by the establishment of the Demak Bintoro Kingdom, which marked the solidity of Islam in political power. Although Islam has formally symbolic power, it does not necessarily destroy local traditions and culture. In *Babat Tanah Jawa*, it is clearly explained that the process of cultural acculturation is continued from the time of Demak Islamic Kingdom to Pajang, even Mataram, and it lasted for centuries (Sumarsono, 2014).

Javanese Islamization, which emphasizes on values (moral ethics/*akhlaq al-Karimah*) taught by Sufis, is still implementing traditional and cultural instruments without refusing them at all. It is the “intersection” or the “meeting point” between Islamic mysticism and Javanese culture. Unsurprisingly, the long process of social transformation of Javanese society with the new system of values based on Islamic monotheistic doctrine (mysticism) then becomes a Javanese social institution and system model. This social transformation process is almost total, yet not perfect (Hefner, 1985). The encounter between Javanese spirituality and Islamic spirituality might also be incompatible with the social harmony witnessed for centuries, especially in Java and generally in Indonesia.

Then, it was only marked by the birth of the modernist movement in Islam in Indonesia, which traces began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was marked by Paderi movement, in West Sumatra, which was lead by Imam Bonjol. It is considered as an “icon” triggering the confrontation of Islam with the customs and culture in *Nusantara*, including Javanese culture (A'la, 2008). Paderi war was initially triggered by a conflict between traditional groups with modernists (reformers); one of the figures is Imam Bonjol. The implications of

the modernist movement of Paderi, brought significant influence on Java until Indonesian independence and its red thread continued, even strengthened until the current post-reform era.

It is not easy to portray and see the relationship between Islam and Javanese culture. It can be seen in the studies using the colonial approach. The early Indonesian generations could not fully portray this relationship between Islam and Javanese culture. Here is the important reason for quoting Johns' thoughts above. For example, Dutch scholars, in general, as mentioned earlier, argues that the spread of Islam in *Nusantara* occurred through the merchant's role, exactly through trade channels (Aziz, 2013). They were trapped in viewing their relationships in black and white.

On the other hand, this result in fatally a biased conclusion, that Indonesian Islam (read: Javanese) is nothing but syncretic, cliched, and nominal. This Islamic portrait was represented by Western anthropologists such as Geertz (1983), Peacock (1978), Mulder (1998), and others. Only the next Indonesianists generation revises their views by thinking out a new idea which states that Javanese Islam, although mixed with local culture, does not eliminate the essential dimensions of *tauhid* itself. The revisions to the first view above are represented by anthropologists such as Hefner (1999), and Woodward (1999).

This study not only reinforces the opinions of Johns, Hefner, Woodward, as well as like-minded scholars, but also lays Islamic mysticism and Javanese culture as the subaltern treasures. It should not (only) be read through the lens of the "others" because the Javanese cultural treasures having rich of texts, language, literature, even customs and traditions maintained today can be reconstructed by "us" and not by "other" (Morton, 2008). This term of the subaltern is prevalent in post-colonial studies. In other words, the theoretical framework used in this study is post-colonial studies proposed by Gayatri Spivak.

This paper is based on a study of the relations between Islam and Javanese culture easily witnessed until now. It is also supported by the perspective of the subjects of Islamic mysticism who have degrees (*maqom*), *makrifat* (read: *waliyullah*) especially in (East) Java. Beyond the expectations of the wider public, there are still found nodes of Sufis in East Java who understand the details of the teachings of *Wihdat al-Wujud* (*manunggaling kawulo gusti*) as a perspective in understanding the relation between Islam and Javanese culture. The nodes of mysticism mentioned in this paper are referred to Sufi teachers in *Majelis Shalawat Muhammad* located in Surabaya and Bojonegoro. Those Sufi

teachers in *Majelis Shalawat Muhammad* are 'Gus' Qomar and 'Gus' Mukmin (pseudonymous) who are known as *murshid*. Finally, this paper is aimed at explicating western narratives as well as revealing the bias against the nature of colonialism narrative.

### **Institutionalization of Islam in Javanese Culture**

Some Javanese Islam studies are failed to understand the relationship between Islam and Javanese culture. Based on post-colonial theory, it is not surprising if there is the different opinion among western scholars taking the lead to two schools of thought like the earlier description. One of them mentions that Javanese Islam is incompatible with Islam since it is basically from the Middle East. Meanwhile, the other argues that Javanese Islam refers to syncretic Islam. The second opinion revises the previous view and believes that Javanese Islam keeps following the points of Islamic teachings from its primary source. Moreover, Javanese Islam, with its eclectic character, is adapted to Javanese tradition and culture.

In Woodward's view, the failure to understand Javanese Islam is more due to the lack of written information about the treasures of Javanese Islam. According to Woodward, it is difficult to trace the primary source of the treasure of Javanese Islam before the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the sources before the 16<sup>th</sup> century are oral stories or myth. This source is relatively abundant at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and so on. Colonialists have reconstructed Javanese Islam history from various perspectives; the history of thought, social, economy, and political power.

Woodward (1999) acknowledges that Javanese Islam characteristic cannot be separated from the dimension of spirituality, namely mysticism. Therefore, the absolute precondition in exploring the treasures of Javanese Islam must be mastering the Sufism discipline. It can be ascertained that reviewing Javanese Islam without a set of Sufism or mysticism perspectives will be trapped into a false perception of Islam itself because the fundamentals of Java as a cultural entity are constructed based on a belief system whose spirit is mysticism such as Javanese indigenous belief, Hindu, and Buddhist mysticism. Then, Islam enters Java. Inevitably, this study has to employ a mysticism approach as well. It will be explained below, how Islamic mysticism is adapted to Javanese culture so that it forms Javanese Islam. Explaining Javanese Islam based on mysticism is done through two forms of mysticism synthesis, namely (1) the

process of institutionalizing mysticism in Javanese culture; and (2) Essence of the teachings of mysticism in Islam and Java itself.

The Islamization of Java employing an approach to mysticism goes far into Javanese tradition and culture. Academically, this Islamization process can be traced from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Robson, 1981). Islamic institutionalization based on Sufism values is not only through popular culture. Moreover, Woodward, through his in-depth research, showed that Islamic mysticism was able to Islamize the Mataram Kingdom with a locus in Yogyakarta which became the center of Islamic spirituality (Woodward, 1999). Robson noted that since the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the relationship between Islam and Nusantara has been well established. The relations between them can be explained through two lines; First, the Islamization brought by Arab and Bengali traders, (under the Sultanate of Delhi, India), entered the coastal community. This Islamization process was carried out by traders who eventually settled in the coastal region of *Nusantara*. Secondly, after Islamization in the grass-roots community, the next process was the entry of Islam into the kingdom's centers and even the establishment of the Islamic empire. Robson noted that the Malacca kingdom existed in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. From this Malacca kingdom, the interaction with Java began to establish communication channels, especially in the era of the Majapahit kingdom (Robson, 1981).

In pejorative language, Geertz illustrates that Javanese Islam is Islam that "influences civilization." He compares it to Moroccan-style Islam, which he calls "Islam that builds civilization" (Sumbulah, 2012). The consequence of "influencing civilization" is that the color of Javanese Islam seems complex, even far from Islam. Javanese Islam, for Geertz, mixed with Javanese traditions and culture originating from the Hindu-Buddhist religion. At this point, Geertz failed to ascertain Javanese Islam.

Geertz's findings are under the fact, that, Javanese Islam, especially those represented by *Abangans*, mixes with Javanese customs, traditions, and local culture. This local culture is indeed a legacy from pre-Islamic religion, such as Javanese indigenous belief, Hindu and Buddhist that forms a system of rituals or religious rites. The spectrum of Javanese culture as a religious rite is quite extensive and varied. These various rites can still be witnessed to the contemporary Indonesian context; starting from the rite of the cycle of birth, death, marriage, circumcision, and even moving house (Woodward, 1999). The form of the rites mentioned is called *slametan* or *kenduren*. For

example, in Javanese Islamic traditions related to the death rite, it is known as a *slametan* of 7<sup>th</sup> days, 40<sup>th</sup> days, 100<sup>th</sup> days, up to 1000<sup>th</sup> days of someone's death. In the relationship between humans and nature (micro and macro cosmos), in Javanese culture, many rites are still preserved today. These include the ceremony of *larung saji* (Sari, 2015), *nyadran* (earth charity) (Yusuf, 2016), *bari'an* (Mukaromah, 2013), and many more. Outside the rite above, there are still other cultures such as *tapa* and the *wayang* tradition. Both are believed to be part of Hindu culture.

Geertz and the like-minded western scholar saw Javanese Islam above as mere social facts. They only highlight the inner dimensions (esoteric) such as the various rites that are "property" of the cultural diversity of Hinduism and Buddhism. More than that, perhaps, in the subconscious, the stigma of "cultural struggle" has become a paradigm or mindset in seeing the tradition of Javanese Islamic diversity intended. Therefore, Geertz ignored the inner dimension (esoteric), the typical mysticism or Islamic Sufism in various Javanese traditions intended.

Islamic dialectics and Javanese culture create receptive and adaptive Sufi attitudes towards Javanese culture. More than that, for Sufis, respecting local culture is an obligation. However, a strong holding to *tauhid* substance is a must. It is the meeting point between "container" and "content." The container is a variety of social habits that has been going on for generations. In Arabic terms, this container is known as *al-Urf* (habit). *Al-Urf* is gradually becoming a tradition and culture, while the contents are the main teachings of Islamic monotheism practiced by the Prophet Muhammad known as Sufism or mysticism (Islam). Both of them cannot be separated from one another. For the Sufis, maintaining and preserving the container is the same as respecting pre-Islamic Javanese *wali*. The Islamic Sufis are not filled with Javanese mysticism in using the container, but purely the doctrine and teachings of Islamic mysticism originating from the Qur'an and Hadith.

Therefore, throughout history, all Javanese Islamic *wali* in addition to maintaining Javanese traditions and culture, they comprehensively learn the details of Javanese culture. It is like, Javanese culture is clothes. Meanwhile, the body is Sufism. In other words, culture is a body, and the spirit is Sufism. Both of them cannot be separated from each other. Both the *murshid tarekat* and the *murshid shalawat* with Javanese backgrounds as well as Arab descendants found today; they mastered the details of the treasures of Javanese culture. In this case, one of the Sufi teachers, 'Gus' Mukmin (a pseudonym), a *murshid*

from one of the *Majelis Shalawat*, in Bojonegoro, emphasizes that *wali* might not abandon tradition, but should enter through tradition.

“Originally, the Sufis such as *Sunan Ampel*, *Walisanga*, they were acknowledged because of their knowledge. Islamizing itself is aiming at eliminating the language of Hindu since the mission brought is about Islam. But what was explored further from the *wali* was their knowledge since talking about science is holy (*fitroh*). The loss of Hinduism and Buddhism is because they have been conquered by the symbolic language of Islam. Considering the knowledge, Damarwulan is also considered as *wali* (Javanese *wali*), before the emergence of Islamic *wali*” (Mukmin, interview. October 13, 2019).

Mystically, every Javanese Sufi teacher will undergo the *salik* phase and *riyadlah* under the guidance of Sufi teachers as well. One of the forms is doing *tapa*. The practice of *tapa* is not purely derived from the Hindu-Buddhist tradition but also from Islam, as it was practiced by the Messenger of Allah, Muhammad SAW. He did *tapa* in *Hira* cave. In other words, *tapa* can be universally interpreted as a mystical way. In addition to *tapa*, there is also a form of activities in Islamic Sufi circles known as pilgrimage (visiting) to the site of *the wali*. In the concept of micro and macro-cosmos, both *tapa* and pilgrimage enable a Sufi person to meet *wali*, both the Javanese *wali* from the pre-Islamic and Islamic era. It is the logic explaining that every Javanese Islamic *wali* is unable to leave Javanese culture. They must also master the details of Javanese tradition and culture. From the various narratives of Javanese Islamic mysticism, it can be stated that what happened was Javanisation of Islam, not Islamization of Java.

Regarding this thesis, ‘Gus’ Mukmin (a pseudonym) who represents the narrative of Javanese Islamic mysticism affirms:

“No one can Islamize Java because Java has existed longer than the existing religion. Sufis opened the way. Without *wali* or Sufis, do not expect Islam from the Middle East might be able to enter Java because Java is older than Islam. It’s on the contrary. The truth is that Middle East Islam can be accepted by Java, not Javanese culture accepted by Islam” (Mukmin, interview, October 13, 2018).

The Bintoro Demak Kingdom, as the first Islamic kingdom in Java, taught us how Islam maintained Javanese traditions and culture without leaving it at all. It was noted that in 1476 AD, Demak Kingdom issued a policy in Islamic *da’wah* known as *bayangkare islah* (vanguard of goodness). The essence of this policy is that education and Islamic teachings must compound with the established Javanese culture. With notes, it does not conflict with the essence of Islamic teachings. The same policy also established in the era of the



Mataram kingdom. In the era of Sultan Agung, as the third king of Mataram, a culture-based Islamic *da'wah* policy is also issued, in which Javanese (Hindu-Buddhist) culture must be acculturated to Islamic teachings (Sunanto, 2010). One of the heritage of Demak Bintoro is the legacy of the Demak Mosque as the first and oldest mosque in Java.

In contrast to other mosques in Nusantara, the architecture of the *Masjid Agung Demak* (Demak Great Mosque) and the relics of the mosques of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom in Yogyakarta have a typical architecture in the form of a stacked roof like temples in the South Asian Hindu region. This architectural style might not be found in other Islamic regions (Sunanto, 2010). The form of Islamic *da'wah* pioneered by *wali* in Demak and Mataram eras are easily accepted by Javanese people without having to be uprooted from the basis of the old culture which has been deeply entrenched.

Another cultural media as a medium of Islamic propaganda in *Walisanga* era is a puppet. Puppet art which contains the Mahabharata epoch, besides being a relic of Javanese Hindu culture, obviously this art is exported from Indian Hindu culture. *Sunan Kalijaga*, among other *Walisanga*, is known as *Sunan* who not only mastered this art but also composed the story while integrating the elements and teachings of Islam. The play (story) of *kalimasada*, by *Sunan Kalijaga*, consists of *sahadat* sentences. Likewise, the *Pandawalima* story is also composed of Islamic teachings (Aziz, 2013). In this case, 'Gus' Qomar said:

“Try to examine deeply all Sufi teachers and *tarekat* in Java. Do not only learn about puppets but master the puppetry itself. Don't ask why you need to learn it. In the puppet, there are high-class teachings of monotheism. Puppet is a Javanese culture that inevitably must be mastered by Sufi teachers. Therefore, the Javanese *waliyullah* understood puppet” (Qomar, interview, July 7, 2015).

In short, the portraits and views of Javanese Islam for centuries, starting from the *Walisanga* era to the post-Indonesian era, would be nearly changed. Anyone who catches a glimpse of the religious practices of Muslims in Java might assume that Javanese Islam seems to be syncretic, mixed with the teachings of Hindu-Buddhist too. This reality is reflected in the various maintaining cultures and Hindu-Buddhist heritage rites. This phenomenon, as partially described earlier, is easily found, not only in annual cycles such as the tradition of *nyadran* (cleaning the village), *haul*, *slametan*, and so forth. This phenomenon is easily found in monthly, weekly, and even daily cycles. This view is the characteristic of Javanese Islam, which might not be found in other Islamic traditions in any part of the world. The culture institutionalization was conducted by the Javanese *wali* by giving the spirit of Islamic monotheism

in each tradition and culture intended. The deep meaning of this mysticism dimension is only able to be digested by the Javanese Muslim community itself and not others, including researchers.

### **Javanese Cultural Encountered Islamic Mysticism**

In the view of most orientalists, Javanese Islam is a religious tradition that mixes with Javanese (Hindu-Buddhist) culture. Therefore, Javanese Islam in Geertz's view is regarded as syncretic Islam, namely the mixing of Islamic teachings with Javanese customs and traditions. On the contrary, Hefner and Woodward argue that Javanese Islam mixes with Javanese culture only at the surface level. The essence of Islamic dogma remains genuine, or original, namely Islamic monotheism. This explanation can only be approached by using the Islamic mysticism approach (read: Sufism).

In the essential meaning, the term mysticism is not only Islamic property. Mysticism, in general meaning, refers to the traditions of major religions without exception, including Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, and other divine religions ("heaven"). In Islam, the spreaders of mysticism are called Sufis. Referring to Islamic mysticism from its source in the Middle East (read: Makkah and Madinah), it is not independent teaching. At least, the elements and rites of mysticism before Islam emerge to be reformulated and continued by Islamic Sufis. The elements of mysticism, Neoplatonism, Persia, Hinduism, Buddhism, are known to be present and influence the development of mystical theories and rituals of many Islamic Sufi orders (Goldziher, 1981). This relationships pattern does not only occur in the Middle East, but also evenly distributed, both in South Asia and Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. Generally, according to Schimmel, the location of encounter or acceptance is in the teaching or theory of the entity of being (*wihdat al-Wujud*). This theory is found in Vedanta philosophy (Schimmel, 1975).

The encounter between Islam and Java is the meeting point in mysticism because mysticism itself is universal. Long before Islam came to Java, mysticism existed and flourished among the Javanese people. The Javanese people have taught the concept of microcosm and macrocosm for a long time. This micro and macro conception of cosmos in Islamic mysticism are known in the concept of unitary existence (*wihdat al-Wujud*).

The relationship of Islamic (mysticism) and Java was recognized by one of the Sufi teachers who mastered well about Islamic mysticism such as 'Gus' Mukmin by borrowing a subaltern perspective, especially the concept of *wihdat*

*al-Wujud*. According to 'Gus' Mukmin, Islam would not be accepted by Java if it was unable to convince Javanese mystical figures. Javanese society already has an established religious system (mysticism). "The truth is that Islam which is accepted by Java, not Islam which accepts Java" (Mukmin, interview, October 10, 2018). In Javanese mysticism, it has known the doctrine of cosmological unity such as Hindu-Buddhist, and indigenous Javanese mysticism, as well as the teachings of the micro and macro cosmos (Mukmin, interview, October 13, 2018). Terms such as *Sang Yang Widi*, *Sang Yang Murbing Dumadi*, *Dulur Papat Limo Pancer*, and *Manunggaling Kawulo Gusti*, show that Javanese society has a belief system. This belief system, in the terminology of mysticism, is called Javanese mysticism. This doctrine, according to 'Gus' Mukmin is substantially the same as the doctrine of *wihdat al-Wujud* in Islamic mysticism.

Therefore, for Sufi teachers who are educated and grew up in the Islamic Javanese tradition, they are not only respecting Javanese tradition and culture. Moreover, they also respect the Javanese ancestors who were symbolized through the great figures in Javanese history. 'Gus' Qomar, goes on a pilgrimage to the Troloyo, Trowulan, Mojokerto tomb complex. In this tomb complex, besides the tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro, there is also the tomb of another Islamic *wali*. Not far from the complex, there is a tomb complex of the Majapahit kings. Such as Damarwulan tomb. 'Gus' Qomar visited both the tomb of Islamic *wali* and Damarwulan. In line with 'Gus' Mukmin, 'Gus' Qomar assumes that the figure of Damarwulan in a perspective of mysticism is considered as a figure with a very high degree of spirituality (read: dignity) (Qomar, interview, June 21, 2015).

The doctrine of *Dulur Papat Limo Pancer* teaches about the existence of God in human beings' life. This Javanese mysticism doctrine is like *Manunggale Kawulo Gusti*. In the Islamic mysticism brought by *Walisanga*, especially Sheikh Siti Jenar, Hamzah Fansuri, Mutamakkin, and so on, who still taught the essence of this mysticism. The doctrine of *al-Wujud* does not stop until Mutamakkin. Until now, the doctrine of real *al-Wujud* is still alive. The mysticism of Javanese Islam still survives today. In the view of *manunggale kawulo Gusti* or *wihdat al-wujud*, humans are nothing but micro-cosmos (small nature) whereas the great nature is the macro cosmos. Both micro and macro cosmos become one unit, cannot be separated from one another.

The Islamic Javanese mysticism shows that spreading across various tripe teaches a lot about the spiritual-mystical harmony of Islam and Java. Therefore, the post-colonial narrative, at least represented by a Sufi like 'Gus' Mukmin,

illustrates that mysticism teaches a single entity (*wihdat al-Wujud*) across the boundaries of space and time. Therefore, in the mysticism perspective, the designation of a *wali* is not only in the Islamic Sufi order. As confirmed by ‘Gus’ Qomar and ‘Gus’ Mukmin in the previous section, figures such as Damarwulan, in his era, has high spirituality. Referring to this explanation, great figures such as Joyoboyo, in the mysticism perspective, are part of the Javanese *wali* before Islam comes. So does the great figures, with high spirituality in Javanese history, in the Javanese mysticism perspective. They are also admitted as *wali*. In addition to Damarwulan and Joyoboyo, both ‘Gus’ Mukmin and ‘Gus’ Qomar said that Angling Darmo and Brawijaya also had very high spirituality (Qomar, interview, July 27, 2015).

Before ‘Gus’ Mukmin spreads the teachings of Shalawat Muhammad from his teacher in Bojonegoro, he must ask for permission which in Javanese terms is known as “*Pamit*” (permission) to the “ruler” of Bojonegoro area. The ruler intended is Prabu Angling Darmo. In the spiritual dimension, according to ‘Gus’ Mukmin, figures like Angling Darmo are never passed away (spiritually). Therefore, according to ‘Gus’ Mukmin, when he entered the Bojonegoro region, he met directly with Prabu Angling Darmo.

“I still remember very well. When I sat cross-legged like this (while demonstrating ‘Gus’ Mukmin’s seat), Prabu Angling Darmo arrived. He is *sakti mandraguna* (indeed a powerful). When he wants to sit down, this earth feels trembling because of its spiritual strength. Angling Darmo advised, you may teach Islam here, but the requirement is that you must not boast to others” (Mukmin, interview, September 12, 2018).

‘Gus’ Qomar, as a teacher of ‘Gus’ Mukmin, quoted his teachers, in the tradition of Sufism education, it is stated; “*Tinggalen agomo mu, golek’ono pengeran mu* (Leave your religion, look for your God)” (Qomar, interview, July 26, 2015). This statement confirms that the spirit of Islamic Sufism itself is actually seeking and finally meeting God. In the context of Islam, this searching process is, of course, through a meeting with the prophet, *Muhammad SAW*. In the concept of Islamic Sufism, the achievement of this Sufi degree is called *wusul*, which is indicated by meeting the Messenger of Allah and Allah.

“We are talking about Sufism; we are talking about Java. We are talking about Hindu-Buddhism too. It is more popular since *Walisanga* took an action of *kewalian* (the authority) of the non-Muslim religions. Islamic Sufism enters through Javanese customs, traditions, and culture. Therefore, Sufis, including ‘Gus’ Dur, cannot abandon the Javanese tradition,” said Mukmin (Mukmin, interview, October 13, 2018).

It is still according to 'Gus' Mukmin, the dialectics between Islamic and Javanese mysticism does not occur linearly or smoothly. The process of Javanese Islamization occurred through a thesis, anti-thesis, and synthesis. In other words, there was a mystical contestation between Javanese mystics and Islamic mystics. This contestation refers to the "science" approach. The meaning of Science here is a neutral arena that is also part of mysticism. In other words, it means the comprehension of monotheism in Islamic teaching. According to 'Gus' Mukmin, one of the manifestations of this contestation as justified by Woodward is in the form of war or "*adu kasekten*" (supernatural fighting) (Woodward, 1999). Besides, it can be in the form of literature. Javanese literature has a lot to say about *kidung/tembang* (song) or poems written by the Javanese *wali*. One example of the supernatural fighting above can be symbolized through "war" between Kalijaga (before converting to Islam) and *Sunan Bonang*. After Kalijaga was defeated by *Sunan Bonang*, finally, Kalijaga was willing to obey and become his student.

This critical study of subaltern treasures is aimed at reconstructing real social facts based on our view. Its importance is to show historical reality as the foundation of Indonesia nowadays and in the future. At least, groups that are considered marginal can be self-narrating. Conversely, the character built by the narrative of colonialism is always biased. Both the views of the Geertz and Hefner schools are allegedly not sterile from the European colonialism agenda.

Since a long time ago, colonialism studies have fully understood that Islamic culture comes from mysticism. In the era of Muhammad in Mecca and Medina, the creation of harmony between Islam and Arab culture was due to the approach of mysticism. The birth of the Wahhabism movement in Saudi Arabia, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, can be read as the beginning of the birth of the colonial narrative. It starts from the Wahhabism movement, which has changed the patterns of relations between Islam and local culture in various parts of the Muslim world. There is not any exception in Indonesia, especially in Java. Wahhabism movement carries a central theme that mysticism is a "culprit" for the decline of Islam. Therefore, the war on the doctrine of mysticism and the institutionalization of its teachings became the main agenda.

Both the narrative constructed by Geertz and Hefner might be suspected to be inseparable from the narrative of western colonialism. The inverse thesis of Geertz's findings is that the syncretic nature of Javanese Islam requires purification. The purification movement, the common thread met Islamic modernism. The source of reference is none other than the Wahhabism

movement or the modernism movement that comes from Muhammad Abduh, al-Afghani, and so on. Both Wahhabism and Modernism movements are like a coin, two faces that are different but the same; put mysticism as the problem source. The bias of the Geertz's work (1983) seen from the mapping of 3 (three) variants of Javanese Islam; *Santri*, *Priyayi*, and *Abangan*. Regardless of intentional elements or not, Geertz placed the *santri* variants only represented by urban Muslims or modernists. Outside of urban Muslims, the traditionalist Muslim entity which has a greater quantity is placed as *abangan* Muslim. The main basis of the birth of this generalization is because the Islamic traditionalists use customs and traditions instruments and Javanese culture in performing religious obligation (religion).

On the contrary, Hefner unexpectedly has a paradoxical view which is different from Geertz. According to him, although it seemed to mix tradition and Islam Javanese Muslims are still genuinely carrying out Islamic monotheism such as the practice of Islam in the style of Muhammadiyah in Mecca and Medina. In the context of the colonialism studies interests, both the views of Geertz and Hefner were different but met on the same interests, which is to separate Islam from Javanese culture. The meeting point is needed to move. It might be in the form of Islamic purification from Javanese traditions and culture which was full of pagan, as well as Hindu-Buddhist elements and narratives. Is this view legitimate for the subaltern who speaks? (Loomba, 2003). The rise of Islamism, fundamentalism, and Islamic radicalism in Indonesia can be analyzed using this perspective. This theory is not too difficult to prove.

Finally, the Javanese Islamic style, model, and substance can only be explained or narrated by the entities of the subaltern themselves, namely Sufi teachers in Java and *Nusantara*. At least, the voice of the subaltern represented by Sufi teachers in *Majelis Shalawat* Muhammad on the above description might become a narrative strengthening the previous narratives about Javanese Islam (*Islam Nusantara*) which have become unchanging Islamic identities in Indonesia for centuries. In conclusion, the harmonization between Javanese culture (Javanese mysticism) and the teachings of Islam (Islamic mysticism) in Indonesia is not conducted by doing physical confrontation such as the process of Islamization in Europe and other regions in the world. It is solely due to the meeting of teaching substance which both teaches monotheism, especially through mysticism.

## Conclusion

Javanese Islam is a local treasure owned by Indonesian Muslims, and it is not found in any other parts of the world. Despite the characteristic and the pattern of Javanese Islam which at a glance illustrates the practice of syncretic Islam, in fact, the pure/genuine Islam still exists, namely Islam which is based on the teachings of the prophet Muhammad SAW. At least, the subaltern, namely the Javanese Muslim community, can feel the essence of Islamic teachings. It is not only perceived by the Javanese Muslim community called “*abangan*” Muslims, which believe in the authenticity of Javanese Islam (in Geertz’s terminology). A similar belief is also affirmed by a limited layer, namely, special people with the status (degree) of *wali* that inherits the teachings or doctrines of *wihdat al-Wujud* (*manunggaling kawula-Gusti*) represented by figures such as ‘Gus’ Mukmin, ‘Gus’ Qomar, and ‘Gus’ Syamsir (pseudonym). Therefore, the dialectics between Javanese mysticism and Islamic mysticism can be summarized as follows:

1. The characteristic of Javanese Islam is especially shown through the dominance of teachings emphasizing an esoteric dimension called mysticism or Sufism. Concepts such as *manunggaling kawula-Gusti*, *dulur papat pancer lima*, *Sang Yang Wiji*, *Sang Yang Murbeng Dumadi*, and so on, convincingly show that Javanese society also has an established mysticism system. Even figures such as Damarwulan, Joyoboyo, Angling Darmo, and many others are also considered as *wali*, namely Javanese *wali*.
2. The intersection between Islamic mysticism and Javanese mysticism places tradition and culture as a neutral “container”. The containers mentioned before, in the tangible form, are the traditions and cultures inherited from Hindu-Buddhist relics, which are interpreted as means or tools for preaching. The difference is only “content,” which labeled with language, namely the language of Islam. At this level, *Walisanga* do contestation and confrontation with the Javanese *Wali* (Hindu-Buddhist) with the purpose of representing politics and Islamic mysticism.
3. Javanese Islam with the mysticism treasure must be maintained by the parties, especially the government as the ruler. Javanese Islam is ‘*Islam Nusantara*’. It is well-combined with Javanese mysticism and will automatically appreciate the traditional and cultural treasures of Java and *Nusantara*. In sum, the correlation is represented in the nation’s slogan; *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which means unity in diversity. This slogan greatly represents the Islamic perspective in the doctrine of *wihdat al-Wujud*; or unity.

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