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## A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF SUFISM NETWORKING IN ASIA: FROM INDIA TO INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO

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### ABSTRACT

This article discusses the development dynamics of the Sufism network in Asia, especially from India to Indonesia from the 15th until the 17th century. Historically, the process of Islam dissemination in Indonesia conducted by traders has started since the *Sriwijaya* Kingdom era in the 7th century. The development of Islam grew rapidly during the era of *Samudera Pasai* and Aceh Kingdoms. Islam was not only introduced by traders but also by Muslim scholars who came from various countries with the mission to preach and spread Islamic teaching. Most of those Muslim missionaries have a Sufism network originating from India. One of Islam reformer Sufi figures in Indonesia who came from India is Nuruddin Al-Raniri. Other Sufi figures who also influenced the Sufism tradition in Indonesia were Abdurrauf Singkel, Syamsuddin who came from Pasai, and Hamzah al-Fansuri. In India, Sufism has been developing since the 12th century. The Sufism tradition brought by them originally came from the thought of Muiniddin Chisti, Bahauddin Zakaria, Qutbuddin, Nizamuddin Aulia, and Fariduddin. Most of them came from the Chistiyya order group. Then, Sufism in India transformed with mystical Hinduism traditional values into "Sikhism". In the 14th to 16th

century, Sufism grew rapidly in Java regions which still had a network with Sumatera and India. Islam disseminators such as “*Wali Songo*” (nine clerics) in Java were considered to be the representation of “*insan kamil*” or the perfect and sacred humans who became the role models of society. Their missionary activities were carried out through arts such as leather puppet shadow play whose stories were adopted from India.

### INTRODUCTION

Historically, the process of arrival of Islam in Indonesia is undeniably carried by many traders from various regions of the world, especially India, Arabia, and China. The trading tradition of Muslim people has been rooted since the early phase of Medina period (622-632). In the era of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), Islam was always in contact with the trading environment. The initial contact between Muslim traders and the inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago was predicted to have existed since the Sriwijaya Kingdom era which then developed rapidly in the Samudera Pasai Kingdom era in 1282 (Ricklefs, MC, 2001:3-4 ). Although, in the seventh century, Islam was considered to have entered Indonesia through traders from various countries, the process of Islamization which developed afterward experienced what was known as “regionalization.” At the further stage, Islam experienced what was called *pribumisasi* ( *to be an indigenous process*) One of the most powerful influencing factors in the process of Islam dissemination in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, is that Islam was introduced by Muslim scholars who were skilled in preaching (Al Qurtuby, 2013: 399-442). These Muslim scholars were able to interpret the values of Islamic teachings flexible and adaptive manner into the minds of the indigenous people. Therefore, the process of Islamization easily resulted in cultural and religious conversion.

In the next phase, Islam which has developed in Indonesia experienced what was called *santrinisasi* (to be an Islamic student onboarding class) (Azra, 2013: 169-177). Then, the process of *santrinisasi* developed fast in the 11th to 12th century brought by orthodox religion teachers whose majority adopted Sufism. In addition to having strong religious knowledge, they have their charisma in implementing the methods and practices of missionary activities starting from Sumatera and to Java (Arip, Et, all, 2012: 86-94). However, the values of Sufism are the development of the basic principles of sharia (Howell, 2001). In short, Sufism is not a new religion but a method for the students to fulfill their spiritual journey to Allah (*wushul*) with the guidance of a teacher or “*murshid*”. The whole teaching of Sufism still lies in the Qur'an and Sunnah. Therefore, in the concept of Sufism, the teacher is not limited to being a source of knowledge but also blessings, honor, and “*kasyaf*” for the students. Besides, the names of their teachers are always mentioned in every prayer so that the prayers directly reach Allah (*tawasul*).

Several historical records show that since the seventh century AD, groups of Islamic traders from India such as Gujarat had entered the Indonesian archipelago. They founded small settlements during the Sriwijaya Kingdom era. Apart from trading, the Muslim community also carried the mission of disseminating Islam. It can be perceived because culturally, the process of Islamization was conducted through trade routes that have been formed since Islam was first introduced. At that time, Muslim traders who were on their way

to countries in Southeast Asia and East Asia began to pass the Straits of Malacca. The voyage and trade were carried out in several kingdoms such as *Bani Umayyah* Dynasty, T'ang dynasty in East Asia, and the Sriwijaya Kingdom in Southeast Asia (Notosutanto and Poeponegoro, 1993: 1). If Islam had entered Indonesia in the seventh century AD, it would be the same as India. Islam first entered India through two routes, namely the Arab route and the gap of Khabaibar Valley in Iran and Afghanistan. The Islamic movement to India was initially started from Persia. In 712 AD, General Muhammad bin Qasim conquered several regions of Indus Valley where it is currently located in Pakistan. Thus, this area subsequently became a part of *Daulah Umayyah* (Ibrahim, 2017: 101). Over the centuries, Islam entered India and then adjusted to local values and culture. From here, the values of the Sufism tradition in India began to develop rapidly because it was able to connect the values of Islamic teachings with traditions in Hinduism (Parveen, 2014: 39-46; Utomo & Wasino, 2020).

Apart from the trade process, Islam entered Indonesia through the Sufism route which was pioneered by Abdurrauf from Singkel and Syamsuddin from Pasai, Hamzah al-Fansuri, and Nurruddin ar-Raniri in the 16th century. When it is viewed from the affiliation of the Sufism, it can be said that Hamzah al-Fansuri was influenced by Ibn Arabi's mystical thinking, which was famous for the concept of "wahdat al-wujud". Many of his Sufistic thoughts were written in old Malay literature. However, in the practice of *dhikr*, Hamzah al-Fansuri was influenced by *Qadariyah* Sufism. On the other hand, Syamsuddin, Ar-Raniri, and Abdul ar-Rauf were the developers of *The Dignity of The Seven* which has been written in Malay literature. When it is viewed from the affiliation of the Sufism, Abdul ar-Rauf was a follower and disseminator of the *Syathariyah* order. Therefore, the development of Sufism in Indonesia was started in Samudera Pasai Kingdom (Simuh, 2016: 17-18). The four figures above have had strong influences on the development of Malay and Sufism literature in Sumatra and Java. Culturally, the development of Sufism was partly metamorphosed into Islamic mysticism which was widely developed in Indonesia. It was not spread by Arabia, but India. Therefore, at that time, Islam in Indonesia experienced what was called the process of *Indianization* (Maarif, 2009: 75; Shukri, 2018).

At the beginning of the 17th century, the process of reinterpreting Sufism doctrine in Indonesia, especially in the Sumatra region, was carried out in Aceh by Nuruddin Ibnu Muhammad Al-Raniri (1637 AD-1644 AD). The style of the Sufism tradition that he developed appeared to be more orthodox and tended to be speculative (Rahman, 1984: 215). When it is viewed from his pedigree, Nuruddin Ar-Raniri was an Indo-Arabian Muslim scholar from Rander (Gujarat), India who adopted *Rifa'iyah* order and was also fluent in Malay. In practice, Nuruddin Al-Raniri tried hard to remove *pantheism* that has been developed by Hamzah Al-Fansuri and Syamduddin Pasai from the understanding of Sufism in Aceh. It was because *pantheism* was considered to have deviated from the authentic teachings of *The Dignity of The Seven*. The school of that pantheistic order has rooted in the Sufism thoughts of Mansyur Al Hallaj, Jalaluddin Rumi, dan Ibnu Al- Araby. The main idea of this school was *Wahdat Al-Adyan*, namely the unity of religions. According to Ibnu Al-

Araby, all religions are rooted in one God. Therefore, Al-Araby called it the religion of "Love" (Bahri, 2012). According to Ibnu Al-Araby, Sufism life practice does not stop at the patterns of the "dhikr" method which is always said with the tongue and heart dedicated to Allah. The true "dhikr" means to do self-immersion in Allah's self mystically. Thus, the true condition of *dhikr* according to him is to focus his entire body and soul on Allah so that his entire existence is unified completely as one with Allah without anything left. In short, true *dhikr* is to directly experience the essential oneness with the Absolute one. On the other hand, the pattern of *dhikr* which is carried out only by speaking in tongues without total existential involvement is considered low-level *dhikr* (Izutsu, 2016: 300).

According to history, the early generation of reformers of the Sufism movement in Indonesia was Al-Raniri. In his work entitled "*Hujjatul Shiddiq li Daf'i-al Zindiq*", Al-Raniri attempted to interpret the teachings of *The Dignity of The Seven* towards a more orthodox understanding and denounced the interpretation of Syam-Suddin and the understanding of Hamzah al-Fansuri as well as considered them misguided *wujudiyah* (*zindiq* and *bid' ah*). The purification movement carried out by Al-Raniri received the full support of Sultan Iskandar Tsani (1637-1641 AD). With full support from the authorities, the understanding of Sufism that was previously developed by Hamzah Al-Fansuri and Syamduddin Pasai began to weaken among followers of Sufism in Sumatera (Simuh, 2016: 64; Shukri, 2018). When it is viewed geographically, Sumatera region, especially Aceh has been the entrance of Islam teachings from various parts of the world since the 8th century. In addition to the dissemination process brought by Muslim scholars from India and the Middle East, they also conducted social interactions with the community and local authorities so that Islam has a high bargaining position (Özay, 2017). As the result, Islam began to develop throughout the Indonesian archipelago, such as Java, which then dialecticism with the traditional values of the local community to create new forms of synthesis such as *mysticism* and *syncretism* (Woodward, 1989; Wasino, et al. 2020).

Based on the explanations above, a hypothesis can be taken that the process of Islamization in Indonesia is influenced by various factors. Two of them are the trade network and Sufism Muslim scholars who come from India. These also lead to an initial conclusion that Islam that entered Indonesia in the early phase does not originate from Arabia. The process of its dissemination was carried out by traders and Muslim scholars from India. This understanding can also be seen from some of the Sufism schools that developed in the Indonesian archipelago that had a very strong connection with the Sufism network in India. For example, the *Naqsyabandiyah* order was founded in Bukhara in the 8th century Hijriyah / 14 AD. The word *Naqsyabandiyah* means painters. They formulated the practice of Sufism through detailed *dhikr* methods. The founder was Shaykh Bahauddin (791H / 1389 AD) called "*Naqsyaband*". This order was widespread in India, China, and Indonesia (Rahman, 1984). In addition, the order schools and the religious ritual practices of the Sufis in India and Indonesia have many similar characteristics. Sufism that has developed in India was an effort to establish peace between Muslims as a minority and the people of India who predominantly adopted Hinduism. In the end, Sufism became a

distinctive *mysticism*. Its adherents used several religious images and rituals as a means of contemplating. Because Sufism that has developed in India was mystical, Sufism can be a bridge for Hindus and Muslims. In building peace between the adherents of Islam and Hinduism, there were concepts of Hindu mysticism that also existed in Sufi Islam with different terms (Mratkhuzina, et, al, 2019; Howard, 2017). In short, the practice of Sufism that has developed in India can strengthen a sense of tolerance which makes their lives more harmonious.

The performance of the Islam Community at the middle age of Asia was very moderate. That was because of the spreading of the religion mostly by using Sufism that relevant to the old belief. The problem is how the networks of Sufism from the Middle East, India, and Indonesia archipelago?

### RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a historical method that includes four quick steps, namely: source search, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. (Wasino & Hartatik, 2018). In the first stage, the collection of sources by following the research problem, both primary and secondary sources, is carried out. This step is called a heuristic. This step includes the activity of searching for and collecting data both from primary and secondary sources, especially regarding Sufism-themed literature, starting from the emergence of Sufism teaching in the Indonesian archipelago, the network of Muslim scholars in India and Indonesia, to the process of its dissemination in Java. The study of Sufism-themed Javanese literature such as *Serat Ling Lung* by Sunan Kalijogo, *Babad Tanah Jawi* by Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono III, and several Javanese Sufism thoughts were considered relevant in this research. The Sufistic study on Javanese literature was conducted to see the philosophical and symbolic relationship between Javanese cultural values and the Sufism network in Java, the Indonesian archipelago, and India. To obtain this literature, the researchers have visited several libraries, including Radya Pustaka Library Surakarta, Reksa Pustaka Istana Mangkunegaran Library Surakarta, Kraton Library Surakarta, Sonobudoyo Library Yogyakarta, Pakualaman Library Yogyakarta, and Ahli Waris Sunan Kalijogo Library at Kadilangu, Demak. To obtain materials and data concerning the development of Sufism schools that developed in India, the researchers used data derived from scientific journals and relevant literature related to the issues discussed. Besides, finding the patterns of Sufism network and traditions in India and Indonesian archipelago as well as the patterns of cultural value inheritance developed between those two was one of the main themes to be discussed. Researchers also used the results of previous research in several sources such as journals and other reference books related to the issues discussed. The sources used in the library research served as a comparison, complement, and analysis materials to deepen the problems studied.

The next step is source criticism, which is a step conducted to assess the condition and authenticity of sources found both externally and internally. Source criticism can be used as evidence if the sources are true historical facts. External criticism is used to determine the originality and the authenticity of historical sources. This is to determine whether the sources are the true sources

needed or not. External criticism is used to answer three main points, namely the originality of the source we wanted; whether the source is by following with the real condition or just an imitation; and whether the source is intact or has been changed (Garaghan, 1957; Gottschalk, 1986). Meanwhile, internal criticism is aimed at knowing the credibility of historical sources. Credibility can be seen from the willingness of the source authors to state the truth. The third step is the interpretation of historical interpretation that has been selected previously. Interpretation is made to determine the interconnected intentions of the facts obtained after getting data from the historical sources that are being studied are collected. In the process of interpretation, not all facts can be included but ones that are relevant to the description of the story that will be compiled must be chosen. The last stage is the historical arrangement or writing, namely the arrangement of facts in a complete synthesis as a whole in the form of historiography. This process is based on the results of the interpretation of the relationship between the facts produced regarding the study of the Sufism network in the Indonesian archipelago and India.

### *India And Sufism Movement*

In India, many Sufi schools have developed. One of them was the *Naqsyabandy* order introduced by one of the Muslim scholars named Baqi Billah in the 10 H/16 AD. This school has been developed more widely by his very important student, Ahmad Sirhindi, who was known as the 2nd-millennium reformer. He led a campaign of Sufism purification in India by opposing Ibnu-Al Araby's *pantheistic* mysticism thought which had gained a strong alliance with *Vedanta* orthodox Hinduism. Apart from the *Naqsyaband*, *Qadiriyyah* Order whose founder was Shaykh Abdul Qadir Al-Jaelani also has developed in India. The strong influence of the Sufism movement in India has formed the first Sufi brotherhood called *Chistiyah*. Its founder was Mu'inaddin Chishti who died in Ajmer in 633H/ 1236 AD. His tomb in *dargah* has become a well-known object of popular pilgrimage ('*urs*). *Mughal* Emperor, Akbar, once made a pilgrimage to the tomb on foot to fulfill his vow. Akbar's son as well as his successor, Salim who was later nicknamed *Jahangir*, was born in the *Khanaqa*. In India, another order called *Qalandar* has also developed. The adherents usually perform pilgrimage rituals to places of holy people called *waliy*. After carrying out several conquests and developing Islam in India, Sultan Mughal also introduced Central Asian and Indian arts and architectures (Rahman, 1984:239-241; Ibrahim, 2017:101). However, Sufism schools in India shared the same roots as Sufis in the Middle East such as Abu Yazid Al Bustami, Imam Juanaid Al Baghdadi, and Jalaluddin Rumi. The essential values that have been taught were full submission to God as well as leaving personal ego to reach divine ego (Parveen, 2014: 39-46).

The peak of Sufism development in India was in the 16th century AD. After that, it experienced reforms through the combination of Sufi Islamic traditions with Hindu traditions in several villages. This *syncretic* branch was often called *Bhakti* movement pioneered by people such as *Kabir* and *Guru Nanak*. Guru Nanak was rumored to be the founder of the "*Sikh*" religious sect influenced by *monotheism* of Islam which was then adopted in Hinduism

religious culture (Rahman, 1984: 239-241). The "Sikh" teachings introduced by *Guru Nanak* has developed rapidly in India, especially in the southwest region of India, along with the collapse of the Mughal Empire in the 18th century (Ibrahim, 2017: 105). To some extent, Sufism in India has experienced mixing with Hindu traditions. *Guru Nanak* has tried to unite Islam and Hinduism into a new religion. At the same time, Sufis in India have always opposed the model of mixing religions or religious *syncretism* as has been done by *Guru Nanak* (Mratkhuzina, Et, al 2019; Moliner, 2007).

The development of the Sufism movement in India was supported by several well-known Sufi figures such as Fariduddin Masud Ganj-I Shakar (1175-1265), Nizamuddin Auliya (1238-1325), Bahauddin Zakariya (died 1266), Ibnu Araby (1165-1240). The collapse of the Mughal Empire was caused not only by the high ambition to expand its territory without considering the cost but also its indiscretion in mobilizing the unity of its people through religion. Besides, "Sikh", *Sirhindi* movement also had a great influence and they generally succeeded in countering *antinomian* tendencies among Sufi scholars. Due to this influence, Mughal Emperor, Akbar, proclaimed the *syncretic* religion (*Din-I Ilahi*) in the 10th century/16 AD and tried to force it to become the state religion. Another movement that opposed this concept was conducted by Shah Waliyullah from *Delhi* (1762 AD) (Rahman, 1984: 215; Howard, 2017). Shaykh Naqshbandi Ahmad Sirhindi (Imam Rabbani) criticized Sultan Akbar I's policy of trying to unite Islam and Hinduism. On the other hand, as a strict follower of Hanafi school, he demanded total obedience to all *Sharia* regulations and absolute obedience to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad. He criticized Ibnu Araby's ideas and the concept of "the unity of human beings" (Wahdat al-wujud) (Mratkhuzina, Et, al, 2019).

After the fall of the *Abbasid* Dynasty in 1258 due to the attack of the Mongols, many have predicted that Islamic culture and civilization was on the verge of collapse. However, Islam was able to maintain the values of its spiritual practice because it was supported by the efforts of the Sufi movement. This spiritual practice then resulted in Islamic *mysticism* which only expected true knowledge from God and not from rational thought (Rahman, 1985: 45). Nevertheless, Islam has experienced rapid development, especially in the Asian region. It was due to the equality values practiced by Islamic preaching teachers or missionaries in social interaction so that it attracted the attention of local residents to comprehend and embrace Islam (Wertheim, 1969: 196). In India, the founder of the *Mughal Babur* Dynasty was a conqueror and a strong descendant of Islam so that, with his strength, he was able to sustain the Islamization process in India. The most well-known Sufism ritual practices in India were the effort in seeking blessings by visiting several sacred tombs in the form of *Dargah* such as Moinuddin Chisti's *Dargah* in Ajmer, Hazrat Nasiruddin Mahmud's *Dargah* known as *Chirag-I-Delhi* in Delhi, Khawaja Banda Nawaz's *Dargah* in Gulbarga City, Kutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki's *Dargah* known as *Qutb-Sahib Darqah* in Mehrauli, and the tomb of Salim Chisti in *Fatehpur Sikri*. Those Sufis were very well known in the Indian community because of their morals who always defend the poor and help the needy.



In the 12th century, Sufism in India had institutions that have been formed socially such as *orders* including *Suhrawardiyya*, *Qadiriyyah*, and *Naqshabandiyya*. As an impact, the students came from all over the world to India to learn from Sufis in India. Several cities such as *Punjab*, *Ajmer*, and *Lahore* developed *Chishti Order* founded in Afghanistan by Shaykh Muiniddin Chisti who died in 1233 in Ajmer. In India, it was later developed by Bahauddin Zakaria, Qutbuddin who died in Delhi in 1236, Nizamuddin Auliya who died in 1335 in Delhi, Fariduddin who died in Pattan Pakistan in 1265, and Surhposh Jalaluddin Bukhari. Most of them came from Islamic mysticism order named *Chistiyya Group* which later became famous throughout India. Due to their efforts on spreading Islamic teachings, Islam has entered India peacefully and was able to adapt to the traditions of the surrounding community (Mratkuzina, Et, al, 2019; Upadhyay, 2012).

Spiritually, the Sufis had no other purpose in life other than perpetuating themselves only to serve God and to meet their God with a clean heart. Besides, Sufism was also identical to mystical practices that recognized supernatural powers but were still under the umbrella of the basic principles of the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah. They emphasized intuitive and direct knowledge from God rather than relying on reason. The life of Sufis has become the symbol of supernatural power and even their tombs were considered sacred places. Apart from that, the Sufis also tried hard to get rid of all their thoughts, desires, and "mortal" souls in order to only meet their God. To obtain spiritual happiness, the Sufis also undergone a long and heavy training process, one of which was to take off their physical clothes. Under the protection of the state under Muslim rulers, Sufis offered spiritual guidance and support to adherents of Hinduism and attempted to attract them to embrace Islam. Therefore, the development of the Sufi movement in India was supported by the increasing political power of Muslims (Upadhyay, 2012).

#### ***Trade And Muslim Scholar Network***

The arrival of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago could not be separated from the relationship of trade and Muslim scholar networks in the Indonesian archipelago with Muslim scholars in the Middle East and Asia including India. The process of Islam dissemination through trade in the Indonesian archipelago as occurred in Aceh and Sumatra regions which started from the Straits of Malacca also seemed strong in Java. Islam that entered and developed in Java has followed the track of its development in Sumatera. At that time, Islam was no longer a fragile community as previously described by Van Leur as a "fragile thin porcelain glaze" meaning that Islam will never be able to develop its original order (Ricklefs, MC. 2014). This understanding can be understood because the pre-Islamic culture in Java which had previously been developed was considered to hinder the whole process of Islamization (Geertz, 1960). In practice, this view and way of understanding were not entirely correct because in practice, the development of Islam in Java, especially on Islamic bases in the Javanese Pantura boarding school, has been able to articulate Islamic values strictly since the 15th century under the guidance of Islamic teachers which was then known as *Wali Songo* (De Graaf and Pigeaud, 1986: 31-33). Apart from

disseminating Islamic teachings, these religious teachers also served as spiritual advisors to Javanese Islamic kings.

Besides in India, the relationship between the process of Islamization in Java was also supported by traders from Persia and Indo-China (de Graaf, 2004; Wasino, Hartatik, & Nawiyanto, 2019). The discovery of the tomb site of Fatimah Binti Maimun in Leran Gresik which was estimated to be in the 11th century AD (475 H/1082 AD) became an initial record that Islam originally entered Java. The results of various archaeological and historical studies indicated that Fatimah Binti Maimun was a Muslim trader and she was believed to be a very influential figure from Persia (Notosutanto and Poeponegoro, 1993: 4). This can be perceived because, in the 11th century AD, a trade network that passed through the seaports in Java from India, the Middle East, Persia, Turkey, Campa, and Indonesian Archipelago had been formed. The trade network was also eventually strengthened by the marriage with Javanese natives. As a result, it eased the process of religion conversion from Hinduism-Buddhism to Islam which was carried out peacefully.

Another evidence was the discovery of the tomb site of *Troloyo* in *Trowulan* that was identified as a Muslim tomb built in the Majapahit Kingdom era in the 17th century. This also explains that the Islamization process in Java took place in an adaptive and accommodative manner with Hindu-Buddhist traditional values so that it was easily accepted by the Javanese in harmony and peace. This accommodative style of Islam then distinguished between Islam in Java and Islam in Sumatra and Malay (Ricklefs, M.C, 2001: 7-9). In short, Java regions, especially Gresik, has become the center for cross-border trade. During the reign of the Majapahit Kingdom, Gresik became one of the main ports visited by foreign ships, especially from Arab, Persia, and India. From Gresik port, international trade flow began to develop rapidly. Most of the Muslim traders who entered Java became not only entrepreneurs but also missionaries or religious preachers, some of whom were Sufi teachers who later articulated Sufism values into daily activities in the environment (Ubaedillah, 2017).

### *The Development Of Sufism In Java*

Culturally, like the development of Sufism in Sumatera, the development of Sufistic thoughts in Java had a very strong relationship with Sufistic thoughts in the Middle East, Central Asia, Indo-China, Persia, and India. Among these thoughts, there was a thought that was influenced by the flow of the *Qadariyah* Order developed by Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jaelani and Sufism developed by Imam Abu Hamid Muhammad Al Ghazali ath-Thusi ash-Shafi'i. Although in subsequent developments, several streams of order in Java have emerged such as *Qadariyah*, *Qadariyah Wan-Naqsabandy*, *Sadzaliyah*, *Khalwatiyah*, *Syatariyah*, and *Samaniyyah* that were brought by order teachers from India and the Middle East (Simuh, 2016). One of the Sufism books that the Sufis referred to was *Bidayatul Hidayah* dan *Ihya' Ulumuddin* by Shaykh Imam Al-Ghazali. Some other influential books were *Al-Hikam* Holy Book by Shaykh Ibn Athoilah As-Sukandari, *Futuhat Al-Makiyyah*, *Risalah Qusairy* by Imam Qusairy, *Mastanawi* and *Fihi Ma Fihi* by

Jalaluddin Rumi, and *Fusus Al-Hikam* from Shaykh Akbar Ibnu Al-Araby. These Sufis had the authentic scientific line up to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). They have maintained their scientific traditions which were balanced with very strict order practices.

In the Sufism tradition in Java, the teacher was served as a source of scientific knowledge as well as a place for spiritual questioning and guidance. Therefore, according to the Javanese Sufism tradition, Sufi teachers had a special place for the community. Besides having the authority to interpret the messages of the Qur'an and the hadiths, Sufi teachers were also believed to have *supernatural* power "karamah" indicating that their positions are close to God, their prayers are answered, and their tombs bring blessings to pilgrims. They have always chanted praises to Allah and the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) through chants often called "Qasidah" which contained a series of prayers to the Prophet Muhammad. Sufi teachers acted as a bridge between their students and Allah. Therefore, many students were often called "santri" and many of them became "khadim" or the servants of their teachers to obtain blessings from their teachers (Geertz, 1971). They lived in a permanent Islamic boarding school and served there. Usually, Sufi teachers have an Islamic boarding school which is located at the foot of a mountain in the village. They teach esoteric values to their students. Therefore, both teachers and the students usually have a very strong inner connection. In the Islamic Mataram Kingdom era, the Islamic boarding school communities that taught Sufism values along the Java North Pantura Coast took more opposing positions than the status quo (Burdah, 2017: 267-306). Since the 17th century, the eastern regions of Mataram such as Gresik, Surabaya, Madura, and the surrounding areas have joined forces to build power to oppose Mataram (De Graaf, H.J, 1987: 16-24; Moertono, 2018: 5).

Another thing done was that Sufi teachers in Java have taught their students to control their inner selves through a method called "*tazkiyatun nafs*" which means the purification of the soul from all forms of stains and sins so that humans can reach to God "*wushul*". In the view of Sufism, human behavior becomes good or bad depending on whether the heart is clean or dirty. The heart is like a mirror, if you don't clean it often, it will stick to a lot of dust, making it difficult for light to enter. Therefore, Sufis are also often called "painters" meaning those who truly form and cleanse the heart so that they are clean and having noble behavior. By doing a rigorous exercise that defies lust and making a vow to the teachers, the path to reach God and the "makrifat" path will open. Al-Ghazali in his book *Al-Munqidz Min al-Dlal*, explained that the initial stage of order is the purification of the heart from anything other than Allah and the key to opening it is like the Takbir of the prayer which is drowning the heart in dhikr to Allah and end in Allah (Simuh, 2016: 31).

At the first stage, the purification of the soul can be carried out by repenting and asking God for forgiveness from all wrongs and sins. Al-Qur'an explains this in Surah Al'Ala verses 14-15 which means "He who purified himself shall prosper (by believing). And he remembers his Lord's name and prays". The students (*salik*) are specially guided by *Darwis* or spiritual teachers called "murshid" to take a long journey of study and go through very strenuous practice level by

level (*maqom*). To hone the cleansing of the soul, the students usually have to go through 7 stages of *maqam* namely: *maqam taubat*, *maqam wara'*, *maqam zuhud*, *maqam fakir*, *maqam sabar*, *maqam tawakkal*, and *maqam ridha*. In studying Sufism, the students have to study and stay for a long time in the *Islamic boarding school* where their spiritual teachers teach. Besides, most Muslim scholars who came from abroad and came to Java as well as became preachers were Sunni followers (Simuh, 2016: 144).

### *The Internalization Of Sufism Teachings In Java*

The models and strategies of missionary activities developed by religious teachers in Javanese society were carried out by inviting people to embrace Islam without compulsion. It is by following with the concept of Islamic teachings as described in the Al-Qur'an surah An-Nahl: 125 which reads "*Invite (human) to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good instruction, and argue with them in the best way that is best. Indeed, your Lord is most knowing of who has strayed from His way, and He is most knowing of who is [rightly] guided*". In the 15th and 16th centuries, in practice, the preachings or missionary activities carried out by Wali Songo adopted many values of Sufism which were later adapted to Javanese cultural ethics (Geertz, 1971; Maharsiworo, 2013). Among all saints in Wali Songo, Sunan Kalijaga was served not only as a saint in Wali Songo but also as a spiritual advisor to the kings of Islamic kingdoms in Java. Classical texts such as *Babad Tanah Jawi*, *Serat Malang Sumirang*, *Suluk Ling Lung*, *Babad Jaka Tingkir* tell a lot about the figure of Sunan Kalijaga. Like the tombs of holy people in India, the tomb of Sunan Kalijaga in Kadilangu Demak, Central Java, is visited by many pilgrims every month. Every year, there is a ceremonial carnival of harness named "*Kutang Ontokusumo*" and kris named "*kyai cerubuk*" belonging to Sunan Kalijaga, which is still kept at the Association of Sunan Kalijaga Heir in Kadilangu, Demak. Wali Songo, during their missionary activities, has greatly modified the forms and stories of shadow play whose stories originated in India such as *Mahabarata*, *Krishnayana*, and *Ramayana*. This indicates the strong influence of Indonesian culture in Javanese society. Shadow play performances in Java was not only a spectacle but also a guide in life to be a better human being.

Besides using the art of leather puppet shadow play as a medium for internalization in the process of disseminating Islam, Wali Songo also created Javanese repertoire and poetry songs such as Lir-ilir, Tombo Ati, Sluku-Sluku Batok which are full of moral messages of noble behavior teachings and law which were allegedly written by Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Ampel. Therefore, in Javanese society, Wali Songo is represented as perfect human beings or "insan kamil" and as saints whose tombs are sacred and bring blessings. These saints can be the connector of prayers from individuals to God "tawasull". The nine saints of Wali Songo are Shaykh Maulana Malik Ibrahim in Gresik, Sunan Ampel in Surabaya, Sunan Giri in Gresik, Sunan Bonang in Tuban, Sunan Drajad in Lamongan, Sunan Kudus in Kudus, Sunan Kalijaga in Kadilangu, Demak, Sunan Gunungjati in Cirebon, and Sunan Muria in Kudus (Nasuhi, 2013). With missionary activities that were accommodating to Javanese cultural traditions, Islam in Java has experienced what was called indigenization.

Several books and literary works of Javanese Sufism thought can be easily found in classical Javanese literatures such as *Serat Ling Lung* by Sunan Kalijaga, *Suluk Malangsumirang* by Sunan Geseng, *Babad Tanah Jawi* by Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono III, *Al Ary Al-Muwahidin* Holy Book by Shaykh Mutamakin Kajen, *Munjiyat* Holy Book by Kiai Saleh Darat Semarang, *Serat Wulang Reh* by Sri Pakubuwono the IV, *Serat Cebolek*, *Serat Centhini* by Yasadipura II, Rangga Sutrasna, and R. Ng. Sastradipura, *Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati* by R.Ng. Ronggowarsito, *Serat Wedhatama* by KGPA Sri Mangkunegoro IV, *Babad Jaka Tingkir* by Sri Pakubuwono VI, and *Tajusalatin* Holy Book by Yasadipura. *Babad Tanah Jawi*, *Babad Jaka Tingkir*, *Serat Siti Jenar*, and *Wirid Hidayat Jati* were literatures made by the authors to show the symbolic connection between the tradition of Sufism and *Kejawen* thought, namely the teachings of *Manunggaling Kawulo Gusti* (Simuh, 1988; Birsyada, 2020). Some of those literary works are inspired by the tradition of Imam Al-Ghazali's Sufism thought contained in *Ihya' Ulumuddin* and *Insan Kamil* Holy Book (Simuh, 2016: 182-183). Javanese Sufism values depicted in these Javanese literary works seems to be magical, sacred and mystical. This is because, according to the history, Javanese Sufism highly accommodated the style of mystical Islamic tradition as part of the manifestation of Indonesian archipelago's population towards Islamic teachings brought by Sufi scholars (Simuh, 1995; Azra, 2004).

## CONCLUSION

Through the narrative analysis, several conclusions can be drawn that the process of Islamization brought by Muslim traders in the Indonesian archipelago has existed since the Sriwijaya Kingdom era and experienced rapid development in the era of Samudera Pasai and Aceh Kingdoms (Ricklefs, 2001: 3-4). In practice, the process of Islam dissemination was not only carried out by traders but also by Muslim scholars or teachers and their students who came from foreign countries such as India. These religious figures have roots in affiliation with the Sufism network from India. They were able to develop Islamic teachings because they were considered to have the authority to interpret Islamic Sharia law and can guide and articulate Islamic values into daily life practices. One of the Sufi figures from India who successfully developed Sufism tradition in Indonesia at the beginning of the 17th century was Nuruddin Ibnu Muhammad Al-Raniri who was also fully supported by the Sultan of Aceh (Rahman, 1984: 215).

Based on ritual and cultural practices, there are similarities between the models of Sufism in India and Indonesia. Things that distinguish them are their mystical natures and that some of their traditions adopted *pantheistic* and *syncretic* that was rooted in the mystical figure named Ibnu Al-Araby (Simuh, 2016). In India, mysticism in Sufism tradition was developed to be the bridge of peace between the adherents of Islam and Hinduism because both of them share common thought of the world of mysticism (Mratkuzina, et al, 2019; Howard, 2017). Nevertheless, these syncretic methods did not run easily due to various opposition from orthodox Sufi groups who were trying to practice Islamic teachings according to the Shari'a law. From the ritual perspective, both Indian and Javanese Sufism make their teachers sacred "murshid", the spiritual

connector between them and Allah. Their tombs that are considered sacred places are always visited by their students to seek blessings by saying prayers. In short, Sufism has become a mysticism that was then able to adapt to the traditional values of the local community. Therefore, at the essence stage, what has been practiced by Sufis is an interpretation of the development of Islamic sharia (Howell, 2001)

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