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THE SUFISM THOUGHT OF JAVANESE PRIYAYI IN 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract

This article aims to answer the relationship between the Sufism thought network from the very beginning of its birth to the development and experience of the historical process until it spread throughout the Nusantara and finally to Java. At the practical level, there are differences between the styles of Sufism that developed in the Sumatra and Java regions. Sufism, which is usually developed by groups of ulama and santri in Java, was also developed by Javanese priyayi, one of which was Sri Mangkunegara IV. This study used a historical approach by comparing various primary and secondary literatures on the development of Sufism and history, especially in Java and then interpreted into historiography. The findings of this study show that the Sufism that developed in Java has adapted to Javanese cultural values, including Javanese mysticism. In the 19th century Sri Mangkunegara IV represented Javanese priyayi who was able to develop a Javanese Sufism thinking model that was different from the general Sufi knowledge thinking style. One of his Sufism teachings or thoughts is about the concept of four levels of a person if he wants to achieve makrifat. The four levels of teaching were later called "Catur Sembah."

Keywords : *Sufism, Understanding, Priyayi, Java*

INTRODUCTION

Regarding the historical heritage, the tradition of Sufism that developed in the Nusantara is inseparable from the success and expertise of the *Ulama* (Islamic scholars) in introducing the values of esoteric traditions into the Islamic understanding of society in an adaptable and peaceful manner. They had a strong network with other *ulama*' both local and international levels (Azra, 2004; Azra, 2013). Some experts said that it was during this time that the process of Islamization in various parts of the Nusantara experienced what is called *santrinization*, the process which include the society become the students of *ulama* in their *Pesantren* (boarding school). Although this opinion is not entirely correct because at the level of practice, the process of Islamization had actually experienced what is called indigenosization (Birsyada, 2016).

Islamic values originating from the Middle East have adapted to local cultural values and traditions. For example, the religious practices of Muslims carried out in Morocco are different from those in Java. In Morocco, Islam appears to be practiced "pure" while in Java it tends to synthesize with Javanese mystical elements (Geertz, 1971). This happened because religious teachers who teach Islam in Java have adapted Islamic values to local traditions and

culture (Drewes, 1983: 341). This is what later in the next stage led to a synthesis between Sufism and Javanese values which were later called Javanese Sufism (Simuh, 2002).

Culturally, the Sufism tradition that has developed in various parts of the world is actually the development of Islamic sharia values (Howell, 2001). In various regions of the Nusantara, for example, the tradition of Sufism is widely supported and developed within the *pesantren* (Azra, 2013). Even so, apart from being supported by the cultural strength of the *pesantren*, it is also influenced by the strong network of *ulama* affiliated with the *tarekat* sect. In the *pesantren* tradition, the teacher's role is very central in addition to guiding religious knowledge as well as spiritual guides. They have a high place and position in the hearts of society. They are able to interpret Islamic sharia laws and lead various religious rituals in society. In addition, they are also considered to be the closest people to God and have the "karamah" glory that is not shared by ordinary people. Students serve their teachers to seek blessings (Geertz, 1971). Usually these religious teachers have a *pesantren* that is located at the foot of a mountain in a remote village.

Since the 12th and 13th centuries, Sufism that developed in the Islamic world had become an esoteric doctrine that wants religious practice not to be merely a ritual of sharia worship but to be elevated to a higher level (Rahman, 1995: 164). Sufism in the next phase is not only practicing rituals of worship alone but has become a moral movement in the midst of declining social values and faith (Howell, 2012: 1–24). With the development of an increasingly complex style of movement, it was at that time that Sufi teachers had a very fundamental role in spreading Islamic teachings as well as formulating *da'wah* strategies so that they were easily accepted by the community (Syam, 2016: 19–22).

It is undeniable that they have students who are very obedient and loyal (Bruinessen and Howell, 2007). In addition, they are high-quality thinkers (Dhofier, 2019: 29). The evidence that these religious teachers have high quality thoughts is that their Islamic *da'wah* strategy can be easily understood by the natives. They were able to create Islamic values with local culture. This also refutes the view of Geertz (1971) which states that Islam in Java is more mystical and magical. Whereas the Islamic tradition practices in the *pesantren* were more orthodox than in central region of Java. Geertz did not deepen his study of the development of the Islamic thought tradition in Javanese Islamic boarding schools.

The entry of Islam in the Nusantara, not only being brought by the religious community, that was also undeniable because of the services of Muslim traders who later settled and married with natives, so that they made their wives and children become Muslims (Ricklefs, 1994). However, apart from the trade route, the entry of Sufism to the Nusantara in the early generations was pioneered by Islamic thinkers such as Abdurrauf from Singkel, Syamsuddin from Pasai, Hamzah al-Fansuri and Nurrudin ar-Raniri in the 16th century.

The wisdom and fame of Hamzah Fansuri as the Nusantara's great figure made him not only respected in the Nusantara but also in the land of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, he died and was buried at Al-Ma'la in Mecca (Dhofier, 2019: 30). Hamzah Fansuri brought and developed the Tarekat Qadariah sect. On the other hand, Abdul ar-Rauf Sinkel further developed the style of the Syathariyah Tarekat Order. In short, the teachings of Sufism in the Nusantara actually originated from the kingdom of Samudera Pasai which later spread throughout the archipelago (Simuh, 2016: 17–18). In Java, the tradition of Sufism began to be developed in the 15th and 16th centuries AD brought by Wali Songo (Birsyada, 2016; Dhofier, 2019: 34–35).

The Sufism tradition in Sumatra was later developed by one of the great Sufis named Nuruddin Ibnu Muhammad Al-Raniri (1637 M-1644 AD), a descendant of Gujarat India but fluent in Arabic and Malay, carrying the Rifaiyah tarekat (Rahman, 1984: 215). Muhammad Al-Raniri was later referred to as the more orthodox reformer of Sufism.

Culturally, there are quite striking differences between the styles of Sufism that developed in Sumatra and Java, that was at the practical level. In Java, Sufism values are able to develop and adapt to local cultural values in harmony. Whereas in Sumatra, the Sufism style

developed is more orthodox than in Java (Simuh, 2016). This then gives a general understanding that the Islamic style that developed in Java is basically more inclusive than exclusive.

This view further strengthens that Islam developed in Indonesia, especially in Java, is more friendly and open (Maftukhin, 2016). However, in Java, the practice of Sufism is not always developed in the pesantren tradition, which in fact is included in the typology group of santri (Geertz, 1983). The development of Sufism in Java was also practiced in the Javanese priyayi community, which was still associated with the Keraton's environmental lines.

This statement also refutes Geertz's (1983) idea of the typology of Javanese society consisting of priyayi, santri and abangan. This rebuttal actually shows that the position of the three typologies is not permanent or patent, but flexible. They each carry out a social and cultural dialectic with their respective environment (Sulistiyono, 2016; Burhani, 2017). At one time a priyayi can become a santri and vice versa depending on the situation of the socio-cultural conditions behind it. This is then called experiencing a process of "social inclusion". In some places they have a very high tolerance and sense of harmony (Sirait, 2016).

This article intends to answer the question of how the Javanese priyayi's role in developing the Sufism tradition in the middle the aristocratic environment and its supporting culture. The next question is how the Javanese priyayi implant the values of Sufism into their social and daily life. This article focuses on the practice of living the values of Sufism developed by Sri Mangkunegara IV in the 19th century. Apart from being a Mangkunegaran priyayi, Sri Mangkunegara IV composed many Javanese literary books which contain many philosophies of life and religious norms (Birsyada, et, al, 2017; Sulisty, 2016). Sri Mangkunegara IV was one of the kings who dared to dismantle the old Javanese priyayi traditions at that time. What was practiced by Sri Mangkunegara IV can be said to violate the Javanese tradition of belief at that time (Kartodirdjo, et al, 1987).

In the Javanese tradition of priyayi or king, the priyayi or king is the top holder of the social structure of society. This was later used by Sri Mangkunegara IV as a king to reform the Javanese tradition of belief through his literary works, especially in religion, to build a new perspective on Javanese Islamic thinking which could then be called Javanese Sufism. Several other Javanese poets such as Sri Pakubuwana IV, R. Ng. Ronggowarsito and Yasadipura, the three of them, actually developed a tradition of Javanese Sufism-style thought.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a literature study which is taken from various primary and secondary sources, then the sources are criticized and interpreted into historical writings. Most of the sources in this article are obtained from the Mangkunegaran Palace Reksa Pustaka Library, the Sonobudoyo Library and the Radya Pustaka Library.

Furthermore, as comparative data, the results of similar research are used in scientific journals with international and national reputations. In addition, other secondary data were taken from the literature of similar books according to the research theme as a comparison. Primary sources used include works from Sri Mangkunegara IV such as Wedatama, Paliatmo, Serat Tripomo, Serat Darmawasita as well as from several chronicles of Mangkunegaran, Mangkunegaran institutions, Rijksblad Mangkunegaran, some foreign fibers, the oral tradition of Mangkunegaran and various studies obtained from literature study.

Based on these understandings, it can be used as a basis for thinking to reconstruct the understanding of Sufism found in Javanese priyayi in the 19th century, especially in Sri Mangkunegara IV.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Kadipaten Mangkunegaran Before the Sri Mangkunegara IV reign

The establishment of the Mangkunegaran Kadipaten was inseparable from the major conflicts between the Mataram kingdom families. The Throne and Kingdom are sacred to the

family of the king (Ricklefs, 1974). The Javanese priyayi position has an important role as a bridge between the royal family and *kawulo* or the people (Suharso, Pudjo, et, all, 2017). Prior to the reign of Sri Mangkunegara IV the lands which the king gave to his family were mostly leased to Chinese and Europeans. The princes and royal families only get compensation for the rent, which is actually an unbalanced result when compared to the results of exploitation of the land if managed by themselves (Wasino, 2008). Because of its very important position, becoming a king or a close relative of the king is the only way to get position and influence, including getting land from the king. All means are done to get the highest position as priyayi (Burdah, 2017: 267-306).

After the 1755 Giyanti agreement to the 1757 Salatiga agreement, the Kingdom of Mataram had to be divided into three major powers namely Kasunanan, Kasultanan and Mangkunegaran. Mangkunegaran under the leadership of Mas Said has the title KGPA. Mangkunegara I began to build an autonomous kingdom (Wasino, 2014). Since its inception, the Mangkunegaran praja has been different from its competitors such as Kasunanan and Kasultanan (Rinkes, 1924). Mangkunegaran in the next period developed themselves by taking the flow of modernization without leaving traditional values (Wasino, et, al, 2019: 3).

This modern concept was driven by Sri Mangkunegara IV by manufacturing every effort of economy, to produce benefit and the progress of the praja. The apanage lands that were previously leased to Europeans and Chinese were taken over by Sri Mangkunegara IV to cultivate himself through plantations, coffee, quinine and sugar cane as the main force in building the sugar factory industry. In addition to building economic strength, the superiority of the Mangkunegaran praja to the masses of Sri Mangkunegara IV is in terms of literature and military (Birsyada, et, al, 2017: 39).

Since 1847, the Mangkunegaran area has been divided into 3 *onder-regenschap* or *Wedana* or in Mangkunegaran's term it is called *Anom Regency* under a *Wedana Gunung* or *Wedana Police*. Among the divisions are as follows. Anom Karanganyar Regency oversees the Sukawati, Matesih and Hariboyo areas. Wanagiri District oversees Nglaroh lama, Hanggabayan and Keduwang. Malangjiwa Anom Regency is in charge of Pajang lama. Apart from that, matters of the police and justice are also regulated. Another thing that was done by Sri Mangkunegara III was to appoint a Patih (Prime Minister) Kingdom as Regent-Patih who governs the daily Mangkunegaran duchy kingdom. In short, during the time of Sri Mangkunegara III, there was an embryo of modernization of government (Pringgodigdo, 1930). The influence of modernization by Sri Mangkunegara III was later followed by Sri Mangkunegara IV (Birsyada, et al., 2016; Birsyada, Et. Al, 2017).

Sri Mangkunegara IV From Childhood to Adult

According to the narrative from Babad Mangkunegara IV, the first name of Sri Mangkunegara IV is Raden Mas Sudira, born to the couple Kanjeng Pangeran Adiwijaya I and Raden Ajeng Seke. R.M. Sudira was born on Sunday at 11 pm, *Sapar 8, Jumakir* year, *Windu Sancaya* 1738 or to coincide with March 3, 1811 in Surakarta at Adiwijayan's house. The pedigree of the R.M. mother line, Sudira is the grandson of Sri Mangkunegara II. From the paternal line is the great-grandson of Pakubuwana III. After birth, R.M. Sudira was taken and made adopted by Sri Mangkunegara II. R.M. Since childhood, Sudira was educated by Sri Mangkunegara II's concubine named Mbok Ajeng Dayaningsih.

The education process is carried out by bringing in private teachers such as religion, reading, writing, Javanese and Dutch language and writing (Siswokartono, 2006: 76-78). Education at the time applied to Javanese aristocrats prioritized the normal growth of children and was adapted to the development of their talents (Pigeud, 1927). Among the Dutch who taught Dutch and Latin writing were J.F.C. Dr. Gericke and C.F. Winter (Subardi, 1989).

At 10 years old R.M. Sudira was handed over to Kanjeng Pangeran Riya and taken by his adopted son and taught in branches of knowledge such as arts, culture, knowledge, kanuragan and kebatinan until he was 15 years old and was enrolled in cadet education at Legioen Mangkoeneragan taught war strategies and in particular using weapons such as rifles.

long and short barrel. In 1836 R.M. Sudira was appointed Patih Jero or the second governor of the Mangkunegaran Duchy with the rank of Major. As a governor, R.M. Sudira was able to carry out his duties well during his seventeen years as governor. On March 24, 1853 officially R.M. Sudira was appointed as Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Arya Prabu Prangwadana IV.

When appointed as the king, R.M. Sudira is 43 years old. In May 1853 K.G.A.A.P. Prangwadana IV was married to B.R. Ajeng Dhunuk, the first daughter of Sri Mangkunegara III. (Siswokartono, 2006: 76-78). One year, his government was shaken by politics by relatives and descendants of Sri Mangkunegara III who wanted to gain a position. On the other hand K.G.A.A.P Prangwadana or Sri Mangkunegara IV in lineage is not a direct descendant of Sri Mangkunegara III (Layang Pranatan K.G.P.A.A.P. Prangwadana IV. Surakarta: Rekso Pustaka).

Sri Mangkunegara IV Sufism' Values

The Sri Mangkunegara IV's spiritual values had actually been seen prominently since serving as Pepatih Dalem Sri Mangkunegara III in 1852. Serat Nayakawara by Sri Mangkunegara IV explains the following.

*Kang mangkono iku tandha,
Yen janma diweruh wajibing urip,
Nggugu wulang nut ing kukum,
Tetep nora kamalan,
Arep mangan gelem nyambut karyanipun,
Kang utang esah sanyata,
Kang kalal ing lahir batin*

The meaning of the stanza above is that humans must understand the obligations of life, one of which is by obeying the law. He doesn't talk much if he wants to eat he has to work, if he has a debt he has to be paid so that his sense of *halal* is born to the mind. In this context, Sri Mangkunegara IV clearly educates his family and people to seek lawful rizqi and always strives to achieve the goal of a dignified and clean life (Al-Baqarah: 168; Al-Ma'idah: 88 ; An-Nahl: 114 ; Ar-Ra'd: 11) Apart from giving lessons to find a decent and lawful living, Sri Mangkunegara IV also gave advice in Serat Selokatama not to be arrogant to anyone because arrogant nature will not be trusted by people and will not be respected. For this reason, anyone who feels guilty is required to have the courage to apologize (Siswokartono, 2006: 260).

The values of other Sufism teachings are increasingly clear in the thoughts of Sri Mangkunegara IV as stated in the *Wedhatama* book which was viewed from the Sufism pattern, it was the integration of Javanese spiritual values, namely the teachings of *Manunggaling Kawulo lan Gusti* (Birsyada, 2020: 267-286). One of his teachings is called *Catur Sembah*. *Catur* in Javanese means four, while *Sembah* means worship or serve.

The four levels of worship are: *sembah raga* (body worship), *sembah cipta* (creation worship), *sembah jiwa* (soul worship) and finally *sembah rasa* (worshiping feelings) (Mangkunegara IV. 1926; Birsyada, et. al, 2017). These four levels in Islam actually described as the "maqamat" stages of a Sufi, namely *syari'at*, *tarekat*, *hakikat* and the peak is *makrifat*. The concept of "makrifatullah" which in the Sufi tradition can be interpreted as knowing God by Sri Mangkunegara IV is described with the level of "Sembah Rasa." In short, the main purpose of human life on earth is to "worship" or have the meaning of Allah (QS. Adzariyat: 56).

In the tradition of Sufi, there is an understanding that to be able to carry out worship properly, knowledge is needed to know God so that people know the direction and purpose to whom the worship is being done. Imam Ruwaim bin Ahmad explained about the beginning of the obligation of the servant to Allah he answered "Ma'rifat". This is based on a verse "I did not create jinn and humans except to worship". (Soorah Adzariyat: 56). The word "Ma'rifat" by

Ibn Abbas is defined as "*Illaa Liya'rifuun*" (except for having *ma'rifat*, which is to know consciously and believe in the existence of Allah).

Thus, worshipping God is the obligation of a servant for the first time on this earth (Al Qusyairi in *Risalatul Qusyairiyah fi 'Ilmit Tashawuf* pages 41-42). Worship can also be interpreted as focusing all thoughts, souls and conscience only on servitude to Allah (Shihab, 2007: 366-360). According to Sri Mangkunegara IV, the first level of prayer is the prayer of the body (*sembah raga*), one of which is to carry out the Shari'a such as doing the five daily prayers, how to purify it with ablution water. (Mangkunegara IV. 1926; Birsyada, et. al, 2017: 9-11).

After explaining how the ethics of worshipping the body (*sembah raga*) by purifying small traditions by doing ablution using water and praying five times a day, the second stage is called *Sembah Kalbu* (Praying the Heart). *Kalbu* in Javanese means heart. So at this stage the one who worships not only the body or the body but the heart will also worship by cleaning it from all the defilements of the heart. "*Samengko sembah kalbu,yen lumintu uga dadi laku,laku agung kang kagungan Narapati,patitis tetesing kawruh,meruhi marang kang momong,sucine tanpa banyu,mung nyunyuda mring hardaning kalbu,pambukane tata titi ngati-ati.*" This *Sembah Kalbu* is a stage in how a person keeps his heart clean and alert from disgraceful behavior.

According to Imam Al-Ghazali there are 11 doors in humans through which Satan can enter and destroy the human heart. The first disease is called "*ghodhob*" and "*syahwat* (lust)" which means it is irritable to indulge in lust for excessive worldly love. Second, "*hasud*" and "*harash*" which means jealous envy and greed. Third, "*sab'un*" means that the stomach is always full of food so that it brings lust. The fourth "*hubbut tazayyun*" means like to make up or make up. The five "*ujlatun*" means easy to hurry. The sixth "*Darohim*" means completely excessive in spending wealth. Seventh is "*tamak* (greedy)" and likes to show off. The eighth "*bukhlu wa khouful fakir*" is stingy and afraid of poverty. The ninth denounced the Mazhab. Tenth, conveying knowledge that is not yet at its level. The eleventh "*suudzon*" or *prejudice*. (Abu Hamid Muhammad Al Ghazali ath-*Thusi asy*-Shafiidalam Ihya 'Ulumuddin. Juz. 3 pages 4-5).

At the third level, Sri Mangkunegara IV named it the *Sembah Jiwa* (holy soul worship) by remembering and being vigilant. "*Mring Hyang Sukma sukmanen saari ari,srahen dipun kacakup,sembahing jiwa sutengong, sayekti luwih perlu,inganaran pepuntoning laku,kalakuwan tumprap kang bngsaning batin,sucine lan awas emut,mring alaming lama maot.*" (Mangkunegara IV. 1926; Birsyada, et , al, 2017: 13). When contextualized with the tradition of Sufism, the prayer of the soul can be said to be a state of essence. To purify it is to always remember Allah in any situation. The next stage is the highest stage, namely "*Sembah Rasa*".

In the Sufism tradition it is included in the state of "*makrifat*". "*Sembah rasa karasa wosing dumadi,dadine wis tanpa tuduh,mung kalawan kasing batos*" (Mangkunegara IV. 1926; Birsyada, et, al, 2017: 13). At this stage, you can witness God's presence and feel God's immeasurable grace. A person at this level has no more doubts and troubles that exist in his heart is a sense of true gratitude and happiness as the sweet fruit of the faith he gets (QS. Yunus: 62).

9 CONCLUSION

Starting from the above explanation, it can be concluded that the Sufism that developed and was practiced in Java in the 19th century as developed by Sri Mangkunegara IV had the roots of Javanese cultural thought. This is at the same time in line with what Drewes (1983) stated that religious teachers teaching Islam in Java has been adapted to local traditions and culture.

This view is also in line with Simuh's (2002) view that the Sufism that has been developed in Java is then called Javanese Sufism because it incorporates Javanese cultural

concepts into Sufism thinking. In addition, the findings in this article also develop findings from Howell (2001). who previously said that the Sufism tradition was actually a development of Islamic law. The findings show that the development of Sufism in Java by Sri Mangkunegara IV was more philosophical in character and tithes with Javanese philosophical concepts, one of which was the teaching of "*Catur Sembah*".

In addition, the findings in this article refute the views of Azra (2013) who previously explained that the tradition of Sufism developed in the pesantren environment. In this article, the values of Sufism were actually developed in the Javanese priyayi environment which was none other than the palace environment where ideologically it became a support of the Kejawen ideological thought tradition.

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