

KROPAK FERRARA: RECONSIDERING THE 16TH CENTURY JAVANESE MUSLIM IDENTITY

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis fungsi teks Kropak Ferrara sebagai penanda konstruksi historisitas dan pembentuk sistem nilai Islam-Jawa pada abad ke-16 M. Naskah Kropak Ferrara yang dikaji adalah Naskah MS Cod. Or. 10.811 yang dipublikasikan oleh G.W.J. Drewes. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis Semiotik dan analisis Semantik Linguistik untuk menganalisis hubungan antara teks penanda dan realitas historis Islam-Jawa. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa penggunaan sistem aksara dan bahasa Jawa dalam teks penanda sebagai suatu proses peralihan latar belakang kultur Jawa dari periode Hindu-Buddha menuju sistem tatanan masyarakat Islami yang dikembangkan melalui keberagaman identitas kultur Muslim di Pantai Utara Jawa. Teks Penanda juga menunjukkan bahwa adanya ancaman kewujudan identitas Islam-Jawa melalui perkembangan doktrin Monisme yang merupakan bagian dari unsur-unsur Tantra dan ditanggapi oleh Kropak Ferrara melalui pembentukan sistem keyakinan yang didasarkan pada ajaran-ajaran Islam Sunni. Sistem nilai yang dikonstruksikan oleh Kropak Ferrara yang diadaptasi dari Bid'ayah al-Hidayah untuk mendukung ortodoksi merupakan suatu antitesis melalui otoritas Giri Kedaton sebagai otoritas tertinggi Islam-Jawa. Kropak Ferrara bukan hanya sumber sejarah dan kultur Muslim Jawa, tetapi juga sebuah teks yang mengkonstruksikan identitas dan kultur masyarakat Islam Jawa yang terpisah dari identitas Jawa pra-Islam.

Kata Kunci: Kropak Ferrara; Sejarah; Sistem Islam; Islam Jawa; Analisis Semiotika

Abstract

This article aims to analyze the function of the *Kropak Ferrara*, the oldest Javano-Islamic manuscript, as an essential lens to examine the 16th century formation of Javanese Islamic system. Based on G.W.J. Drewes's close examination to the manuscript of *Kropak Ferrara* (MS Cod. Or. 10.811), the article deploys both Semiotic Analysis and Linguistic Semantic Analysis in order to analyze the relationship between the signifier text and the historical reality of Islam in ancient Javanese. It further argues that the use of the Javanese script

and language system, hereby spelled as the signifier text, is a conversion of Javanese cultural settings from the Hindu-Buddhist period to the order of Islamic community that developed along with diverse cultural Muslim identities on the North Coast of Java. The signifier text also informs us the tension between the earliest Javanese Islamic identity through the development of *Monism* doctrine which is essential part of Tantrā doctrine and *Kropak Ferrara* which dictates the provisions of Sunni Islam. The fundamental Islamic belief with which *Kropak Ferrara* dictates is indeed an adaptation of the classical theological book *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah* which encourages Islamic orthodoxy as an antithesis to *Monism*. It culminated to Giri Kedaton's authority which resorted as the highest religious authority of Islam in Java. Not only does *Kropak Ferrara* serve as a historical source important to understand cultural aspect of the earliest Muslim community in Java, but also resorts as a the fundamental textual tradition which is essential in imposing the identity and culture of the earliest Javanese Muslim community and at the same time to distance the community from pre-Islamic identity.

Keywords: Kropak Ferrara; Historicity; Value System; Javanese Islam; Semiotic Analysis

Introduction

As far as the historiographical research on the Islamization of Java is concerned, researchers particularly hold the view that the earliest Islamization of Java was imposed upon the notion of Sunni orthodoxy and distanced from the pre-Islamic Javanese social, cultural and religious system that put a weight on the doctrines of Shiva-Buddha, Kapitayan, and Sundanese Wiwitan¹. Other researchers support the theory of mystic-synthesis which particularly see the early Islamization in Java was dialectical, characterized by a strong degree of syncretism between Islam and cultural system of pre-Islamic Javanese society, and resulting in a non-orthodox understanding of Islam that weights on esoteric and mystical dimension of Islam which is also known as "Islam-Kejawen"².

The *Kropak Ferrara*, the oldest Islamic manuscript ever found and possibly written in Java in the 15th or 16th century,³ on the other hand shows a strong message that the early the Islamization in Java paved through the initial distinction between the Javanese Muslim and the pre-Islamic Javanese identity. Written on *lontar* leaf, the manuscript consists of two parts: the *Kropak Ferrara* I and II. The manuscript was found at the Sedayu Port near Tuban and brought by a Dutch sailor to Europe conceivably in 1585.⁴ It is also said that a Roman Catholic missionary transferred the manuscript to Italy before the establishment of the Dutch-East Indies Company (VOC) in 1598-1599. This later argument is related to the presence of Dominican Missionaries on the North Coast of Java especially in Pasuruan, Tuban, and Gresik in the 16th century as Lucas de Catharina

¹ Nancy K. Florida, "Reading The Unread in Traditional Javanese Literature," *Indonesia*, no. 44 (1987), 1-2; Nancy K. Florida, *Islam-Jawa di Masa Kolonial: Suluk, Santri, dan Pujangga Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Buku Langgar, 2019), 43; Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement On A General Theory of The Islamization of The Malay-Indonesian Archipelago* (Kuala Lumpur: Ta'dib International, 2018), 2-5.

² J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays In Asian Social And Economic History* (Leiden: The Hague, W. Van Hoeve, 1955), 465; Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 5-7; Theodore G. T Pigaeud, and J. de Graaf, *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700: A Summary, Bibliography and Index* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 4-6. A. Johns, "Sufism as A Category in Indonesian Literature and History," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2, no. 2 (1961), 12-13, 15-17; Mark R. Woodward, *The Shari'ah and The Secret Doctrine: Muslim Law and Mystical Doctrine in Central Java* (Thesis Dissertation: University of Illinois, 1985), 103-104, M. C. Ricklefs, *Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from The Fourteenth to The Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Utah: Signature Books, 2006), 5-6.

³ Christian Hooykas, *A Balinese Temple Festival* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), 11.

⁴ Abdul Hadi W.M., Moeflich Hasbulah, and Taufik Abdullah, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan Islam di Indonesia*, Jilid 4 (Jakarta: Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Budaya, Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2015), 132.

reported and B. J. Visser quoted.⁵ The *Kropak Ferrara* manuscript was in the hand of an anonymous and then handed over to the *Marquis Cristino Babilacqua Library* in Ferrara, Italy, as *Recenti Ingressi VIII* told that “*Non si sa bene decidere quale sia il marchese Cristino Bevilacqua*”⁶. Luigi Napoleon Cittadella (1862-1877) submitted an imprint of the *Kropak Ferrara* metal plate to an orientalist for further investigation. One of the library documents which is in the form of a letter submitted by Edwaed Dulaurier dated July 1886, mentions his refusal to study the *Kropak Ferrara* on ground that the manuscript was in ancient Javanese script while he was unable to read the text. J. Soegiarto in 1962 compiled a copy and transcription, then two photos and their translation were kept in the Leiden University Library under a list of inventory numbers MS. Cod. Or. 10.811. later, in 1963 a summary of the translation was published by the Ferrara Library in Italy.⁷

In 1978, a Dutch scholar G.W.J. Drewes studied the *Kropak Ferrara*. His study resulted in a book published by Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal Land en Volkenkunde with the title “*An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics*.” Drewes writes that the *Kropak Ferrara I* which tells the *serasehan* (deliberation) of *Walisongo* is possibly written the 18th century,⁸ while its sister, the *Kropak Ferrara II*, which discusses the principle of Islamic teachings, is conceivably written in the 16th century or the 15th century at the earliest.⁹ The *Kropak Ferrara II* uses “Javanese Kawi” which is similar to be found in ancient Javanese literature, such as *Serat Pararaton*. Drewes further identified that the author of *Kropak Ferrara* named himself as the *khālifah* (chaliph). The term *khālifah* indicates that the author was a leader of the Muslim scholars of Java. This information leads to an hypothesis that the author of *Kropak Ferrara II* is indeed Maulana Malik Ibrahim (d. 822 H./1419 AD) who was referred as the leader of the council of Muslim scholars and also the most respected *imam* (leader) of mosque in Java. In addition, it is also assumed that the text of *Keropak Ferrara II* is indeed a

⁵ J. de Graaf, *Puncak Kekuasaan Mataram: Politik Ekspansi Sultan Agung* (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, cet. 2, 1990), 236.

⁶ Bibliotheca Comunale Ariostea, *Recenti Ingressi VIII* (Ferrara: Bibliotheca Comunale Ariostea, 1963), 15.

⁷ Abdul Hadi W.M., Moeflich Hasbulah, and Taufik Abdullah, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan Islam di Indonesia*, Jilid 4 (Jakarta: Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Budaya, Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2015), 132; G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 1.

⁸ Abdul Hadi W.M., Moeflich Hasbulah, and Taufik Abdullah, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan Islam di Indonesia*, Jilid 4 (Jakarta: Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Budaya, Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2015), 132

⁹ G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 1.
, 11.

partial adaptation to the work of Al-Ghazali's (d. 1111) *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah* entitled¹⁰.

Drewes also urged that Maulana Malik Ibrahim (d. 822 H./1419 AD) is indeed not the author of the *Keropak Ferrara*. The tombstone epigraph of Maulana Malik Ibrahim in Gresik does not include the title of *khalifah* in Java or the like. In addition, the title of *khalifah* in the meaning of the leader of the *ulama'* and the Walisongo preacher council is also incorrectly attributed to Maulana Malik Ibrahim based on the consideration that the Walisongo council was just formed in 1471 following the establishment and political and religious center of Giri Kedaton with its leaders Sunan Giri I (1487-1506 AD), Sunan Dalem (1506-1545 AD), and Sunan Giri II Prapen (1548-1605 AD) and the following successors that had the title "Panembahan" as a result of the intervention of Sultan Hadiwijaya of Pajang.¹¹ Meanwhile, Gapura (Gresik) where Maulana Malik Ibrahim's residence was the land given by Prabu Wikramawardhana. I was one of sea tradeing ports (*bandar*) and never once it became the political centre of the Islamic kingdom in the island of Java not the center of religious authority.¹² The manuscript of *Wirid Hidayat Jati* suggests that Sunan Giri Kedaton and Sunan Giri II Prapen are the caliphs of Walisongo council but it excludes the name of Maulana Malik Ibrahim¹³. The roles of Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Ibrahim as-Samarkandi, and Maulana Yusuf Mahapur Magribi in *Babad ing Gresik* were identified as propagators of Islam before the Walisongo era. The Javanese historiography in the Islamic Mataram period and the post-Giyanti agreement thus made a mistake as mentioning Maulana Malik Ibrahim in the same period as the period of the Walisongo preacher council¹⁴. This mistake actually implies that not only do historians working of the Walisongo incline to define Sunan Gresik as a member of Walisongo but also attributing the title of *khālifah* of Java to Maulana Malik Ibrahim.

The opinion saying that the Kropak Ferrara II text is composed on behalf of Sunan Giri I or Sunan Giri II Prapen is based on the fact that the

¹⁰ G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 1., 7-8; Abdul Hadi W.M., Moeflich Hasbulah, and Taufik Abdullah, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan Islam di Indonesia*, Jilid 4 (Jakarta: Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Budaya, Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2015), 132.

¹¹ J. de Graaf, and T G. T Pigaeud, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Islam Pertama di Jawa: Kajian Sejarah Politik Abad ke-15 dan ke-16* (Jakarta: Grafitipers, 1985), 176-187.

¹² Ahmad Gaus AF, and Herdi Sahrasad, "Culture and Religion: The Movement and Thought of Islam Nusantara Nowadays, A Socio-Cultural Reflection," *EL Harakah* 21, no. 1 (2019), 8.

¹³ Maretha, and Suminto, *Mengungkap Siasat Walisanga: Mengislamkan Jawa dengan Vedanta* (Jakarta: Majapahid Nusantara, 2017), 161-162.

¹⁴ Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo* (Depok: Pustaka IIMaN, 2016), 72-73, 136-137.

text was written in ancient Javanese, similar to the works of the late Majapahit period compiled by Mahakawi, such as *Serat Pararaton*, *Tattwajñāna Nirmala Nawaruci* authored by Mpu Siwamurti, and *Kakawin Śiwarātrikalpa* by Mpu Tanakuṇ¹⁵. Thus, as the contents of the *Kropak Ferrara* reseves as a guideline or guidance for the early Javanese Muslims, the use of ancient Javanese of the manuscript implies that the author is indeed part of the Majapahit aristocracy (*kraton*) and the leader (*khālifah*) of the earliest Muslim scholars in Java. Sunan Giri I named as Raden 'Ainul Yaqin in *Babad Tanah Jawi* was mentioned as Prabu Satmata which demonstrates his spiritual status and position in the Hindu-Javanese cosmology. Thus, it is reasonably true that the Walisongo appointed Sunan Giri I as the *khālifah* of Walisongo council¹⁶. Maulana Malik Ibrahim on the other hand, the earliest Islamic scholar at the period of pre-Wali Songo whose name was written at the epiphet of Gresik tombstone is a scholar with Kushan (Persia) origin, thus not a Javanese. Considering his origin, therefore it is highly unlikely that Maulana Malik Ibrahim is the author of *Kropak Ferrara*¹⁷.

In addition, the possible author of *Kropak Ferrara II* should be also analised in terms of historical changes; that the author lived in the 16th century Java during the escalation of Portuguese and Spanish trade in the Malacca Peninsula, Java Sea and the Maluku Islands¹⁸. It indicates that the author lived in an era of transition signalled by the presence of foreigners power which is particularly framed as a threat to Islamization and the sovereignty of the Javanese Islamic kingdoms as the heirs of Majapahit in terms of maritime¹⁹. This external threat was further exarcebated by the competition among the Muslim Javanese rulers in Banten and Demak. This circumstance became a concern for the *ulama* and preacher in Java, who on the one hand had a religious legitimacy as the Susuhunan (ruler) and the holder of spiritual authority on the Javanese people, especially in the context

¹⁵ Pitono Hardjowardoni, *Pararaton* (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1965), 6-7; Zoetmuelder, *Kalangan: Sastra Jawa Kuno Selayang Pandang* (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1983), 455-459; A. Teeuw et al., eds., *Śiwarātrikalpa of Mpu Tanakuṇ: An Old Javanese Poem, its Indian Source and Balinese Illustration* (Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde, 1969), 26-29.

¹⁶ W. L. Olthof, ed., *Babad Tanah Jawi: Mulai dari Nabi Adam Sampai Tahun 1647* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Narasi, 2014), 28.

¹⁷ Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo* (Depok: Pustaka IIMaN, 2016), 76.

¹⁸ Bernad M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Poupuler Gramedia, 2008), 97; M.C. Ricklefs et al., *Sejarah Asia Tenggara: Dari Masa Prasejarah Sampai Kontemporer* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2013), 189-192.

¹⁹ Bernad M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Poupuler Gramedia, 2008), 101; Michael Laffan, *Sejarah Islam di Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Bentang, 2015), 53.

of the Walisongo council, but on the other hand governing and military were entirely in the hands of Sultans²⁰.

Political transition and inside-political fractures seem to be the backdrop for the author of Kropak Ferrara who owned the authority as *khālifah* to write a compiled practical guidelines for the people (*kawula*) to practice Islam. In so doing, the author adapted the book *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah* by Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali (d. 505 H / 1111 AD), *Rauḍah al-'Ulamā* (Rauḍah al-Ṭālibīn) by Al-Zandawasiti (w. 393 H./922 AD), and *Maṣābih Mafatih* by Al-Aquli Al-Wasiti (797 H./1394 AD). As an important figure in Sufism, the influence of Al-Ghazali on the early Islamisation in Java appears to his other works, especially on affairs of practising Islam²¹. The author of Kropak Ferrara is more interested in partially adapting the *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah* than Al-Ghazali's other works to meet the needs of the principles of Islamic teaching. It should be noted that this text is intended for Muslim communities in the northern coastal region of Java who are already at the stage of accepting Islam. This circumstance is different from the hinterland areas in Southern Java which require an acculturative *da'wah* approach, such as that carried out by Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Muria, where pre-Islamic teachings were stronger and more resistant so that Islamization did not take place directly²². The compilation of the Kropak Ferrara manuscript should not be ignored from the development of society on the North Coast of Java, which at that time had become an exclusive area for the Javanese Islam community. The coastal area was an area where Islamic teachings fully developed and were supported by local rulers, especially in Tuban and Gresik through a well acceptance of indigenous people in the terms of cultural diversity among multicultural communities and were not resistant to accept Islamic propagation.

The adaptation of Al-Ghazali's corpus in Kropak Ferrara defines also the function of the text as a signifier of the North Coast Javanese Islam identity. The manuscript of Kropak Ferrara shows a rejection of the Javanese Islam Mystical Synthesis and aims to establish a Sunni-Javanese Islamic identity

²⁰ Theodore G. T Pigeaud, & J. de Graaf, *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700: A Summary, Bibliography and Index*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976, 5-9; Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya Kajian Sejarah Terpadu, Bagian III: Warisan Kerajaan-kerajaan Konsentris* (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005), 28.

²¹ G.W.J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (Leiden: Springer Neatherlands, 1969), 14; Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1999), 61-62; Kholili Hasib, "Menelusuri Mazhab Walisongo," *TSAQFAH: Jurnal Peradaban Islam* 11, no. 1 (2015), 148.

²² Simuh, *Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam ke Mistik Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya, 1995), 218-219; Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 121-130.

accompanied to a strict separation from the pre-Islamic Javanese teaching²³. The efforts to purify Javanese Islam identity were done through the accusation of heresy to the *Wujûdiyah* (*Manunggaling Kawulo lan Gusti*) doctrine which was attributed to Siti Jënar, the best representative of Javanese heretical teachings (*bid'ah*) for syncretic alliances between Islamic teachings and pre-Islamic Javanese doctrine²⁴.

Kropak Ferrara as a Signifier Text on The Historicity of Javanese Islam

The *Kropak Ferrara* is an interesting text if we closely observe varieties of Javanese language used by the author and have a analytical comparison to the *Kropak Ferrara* I and II, as I present below:

Table B.1
The Comparasion of Vocabulary Dispersion
Between Kropak Ferrara I and II

No.	Kosa Kata	KF_I	KF_{II}
1.	Sanskrit	6 (7%)	13 (15%)
2.	Javanese-Kawi	15 (18%)	19 (22%)
3.	Javanese-Madya	13 (15%)	19 (22%)
4.	Arabic	21 (25%)	8 (9%)
5.	Arabic-Jawi	22 (26%)	14 (16%)
6.	Malay	8 (9%)	12 (14%)
<i>Sample Words</i>		85 (100%)	85 (100%)
Keterangan: • KF_I : Kropak Ferrara I • KF_{II} : Kropak Ferrara II • Javanese-Madya : The vocabulary of Javanese from the middle Java period. • Arabic-Jawi : The vocabulary of Arabic adapted into the local dialect.			

²³ Taufik Abdullah, "Di Sekitar Masalah Agama dan Kohesi Sosial: Pengalaman dan Tantangan," *Jurnal Masyarakat & Budaya* 11, No. 1 (2009), 4.

²⁴ G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 1, 4.

The comparison in Table B.1 above shows a shifting pattern of vocabulary distribution in Kropak Ferrara I and II. There are 13 Sanskrit vocabularies (15%) in KF_{II} and only 6 vocabularies (7%) in KF_I. KF_{II} as the text of Islamization of Java in the 16th century AD should not be separated from the influence of Sanskrit which is a Cosmopolitan language in the Archipelago and Southeast Asia²⁵. The Sanskrit is a *lingua franca* both in the fields of religion, government and trade activities, international business, and even cultural interactions in the Southeast Asian²⁶. This is shown by the use of the word *Arta* which means treasure or wealth and the word *Swarga* which means heaven²⁷. The Sanskrit word *Arta* appears in the Arthashastra text in the form of the word *Artha*²⁸. The word *Swarga* in Sanskrit is still used in KF_I and KF_{II} as contained in the Javanese-Kawi text from the 8th century AD entitled *San̄ Hyan̄ Kamahāyānikan* in the form of the word *Swargga*²⁹ and it is not in the Malay form of the word *Syûrgā* used in the classical Malay text of the 16th and 17th centuries, entitled Camb. MS Or. li.6.45 and *Tarjumān al-Mustafid*³⁰. The Sanskrit vocabulary at KF_I which is less than KF_{II} draws the decline of Indianization which is signified by the weakening of the influence of Sanskrit culture in the archipelago and Southeast Asia³¹. This indicates that in the context of KF_I, the influence of Sanskrit vocabulary in the text has implications for the approach to Islamization of Java dealt to local indigenous which is signified by the formation of Javanese-Kawi and Javanese-Madya through the construction of the proto Javanese-Kitabi in the Kropak Ferrara text.

²⁵ Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of The Gods in The World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 286-287.

²⁶ Johannes Bronkhorst, "The Spread of Sanskrit in Southeast Asia." In Pierre-Yves Manguin et al., eds., *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2011), 263.

²⁷ Purwadi, and Eko Priyo Purnomo, *Kamus Sanskerta Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: BudayaJawa.com, 2008), 10, 142.

²⁸ L. N. Ranggarajan, *The Arthashastra: Edited, Rearranged, Translated and Introduced* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 1992), 13.

²⁹ Nilapema, ed., *Sang Hyang Kamahayanan Mantranaya dan Sang Hyang Kamahayanan* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bhumisambhara, 2015), 4, 6, 12, 66; Hudaya Kandahjaya, "San̄ Hyan̄ Kamahāyānikan, Borobudur, and the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia." In Andrea Acri, ed., *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2016), 67.

³⁰ Peter Gregory Riddle, "Camb. MS Or.li.6.45: The Oldest Surviving Qur'anic Commentary from Southeast Asia," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 16, no. 1 (2014), 122, 131; Peter Gregory Riddle, *'Abd Al-Ra'ûf Al-Singkili's Tarjumān Al-Mustafid: A Critical Study of His Treatment of Juz' 16* (Thesis Dissertation: The Australian National University, 1984), 139.

³¹ George Coedès, *Asia Tenggara Masa Hindu Buddha* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Gramedia Populer, 2015), 295.

The 19 Javanese-Kawi words in KF_{II} (22%) did not change significantly compared to KF_I with 15 words (18%). The preservation of the Javanese-Kawi language as in *Serat Pararaton* occurred in KF_{II}³². The preservation of the Javanese-Kawi language actually takes place through the institution of pesantren through the development of a variety of Javanese-Kitabi languages that separates from the Javanese-Kraton language and was in-use in teaching religious texts in pesantren³³. Some of the Javanese-Kawi words preserved in KF_{II} include the word *tan* (nothing) which is used in Mpu Tantular's Kakawin Sutasoma which in Sloka 139:5 mentions, *bhīneka tunggal ika tan hana dharma mangrwa*³⁴. The word *tan* is also found in Suluk Sunan Bonang in the sentence, "*kañ tan inanak-anakakñ*"³⁵. Meanwhile, the word *Anangkita* (dispute) comes from the Sanskrit word *Sangkita* which in Malay is changed to the word *Sengketa*.³⁶ The word *Sidikarya* or *Sidigawe* is interpreted by the word *Iwo* which means paying attention³⁷.

The use of Javanese-Intermediate word in KF_{II} as many as 19 vocabularies (22%) also did not show a significant change compared to KF_I with 13 vocabularies (15%). The development of the Javanese-Madian language overlaps with the late period of development of the Javanese-Kawi language and the beginning of the New Java-Javanese period that occurred in the 16th century AD. vocabulary in *Pararaton*. The development of Javanese-Madiya language took place rapidly in Bali in the form of *Kidung*³⁸. The influence of the Javanese-Madiya language in Kropak Ferrara is shown by the use of *Jaba* and *Jero* vocabularies which show the relationship of linguistic markers with Balinese literature which is also influenced by the Javanese-Madya³⁹. These two vocabularies appear in the Balinese text entitled *Iontar Aji Pengeleakan* in the sentence, "*dewa ring jero, bhuta ring*

³² G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 1, 3.

³³ Moch Ali, "Bahasa Jawa-Kitabi Dialek Madura dalam Naskah 'Careta Qiyamat'," *Litera Journal* 6, no. 1 (2007), 22.

³⁴ Soewito Santoso, *Boddhakawya – Sutasoma: A Study in Javanese Wajrayana Text – Translation – Commentary*, vol. 2 (Disertasi: Australian National University, 1968), 228.

³⁵ G.W.J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (Leiden: Springer Neatherlands, 1969), 84.

³⁶ J. Gonda, *Sanskrit In Indonesia* (Nagpur: The International Academy of Indian Culture, 1952), 182.

³⁷ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 146.

³⁸ Zoetmuelder, *Kalangwan: Sastra Jawa Kuno Selayang Pandang* (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1983), 29-33.

³⁹ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 77.

jaba.⁴⁰ The influence of Javanese-Intermediate vocabulary in Pararaton is also found in the word *Pupurik* (marah) which included in statement, "*Bhra Hyang wiçesa apupurikan lawan bhra Wirabhumi*." (Bhre Hyang Wisesa fought againts Bhre Wirabhumi)⁴¹.

The dispersion of Arabic and Arabic-Jawi vocabulary in KF_{II} consists of 8 vocabularies (9%) and 14 vocabularies (16%) has increased in KF_I to 21 vocabularies (25%) and 22 vocabularies (26%). This increase shows the strengthening of the role of Arabic and Arabic-Jawi as a means of delivering authentic Islamic teachings. This also shows the Arabic Cosmopolis phenomenon in the Islamization network of the Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula, including in this context the Islamization of Java which is marked by the influence and adaptation of Arabic and Arabic-Jawi vocabulary into Javanese Islam literature, especially in the context of teaching Islam⁴². The Arabic and Arabic-Jawi vocabulary contained in Kropak Ferrara, including *Mutabat* (Dignity), *Sadat* (Shahada), *Tohid* (Tawhid) and so on, shows that there is a process of adapting important terms in Arabic in Islam so that it can be easily understood by the public.⁴³

The dispersion of Malay vocabulary in KF_{II} consists of 12 words (14%) without significant changes in KF_I which consists of 8 words (9%). The influence of Malay vocabulary is inseparable from the cosmopolitan socioculture of the North Coast of Java and is characterized by interactions among immigrants which in Ma Huan's note entitled *Ying-Yai Sheng Lan* is characterized by various ethnic identities and languages used⁴⁴. The role of the Malay language was actually strengthening among the immigrants for various purposes such as the language of government (*bahasa dalam*), the language of the aristocracy (*bahasa bangsawan*), the language of trade (*bahasa dagang*) with different styles⁴⁵. This causes Kropak Ferrara to also get the influence of the Malay language which was earlier influenced by the

⁴⁰ Putu Yudiantara et al., *Ensiklopedi Kiwa Tengen: Kumpulan Ilmu Kebatinan Bali untuk Berbagai Tujuan* (Denpasar: BaliWisdom.com, 2017), 2.

⁴¹ J. L. A. Brandes, *Pararaton (Ken Arok) of het boek der Koningen van Tumapël en van Majapahit* (Batavia: Batavia's Hage, 1897), 39.

⁴² Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and The Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 15-16.

⁴³ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 76, 87-88.

⁴⁴ J.V.G. Mills, ed., *Ma Huan Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan: The Overall Survey of Ocean's Shores* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 90.

⁴⁵ William Edward Maxwell, *A Manual of The Malay Language* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1914), vi.

Islamization process and is more familiar among the multicultural patterned of the North Coast of Java.⁴⁶

The script system (writing system) on the manuscript of Kropak Ferrara is written in the ancient Javanese script system and using *tal* (*lontar*) material as a writing material. The writing of ancient Javanese scripts both on the island of Java and Javanese-Bali manuscripts from the period of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom uses a script system which is a modification of the ancient Javanese script.⁴⁷ Similar writing is applied to early Islamic texts on the island of Java. The Kropak Ferrara manuscript as the oldest Islamic manuscript on the island of Java from the 16th century AD was written in ancient Javanese script and using materials *lontar* (*tal*)⁴⁸. The writing of *Suluk Sunan Bonang* (*Het Book van Bonang*) which is stored in the Leiden Museum with the MS inventory code. 266 also shows similarities to the Balinese lontar script. This places the Kropak Ferrara and the manuscript of *Suluk Sunan Bonang* (MS. 266) as texts signing the transition from the Hindu-Buddhist era to the Islamization period of Java. The Kropak Ferrara manuscript also has a textual network relationship with Balinese lontar manuscripts. The manuscript of *Lontar Raden Patah*, which was collected by I Ketut Darnawa with a total of 15 pages, was arranged in Middle Javanese with a grammar and diction similar to the Kropak Ferrara Manuscript. Textual network relationships are also established between Kropak Ferrara and a script of *Shiva Siddhanta* from Bali entitled lontar *Wrhaspati Tattwa*⁴⁹ which is signified by similarities in the use of ancient Javanese script and lontar materials. This indicates that there is a textual network relationship between the transitional texts with Javanese-Middle style patterns in both Java and Bali. This is because the North Coast of Java and East Java are areas that have long been influenced by the influence of Balinese culture⁵⁰.

Thus, based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that Kropak Ferrara functions as a signifier text of the sociohistorical background of the Islamization of the North Coast of Java in the 16th century AD which was signified by the use of ancient Javanese language and script as an indication for the transition of Javanese cultural background from the Hindu-Buddhe

⁴⁶ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 7.

⁴⁷ Zoetmuelder, *Kalangwan: Sastra Jawa Kuno Selayang Pandang* (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1983), 44-45.

⁴⁸ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 5.

⁴⁹ Ida Bagus Mantra, *Jejak Awal Hindu di Indonesia* (Badung: Sarwa Tattwa Pusaka, 2020), 124-125.

⁵⁰ G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 76.

period. Buddhism towards the period of Javanese Islam society community with a Sunni pattern through the dynamics of the diversity of Muslim sociolinguistic identities in the North Coast of Java.

Kropak Ferrara as The Signified Text of Javanese Islam Identity

The author of Kropak Ferrara II at the beginning part of the text explained the concept of religious attitudes that, "*Sampun sak malih, muwah ta sampun kacampur dening ilmiing seset/ kang kupur...*," (Do not hesitate and do not be confused by misguided and disbelieving knowledge)⁵¹. This statement shows that the author attempt to direct Javanese Muslim converts to have a clear religious attitude in the midst of conflicting values and belief systems in the Islamization of Java⁵². As new converts to Islam, Javanese Islam communities are confused about embracing their Muslim identity apart from pre-Islamic Javanese concepts and traditions. This condition is also inseparable from local socio-religious conditions, where Muslims at that time were a minority and had long been influenced by Hindu culture⁵³.

The condition of the Javanese inland communities that have not yet fully experienced Islamization has been well noted by Tomé Pires. Tomé Pire explained that in addition to Muslim immigrants from various countries, some of the rulers of the North Coast of East Java, such as those in Sedayu had converted to Islam, but the indigenous people in the interior still adhered to the pre-Islamic Javanese religion⁵⁴. Even the conflict between the newly formed Javanese Islam community and local rulers was inevitable in the first decade of the 16th century AD. A number of Javanese port cities at that time were still under the rule of Majapahit Kling, even some of the aristocratic Majapahit rulers such as Menak Supetak who controlled Pasuruan were involved. not only in conflict with the rulers of Surabaya but also at the stage of preventing the Islamization of the North Coast of Java and the Edge of East Java⁵⁵.

⁵¹ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 42, 100.

⁵² Thomas Michel, "Review: An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics by G.W.J. Drewes," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102, no. 1 (1982), 216.

⁵³ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 6.

⁵⁴ Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of The East, From The Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), 182; G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 7.

⁵⁵ Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of The East, From The Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), 197.

The author of Kropak Ferrara II in addressing the sectarian conflict on the North Coast of Java actually recommends that, "*Kang Islam iki wenang g(e)deganna ing kapis, karana satruning Pangeran...*" (Muslims must be able to keep distance from infidels, because they are the enemies of God⁵⁶.) The attitude of this author contradicts to the character of the Sufi preachers tend to accommodate local beliefs and traditions⁵⁷, as stating "*lamun ana wong Islam asih ing kapis, millu sating-kahing kapis, den rowangi sagawenewong iku dadi kapis...*" (If a Muslim who loves an infidel or thinks as an infidel, follows the behavior of a disbeliever, and assists in all the actions of a disbeliever, then that person is an infidel⁵⁸.) The word *kapis* is an adaptation to the Arabic *kāfir*⁵⁹ used both for adjectives (*na'at*) and perpetrator (*fa'il*). In this case, the author does not distinguish between the nature of *kāfir* and the unbeliever. Meanwhile, the word *kāfir* rooted from the Arabic word *kafara* which means to close or seal and the perpetrator is referred to as *kāfir*, the unbeliever⁶⁰. This shows that the author considers the nature of the actions of unbelievers and unbelievers to be one in the sense that whoever commits an infidel (*kupur*) act, then he is an infidel (*kafir*). The use of the word *kapis* (*kafir*) has no equivalent in the pre-Islamic Javanese episteme. At the height of Majapahit's heyday in the 15th century AD it was only known as *Mlecchas* which was used to refer to groups of foreign immigrants from outside the archipelago without distinguishing language and physicality such as Indian, Arabic, Chinese, Khmer, and so on who had inhabited the coastal areas of Java since around 15th AD⁶¹.

Kropak Ferrara also played a role in the semantic Islamization of a number of old Javanese words which have pre-Islamic Javanese episteme. Swarga's vocabulary in Kropak Ferrara comes from the Sanskrit vocabulary that is *Svarga* (स्वर्ग) which the episteme of Hindu-Buddhist philosophy in vocabulary is found in Siṃhasūrigani's (600 AD) commentary on quotations in the *Dvādaśāranayacakra* text compiled by Mallavādin (450 AD)⁶². Kropak

⁵⁶ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 60, 116.

⁵⁷ A. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2, no. 2 (1961), 19.

⁵⁸ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 60, 116.

⁵⁹ A. Thoha Husein Al-Mujahid, and A. Atho'illah Fathoni Al-Khalil, *Kamus al-Wāfi* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2016), 453.

⁶⁰ Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of The Qur'ān* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938), 250.

⁶¹ Teguh Panji, *Kitab Sejarah Terlengkap Majapahit: Ulasan Lengkap Pengaruh Kerajaan Majapahit Terhadap Wajah Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Laksana, 2015), 239.

⁶² Toshiya Unebe, "'Apūrva', 'Devatā', 'Svarga': Arguments on Words Denoting Imperceptible Objects," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 39, no. 4 (2011), 538.

Ferrara Islamized the concept of the word *Swarga* as, “...*akekating, swarga, kang ingaran swarga iya iku kang nawa(ing) Rasulullah salallahu ngalehi wasalam, kang akekating swarga...*,” (The reality of heaven; what is called the gate of heaven, is the shadow of the Prophet *sallallahu 'alaihi wasallam*, and the reality of heaven ...⁶³.) Another word that has experienced Islamization in Kropak Ferrara is the word *tapa* which in the context of pre-Islamic Java meant the practice of purifying the soul by hiding oneself. This understanding is modified in Kropak Ferrara as follows, “*kang aran tapa iku, asambahyang angaji Al-Qur'an, alunggwing masjid, amilih ro(ng)wang alinggih.*” (The asceticism is: praying, reading the Koran, sitting in the mosque (i'tikaf), choosing a good sitting partner⁶⁴.)

The separation of Javanese Islam identity from pre-Islamic Javanese entities is inseparable from the dimensions of the conflict between Majapahit Daha and Giri Kedaton in the early 16th century AD. The development of Islam on the North Coast of Java was not only limited to the trade aspect, but also aspects of power with wide influence. The development of Islamic power at that time was considered a form of threat to the defense of Majapahit-Daha⁶⁵. One of the centers of Javanese Islamic power that played an important role in the Islamization of the North Coast of Java and even to the eastern part of the archipelago was Giri Kedaton under the reigns of Sunan Giri I Kedaton and Sunan Giri II Prapen. Majapahit-Daha did not escape being involved in conflict with Giri Kedaton both during the time of Sunan Giri I Kedaton and during the time of Sunan Giri II Prapen which ended in the defeat of the Majapahit-Daha soldiers⁶⁶. The author of Kropak Ferrara I who can be assumed as Sunan Giri II Prapen who also feels the tension of the conflict between Majapahit-Daha and Giri Kedaton constructs Kropak Ferrara not only as an ethical guideline but also as a counter in the context of Islamization-Java against the hegemony of pre-Islamic Javanese order with a distinctive style. Hindu-Buddhist represented by Majapahit-Daha defense.

The Kropak Ferrara II tells identity and ideological problem for Javanese Muslim new converts⁶⁷. The separation between Javanese Islam

⁶³ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 36, 84.

⁶⁴ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 50, 107.

⁶⁵ Hasan Djafar, *Masa Akhir Majapahit: Girindrawarddhana & Masalahnya* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2012), 91-92.

⁶⁶ W.L. Olthof, ed., *Babad Tanah Jawi: Mulai dari Nabi Adam Sampai Tahun 1647* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Narasi, 2014), 37-38.

⁶⁷ Sukanto, *Perjumpaan Antarpemeluk Agama di Nusantara: Masa Hindu-Buddha Sampai Sebelum Masuknya Portugis* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Deepublish, 2015), 285.

identity (*wong Islam*) and pre-Islamic Javanese identity can be seen from the *Babad Tanah Jawi* narrative in response to the collapse of the Majapahit palace due to the onslaught of Demak Glagahwangi troops which after Majapahit was conquered, "But Sunan Giri first wanted to be king there for forty days. He will cast a spell so that the former king of the pagans will disappear⁶⁸." The understanding that pre-Islamic Javanese and Islamic identities must be separated is indicated from Walisongo's view narrated by *Babad Demak Pesisiran I* that is, "*Radèn Rahmat matur nuli dumateng tamu kang rawuh ing tanah Jawa punika gusti meksi agama kaping mung kawula miwitti éslaming Jawa*"⁶⁹. The Walisongo saw that the pre-Islamic Javanese order in terms of religion and tradition is outside of Islamic identity and the Islamization of Java is a process to change the pre-Islamic Javanese order into an Islamic Javanese civilization. The Kropak Ferrara imposes a strict separation of Javanese Islam identity from pre-Islamic Javanese which is also related to the success of Muslim rulers to annex important port cities on the North Coast of Java⁷⁰. This condition encourages the formation of an Javanese Islam identity accompanied by the acceptance of the dimensions of Islamic *Sharia* as part of the belief and practice of Islamic teachings and the rejection of the concept of the Mystical Synthesis between Islam and pre-Islamic Javanese elements which are considered deviant (*heterodox*)⁷¹. In so doing, the Kropak Ferrara reveals the influence of the corpus of Al-Ghazali and a number of other scholars' works that,

"...saking wirasaning kitab *Bidayah antukira Imam Ghazali angiket winuwuhan saking kitab Masadullah, masalah saking Isa, saking kitab Masabih Mafatih; saking Raowdatululama; saking kitab tafsir, sa-king kitab usul, saking kitab selamat, saking kitab aran nyata sami kinumpulaken kinarya cerita*," (...abridged from the book *Bidayah* by Imam al-Ghazali, accompanied to the book *Masadullah*, which contains the subject of Prophet Isa; also from the book of *Raudhat al-'Ulama*, from the book of commentaries and from the book of *Usul* and also from the book of *Slamet*; from the various books then collected and arranged in a story⁷².)

⁶⁸ W. L. Olthof, ed., *Babad Tanah Jawi: Mulai dari Nabi Adam Sampai Tahun 1647* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Narasi, 2014), 39.

⁶⁹ Suripan Sadi Hutomo et al., eds., *Penelitian Bahasa dan Sastra Babad Demak Pesisiran* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1984), 216.

⁷⁰ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 8.

⁷¹ Soebardi, "Santri-Religious Elements as Reflected in The Book of Tjentini," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Lan- en Volkenkunde* 127, no. 3 (1971), 341.

⁷² G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 42, 100.

The teachings of Al-Ghazali quoted in Kropak Ferrara II are found in folios 1a, 5a, 8a, 14a, and 15b. Most of these quotes are attributed to Al-Ghazali's *Bidayāh al-Hidāyah* and *Ihyā' 'Ulūmuddīn*.⁷³ The influence of the corpus of Al-Ghazali is also indicated in the text *Suluk Sunan Bonang* (MS 266), it is stated that, "...w(ě)daliñ carita sakiñ ki/tab Ihyā' 'ulūmi 'd-dīn, lan sakiñ Tamhīd." (Seh Bari takes his opinion from *Ihyā' ulūmi 'd-dīn* and *Tamhīd*⁷⁴.) The book of *Tamhīd* referred to in Kropak Ferrara by Schrieke and Kraemer is identified as the book of *Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawhīd* by Abū Syakūr Al-Sālimī which was widely spread in the archipelago in the second half of the 11th century AD, besides that there is also a possibility that this is referred to is *Tamhīd qawā'id al-taṣawwuf wa-'uṣūlihi* by Ibn Zarrūq al-Burnusī (d. 1493 AD)⁷⁵. Another source mentioned by the author of Kropak Ferrara is *Raudhat al-'Ulama* which is thought to be the work of Al-Zandawaisiti (383 H./922 AD). The book of *Raudhat al-'Ulama* has another title entitled *Raudhat al-Mudhakkirin*, where the word *mudhakkir* was often used by Sufi scholars from Bukhara in the 10th century AD. This shows that *Raudhat al-'Ulama* is a book that is closely concerning Sufism as seen in the chapter 3rd which discusses the teachings of *zuhud* and in the chapter 15th about improving the soul and heart which is different from the text of the treatise and the book of *Raudhah al-'Ulama* is more specific in matters of Sufism and theology⁷⁶. Meanwhile, the book of *Masabih al-Mafatih* quoted by the author Kropak Ferrara has the title *Mafatih al-Raja' fī Shirat Masabih al-Dunya* or *as-Sunnah* by Al-Aquli al-Wasiti (d. 797 H./194 AD) which is a commentary. (Syarh) for the book *Masabih al-Dunya* by Al-Baghawi (d. 516 H./1122 AD), where the hadiths that he cites are in line with the book of *Bidayyah al-Hidāyah*⁷⁷.

The anonymous sources cited by the author Kropak Ferrara may be identified from a range of Sunni literature. The book of commentaries referred to in Kropak Ferrara I can be presumed to be concerning the quote from the *Tafsir* of *Surah al-Fātiḥah* in the ancient Javanese language. This brief interpretation of *Surah al-Fātiḥah* can be considered taken from the book of *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* as a well-known book of interpretation among Sunnis. This can be analyzed from the quoted interpretation that,

⁷³ Muhammad Abul Quasem, ed., *Al-Ghazali on Islamic Guidance* (Selangor: Book Publisher, 1979), 11-12.

⁷⁴ G.W.J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (Leiden: Springer Neatherlands, 1969), 38-39.

⁷⁵ G.W.J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (Leiden: Springer Neatherlands, 1969), 14.

⁷⁶ Zafar Najmiddinov, "Ali b. Yahya Az-Zandawisati and His Works as Source for History of Early Sufism," *World Science* 9, no. 13 (2016), 63-64.

⁷⁷ G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 9.

"*Ghairil'l maghdhubi 'alaihim, t(e)gese: sampun Tuwan wehipurik, kaya i(ng) Yahudi Nasrani ika. Wa-la'l-dhallina, t(e)gese: sampun. Tuwan sasaraken ing marga kang ora b(e)ner, kaumira baginda Isa, eng mami, t(e)gese: ikulah amba teda ing Tuwan.*" (*Ghairil maghdhui alaihim* means: not to be like those whom God is angry with, such as Jews and Christians (infidels and polytheists). *Wa la'l-dhallin* means: and let the servant of God not lead astray into a path that is not right, as the people of Prophet Jesus (unbelievers and polytheists); That's what I'm asking You, O Lord ⁷⁸.)

The interpretation quoted by Kropak Ferrara in the verse of *Ghairil maghdhubi alaihim* comes from *Tafsir Jalālain* who interprets it as, "*wa hum al-Yahūda*" (and they are Jews.) and in the verse *wa la'l-dhallin* which is interpreted as, "*wa hum al-Naṣārānī.*" (and those people are Christians.⁷⁹) The interpretation of the two verses quoted by Kropak Ferrara shows the author's efforts to emphasize the identity of the Javanese Islam community which is separate from other religious identities represented by the Jewish and Christian groups with the hope that the Javanese Islam community in the North Coast of Java does not fall into theological deviations such as the Muslim community. Prophet Jesus. This shows that the author of Kropak Ferrara I is well acquainted with the Christological polemics in the Ghazalian corpus, especially the book of *al-Radd al-Jamīl li-Ilāhiyyat 'Isā bi-ṣarīḥ al-Injīl* as the text of the Pseudo-Ghazali corpus which rejects the concept of the divinity of Jesus Christ.⁸⁰

The book of *Masadullah* which is said to be concerning Prophet 'Isa may be presumed to be a Sufism text about the life or teachings of Prophet 'Isa which is used as a guide for *Zuhud's* life among Sunni Sufism scholars. This book can be seen as part of the Ghazali corpus, considering that various accounts of the life of Prophet Isa are widely quoted in *Ihyā' 'Ulūmuddīn*⁸¹. In addition, the book of *Usul* mentioned in Kropak Ferrara can be presumed to be the book of *Tamhīd* and *Ihyā' ulūmi 'd-dīn* which is the text of *al-Suluk* as mentioned in *Suluk Sunan Bonang* that, "*miwah in usul suluk, kadi ta in Tamhīd in Ihyā' ulūmi 'd-dīn.*" (I have been through books on *usul suluk* such as *Tamhīd* and *Ihyā' ulūmi 'd-dīn*⁸².) The attribution of the books of *Tamhīd*

⁷⁸ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 33, 81.

⁷⁹ Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mahillī Asy-Syāfi'ī, and Jalāl ad-Dīn 'Abd. al-Rahmān Abī Bakr al-Sayūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* (Al-Qahirah: Dār Al-Hadīts, t.t), 1.

⁸⁰ Maha El-Kaisy Friemuth, "Al-Radd Al-Jamīl: Al-Ghazālī's or Pseudo-Ghazālī's." In David Thomas, ed., *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 275-276.

⁸¹ S. M. Zwemer, "Jesus Christ in The Ihya Al-Ghazali," *The Muslim World* 7, no. 2 (1917), 144-158.

⁸² G.W.J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (Leiden: Springer Neatherlands, 1969),

and *Ihyā' ulūmi 'd-dīn* as the epistemology of *al-Suluk* shows that both Kropak Ferrara and *Suluk Sunan Bonang* attempted to construct Sunni Sufism teachings based on the Ghazalian corpus. The views of Sunni Sufism taught in these two texts oppose the notion of *Wibatiniya* (*Batiniyah*) which is not in line with Islamic teachings.⁸³

Kropak Ferrara II also quotes a text called "*salawe perkara, kang winejangaken denira Syaikh Ibrahim, rahimakumullah.*" (twenty-five things, as advised by Shaykh Ibrahim, *rahimahullah*.⁸⁴) which are attributed to the teachings of Shaykh Al-Balkhi or Ibrahim ibn Adham. This text is thought to have come from an oral tradition⁸⁵ narrated by Sunan Gunung Jati from his mother, Rara Santang, the daughter of Prabu Silihwangi II or Jayadewata. This oral tradition is also narrated in the manuscript of *Sadjarah Banten Rante-rante* which was compiled between 1662 AD and 1725 AD⁸⁶. The advices of Seh Ibrahim are also partially quoted in *Suluk Sunan Bonang* (MS. 266). This connection may be seen in the quotation of Kropak Ferrara II in paragraphs 4a and 5a and the quotation of MS. 266 in paragraphs 30b-32b and no. 11, 18, and 19 and paragraphs 55b⁸⁷. The Comparison between these sources indicates that the teachings of Ibrahim ibn Adham influenced on the style of Sunni Sufism in Javanese Islam circles.

The formation of Javanese Islam identity with a Sunni pattern and separate from pre-Islamic Javanese entities in its development has an impact on the polarization of the religious style of Javanese society. The polarization of the Javanese religious style is marked by a syncretic Islam-Javanese religious style originating from Sufi-Tantrik which cannot be separated from the role of some of the Wali, including Sunan Kalijaga, who played a role in acculturating Islam and pre-Islamic Javanese traditions⁸⁸. The syncretic pattern of Javanese Islam religiosity is also marked by the acceptance of identity as a Muslim and the perfect application of the pillars of Islam accompanied by an attitude of acknowledging the existence of metaphysical and spiritual forces originating from pre-Islamic Java, such as

52-53.

⁸³ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 11; *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (Leiden: Springer Neatherlands, 1969), 52-53.

⁸⁴ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 46, 104.

⁸⁵ J. Edel, *Hikayat Hasanoeddin* (Disertasi: Universitas Utrecht, 1938), 128-129.

⁸⁶ Hosein Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten* (Disertasi: Universitas Leiden, 1913), 198.

⁸⁷ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 135.

⁸⁸ Simuh, 1995, *Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam ke Mistik Jawa* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2019), 218-219.

the Queen of the South Seas and Sunan Lawu⁸⁹. Meanwhile, the Javanese Islam Sunni religious style is characterized by an acknowledgment of the exoteric dimension through the comprehensive acceptance to the Islamic teachings⁹⁰.

This polarization was strengthened through the separation between the authority of the Javanese Islam theocracy in the hand of the Mataram sultanate who carried out the teachings of the Synthetic Mystic of Javanese Islam and Giri Kedaton as the representation of the Sunni Islam of Javanese religious authority in Java Island and the Eastern Archipelago⁹¹. In its development, the polarization of religious patterns marked the Javanese society which consisted of the *Priyayi* and *Abangan* groups which were characterized by a syncretic character of religious practice with elements of animism, Hinduism and Islam, as well as the *Santri* group which was a sub-tradition of Islam which was purer than the two Islamic groups- Java before⁹². This is accompanied by differences in the ethnography of the people of the North Coast of Java, which are more strongly influenced by the *Santri* tradition and the religious traditions of Pesantren than the Javanese in the Southern hinterland which are more influenced by Islamic acculturation and Javanese cultural traditions⁹³.

Kropak Ferrara as Antithesis Text on Syncretism of Javanese Islam

At the beginning of the Islamization of Java, there was already a practice of syncretism between Islam and pre-Islamic Javanese teachings such as Tantrāyana. The practice of syncretism cannot be separated from the role of the Majapahit aristocratic group which has long adapted the Shiva-Buddhist cult, also accepts the identity as Muslim and Hindu-Buddhist simultaneously without conflict⁹⁴. The syncretism of Islam and Hindu-Buddha in the context of the Islamization of Javanese cannot be separated from the figure of a

⁸⁹ M. C. Ricklefs, *Mengislamkan Jawa: Sejarah Islamisasi di Jawa dan Penentangannya dari 1930 sampai Sekarang* (Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu, 2013), 36.

⁹⁰ Mark R. Woodward, 1985, *The Shari'ah and The Secret Doctrine: Muslim Law and Mystical Doctrine in Central Java* (Thesis Dissertation: University of Illinois, 1985), 103-105

⁹¹ Aisah Mahfudhoh, *Konflik Antara Majapahit dengan Giri Kedaton Menurut Berita Tradisi Babad Ing Gresik*. Undergraduate Thesis: UIN Sunan Ampel, 2019, 38-40.

⁹² Clifford Geertz, *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Kebudayaan Jawa* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2014), xxx-xxxi.

⁹³ Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisiran dan Islam Pedalaman Tradisi Islam di Tengah Perubahan Sosial*. (Unpublished Paper), 11-12.

⁹⁴ M.C. Ricklefs, "Islamization in Java: Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries." In Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique, and Yasmin Hussain, eds., *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), 37.

Javanese *Wali* named Siti Jĕnar⁹⁵. The teachings of *Sasahidan* taught by Siti Jĕnar are based on the philosophical view that man is a form of the microcosm which at the same time is also a form of the macrocosm as part of the Existence of the Allah⁹⁶. This view is considered inconsistent with the teachings of *ma'rifah* taught by other Walisongo members, leading to differences of opinion that were discussed through the Walisongo council meeting. The Kropak Ferrara manuscript is one of the classic Javanese Islam texts that records the ceremonial events between the members of the Walisongo council located at Gunung Giri (Giri Kedaton) under the rule of Prince Giri Gajah or Sunan Giri I Kedaton as the center of the propagation of Walisongo⁹⁷.

The history of *serasehan* of the Walisongo council are narrated in various Javanese Islam texts from the 16th century AD to the beginning of the 20th century AD such as Kropak Ferrara, *Babad Demak*, *Babad Čerbon*, *Serat Suluk Walisanga II*, and *Serat Siti Jĕnar*. The source of the Walisongo ceremonies quoted in these texts is inseparable from the collective memory of the development of Giri Kedaton as the center of Javanese Islamization in the 16th century AD to the 17th century AD⁹⁸. The manuscript of *Suluk Walisanga II* mentions the *serasehan* of the Walisongo held on, “*prapta ing ari Jumungah//nuju Ramelan wulane//marengi tanggal ping lima//kumpul para Oliya//*” (After arriving on the appointed Friday // in the month of Ramadan // on the 5th // the Saints gathered //⁹⁹). Meanwhile, Kropak Ferrara also mentioned that the *serasehan* of the Walisongo council was held on, “*Duk paguneman ing dina Jamaat, tanggal ping lima ing wulan Ramelan taun Wa(w)u.*” (The *serasehan* took place on Friday the 5th of Ramadan in the year of *Wa(w)u*.¹⁰⁰) While *Babad Čerbon* does not mention the exact date of the Walisongo *serasehan* but hints that the *serasehan* was held after the formation of the Walisongo council at the Ampĕl Dĕnta Mosque¹⁰¹.

⁹⁵ Sukamto, *Perjumpaan Antarpemeluk Agama di Nusantara: Masa Hindu-Buddha Sampai Sebelum Masuknya Portugis* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Deepublish, 2015), 295.

⁹⁶ D.A. Rinkes, *Nine Saints of Java* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1996), 38.

⁹⁷ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 20-21.

⁹⁸ G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 101.

⁹⁹ Haryawijaya, ed., *Suluk “WaliSana” Jilid II*, pent. Pujo Prayitno (Kediri: Tan Khun Swie, 1938), 3.

¹⁰⁰ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 26, 75-76.

¹⁰¹ J. L. A. Brandes, ed., *Babad Tjerbon: Uitvoerige inhoudsopgaven en noten* (Batavia: Albrecht & Co. M. Nijhoff, 1911), 100.

The *serasehan* for the Walisongo was held according to Kropak Ferrara at Giri Gajah on Mount Kedaton, “*nika sakathaning para wali sami apageneman ing Giri gajah ing gunung kedaton.*” (The Walisongo held a ceremony at Giri Gajah on Mount Kedaton¹⁰².) The *Babad Ćerbon* further shows that Ćerbon was not a subordinate of Giri and was the center of the Islamization of the *Tatar Sunda*, but also recognized the highest authority of Sunan Giri I Kedaton on the island of Java as stated that,

“*Giri gadja(h) ika pada//angsari soesoenan Giri//djoemeneng ratoe pandita// anata agama moeslim// pangawat wétan sami// tekèng Madoera anoengkoel// ming soenan Giri limau// jata ing kana persami/moesawarah kang para wali sasanga//.*” (Giri Gajah is the residence of Susuhunan Giri who is known as *Ratu Pandita*, the leader of the *ulama* who oversees the East to Madura, who carried Sunan Giri together there holding deliberations among the Walisongo.)

The existence of Mount Giri (Giri Kedaton) as the center of *da'wah* of Walisongo which was chosen as a place for *serasehan* cannot be separated from the position of Giri Kedaton which is considered sacred and overshadows the *da'wah* areas of the Walisongo¹⁰³. The approach of the Walisongo council by placing Giri Kedaton as the center of *da'wah* activities on the island of Java is inseparable from the concept of *Cakravartīn* adapted from cosmology *Dewata Nawasanga* which places Batara Guru in the manifestation of *Āṣwa Girināṭa* as the supreme ruler of cosmology (*Tribhuwanaloka*) which is an adaptation of Hindu teachings with local beliefs that believe in the existence of the supreme ruling god who resides on top of the mountain (*Giriśa*)¹⁰⁴. This strategic location gives legitimacy to Giri Kedaton as the highest authority, not only as a center for religious *da'wah* activities but also as the center of Islamic theocratic government in Java¹⁰⁵.

Differences of opinion among the Walisongo in the *serasehan* that was held appeared concerning the teachings of *Sasahidan* delivered by Siti Jĕnar. The *Sasahidan* teachings taught by Siti Jĕnar are inseparable from the syncretism of esoteric teachings of Hinduism and Islam that developed in

¹⁰² G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 25, 75.

¹⁰³ G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978, 78.

¹⁰⁴ George Coedès, *Asia Tenggara Masa Hindu Buddha* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Gramedia Populer, 2015), 133.

¹⁰⁵ Aisah Mahfudhoh, *Konflik Antara Majapahit dengan Giri Kedaton Menurut Berita Tradisi Babad Ing Gresik*. Undergraduate Thesis: UIN Sunan Ampel, 2019, 32-33; Dewi Evi Anita, “Walisongo Mengislamkan Tanah Jawa (Suatu Kajian Pustaka),” *Wahana Akademika: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Sosial* 1, no. 2 (2016), 249.

the Indian subcontinent and was influenced by the teachings of Vedānta Monism which emphasized the unity between the human soul as a microcosm and God as the soul of the macrocosm¹⁰⁶. This concept emerged from the explanation of Sheikh Benton on *ma'rifah* in Kropak Ferrara which states that, “*kang aran Allah iya Allah, ana kaanan roro, datan kakali(h).*” (The one whose name is Allah, He is Allah; ruling in two conditions, He is second to none¹⁰⁷.) The statement of Sheikh Bentong that more clearly leads to the concept of Monism is found in *Serat Suluk Walisanga II* which stated,

“*Seh Bentong samya melingi//amedar ing tekadira//kang aran Allah jatine//tan ana liyan kawula//kang dadi kanyatahan//nyata ing kawulanipun//kang minangka katunggalan//.* (Sheikh Bentong stated // spreads his belief // What is called Allah is real // none other than the servant ///as the truth // is real to his servant // which is the oneness //¹⁰⁸.)

The opinion of Sheikh Bentong has the same substance as the statement of Siti Jĕnar on the Sasahidan teachings as revealed in Kropak Ferrara that, “*Anapon kang andika Syaikh Lemah Bang: Iya i(ng)sun iki Allah, endi si malih, mapan orana malih, saing i(ng)sun iki.*” (Maka Syaikh Lemah Abang berkata, “I am God. Where else; nothing else beside me¹⁰⁹.”) Similar statement also quoted with a slight difference in *Serat Siti Jĕnar* that, “*iya ingsun iki Allah/nyata ingsun kang sajati/jejuluk Prabu Satmata.*” (I am God. I'm the one who's actually called Prabu Satmata “Siwa”¹¹⁰.) Although Siti Jĕnar's statement stating that he is Prabu Satmata is not found in Kropak Ferrara, Javanese Islam texts are cited in *Serat Suluk Walisanga II* and *Serat Siti Jĕnar* which show them as narrations from separate sources. The statement of Siti Jĕnar' in *Serat Siti Jĕnar* which attributes his existence as Prabu Satmata (Çiwa) is firmly rooted in the *Devarāja cult* of Javanese rulers in the period of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom¹¹¹. Siti Jĕnar's statement attributing his existence as Prabu Satmata, which is also the name given to Sunan Giri I, can be seen as an attempt to oppose the theocratic cult among the Javanese kings, both Demak and Giri Kedaton, which caused a sociocultural gap between the aristocratic groups who still maintained pre-Javanese cults.

¹⁰⁶ Mostafa Vaziri, *Rumi and Shams' Silent Rebellion Parallels with Vedanta, Buddhism, and Shaivism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 183-188; R.C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* (London & New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 95.

¹⁰⁷ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 27, 77.

¹⁰⁸ Haryawijaya, ed., *Suluk “WaliSana” Jilid II*, pent. Pujo Prayitno (Kediri: Tan Khun Swie, 1938), 4.

¹⁰⁹ G.W.J. Drewes, *Perdebatan Walisongo Seputar Makrifatullah* (Surabaya: ALFIKR, 2002), 28, 77.

¹¹⁰ Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo*, (Depok: Pustaka IIMaN, 2016), 317.

¹¹¹ Hermann Kulke, *The Devarāja Cult* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), 1-2.

Islam and the people who have embraced Islam and do not recognize social strata based on the concept of Islam *Manunggaling kawulo lan Gusti* which means the unity of the people (*kawulo*) and the rulers (*Gusti*) which is intended to indicate equality¹¹².

Conclusion

Kropak Ferrara is the earliest Islamic text on the island of Java which is estimated to date from the 16th century AD. The results show that Kropak Ferrara through the use of ancient Javanese script and language plays an important role as a text signifying the process of transitioning the religious background of Javanese society from the Javanese Hindu-Buddha period towards Javanese Sunni Islam society developed through the diversity of Muslim cultural identities on the North Coast of Java. The Kropak Ferrara acts as a text forming Javanese Islam identity that is separated from pre-Islamic Javanese entities and to construct a religious value system adapted from Al-Ghazali's works as an antithesis to the development of Monism and as a representation of Sunni orthodoxy under the authority of Giri Kedaton which is the highest authority of Javanese-Islamic. The polemic of the teachings of Monism as taught by Siti Jĕnar even continued in the archipelago as an intellectual discourse of the *ulama* in the 17th century AD. Kropak Ferrara is not only a source of history and culture for Javanese society, but also a text that constructs the identity and culture of the Islamic society of Java separated from pre-Islamic Javanese identity. The Kropak Ferrara also played a role as the antithesis of the syncretism of Javanese Islam. The syncretism of Javanese Islam, especially those originating from the teachings of Siti Jĕnar, is considered inconsistent with the views of the Walis who forbid the teaching of Hidden knowledge to the Javanese Islam community. However, in its development, the difference in views between Siti Jĕnar and the Walisongo expanded to include accusations that Siti Jĕnar did not deny the Islamic Law and taught deviant mystical teachings, where this was inseparable from the context of competition among Javanese-Islamic aristocrats who were mostly followers of Islam. Siti Jĕnar opposed the Islamic Sultanate of Demak.

¹¹² Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo*, (Depok: Pustaka IIMaN, 2016), 308.

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