

ISLAM TRANSFORMATION, DIASPORA, AND THE LOCALITY RESPONSE OF JAVA'S RELIGION: AN INDONESIAN FICTION STUDIES

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Abstract: The process of Islam transformation as a great religion however is massively received in Nusantara, recognized or not can bring its own problems for the local religion that has been long existed. In such cases, this study aims to describe the locality response of local religion in Java over the incessant process of the great religion transformation and diaspora. By the literature sociological approach, this study sought to describe the locality response as reflected in fiction Indonesia, namely *Serat Darmogandul* by K.R.T.Tandhanagara and novel *Putri Cina* by Sindhunata. By the analysis of genetic structuralism, the results of this study stated that that the process of transformation, the diaspora, and the response of the locality in the context of local religion in Java presupposelinearity pattern of cultural process for the cultural transition that occurred in Java. After the collapse of Majapahit who embrace Buddhism (the religion of Shiva-Buda religious/Java) who then turn to the rule of Islam in the Sultan of Demak, showing intertwined process between the dimension of power and religion. The intertwined process shows that the power dimensions and religion dimensions that seem inseparable; on the contrary, interwoven in their entirety. Therefore, the implications of this study are expected to contribute to the process of positioning the local religion more adequately in the context of the transformation and the religion diaspora that exists and keep going until today.

Keywords: Islam Transformation, Diaspora Religion, Locality Response, Java's Local Religion

Introduction

The process of Islam transformation as a great religion however is massively accepted in Nusantara; recognized or not, can bring its own problems for the local religion that has been long existed. The premise, at least provides another discourse for the Islam transformation in Nusantara, that has been deemed not bring problems for local religion existing. As a special case of the phenomenon can be seen in the presence of local religion in Java, which then Geertz called the religion of Java.¹

That phenomenon occurs in Java between the 15th century until the 16th century; that the spread of Islam other than indicated by the *dakwah* motive for the deployment and expansion of religion adherents, is also followed by the accompanying political motives. Surely, it cannot be denied that the encouragement of the transformation process and the religion-based diaspora motivated by peaceful intentions for the local population there; however, political factors are able to provide another historical fact for local religion position that has been long existed.

As it was known, some of the information mentioned that Islam entered the Nusantara long before the 15th century. In fact, some of the resources mentioned that Islam in Nusantara has begun to emerge in the 7th century that was characterized by the Islamic Arab settlements around the beginning of 7th century in the Coastal Sumatra (Barus). It means that there is a relatively long time scale, which allows the religion diaspora is large enough. In that context, the transformation of Islam conducted peacefully leave historical evidence.

There is a shift in the socio-cultural space that occurs when it enters the 15th century while Majapahit is under Prabu Brawijaya Empire who is lured and then married a Chinese woman who is a Moslem. A new chapter for the transformation of Islam in the Nusantara begins. The religion transformation process, that can be said overlap or intertwined with political power motives. Sociocultural space relatively built longer on the foundation of a peaceful life,

¹ Clifford Geertz. *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa*. (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1989), xii.

because it emphasizes the cultural approach, shifted in social and political space that full with interest because it emphasizes more to the structural approach.

Such phenomenon should be observed carefully, how great the implications of the transformation process and diaspora of the great religion, which is currently in Indonesia positioned as a mainstream religion long existed local religion. Therefore, looking at the locality response to the great religion is important to do in order to get a view for inter religion dialectics relation horizontally; on the other hand, the relationship with the structure of the state is vertically.

By literature sociological approach based on genetic structuralism perspective, which is tried to connect imaginative structures (the literary text) with the social cultural structures.² This study attempts to describe the locality response of Java religion to the existence of major religions in Indonesia as reflected in Indonesia fiction. There are two works of fiction selected: first, *Serat Darmogandul* by K.R.T.Tandhanagara; and second novel *Putri Cina* by Sindhunata. The works of fiction are selected for the reason, that both are deemed able to reflect the locality response of Java religion in the span of a different publication. The difference in the span of time, publication is deemed important to see the continuity of the Java religion locality response in the memory of community as a member of its collective. It is Important to know that *Serat Darmogandul* by K.R.T.Tandhanagara published in the 18th century; whereas, novel *Putri Cina* by Sindhunata published in early 21st century. There was a span of time about three centuries between these two works of fiction. The range that is relatively long becomes interesting because both are substantially still voicing the same thing about the locality response of the religion in Java (Java religion).

Result and Discussion

Islam transformation and diaspora in Nusantara however expressed by many parties that is conducted in a peaceful way. One

² Lucian Goldmann. *Towards a Sociology of the Novel*. (Great Britain: Tavistock Publication, 1978), 160.

example, who states that the process of the Islam transformation and diaspora in Nusantara conducted in peacefully contacts with the local population through the cultural interaction; but in certain cases, the Islam transformation and diaspora in Java showed that locality response shows an interesting phenomenon to observe.³ The emergence of the view that the Islam transformation and diaspora is not only motivated by the spread of religion, but there is political motivation cannot be ignored. On the other hand, their locality response of Java religion is no less fundamental in pursuance of the theological response to the presence of the Islam religion.

Transformation of Islam in Java

Transformation of Islam in Java historically, has been done in a long time. The presence of figures Fatima Binti Maimun in the range of the 11th century in Gresik, East Java, provide a cultural marker for the process of transformation of the Islam; even, as stated earlier, the transformation of Islam that occurred in the 7th century AD.⁴ The presence of Arab communities in Barus also marked it. They can coexist with existing local community. There is a cultural process that occurs and it has been a long time for the process of transformation of Islam in Java and Nusantara in a wider scale.

Moreover, cultural process that happened recognized or not to be considered very slow, there has been no significant progress with regard to the growing number of adherents of Islam in Java. Thus the reality, pushed Raden Patah to do a religion transformation process structurally. One political option is to conquer the Majapahit and forced Prabu Brawijaya to convert to Islam. Like many historical study mentioned that Prabu Brawijaya is the father of Raden Patah, the result of his marriage to Princess Campa. Furthermore it can be seen to quote the data below.

³ M.C. Ricklefs. *Yogyakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792: A History of the Division of Java*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 4.

⁴ Aksin Wijaya, Wijaya, Aksin. *Menusantarakan Islam: Menelusuri Jejak Pergumulan Islam yang Tak Kunjung Usai di Nusantara*. (Yogyakarta: Nadi Pustaka, 2011), 45-46.

Raden Patah kembali ke Bintara. Ia sadar, di Tanah Jawa masih banyak orang yang belum memeluk agama baru, karena mereka penganut agama asli, yang disebut agama *Boedo*, agama ayahandanya sendiri. Ia dirundung kebingungan. Kalau ia harus menjadikan Tanah Jawa menganut agama baru seperti dia, berarti ia juga harus memerangi ayahnya sendiri. Tapi betapapun, ia harus teguh keyakinannya, mengalahkan segala rasa hatinya. Maka pergilah ia menghadap Sunan Ngampeldenta, dan mengutarakan maksudnya, hendak menyerang Majapahit.

Sunan Ngampeldenta menyabarkan keinginannya. “Anakku, apa salah ayahmu? Ia tidak mencegah orang Jawa ngrasuk (memeluk) agama baru. Dan ia sendiri telah memberikan demikian banyak kebaikan kepadaku. Diberinya aku uang, kerbau, sapi, dan hewan-hewan gembalaan ini, amat banyaklah jumlahnya. Dan keinginanku pun dibiarkannya terlaksana. Sampai sekarang aku tak dihalangi untuk menyebarkan agama baru di tanah Jawa. Jika ayahmu belum *ngrasuk* agama kita, itu hanya karena Allah Pangeran belum memperkenankannya. Janganlah kamu *nggege mangsa*. Tunggu sampai waktunya tiba, semuanya akan terlaksana dengan sendirinya,” begitu petuah Sunan Ngampeldenta kepada Raden Patah.⁵

Singkat cerita, tak lama kemudian para sunan dan bupati telah datang. Mereka lantas berkumpul dan membangun Masjid. Begitu Masjid selesai dibangun, lantas dipergunakan untuk shalat pertama kalinya.

⁵ Sindhunata, *Putri Cina*. (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2007), 29-30.

Seusai shalat, pintu Masjid ditutup, seluruh yang hadir diberi tahu oleh Sunan Benang bahwasanya Adipati Demak hendak dikukuhkan sebagai raja dan hendak menyerang Majapahit. Jika semua setuju, maka rencana akan segera digulirkan, tidak menunggu waktu lebih lama lagi. Seluruh sunan dan bupati setuju, hanya satu orang yang tidak setuju, yaitu Syekh Siti Jenar. Sunan Benang murka, Syekh Siti Jenar dibunuh. Yang diperintah untuk membunuh adalah Sunan Giri. Syekh Siti Jenar dijerat lehernya hingga tewas.⁶

“Aku memohon kepada Dewa Yang Mahaagung (Dewa segala dewa, Tuhan), semoga terbalaskan kesedihan yang aku alami ini. Semoga orang Islam Jawa kelak terbalik dalam menjalankan agamanya, berubah menjadi orang berkuncir karena tak mengerti kebaikan. Aku beri kebaikan, balasannya malah keburukan!”⁷

The religion transformation process is structurally chosen by Raden Patah in order to accelerate the spread of Islam in Java. This is then referred to as the process of Islamization in Java, which is supported by the *Wali* who was based on the coast and intended to build a political community in Demak.⁸ The Islamization it self according to Musa *et.al.*, elaborate with view of Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, is seen as a strategic rational action as a form of natural change of myth-style Hindu-Buda (*Shiva-Buda*) to a form of

⁶ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kebancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rahasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 46.

⁷ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kebancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rahasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 54.

⁸ Ahmad Baso, *Kosmopolitanisme Peradaban Kaum Santri di Masa Kolonial: Pesantren Studies 2a*. Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2012), 2.

Islam that is considered more rational.⁹ That further by Taufiq referred to as a form of expression of a wider Islamic that in the next process is expected to grow massively in Java.¹⁰

For this, the step that is considered effective and quick in the process of Islamization is an attack on Majapahit empire under Prabu Brawijaya, which is known historically as Raden Patah own father. Although it is recognized, as is expressed in the data that inside Raden Patah, there is a psychological dilemma before making the decision to invade Majapahit in the framework of the mission of the spread of the religion.

Moreover then, Raden Patah intention was getting some kind of warning from Sunan Ngampeldenta, which is the elder (senior) of the *Wali* in Java. In the language of Sunan Ngampeldenta, Raden Patah must not precede something before the time comes (Java: *nggege mangsa*). In Sunan Ngampeldenta belief, all will arrive as well, including the time of Prabu Brawijaya convert to Islam. Although it could make a psychological dilemma in the mind of Raden Patah (Sultan of Demak), ultimately the intention to invade Majapahit was done also because of getting support from the *Sunan* and the other dukes (*adipati*); namely, Sunan Benang/Bonang and Sunan Giri, including from several dukes.

That thing, which then makes the heart of Prabu Brawijaya became sad matchless, why his own son is able to attack Majapahit, which means attacking his own father. The sadness and anxiety of Majesty (*sang prabu*) did not find the answer. Hence too hurt, sang prabu even stated a bad prayer to Dewa the Lord Almighty. "Hopefully Javanese Muslims later reversed in Observant, turned into the pigtail man because not understand kindness. I give you kindness, instead thanked ugliness!"

⁹ Hashim Musa, Rozita Che Rodi, Halimah Pondo, dan Salmah Jan Noor Mohammad, 'Melayu language and the concept of truth science according to Syed Muhammad Naquib al Attas.' *Kemanusiaan: The Asian Journal of Humanities*, 20 (1): 1-22, (2013), 5.

¹⁰ Akhmad Taufiq, 'The Aesthetic Effect and Meaning in Islamic Biblically poetical.' *Karsa: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Keislaman*, 21(2), (2013), 302.

That a prayer which meant that later Javanese Muslims into the pigtail man. According to Shasangka, into the pigtail it is a form of satire which symbolically means being quitter unambiguous, easily swayed by worldly things, and underestimate spirituality. In fact, spirituality is only used as a mere guise. Javanese later will be seen very pious, on the other hand is very materialistic. A pilgrim (*haji*) can be at once as a moneylender, a cleric (*kyai*) could do corruption. This was all done without guilt and uncomfortable. All that considered reasonable and can be redeemed by repentance (*taubat*) someday, if all had been satisfied with the material.¹¹

Berakhirlah sudah kemegahan zaman Majapahit. Tanah Jawa menapaki zaman baru. Di Demak para wali menetapkan Raden Patah, Pangeran Bintara itu, menjadi sultan. Katanya dalam tarikh Cina, Raden Patah dipanggil dengan nama Jin Bun. Nama Cina tampaknya masih melekat ketika ia diangkat oleh para wali sebagai Sultan Demak. Sebab ia digelar dengan nama yang masih berbau Cina itu, yaitu Senapati Jinbun Ngabdur-Rahman. Para wali berpesan, hendaknya raja baru bisa menjadi jembatan antara Jawa Lama menuju Jawa Baru, antara agama yang lama menuju agama yang baru.¹²

The presence of Raden Patah as the new ruler of Java as the Sultan of Demak, dubbed the name that still in China sensed, namely Senapati Jinbun Ngabdur-Rahman, because he did have Chinese blood from the mother. A degree in another version mentioned in the serat Darmogandul called as Senapati Jimbuningrat or Sultan Alam Shah Akbar Sirullah Khalifaturrasul Amirulmukminin Tajudil Sultan Abdulhamid Haq or Adi Surya Alam Ing Bintara.¹³

¹¹ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kebancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rahasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 54.

¹² Sindhunata. *Putri Cina*. (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2007), 31.

¹³ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kebancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rahasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 52.

Further, in the text of the novel *Putri Cina*, the presence of Raden Patah as the new ruler of Java is expected to be a bridge from the days of the Old Java to new Java. A civilization transition from construction of power based on religion Siwa-Buddha (*Boedo* religion / religion Java), turning to the construction of power in Java-based Islam. Based on that, for example, Woodward (1999) a statement that the history of Islam in Java is not only a simply matter of conversion, but also about Islam hardening as a religion of the kingdom; a process that resulted the destruction of many Hindu-Buddhist culture (Shiva-Buda).¹⁴

The incident also shows that the process of structural transformation, which is done by Raden Patah, the next process is showing a success. Majapahit ruler Prabu Brawijaya finally falls. Ricklefs (1974) notes that the fall of the Majapahit kingdom in 1478 AD Along with it, the power of Java is automatic switchover of Prabu Brawijaya to Raden Patah, the Demak Bintara ruler. On the other hand the separation Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong, with Prabu Brawijaya, because he has changed his religion into Islam, marking the fall of Majapahit under PrabuBrawijaya's empire.¹⁵ It shows that the process of the collapse of the Majapahit has been a historical marker; namely, a process of transition times in Java, from old age to a new age.

Diaspora Religion

The collapse of Majapahit under the rule of PrabuBrawijaya is increasingly open the way for the process of the diaspora (dispersion) of Islam in Java. It provides the opportunity and open the way for a massive Islam diaspora. While wiith the collapse of Majapahit, Princess of China (Dewi Amaravati / Siu Ban Ci) feel proud of the success of his son, Raden Patah, which is knownas the to result of her marriage with Prabu Brawijaya (Bhre Kertabumi), which is currently three months pregnant disposed to Palembang.¹⁶ The pride lies in the

¹⁴ Mark R. Woodward, *Islam Java: Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatinan*. (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1999), 84.

¹⁵ M.C. Ricklefs. *Yogyakarta Under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792: A History of the Division of Java*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 2.

¹⁶ Damar Shashangka, *Sabda Palon: Pudarnya Surya Majapahit*. (Jakarta: Dolphin).

evidence of a woman and lover, who at the time a young pregnant, bear dumped by her husband PrabuBrawijaya (Bhre Kertabumi).

Therefore, the success of Raden Patah in falling down Majapahit's empire is a special pride in addition there are also other happiness, namely the new changes in Java especially in its religion. Islam became the new face in Java after the fall of Majapahit.

Putri Cina juga amat bangga, menyaksikan, betapa anaknya menjadi penguasa baru di Tanah Jawa. Ia terharu juga. Karena anak yang lahir dari rahimnya itu membawa perubahan baru di Tanah Jawa. Tidak hanya dalam hal pemerintahan, tapi juga dalam hal agama. Ia yakin anaknya akan bisa membuat manusia di Tanah Jawa bahagia karena taat pada ajaran dan jalan agama baru itu. Keyakinannya makin kuat karena bukan hanya Raden Patah, anaknya, tapi banyak dari kaumnya, orang-orang Cina sendiri, adalah pemeluk agama baru itu. Orang-orang Cina datang bersama saudagar-saudagar dari Gujarat ke Tanah Jawa. Sambil berniaga mereka menyebarkan agama baru itu. Dengan demikian, berkat kaumnya pula, maka Tanah Jawa menjadi terbuka terhadap kegiatan dan kebudayaan baru yang dibawa agama baru tersebut ke Tanah Jawa.¹⁷

The new face of Islam in Java post Majapahit is interesting to be seen because it was considered increasingly giving way for the religion diaspora. The process of religion diaspora that occurred previously, conducted by the Chinese and Muslim merchants from Gujarat is considered still sporadic spreading, has not occurred massively. Only in certain localities that have started to accept Islam as a religion; such as in coastal areas. That's according to Wijaya, in its

¹⁷ Sindhunata, *Putri Cina*. (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2007), 32-33.

development bring their own colour of Islam Nusantara in Syafii *madzhab*.¹⁸

Furthermore, the presence of Raden Patah and collapse of Majapahit marked a new chapter of a culture based on religion. Islam became the new face for culture in Java. This phenomenon, make Chinese Princess as the mother of Raden Patah being happy. The new Culture based on Islam is basically another form of realization of the diaspora of Islam in Java, which in its development is able to illuminate the Nusantara wider.

It shows that a cultural practice in Java-based Islam, which is also supported by the power, was increasingly giving way to the process of religion diaspora. It is at least occurred in the era of Sultanate of Demak in Java. Religion diaspora, on the other sentence can be expressed, almost never absent from power authority; on the contrary, always involves a power which took place at its time.

In the next process, the collapse of Majapahit, which was followed by the changed Prabu Brawijaya to be a Moslem process of Islam diaspora were able to confirm the in Java in particularly. That was not followed by a Wiku namely Sabdapalon.

Ucapan wiku utama tersebut dibarengi seketika oleh suara gemuruh Guntur!

Prabu Brawijaya, oleh para dewa, disindir karena telah memeluk agama Rasul. Tiga sindiran yang muncul di bumi Jawa mulai saat itu adalah 1. Suket Jawen (Rumput Jawan), 2. Pari Randha-nunut, dan 3. Pari Mriyi (Padi Mriyi).¹⁹

Thus this process of diaspora provides a construction of understanding that in the process of spread of religion has always

¹⁸ Aksin Wijaya, *Menusantarakan Islam: Menelusuri Jejak Pergumulan Islam yang Tak Kunjung Usai di Nusantara*. (Yogyakarta: Nadi Pustaka, 2011). 45.

¹⁹ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kehancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rahasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 80.

presupposes a reality that is not final. Rejection of Sabdapalon convert to Islam meant that there are groups of people who are still loyal to their old religion, its Buda. Sabdapalon in that context is positioned as a worthy representation of the Java community groups who are still loyal / consistent with their espoused religion, Buda.

Thus religion diaspora, in reality, is always supposed to deal with the old belief, which is theologically still firmly held by its adherents. The rejection was indicated symbolically by a shape of Wiku satire, together with the sound of thunder, that PrabuBrawijaya convert to Islam will be marked by the emergence of three things: first, *suket jawen* (grass *Jawan*); second, *pari randhanunut*; and third, *pari mriyi* (rice *mriyi*).

According to Shashangka, allegedly at the time, began appeared the kind of rice and grass. Grass *Jawan* mean significant awareness has been low, as low as the trampled grass. *Pari randha nunut* means rice/spiritual food/religious doctrine belongs to a widow who live in vain in someone's house, on the truth which is owned by a group of people who have lost a true partner/God, who live in vain in Java. Meanwhile, *pari mriyi* is a small; rice means, the food of heart/teachings that is still small kind.²⁰

Religion diaspora, although on the one hand is considered important, even less so positioned mandatory; but, on the other hand need to be fully aware that is opposition and challenged by religion adherents has been long existed, and definitive before. Buda as a reality of Java religion, which is followed by a group of followers who are still loyal to their religion is a marker for the reality of opposition and challenged to the Islam diaspora.

Response Local Religion in Java

Islam transformation and diaspora in Java, does not occur seamlessly granted. There locality response (local religion), that indicate a form of resistance and theological response to the presence of religion which is considered a new religion in the land of Java. The change

²⁰ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kehancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rahasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 80.

Prabu Brawijaya does not close the space of locality response for religion that is considerate new.

As stated in the data, Prabu Brawijaya previously embraced *Boedo*; namely, the religion affiliations of many Javanese on that time, as Shiva-Buda syncretic religion that has existed in the land of Java for thousands of years earlier, which was then called the religion of Java. Even, according to other literary texts, religion *Boedo* (*Buda*) with different writing spelling but pointing on the same sense - have existed more than 2000 years in the land of Java. As stated in *Serat Darmogandul*, religion *Boeda* (*Buda*) has been aged more than 2000 years.

Selesai dipotong rambutnya, Sang Prabu lantas berkata kepada Sabda palon dan Naya Genggong:

“Kalian semua aku jadikan saksi, mulai hari ini aku meninggalkan agama Buda dan memeluk Islam, menyebut asma Allah Yang Sejati. Keinginanku, kalian berdua aku harapkan ikut berganti memeluk agama Rasul dan meninggalkan agama Buda!”

Sabda Palon menjawab dengan sedih:

“Hamba ini adalah Raja Dang Hyang makhluk gaib yang menjaga tanah Jawa. Siapa pun yang menjadi raja, hambalah yang memomongnya. Mulai leluhur paduka dulu, yaitu Wiku Manumanasa, Raden Sakutrem hingga Bambang Sakri, turun-temurun hingga sekarang ini, semua menjadi momongan hamba dan hamba ajari ajaran Jawa sejati.

Hingga saat ini usia hamba sudah 2003 tahun. Hamba telah memomong pemimpin Jawa. Semua yang hamba momong selama ini tak ada yang berubah agamanya. Semua memegang teguh agama Buda. Hanya paduka sekarang saja yang berani meninggalkan ajaran leluhur Jawa. Jawa artinya paham, yang sudah paham disebut jawan (sadar).

Sadar bahwa badan sejati ini hanya sementara tinggal di dunia. Tujuannya adalah meraih moksa!”

Sang Prabu berkata lagi:

“Aku Tanya lagi tentang niatanmu, mau atau tidak meninggalkan agama Buda dan berganti memeluk agama Rasul? Menyebut nama Nabi Muhammad Rasullallah, panutan para nabi, dan asma Allah Yang Sejati?”

Sabda Palon berkata dengan sedih:

“Silakan Paduka sendiri saja yang masuk, hamba tidak tega melihat perilaku mereka yang sia-sia, seperti watak orang Ngarab. Sia-sia artinya suka menghukum dan menghakimi semua yang berbadan. Jikalau hamba berganti agama, jelas itu akan membuat tak berguna tujuan moksa hamba kelak. Yang mengaku paling mulia itu hanya orang Ngarab dan itu diikuti oleh semua orang Islam. Mereka memuji dan meninggikan kelompoknya sendiri. Menurut hamba, lebih baik tidak mengurus (menghakimi) tatangga (agama lain). Perbuatan semacam itu (suka menghakimi agama lain) hanya akan menunjukkan rendahnya pemahaman diri. Saya tetap menyukai agama lama, tetap suka menyebut Tuhan dengan nama Dewa Yang Mahalebih!”²¹

Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong age has been 2003 years, throughout his life Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong have a duty to treat (escorting specifically) the leader of Java. The process of escorting the Javanese ruler from time to time is not only in the aspect of power; but it goes deeper than that escorting on the spirit (spiritual) aspect of

²¹ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kehancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rahasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 80-81.

power itself. Therefore, religion in this case becomes an integral part of the duties performed by Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong.

It shows that Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong a meta-empiric reality that does not separate with the empirical reality of power in Java. He has the task to escort constantly the practice of power in Java when its people at the time are still loyal to the religion of *Buda* (Shiva-Buda). For the Javanese, as stated by Suseno (1991) that the empirical nature closely connected with nature meta-empiric that is supernatural characterized. Therefore, the phenomenon of Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong in the context of Majapahit power who embraced Shiva-Buda cannot be separated, there is a complete relation inside.²²

In that context, religion *Boedo/Buda* (Java religion) became really serious thing to Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong. For Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong for time they treat Javanese king, no switching from the ancestral religion, Java religion it self. PrabuBrawijaya switching from ancestral religions (Java religion) to the new religion (Islam) for Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong it is a form of ending of their duty to escort the king of Java itself. It was later proved by the abandonment of Majapahit by Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong; also marks the separation Sabdapalon-Nayagenggong with PrabuBrawijaya.

In the subsequent data, explained that although King convert to Islam, Sabdapalon refused to convert to Islam. He is still loyal to the old religion, the religion of Shiva-Buda (Java religion). Religion that has been embraced his ancestors. A religion that has the goal of *moksha*; namely, negating itself to merge with the Creator. They did not want to follow the new religion, a religion that considers all-Arab (Java: *Ngarab*), which is seen by Sabdapalon the religion that feels the only truth alone and often elevate their own religion and judge other religion / beliefs. According Sabdapalon, religious attitudes that so it shows the lack of understanding of self. In that sense, shows the lack of understanding on the mind as a human being.

²² Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi tentang Kebijakan-sanaan Hidup Jawa*. (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1991) 86.

Furthermore, can be seen to what form the response of Butalocaya as a representation Java (Buda) adherent against Islam. As a new religion, Islam is seen as a religion of nonsense. Butalocaya is the king of the spirits in the region Kadhiri (Kediri now).²³

“Maka menurut saya, Anda datang ke Jawa hanya menjual bualan bahwa Negara Mekah adalah yang termulia, padahal saya tahu sendiri bagaimana keberadaan Negara Mekah itu. Tanahnya beraura panas dan jarang hujan. Bagi akal kebanyakan manusia, tanah di sana itu adalah tanah kutukan, banyak manusia menjual manusia sebagai budak dan dipakai sebagai pembantu. Anda benar-benar manusia durhaka. Lebih baik Anda saya persilakan pergi dari tanah Jawa. Jawa adalah tanah suci dan mulia, dingin dan panasnya cukup, penuh kekayaan di dalam tanah dan airnya, apa yang ditanam bisa tumbuh.”²⁴

“Padahal agama Buda telah ada di tanah Jawa selama kurang-lebih seribu tahun; semua pengikutnya menyembah Budi Hawa. Budi adalah Dzat Hyang Widhi, Hawa adalah kehendak hati; manusia tidak memiliki kekuatan apa pun; manusia sekadar menjalani, Budi (kesadaran Sejati atau Tuhan)-lah yang menggerakkannya.”²⁵

Shape respond more accurately described as the local resistance to Butalocaya shows that Islam is the predominant religion sells gibberish. Countries Mecca (*Makkah*) called by Islam as the glorious

²³ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kebancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rabasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 25.

²⁴ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kebancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rabasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 34.

²⁵ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kebancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rabasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 13.

land; whereas, in fact Mecca is a country that is felt heat and sparse rainfall. Called by Butalocaya, such land is a form of a curse land. The ground that also actually can be witnessed, many people become slaves and enslaved.

Instead, they saw the land of Java is sacred ground and noble, there is a balance between cold and hot, full of wealth in the ground and water. Whatever is planted to grow well. If it were, that the land, according to Butalocaya, God's gift of land earmarked for the Java with full conviction.

Therefore, Buda as a religion of Java (Java religion) is a religion that is considered right and proper adhered to the Javanese. All followers worship the *Budi-Hawa*. Budi is is the Essence Hyang Widhi. *Hawa* is the will of the heart. Man according to this religion has no power whatsoever, humans just live, *Budi* (True consciousness or God) was the one that moves. That is the basis for the Javanese to remain adamant on religious beliefs *Buda*.

Below, further Butalocaya response can be seen as a representation of Java religion adherent based theological.

“Orang Jawa pun tahu, ini hanyalah arca batu yang tidak memiliki daya apa pun dan tidak punya kuasa, bukan Hyang Lata wal Ngujwa. Mengapa arca ini dilayani dengan diberi asap kemenyan berikut sesajen? Itu agar semua makhluk halus yang liar tidak bertempat tinggal sembarangan di atas tanah dan di dalam pohon. Sebab, tanah dan pepohonan bisa menghasilkan sesuatu. Oleh karenanya makhluk halus semacam ini lantas diberi tempat baru pada sebuah arca.”²⁶

Butalocaya menjawab sembari geram:

“Mana mungkin nanti jikalau telah meninggal dia akan tahu, sedangkan pengetahuan akan kemuliaan

²⁶ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kehancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rahasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 32.

di dunia ini saja sudah tidak utuh, sudah tersesat menyembah tugu dari batu. Jika memang benar-benar berniat menyembah batu cadas, lebih baik naik ke Gunung Kelud daripada jauh-jauh ke Kakbah.²⁷

The quote is a form of theological response Butalocaya when do a dialogue (debate) with Sunan Benang/Bonang about the form of worship. A theological debate with respect to a stone statue versus stone monument, stone statue for *Buda* is god, given offerings and incense smoke. For the Buda, it is merely a Javanese spiritual endeavor, so that the spirits are not carelessly everywhere and impairing Javanese human life. Butalocaya stated that do not reside carelessly on the ground and in the trees that many produce many useful thing for human life. Therefore, it was given a place in a stone statue as a new home for the spirits.

Moreover, Butalocaya give a refutation of what has become a center (*kiblat*) for Muslims when praying (*sholat*). For Butalocaya, *Ka'ba* has become a center of Islamic people are no more rocks plugged/plugged in/to-earth. *Ka'ba* for Butalocaya just a rock; because just a rock, Butalocaya give a comparison, it is better to climb a mountain Kelud (one of the volcanoes in Java are in a stretch of territory Kediri, Blitar, Malang) and do worship/offerings there.

Even, it is seen by Butalocaya that Muslims do not have a complete view associated with the glory of living in the world. Therefore, for Butalocaya Muslims considered lost. Worship stone monument for Butalocaya is a form of manifest error. Butalocaya not understand and position theologically worshiped by Islam is Allah, the only God. In truth, it is not *Ka'ba* itself be worshiped. Therefore, the extent of the *Ka'ba* is positioned as a form of symbolic power of God that became central to human life.

²⁷ K.R.T. Tandhanagara, *Darmogandbul: Kisah Kehancuran Jawa dan Ajaran-ajaran Rahasia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Damar Shashangka. (Jakarta: Dolphin, 2011), 48.

Conclusion

Starting from the above explanation it can be concluded that the process of transformation, the diaspora, and the locality response in the context of local religion in Java describe linearity pattern of cultural process for the cultural transition happened in Java. After the collapse of Majapahit which its society embraced *Buda* (the religion of Shiva-Buda/ Java religion) which then turn to the rule of Islam the under Demak empire, show intertwined process between the dimension of power and religion. In the context of the change of power in Java, post-Majapahit to Demak, the dimension of power and religion it seemed inseparable.

The process of religion transformation and diaspora thus become a moral imperative based on religion and structural necessity based on power that has very prominent functional role. Although in the reality, the process of religion transformation and diaspora do not run smoothly. Conversely, faces opposition and challenges from local religion that have long existed, and definitive before. *Buda* is the local religion construction (Java religion), that have been long existed being a certain challenge during the transition of the culture based Islam took place. Therefore, the implications of this study are expected to contribute to the process of positioning the local religion more adequately in the context of the religion transformation and the diaspora and keep going until today.

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