

THE HISTORICITY OF PLURAL SOCIETIES IN EAST JAVA

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Abstract: One of the multiethnic regions in Indonesia is East Java Province. Based on the assumption that plural societies are prone to conflict at a certain point, it will impact the dynamics of pluralism in this region. This research will examine this assumption by focusing on the historical exploration of the emergence of plural society and the current portrait of plural society in East Java. The theory used in this research is Social Construction Theory. While the Historical Research Method, with the stages of Heuristics, Criticism, Interpretation, and Historiography, is used to guide the course of research, which will mainly examine the historical side of pluralism in East Java. The results obtained are awareness of the daily reality of East Java society and show that prolonged conflicts that rely on ethnic and religious differences have never appeared. Understanding of the historical reality that different forms in the East Java community have occurred for a long time. So, that reality is what causes East Javanese people to appreciate differences and get used to differences.

Keywords: Historicity, Plural Society, East Java

Introduction

East Java has a pluralistic society of various ethnicities, languages, religions, cultures, and social statuses. At the same time, the plurality of society makes human interaction high so that friction between religious groups is very vulnerable to occur, which, if ignored and handled inappropriately, often leads to conflict and violence. Despite some disputes that have arisen, the people of East Java are considered to be moderate in religion.¹ These various conflicts result from an exclusive way of religion so that a paradigm emerges that considers religions outside our beliefs to be wrong and can rival, threaten and endanger the existence of their religion. Religion has always been a paradox in the history of humanity. On the one hand, religion has become a belief and a guide to life for a glorified society. While on the other hand, religion is questioned and debated so that it becomes a source of conflict.²

Religiously motivated conflicts occurred in Situbondo Regency on October 10, 1996, and a large riot burned houses of worship, such as churches and temples. The incident felt politically wrapped, which had an impact on inter-religious conflict.³ Other conflicts between Sunnis and Syiah, which occurred in Jember, Madura, and Bondowoso, resulted from conflict events in the previous year.

Such as the attack of the mass group on the followers of IJABI in Bondowoso Regency, which occurred on December 23, 2006; the motive for the attack on the YAPI boarding school with Shia beliefs by some individuals claiming to be Aswaja groups in Bangil Pasuruan in 2010-2011 and so on. Such incidents are so shocking because, as the people of East Java who do not like

¹ "Mahfud MD Sebut Semua Agama Punya Kelompok Teroris," CNN Indonesia, March 17, 2021, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20210317173219-20-618776/mahfud-md-sebut-semua-agama-punya-kelompok-teroris>.

² Febby Febriyandi.YS, "Agama, Ritual Dan Konflik : Suatu Upaya Memahami Konflik Umat Beragama Di Indonesia," *Handep: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya* 2, no. 2 (June 17, 2019): 125, <https://doi.org/10.33652/handep.v2i2.41>.

³ Fadrik Aziz Firdausi, "Dari Kasus Dugaan Penodaan Agama Menjalar Kerusuhan Situbondo 1996," *tirto.id*, May 18, 2018, <https://tirto.id/dari-kasus-dugaan-penodaan-agama-menjalar-kerusuhan-situbondo-1996-cKzP>.

violence, several issues seem to trigger conflict between Sunni and Syiah.⁴

Understanding the factors that cause religious conflicts will make it easier to map the problem and take action on existing disputes. This handling action is needed to create a safe and peaceful nation free from the threat of conflict in the name of religion. As previously explained, the plurality of Indonesian society, especially the province of East Java, has physical and cultural differences. So that it is prone to friction between one community group and another; based on this situation, this research is directed to examine the historical formation of the plural society in East Java and the current portrait of the plural society in East Java.

The theory used in this research is social construction theory.⁵ The reasons for using social construction theory include the following: *First*, reality can be understood by tracing library sources, while oral sources are social behaviors applied to everyday life, such as the attitude of religious moderation in community plurality. *Second*, this research focuses on understanding an action whose appearance is religious moderation. It can be seen from the framework of consciousness by means of its own disclosure to know something behind the move. And *third*, individuals have the freedom to take action even though they also have to deal with the sociocultural structures in their environment. The historical experience of the actors in the application of religious moderation is to take rational actions carried out with full awareness as a form of reflection when facing various social and cultural structures around them. In the research process, researchers used historical research methods with a sequence of research stages, Topic Selection, Heuristics, Source Criticism, Interpretation, and Historiography.⁶

⁴ Abd. Halim Soebahar and Abdul Karim, "Pola Konflik Keagamaan Dan Analisa Peran Stakeholder (Kajian Multisitus Di Kabupaten Jember Dan Kabupaten Bondowoso)," *Akademika* 14, no. 02 (December 26, 2020): 136, <https://doi.org/10.30736/adk.v14i02.440>.

⁵ Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckman, *Tafsir Sosial Atas Kenyataan : Risalah Tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), 1.

⁶ Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003).

Result and Discussion

Historical and Cultural Sustainability in East Java

Examined from the eastern region of Java, the archaeological traces of prehistoric society can be found around the slopes of Argopuro mountain because it has such an essential role in shaping the character of the site and its cultural context. Argopuro is derived from two words, "*Argo*" and "*Puro*," which signify a high palace place. In addition, Mount Argopuro is a mountain with many peaks, around 14 pieces in the Hiyang mountain range, with an altitude of 3,088 meters above sea level.⁷ Geographically, the Probolinggo district to the west and Bondowoso district to the east are separated by Mount Argopuro. Mount Argopuro has two peaks: Rengganis Peak (3088 meters above sea level) and Argopuro Peak (3088 meters above sea level). Administratively, the Argopuro Mountain Site is located in Bremi Village, Krucil District, Probolinggo.

Based on the results of archaeological site searches in 65 villages from 20 sub-districts, the sites face the direction of the Argopuro-Hyang mountains. In addition, referring cultural heritage sources in Bondowoso shows pre-historic communities in Pekauman Village, Glingseran Village, and Maesan District (Koong Site). Other evidence can be found in Tlogosari, Wonosari, Taman Krocok, Tegalampel, Sukosari, Tapen, and Penanggungan. Most of these relics are from the megalithic culture.⁸

In Jember, the beliefs of animism and dynamism have become an ancient human culture. These beliefs have spiritual power that is practiced by worshiping the spirits of ancestors and objects that have magical value. Animism or dynamism beliefs are closely related to the belief in the power or spirits that exist in the universe.

⁷ Sugeng Riyanto, "Temuan Uang Kepeng Gambangan Desa Gambangan, Kecamatan Maesan, Kabupaten Bondowoso, Jawa Timur: Hasil Kajian Awal Dan Potensi Pemanfaatannya," *Berkala Arkeologi* 29, no. 2 (November 30, 2009): 67, <https://doi.org/10.30883/jba.v29i2.379>.

⁸ Rosita Amalia, Kayan Swastika, and M Marjono, "Situs Megalitik Di Desa Penanggungan Kecamatan Maesan Kabupaten Bondowoso Sebagai Sumber Pembelajaran Sejarah," *Jurnal Edukasi* 4, no. 2 (December 4, 2017): 45, <https://doi.org/10.19184/jukasi.v4i2.5971>.

This concept can be interpreted as belief in the Tree of Life during the megalithic period.⁹ Archaeological remains such as artifacts found in Jember prove that Jember was once a place of human habitation, from prehistoric to classical. One example is in the Seputih area of the Mayang sub-district.



Figure 1: Sarcophagus Stone, Jember

Source: <http://jembertourism.com/tours/situs-seputih-mayang>

The sarcophagus with Inventory Number: 67a/JBR/1996 numbered three pieces with an oval shape, with no decoration on the walls. A sarcophagus is a coffin made of whole stone, shaped like a mortar, and topped with a lid. This relic serves as a place to store the body by bending it and then closing it. The Seputih site has two sarcophagus relics of different sizes. The community around the Seputih Site calls the sarcophagus a *pandbusa* stone or corpse coffin. The philosophy of the bent corpse in the sarcophagus is that every human being born, his position is bent in the womb so that when the human dies, his position is returned to its original position.

Meanwhile, in the Situbondo area, the first stepped building was found at the top of Mount Argopuro, composed of several steps. The second stepped structure is located at the Pelalangan Site, consisting of two monoliths sculpted in stages. Overall the steps have an east-west orientation and are located on the edge of the village road between Sumbermalang and Besuki. The first monolith is slightly rounded, with a diameter of about 4.4 meters and a height of

⁹ Ketut Wiradnyana, "Perkembangan Religi Prasejarah: Tradisi Masyarakat Gayo.," *AMERTA* 33, no. 1 (June 25, 2015): 3, <https://doi.org/10.24832/amt.v33i1.209>.

2.7 meters. The upper part of the monolith is carved in the form of 7 steps, with each step measuring about 22 cm in diameter, 65 cm in width, and 14 cm in height.

On the left and right of the steps, stair arms are formed in stages parallel to each step. The second monolith is located about 5 meters west of the first monolith, generally rectangular with enlarged variations at the top. An earthen courtyard connects the first and second monoliths. The monolith measures 7.5 meters in length, 4 meters in top width, 2 meters in bottom width, and 4 meters in height.

Compared to the first monolith, this second monolith is slimmer and taller. Both have a chiseled surface of 11 steps with stair arms on the right and left. The steps measure 35 cm in length, 75 cm in width, and 20 cm in height. According to folklore, this stepped building is closely related to the stepped structure on Mount Argopuro. The stepped building is considered a fortress of King Bagdad's defense in organizing forces to propose to Princess Rengganis in Argopuro.¹⁰

During the establishment of the Kingdom of Kediri, various arts developed rapidly. Among these arts, the most visible is literature. In addition, the existence of this kingdom is written in Chinese chronicles, including The book written by Cho-Ku-Fei in 1178 AD entitled *Ling-Mai-Tai-Ta* and the book written by Chau-Ju-Kua in 1225 AD entitled *Chau-Ju-Kua*.¹¹

¹⁰ Riyanto, "Temuan Uang Kepeng Gambangan Desa Gambangan, Kecamatan Maesan, Kabupaten Bondowoso, Jawa Timur: Hasil Kajian Awal Dan Potensi Pemanfaatannya."

¹¹ Sartono Kartodirjo, Marwati Djoened P, and Nugroho Notosusanto, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia II* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1975), 145.



Figure 2: Batu Tangga Prehistoric Site Sumbermalang, Situbondo

Source: <https://argopurojatim.blogspot.com/2016/06/situs-batu-tangga.html>

After the decline of the Kediri Kingdom, the Singasari Kingdom was founded by Ken Arok, who became the kingdom's King, when Ken Arok acted as Akuwu in Tumapel, he tried to create prosperity in the community's life so that there was an increase in the community's social life.¹² The prosperity of Tumapel's society led to the unification of the surrounding areas. When Ken Arok reigned as king of the Singasari Kingdom, his attention to his people increased so that his people lived in peace. However, during the reign of Anusapati, the social life of the Singosari people was inversely proportional to Ken Arok's power; the people during Anusapati's reign received less attention than Ken Arok. It was only during the reign of Wisnuwardana that the community's social life improved again; the community had a peaceful and tranquil life. It was also directly proportional to the power of Kertanegara. The Singasari Kingdom's economy was based on trade, agriculture, and shipping.

The existence of various statues and temples that were successfully built during the Singasari Kingdom is a way to trace the cultural life of the Singasari people at that time. The temples consist of Jago Temple, Singasari Temple, and Kidal Temple. At the same time, the statue includes the Statue of Kertanegara in his form as the Statue of Joko Dolog and the Statue of Ken Dedes as a form of Prajnaparamita, which symbolizes perfection.

¹² Dewi Salindri, "Legitimasi Kekuasaan Ken Arok Versi Pararaton Dan Negarakertagama," *Historia: Jurnal Ilmu Sejarah* 1, no. 2 (2019): 112, <https://repository.unej.ac.id/handle/123456789/97253>.

The heroic Panji story is a story or tale originating from Java which is a cultural heritage and also an Indonesian treasure.¹³ Heroic panji stories have a considerable influence in fostering art and culture in the people of Java. According to Nurcahyo, the panji story is a love story between Asmorobangun and Princess Candrakirana (Dewi Sekartaji), which is related to managing the story that occurred during the Hindu Buddhist period. Panji stories are about local literature and aspects of history, archeology, anthropology, agriculture, politics, and cultural elements that are widely discussed. According to many experts in the field of culture or culturists, those who act as readers consider that panji stories are an alternative to the Ramayana and Mahabharata epics because panji stories were born and developed in Java, Panaji stories are regarded as icons of East Java.¹⁴

Islamization in East Java experienced a cultural transition from Hinduism to Islam. The culture can be traced in two ways; the first is through the spread of Islam, which was carried out in a community and palace environment where the majority adhered to the Hindu-Buddhist religion. The second way is by tracing through building art and written literary traditions; this method is used to discover the origin of the growth of art and literary practices that adopt pre-Islamic culture. So culture itself is a form of creativity and collective experience that has experienced interaction in the 4th century AD.¹⁵

Islam's entry into Madura must be kept from the role of Walisongo as the spreader of Islam in Java. In addition to the Walisongo, the people of Madura knew Islam through the traders who stopped at Kalianget Harbor. In the 15th century AD, traders

¹³ Topan Bagus Permadi and Djuli Djatiprambudi, "Video Art: Cerita Panji Dalam Tradisi Budaya Pacitan," *Sakala: Jurnal Seni Rupa Murni* 1, no. 1 (2020): 103, <https://jurnalmahasiswa.unesa.ac.id/index.php/sakala/article/view/35994>.

¹⁴ Rudy Wiratama, "Cerita Panji Sebagai Repertoar Lakon Wayang Gêdhog Gaya Surakarta Telaah Struktur Teks, Makna Dan Kaitannya Dengan Pertunjukan," *Jurnal Kajian Seni* 5, no. 2 (January 8, 2020): 130, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jksks.46736>.

¹⁵ Dewi Evi Anita, "Walisongo: Mengislamkan Tanah Jawa (Suatu Kajian Pustaka)," *Wahana Akademika: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Sosial* 1, no. 2 (2014): 244, <https://journal.walisongo.ac.id/index.php/wahana/article/view/815/723>.

from Gujarat, India, traded and spread Islam on Madura Island.¹⁶ In the early stages of the Islamization process, the spread of Islam was usually limited to coastal areas close to the port. After success in the coastal regions, Islam began to enter and develop and enter the rural areas. Apart from the traders who spread Islam, the preachers also played an essential role in Islamization in the archipelago.¹⁷

Islam began to enter Madura in the 15th century AD, coinciding with the waning influence of the Majapahit kingdom in East Java. In the middle of the 15th century AD on Java island, an Islamic preacher from the Kingdom of Campa was the brother-in-law of the Majapahit king. The cleric was Sunan Ampel, one of the Walisongo figures who played a role in spreading Islam in Java.¹⁸

Sunan Ampel also had a student named Sunan Giri. Sunan Giri, in its development, also sent two of his students to spread in Madura, namely Sayyid Yusuf al-Anggawi for eastern Madura, which includes the Sumenep area and also the surrounding islands, and Sayyid Abdul Mannan al-Anggawi for western Madura, which provides for Bangkalan, Sampang, and Pamekasan.¹⁹

Continuity in Decorative and Architectural Heritage

Ornamental variety is one of the flexible branches of fine art, and its use is easy to harmonize with human life. The arrival of the Hindu-Buddhist religion to Indonesia changed the original patterns of Indonesian culture, especially in the motifs of decorative variety. These motifs were born from the Indonesian people who already could decorate techniques according to their respective tastes and a high sense of tolerance, so the elements that entered into the creation of this motif were also influenced. Islam came with all its culture into Indonesian society, which had lived in a Hindu-Buddhist

¹⁶ Afif Amrullah, "Islam Di Madura," *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 2, no. 1 (June 5, 2015): 59, <https://doi.org/10.19105/islamuna.v2i1.654>.

¹⁷ Azyumardi Azra, *Renaissance Islam Asia Tenggara* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 1999), 34.

¹⁸ Andang Subahianto, *Tantangan Industrialisasi Madura: Membentur Kultur, Menjunjung Leluhur* (Malang: Bayumedia, 2004), 85.

¹⁹ Amrullah, "Islam Di Madura," 60.

environment for a long time because Hindu-Buddhism had entered all aspects of life, including the belief system.

The broadcasters of Islam in Java, namely Walisongo, who chose the path of peace in broadcasting Islam, certainly made cultural acculturation so easy to occur, namely between Hinduism and Islamic culture. The good impact of this is the ease with which Islam is accepted among people already strong in Hindu culture.²⁰ There are specific rules in Islamic law, including that drawing or sculpting plants, animals, and humans is prohibited. The early Islamic preachers in Java introduced an art technique to overcome this problem with *Stylization*.

The continuity in cultural heritage can be seen in the various tombs of early Islamic preachers in Java. The tomb of Sunan Ampel, surrounded by several buildings, is located in Surabaya City, precisely in Ampel Village, Semampir District. Several towers surround the tomb, namely the Mosque building, Paduraksa gate, and the tomb. The most exciting thing is the Paduraksa building, which consists of five Paduraksa Gapura buildings with positions forming a sequence from the tomb area to the outside area of the Sunan Ampel cemetery complex. This gate has an order following the pillars of Islam, namely the panyeksen gate (shahadat), the madep gate (prayer), the ngamal gate (zakat), the poso gate (fasting), and also the munggah gate (hajj).²¹

On the right and left of the panyeksen gate, there is a stylization of the Mahapahit solar symbol in the form of flowers with eight crowns composed of three petals, which symbolizes the Majapahit Kingdom and shifts to the meaning of the Majapahit Kingdom and Walisongo. At the top of the gate is a stylization in the form of a creeper that means fertility, be it the fertility of the land or a woman who is expected to have many children and a symbol of prosperity.

²⁰ Moh As'ad Thoha, "Ragam Hias Kepurbakalaan Islam Kompleks Makam Sunan Giri" (IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 1987), 101.

²¹ Budiono, Nanik Rachmaniyah, and Aria Weny Anggraita, "Ornamen Masjid Sunan Ampel, Sunan Giri, Dan Sunan Sendang," *Jurnal Desain Interior* 6, no. 1 (2021): 17, <https://iptek.its.ac.id/index.php/jdi/article/view/9641/6003>.



Figure 3:

Stylization of Creeping Plants on the Ornament of the Arch of Sunan Ampel Tomb Complex

Just like on the right and left of the Penyeksen gate, on the right and left of the Madep gate, there is also a flower-shaped stylization with the same meaning as the flower stylization in the Penyeksen gate. There is a symbol of a plant that spreads widely side by side with blooming flowers at the top of the gate. That means fragrance, glory, and victory because of the determination to face prayer.

Stylized ornaments are also found in the Sunan Sendang Mosque complex in East Java Province, precisely in Sendang Duwur, Paciran District, Lamongan Regency. Sunan Sendang is a nickname given to Raden Nur Rahmat, a figure of Islamic propagation in Java in addition to the Walisongo. The Sunan Sendang cemetery complex has three main buildings: the mosque, the tomb, and the bentar and paduraksa gates. This discussion only focuses on one crucial building, the Paduraksa of Sunan Sendang Mosque. There are three parts, namely paduraksa door 1, paduraksa door 2, paduraksa door 3, with details as follows.²²

In the first paduraksa gate, there are two ornamental varieties; the first is the Garuda with the shape of the Garuda head and vines. The second is the shape of a Swan consisting of the head, body, legs, wings, and tails, each symbol that reminds us to purify the heart and mind and be kept away from various evil deeds. The meaning of the Swan is a shift in the policy of pre-Islamic tradition, as a symbol that reminds us of the greedy nature of humans and must be faced with caution. In the second paduraksa, there is a variety of bird ornaments at the top of the door, namely peacocks which are two in number and face each other. It symbolizes purity and happiness as a sacred place.

²² Budiono, Rachmaniyah, and Anggraita, 23.

In the 3rd paduraksa, there are four ornamental varieties in a row, namely kala is a head with a considerable size that weaves without having a lower jaw and is scary, and makara, a mixture of elephants, crocodiles, dragons, and fish. It symbolizes the kalamakara, which in the Hindu Buddhist tradition means warding off evil spirits, which then becomes a reminder to purify oneself to focus more on worship. Then there is a garuda stimulation which means the release of world distress for people buried in this place, and the last is a winged gate which means that we are more likely to clean our hearts and minds when entering the gate.

From all the ornaments of these three mosques, a conclusion can be drawn that almost all the ornaments found in the three mosque complexes are still close to traditional Javanese and Majapahit and Pre-Islamic decorations. All of them include *lung-lungan*, *sulur*, *patran*, *kala*, *makara*, *garuda*, *praba*, *Surya Majapahit*, *tlacapan*, *saton* and so on. Here is evidence of the existence or substantial relationship between religion and culture, resulting in cultural acculturation between Islam and Hindu-Buddhist (Pre-Islamic) culture.

The Prehistoric era was when humans did not know what writing was, so local and traditional cultures were still dominant. The form of pre-history seen from the tomb complex of the Islamic Kings of Arosbaya is in the tomb's structure. This burial complex is located on a hill; in prehistoric times was believed that the higher a person's burial, the closer he was to his God. The arrangement of the tombs in this burial complex is also like a stepped-under. In this tomb, there are several terraces surrounded by walls. The tiers of this stepped punk lead to one topmost point. Three tombs are related: the Plakaran, Agung, and Aer Mata Ebu.

During the Hindu-Buddhist period, the tomb complex had begun to transition from prehistoric to Hindu-Buddhist culture, which can be seen from the large gate or gate as the entrance to the sanctuary. This large gate or gate is only located in Agung tomb and Aer Mata Ebu tomb. When entering the Agung tomb, there are two gates made of rock. At the first gate, there is no carving at all on the gate, but when entering the cemetery, the main door is visible with

Hindu carvings that are very close to the stepped pounded arrangement in the tomb. In the tomb of Agung Arosbaya, the building looks similar to a temple and is also the resting place of the spirits of Hindu kings. There are also andesite stones at the base of the tomb, similar to temples in Java. The carvings of the gates leading to the tombs of Pragalba, Pratanu, and Raden Koro also show vital Hindu carving elements; even though the kings were already Muslims then, the cemetery still had Hindu architecture.

Acculturation in the tombs of the Islamic Kings of Arosbaya is still included in Classical Islam, where the prehistoric period and Hinduism, which has long lived in Madura, especially West Madura, has brought many changes to culture, and then the arrival of Ki Demung Plakaran from Majapahit which also brought many changes at that time.²³ It can be seen in the tomb of Aer Mata Ebu, which is characterized by the presence of tombstones with beautiful carvings on each tombstone, indicating the social class of each tomb.²⁴ The tombstone is made of limestone that has been compacted into an oversized shape, then carved with Islamic patterns. This tomb is then used to bury Muslims who still have royal blood or those in the Buduran Village area. The tombstone of Aer Mata Ebu also has a decorative star moon, a symbol of Islam obtained during the Mataram kingdom.²⁵

Diversity on the North Coast of East Java

This section will explain the portrait of pluralism in the Tuban region of East Java. Based on the latest data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Tuban Regency, the total Muslim population in

²³ Galih Pranata, Ahmad Rushanfichry, and Mohammad Yudik Al Faruq, "Masjid Sampangan Di Surakarta Sebagai Sumber Sejarah Diplomasi Politik Mataram Jawa Dan Madura Sejak Abad XVII," *Jurnal Sejarah Indonesia* 10, no. 2 (2021): 157, <https://journal.unnes.ac.id/sju/index.php/jih/article/view/54358>.

²⁴ Winanda Mustofa and Khoirun Nasik, "Pengembangan Wisata Religi Kabupaten Bangkalan Dengan Pendekatan Maqashid Al-Shari'ah," *Al-Faruq: Jurnal Hukum Ekonomi Syariah Dan Hukum Islam* 1, no. 2 (2023): 10, <https://ejournal.iaitabah.ac.id/index.php/alfaruq/article/view/1075>.

²⁵ Moh Khoiron, "Kepurbakalaan Islam Pada Komplek Makam Ratu Ebu Arosbaya Bangkalan Madura" (IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 1989), 58–59.

2021 was 1,302,102. This number dominates the total population in Tuban. Furthermore, Protestants amounted to 5,648 people, and Catholic adherents amounted to 2,615 people. 502 Buddhists and 76 Hindus follow this number. In the same data, it is known that the number of followers of other beliefs is 169.²⁶ According to Auliya Urokhim, followers of beliefs such as *Kejawen* in the Tuban Regency are sometimes not recorded in the Central Bureau of Statistics calculation or included in the calculation of other religions. These believers do not live in the urban area of Tuban, but they mostly live in villages, for example, in Kedungombo Village and Palang Sub-district.²⁷

These various religions are represented in the FKUB (Forum for Religious Harmony) of Tuban Regency. This forum is essential to unite and dialogue with different religious communities so that they know and respect each other better. The program promoted by FKUB Tuban Regency to make this forum more lively is to hold offline and online seminars. Of course, the theme raised awareness of pluralism in religious and social communities. FKUB does not walk alone in promoting religious harmony; they often collaborate with LAKPESDAM Nahdlatul Ulama Tuban Regency, which is keen to voice Religious Moderation.²⁸

The predominance of coastal-style Muslims living in Tuban and the many graves of early Islamic propagators in Java is no exaggeration if Tuban is dubbed "Bumi Wali." Tuban is also known as a tolerant region. Despite this nickname and the fact that local traditions sometimes collide with religious norms, local practices in Tuban are still maintained, such as drinking tuak and holding Sindir art. Even so, there has never been a conflict that has led to SARA.²⁹ Gradually, Tuban also transformed into an area inhabited by various tribes. Recently, migrants from other regions have also appeared in large numbers, including the Sundanese from West Java. Speaking of

²⁶ Umdatul Ummah, "Kabupaten Tuban Dalam Angka Tuban Regency in Figures 2022" (Tuban, 2022), 129.

²⁷ Interview with Urokhim on November 16, 2022.

²⁸ Interview with Urokhim on November 16, 2022

²⁹ Interview with Urokhim on November 16, 2022

conflicts in Tuban, there have been conflicts between the Chinese and the people of Tuban. However, it was a political conflict and overly politicized. The battle burned the Regent's Hall and the KPU office in Tuban in 2006.

Diversity in the Culture of Arek Society

According to data from the Surabaya City Statistics Agency in 2021, seen from the number of adherents of each religion in Surabaya, the majority religion is Islam, with 2,549,975 followers. The number of Protestants is 258,087, followed by Catholics at 115,136, Hindus at 6,706, and Buddhists at 40,860. As a pluralistic and modern city, Surabaya provides a decent living space for believers, with 882 people.³⁰ Walking around Surabaya makes it easy to find places of worship for each religion.

A heterogeneous society inhabits Surabaya. The city is home to many people of different ethnicities and religions. Not only different ethnicities, but they also live in a plurality of various jobs to support the economy. Speaking of the ethnic composition that inhabits Surabaya, Javanese ethnicity is the majority ethnicity; however, the number is almost equal to Madurese ethnicity. In addition, there are also Chinese, Arab, and Ambon ethnicities.³¹

The portrait of a pluralistic society in Surabaya is an example of Chinese people living around Kya-Kya, also known as Kembang Jepun. You will find many unique things there, such as stalls selling Chinese food and Surabaya specialties. While most traders are Chinese, the workers are mostly Madurese or Javanese. The Kembang Jepun trade center itself, although it is where the Chinese people live (Chinatown), is very close and even attached to the Sunan Ampel cemetery complex, which many Muslims and Arabs inhabit. Even so, there has never been friction between ethnicities or religions in that place.³²

³⁰ Aisyah Bintang, "Kota Surabaya Dalam Angka 2022" (Surabaya, 2022), 149.

³¹ Interview with Ramdhanis on November 16, 2022.

³² Interview with Ramdhanis on November 16, 2022.

Surabaya is not only known for its pluralism but also its *ceplas ceplos* culture. According to Junisyah Ramdhanis, the people of Surabaya tend to use *Ngoko* Javanese, which is more of a choice to unify pluralism. In this case, it means that the language of instruction is easily understood by all levels of society, regardless of ethnicity. Although, of course, in the *Ngoko* Javanese language used, there are accents from various ethnicities. Therefore, Surabaya is also known as a more egalitarian society. Language symbols of intimacy are also sometimes shown with swearing so that more intimacy is established by paying attention to social norms.³³

Diversity in Madurese Culture

Something interesting about Madurese society is its exclusive culture. This exclusive means that the culture is different from other regions. However, the general trend is still related to "Carok," which is one way the Madurese community solves problems.³⁴ It is regarded as a symbol of defending one's dignity, masculinity, or heroism. More precisely, because it preserves dignity.³⁵ Many are the causes of disputes because of family problems, land disputes, or the most sensitive is the wife's affairs. For example, on the issue of disturbing other people's affairs, there is no compromise or diplomacy for the problem, so it must be resolved immediately. Another uniqueness of the Madurese community is that they will only interfere if others start first.³⁶

It can be concluded that in Madurese culture, they are more likely to be open to anyone and will not disturb other people's lives if other people do not disturb them. It is not surprising that in Madura,

³³ Interview with Ramdhanis on November 16, 2022.

³⁴ Aina Aurora Mustikajati, Alif Rizqi Ramadhan, and Riskia Andi Fitriyono, "Tradisi Carok Adat Madura Dalam Perspektif Kriminologi Dan Alternatif Penyelesaian Perkara Menggunakan Prinsip Restorative Justice," *Intelektiva: Jurnal Ekonomi, Sosial & Humaniora* 3, no. 4 (2021): 96, <https://www.jurnalintelektiva.com/index.php/jurnal/article/view/650>.

³⁵ Emy Handayani and Fatih Misbah, "Carok, 'Di Persimpangan' Budaya Dan Hukum Positif," *CREPIDO* 1, no. 1 (July 31, 2019): 26, <https://doi.org/10.14710/crepido.1.1.23-31>.

³⁶ Interview with Mustofa on November 16, 2022.

various ethnicities live there, such as Chinese, Arab, Bugis, and Mandar, even though the migrants who live there are mostly Javanese.

When talking about customary issues in terms of buildings, the house where Madurese live is a form of house building called "pecinan." These houses can be found in the homes of Madurese people in the past, around the 90s. Modern houses today already have a different architectural style. The background of the formation of Madurese houses, whose architecture is the same as that of the Chinese or Chinatown, is because they used to adopt the forms of Chinese houses to build houses so that when the Chinese homes were no longer lived in, the homes of other communities still imitate the architecture of the house.³⁷

The belief of the Madurese community is 99% Islam; even if only a few Christians and Catholics are found, it can be seen in churches and other places of worship in several areas in Madura. Judging from the latest BPS data, there is no data on the number of Muslims in Sampang. However, the same data pinned the number of adherents of other religions, including 223 Protestants, 74 Catholics, 2 Hindus, and 3 Buddhists.³⁸ Conflicts in Madura are rarely found because of religion; because of this harmony, conflicts are also very few.³⁹

Diversity in Pandhalungan Community Culture

According to the Jember Central Bureau of Statistics, in 2021, most people in Jember are Muslims, reaching 2,549,874 out of a total population of 2,581,486. Followed by Protestants and Catholics, namely 19,945 and 8,405 people, respectively, then Hindus 1,661 people, Buddhists 1,373 people, and Confucianism 80 people. In addition to the six religions regulated by law, the people of Jember also have around 147 believers. It shows that the level of diversity in

³⁷ Interview with Mustofa on November 16, 2022.

³⁸ BPS Sampang, "Kabupaten Sampang Dalam Angka 2021" (Sampang, 2021), 90.

³⁹ Interview with Mustofa on November 16, 2022.

Jember Regency is relatively high when viewed from the aspect of belief, where all six religions exist in Jember.⁴⁰

In addition to the Madurese and Javanese ethnicities, there are other ethnicities in Jember, namely the Arab, Chinese, and Mandar ethnicity found in Puger. According to the findings in the field, all ethnicities are found in Jember Regency. For example, the Mandar ethnic group is an ethnic group from Sulawesi who live in Jember in the fishing village, Puger. The placement of ethnicity in Jember Regency is tricky to see ethnicities such as ethnic Madurese in Jember. Still, they do not have ancestors in Madura, but in their daily conversation and culture, they are Madurese. Vice versa with the Javanese community in Jember, where most of the Jember Javanese do not master the Madurese language, nor do they master the Javanese language. The outline is that the largest ethnic groups occupying Jember are Madurese and Javanese.⁴¹

Jember, as a city with diversity, makes the grammar in Jember unique. The uniqueness of the language lies in the vocabulary that only exists in Jember, such as in Jember Javanese "aboh," where other Javanese people or ethnicities other than in Jember will not understand the meaning of the word, it can be said that Jember Javanese is "setengah plus satu." That is illustrated when the Jember Javanese pronounce alun-alun as "lun-alun"; the streets where the Javanese usually say "mlaku-mlaku" become "ku-mlaku." In addition to its unique language, Jember is also one of the areas where there are many ethnic Chinese. All areas in Jember have ethnic Chinese living there. Jember's ethnic Chinese also master various Jemberan languages, namely Madurese, Javanese, and a mixture of the two, such as ethnic Chinese in the Mayang area, where their Madurese language is powerful. Not surprisingly, the Jemberan-style lingua franca is also known for its absorption of Chinese, primarily when referring to numbers. For example, to indicate the term "fraud," Jemberites popularized Article *San Djie Ba*, or Article 378. As for the Arab

⁴⁰ Stephanus Pratomo Septyardi Putranto et al., "Kabupaten Jember Dalam Angka 2022" (Jember, 2022), 165.

⁴¹ Interview with Suhardjito on November 16, 2022.

ethnicity, they tend to mingle less frequently than the Chinese. Besides Chinese and Arabs, other ethnicities that have been encountered in Jember are Indian.⁴²

Beliefs or religions in Jember Regency are pretty diverse because all religions can be found, namely Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Khonghucu, Catholicism, and Protestantism; this can be seen from the Klenteng and Wihara buildings in Jember. In addition, tolerance in Jember Regency is relatively high; this can be seen from the absence of clashes between ethnicities, races, and religions. In 1998 when other regions in Indonesia were experiencing crashes, Jember still looked peaceful, as if nothing had happened; even then, the ethnic Chinese in Jember carried out their activities as usual. There are many other religions, such as Christianity, whereas, in Jember, there is an area in the Pakusari area that includes a Christianization area, in contrast to Hinduism, which is spread in many areas and is not centered like Christianity. Apart from the six religions in Indonesia, in Jember, there is a community of believers, where the adherents are closed and do not have a special place to worship.⁴³

Diversity in Mataraman Culture

Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics of Nganjuk Regency in 2021 shows that adherents of Islam in Nganjuk Regency in 2021 reached 1,123,599 people, Protestants 6,657 people, followed by Catholics 2,613 people, then Hindus 330 people, Buddhists 225 people and adherents of other religions or believers 132 people.⁴⁴ Javanese tribes occupy Nganjuk Regency with a Mataraman Javanese character. To the east of the Brantas River is the Arek Javanese culture. In the scope of the Nganjuk area, especially Kertosono, several religions make the growth of high tolerance. It can be seen from the presence of Klenteng, GKJW, and GPDI. The Nganjuk

⁴² Interview with Suhardjito on November 16, 2022.

⁴³ Interview with Suhardjito on November 16, 2022.

⁴⁴ BPS Nganjuk, "Kabupaten Nganjuk Dalam Angka 2021" (Nganjuk, 2021), 118.

area's races also vary, such as Chinese, Hindu-Buddhist, Catholic, and Kejawen.

Concerning the pluralism of Nganjuk, also known as a conflict-free region, it is not only indigenous Javanese who inhabit this region. You can also find people with Madurese and Papuan ethnic backgrounds in this area. Many Madurese work as traders in the informal sector, while Papuans work in the religious field, especially Protestantism.⁴⁵ In this life of plurality, several occupations have recently been highlighted as changing human resources and the region. At the beginning of Kertosono, most people traded and farmed. But as the flow of life developed, there was a change in the occupation of the Nganjuk community. Nowadays, almost everything has changed to industrial areas where factories have been built with low labor wages. The trigger was the opening of the toll road access that has now been operated. At this point, changing the Kertosono area into an industrial area will eliminate some of the agricultural regions in Indonesia, so the production of farm products will undoubtedly decrease as well.⁴⁶

As told by Agustin Rahayu, so far, in the Kertosono area, there has never been a SARA conflict. That is because there is the principle of growing up together in the family even though there are religious differences within one family. This difference is not considered a big problem. Even if there is a problem, the resolution process is simple to find the right solution immediately. With this firmly held principle, the people of Kertosono can live in harmony.

Conclusion

The north coast of Java is known as "Bumi Wali," despite this nickname, local traditions sometimes collide with religious norms, such as the behavior of drinking tuak and holding Sindir art. Even so, there has never been a conflict that led to SARA. For example, the portrait of the plural society in Arek society in Surabaya is like the Chinese people living around Kya-Kya or Kembang Jepun. Stands

⁴⁵ Interview with Rahayu on November 16, 2022.

⁴⁶ Interview with Rahayu on November 16, 2022.

selling Chinese food and Surabaya specialties in that place. The traders are primarily Chinese, but the workers are Madurese or Javanese. Kembang Jepun is a Chinatown area close to the Sunan Ampel cemetery complex, which many Muslims and Arabs inhabit. The portrait of Madurese pluralism can be seen in the shape of a house called "Chinatown." These houses can be found in the homes of Madurese people in the past, around the 90s. In the Pandhalungan community, there is uniqueness in the language used. Jember's "Half plus one" language is illustrated when Jember Javanese pronounces alun-alun as "lun-alun," streets where Javanese usually say "mlaku-mlaku" become "ku-mlaku." The Jemberese lingua franca is also known for its absorption of Chinese, mainly when referring to numbers. For example, to denote the term "fraud," Jemberites popularize Article *San Djie Ba* or Article 378. In Mataraman Javanese culture, several religious institutions other than Islam exist, including Klenteng, GKJW, and GPDI. The Mataraman region's races also vary, such as Chinese, Hindu-Buddhist, Catholic, and Kejawan. The results obtained are awareness of the daily reality of East Javanese society and show that prolonged conflicts that rely on ethnic and religious differences have never appeared. Understanding of the historical reality that different forms in the East Javanese community have occurred for a long time. So, that reality is what causes East Javanese people to appreciate differences and get used to differences..

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