

RENARRATING THE ISLAMISATION OF THE MALAY-INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO IN 13th-19th CENTURIES

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Abstract

This article aims at re-presenting the Islamisation of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago from the 13th to 19th century, focusing on the narrative of intellectualism and activism conducted inter-relatedly during the very act of religious proselytization. The background of this research arises from the need to understand the complexity of Islamisation in the archipelago, on the one hand, and the negligence of such narrative in the historiography of islamization, on the other. Taking this as the basis of narrative, this article will re-explain the major phases in the Islamization of the archipelago by paying attention both to the political variable and, particularly, the intellectual-historical aspects. This paper uses the historical-descriptive method by collecting and analyzing relevant historical materials. The selected data will be re-narrated within the framework of intellectualism and activism in the Islamization process. This research also uses the comparative method to compare the phases of Islamization in various regions of the archipelago, thus providing a more complete picture of the dynamics that occurred in the 13th to 19th centuries. The expected purpose is to go beyond the political-historical perspective that currently dominates the historiography of Islamization and marginalizes the proselytizing aspect which is an intertwining of intellectualism and activism in that process.

Keywords: *Islamisation; Intellectualism; Activism*

Abstrak

Artikel ini mencoba menyajikan kembali Islamisasi kepulauan Melayu-Indonesia dari abad ke-13 hingga abad ke-19, dengan fokus pada narasi intelektualisme dan aktivisme yang dilakukan secara saling terkait dalam proses penyebaran agama. Latar belakang penelitian ini muncul dari kebutuhan untuk memahami kompleksitas Islamisasi di Nusantara, di satu sisi, dan pengabaian narasi semacam itu dalam historiografi islamisasi, di sisi lain. Dengan mengambil hal tersebut sebagai basis merangkai narasi, artikel ini akan menjelaskan kembali fase-fase utama dalam Islamisasi Nusantara dengan memperhatikan variabel politik dan, khususnya, aspek sejarah-intelektual. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode historis-deskriptif dengan

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Citation: Safari, Muhammad Afif Amrulloh and Asep Nahrul Musadad. "RENARRATING THE ISLAMISATION OF THE MALAY-INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO IN 13th-19th CENTURIES" *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 24, no. 2 (2024): 304-328.

[10.22373/jiif.v24i2.24843](https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v24i2.24843)

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mengumpulkan dan menganalisis materi sejarah yang relevan. Data-data yang telah diseleksi akan dinarasikan ulang untuk dalam kerangka intelektualisme dan aktivisme dalam proses Islamisasi. Penelitian ini juga menggunakan metode komparatif untuk membandingkan fase-fase Islamisasi di berbagai wilayah Nusantara, sehingga memberikan gambaran yang lebih lengkap tentang dinamika yang terjadi pada Abad ke-13 hingga ke-19. Tujuan yang diharapkan adalah untuk melampaui perspektif historis-politis yang selama ini mendominasi historiografi Islamisasi dan meminggirkan aspek gerakan penyemaian keagamaan yang merupakan kelindan intelektualisme dan aktivisme di dalam proses tersebut.

Kata Kunci: Islamisasi; Intelktualisme; Aktivisme

مستخلص

تحاول هذه المقالة إعادة تقديم أسلمة الأرخيبيال الملايو-إندونيسي من القرن الثالث عشر إلى القرن التاسع عشر، مع التركيز على سردية الفكر والحركة التي تمت بشكل مترابط خلال فعل الدعوة الدينية ذاته. تنشأ خلفية هذا البحث من الحاجة العميقة لفهم تعقيدات الأسلمة في الأرخيبيال من جهة، وإهمال هذه السردية في تأريخ الأسلمة من جهة أخرى. وباعتبار ذلك أساساً للسرد، سيعيد هذا البحث بيان المراحل الرئيسية في أسلمة الأرخيبيال من خلال الاهتمام بالمتغير السياسي وبالأخص الجوانب الفكرية التاريخية. وتستخدم هذه المقالة المنهج التاريخي الوصفي من خلال جمع وتحليل المواد التاريخية ذات الصلة. وسيتم إعادة سرد البيانات المختارة في إطار الفكر والحراك في عملية الأسلمة. ويستخدم هذا البحث أيضاً المنهج المقارن لمقارنة مراحل الأسلمة في مختلف مناطق الأرخيبيال، وبالتالي تقديم صورة أكثر اكتمالاً للديناميكيات التي حدثت في القرون من الثالث عشر إلى التاسع عشر. والغرض المتوقع هو تجاوز المنظور السياسي-التاريخي الذي يهيمن حالياً على التأريخ للأسلمة ويهمش الجانب الدعوي الذي هو تداخل بين الفكري والحركي في تلك العملية.

الكلمات الرئيسية :

A. Introduction

The narrative of Islamisation in the archipelago during the 13th to 19th centuries is the main focus of this article, which aims to re-call some accounts of the historical phases through certain outlook. Hence, the main issue, at the first place, relates to “historiography of Islamization”. As the political-history based narratives remains strongly dominant, another lens in narrating the issue deserves more attention. In this case, the perspective of “religious proselytization” deserves to be an alternative outlook to re-narrate the historiography of Islamization. This kind of trend has been exemplified, for instance, by Thomas W. Arnold in *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith*.¹ One can say that this perspective remains “peripheral” in term of historiographical narrative of the archipelago, in particular, which is dominated by the accent of political-history as shown by the division of

¹ Thomas W Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith 2 nd Edition* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Son, 1913).

historical phases based on the political events.

It is notable that modern studies on Islam in the archipelago have been conducted since the beginning of the 19th century along with the European high imperialism of the region especially the British and the Dutch. At that time, studies conducted by European scholars on the history of Islam in the archipelago was carried out in the context of colonial administrators' interests. Studies on when, where and who brought Islam to the archipelago have begun to be conducted. Some European scholars at that time came with their own theories.

Some figures such as Pijnappel, C. Snouck Hurgronje, J.P. Moquette,^{2,3,4} until G.E. Marrison⁵ and S.Q. Fatimi,⁶ are among the early scholars who provide foundational scholarship on the issue. The first three scholars are the originators of the Indian (Gujarat) theory in the Islamization of the archipelago, while Marrison and Fatimi offered the Bengal theory, although it was not strong enough to overthrow the dominance of the former, as Azyumardi Azra has put it.⁷ The Arabian theory was also established by John Crawfurd until S.M.N. Alatas.^{8,9,10} Muhammad Abdul Karim has also reviewed the existing major theories on Islamization of the archipelago and concluded that determining the first point remains unfinished task. He asserts that in explaining the arrival of Islam in the archipelago, it is sufficient to say that Islam entered this region between the 7th to 14th by the Arabian, Indian, Persian, Bengal and Chinese Muslims.¹¹ Thus, the scholarship on the history of the Islamization of the archipelago in its formative period centered on "the question of origin".

However, the study on the issue goes in the direction of more political one, as the sharper dichotomy between political-activism and theological-preaching as two categories, comes on the scene, with the former being the main lens to look at the narrative of the latter. This is understandable due to the major development of Islamic political entities in later

² G.W.J Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* Deel 124 (1968).

³ Isma'il Hāmid, "A Survey of Theories on the Introduction of Islām in the Malay Archipelago," *Islamic Studies* 21, no. 3 (1982).

⁴ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994).

⁵ G. E. Marrison, "The Coming of Islam to the East-Indies," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24, no. 1 (1951).

⁶ S.Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Institute, 1963).

⁷ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*.

⁸ 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).

⁹ Isma'il Hāmid, "A Survey of Theories on the Introduction of Islām in the Malay Archipelago."

¹⁰ Muhammad Abdul Karim, "Islam in Indonesia: A Historical Perspective," *Indonesian Journal of Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies* 1, no. 2 (2018).

¹¹ Karim.

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times, so that the study of Islamization almost denotes the study of the history of Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago itself.¹² Thus, it further obscures the very idea of religious proselytization itself at the first place embedded in various manifestation.

This article will attempt to re-narrate the history of Islamization in the archipelago through an emphasis on the proselytization process that includes both intellectualism and activism as the basis of the narrative. Hence, this research tries to answer one main question; how to re-narrate Islamization in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago during the 13th-19th centuries from the perspective of intellectualism and activism? Since the historiographical research on the Islamization of the archipelago has been dominated by historical-political perspectives, this article seeks to fill the lacuna by presenting another angle of narrative. It relies on the fact that the process of Islamization in the archipelago is a complex phenomenon in many terms. In this research, the narratives of intellectualism and activism are important elements in understanding how Islamization took place and developed in the archipelago. It is expected to make some contributions to the study of the historiography of Islamization in the archipelago.

B. Discussion

1. *Historical Context and the Initial Influences of Islam*

In term of political milieu, the pre-Islamic Malay-Indonesia archipelago was home to great civilizations like Srivijaya (671-1025) an empire that created important connection in maritime power especially through Malay-Java connection in the Hindu-Buddhist period. Srivijaya itself was a hegemonic maritime power in the archipelago until the 11th century centered in the area currently known as Jambi and South Sumatra. Srivijaya's success achievement was supported by good relations with another Buddhist ruler, the Saylendra Dynasty in Central Java, although the relationship has deteriorated since the 10th century. The 12th century saw a new power from Hindu-Javanese kingdom with the emergence of Singasari (1222-1292) from East Java that launched the *Pamalayu* expedition against Srivijaya.¹³ If Srivijaya marked a Malay political epicentrum, then the 13th and 14th century witnessed a change in political flow with the emergence of Singasari and reached its peak under Majapahit Empire (1293-1527) whose conquests reached the Malay Peninsula and almost all areas of the Indonesian archipelago.

¹² M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia c. 300 to the Present* (London: Macmillan, 1981).

¹³ Leonard Y. Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008).

Majapahit's hegemony over Malay-Indonesian archipelago marked the reverse flow in political epicentrum in this region from 13th to 16th centuries. Thus, the first penetration of Islam in the archipelago occurred during the Majapahit hegemony. Along with the increasing influence of Majapahit, an opportunity began to be seized by some new political forces in northern Sumatra and the Malacca Strait that witnessed the emergence of Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago. Meilink-Roelofz, for instance, based on the report of Tome Pires, notes that since the 13th century, the main port of North Sumatra (Aceh) has experienced rapid development due to the growth of pepper exports.¹⁴ In this situation, new important ports that later became the bases of Islamic kingdoms emerged; Samudera Pasai (1267-1521), Melaka (around 1400-1511), and Aceh (1496-1903).

According to some historians, early Islamic propagation was carried out without any significant from the rulers. It was done by the power of persuasion as Thomas W. Arnold (1913) has put it. Being the early exponent to apply the perspective of "history of propagation" in explaining the Islamization of this region, he described it as "one of the most interesting chapters in the story of the spread of Islam by missionary efforts". M. Abdul Karim¹⁵ follows the Arnold's footsteps and calls this initial phase a natural process. In this phase, Islam was brought by traders who came to the Indonesian archipelago. Although the main purpose was trade, the task of conveying religion could not be abandoned. Furthermore, groups were formed with the guidance of certain preachers which then also spread naturally.

Arnold and Karim emphasize the very idea of missionary aspect (*da'wah*) as the first and foremost variable in explaining the Islamization. Both seem optimistic that this phase has started since the 7th century due to the intensive commerce between the Arab world and the East since long time.¹⁶ S.M.N. Al-Attas also has a similar view by relying on information from a Chinese report regarding the existence of an Arab settlement in eastern Sumatra in 674 during the Srivijaya period.¹⁸ Syed Farid Alatas also mention the Chinese report on a Muslim diplomat from Borneo who traveled to China in 977.¹⁹ In term of archaeology, it is notable also that among the oldest artifacts indicating the presence of Muslims in this region is the

¹⁴ M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in The Indonesian Archipelago Between 1500 and About 1630* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962).

¹⁵ M. Abdul Karim, *Islam Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: Gramasurya, 2007).

¹⁶ Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith*, 2nd Edition.

¹⁷ Karim, "Islam in Indonesia: A Historical Perspective."

¹⁸ Al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of The Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*.

¹⁹ Syed Farid Alatas, "Notes on Various Theories Regarding the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago," *Muslim World*, 1985, 164.

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gravestone of Fatimah binti Maimun dated 1082 and the clear evidence of an Islamic dynasty is shown by the gravestone of Sultan Malik al-Salih of Samudera Pasai dated 1297.²⁰

In the next phase, starting from the 13th century, *da'wa* activities were carried out more systematically in line with a more supportive political milieu with the establishment of early Islamic kingdoms in northern Sumatra when Majapahit hegemony was still in place. S.F. Alatas calls the period between 13th-16th centuries “a period of large-scale and vigorous conversion to Islam” and “a distinctive period in Malay history”.²¹ It was during this phase that A.H. Johns²² formulated his famous theory regarding the spread of Islam in the archipelago by introducing sufism as a category to refer to the propagator of Islam after it had previously only been described under the category of trade/commerce as proposed, for instance, by Van Leur.²³ For Johns, although the Arab traders had been visiting the archipelago regularly since the 8th century, Islamic communities only emerged there in the 13th century.²⁴

2. *Early Traces of Qādiriyyah Sufi Order (Tarīqah) and Syāfi'ī School of Islamic Law (Mazhab Fiqhi)*

A.H. Johns and Vladimir Braginsky are scholars who provide adequate foundation for the significance of sufism in the spread of Islam in the archipelago. Braginsky states that the early Islamic teachings that first entered this region was in the sufistic form. It was due to the *sufi* mentality that is suitable for the people of the archipelago. A.H. Johns says that the spread of Islam in the region was carried out by *tarīqah* masters through the medium of trade. The reason he uses is the fact that the *tarīqah* network flourished after the fall of Baghdad in 1258 and appeared to be one of the instruments of unification of the entire Muslim world.²⁵

However, the challenge to John's argument comes from Martin van Bruinessen. His objection is that the emergence of *tarīqah* in the archipelago can only be confirmed historically no older than the end of the 16th century based on information indicated in the poems of Hamzah Fansuri. For Bruinessen, Johns' attractive hypothesis still lacks historical

²⁰ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia c. 300 to the Present*.

²¹ Alatas, “Notes on Various Theories Regarding the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago.”

²² A.H. Johns, “Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History,” *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2, no. 2 (1961).

²³ J.C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian and Economic History*, Edited by Wertheim (The Hague: W. van Hoeve Publishers Ltd, 1967).

²⁴ Johns, “Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History.”

²⁵ Johns.

evidence.²⁶ However, as Kersten emphasized,²⁷ Johns' thesis was revived in connection with Michael Feener's discovery of the biographical account of Mas'ud al-Jawi who is reported to have been in Yemen in the 13th Century based on al-Yafi'i's (d. 1367) *Mir'atul Jinān*. Mas'ud al-Jawi is mentioned as an established *sufi*-master who was the first to put the *khirqah* on al-Yafi'i as a symbol of the acceptance into a *tarīqah*. Based on information from *Mir'at al-Jinān*, Feener concludes that the *tarīqah* in question, although not explicitly mentioned, is the *Qādiriyyah*. For Feener, this data is the earliest evidence of the involvement of a *sufi*-master associated with Southeast-Asia in cosmopolite circles in the Middle East.²⁸

Another aspect of the early phase of Islamization is the dissemination of Syāfi'ī *fiqh* recorded since the mid-14th century in the Sultanate of Samudera Pasai. For Mahmood Kooria, the penetration of the Syafi'i school beyond its original borders, including to the archipelago, occurred due to trade connections in various Indian Ocean ports connected to the Mediterranean. Despite several inconsistencies, Kooria highlights the reports on the arrival of two Syafi'i scholars from Malabar; Maulana Naina al-Malabari and Bava Kaya Ali al-Malabari, in Pasai during the reign of Sultan Kamil. However, he doubts this account due to the claim of this narrative to be originated from the mid-12th century, while Pasai was established in the 13th century and a sultan with the name Kamil only ascended the throne in the 15th century.²⁹ However, Abu Bakar Aceh's explanation on the gravestones of Malik al-Kamil can be another consideration to test the veracity of Kooria's data. For Abu Bakar, there were several gravestones that have escaped the worksheet of historians, including two gravestones bearing the inscriptions of Malik al-Kamil who died in 1210 and Ya'kub, the cleric who is said to have Islamized Gayo, dated 1232.³⁰

Another evidence is the famous accounts of Ibn Batutah, a Moroccan traveler, when he visited Pasai around 1345/6 that recorded the strict adherence to the Syāfi'ī school exhibited by Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir of Samudra Pasai. In this case, Kooria also highlighted Ibn Batutah's testimony regarding the function of mosques that are not only used for prayer, but also for learning (*mosque-cum-college*).³¹ This record shows that the sultan could attend

²⁶ Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of Sufi Order (Tarikat) in Southeast Asia," *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 1 (1994): 5.

²⁷ Carol Kersten, *A History of Islam in Indonesia: Unity in Diversity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

²⁸ R. Michael Feener and Michael Laffan, "Sufi Scents Across the Indian Ocean: Yemeni Hagiography and the Earliest History of Southeast Asian Islam," *Archipel*, 70 (2005): 186–99.

²⁹ Mahmood Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation: Shafi'i Texts Across Indian Ocean and the Mediteranian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

³⁰ Aboebakar Aceh, *Sekitar Masuknya Islam Ke Indonesia, Cet. IV* (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985).

³¹ Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation: Shafi'i Texts Across Indian Ocean and the Mediteranian*.

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the Syafi'i *fiqh* learning held on Friday, wearing a *fuqaha's* robe and then return to his royal duties when the forum was over.

In addition to previous interpretation, for Ayang Utriza Yakin, Ibn Batutah's records also indicate the existence of the royal Islamic court that existed during the Samudera Pasai period. It is indicated with the mention of a *qadi* in the sultanate, namely *qādi* Amir Sayyid al-Syirāzi. At that time, Syiraz was one of the cities that followed Syafi'i school. The function of the *qadi* in this case is to issue a decision between two people who are in dispute along with his authorization over the judicial power (*qadā*), as stated in the standard book of *fiqh*. In his notes, Ibn Batutah said that he saw *qādi* Amir al-Syirazi sitting next to the Sultan. In addition, Ibn Batutah also mentioned Tajuddin al-Isfahani as one of the jurists (*faqih* and also *mufti*) in the Sultanate of Pasai whom he met along with the *qādi* Amir Sayyid. Both the sultan, *qādi* and *faqih* conducted the learning forum on Syāfi'i school every Friday.³² This scattered information are historical evidences for the existence of the Syafi'i school in the 14th century and perhaps even earlier. However, Ricklefs also notes the possibility of three other schools (Hanafi, Maliki and Hanbali) in the early days of Islam in Aceh.³³

3. The Pasai-Malacca-Java Connection: Notes on The Sultanate of Demak, Wali-Songo, and Ghazalian Sufism

The existence of the Sultanate of Malacca as an important epicenter in the spread of Islam emerged in 15th century after the domination of Pasai faded due to Majapahit attacks. By the 15th century, Malacca became the center of Islamization in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, along with Pasai. It was during the Malacca period that the transmission of Islamic teachings and activism moved rapidly to Java through international trading ports, including Malacca, Tuban and Gresik in East Java. On this connection, Schrieke mentions Sunan Gunung Jati, one of the *wali-songo* members, as the one who came from Pasai.³⁴ However, until the beginning of the 15th century, Pasai remained the reference for the Sultanate of Malacca regarding religious and even economic issues.

Information related to Islamic mysticism is more pronounced in the Pasai-Malacca and Aceh connection. Abdurrahman Haji Abdullah, as quoted by Miftah 'Arifin, points out that *wujudiyah* teachings entered the Malacca Sultanate in the 15th century during the time of

³² Ayang Utriza Yakin, *Sejarah Hukum Islam Nusantara Abad XIV-XIX* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2016).

³³ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia c. 300 to the Present*.

³⁴ B.J.O. Schrieke, *Kajian Historis-Sosiologis Masyarakat Indonesia: Kumpulan Tulisan B.J.O. Schrieke, Jilid II* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2016).

Sultan Mansur Syah (1456-1477 CE), especially the teachings of *al-insān al-kāmil* (perfect man) popularized by 'Abdul Karim al-Jili (1365-1428 CE), an interpreter and developer of the teachings of Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240 CE). It is in this Pasai-Malacca milieu that we must place the flow of Islamization that came to Java, which began to accelerate since the 15th century onwards since the founding of Demak Sultanate.

In the early 16th century, Demak was a prosperous port. According to Ricklefs, the origins of this port is uncertain. Some sources say it was founded in the late 15th century by a foreign Muslim, possibly a Chinese named Cek Ko-po. His son was the man whose name was given by the Portuguese as 'Rodim' who died around 1504. Rodim's son, or possibly his younger brother, was the founder of "Demak's temporary hegemony in Java". He is known as Trenggono who reigned twice, 1505-18 and 1521-46. Under Trenggono, Demak expanded its influence to the east and west, and during his second reign, Majapahit, the last Hindu kingdom on Java, collapsed, around 1527.³⁵

However, some historians believed that Demak Sultanate was already established during the time of Pate Rodim himself who was also known as Senapati Jimbun or Raden Fatah. It should be noted that the emergence of Demak is also linked to the Pasa-Malacca-Java connections. Raden Fatah is said to have studied in Pasai and Malacca and even Champa. In Malacca, he became good friends with five important people in the sultanate; Hang Tuah, Hang Jebat, Hang Lekir, Hang Lekiu, and Hang Kesturi. He asked them to accompany him to spread Islam in Java, but Sultan Mansyur Syah, who ruled Malacca at the time, only allowed Hang Jebat to go with Raden Fatah to Java. Thus, the Malacca-Demak relationship dates back to the late 15th century. It makes sense that when Malacca fell to the Portuguese, Demak responded immediately.³⁶ It is recorded that Demak, in cooperation with Palembang with 5000 soldiers, launched an offensive attack on Malacca in 1512-1513 under the command of Pati Unus, the chief (*adipati*) of Jepara who would later become the second Sultan of Demak (1518-1521) known as *Pangeran Sabrang Lor*.³⁷

The emergence of Demak is closely linked to the *wali-songo* (nine saints), an assembly-like organization that coordinated the proselytization of Islam in Java. The *wali-songo* is believed to be an institution consisting of several generations of Islamic preachers. The first generation is believed to have come in the 14th century, including Maulana Malik Ibrahim or Sunan Gresik (w. 1419). It should also be noted that several members of the *wali-*

³⁵ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia c. 300 to the Present*.

³⁶ Anasom, dkk., *Sejarah Kasultanan Demak-Bintoro* (Semarang: LP2M UIN Walisongo Semarang, 2019).

³⁷ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia c. 300 to the Present*.

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songo are recorded as having pursued religious instructions in Malacca, including Sunan Giri, Sunan Bonang and Sunan Kalijaga. Other members are also said to have studied, even originated from Pasai, such as Sunan Gunung Jati.^{38 39}

In term of sufism, while the Pasai and Malacca periods witness the strong presence of *wujudiyah*, the records from *wali-songo* era indicated the popularity of al-Ghazali's teachings. A work compiled by *Seh Bari* in the 16th century records the esoteric teachings attributed to Sunan Bonang and explicitly mentioned al-Ghazali's *Ihyā 'Ulumiddin* as the source.⁴⁰ Another manuscript which origin is believed from the same century, *Koropak Ferara*, also explicitly cites al-Ghazali's *Bidayah (Bidāyatul Hidāyah)*.⁴¹ It is on this basis that some scholars believe that the *wali-songo* were the preachers who taught the teachings of al-Ghazali, rather than the heterodox teachings. This also led Karel Steenbrink to conclude that in Javanese Islam, al-Ghazali's influence was more widespread than Ibn 'Arabi's pantheistic teachings.⁴² Bruinessen also states that while *tariqah* and philosophical-mysticism were dominant in the Islamic discourse of northern Sumatra in the 16th and 17th centuries, Javanese texts produced in the 16th century show instead a balance between religious doctrine, law, and *tasawwuf*. For him, mystical-philosophical teachings are only found in later writings and *tariqah* only gained massive adherents in Java no later than the 18th and 19th centuries.⁴³

4. *Islam and The Royal Court: Another Evidence of Fiqh Schools*

One of the neglected areas in the study on the penetration of *fiqh* schools (*mazhab*) in the archipelago through judicial institutions of Islamic Sultanate, where some materials of Islamic law/*fiqh* were positively applied. One of the early examples, for instance, is the *Undang-Undang Melaka* (Malacca Law) from the 15th century Sultanate of Malacca. Based on Yakin's study of this compendium, it was concluded that around 77% of its content contains customary law (*hukum adat*). However, it also contains Islamic law relating to marriage, trade and crime. In his study on marriage law, Yakin concluded that the material in *Undang-Undang Melaka* was taken from *al-Iqna'* by Khatib al-Syarbaini of the Syafi'i school. However, the entire articles of Islamic law in *Undang-Undang Melaka* were derived from the

³⁸ Agus Sunyoto, *Wali Songo: Rekonstruksi Sejarah Yang Disingkirkan* (Jakarta: Trans Pustaka, 2011).

³⁹ Schrieke, *Kajian Historis-Sosiologis Masyarakat Indonesia: Kumpulan Tulisan B.J.O. Schrieke, Jilid II*.

⁴⁰ G.W.J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (Leiden: KITLV, 1969).

⁴¹ G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1978).

⁴² Karel Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan-Bintang, 1984).

⁴³ Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of Sufi Order (Tarikat) in Southeast Asia."

four main schools of *fiqh* and not only from the Shafi'i school of Islamic law.⁴⁴ As for the context of the law in the Sultanate of Aceh, in Yakin's study, it is dominated by customary law even though there is evidence of the practice of Islamic law, especially during the reign of Sultan 'Alauddin Riayat Shah (1537-1571). In this case, his study on law in Aceh Sultanate is based on the accounts of European travelers who visited Aceh from the early 16th to the 17th century.⁴⁵

Another area worth noting are the legal texts dating back to the pre-Islamic period and re-edited by Muslim scholars in East and Central Java. These texts come from what Th. Pigeaud refers to as the coastal culture (*budaya pasisir*) between the 15th and 16th centuries. According to him, when the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of East Java collapsed, Muslims, some of whom were former governors, became the rulers of independent kingdoms, especially in Madura, Surabaya in East Java, until Banten in West Java. In this regard, the rulers and scholars of the *pasisir* regions regarded themselves as inheritors of the cultural achievements of pre-Islamic ancient Java and they cultivated this heritage in their own way. In this case, Pigeaud records several law books and treatises on law dating from the 15th and 16th centuries, the period of the flourishing of *pasisir* culture in Java although the existing manuscripts originated from the 18th century. Among the compendiums of law with old Javanese origin are; *Kuntara*, *Raja Niti*, *Surya Ngalam*, *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa*, *Jugul Muda* and *Salokatara* attributed to Senapati Jimbun (Raden Fatah). *Surya Ngalam*, according to Pigeaud became the prose lawbook of Demak connected to Islamic law and was reworked in verse by Yasadipura I from Kartasura.⁴⁶ Up to now, studies of these texts have rarely been conducted. It is possible that elements of the schools of *fiqh* have been incorporated into this kind of literature drafted during the transition from Hindu-Buddhist to Islamic times.

5. After The Malacca's Fall: Wujudiyah Polemics in Aceh and Its Trans-Regional Network

After the Malacca's fall to the Portuguese in 1511, the Sultanate of Aceh (1496-1903), which had replaced Samudera Pasai, emerged as the most important Islamic sultanate in the Indian Ocean spice trade. The 16th and 17th centuries were a period when Islamic sultanates in the archipelago began to create trans-regional connections. According to Azra, Aceh was the sultanate that had the most intense relations with powers outside the archipelago, especially

⁴⁴ Yakin, *Sejarah Hukum Islam Nusantara Abad XIV-XIX*.

⁴⁵ Yakin.

⁴⁶ Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Javanese Literature Vol. 1* (Leiden: Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden, 1967).

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the Ottoman and *haramain* (Mecca-Madina) authority.⁴⁷ Besides Aceh, Demak, Ternate-Tidore, Banten, and later Mataram and Gowa-Tallo emerged as notable Islamic sultanates in the archipelago mainly during the 16th and 17th centuries.

While the 13th to 16th centuries indicated such isolated development, the 17th century onwards showed a quite different picture. As diplomatic relations between the Islamic sultanates of the archipelago with the *haramain* and Ottoman authorities improved, Muslims from the archipelago increasingly came to the *haramain* to perform the *hajj* pilgrimage and pursuing religious instructions there with the leading authorities. They were well-known as *ashabul jawiyyin* (*jawi* students) who formed a scholarly network within the *haramain-jawi* connection. They became one of the supreme agents in shaping the face of Islamic intellectual tradition in the archipelago since the 17th century.

It is also notable that since the 16th century, mystical-philosophical teachings based on the works of Ibn 'Arabi and his commentators have been popular in Aceh. The teaching of al-Jili (d. 1424), one of Ibn 'Arabi's most important commentators, for example, was very influential in the archipelago. According to Laffan, al-Jili's teachings, including *insan kamil* and the 'five dignities (*martabat lima*)' for knowing Allah, were introduced to the archipelago through Hamzah Fansuri since 16th century in the Aceh Sultanate. Later on, his followers in Aceh, including Syamsuddin Sumatrani/Syamsuddin Pasai (d. 1630) developed these teachings. Bruinessen notes that Syamsuddin was the first scholar from the archipelago to explain the "seven dignities (*martabat tujuh*)" formulated by al-Burhanfuri (d. 1620) in his work *Tuhfat al-Mursalah ila Ruh al-Nabiyy*.⁴⁸ In subsequent developments, the idea of *martabat tujuh* and Syattariyyah sufi-order were very influential in the landscape of Islamic thought and activism in the archipelago.

A famous polemic took place between the followers of Hamzah Fansuri and Nuruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658), a scholar from India who became *syaiikhul Islam* in the Sultanate of Aceh replacing Jamaluddin/Kamaluddin, the successor of Syamsuddin Pasai. Azra notes that al-Raniri aggressively persecuted the followers of *wujuddiyyah*. He also aggressively won debates with *wujuddiyyah* followers at the court of Aceh. Sultan Iskandar Tsani repeatedly asked them to repent, but these efforts were in vain. The sultan, in the end, ordered them to be killed and their works to be burned in front of the great mosque Bayt al-Rahman.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*.

⁴⁸ Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of Sufi Order (Tarikat) in Southeast Asia."

⁴⁹ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*.

However, the debate was repeated when Kamaluddin/Jamaluddin's student Sayf al-Rijal (d. 1653) from Minangkabau challenged al-Raniri in the event that justified his expulsion in 1643 under Sultanah Safiyyatuddin. Sayf al-Rijal is said to have studied in Gujarat and al-Azhar in Egypt. After causing political divisions, it is said that Sayf al-Rijal managed to win the debate and became the honored guest at the court of Sultanah Safiyyatuddin. For Azra, this momentum was a counter-attack from Hamzah Fansuri's followers after seven years of being persecuted by al-Raniri with *fatwas* of *takfir* and even death sentences.⁵⁰

This polemic was later reconciled by Abdurrauf al-Sinkili (d. 1693 AD). He was among the scholars from the archipelago who made a journey to *haramayn* bringing some religious problems in his homeland including the *wujudiyah* polemic. He studied with Ibrahim al-Kurani al-Kurdi who was asked for a *fatwa* regarding several issues in the archipelago which culminated in a work, *Ithāf al-Dzakī*, a guide for Muslims of the archipelago to understand the teachings of “seven dignities” proposed by al-Burhanfuri. According to Oman Fathurrahman, this work responds to the polemics over *wujudiyah* in Aceh, as mentioned earlier.⁵¹

This is reinforced by a recent study conducted by Naser Dumairieh. He said that *Tuhfat al-Mursalāh ila Ruh al-Nabiyy* by al-Burhānfūrī had sparked debate in the archipelago about the concept of *wahdat al-wujūd* and al-Kurani's *Ithāf al-dzakī* illustrated the misunderstanding of Ibn 'Arabī's thought in the archipelago and tried to offer an interpretation that was considered in accordance with *syari'at*.⁵² Fathurrahman's study also shows how al-Sinkili attempted to reconcile between the two polemical parties, especially regarding the *takfir* attitude towards those who believe in *wujudiyah*, by writing several works, including *Tanbih al-Masyi*.⁵³ The discourse recorded in *Ithaf al-Zaki*, *Tuhfat al-Mursalāh*, and *Tanbih al-Masyi* reflects a trans-regional scholarship; a network that connects Mecca-Madina (*Haramain*), India (*Hindi*), and Malay-Indonesian archipelago (*Jawi*).

6. The Haramain-Hindi-Jawi Scholarly Network

⁵⁰ Azra.

⁵¹ Oman Fathurrahman, *Ithaf Al-Zaki: Tafsir Wahdatul Wujud Bagi Muslim Nusantara* (Bandung: Mizan, 2012).

⁵² Naser Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Hijāz before Wahhabism: Ibrahim Al-Kurani (d. 1690) and the Theology of Sufism* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

⁵³ Oman Fathurrahman, *Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999).

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It is worth noting that in addition to the *haramain* neo-sufism theology that played a role in the new synthesis of Islamic scholarship and the recognition of the *fiqh* of the four *mazhabs*, the 16th and 17th centuries were also a time when Syāfi'ī scholars from India were very influential in the Indian Ocean. It was done, for instance, through the migration of Indian scholars, particularly Gujarat and Malabar, who traveled to different regions. For Kooria, the journey of al-Ranīrī (d. 1658) illustrates this trend; he was born and raised in Ranīr (Rander), Gujarat, having pursued his study in Ḥaḍramawt, Yemen and built a successful career at Aceh before he was finally forced to return to his homeland.⁵⁴

However, based on the existing information, the vernacular work on Syafi'i *fiqh* in the archipelago has been written since early 17th century or even earlier. Majid Daneshgar's latest study reveals the existence of the oldest Javanese manuscript on Islamic law/*fiqh* in the early 17th century or earlier. The anonymous manuscript no. CUL.Gg.5.22 in Cambridge University Library from the collection of Thomas Erpenius (d. 1624), so far, is the oldest Javanese-Islamic text on Islamic law. Based on Daneshgar's study, its *terminus ante quem* was 1609 and contains three major sections; (1) material related to Islamic law, discussing religious obligations, followed by short sections on (2) divination, and (3) principles of faith. Of particular interest is the mention of sources in the first section; *Muharrar* (*al-Muḥarrar* by al-Rafī'i) (2) *Ilah* (*Idāh fī al-Fiqh*), and the book of *Sujjai*, which may be a compendium of Shafi'i *fiqh* named after its author, Abu Syuja' (d. after 1196 CE).⁵⁵ This latest finding confirms that *Syāfi'i* school was already recorded in Javanese-Islamic literature as early as the 17th century or even earlier.

The next more formal contribution to the circulation of Syāfi'ī texts in Southeast Asia was authored by al-Raniri himself. He wrote *al-Sirat al-Mustaqim* completed in 1644 in Malay language. Although it only contains basic jurisprudence on worship (*'ibadah*), Azra notes that its significance must be understood as a work written at a time when excessive and speculative sufism was symptomatic.⁵⁶ S.M.H. al-Attas, as cited by Azra, said that the contribution of *al-Sirat al-Mustaqim*, one of which was in the intensification of the process of Islamization, considering that he was the first scholar to write a standard handbook related to

⁵⁴ Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation: Shafi'i Texts Across Indian Ocean and the Mediteranian*.

⁵⁵ Majid Daneshgar and Edwin P. Wieringa, "Introduction: The Oldest Javanese Islamic Text at Cambridge University Library," in *An Early Javanese Manuscript on Islamic Law (Fiqh) MS Gg.5.22 at Cambridge University Library, Transcription by Yayasan Sastra Lestari* (Surakarta: Yayasan Sastra Lestari, 2024), 3–5.

⁵⁶ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*.

the fundamental obligations for all Muslims.⁵⁷ The next contribution came from al-Sinkili. At the request of Sultanah Tajul 'Alam Safiyatuddin, he wrote *Mir'at al-Tullab* completed in 1663. In addition to worship, this work also added explanations related to *mu'amalah* issues based on the Syafi'i school. At the trans-regional level, according to Kooria, historical evidence from the 17th century onwards even indicates that Jāwī scholars directly influenced the legal practices of Islamic communities outside the archipelago, including Sri-Lanka and South Africa. In Kooria's account, the spread of Islam in South Africa, and particularly the Syafi'i school, was due to Jāwī jurists, who arrived there as political prisoners and in exile, including Syaikh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣarī (d. 1699).⁵⁸

Another interesting issue in the process of Islamization is the penetration of *kalam* or *aqidah*. In this case, among the oldest traces in this field shows the affirmation to the Maturidi and Asy'ari schools. S.M.N. al-Attas noted that al-Raniri himself once mentioned about his work entitled *Durrat al-Fara'id bi Syarh al-'Aqa'id*, a Malay translation of a *syarah* (commentary) of Sa'duddin al-Taftazani, an Asy'ari figure, on *al-'Aqa'id* by Abu Hafs Najmuddin al-Nasafi who is a Maturidi scholar. The work, Al-Attas assumes, was written by al-Raniri in the pre-1637 period in Pahang, although the manuscript is lost.⁵⁹

Previously, among the oldest Malay manuscripts found to date is a Malay interlinear translation of al-Nasafi's *Kitab al-'Aqa'id*, completed in 1590. Although the author is anonymous, al-Attas assumes that the text was created in several stages with the Arabic text being completed first and then followed by the Malay interlinear translation. He assumes that the text was composed in the Sultanate of Aceh in the midst of Hamzah Fansuri's *wujudiyah* polemic. He estimated that the text was written when Muhammad al-Hamid, al-Raniri's uncle, came for the second time to Aceh (1589-1604) when he was confronted with students who were increasingly enthusiastic about sufistic metaphysics.⁶⁰

For al-Attas, the content of *al-'Aqa'id* is firmly in opposition to the teachings of Hamzah Fansuri's followers.⁶¹ Based on Al-Attas' study, the emergence of *akidah/kalam* literature was due to the larger context of the *wujudiyah* polemic. In this case, the *fiqh* and *akidah* literatures – as shown in the case of al-Raniri – were stimulated by the need to quell the excessive and misguided enthusiasm for the teachings of sufi-metaphysics pioneered by Hamzah Fansuri. This information, however, is also a historical record of the penetration of

⁵⁷ Azra.

⁵⁸ Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation: Shafi'i Texts Across Indian Ocean and the Mediteranian*.

⁵⁹ Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th Malay Translation of the 'Aqid Al-Nasafi* (Kuala Lumpur: Department of Publications University of Malaya, 1988).

⁶⁰ Al-Attas.

⁶¹ Al-Attas.

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Sunni *akidah/kalam* (Asy'ari-Maturidi) in the history of Islamic thought in the archipelago in the 16th century. Research on this matter still needs to be carried out further by paying attention to developments across the archipelago.

7. *Tariqah: From Sufi-Order to The Resistance of Colonialism*

Undeniably, one of the most important segmentations in the history of Islam in Nusantara is *tariqah* with all its dimensions. If *tariqah* is framed by Johns in the context of the 13th to 16th centuries in the frame of conversion, then the 17th century and beyond show a more complex narrative. Among the earliest *tariqah*, based on Bruinessen's study, is *Qodiriyyah* at the end of the 16th Century as indicated in the poems of Hamzah Fansuri. Bruinessen himself assumes that Fansuri was, perhaps, a *khalifah* of this *tariqah*. However, his name does not appear in any *Qadiriyyah* lineage in the archipelago. In addition, Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani is also considered the first scholar in the archipelago to explain the teachings of "*martabat tujuh* (seven dignities)" who adhered to *Syattariyyah*, although there is no evidence of his involvement in any *tariqah*. Nuruddin al-Raniri, who had a more moderate view in *wahdatul wujud* teaching, in Bruinessen's account, also belonged to *Rifa'iyyah* which still had followers in Aceh until the 19th century.⁶²

Syattariyyah, in this respect, is a special case. The penetration of *Syattariyyah* penetration was brought by al-Sinkili in the early 17th century from the path of al-Qusyasyi (d. 1660) and al-Kurani (d. 1690) in *haramain*. *Syattariyyah* grew rapidly in Java and became the constitutive element that colored the religious style in the archipelago.⁶³ Another scholar of al-Sinkili's time, Yusuf al-Maqasari (d. 1699) also studied with al-Kurani and holds certificates in several *tariqahs*; *Naqsyabandiyah*, *Qadiriyyah*, *Syattariyyah*, *Ba-'Alawiyyah*, and *Khalwatiyyah*. In addition, he also claimed to have also followed the *Dasuqiyyah*, *Syadziliyyah*, *Chishtiyyah*, *Aydarusiyyah*, *Kubrawiyyah*, and several other *tariqahs*. Upon his return to Indonesia in 1670, he brought the teachings of *Khalwatiyyah* which, according to Bruinessen, is a combination of *Khalwatiyyah* teachings with other selected *tariqahs*. He is also considered the first scholar in the archipelago to mention the *Naqsyabandiyah* in his writings.⁶⁴

⁶² Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of Sufi Order (Tarikat) in Southeast Asia."

⁶³ Michael Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara*, Trans. Indi Aunullah & Rini Nurul Badariah (Yogyakarta: Bentang, 2015).

⁶⁴ Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarikat Naqsyabandiyah Di Indonesia: Survey Historis, Geografis, Dan Sosiologis* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994).

In the 18th century, the *Sammaniyyah* formulated by Muhammad bin Abdul Karim al-Samman (d. 1775), appeared to be dominant in the archipelago. Soon after al-Samman's death, *manaqib* literature was compiled and translated into Malay. Among its main protagonists was Abdussamad al-Falimbani (d. 1789). In the following period, *Jawi* students studied *Sammaniyyah* with Siddiq bin 'Umar Khan and spread the *tariqah* across the archipelago. Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari (d. 1812), for example, was among the *Sammaniyyah* leaders from South Borneo (Kalimantan).⁶⁵ Later on, the 19th century landscape witnessed the popularity of *Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiyyah* founded by a *sufi* master from the archipelago, Ahmad Khatib Sambas (d. 1875) from West Borneo (Kalimantan). This *tariqah* was very influential in the archipelago in that century and slowly shifted the dominance of *Sammaniyyah*. After Ahmad Khatib, Abdul Karim Banten became the next authority and spread the *tariqah* across the archipelago. Two important successors of Abdul Karim Banten were Ahmad Tolhah in Cirebon and Hasbullah in Madura.⁶⁶

On the other hand, the political-sociological aspect of *tariqah* in the archipelago also deserves attention. A.C. Milner, as quoted by Bruinessen, emphasized the relationship between sufism and the legitimacy of power at the Malay court. For him, it was the teaching of *al-insan al-kamil* that caused Islam to be accepted among Malay rulers who had previously claimed to be *bodhisattvas* or even Shiva-Buddhists. A more tangible relationship is seen in the Buton Sultanate in South Sulawesi which accommodated the teachings of the "seven dignities" in sultanate legislation where each level/dignity corresponded to a certain social stratification in society.⁶⁷ In Java, this doctrine also became the important element in both court-literature and political legitimacy. In the context of Javanese literature, this teaching strongly presents in the writings of Javanese court-poets, as shown by Ronggowarsito in *Wirid Hidayat Jati*.⁶⁸ Based on Laffan's records, *Syattariyyah* teachings was supported by Pakubuwono IV of Kartasura.⁶⁹

In another dimension, *tariqah*, either directly or indirectly, was involved in the resistance to colonialism. When al-Maqasari was in Banten, for almost two years he led a resistance group consisting of thousands of followers who engaged in battles with the Dutch. After Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa was captured, al-Maqasari took command of the resistance although he was eventually captured by the Dutch in 1683 and was exiled to Ceylon (Sri-

⁶⁵ Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of Sufi Order (Tarikat) in Southeast Asia."

⁶⁶ Bruinessen.

⁶⁷ Martin van Bruinessen, "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," *Die Welt Des Islams* 38, no. 2 (1998): 201–2.

⁶⁸ Simuh, *Mistik Islam Kejawen Raden Ngabehi Ranggowarsita* (Jakarta: UI-Press, 1988).

⁶⁹ Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara*, Trans. Indi Aunullah & Rini Nurul Badariah.

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Langka) and further to the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa where he died in 1699. As Bruinessen notes, his life journey proves that mystical piety does not preclude political militancy.⁷⁰

Tariqah itself was seen as a source of spiritual and supernatural power. *Rifa'iyyah*, for instance, whose traces have been found since al-Raniri, is associated with the power of invulnerability known as *debus* whose traces can be found in Aceh to Banten and Cirebon. *Sammaniyyah* in the 18th century was also known as miracles-maker. *Sammaniyyah*, which at that time had many followers in the Palembang Sultanate, was the first *tariqat* recorded to mobilize the masses against the Dutch in 1819. It was reported that the *Sammaniyyah dzikir* was chanted by a group of people in white cloak before fearlessly attacking the Dutch.⁷²

Tariqah was also associated with some wars against the Dutch in 19th century. In the context of Padri War (1821-1838), instead of emphasizing the emergence of *Wahhabis* in West Sumatra, Laffan prefers to explain Padri as a movement "that developed among scholars of the Syattari tradition, who rejected the authority of the incumbent masters based in the lowland town of Ulakan".⁷³ *Syattariyyah* is also the *tariqah* followed by Prince Diponegoro who waged the Java War in 1825-1830.⁷⁴ Later on, in southern Borneo, the Dutch also encountered a resistance known as *beratip beamal* in 1860 that was thought to be *Sammaniyyah*-affiliated. Among other major resistance was shown by followers of the *Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiyyah* tarikat in Banten who fought against the Dutch in 1888.⁷⁵

According to Bruinessen, this *tariqat*-based resistance spread throughout the 19th century to the early 20th century. The massive development of *tariqah* in the 19th century was due to the pilgrimage activities which also increased, especially after the opening of the Suez-Canal. Many of those who just came from the *haramayn* became followers of *tariqat* and became aware of the threat of European colonization in the Muslim world. Thus, anti-colonial sentiments often combine with the spread of *tariqat* itself.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Bruinessen, *Tarikat Naqsyabandiyyah Di Indonesia: Survey Historis, Geografis, Dan Sosiologis*.

⁷¹ Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara*, Trans. Indi Aunullah & Rini Nurul Badariah.

⁷² Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of Sufi Order (Tarikat) in Southeast Asia."

⁷³ Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara*, Trans. Indi Aunullah & Rini Nurul Badariah.

⁷⁴ Peter Carey, *Sisi Lain Diponegoro: Babad Kedung Kebo Dan Historiografi Perang Jawa* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Gramedia Populer, 2017).

⁷⁵ Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of Sufi Order (Tarikat) in Southeast Asia."

⁷⁶ Bruinessen.

8. *The 18th Century: Broadening the Network and The Efflorescence of Islamic Educational Institution in the Archipelago*

In the context of Islamic intellectual history of the archipelago, the 18th and 19th centuries indicated the increasing role of *Jawi* scholars in the production of Islamic knowledge in the *haramayn*. Not only becoming students, they also have performed the religious authority. On the other hand, this also intensified Islamic discourse in the archipelago as Islamic educational institutions became more established. In this case, a network has been established by connecting the main points; *Jawi*, *Hindi*, *Haramain*, and *al-Azhar*, Egypt.

Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Abdussamad al-Falimbani, Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi, and Abdurahman Misri al-Jawi, are mentioned by Laffan as the scholars who re-oriented scholarship towards Egyptian authorities. In the previous century, the Aceh scholarship had pioneered the *Jawi-Hindi-Haramain* network. For Laffan, al-Falimbani and al-Banjari played an important role in re-orienting Malay courts to the writings of al-Ghazali and his commentators in Egypt. Among al-Falimbani's monumental works is *Hidayat al-Salikin*, completed in 1779, an adaptation of al-Ghazali's work. If in the 16th and 17th centuries Aceh became the center of Islamic intellectual development in the archipelago with its *wujudiyah* polemics, then in the 18th century it shifted to Palembang. If Aceh became a fertile ground for the development of *Syattariyyah*, then Palembang turned to *Sammaniyyah*, as explained before. Kemas Fakhruddin, in this case, was among the important scholars who invited the Palembang Sultanate to shift to *Sammaniyyah*.⁷⁷

In Borneo, al-Banjari together with al-Bugisi established the Islamic educational complex and opposed the movement of a local *wujudiyah* figure, Abdul Hamid Abulung, a student of Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari in Mecca. In this regard, Laffan notes a shift from the *wujudiyah* or Akbarian trend towards Ghazalian with the contribution of Egyptian scholarship. He notes for example how al-Banjari refers to al-Suyuti and al-Sya'rani and avoided to refer to al-Kurani, Syamsuddin or al-Burhanfuri. In the course of the Syafi'i school, the 18th century witnessed a continuity and development. In 1778, Arsyad al-Banjari, for example, wrote *Sabil al-Muhtadin li al-Tafaqquh fi Amr al-Din* which – in addition to the request of Sultan Tahmidullah – was motivated by the fact that half of the material in al-Raniri's *al-Sirat al-Mustaqim* circulated at that time had been distorted (*tahrif wa tabdil*) due to unprofessional copying activities. Thus, in al-Banjari's claim, there is hardly a single

⁷⁷ Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara*, Trans. Indi Aunullah & Rini Nurul Badariah.

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manuscript that can be definitively attributed to al-Raniri himself and only a skilled student can tell which are authentic and which are not. In this case, al-Banjari re-vitalized the Malay Syafi'i text by referring to Zakariyya al-Anshari's *Syarh al-Minhaj*, Ibn Hajar al-Haitami's *Tuhfatul Muhtaj*, and al-Ramli's *Nihayatul Muhtaj*.⁷⁸

In Java, in the same century, colonialism further established its hegemony over the sultanates. Nevertheless, Bruinessen claims that the oldest *pesantren* in Java appeared in this century, that is *Pesantren Tegalsari* in Ponorogo, East Java, founded in 1742. Tegalsari was the place where some of the great 18th and 19th Kartasura poets pursued their religious instructions including Yasadipura I (1729-1803) whose father was Kiai Tumenggung Padmanegara who studied with Jenal Ngabidin, a *sufi* from Palembang.⁷⁹ However, it is also traditionally believed that there are other much older *pesantren* such as Somalangu in Kebumen. Another scholar, such as Zamakhsyari Dhofier and Abu Bakar Aceh, as cited by Zulkipli, even believe that the proto-type of *pesantren* have existed since the 15th century during the *wali-songo* period.⁸⁰

A similar thing also happened in Minangkabau, where *surau* have existed since the 18th century. Burhanuddin (d. 1704) from Ulakan, Pariaman, the student of al-Sinkili is traditionally believed to be the founder of *surau* as an Islamic educational institution. However, as Azra notes, there is no record of the curriculum and the books studied. Later on, Burhanuddin's students also established *surau* as Islamic teaching centers, such as Tuanku Manasiangan nan Tuo in 18th century. According to Azra, a *surau* that is similar to *pesantren* is *Surau Besar Syekh Abdurrahman* (1777-1899) established in Batuhampar, Payakumbuh in early 19th century. People who study at the *surau* are called *urang siak*, which is equivalent to *santri* in the tradition of Javanese *pesantren*.⁸¹ In this case, the presence of traditional Islamic institutions in various regions has led to the intensification of Islamization in the archipelago.

9. *Islamic Intellectual Movement in The Archipelago Through The 19th Century*

Islamic scholarship in the archipelago at the trans-regional level through the 19th century also deserves attention. A reformism, for example, was demonstrated in term of

⁷⁸ Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari, *Sabil Al-Muhtadin Li Al-Tafaqquh Fi Amr Al-Din* (Patani: Matba'ah bin Halabi, n.d.).

⁷⁹ Nancy K. Florida, "Writing Tradition in Colonial Java: The Question of Islam," in *Cultures of Scholarship* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 195–96.

⁸⁰ Zulkipli, *Sufism in Java: The Role of Pesantren in The Maintenance of Sufism in Java* (Leiden-Jakarta: INIS, 2002).

⁸¹ Surau Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi* (Ciputat: Logos, 2003).

tariqah with the emergence of Ahmad Khatib Sambas (d. 1875), the founder of *Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiyyah*, who in Bruinessen's notes was the only originator of the orthodox *tariqah* from the archipelago. Previously, several *Jawi* students succeeded in becoming teachers at the *haramain*. According to Karel A. Steenbrink, Arsyad al-Banjari, for instance, received permission to teach at *Masjidil Haram* at the end of his studies in Mecca.⁸²

Later on, several *Jawi* students have succeeded in becoming religious authorities in the *haramain*. Among the *Jawi* teachers in *haramain* in the early 19th century includes Ahmad Khatib Sambas and 'Abdul Gani Bima (d. 1854). Both are the *Jawi* mentors of Nawawi al-Bantani (d. 1897) who represented one of the highest achievements of *Jawi* scholar in *haramain* in the 19th century. Among his students includes Khalil from Bangkalan, Madura, Hasyim Asy'ari from East Java (founder of *Nahdlatul Ulama*), and Mohammad Asnawi from West Java.⁸³ According to Snouck Hurgronje who met him directly in Mecca, Nawawi al-Bantani "was always active in Mecca to increase his knowledge of Islamic science in all fields, and as a leader, to smooth the path of learning for *Jawi* students".⁸⁴

His works represent the scholarly style of Syafi'i *fiqh*, Asy'ari's *kalam*, and Ghazalian sufism which in the 19th century seemed to be the standard for the *pesantren* curriculum. In the context of *pesantren*, since this time, we do not see Ibn 'Arabi's sufism as a significant scholarship. Steenbrink notes that Nawawi himself was an adherent of al-Ghazali's sufism who was "neutral" towards *tariqat*.⁸⁵ Two of his important works in this regard are the *syarah* on al-Ghazali's *Bidayatul Hidayah* and al-Malibari's *Hidayat al-Azkiya*, which are studied in many *pesantren*. Another thing that distinguishes al-Bantani from previous *Jawi* scholars is that he wrote all the works in Arabic, so that he was truly taking part of a trans-regional scholarly network.

His participation at the trans-regional level has influenced the scholarship of Shafi'i Jurisprudence. For Kooria, this is also connected to the Indian network in the dynamics with the appearance of Zaynuddin al-Malibari al-Saghir, the author of *Qurrat al-'Ain* which was commented upon by the author himself in *Fathul Mu'in* and by Nawawi al-Bantani who wrote *Nihayat al-Zayn*, a group of Syafi'iyyah texts studied in Indonesian *pesantren* to this day. Until the 19th century, the scholarly dynamics of the Syafi'i school occurred in a multi-directional manner with the participation of actors from South and Southeast Asia. *Haramain*

⁸² Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19*.

⁸³ Abd. Rachman, "Nawawi Al-Bantani; An Intellectual Master of the Pesantren Tradition," *Studia Islamika* 3, no. 3 (1996): 93.

⁸⁴ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of 19th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

⁸⁵ Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19*.

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remains the center of study with a neo-sufistic character and applying the recognition of the four school of *fiqh*.⁸⁶

Another figure who influenced the landscape of Islamic scholarship in the archipelago at the end of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century was Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau (d. 1913). After the death of leading Meccan figures such as Nawawi al-Bantani and Zaini Dahlan (d. 1886), he was appointed *imam* from the Syafi'i circle. This position was very prestigious especially for *Jawi* students studying in the *haramain*. Ahmad Khatib, in Karel Steenbrink's notes, is a scholar who once polemicized with Sayyid Utsman, the *mufti* of Batavia, regarding the establishment of a mosque in Palembang and the *Sarikat Islam* party, a critic of *tariqat* and Minangkabau customary law, an expert in geometry, and a teacher for the first generation of what might be called *Kaum Muda* (young generation).⁸⁷

Among his famous students in the archipelago are Ahmad Dahlan (founder of *Muhammadiyah*), Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (father of Hamka), Muhammad Jamil Jambek, and Abdullah Ahmad. Although he adhered to the Syafi'i school, he was also known as a teacher who encouraged his students to read Muhammad Abduh's books, although this did not necessarily indicate his agreement with the Cairene reformism. In this regard, Kersten regarded Ahmad Khatib a reform-minded ulama who bridged the gap between "tradition and innovation" and fostered the birth of the *Kaum Tua* and *Kaum Muda* in the context of Malay and Minangkabau history in the early 20th century.⁸⁸

C. Conclusion

The movement of Islamization in the period under consideration (13th to 19th centuries), especially in Java and Sumatra, showed a current that initially flowed from north to south, from Pasai and Malacca to Java and other regions. In the 13th-16th centuries, the flow from Pasai-Malacca to Java is clearly evident, especially after the fall of Malacca in 1511. It flowed quietly with distinctive teachings, mainly the Syafi'i Jurisprudence that had been practiced since the Pasai period and al-Ghazali's *tasawwuf* as seen in the teachings of the *wali-songo*. In addition to intellectual intake, networks of activism are of course also necessary. A network bound, for example, by the *tariqah* or whatever it is, is a communal force to carry out the Islamization agenda. This flow then created Demak, Aceh, Banten, and the likes. In the 17th century, Islamic centers flourished and increased. At this time, Aceh, the

⁸⁶ Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation: Shafi'i Texts Across Indian Ocean and the Mediteranian*.

⁸⁷ Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19*.

⁸⁸ Kersten, *A History of Islam in Indonesia: Unity in Diversity*.

direct heir of Pasai, became a new spring that opened a trans-regional network. *Jawi's* students had the opportunity to "clarify" the teachings of Islam directly in the *haramain* and rised to the famous *wujudiyah* polemic in Aceh.

The 18th and 19th centuries eventually saw an intensification in the studies of the *Jawi* community in the *haramain* who also extended their studies to Egypt. It was in this phase that their achievements were also further accelerated with the emergence of *Jawi* students who became teachers in the *haramain*. During this period, Islamic education in the archipelago also showed a stretch of development through the emergence of *surau*, *pesantren*, and other designations. Among the important patterns is the affirmation of the Syafi'i *fiqh* as the predominant Islamic law taught in the archipelago since the 13th century, the *tasawwuf* of al-Ghazali and Ibn 'Arabi (since 16th century) and the theological/'*aqidah* teaching of Asy'ari-Maturidi (since 16th century). At the end of the 19th century, a renewal of thought was just about to begin by Ahmad Khatib's Minangkabau students who were exposed to Cairo reformism and would later culminate in a heated debate between the young (*kaum muda*) and the old (*kaum tua*) in the early 20th century.

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