

ISLAM AT THE NORTHERN COAST OF JAVA IN THE SUFISTIC SYMBOLS SEJATINÉ MANUSA MANUSCRIPT

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the integration process of Islam in the northern coast of Java Island, where the entrance of Islam occurred gradually. There was an assimilation process that can be demonstrated by physical evidence, one of which was the Sejatiné Manusa (SM) manuscript. The Sufistic symbols in the Sejatiné Manusa (SM) manuscript were analyzed using a qualitative method with a socio-intellectual historical approach. The study resulted in text-based strengthening of Islamic identity on the Java coast, as written manuscripts have high historical objectivity and authenticity in capturing historical dynamics. This study also demonstrates that, contrary to Geertz et al.'s conception, Islam on the coast is not Islam mixed with Hindu-Buddhist teachings and local religions, but rather the kind of Islam which adopts local elements that are not contradictory to Islam and reinforces its teachings through a continuous process of dynamic transformation. Furthermore, this indicates that Islam is not extreme.

Keywords: Islam, the Coast, Java, Symbol, Sufis, Sejatiné Manusa

ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini mendiskusikan proses asimilasi Islam di pesisir utara Pulau Jawa, di mana proses kedatangan Islam tidak semata-mata datang secara tiba-tiba, namun terdapat proses asimilasi yang dapat dibuktikan

dengan bukti fisik, yakni dalam naskah Sejatiné Manusa (SM). Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan sejarah sosial-intelektual, di mana akan fokus menganalisis simbol-simbol sufistik yang terdapat di dalam naskah Sejatiné Manusa (SM). Peneguhan identitas Islam di pesisir berbasis naskah menjadi hasil penelitian dalam artikel ini, karena naskah memiliki objektivitas dan otentisitas kesejarahan yang tinggi dalam merekam dinamika yang terjadi di masa lampau. Naskah ini juga membuktikan bahwa Islam di pesisir bukanlah Islam singkretik yang bercampur dengan ajaran Hindu-Budha dan agama lokal, seperti konsepsi Geertz dkk, tetapi Islam yang bercorak khas; yang mengadopsi unsur-unsur lokal yang tidak bertentangan dengan Islam dan menguatkan ajarannya melalui proses transformasi dinamis secara terus-menerus. Selain itu, juga meneguhkan bahwa Islam bukanlah agama yang ekstrem.

Kata Kunci: Islam, Pesisir, Jawa, Simbol, Sufisme, Sejatiné Manusa

INTRODUCTION

Many experts agreed that the north coast of Java (herein-after referred to as the coast) is the starting point for the spread of Islam in Java. The oldest archaeological evidence of the presence of Islam in Java was found on the coast, in the form of an Islamic burial complex located in the village of Leran, Gresik, and East Java. From the encryption of one of the gravestones, information was obtained on the tomb of Fatimah Binti Maimun bin Hibatallah (d. 1087 AD).¹ This artifact was also an authentic proof that Islam has been present and spread in Java since the 11th century AD, starting from the coast.²

¹ Experts differ on the year of Fatimah bint Maimun's death. According to Moquette the epitaph on the tombstone indicates the year 495 H, while Ravaisse and Damais read it as the year 475 H. More precisely, he died on 7 Rajab 475 H or coincides with 2 December 1082 AD. See further, Habib Mustopo, *Kajian Islam di Jawa Timur: Kajian Beberapa Unsur Budaya Masa Peralihan* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Jendela 2001), 42.

² Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 62. Read further, Mansyur Surya Negara, *Api Islam*, 99.

Coastal encounters with various nations stemmed from trade relationships. This led naturally to cultural acculturation.³ The process of acculturation gave birth to new forms of culture on the coast, and Islam was no exception.⁴ The arrival of Islam on the coast enriched coastal culture with the birth of new creativity with Islamic nuances, such as architectural art, *macapat* art, wayang art, and coastal literary works, especially from pesantrens. Literary evidence resulting from the influence of Islam on the coast has been found in many manuscripts.⁵ In the aspect of the form, the coastal script consists of: poetry (Javanese: *sloka*)⁶ or prose (Java: *gancaran*).⁷

³ Acculturation can be defined as a phenomenon that arises from the results of meeting a group of people who have different cultures, making direct contact continuously and merging into one that causes change, without losing its original cultural characteristics. See., Mahmud Manan, *Transformasi Budaya Unsur-Unsur Hinduisme dan Islam pada Akhir Majapahit (Abad XV-XVI M) dalam Hubungannya dengan Relief Penciptaan manusia di Candi Sukuh Karanganyar Jawa Tengah* (Jakarta: Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, Badan Litbang dan Diklat, Puslitbang Lektur Keagamaan, 2010), 14-15.

⁴ According to Azra, the process went well because coastal communities have a maritime culture and are very open to cosmopolitan life; a distinctive character of society, which makes Islam can be accepted easily when compared to remote areas which have an agrarian and closed culture. Azyumardi Azra, *Islam Nusantara; Jaringan Global dan Lokal* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 2002) 17-19. According to Abdurrahman Mas'ud, openness and mobility are other characteristics of coastal communities so that they tend to be more conducive to changes from outside and within. See further, Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2006), cet. I, 58.

⁵ Recently, the Digitalization and compilation of the Coastal Manuscripts Catalog has been successfully carried out by the Surabaya LPAM Religious Literature Research Team in collaboration with The British Library, London, The United Kingdom in 2006-2007. The catalog is a list of collections of manuscripts collected by several Islamic boarding schools and private collectors from three cities in the East Java region, namely: Tuban, Lamongan and Ponorogo, so the catalog is named MIPES INDONESIA Collection of Islamic Manuscripts of Islamic Boarding Schools in Three Cities and Digital Reproduction, specifically from the coastal areas (Tuban and Lamongan) the team has managed to collect 215 manuscripts.

⁶ Literary works in the form of poetry of Islamic influence are often referred to as 'suluk literature' or 'serat suluk', this genre is always presented in

Coastal scripts influenced by Islam are generally written in Javanese using Arabic script (pegon) text. Apart from Islamic teachings in various scientific fields, in the manuscripts, you can also find information related to the past that is related to history, social life, politics, law, customs, and culture in general.⁸ In this regard, Oman Fathurahman stated that the text is one of the most authentic primary sources that can close the distance between the past and present. Its existence is important in the reconstruction of the social and intellectual history of the Islamic archipelago.⁹ Even Azyumardi Azra emphasized that it is almost impossible to recognize the dynamics of Islamic thought and intellectualism since the early days of Islam and the Dutch colonial period

the form of songs which are divided into *barking* which in Javanese is often referred to as *word of mouth*. The content of this suluk literature varies according to the understanding that is developed. Broadly speaking, the literary genre of suluk can be divided into four, namely: 1) suluk which contains the teachings of Sufism; *Suluk Wali Sanga*, *Suluk Wujil*, *Suluk Hidayatullah* etc; 2) suluk which contains teachings about the ethics of life associated with divinity, *Suluk Tekawardi*, *Suluk Sandi Pratista*, *Suluk Resi Driya* etc; 3) suluk which contains historical stories related to the development of tasawuf teachings; *Suluk Walisana*, 4) suluk containing anti-Islamic teachings/insulting Islam, *Suluk/Serat Siti Jenar*, *Serat Darmogandul*, *Serat Gatoloco* etc. See., Bani Sudardi, *Sastra Sufistik: Internalisasi Ajaran-Ajaran Sufi dalam Sastra Indonesia* (Solo: PT Tiga Serangkai Mandiri, 2003), 79-102.

⁷ Literary works of Islamic influence in prose form are often referred to as 'book literature', a term to refer to texts containing Islamic teachings. The contents of the literary contents of the book cover various sciences about Islam such as: the science of interpretation, the science of jurisprudence, the science of nahwu, tasawuf and so on. See further, Abdul Hadi W. M., "Suluk Wujil", 2. Lihat juga, V. I. Braginsky, *Yang Indah, Berfaedah dan Kamal: Sejarah Sastra Melayu Dalam Abad 7-19* (Jakarta: INIS, 1998), cet. I. h. 275-276.

⁸ Uka Tjandrasasmita, *Kajian Naskah-Naskah Klasik dan Penerapannya Bagi Kajian Sejarah Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur Keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Diklat Departemen Agama RI, 2006), 1.

⁹ Oman Fathurahman, dkk., *Filologi dan Islam Indonesia*, 3.

without research and study of texts.¹⁰ This is because they are better able to reveal past information more clearly.¹¹

Among the literary works on Islamic influence found on the coast is the Manuscript of Man (SM).¹² Broadly speaking, the contents of the SM manuscript are in the form of Sufist teachings delivered in prose. In addition to the text, there are illustrations in the form of pictures of animals, humans, hearts, schemes of areas of remembrance, illustrations of letters, and others. Its function is as an additional explanation, and sometimes as a summary of the discussion in the text. The manuscript provides physical evidence to prove that Islam came with a complex assimilation process; it did not come instantly.

According to Faturahman, illustrations in a text are not part of the science of codicology, because illustrations and text are one unit; both complement and explain each other, and their existence must be taken into account.¹³ Terlebih dalam teks ajaran tasawuf, di mana para sufi seringkali menyimpan makna tertentu yang lebih dalam di balik visual ilustrasi atau simbol. Especially in the texts of tasawuf teachings, Sufis often keep a certain deeper meaning behind visual illustrations or symbols. This is because the depth of meaning of abstract ideas can be

¹⁰ Azyumardi Azra, “*Naskah Islam*”, 1-2.

¹¹ Siti Baroroh Baried, et. al, *Pengantar Teori Filologi* (Yogyakarta: Badan Penelitian dan Publikasi Fakultas (BPPF) Seksi Filologi, Fakultas Sastra Universitas Gajah Mada, 1994), 9.

¹² The SM manuscript is a manuscript found in the village of Drajat, Lamongan, East Java. This script is written in pegon. The author is Raden Danoe Kusumo, the 12th generation descendant of Sunan Drajad. About Raden Danoe's side, See, Tim Peneliti dan Penyusun Buku Sunan Drajat, *Sejarah Sunan Drajat*, 132. Lihat juga, Ch. Soekandar, *Radèn Qosim, Sunan Drajat: Amanah dan Sejarahhnya* (Surabaya: Sinar Wijaya, 1990), p. 50-51. I have edited this manuscript into a ready-to-read text and translation edition and have been published in book form entitled, *Sejatiné Manusa: Studi atas Makna Simblo SUfistik di Pesisir Utara Pulau Jawa*”, (Jakarta: Omah Aksoro Indonesia, 2021).

¹³ Oman Fathurahman, *Apresiasi dan Catatan atas Buku Martabat Tujuh: Edisi Teks dan Pemaknaan Tanda serta Simbol Karya: Mu'jizah*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Djembatan dan Yayasan Naskah Nusantara, 2005), p. 2. See further, Mu'jizah, *Martabat Tujuh: Edisi Teks dan Pemaknaan Tanda serta Simbol*, (Jakarta: Djembatan, Yayasan Naskah Nusantara, 2005), 4-5.

expressed easily and deeply through the media of visual symbols such as animals, plants, letters, and even humans. In addition, symbolic action is part of the core issues of *lifesufism*,¹⁴ so that, according to Annemarie Schimmel, the illustrations in Sufism texts deserve to be called mystical symbolism,¹⁵ or in this paper it is called a Sufistic symbol.

In this study, the meanings of Sufistic symbols in SM texts are interpreted using a semiotic approach to reveal the deep ideas behind their visual forms. The technical meaning is carried out by operating Umberto Eco's semiotic theory in its symbiotic application (the process of functioning a symbol). The semiosis process can be performed using three components: the object (O), interpretant (I), and representamen (R). Representamen (R) or the sign itself is something that represents something or something that can be used to mean something else; something that is represented is called an object (O), and an interpretant (I) is someone's meaning or understanding based on the relationship between representament and objects.¹⁶ Because a sign in Eco's view is part of a cultural unit and a cultural unit, its meaning is still limited by the local culture, not unlimited semiosis.¹⁷ Related to this, there are two main elements that will receive attention in interpreting Sufistic symbols in SM text. First, there are elements of the locality of the SM text where Javanese culture is an integral part of this text, such as the copyist, the location of the copying, the language used, and the surrounding context. Second are the original values of Islamic teachings, in which the main content of the SM text is the teachings of Sufism originating from the sacred texts of Islam.

The existence of Sufistic symbols becomes complex because Islam preached in Java is Islam within the framework of

¹⁴ A. Rivay Siregar, *Tasawuf dari Sufisme Klasik ke Neo-Sufisme*, 18.

¹⁵ Annemarie Schimmel, *Dimensi Mistik Dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 2009), cet. III, 520.

¹⁶ Arthur Asa Berger, *Pengantar Semiotika*, 27.

¹⁷ Umberto Eco, *Teori Semiotika: Signifikasi Komunikasi, Teori Kode, serta Teori Produksi Tanda*, (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2008). *Trans.* Inyik Ridwan Muzir, 201.

Sufism.¹⁸ According to Simuh, the Wali Songo, as an active element of Sufi agents in Java, with his various symbolic attributes, must introduce Islam to the Javanese people who are also rich in symbols in their culture.¹⁹ Thus, Islam on Java did not spread across the cultural vacuum area. When Islam came to this locus, it inevitably came into contact with the local culture, which had become a source of knowledge for the local population.²⁰

The encounter of Islamic teachings within the framework of Sufism with the Javanese people, who are rich in symbols in their culture, in turn gave rise to various conceptual discourses about the true identity of Islam on the coast and Java in general? Some Islamic scholars in Java, such as Geertz (1960),²¹ Andrew Beatty (1996)²², and Niels Mulder (1999)²³ conclude that the encounter of Islam with Javanese culture eventually gave birth to 'syncretic' Javanese Islam or a contaminated mixture of Islam. A similar view was also expressed by Harun Hadiwijono (1967), through the results of his research on *Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati* by Ronggo Warsito, in which he said, when Islam entered Java in

¹⁸ According to Agus Sunyoto, both theoretically and factually, it can be concluded that it is very difficult for Islamic da'wah to be carried out by propagators of Islamic da'wah from among merchants and fiqh scholars with various kinds of schools of thought. Islamic da'wah with a sufistic approach that is flexible, open, and adaptive, the perpetrators of which are the Sufis themselves. In Java these Sufi groups are known as the Wali Songo namely a kind of da'wah institution that contains Islamic propagators who preach in a systematic and organized way to make efforts to convert the people of Java and the surrounding islands to Islam. See further, Agus Sunyoto, *Wali Songo: Rekonstruksi Sejarah yang Disingkirkan* (Jakarta: Transpusaka, 2011), 90-91.

¹⁹ Simuh, *Sufisme Jawa*, 130.

²⁰ Nur Syam, "Islam Pesisiran dan Islam Pedalaman: Tradisi Islam di Tengah Perubahan Sosial", h. 3. www.ditperta.net/annualconference/Makalah%20Nursyam.doc. (Accessed on 30 September 21:22).

²¹ Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1981).

²² Andrew Beatty, "Adam and Eve and Vishnu: Syncretism in The Javanese Slametan" dalam *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2 (June 1996).

²³ Niels Mulder, *Agama, Hidup Sehari-hari dan Perubahan Budaya* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1999).

the form of kebatinan (sufism), which also has the same system as the Hindu and Buddhist teaching systems, Islamic kebatinan is processed in such a way that it only becomes the 'top layer' of the original Javanese belief which is mixed with Hindu and Buddhist beliefs.²⁴

The above opinion has been contradicted by several scholars, including Woodward,²⁵ said that Javanese Islam is also Islam, only that Islam is in the context. Islam, as in other places, such as Islam in Persia, Egypt, Morocco, and so on, which have been in contact with their respective traditions and contexts; Nur Syam (2005) in his book "Coastal Islam" concludes that coastal Islam is "Collaborative Islam" Collaborative Islam' not Syncretic Islam;²⁶ Bambang Pranowo (2009)²⁷ states that Javanese society views religion as a dynamic rather than a static process. Every individual Muslim in Java is considered to be in the process of "becoming" not "being". They never judge individual religiosity in their final decisions..²⁸

Because the main object of this study is texts originating from the coast, this research will be placed in the context of the relationship between Islam and Java, especially coastal areas, with a socio-intellectual historical approach.²⁹ The discussion traces the dynamics of the existence of Sufistic symbols on the coast of Java from the beginning of the arrival of Islam to the early 20th century B.C., *kewalèn*, the Mataram era, and the rene-

²⁴ Harun Hadiwijono, *Konsepsi Tentang Manusia Dalam Kebatinan Jawa* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1983), 149-151.

²⁵ Mark Woodward, *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Versus Kebatinan* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999).

²⁶ Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Yogyakarta, 2005), 289-299.

²⁷ Bambang Pranowo, *Memahami Islam Jawa* (Tangerang: Pustaka Alvabet, Indonesian Institute for Society Empowerment (INSEP), 2009), 363.

²⁸ Bambang Pranowo, *Memahami Islam Jawa* (Tangerang: Pustaka Alvabet, Indonesian Institute for Society Empowerment (INSEP), 2009), 363.

²⁹ According to Azra, the socio-intellectual approach to history is a study or analysis of factors and even social domains that influence the occurrence of historical events themselves. See further, Azyumardi Azra, *Historiografi Islam Kontemporer; Wacana, Aktualitas, dan Aktor Sejarah* (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2002), 4.

wal era. This periodization follows the mapping performed by Nur Syam in his book *Coastal Islam*.³⁰ Syam distinguished between the Mataram era and the renewal era by separating between the Islamic period at the beginning of its arrival from the period of its spread, and included the period of the Mataram Kingdom as one in the period of Islamic institutionalization.

Through the meaning of Sufistic symbols in SM texts with a semiotic approach combined with tracing the existence of Sufistic symbols in the pantura, from the early days of the arrival of Islam to the period of SM manuscripts -early XX century—with a socio-intellectual history approach, indicates that Islam is on the coast is dynamic, which continues to grow and accommodates local culture while still relying on the principles of Islamic teachings.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Sufistic Symbols on the Coast:

The Context of Relations between Islam and Java

Before interpreting the Sufistic symbols in the SM text, this study's overview will first be presented, namely, the dynamics of the existence of Sufistic symbols in the context of Islamic and Javanese socio-intellectual relations so that their meanings is systematic. The goal, apart from placing the SM text in the context in which it was found, is also an effort to find answers regarding Islamic identity on the coast. The discussion will be elaborated by mapping the periodization of the relationship between Islam and Java into four phases: the early period of the arrival and spread of Islam, the period of institutionalization of Islam, the period of Mataram, and the period of renewal.

1. The Early Arrival of Islam in Java and Its Influence

The oldest archaeological evidence to indicate the presence of Islam in this region is the tomb of Fatimah Binti Maimun bin Hibatallah (d. 1087 AD) in the village of Leran ,³¹ Gresik, East

³⁰ Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 56-80.

³¹ Experts differ on the year of Fatimah bint Maimun's death. According to Moquette the epitaph on the headstone indicates the year 495 H,

Java. This inscription is authentic evidence that Islam had spread along the East Java Coast in the 11th century AD.³²

At this time, although Islam was already present on the coast of Java, its presence did not indicate the cultural and religious existence of the local community. According to Nur Syam, the arrival of Islam during the time of Fatimah bint Maimun was the beginning of the arrival of Islam, not yet entering the period of the spread and institutionalization of Islam.³³ The symbols found in archaeological evidence are Islamic symbols that have not yet been mixed with local culture. This statement is at least illustrated in an excerpt of a verse from Koran surah ar-Raḥmān verse 55 on the back of Fatimah bint Maimun's tombstone, which dates to 475 H. The verse was written in kufi style. No other ornaments were found from local cultural influences.

In addition to the tomb of Fatimah bint Maimun, another Muslim burial site was also found on the north coast of Java, namely Maulana Malik Ibrahim (d. 822 H/ 1419 AD) burial complexes.³⁴ his tomb jirat is made of marble and decorated with various Islamic ornaments. In the outer field, two surah al-Baqarah verses 255-256 are carved. On top of the jirat, two sentences from the creed are carved in the Naskhi script. On top of the sculpture of the shahadat sentence, another quote from Al-Qur'an surah Āli 'Imrān verse 185 is carved.

The distinctive characteristics attached to these two sites reflect the collective spiritual tendency of the society that has produced them. The forms of symbols that have not been mixed with the local culture indicate that this civilization still stands alone and is only colored by one religious teaching, namely Islam. Thus, the existence of the two oldest burial sites with

while Ravaisse and Damais read it as the year 475 H. More precisely, he died on 7 Rajab 475 H or coincides with 2 December 1082 AD. See, Habib Mustopo, *Kajian Islam di Jawa Timur: Kajian Beberapa Unsur Budaya Masa Peralihan* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Jendela 2001), 42.

³² Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, h. 62. See also, Mansyur Surya Negara, *Api Islam*, 99.

³³ Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 62.

³⁴ Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 141-142.

various Islamic symbols further strengthens the identity of Islamic purity in the early days of its arrival.

2. Period of Islamic Institutionalization

Until the end of the 14th century AD, the existence of the Muslim community on the coast was getting stronger. However, they had not been able to penetrate the center of the Majapahit kingdom, which was at its peak during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk (1350–1389 AD). After the death of Hayam Wuruk and the resignation of Mahapatih Gajah Mada (d. 1286 Saka/1364 AD) from the political scene, the symbol of Majapahit's greatness and power began to fade. The process of the decline of the Majapahit kingdom took place in quite long stages, between 1478 and 1525 AD. The spread of Islam, which started in the coastal villages for several centuries, had not been able to penetrate the fortress of the Majapahit kingdom. Meanwhile, the spreaders of Islam gradually formed the bases of Islamic teaching in the form of pesantren³⁵ until, at the beginning of the 16th century, the development of Islam expanded along with the weakening of Majapahit power.

At its peak, Majapahit submitted to the power of sultan Demak Radèn Patah in the year Saka 1400 or 1478 AD. The name Kertabhumi, the last king of Majapahit, was used as a candrasengkala in Kanda letters to express the disappearance of the Majapahit kingdom: "Sirna Ilang Kertaning Bumi" (1400 Saka). With the fall of the Majapahit kingdom and the establishment of the Islamic Sultanate of Demak, the institutionalization of Islam in Java began. The influence of Demak (Islam) quickly expanded. Islam and the culture that accompanies it are slowly becoming an inseparable part of Javanese culture. The interaction between Javanese priyayi, or Javanese scholars, and Islamic preachers, who are known as guardians of Javanese land (*wali songo*), began to develop.³⁶ Along with the rapid development of

³⁵ Simuh, *Tasawuf Jawa*, 123.

³⁶ According to Poerbatjaraka, the Majapahit elite, namely scholars and priests, began to change religions to follow Islamic teachings since the political turmoil in the kingdom. The unsafe situation caused them to move from

Islam, many Javanese-Hindu values were transformed into Islamic culture. According to De Graaf and Pigeaud, this is the time of Islamic-Javanese civilization. This period became an important episode in the history of Javanese culture, a time when Islam had become a dominant element in the civilization of Javanese society. Simuh defines this period as a time of transition; namely the transition from the Kabudan period (Hindu-Buddhist tradition) to the period he called the Kewalë (Islamic) period. Despite this, according to him, this transition does not mean the removal and replacement of tradition, art, culture, beliefs, and other symbols attached to the Javanese society inherited from the Kabudan period, but is an adaptation to the Islamic atmosphere.³⁷

This adjustment in some aspects is syncretic and acculturative in other parts. In terms of belief, the syncretism between Islam and the beliefs of the Javanese people gave birth to *Kejawèn Islam*. However, this only applies to Javanese people who are not yet fully aware of Islamic teachings. They only recite the two sentences of the shahada as a symbol of acceptance of Islam but are reluctant to pray five times a day. As for the people who have grown awareness of Islamic teachings, they totally practice all Islamic teachings. The first group, according to Geertz, is called the *Abangan* group, and the second group is called the *Santri*.³⁸

In the field of literature, cultural assimilation also occurs. The presence of Islamic literature colors and enriches the literary creations of Javanese poets. Vice versa. Coastal Islamic poets began to adapt ancient Javanese literary works and transform

the palace center to the Islamic broadcasting centers. in this new environment they were involved in the study of Islamic sciences and eventually formed a center for Javanese Islamic culture. it was in these places that later Javanese literary works with an Islamic style were born. This manuscript uses Middle Javanese, prose and contains Islamic teachings. His style of language has been heavily influenced by Arabic rhetoric, in addition to the influence of Malay literature such as *Het Boek van Bonang*, *Een Javaanse uit de zeistiende eeuw*, *The Admantion of She Bari* etc. Habib Mustopo, *Kebudayaan Islam*, 240.

³⁷ Simuh, *Tasawuf Jawa*, 128-129.

³⁸ Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi*, 172-173.

them with more Islamic colors.³⁹ Sri Rama, which is mentioned in the Chronicles of Demak and the Chronicles of Gresik. The concept of God Brahma in the story of Sri Rama, which was strongly criticized by Sheikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri (d. 1658 AD), is currently being made into Allah.⁴⁰ However, in certain parts they still maintain various Javanese cultural symbols of Hindu-Buddhist influence in these works, such as the mention of God as Prince other than Sang Hyang Manon, the word Sembahyang for worship (prayer), Danadharma for zakat, Pandita for teachers of religions other than title of guardian and so on.

The introduction of Islam at this time of transition is still more emphasized on the teaching of praxis aspects, not the teaching of systematic theoretical aspects.⁴¹ Therefore, the use of local cultural symbols as a means of introducing new religious teachings is so prominent. In this phase the use of Islamic symbols is at the assimilative-syncretic level. There were various factors that caused these compromises to be made, such as: the strategy of spreading Islam, scientific developments, religious contacts, and the socio-political changes that occurred at that time.

3. Mataram Era

The Sultanate of Demak came to an end in the second half of the 16th century, and the Sultanate of Pajang soon followed. Its first king was Hadiwijaya (1546–1586). The relocation of the Islamic Sultanate of Demak to Pajang by Hadiwijaya can also be referred to as the transfer of the Islamic civilization of Coastal Java to the interior. The collapse of Pajang and the move to Mataram became important factors in hampering the process of spreading Islam in the interior through political channels.⁴² Moreover, the first ruler of Mataram, as illustrated in the chro-

³⁹ Bambang Purnomo, “*Alih Wahana Sastra lama; Sastra Pesisir*” in *Sastra Jawa*, 445.

⁴⁰ Other examples of compositions performed, see: Ismail Hamid, *Kesusastraan Indonesia*, 18.

⁴¹ Adi Heru Sutomo, dkk, *Perbandingan Ajaran Sufi dengan Kebatinan Jawa*, (Surabaya: PT. Karya Surabaya, 1978), 16.

⁴² Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa*, 315.

nicle text, openly directed his political and cultural orientation towards the pre-Islamic era, specifically the Hindu-Buddhist era of Majapahit. Mataram's religious ideology is not "puritan-orthodox" Islam as adhered to by coastal communities.⁴³

Towards its decline, the Mataram sultanate was split into two regions, namely Surakarta and Yogyakarta, in the Giyanti agreement on February 13, 1755 AD. As a result of this split, the social and political power of Mataram was increasingly reduced by the Dutch colonial government. The palace's attention then turned to the attainment of spiritual exaltation. A Renaissance period arose in Javanese literature and culture. Various ancient Javanese books that were not understood by the Javanese people were composed, translated, and updated into the new Javanese language. The poets of Mataram began to reproduce the mystical literary works of the pesantren in Javanese literature.⁴⁴ They gave birth to a mystical literary work known as *Serat Centhini* or a mystical-moralistic literary work known as *Serat Cebolek*. A characteristic feature of Javanese literary works compiled during the Mataram period, especially the Surakarta period, is that they are more mystical and palace-centric. The elements of Sufism from Islamic teachings that they liked were composed and combined with the Kejawèn tradition.⁴⁵

According to Koentjaraningrat, syncretism in the field of religious literature, which was pioneered by poets and intellectuals from Mataram, was deliberately developed, as part of the palace's cultural strategy to establish good relations with Islam, which was getting bigger and bigger.⁴⁶ The princes of the palace

⁴³ Hamid Nasuhi, *Serat Dewa Ruci*, 35-36.

⁴⁴ Suluk literature is a new Javanese literary treasure which contains the teachings of tasawuf (Islamic esotericism). This genre is sometimes also called *serat suluk*. The majority of teachings in Suluk literature contain understanding *wahdah al-wujūd*. According to Poerbatjaraka, the oldest *serat suluk* is *Suluk Sukarsa* and *Suluk Wujil* written in the 17th century. While the longest *serat suluk* ever found is *Suluk Tambang Raras* or known as *Serat Centhini* which was written in 1814 AD by order of Paku Buwana IV. Bani Sudardi, *Sastra Sufistik*, 79-81.

⁴⁵ Simuh, *Sufisme Jawa*, 62.

⁴⁶ Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa*, 317.

at that time considered the political aspect to be the most important and of the highest value. It is not surprising when all the thought activities produced by palace poets are directed to support the interests of the palace (king). The application of religious problems is oriented towards aspects that strengthen the greatness of the kingdom and the holiness of the king. For that reason, the aspect of Sufism is preferred over the aspect of Sharia because the teachings of Sufism are easier to adapt to the tradition of Kejawèn. This is seen in Serat Wedatama by Mangkunegara IV. However, not all Javanese literary works smell of the teachings of Ibn Arabi and the dignity of the seven. In certain works, there is also the influence of Imam al-Ghazali's *Iḥyā' ulūmuddīn* such as in Serat Wulangrèh by Pakubuwana IV.⁴⁷ In the coastal area, manuscripts of Sufism were found that also contained various symbols of the transition period, influenced by the Majapahit era, namely in the Saptoh Barqoh manuscript found in Giri, Gresik. According to Ahwan Mukarram, a scholar who has studied the text, the pallus symbol was found ten times.⁴⁸

Javanese literature thus experiences two parallel directions: first, Javanese mystic literature, which developed in the palace with its thicker Javanese dominance (Kejawèn) and second, Javanese suluk literature, which developed in Islamic boarding schools with nuances of orthodoxy that were maintained as much as possible. Especially after the 18th century, when the network

⁴⁷ Aprianussalam, *Oposisi Sastra Sufi*, 44.

⁴⁸ As is understandable, in prehistoric times, the religious life of the people was very much dominated by the belief system of worshipping the spirits of deceased ancestors. This worship is then manifested by objects in a concrete form in the form of *dolmen* (grave stone) and *menhirs* (stone monument). In archaeological studies, *menhirs* believed to be a male symbol while *dolmen* as a symbol of woman. In the Hindu-Buddhist era *pallus* believed to be the male symbol of Shiva. In the archaeological study of statues *phallus* always associated with statues *yoni* which is associated with the symbol of Shakti (wife) Shiva. In the life of the Javanese people, these two symbols are then manifested in the form of red porridge and white porridge. The red porridge represents women while the white porridge represents men. Ahwan Mukarram, *Kebatinan Islam*, 251.

of Indonesian scholars with Arab lands was increasingly open and fast.⁴⁹

4. Renewal Era

The death of Ronggo Warsito, which signaled the end of Mataram literature's reign, had no effect on the downturn in the development of Islam in Java. Islamic education continues with the students' roles in Islamic boarding schools.⁵⁰ Koentjaraningrat claims that the students' development of the Islamic world in Java, in this case, experienced rapid development.

There were at least two important phases that sustained this development: first, when the descendants of the mystic-oriented adherents of Islam from the first generation of the 16th and 17th centuries received direct influence from orthodox Islam in their country of origin, namely when they went to Mecca. After returning from the holy land, they brought the teachings of orthodox Islam to the island of Java.⁵¹ At the same time, they also brought the Arabic Islamic literature that they studied to Indonesia. This literature was not only disseminated and taught; at that time, several books had been translated into Javanese and Malay.⁵² Based on philological evidence, translated texts or translations that are believed to come from Arabia, Persia, and India are found in Indonesia, such as *Hikayat Nabi Muhammad*, *Hikayat Sahabat Nabi*, *Hikayat Nabi-Nabi Allah*, *Hikayat Pahlawan Islam*, *Framed Stories*, and many more. In addition, there are also many translations of literature that contain theological studies, such as: interpretation, *fiqh*, faith, and Sufism.⁵³ Especially on the north coast of Java, in the area around Gresik, Lamongan,

⁴⁹ Aprianus Salam, *Oposisi Sastra Sufi*, 40-41.

⁵⁰ Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa*, 379.

⁵¹ Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa*, 379.

⁵² Abdul Munip, *Transmisi Pengetahuan Timur Tengah ke Indonesia Studi tentang Penerjemahan Buku Berbahasa Arab di Indonesia 1950-2004*, 153.

⁵³ Abdul Munip, *Transmisi Pengetahuan*, 157.

and Tuban, the Surabaya LPAM Religious Literature Research Team succeeded in documenting 215 of these regional texts.⁵⁴

The second phase occurred a century later, namely around the 19th century. According to M. C. Ricklefs, in the 19th and 20th centuries, a wave of Islamic religious reform originating from the Middle East brought changes to Javanese Islamic society, a process that has continued until now.⁵⁵ Even though at that time the Javanese people were under the rule of the Dutch colonial government, until the late 19th century AD, the number of Indonesian students studying in the Middle East region was increasing. Generally, they study in the cities of Mecca and Medina. Apart from these two saints, many Javanese students also studied in Egypt. In this country, they generally study at al-Azhar University in the more modern and reformist city of Cairo.⁵⁶ In Egypt, not a few students were influenced by the reformist movements of Wahhabiyah and Muhammad Abduh. Upon returning from Egypt, they launched a reform movement in Indonesia. As the currents of thought in Egypt are divided into two major groups: modernists and fundamentalists (salafis), Modernist groups call for tolerance, Islamic doctrines that are not rigid, the spirit of anti-colonialism, and the development of a more rational and critical view. Meanwhile, the Salafi group offers a more orthodox interpretation.

Regardless of the modern-reformist or conservative-orthodox typology, they have succeeded in revitalizing Indonesian Islamic religious discourse. The renewal movement that they launched gave birth to various religious movements in Indonesia. The process of Islamization is moving again. The understanding of Muslims towards the teachings of their religion increases.

⁵⁴ LPAM Surabaya, MIPES Indonesia; *Koleksi Manuskrip Islam*, 10-121

⁵⁵ M. C. Ricklefs, *Mengislamkan Jawa: Sejarah Islamisasi di Jawa dan Penentangannya dari 1930 sampai Sekarang*, (Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu Semesta), cet I, 736-737

⁵⁶ Johan Meuleman, "Kecenderungan Modern dalam Penerjemahan Islam", dalam *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemah di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri chambert-Loir. (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, EFEO, Forum Jakarta-Paris, Pusat Bahasa, dan Universitas Padjajaran, 2009). 727-728.

Islam is no longer seen as a religion that contains only rituals but as a religion that also pays attention to educational, social, economic, and cultural aspects.

It was in this atmosphere that the text of SM was written by Radèn Danoe. However, whether these socio-religious changes had an influence on the writing of SM scripts or not, what is certain is that the visualization of symbols that are not good 'in the view of the modernists', which are found in many Sufism texts on the coast before SM manuscripts, such as *linggayoni*, visuals of pigs, and others, is no longer found in SM manuscripts.

SUFISTIC SYMBOL IN SM MANUSCRIPT

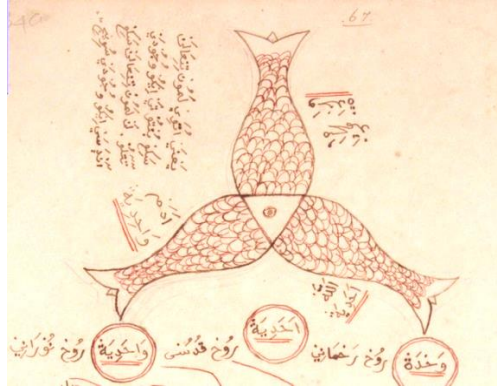
The meaning of Sufistic symbols in SM texts is carried out by operating Umberto Eco's semiotic theory. To make it easier for the reader, the visualization of the symbol will first be presented in a facsimile or photographic edition and will be briefly described. In this case, the process of extracting meaning through semiosis efforts is still limited by the culture in which the symbol was born. Related to that, there are at least two main elements that will receive attention in terms of meaning, namely: *First*, an element of BC text locality in which Javanese culture is an inseparable part of this text. *Second*, the original values of Islamic teachings, in which the main content of the SM text is the teachings of Sufism originating from the sacred texts of Islam, In this regard, the SM text will be positioned as the main instrument, which is the basic reference for explaining the meaning of these symbols. According to Oman Fathurahman, illustrations and pictures are actually more associated with the text than with the manuscript's physical feature.⁵⁷

In this study, there are three symbols that are the focus of meaning, including *iwak telu sirah manunggal* (three one-headed

⁵⁷ Oman Fathurahman, *Apresiasi dan Catatan atas Buku Martabat Tujuh: Edisi Teks dan Pemaknaan Tanda serta Simbol Karya: Mu'jizah*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan dan Yayasan Naskah Nusantara, 2005), 2.

fish), a dove and three fish, and a visualization of the human body.

1. *Iwak telu sirah manunggal (three one-headed fish);
Symbol of oneness.*



Source: Naskah SM, page 67.

Figure 1.

Three-bodied fish with one head attached to one eyeball point
'axis'⁵⁸

Judging from the visual aspect, the arrangement of the positions of the three fish images looks like a triangle shape. One fish is on top facing down, one fish is on the right facing the top left side, and one fish is on the left facing the top right side. The three body shapes of the fish are described as similar, with the same size. Each fish has a tail that is split into two strands with a small tail decoration in the middle. Its body is scaly with a combination of red and black. The head is triangular in shape. Right in the middle there is an eye point, which is the axis of the unity of the three fish bodies.

On the side of each fish there is an inscription, each of which includes: Fish at the bottom right (*Aḥadiyah*: God). Fish at the top (*Waḥdah*: Muhammad). The fish at the bottom left (*Wahidiyah*: Adam). Each of these terms is accompanied by a complementary explanation, as follows: *Aḥadiyah*; God, spirit-

⁵⁸ Danoe Koesoema, *SM*, 67.

quddūs. Waḥdah; Muhammad, *rahmānī. Wahidiyah*; Adam, the spirit of conscience.

Aḥadiyah (the essence of oneness) which is the state of God's essence, is God's absolute existence without limits. That existence is in accordance with His basic nature which is unknown and unknowable. A situation that is considered to be "absolutely Unseen". This absolute existence is a pure substance in which there is no manifestation, no name, no equal, no relationship, no addition, or anything else. This concept is in line with the word of God in the Qur'an, surah ash-Shūrā: 11.

لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ

“There is nothing like Him. He is All-Hearing and All-Seeing.” (QS. Asy-Syūrā: 11).⁵⁹

Waḥdah is the first manifestation or also called the Reality of Muhammad (*al-ḥaqīqat al-Muhammadiyah*). As for *wahidiyah* is a unity that contains a plurality. This rank is also mentioned *ta'yun* secondly, where each part has appeared clearly separated.⁶⁰ Simply, *Aḥadiyah* is the conception of the Essence regardless of His attributes. *Waḥdah* is an Absolute existence in relation to all His attributes, then *wahidiyyah* is absolute existence in relation to its detailed properties.

The term *aḥadiyah*, *wahdah* and *wahidiyah* are the first three stages of the 7 stages in the Dignity of Seven concept. This understanding comes from an Indian Sufi named Muhammad ibn Fadlillah al-Burhanfuri (1620 AD) in his book *al-Tuḥfah al-Mursalāh ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī*.⁶¹

In semiosis, /image of three fish/ has object /fish/, its first interpretant is /fish with three bodies that are one in one head/. The interpretant of /a three-bodied fish that is united in one head/ is the denotative meaning, namely /the plural unity of the singu-

⁵⁹ Kementerian Agama, *Al-Qur'an dan terjemahannya, Edisi Penyempurnaan 2019*, (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, 2021), 484.

⁶⁰ Simuh, *Javanese Sufism*, 216.

⁶¹ Simuh, *Javanese Sufism*, 215-216.

lar/. The interpretant of /unity which is plural in the singular/ is in the form of its connotative meaning, namely /the union of the servant with his God or *manunggaling kawula gusti*/. Interpretant of /the servant's union with God or *manunggaling kawula gusti*/ is also its connotative meaning, namely the single being or the oneness of God.

Thus, the meaning of the three fish with one head has the final interpretation, which is a symbol of the single being or the oneness of God. This meaning is made clearer by the explanation of the text accompanying the illustration. The explanation that comes from the contents of the text becomes a limiting meaning of semiosis. The three fish represent all that exists and all of them are essentially united in one single being, matter *wājibul wujud* namely God.

The results of this interpretant are consistent with the information found in the SM text, to the left of the fish body, at the top, as follows: “*Yakni utawi lamun tiningalan saking buntuté iku wujudé tetelu. Lan lamun tiningalan saking endasé iku wujudé suwiji*”.⁶² That is, if seen from the tail, there are three entities, but if viewed from the head, there is only one entity. The one or only being is God. So, the essence of this symbol is the cultivation of the belief that God is the One and Only.

2. **Manuk Ijo and Three Fish; Symbol of Lust Domination** *Muṭmainnah*



Source: SM Manuscript, page 103.

Figure 2.

Manuk ijo and three fish⁶³

⁶² Danoe Koesoema, *SM*, 67.

⁶³ Danoe Koesoema, *SM*, 103.

In this picture, a large bird is visualized with a dense and neat arrangement of feathers with red shading and black lines. His body position was slightly lowered with his beak pointing at the three fish, as if he was ready to eat. Its beak looks more like a crow's beak. Both legs look sturdy with sharp nails claws. Overall the visualization of the bird image looks dashing but far from being scary. The impression that is seen is exactly the opposite, the figure of a bird that is strong but gentle. From the round shape of his eyes, it seems that he has a peaceful inner mood.

The bird's name is rather strange, namely *manuk Wajaha* or *Inju* bird. Maybe Inju is a mispronunciation of the the word *Indu*(?). If this conjecture is correct, it is synonymous with the word India, meaning the Wajaha Bird which is located in the Indian Ocean.⁶⁴ On the top of the bird's head are written the words: *muṭmainnah*. Under the word *muṭmainnah*. there is a sentence, "*this is the bird called Allāhu Akbar*", meaning "This bird sounds *Allahu Akbar*". Right in front of its tightly clenched beak are three fish described in the same size and shape. On the body of each fish whose head position almost forms a triangle is written: first fish, *lawwāmah*, the second fish, *ammārah*, third fish, *Sufiyah*.

Semiotically, in the study of Sufism, birds are often used as symbols of the human spirit, or soul. He became a symbol of something that can fly, in and out of the human body. As already explained, the word is found on the top of the bird's head *muṭmainnah* as the explanatory identity. Meanwhile, for every three fish, each word was found on its body: *lawwāmah*, *ammārah* and *ṣūfiyah*. The terms such as *muṭmainnah*, *ammārah*, *lawwāmah* and *ṣūfiyah* is a term associated with the four types of lust in humans. Semiotically, the picture can be explained as follows:

The symbol, /image of a bird and three fish/ has the object /bird and three fish/, its first interpretation is /birds that can fly and vertebrates that live in water and breathe with gills/. The second interpretation /poultry, one of whose food is fish and one

⁶⁴ Habib Mustopo, *Islamic culture*,309.

of the animals that becomes food for birds/ is the meaning of denotation, ie /between what should defeat and be defeated/. The interpretation of /between what is supposed to defeat and be defeated/ is in the form of its connotative meaning, namely /domination of the *muṭmainnah* over *ammārah*, and *lawwamah*.

As a result, the image of the bird and the three fish in the BC manuscript has the final interpretation or means the dominance of *muṭmainnah* over *ammārah*, *lawwāmah* and *Sufiyah*. This meaning is consistent with the visual aspect of the position of the bird and the three fish. The arrangement looks like prey and predator. Each fish turned towards the bird's beak, as if about to be devoured. This symbol seems to imply a message that *muṭmainnah* must defeat the three passions that have negative energy, namely *ammārah*, *lawwāmah* and *Sufiyah*.

As for the sound of the bird, it is a sentence of takbir *Allahu Akbar*. This sentence is in harmony with the discussion of monotheism contained in the SM text. To lead to perfection or condition *muṭmainnah* the spirit must go through three phases. In SM, it was said:

*Maka kang sabeneré kang aran iman iku panerimané roh. Tauhid iku campuré roh. Makripat iku paningalé roh. Ana pun sabeneré panerimané roh iku kang urip iku Allah. Campuré roh iku ora ana kang urip anging Allah kang urip. Paningalé roh iku ora ana kang aningali anging Allah kang aningali.*⁶⁵

It means that the true faith is acceptance of the spirit. Tawhid is the mixing of spirits. Makrifat is spiritual vision. As for the true acceptance of the spirit, the Living One is Allah. The mingling of spirits is that nothing lives but Allah. Spiritual vision is nothing to see except God's vision.

The substance of the explanation is in line with the verse in the Qur'an:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّفْسُ الْمُطْمَئِنَّةُ ارْجِعِي إِلَىٰ رَبِّكِ رَاضِيَةً مَّرْضِيَّةً

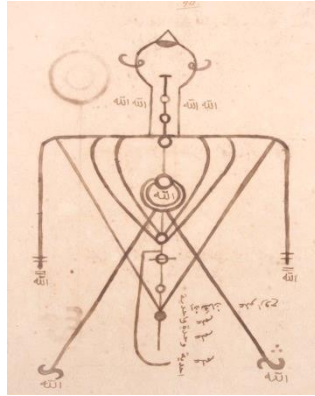
“O calm soul, return to your Lord with pleasure and satisfaction” (QS. Al-Fajr: 27-28).⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Danoe Koesoema, *SM*, 51.

⁶⁶ Kementerian Agama, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya*, 593.

Muṭmainnah is the soul of a believer, that is, the soul that believes God is the Supreme Lord. He accepts all His provisions. Believing that every one of His promises must be true, that's why he surrendered and was satisfied, so that he would return to Him in a calm state.

3. Visualization of the Human Body: *Insan Kamil* Symbol



Source: BC Manuscript, page 90.

Figure 3.

Perfect Human Visualization⁶⁷

In this figure, the elements of the human body are visualized. These elements are in the form of thin lines that form the structure of the human body with a simple visual. Its shape resembles a bird's skeleton, but in the explanation of other images, each organ in the visual elements is associated with humans. Around the outer body there are nine enunciations of Allah; 4 enunciations on the right and left sides of the neck, 2 enunciations are at the ends of the hands, 2 enunciations are at the feet and 1 enunciation is right in the middle of the inside of the body, wrapped in hatching 5 lines forming a heart symbol. From the tip of the neck to the lower part of the body (genitals) there are 8 spheres in succession from top to bottom. 2 dots are on the neck, 1 dot is where the base line of the liver meets the body line, 4 dots are on the body and 1 dot is below, outside the body line,

⁶⁷ Danoe Koesoema, *SM*, 90.

right in the genital position. At the bottom of the picture, on the outside, an explanation is found; natural *ahadiyah*, known as *Waḥdah, alam waḥidiyyah, human nature and arwāḥ nature*.

The visualization of the human body symbol in this image is found in a more complete explanation in other visuals in the SM text.⁶⁸ The lines that make up the heart, in which there is the word Allah, explain the layers of the heart. In SM, there are three layers of the heart: the inner heart layer, the emotional heart layer or human heart which is the symbol of the Prophet Muhammad and the sirri heart layer, which is the deepest layer which is the symbol of God's existence.⁶⁹

The semiotic meaning is as follows, the element /visual of the human body/ has an object /human/, its first interpretant is /human/. The interpretation of /human/ is the meaning of the denotation, namely /a sentient being/. The interpretation of /sentient beings/ is in the form of its connotative meaning, namely /God's creatures designated *askhalifa* or nature manager/. Interpretation of /God's creation designated as *caliph* or manager of nature/ is also its connotative meaning, namely the most perfect creature *oral-Insān al-Kāmil*.

Thus, the visual elements of the human body have a final interpretant, namely *al-insan al-kamil*. This means that all the visual elements of the human body contained in SM texts are symbols of the structure of being *al-Insān al-Kāmil*.

The pronunciation of Allah, numbering 9, which is included on the limbs, seems to be a symbol that the figure of a perfect human being is a human figure who is covered by Allah in every limb of his body. In the beliefs of the Javanese people, this term is known *Bahan Hawa Sanga* (Nine places where air enters the human body). These nine holes are believed to be the entrance of lust. The nine holes are two eye holes, two ear holes, two nostrils, one mouth hole, one anal hole and one genital hole. The 9 holes are air inlets in humans. Allah's words in nine places are a symbol for people to take care of the nine holes, by following God's instructions. Perfect human beings are those who are able

⁶⁸ Danoe Koesoema, *SM*, 109.

⁶⁹ Danoe Koesoema, *SM*, 109.

to control the functions of the nine holes while remaining in the coverage of God. Because actually the nature of the 9 paths earlier is purity and the path of devotion to the Lord *khaliq*.

In SM it is explained as follows, *God is involved in everything he has done. There is nothing except from qudratullāh and irādatullah*,⁷⁰ (meaning: Allah who encompasses all of His creation). There is nothing (that is not covered), except by Allah's provision and His will. When man is able to control the holes of lust from his body according to God's instructions, he will reach a degree *al-insān al-kāmil*. *The figure of a human who had reached this degree* is the Prophet Muhammad. until he became the final Prophet of the Prophets and an example for mankind.⁷¹

CONCLUSION

The analysis on sufistic symbols in the manuscript of *Sejatiné Manusa* from the early arrival of Islam to the period of the 20th century BC indicates that there is a dynamic process of absorbing Islamic values towards a more comprehensive Islam, that is Islam which continues to grow and is accommodating to local culture while still relying on the principles of Islamic teachings. Based on the semiotic approach, the meaning of the sufistic symbols in the SM text show that the meanings behind the SM text symbols are not indicative of deviating from Islamic teachings. By adding a little evidence from the analysis of the existence of Sufistic symbols from SM manuscripts, the conclusion of this study basically strengthens the results of previous scholarly studies, which state that Islam on the coast is not a syncretic Islam, as well as revising the conception of Geertz (1960), who argues that Javanese Islam is a mixture of Islam, Hindu-Buddhism and Animism.

This study certainly has limitations in terms of exploring the dynamics of Sufistic symbols. The dynamics data presented by the authors above do not represent all complete dynamics data, because the authors follow the journal writing guidelines.

⁷⁰ Danoe Koesoema, *SM*, 76.

⁷¹ Wiwi Siti Syajaroh, *Melacak Akar Teori Martabat Tujuh*, 50.

So further research can explore more deeply related to more complete dynamic data.

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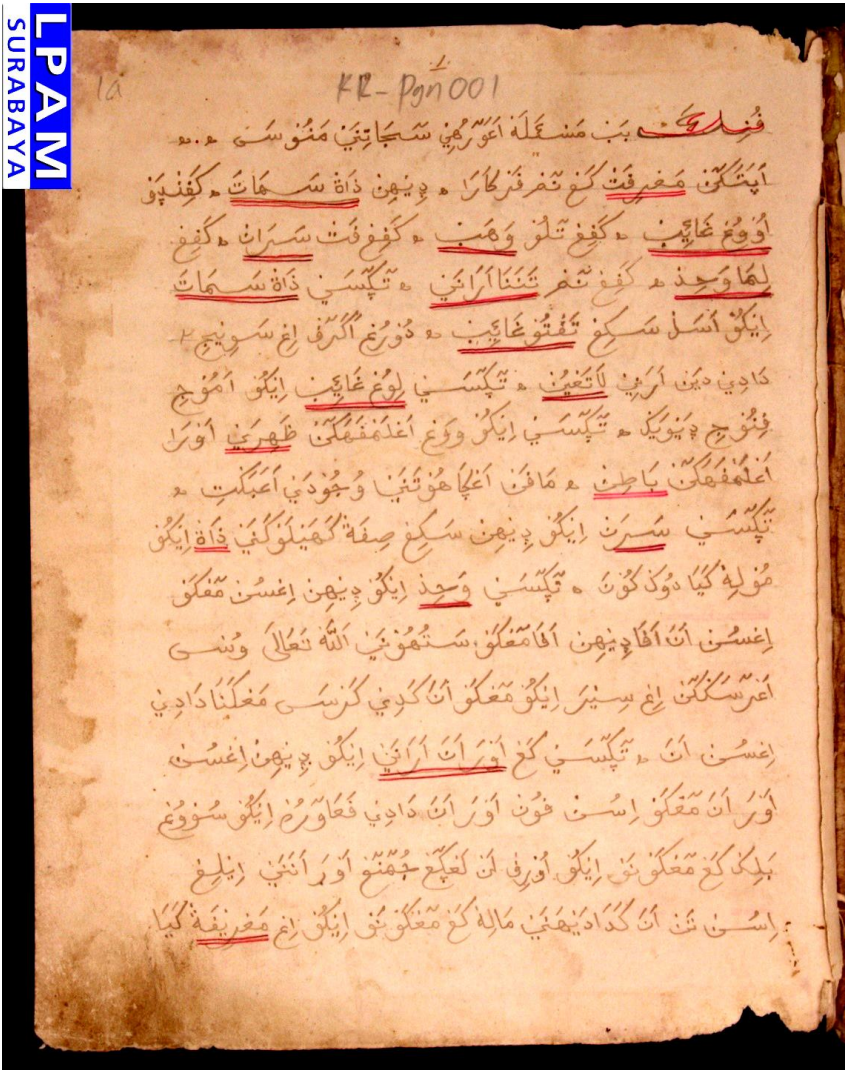
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Appendix 1:
Initial manuscript page *Sejatiné Manusa*

LPAM
SURABAYA



Appendix 2:

Last page of manuscript *Sejatiné Manusa*.

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119.

فَتَعَّ عَيْبُؤْ رَمَلَسْ تَعِي شُورُكُو يَا هُوَ يَا هُوَ. رَايِ
اَكُو سَجَاتِيْ اُورِفِ اَعْدَاكُ اِنْفِ تَعَهْ قُو سِرْفِ مَوْمِي
سُوِيْجِ جُو مَنُو اِنْفِ سَلَمَتِ بِنِي اَعْرَانِي ذَاةُ مَغْ حِيْبَةُ
سَجَاتِيْ بِنَسْتِ اَكُو فَعُو كُ سَلَمَا اِكِدُومِ نِيَاوُ فُقْتِ
فَتَايُو عِن شَهْدَةُ صَلَاةُ لُغْلُو اِنْفِ قَبْلَتِ فُقْتِ
مِيكَايِيْلُ جِبْرَايِيْلُ اِسْرَافِيْلُ عَزْرَايِيْلُ تَعْيَا رَكْسَتِي
اَكُو اَللّٰهُ الْكَبِيْرُ

كسرت وونت ام تنه فرديكن درجيت

نلكه تصكيل كفغ 5 ولن سورن تهون جوي 1854

كوي پسره راهدين دانوكون هما

