

LEARNING FROM HISTORY: PAKU BUWANA II'S ATTEMPT AT RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN SERAT CEBOLEK

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia is home to teachings and manuscripts that advocate moderation in life. One such cultural manifestation is the Serat Cebolek manuscript, written by Yasadipura I. This manuscript narrates the theological conflict between Hajj Mutamakkin and Ketib Anom. The objective of this article is to examine the efforts towards religious moderation undertaken by Sunan Paku Buwana II, as depicted in the Serat Cebolek manuscript. This study employed library research, utilizing a biographical approach. Data was collected through documentation techniques, drawing from printed sources and texts pertaining to Serat Cebolek. The study reveals that Paku Buwana II's decision to forgive Haji Mutamakkin exemplifies the characters of a moderate leader. The king pardoned Haji Mutamakkin's actions, albeit with the stipulation that he refrain from disseminating his knowledge among the kingdom's populace. In the context of Javanese ethical values, Sunan Paku Buwana epitomizes a "Ratu Adil" or a just ruler. This study reinforces the discourse on religious moderation, particularly through an exploration of historical contexts. The king's attitude serves as a valuable exemplar for contemporary leaders grappling with the issue of religious fundamentalism in Indonesia.

Keywords: Serat Cebolek, Sunan Paku Buwana II, Javanese Ethics, Religious Moderation

ABSTRACT

Indonesia memiliki banyak kebudayaan yang mengajarkan sikap moderat dalam berkehidupan, salah satu hasil kebudayaan lokal adalah naskah Serat Cebolek yang ditulis oleh Yasadipura I. Naskah ini berisi tentang pertentangan teologis antara Haji Mutamakkin dengan Ketib Anom. Tujuan penulisan artikel ini adalah untuk mengkaji upaya moderasi beragama yang dilakukan oleh Sunan Paku Buwana II dalam naskah Serat Cebolek. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode penelitian kepustakaan dengan menggunakan pendekatan biografi. Pengumpulan data dengan teknik dokumentasi yang diambil dari sumber cetak serta naskah-naskah tentang Serat Cebolek. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa tindakan yang dilakukan oleh Sunan Paku Buwana II yang memaafkan Haji Mutamakkin menunjukan seorang sikap pemimpin yang moderat. Raja memaafkan tindakan yang dilakukan oleh Haji Mutamakkin dengan syarat beliau dilarang mengajarkan ilmunya kepada masyarakat di kerajaan, dan dalam kaitannya dengan nilai etika Jawa Sunan Paku Buwana merepresentasikan sebagai seseorang yang memiliki sifat “ratu adil” dalam menyelesaikan sebuah permasalahan. Kajian ini memperkuat narasi moderasi beragama di Indonesia, khususnya melalui eksplorasi dalam konteks historis. Sikap yang dicontohkan Paku Buwana II dapat dijadikan role model seorang pemimpin masa kini untuk menyelesaikan isu fundamentalisme agama di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Serat Cebolek, Sunan Paku Buwana II, Etika Jawa, Moderasi Beragama

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is grappling with the escalating challenges of radicalism and religious fundamentalism, as evidenced by the surge in Islamophobia.¹ Consequently, fostering the concept and practice of religious moderation is crucial to cultivating a more harmonious religious environment. Moderate Islam, a religious ideology that holds relevance in diverse contexts, is expected to help addressing these challenges. The Arabic term for moderation, “al-wasathiyah,” signifies a middle ground between two

¹ M Abdul Fattah Santoso and Yayah Khisbiyah, “Islam-Based Peace Education: Values, Program, Reflection And Implication,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 11, no. 1 (2021): 185–207, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v11i1.185-207>.

extremes. Quraish Shihab identifies justice, balance, and tolerance as the key pillars of moderation.²

Moderatism, in alignment with the Islamic principle of “*rahmatan lil 'alamin*,” promotes understanding and respect for differences, thereby fostering a civil society. This approach engenders less emotional and more tolerant human interactions. Religious moderation is not merely an option; it is a necessity.³ Religion serves as a fundamental catalyst for societal change⁴, mobilizing social transformation. It even provides a platform for religious activities to represent groups marginalized in politics,⁵ owing to their extensive social relations.⁶

Within the framework of religious moderation, Islam proposes the concept of deliberation. Every problem can be addressed through consensus, prioritizing the principle of benefit.⁷ In a multicultural society, nurturing religious moderation is essential to preserving harmony amidst diversity.⁸

² Mohamad Fahri and Ahmad Zainuri, “Moderasi Beragama di Indonesia,” *Intizar* 25, no. 2 (2019): 95–100, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19109/intizar.v25i2.5640>.

³ Mustaqim Hasan, “Prinsip Moderasi Beragama Dalam Kehidupan Berbangsa,” *Jurnal Mubtadiin* 7, no. 2 (2021): 110–23, <https://journal.an-nur.ac.id/index.php/mubtadiin/article/view/104>.

⁴ Lukis Alam et al., “The Changing Piety And Spirituality: A New Trend Of Islamic Urbanism In Yogyakarta And Surakarta,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 13, no. 2 (2023): 227–52, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v13i2.227-252>.

⁵ Muhammad Tahir and Muhammad Nur Sholeh Elbarqi, “State, Secularism, and the Management of Islamic Proselytizing Movement in Turkiye: The Case of Hayrat Vakfi Organization,” *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 11, no. 1 (2023): 177, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v11i1.18357>.

⁶ Hasse Jubba et al., “Changes in the Political Behavior of Towani Tolotang as a Minority Religious Group: Fiqh Al-‘Aqaliyyāt Perspective,” *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 18, no. 2 (2023): 392–419, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v18i2.10184>.

⁷ Hasan, “Prinsip Moderasi Beragama Dalam Kehidupan Berbangsa.”

⁸ Abraham Zakky Zulhazmi, “Comics, Da’wa, and the Representation of Religious Moderation,” *Dinika : Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 (30 Desember 2022): 193–220, <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v7i2.6136>.

Historical records indicate that efforts towards religious moderation have been undertaken in various eras of the archipelago. One such instance is the text of Serat Carub Kandha, a manuscript embodying three aspects of religious moderation: respect for other beliefs, openness to local wisdom, and the advocacy of non-violence.⁹

Amidst the pervasive phenomenon of religious fundamentalism, cultural artifacts like Yasadipura I's Serat Cebolek manuscript offer invaluable insights into religious moderation.¹⁰ Composed during the reign of Sunan Paku Buwana IV, the manuscript narrates the theological conflict between Haji Mutamakkin and Ketib Anom, resolved through the king's judicious and fair leadership.¹¹ Serat Cebolek, structured as a "tembang macapat" comprising eleven "pupuh,"¹² serves as a testament to the enduring relevance of religious moderation.

Serat Cebolek narrates the story of a *kyai* who disseminated the knowledge of *hakikat*, disregarding *sharia*. Despite numerous attempts by ulamas to counsel him, their efforts proved futile.¹³ The dispute eventually reached the king, culminating in a trial mediated by the king in the Mataram Kartasura kingdom. In Javanese culture, a king is revered for his profound wisdom and his ability to exemplify commendable behavior in society. The king's mental fortitude is evident in his capacity to

⁹ Agus Iswanto, Nurhata Nurhata, and Asep Saefullah, "Narasi Moderasi Beragama dalam Naskah Serat Carub Kandha," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 19, no. 1 (2021): 37–68, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlka.v19i1.910>.

¹⁰ Heri Setyawan, "The Fusion of Javano-Islamic Mysticism in the Story of Dewaruci," *Dinika : Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, no. 1 (30 April 2018): 75–94, <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v3i1.95>.

¹¹ Agus Wahyudi, *Pesona Kearifan Jawa: Hakikat Diri Manusia Dalam Jagat Jawa*, ed. oleh Misni Parijati, Cet.I (Yogyakarta: Dipta, 2014). 68.

¹² Danur Putut Permadi and Hanif Fitri Yantari, "Ketib Anom : Etika dan Kepribadian Guru Bijaksana dalam Serat Cebolek," *Pusaka: Jurnal Khazanah Keagamaan* 11, no. 2 (2023), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31969/pusaka.v11i2>.

¹³ Wahyudi, *Pesona Kearifan Jawa: Hakikat Diri Manusia Dalam Jagat Jawa*. 73.

make decisions calmly. His dignity is mirrored in his commands, which his followers execute without resorting to violence.¹⁴

From a Javanese philosophical perspective, a king is perceived as a superior human being, or in Islamic terms, an *insan kamil*. The psychological state of a Javanese king is intrinsically linked to a high level of spirituality. A king is considered one step closer to God than an ordinary person. For the Javanese, the essence of God in the mystical realm can be likened to a reflection in a mirror, a concept that can only be inwardly comprehended.¹⁵

Numerous studies have been conducted on *Serat Cebolek*. For instance, Danur and Hanif's research explored the ethical value of a teacher's behavior as depicted in *Serat Cebolek*. Ketib Anom symbolizes a wise teacher, while Haji Mutamakin is portrayed as a dangerous teacher.¹⁶ Other studies have focused on Haji Mutamakin's Sufistic thinking, the reasons behind his naming his dog after a Ketib from Tuban,¹⁷ and the Dewa Ruci story in *Serat Cebolek* as a part of the local culture utilized by Haji Mutamakin in spreading Islam.¹⁸ Some researchers have also discussed Javanese words derived from Arabic in *Serat*

¹⁴ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijaksanaan Hidup Jawa* (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2001). 42.

¹⁵ Fathul Mufid and Abd Hakim Mohad, "Indigenous Theosophy in Indonesia: Conception and Meaning of Mystical Philosophy in the Naqshabandiyah Al Mrikiyah Text," *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 10, no. 2 (2022): 357–80, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v10i2.16415>.

¹⁶ Permadi and Yantari, "Ketib Anom: Etika dan Kepribadian Guru Bijaksana dalam *Serat Cebolek*."

¹⁷ A. Rosyid, "Anjing dan Intrik Haji Mutamakkin dalam *Serat Cebolek* (Perlawanan Ulama pada Rezim dalam Hermeneutika Refleksi Paul Ricoeur)," *Jurnal Islamika Inside* 8, no. 1 (2022), <https://islamikainside.uinkhas.ac.id/index.php/islamikainside/article/download/176/64>.

¹⁸ Abdul Rosyid, "Haji Mutamakin dan Cerita Dewa Ruci Dalam *Serat Cebolek* (Relasi Sosial-Budaya dan Keagamaan Dalam Kacamata Fenomenologi Edmund Husserl)," *Realita: Jurnal Penelitian dan Kebudayaan Islam* 19, no. 1 (2022): 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.30762/realita.v19i1.3414>.

Cebolek¹⁹ and the teachings of Sufism contained within it, particularly the search for self-essence through the path of *makrifat*.²⁰

Despite the significance of this manuscript, there is a noticeable lack of research on how historical figures like Sunan Paku Buwana II addressed religious conflicts. This research distinguishes itself from existing studies by emphasizing the Javanese philosophical aspect, specifically how Paku Buwana II made a decision of punishment for Haji Mutamakkin from the perspective of Franz Magnis Suseno's Javanese ethics.

The aim of this research is to fill the gap in previous studies by examining the ethical principles underpinning the king's approach using Javanese ethical theory as a framework. By leveraging historical context and manuscript narratives, this research offers insights into the role of leadership in promoting religious moderation. There are three focuses of this present study: first, to summarize the content of the Serat Cebolek text. Second, to describe the nature of leadership of Sunan Paku Buwana II in Serat Cebolek. Third, to present a reflection of a moderate leader in contemporary times.

METHOD

This research employed literature research using a biographical approach. This approach is selected as to the author can obtain an interpretation of how the subject positions himself. Through this approach, the author attempts to trace the thoughts of Sunan Paku Buwana II while analyzing the aspects that influenced his action patterns. Data collection include documentation method taken from printed sources and manuscripts about Serat Cebolek. The primary data source is the original manuscript of Serat Cebolek which has been translated by Sudibjo Z. Hadisutjipto and T.W.K. Hadisuprpta entitled Serat Cebolek.

¹⁹ Hidayatul Khoiriyah, "Transmisi Nilai Makna Leksikal Serapan dalam Serat Cebolek" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2020), <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/45913/>.

²⁰ Wahyudi, *Pesona Kearifan Jawa: Hakikat Diri Manusia Dalam Jagat Jawa*. 57.

As for secondary data sources, they are taken from other sources that have relevance to the object of discussion of Serat Cebolek. This data source is in the form of documents or journal articles that discuss Serat Cebolek and the issue of religious moderation.

The author conducted an in-depth review of primary data sources and sorted them into data relevant to the main topic of research. The data is then supplemented by using other secondary sources. So that the final data can be analyzed using Javanese ethical theory.

The data analysis used the historical continuity method, hermeneutics and text analysis. The historical continuity method is applied to analyze the aspects that cause the emergence of a leader's ethics in overcoming problems in society. The hermeneutic method is used to explore the meaning contained in Serat Cebolek, so as to obtain an explanation and understanding of the ethics of wise leadership in the perspective of Franz Magnis Suseno's Javanese ethics.²¹ The text analysis method is used to understand the meaning, significance, and relevance of religious moderation contained in Serat Cebolek.²² To ensure the validity of the data, the author applies the data source triangulation method.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Serat Cebolek: Examining the Early Stories

During the reign of Sunan Amangkurat IV until Paku Buwana II, a religious leader named Haji Ahmad Mutamakkin appeared in Tuban. He became an *ulama* but did not emphasize the guidance of sharia. He had an attitude that angered many Muslims. Kyai Cebolek not only violated Islamic teachings, but was also considered not to be subject to the Islamic Mataram.

So far, there have been many *ulamas* who have realized his mistakes. But he did not want to change his misguided thinking.

²¹ Anton Bakker and Achmad Charris Zubair, *Metodologi Penelitian Filsafat* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2021). 39.

²² Bungin and Burhan, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Aktualisasi Metodologis ke Arah Ragam Varian Kontemporer* (Depok: Rajawali Press, 2001). 203.

Kyai Cebolek even dared to keep dogs and named them after the head of the mosque in Tuban.²³

His bad attitude is clearly written in Serat Cebolek in *pupuh* Dandanggula stanzas 8-10 which reads:

*" sora saru ing sarengat nabi, ing Cabolek padhusunan Tuban, kang dadya lok lelakone, ginereg ginaramung, dening para alim pasisir, pinenging ngrusak sarak, duraka ing ratu, ratu wenang aniksaa, pan minangka badal sang nayakeng bumi, bebaya ing ubaya. Nanging sira kaji Mutamakin, datan keguh abakuh agagah, tan suminggah pakewuhe, wani ngurebi kukum, akeh ngukih pengkuh tan kokih, akeh ngulama prapta, ingkang apitutur, malah angingu srenggala, asu kudus rolas geng ageng kang siji, ingaran Ngabdulkahar. Papat asu kikir alit-alit, pangarepe su kikir satunggal, pun Kamarodin wastane, kalangkung kumalungkung, ya kaji Amad Mutamakin, wus rempeg pra nulama, pantes katuripun, ing Kanjeng Sri Naranata, ing katoge dan kena denpituturi, mejanani negara."*²⁴

Translation:

In Cebolek, a village in the district of Tuban, the famous character of this story, who was chased and ganged up on by the ulamas of the coastal region, was forbidden to break the teachings of sarak, to disobey the king, because it was the king who had the authority to torture. Isn't the king the representative of the ruler of the earth, in trying to overcome all dangers. But Hajj Mutamaqim, he was not deterred, he was stubborn, he ignored the hardships, he dared to go against the law. Many attacked him, but he remained firmly unmoved, many ulamas came to him, giving advice and guidance. Instead, he kept "wolves", twelve large dogs, one of which he named Abdulkahar. Four small dogs, the leader of which was Komaruddin. He was very arrogant and felt that he was more than the others, Haji Ahmad Mutamaqin.

²³ Pepen Irpan Fauzan and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Serat Cabolek, Sufism Book or Ideology Documents of Javanese Priyayi?," *El Harakah* 20, no. 1 (2018): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v20i1.4674>.

²⁴ Sudibjo Z. Hadisutjipto and Hadisuprapta, *Serat Cebolek* (Jakarta: Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia and Daerah, 1981), <https://repositori.kemdikbud.go.id/27569/>. 266.

The Ulama have repeatedly warned him, so it is appropriate that he should be reported to His Majesty, in the end, because he cannot be advised anymore, and could endanger the country.

It was for this reason that the religious leaders formed an association in an effort to report the issue of Kyai Cebolek to the Ruler of Islamic Mataram. The association was led by a religious leader named Ketib Anom from Kudus.²⁵ However, the king fell ill and died suddenly. The legal action filed by the *ulama* was finally postponed until Paku Buwana II ascended the throne. The ulamas demanded that Kyai Cebolek be put to death as an effort to eradicate the cult from spreading further.

As the newly ascended Paku Buwana II did not understand the matter, it was handled by Raden Demang Urawan. He was asked for information about the development of the theological case. Raden Urawan explained that there were eleven selected religious leaders who participated in the deliberations regarding Mutamakkin's case. The majority of the clerics agreed that Mutamakkin should be punished. However, the suspect still stood his ground and was even willing to accept the punishment. He declared himself to be God and was ready to accept the sentence of execution. By burning his body, Kyai Cebolek declared that the smoke would reach where his teacher was.²⁶

Raden Urawan explained to the king that every night after sunset, the suspect often recited *Serat Bima Suci*. He used to read about Bima's journey when he met the God Ruci. Then Paku Buwana II said that he disagreed with the execution of Kyai Cebolek. The king argued that Kyai Cebolek essentially applied

²⁵ Muhajir Muhajir, Cecep Jaenudin, and Ani Ani, "The Theosophy of Sheikh Mutamakkin's Rebellion (A Study On Yadispura's Serat Cebolek (1729-1983)," in *AICIS 2019* (Jakarta, 2019), 1–7, <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.1-10-2019.2291705>.

²⁶ Wahyudi, *Pesona Kearifan Jawa: Hakikat Diri Manusia Dalam Jagat Jawa*.

mystical knowledge only for him and did not plan to create chaos.²⁷

For Ketib Anom, what Kyai Cebolek had done must be stopped as soon as possible. Paku Buwana II, like a fortress of Islam, must be able to make decisions wisely so as not to violate the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. When a ruler acts carelessly, it is certain that his light will slowly fade and the honor of a kingdom will be lost. Because of this, people were amazed by the ruler from Kudus. Even Raden Urawan admitted that he lost the debate with him, and chose to return and report to the king.²⁸

Raden Demang Urawan personifies Ketib Anom as a dashing figure. On the contrary, he symbolized Mutamakkin as a dwarf and a coward. He also wondered why the sesok had such high determination.

Paku Buwana II immediately defended Mutamakkin. He said that precisely because he had a limited physique, Mutamakkin was given the privilege of purity of heart. Paku Buwana II ordered Raden Urawan to free Mutamakkin from the threat of execution. Although pardoned by the king, Hajj Mutamakkin was forbidden from repeating the act. Furthermore, the king forbade him from studying mysticism in the palace. Anyone who continued to violate these rules, Paku Buwana II would execute him immediately. Paku Buwana II still gave leeway to be able to teach the mysticism on condition that it had to be done outside the Mataram Palace.

Raden Urawan then announced the word to everyone. The king of Mataram said that Mutamakkin was actually guilty of disobedience to the ruler of Mataram. But the king preferred to grant him mercy.²⁹ This is clearly stated in the Kinanthi song in the 36th stanza which reads:

²⁷ Muzairi Muzairi, "Pembangangan Mistik Jawa Dalam Suluk Cebolek (Episode Haji Ahmad Mutamakkin)," *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 12, no. 1 (2011): 21–38, <https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v12i1.700>

²⁸ Wahyudi, *Pesona Kearifan Jawa: Hakikat Diri Manusia Dalam Jagat Jawa*.

²⁹ (Muslich, 2015). 68.

"Sun sirep parentahingsun, aja na kang angrasani, kang luput wus sun apura, kaki Amad Mutamakin, ten mindhonana pratingkah, kora nora kaprah ing bumi, ing kono sida sun ukum, ya si kaji Mutamakin, ngong gawe pangewan-ewan, aneng ngalun-alun mami, ing mengko apuraning wyang, iya sun pundhut amiji, Aja na ingkang guguru, ngelmu kak sajro nagari, mutuka jabaning rangkah, ing kana ingsun lilani, lamun ana wani nerak, ing parentah ingsun ini, aja atakon sineku, sunlunasi yasat mami, aneng ngalun-aluning wyang, dadiya tonton mami, wong Kartasura-diningrat, den kalakon undhang mami."³⁰

"I cancel my order. Let no one question a matter anymore! The guilty have been forgiven, even the feet of Ahmad Mutamaqin! If he repeats his unlawful behavior, which is unaccustomed in the association on this earth, at that time he will be punished, yes, that Haji Mutamaqin, I will make him a public laughing stock, in my square. Now this is my pardon, I ask for special treatment."

Sunan Paku Buwana II: A Moderate King in the Midst of Theological Debates

Sri Sunan Paku Buwana II was the son of Sunan Amangkurat IV from his consort GKR Amangkurat. Sunan Paku Buwana II was born in 1710 with the small name Raden Mas Prabasuyasa. He became Adipati Anom as a sign of a crown prince with his full title, Sampean Dalem Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom Hamengku Negoro Sudibyo Raja Putero Narendro. And he was appointed as his father's successor when he was 16 years old on April 29, 1726.

In the early days of Sunan Paku Buwana II's reign, the wheels of the palace government were held by his mother Ratu Amangkurat, then Patih Danurejo, and his queen mother who was known as a pious Sufi named Ratu Paku Buwana. Paku Buwana II's circle of power is the reason why he upheld the value of religiosity. After the banishment of Prince Mangkunegara to Tanjung Harapan, Ratu Paku Buwana and a group of other nobles supported the Islamization movement in the palace.

³⁰ Hadisutjipto and Hadisuprapta, *Serat Cebolek*. 82.

On this basis, Paku Buwana II aggressively enforced Islamic morality in the Kartasura Palace.³¹

In the *Serat Cebolek* manuscript, if examined in depth, a fundamental religious conflict can be found. Religion is one of the reasons for the plurality in society, so it is possible for conflict to arise.³² The conflict occurs between the adherents of sharia Islam and Sufism Islam. Sufism activities are not only a religious tradition to be able to improve one's spirituality, but have also developed towards the politics and economy of the people.³³ Sharia Islam was represented by *ulamas* chaired by Ketib Anom. Meanwhile, Sufism was interpreted as the figure of Haji Mutamakkin.³⁴ This is one of the main characteristics of classical texts, namely the conflict between two opposing camps.

The conflict between the two parties is mentioned in the *Cebolek* text as a dispute over religious knowledge. Which leads to mutual reproach. As explained in pupuh Dandanggula stanza 7th which reads:

*"Saliringan rerasanung ngelmi, saking takluking katur iara-dat, kang dadya wit parbutane, wus kasurak kasuhar, without wekas tekad binatin, temah cacad-cinacad, ajuwet acucut, pasiring wetan oteran, tanah Tuban kaji Amad Mutamakin, dadi lawaning kathah."*³⁵

³¹ M.C. Ricklefs, "The Crisis Of 1740-1 In Java: The Javanese, Chinese, Madurese And Dutch, And The Fall Of The Court Of Kartasura," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 139, no. 2 (1983): 268–90, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003445>.

³² Mustofa Anshori Lidinillah, Mukhtasar Syamsuddin, and Arqom Kuswanjono, "Iqbal Humanism and Human Rights," *Jurnal Filsafat* 33, no. 1 (27 Februari 2023): 74, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.81126>.

³³ Muzakkir Syahrul and Ziaulhaq Hidayat, "New Face of Contemporary Sufism in Southeast Asia: Experience of Indonesia and Malaysia," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf and Pemikiran Islam* 11, no. 2 (2021): 270–92, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2021.11.2.270-292>.

³⁴ Wahyudi, *Pesona Kearifan Jawa: Hakikat Diri Manusia Dalam Jagat Jawa*.

³⁵ Hadisutjipto and Hadisuprapta, *Serat Cebolek*. 265.

[Disputes in matters of knowledge, from a person's submission to nature and iradat, this is the origin of his disputes. It has spread over a long period of time, and there is no limit to the intentions in the heart. In the end, they criticized each other and spread slander from mouth to mouth, and there was a man on the east coast, in the land of Tuban, named Haji Mutamaqin, who was the opponent of the people]

Long before the establishment of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom, its predecessor, the Pajang Sultanate, had experienced the same thing. There was a feud between two major Islamic groups, one of which wanted to uphold pure Islamic law, and the other of which wanted to implement local traditions.³⁶ Even the seeds of the feud eventually led the Islamic Mataram Kingdom to choose to maintain the syncretism brought by Sheikh Siti Jenar as the main tradition of the kingdom.³⁷

Sufism Islam presented by Haji Mutamakkin was described as the face of Islam that violated the rules of Islam in the Kartasura Palace. In his teaching, Hajj Mutamakkin often ignored matters of Islamic law. He was considered a problematic *ulama* with a distorted mindset. Meanwhile, Ketib Anom was described as a *ulama* who was capable in the field of Islam. In addition, as a qualified religious leader, Ketib Anom Kudus could still maintain a good attitude towards his interlocutors.

The trial that made Hajj Mutamakkin a suspect did not take place. Although the verdict was not in accordance with the wishes of the *ulamas*, they still respected the decision that had been issued by the kingdom. Paku Buwana II's choice not to give the death penalty to Hajj Mutamakkin certainly had various considerations. Paku Buwana II's attitude reflected the attitude of a

³⁶ M Irfan Riyadi and M Harir Muzakki, "Menggagas Islam Inklusif Budaya Jawa Dalam Serat Nitisruti Zaman Kasultanan Pajang (Abad 16 M)," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 18, no. 1 (2020): 85–108, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlka.v18i1.590>.

³⁷ Hafid Setiadi, "Worldview, Religion, And Urban Growth: A Geopolitical Perspective On Geography Of Power And Conception Of Space During Islamization In Java, Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 11, no. 1 (2021): 81–113, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v11i1.81-113>.

leader who prioritizes humanism and freed people from all forms of injustice.³⁸

A king who was in power should be able to protect all groups of society without exception. In political ethics, problem solving must emphasize diplomacy efforts that emphasize morality and justice.³⁹ In this case, Paku Buwana II still pardoned Haji Mutamakkin even though he had violated the sharia law that had been enforced in the Kartasura Palace. The king gave forgiveness on the condition that he was forbidden to teach the mysticism within the Kartasura Palace.

Paku Buwana II's effort to forgive Haji Mutamakkin and make concessions by asking him to teach the mysticism in the kingdom indicates an effort by a king to reconcile the two parties. In today's context, this effort may be referred to as an effort of religious moderation. Religious moderation can be understood as an effort to respect the beliefs believed by other groups without providing justification for what they believe.⁴⁰

Various efforts of religious moderation can basically function to maintain the diversity of the pluralistic Indonesian nation. By dialoguing between the two opposing groups, we can understand each other. The mentality to live together is a factor that contributes greatly to forming harmonious interpersonal relationships.⁴¹ The life of a society that is willing to develop tolerance based on local wisdom tends to have a high level of tolerance in a social group. A religion is not only interpreted as a personal

³⁸ Ahmad Izudin, "From Prophetic Leadership To Sustainable Community Development: Contributing Kiai Najib Salimi In Contemporary Pesantren," *al-Balagh: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi* 6, no. 2 (18 Desember 2021): 273–302, <https://doi.org/10.22515/al-balagh.v6i2.3392>.

³⁹ Rika Febriani, "Soft Power and Hegemony: Gramsci, Nye, and Cox's Perspective," *Jurnal Filsafat* 34, no. 1 (2024): 86–110, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.87478>.

⁴⁰ Kamaruddin Amin, "Mengapa Moderasi Beragama?," kemenag. go. id, 2023, <https://kemenag.go.id/kolom/mengapa-moderasi-beragama-02MbN>.

⁴¹ Sumper Mulia Harahap, Fatahuddin Aziz Siregar, and Darwis Harahap, "Tracing the Dynamic Spectrum of Religious Moderation in the Local Custom of North Sumatera," *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 11, no. 1 (2023): 65–102, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v11i1.16187>.

interest, but understood as a public interest so that peace can be realized.⁴²

Social realities indicate that the process of Islamization in Javanese society is strongly influenced by the expertise of a religious leader. An *ulama* is required to be able to choose what strategies can be taken for the success of the process of Islamization of the local community while accommodating their own culture.⁴³ Since long ago, the *ulamas* have realized the importance of a wise attitude in order to juxtapose local cultural traditions with the teachings of Islam.

Javanese society has an interest in maintaining a harmonious socio-cultural situation. All kinds of conflicts that occur in the public sphere will only result in the polarization of society. This polarization gives birth to one-sided truth claims.⁴⁴ On this basis, Javanese society is always trying to restrain itself. The ethics built by Javanese society puts pressure on all elements of society to keep away things that can cause open social conflict.⁴⁵ In relation to the power system, people who have a high sense of wisdom are the ideal figures to be leaders. This is because they can keep themselves from acting outside the bounds of their authority. In addition, they can model the right attitude when they are in the community.

The king's honor is seen through the way he acts. A respected ruler is seen when he is very calm when making decisions, and is full of subtle attitudes. Smooth here is interpreted as

⁴²Fawaizul Umam and Mohamad Barmawi, "Indigenous Islamic Multiculturalism: Interreligious Relations in Rural East Java, Indonesia," *Ulumuna* 27, no. 2 (2023): 649–91, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v27i2.752>.

⁴³Manggara Bagus Satriya Wijaya, "Kontribusi Syekh Ahmad Mutamakkin Dalam Proses Islamisasi di Jawa (Studi Kualitatif Tentang Teks Kajen)," *Jantra* 12, no. 2 (2017): 119–25, <https://jantra.kemdikbud.go.id/index.php/jantra/article/view/50>.

⁴⁴Abdul Kadir Riyadi et al., "Sufism and the Contention of Value in the Public Space," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 12, no. 2 (2022): 255–79, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2022.12.2.255-279>.

⁴⁵Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijaksanaan Hidup Jawa*. 40.

a human condition that can fully control itself.⁴⁶ With this attitude, the nature of someone who is honorable can be seen.⁴⁷

Not just anyone can become a Javanese king. Javanese society views that when someone wishes to become a king, he must go through various paths known as *Prihatin* efforts or *laku-brata*. The Javanese understanding of the mystical world has implications for the creation of a komsik hierarchy. The concept of hierarchy becomes a guideline to eradicate arbitrary human behavior.⁴⁸ A person who goes through the process is filled with good fortune, known as *ketiban wahyu*. After that, the community will see that a "messiah" has been born.

Referring to Javanese cultural philosophy, fundamentally the existence of the universe as a whole can be classified into two things, namely the container and the content. The container can be understood as the reality of a universe, a physical body or a people. On the other hand, content is understood as the existence of metaphysical and spiritual matters. In addition, content can also be understood as a king in relation to the relationship between the people and the leader. Both categories have the same fundamental foundation, namely Islamic values.⁴⁹

Serat Cebolek simply illustrates the conflict between Javanese mysticism and orthodox Islam. The conflict is described through a character who focuses on the Islamic sharia and refuses to teach mysticism to the people. He considers that sharia is a "shell", not a "content" of spiritual life. Hajj Mutamakkin, who had reached the stage of *hakikat*, ordered his followers to let go

⁴⁶Suseno. 45.

⁴⁷Maretha Manik Mintaningtyas, I Ketut Donder, and I Gusti Putu Gede Widiana, "Metafisika Jawa Dalam Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati," *Jurnal Penelitian Agama Hindu* 2, no. 1 (2018): 350–58, <https://doi.org/10.25078/jpah.v2i1.490>.

⁴⁸Waryani Fajar Riyanto, "Revealing the Sanctity of the Eternal Cosmic Hierarchy: A Comparative Analysis of Javanese Mysticism and Islamic Sufism," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 13, no. 2 (2023): 232–60, <https://jurnalfuf.uinsa.ac.id/index.php/teosofi/article/view/2468>.

⁴⁹Ummi Sumbulah, "Islam Jawa dan Akulturasi Budaya: Karakteristik, Variasi Dan Ketaatan Ekspresif," *El-HARAKAH* 14, no. 1 (2012): 51–68, <https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v0i0.2191>.

of *sharia*. This phenomenon certainly led to a dispute over the teachings of the traditional thinkers which would ultimately damage the thinking of the people at that time about Islam.⁵⁰ On this basis, the application of Islamic teachings must be adapted to local wisdom so that it is easily accepted by many elements of society.⁵¹

The phenomenon of conflict between Islamic religious values and local wisdom values is clearly reflected in Serat Cebolek. The negative nuances that emerge from Sheikh Mutamakkin are described as the party that is maintaining local values. On the other hand, Ketib Anom is portrayed as the one who firmly wants to keep the Islamic values intact. The conflict has an impact on the formation of spatial segregation as a reflection of structured intolerance. This phenomenon can occur because of the lack of mutual openness between socio-religious groups.⁵²

The action of the king of Islamic Mataram to grant a pardon to Kyai Cebolek can be carefully understood as a political attempt by the king to reduce the conflict. Paku Buwana II's attempt to reduce the conflict may have been because if Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin was still sentenced to execution, the social conditions in the community would have been even more heated.⁵³ This was because at that time Kyai Cebolek already had many followers in the coastal areas of Java.

⁵⁰Sururin and Moh. Muslim, "Islam and Javanese Literature Study Javanese Literature in Mataram Period," *Jurnal Bimas Islam* 11, no. 1 (2018): 135–64, <http://jurnalbimasislam.kemenag.go.id/index.php/jbi/article/view/49>.

⁵¹Aulia Arif Rahman and Khoirul Hidayah, "Islam Dan Budaya Masyarakat Yogyakarta Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Sejarah," *El-Harakah* 13, no. 1 (2011): 46–59, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.18860/el.v0i0.2019>.

⁵²Nur Quma Laila and Irwan Abdullah, "Questioning Fiqh Muamalah of Toleration: Religious Spatial Segregation in the Urban Area of Yogyakarta," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 17, no. 1 (2022): 28–59, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v17i1.5419>.

⁵³Manggara Bagus Satria Wijaya, Hermanu Joebagio, and Sariyatun Sariyatun, "Konstruksi Pembelajaran Sejarah Islam Berbasis Teks Kajen Dan Serat Cebolek Dengan Pendekatan Ways of Knowing," *Tarbawi: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 15, no. 2 (2018): 166–82, <https://doi.org/10.34001/tarbawi.v15i2.849>.

Internalization of Moderation Value in Policy

As a country with a large area, Indonesia has various types of cultures, beliefs and social realities.⁵⁴ These heterogeneous social conditions can be a factor in the vulnerability of conflict in the social life of the community. Horizontal conflicts that occur in society sometimes start from religious or ethnic stereotypes.⁵⁵ The concept of tolerance and unity is a basic understanding to overcome these conflicts.⁵⁶

The emergence of religious group movements born out of a single truth claim will in turn contribute to the worsening of social conflicts within society.⁵⁷ What needs to be remembered is that radicalism is not always associated with violence. There is also radicalism that seeks to encourage social conditions to change in accordance with what they expect. This can reinforce the existence of violence.⁵⁸ Radical groups want to implement Islamic values ideally by forming an Islamic state that refers to

⁵⁴Rohannisa Naja Rachma Savitri and Adya Paramita Prabandari, "TNI Angkatan Udara dan Keamanan Wilayah Udara Indonesia," *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia* 2, no. 2 (2020): 236–45, <https://doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v2i2.236-245>.

⁵⁵Nanda Khairiyah and Muh. Bukhari, "Analysis of the Concept of Religious Moderation According to the Interfaith Council's Leader," *KURIOSITAS: Media Komunikasi Sosial dan Keagamaan* 17, no. 1 (2024): 1–16, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.35905/kur.v17i1.7722>.

⁵⁶Valentino Lumowa, "Diskursus Multikulturalisme and Wajah Indonesiannya," *Jurnal Filsafat* 32, no. 2 (21 November 2022): 311, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.66815>.

⁵⁷Oskar Gultom, "Moderasi Beragama: Cara Pandang Moderat Mengamalkan Ajaran Agama di Indonesia dalam Perspektif Fenomenologi Agama," *Perspektif: Jurnal Agama dan Kebudayaan* 17, no. 1 (2022): 35–49, <https://adityawacana.id/ojs/index.php/jpf/article/view/149>.

⁵⁸Fatmawati, "The Transformation of the Radicalism Movement Into A More Moderate Religious Stance," *Kuriositas: Media Komunikasi Sosial dan Keagamaan* 16, no. 1 (2023): 77–90, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.35905/kur.v16i1.6670>.

the Prophet's government, the democratic system is rejected because it is not in accordance with Islamic views.⁵⁹

Deradicalization efforts can be approached through religion by strengthening understanding of religious moderation.⁶⁰ The way a person's moderate religion must continue to be grown to ward off seeds of division in society.⁶¹ The da'wah messages given by religious leaders can be easily distributed to the wider community quickly. Therefore, religious leaders play an important role in efforts to control religious social change.⁶² Religious fanaticism in our society towards religious figures is generally based on theological factors.⁶³

Moderation can be understood as a concept of social interaction that means avoiding extremes.⁶⁴ Religious moderation provides lessons to avoid excessive fanaticism in religious activities.⁶⁵ When the understanding of a society is more moderate, then the society will be encouraged to act more tolerant and respect the differences in beliefs that exist.⁶⁶

⁵⁹Bobby Kurnia Putrawan and Pratiwi Eunike, "Islamic Radicalism: History and a Case Study in the Indonesia Context," *Jurnal Theologia* 32, no. 2 (20 Desember 2021): 153–72, <https://doi.org/10.21580/teo.2021.32.1.7906>.

⁶⁰Muhamad Jaeni et al., "From Manuscripts to Moderation: Sundanese Wisdom in Countering Religious Radicalism," *Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama dan Lintas Budaya* 7, no. 1 (30 Mei 2023): 65–76, <https://doi.org/10.15575/rjsalb.v7i1.21446>.

⁶¹Agus Akhmadi, "Moderasi Beragama Dalam Keragaman Indonesia," *Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan* 13, no. 2 (2019): 45–55, <https://bdk.surabaya.e-journal.id/bdk-surabaya/article/view/82>.

⁶²Siti K N Aula, "Peran Tokoh Agama dalam Memutus Rantai Pandemi Covid-19 Di Media Online Indonesia," *Journal Of Islamic Discourses* 3, no. 1 (2020): 125–48, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14421/lijid.v3i1.2224>.

⁶³Arsyad Sobby Kesuma, Abdul Halim, and Nur Syam, "The Religious Politics of Habaib in Surabaya and Bangil East Java: A Socio-Religio-Political Approach," *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 10, no. 2 (2022): 285–318, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v10i2.12090>.

⁶⁴Quraisy Shihab, *Wawasan Islam Tentang Moderasi Beragama*, II (Tangerang Selatan: Lentera Hati, 2020). 2.

⁶⁵Akhmadi, "Moderasi Beragama Dalam Keragaman Indonesia."

⁶⁶Ikhwan Ikhwan et al., "The Dialectic Of Fiqh Understanding And The Female Imam-Khatib Tradition In Balingka, West Sumatra, Indonesia,"

The basic concept of religious moderation is about the importance of implementing religious values while avoiding fanaticism and intolerance, so that life between religious communities can respect each other. The emphasis of religious moderation is to maintain a middle position so that it is always balanced.⁶⁷ Efforts to build harmony in society are also needed to maintain religious harmony based on the principles of tolerance, mutual understanding, and mutual respect for one another.⁶⁸ It should be understood that religious moderation does not mean that we are trying to unite all religions into one new religion, but rather our efforts to understand that differences are inevitable and we must equalize perceptions about each other's religious values in order to create a harmonious society.⁶⁹ The resolution of religious conflicts in social society can be resolved through deliberative policies, one of which is by considering deliberation efforts.⁷⁰

In relation to Serat Cebolek, a leader in modern times should be able to emulate the firmness possessed by Paku Buwana II. A firm attitude by not taking sides with certain camps in relation to the sustainability of many people is an attitude that is very much needed for the Indonesian state. This is because Indonesia as a country with heterogeneous cultures, ethnicities

Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies 12, no. 2 (2022): 313–39, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i2.313-339>.

⁶⁷Meissiandani Ardilla et al., “Penanaman Nilai-Nilai Moderasi Beragama Dalam Bingkai Pendidikan Agama Kristen,” *JIP: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* 1, no. 4 (2023): 629–42, <https://jip.joln.org/index.php/pendidikan/article/view/65>.

⁶⁸Erba Rozalina and Maswani Maswani, “The Harmonization and Religious Tolerance Living in West Java: A Socioreligious Study of Plural Society,” *Hikmatuna: Journal for Integrative Islamic Studies* 8, no. 2 (2023): 186–95, <https://doi.org/10.28918/hikmatuna.v8i2.5975>.

⁶⁹Ahmad Yunani et al., “Diaspora of Balinese Religious and Cultural Tradition in South Lampung,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 21, no. 2 (2023): 411–38, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlka.v21i2.1161>.

⁷⁰M Khusna Amal, “Towards a Deliberative Conflict Resolution? A Reflection on State Inclusive Response to Sunni-Shi’a Tension in Indonesia’s Democracy,” *QIJS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 8, no. 2 (2020): 226–56, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i2.7146>.

and religions has the potential to always have social friction. Plus so far, religious problems in Indonesia have mostly occurred because of the exclusivity between one religious group and another.⁷¹

To be able to prevent social friction due to disharmony between community members, it is necessary to foster a moderate and open religious model.⁷² In addition, attention must be paid to the framing and delivery of religious values that are easily understood by the community. The idea of an Islamist movement that is populist and has a direct impact is more easily accepted by the community. This is because it can be reached by all circles of society.⁷³

Learning from the past history in Serat Cebolek where religious groups polarized each other because of competing truth claims, we should be able to deal more straightforwardly and easily with the same problem in modern times like today. But in reality, we are all still too stuttering and difficult to reduce the polarization that arises in society. In fact, what happens is that we are even dragged into the conflict and exacerbate the polarization problem.

A leader must be able to act firmly and reconcile all elements of society like Paku Buwana II. Just look at when Paku Buwana II gave forgiveness to Haji Mutamakkin and on the one hand prohibited everyone from learning mysticism in the palace environment. Paku Buwana II did not totally erase the teaching of mysticism, he still allowed the teaching but it had to be outside the kingdom. At this point Sunan Paku Buwana II acted in a balanced manner to prohibit and blame Haji Mutamakkin for teaching mysticism, in response to the demands of the ulama alliance in the Mataram Palace. But on the other hand, he still

⁷¹Armada Riyanto, *Kearifan Lokal-Pancasila* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2018). 413.

⁷²Zainuddin, *Moderasi Beragama Di Tengah Pergumulan Ideologi Ekstremisme* (Malang: UB Press, 2020). 73.

⁷³Faisal Riza, "Echoing Syari'ah in City Spaces: The Framing Process and Political Mobilization of the Islamic Movement in North Sumatra," *Ulumuna* 27, no. 1 (2023): 65–88, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v27i1.610>.

allowed him to learn mysticism on condition that it had to be outside the kingdom.

The king's decision to forgive Haji Mutamakkin's mistake is clearly mentioned in the first stanza of Pupuh Dandanggula. The stanza reads:

*"Ririh aris pamedharira ngling, marang Adipati Danureja, kang dadya rerasan kabhe, pinundhut sirepipun, ing samangke karsa sang aji, kang luput ingapura, yen amindho besuk, langara marang sarengat, yekti dewan-ewaning bumi, siyasating narendra."*⁷⁴

[Slowly, delicately and patiently, the words came out when he said to Duke Danureja, "What is a matter of concern to all of you is desired to be extinguished, so it is now the will of the King. The guilty are forgiven, but if there is a recurrence, that is, someone violates the Shari'a (Religion), they will certainly be punished as a laughing stock on this earth, such is the tactic of our King].

Although Haji Mutamakkin's actions to teach mysticism violated royal rules, Sunan Paku Buwana II did not prohibit the spread of this science. The king gave leeway to continue teaching it as long as it was outside the royal territory. As mentioned in Pupuh Kinanti stanzas 38-39th, namely:

*"Lan maning parentahingsun, dhawuhna si uwa patih, kabeh wong sajro nagara, wedana kaliwon mantri, lawan sagung pra sentana, den werata undhang mami. Aja ana ingkang guguru ngelmu kak sajro nagari, muruka jabaning rangkah, ing kana ingsun lilani..."*⁷⁵

[Moreover, I command the *uwak patih* to inform all the people of the country, the *wedana*, the *kliwon*, the *mantri*, as well as all the royal relatives, to make my announcement public, that no one should open a school, teaching the

⁷⁴Hadisutjipto and Hadisuprpta, *Serat Cebolek*. 299.

⁷⁵Hadisutjipto and Hadisuprpta. 293-294.

science of *hak* (religious truth) in this country, outside the jurisdiction of this country..]

This moderate attitude, which means being in the middle stance of Paku Buwana II, should be emulated by the leaders in our country. In recent years, Indonesia has often experienced religious conflicts that stem from the polarization process. For this reason, a leader - whom the Javanese call "Ratu Adil" - is needed as a figure who can bring peace and eliminate polarization in society.

CONCLUSION

This study has explored the Serat Cebolek manuscript which encapsulates a theological conflict between Ahmad Mutamakkin and Ketib Anom. Paku Buwana II, demonstrating the attitude of a moderate leader, pardoned Haji Mutamakkin's actions, albeit with the stipulation that he refrained from imparting his knowledge to the kingdom's populace. This middle-ground approach to the theological clash, serving as a counter-balance between the two factions, exemplifies religious moderation.

In the context of Javanese ethical values, the reading of Serat Cebolek underscores the necessity for a leader to embody the qualities of a "Ratu Adil" in problem-solving. Given Indonesia's pluralistic nature, there is a pressing need for leaders capable of mitigating religious fundamentalism.

However, due to the scarcity of primary data sources, this study has not been able to delve deeply into the philological aspects of the Serat Cebolek manuscript. Consequently, further studies focusing on these aspects are needed. Additionally, the lack of a political perspective has hindered the comprehensive mapping of the disputes presented in Serat Cebolek. To gain a thorough understanding of the text's political aspects, additional research focusing on these aspects is necessary.

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