

3.4. Local Wisdom and the Resolution of Conflict

THE ROLE OF WAYANG AS A MEDIUM FORMATION MUSLIM INDONESIAN IDENTITY (Living Religion by Tradition)

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This paper If we talk Indonesia, Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world. Type of Islam in Indonesia is sufism, particularly monistic theosophy. This is influenced by Ibn 'Arabi tradition. In that time, scholars Islam from Indonesia learn Islam in Mecca and Medina. When they come back to Indonesia they taught Islam. Part of scholar affiliated with Shatariyya order. Some of them develop that order. Besides Shatariyya, there are also other order such as Naqsbandiyah and Qodiriyah. As I know most of them develop in Java particularly in central Java. Many scholars that have role in Islamization in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia are Abd al-Ra'uf an Acehnesse and Yusuf Makassarrese.

Based on Johns' writing, we can see evidence of Islamization especially in Indonesia from scripture entitled *Hikajat Atjeh* a fragment of a panegyric of Iskandar Muda. In Java Ibn Arabi tradition is only one way of participation in the mystical life of Islam in the late sixteenth century. Javanese are interested in sufi. Sufi tradition is also influenced by al-Ghazali's thinking. The more important people that can develop sufism and philosophy in Indonesia is also Ibrahim al-Kurani (1615-1690). For example, Ibrahim look for deep meaning in Hadist and Al-Qur'an (p.52).

If we see, Islam tradition in Indonesia is influenced by Buddhist tradition. Particularly in Javanese, Javanese Muslim are interested in sufism. If sufism is rooted it is come from Buddhist tradition. Indonesia also have many traditions that it come from Buddhist tradition. In this proposal, I want to elaborate Muslim tradition that it is influenced by Buddhist tradition. Muslim in Java is not only influenced by tradition but also influenced by language or term such *puasa*. *Puasa* come from Buddhist term that is *pawasa*. Effort to Islamize Javanese people is noteasy because Javanese people have their own tradition. Islamization in Java is conducted by *walisanga*. This paper examine effort of one of *walisanga* that is Sunan Kalijaga who Islamize Javanese people by *wayang*. The study is descriptive and qualitative research. Type of this article is research paper. This article uses interactive model of analysis.

A. Background

From early centuries, Sivaist Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism, influenced part city of Southeast Asia such as Sumatera, Malaya, Java, Bali and Kalimantan, with both Buddhist monks and Brahmins spreading their beliefs and carrying out Tantric and other rites (Kartomi, 2002: 17).

When Šivaism and Buddhism were adopted by Indonesian courts in the first millennium CE, they developed some unique characteristics in the different locations. For millennia Indonesians have believed that spirits exist in people, animals, plants, traditional musical instruments and other inherited cultural objects and that they and the spirits of the ancestors can

influence the conditions of living. On conversion to these world religions, they eclectically mixed their new convictions with the ancient magical beliefs and practices. Such eclecticism also applied to Indonesians' adaptations of Islam (especially its Sufi variant) during the second millennium CE. (Kartomi, 2002: 20)

Javanese have diverse religious practices and complex social structures. Modification of reflection and social-religious royalties subject often happen on religious beliefs. For example, ancient genesis belonging to another age before the arrival of Islam is one diversity. “Despite the break-up of a holistic Javanese culture, for some Javanese an admittedly archaic myth still solves the meaning of life’s obstacles, dispersing impediments or bad fate” (Headley, 2000: 2).

Javanese-*kejawen*- expression could develop. It can be called as *kota budaya*- the city of culture. Because *gamelan* music floated and dancing was still practiced. In the last view years, *wayang wong* dance theatre was very common but nowadays, this theatre no longer as big as exist. “*Kethoprak* has reached the dead end of *kethoprak plesetan*, a slapstick comedy show reminiscent of the British sitcoms in which every second sentence has to draw the laughter of the audience and where words like before must be obsessively countered by befive”. Javanese or Javanoogy has been portrayed by one of old scripture in Java that is *Serat Centhini* (Mulder, 2006: 216-227).

Javanese relates with relationship with the spiritual, so it is as one of mystical theories and practice (Mulder,1998: 145). In Java, since 19th century there are mixture between Muslim/Islam and Hindu-Buddhist heritage such as *wayang* either *wayang kulit* or *wayang wong*.. *Wayang kulit* is the medium for the exploration of Islamic Javanese identity, bringing meaning and form to the vagaries of modernity (Cohen, 1997: iii). *Wayang* is one of the medium used by *walisanga* to spread Islam.

The story-episodes enacted are not archaic (though they refer to and use characters and situations that originated in the past) but contemporary, addressing real issues of pressing interest to performers, audience members and sponsors. Rather than being in opposition to Islam, Southern wayang is considered to be an art form for dakwah, or Islamic missionizing by its practitioners and consumers. Even in the midst of the drinking and the carnivalesque performance environment, Islamic themes and questions are being enacted in story- episodes (Cohen, 1997: ix).

By quoting North, (1988: 17) Cohen mentioned that iconography is found on *wayang* characters of old Javanese temple reliefs such as the fourteenth century Candi Panataran and suggests that the Cirebon wayang may in fact preserve an older style which later died out elsewhere (Cohen, 1997: x)

Wayang is perceived by puppeteers as a cultural formation with roots in the distant. As quoted by Suseno, since recent centuries ago, Javanese had been accustomed to conceive of religious practices as a means of increasing their inner strength or magic. *Walis* use new approach and associate modified concepts to Islamized Java because Javanese religious thought is complex (Johns, 1966: 50). Javanese people more like in mysticism and it more relate with Hindu-Buddhist tradition. In Islamizing Javanese, *walis* use part of Javanese with changes such as *wayang*. The story of *wayang* that popular in Java is story of Mahabarata war rather than story of Ramayana (Suseno, 1997: 162).

There are several references in examining *wayang*. *Wayang* as culture of Java have some style such as *potehi* influenced by Chinese culture. It mostly exist in Mojokerto, East Java (Stenberg, 2015). Even in Java there is *suluk wayang*. It consists of 9 stanzas in *dhanddanggula* melodico-metre. This is one of a cycle of four *suluk*. Each of them compares a Javanese performing art with one of the four stages in the mystical path to perfection (*sarengat, tarekat, hakekat, and mangripat*- syariat-tarikat-hakikat and ma'rifat). One story tells us that *wayang* is to conceptualize the unity of God and Man (Cohen, no year. 171).

Kind of *wayang* particularly in Indonesia have some genre:

Wayang golek is popular in south-central Java, the others having largely remained court productions.¹⁹ Other forms have developed recently from the *Wayang* tradition, for instance, the *wayang suluh* of the guerillas or freedom fighters. Outside the Indonesian *Wayang* tradition stands the 20th century imported Do-the-hi. Chinese-clad glove puppets perform from Chinese folktale repertoires for the Chinese Buddhist communities on Java.

Particularly China puppet, have three main repertoires: religious, military, and civil. The religious are taken from Buddhist and Taoist sources. The military plays are drawn from history, especially from the ancient wars of the Three Kingdoms. The civil plays are romances, comedies, themes from every-day life, farces, burlesques and also mimes. (75). In Dutch power era, several hundred of puppets is destroyed. Puppets that present in that time are *wayang suluh*, *wayang pantja sila* and *wayang kulit*. The traditional social functions of the Asian puppet theatre are: (1) the magico-religious, (2) the educational, (3) the reaffirming of cultural and social institutions, (4) the reenforcing of traditional ethics and moral standards (Orr, 1974: 77-79) .

B. Mixture of Hindu-Muslim Traditions and Islam

Islam that came to Indonesia is not pure from Arabian form, but it is also influenced by Gujarat and the form is determined by Islamic mysticism. Islamic teachers (*kyai*) and scholars

(*ulama*) have big role in Java. They keep Javanese-Hindu-Buddhist culture because Islamizing Java is not easy rather than Islamizing in other part of Indonesia. First Islamic preachers discovered both the Javanese shadow play (*wayang*) and the *gamelan* orchestra. So, mystical Islamic teaching was joined with Javanese world-view (Suseno, 1997: 35). So, Islam in Java developed with mysticism style. One scholars that developed it is Yasadipura. Then, he made a history of Java (*babad tanah Jawi*) (Suseno, 1997: 36). So, there are mixture of Islam Indonesia. we can see that there are many style of Islam in Indonesia, even some several scholars make different organization because Islam that they receive and perceive different Islam and different understanding.

Until the end of 19th century, the whole of Java was Islamized. Islam in Java is different with Islam in Sumatera. Javanese Muslim in daily practice still mixed with many elements from traditional Javanese religion. although whole Java was Islamized, Javanese Muslim in their practices, more influenced by Javanese Hindu-Buddhist traditions. Tradition that developed into centers of classical Javanese culture are dance, *wayang* and *gamelan* music. In that time, scholars (*kyai*) is assumed as people who has strong magical powers and manage the *pesantran*. Mostly villages had no mosque and only an Islamic official performed ritual functions formarriages, burials, and the *slametan* meal (Suseno, 1997: 37-38).

Shadow puppet and other artistic that integrated with old Indonesian religious beliefs also occur in Banjarese as exemplified in the ancestral invocations. Indonesian Hinduism integrated with Buddhist Sivaist and folk-religious animist. Hindu-Buddhist-linked epics from India. Later, Islam replaced the Hindu-Buddhist religion in the thirteenth century. As quoted by Kartomi, Ricklefs (1981: 13) portrayed that Islam was introduced in Indonesia by persuasion, mercantile pressures and military pursuit. Islam that spread in Indonesia absorbed elements from pre-existing religions, and local Muslim is more influenced by mystical Sufi that it is suitable with Buddhist beliefs (Kartomi, 2002: 21).

Since fourteenth century, the most powerful kingdom in Java is Majapahit. Majapahit is Hindu-Buddhist kingdom. This kingdom believed in Buddhism and Hindu Gods Siwa and Wisnu, so this worship become Siwa Buddha. It claimed control of large areas of Southeast Asia. Majapahit conduct great annual festivities which *gamelan* instruments were played and mask and other dances performed. From last sixteenth century Hindu-Buddhist kingdom at Banjar, Kutai converted to Islam. It is influenced by Demak kingdom (Kartomi, 2002: 21-22). As quoted by Kartomi, Ricklefs (1981: 36) stated that after Muslim power had become established in Java, shadow theatre and *gamelan* music were transplanted from the north Javanese harbour-palace of Demak to Banjar. Muslim state in inland Central Java replaced the

power of Majapahit on half of the sixteenth century. By quoting Saleh, (1983-84: 3) Kartomi demonstrated that the various forms of *wayang* and mask dances spread widely in the Banjar area when Javanese influenced intensified in Banjar under king Amangkurat II of the Mataram Kingdom (Kartomi, 2002: 22).

Furthermore, Kartomi also quoted John (1961: 10-23) to describe that the mystical elements of Sufi Islam, which offers a more eclectic, less austere version of the Muslim faith and, rather like Buddhism, seeks an immediate spiritual experience-seem to have served as a major means of spreading Islam in Java, Sumatera, Kalimantan (including the Banjar area) and beyond. Muslim Banjar conduct the old religio-artistic rituals, music and dances including *wayang gadogan*, *wayang kulit Banjar* and *gamelan* music, the dance of *baksa kambing* (the slow female welcoming dance) and *baksa topeng* (the mask dance) and the dance drama *wayang gung*. Several Muslim-associated forms is conducted in Banjar such as *Hadrah* (Sufi male group singing and framedrum playing), *gambus*, *panting* ensemble music and Javanese *kuda gipang/kuda kepeng* (hobby horse dance and *gamelan*). Until 1991, Banjarese still used costumes Hindu-Buddhist-style and in one hand, local *ulamas* (religious leaders) promote costumes that cover the body and are associated with Muslim style (Kartomi, 2002 23-24).

C. Mystic Synthesis

Mystic synthesis here means encountering between Javanese culture and islamization in Java. According to Ricklefs, mystical *kyai* are treated with great respect in *Centhini* and also Islamic legal and ritual functionaries are depicted. He reflected that those encounter is mode of mystic synthesis. It appears in Javanese society by the later eighteenth century. Mystic synthesis is learned from earlier part of *Centhini* that religious teaching still operates within the general idea of requiring Sufi adepts to adhere to religious law. *Centhini* demonstrate the old and the new in religion and it is drawn in "old-fashioned Javanistic speculation. It is against the more orthodox profession of Islam with complete submission to the law. *Centhini* shows us a synthesis, an Islamic Javanese identity in this way, religion play role in way to heroic adventures (Ricklef, 2006:196). The whole of *Centhini* draws Islamic spirituality. As it is written before, the heroes adventures are symbolized by the call to prayer, by *dhikr* and by attendance at the mosque as mystical instruction.

Analysis of *wayang* is derived from *Centhini*'s explanation by Ricklefs. *Centhini* has shown the dominant mode of mystic synthesis admitted indigenous spiritual forces. One example of *wayang* that exist in Java is Javanese *wayang* puppet character of Gathutkaca that

is made by Sultan Hamengkubuwono VIII prince of Yogyakarta (1921- 1939) (Ricklef, 2006:198).

In Java, *wayang* theater is one of the most characteristic of pre-Islamic Javanese cultural forms. *Centhini* describes how the *walis* of Islam adopted it. *Centhini* tells us:

It introduces Yudhistira of the Pandawa brothers, who is still Buddhist. He is unable to die, but rather is doomed to practice eternal *tapa* (asceticism) at Demak, because he fears to read the magical amulet called Kalimasada, which he has in his possession. He tells him to the *wali* Sunan Kalijaga who takes the amulet and reads it. It turns out to be the *Kalimah Sahadat*- the words or *Shahada*, the Islamic confession of faith. Kalijaga explains that with the mystical knowledge of Islam, one can achieve a perfect death.

Later, according to history, Yudhistira become Islam. He learned with Sunan Kalijaga. The, Yudhistira gives him three *wayang* puppets, (the characters Baladewa, Kresna, and Werkudara). Sunan Kalijaga proceed to make more puppets (Ricklefs, 2006: 199).

Santri birai or *ngelmu dul* is one of another synthesis in Islam and Hindu-Buddhist syncretism. *Centhini* also tells us about practices of mystic cult that is the ways of the Sufi *tarekats*. The hero Amongraga follows the *dikr* practices taught by the Naqshabandiyya and Shattariyya (Ricklefs, 2006:204). We can see from *Serat Centhini* which mixture of Islam and Javanese influenced by Hindu-Muslim tradition is conceivable (John, 1993 :46).

For example, Islam in Central Java live together with many cultural forms of the pre-Islamic tradition primarily the shadow theatre and the *gamelan* orchestra which is played with *wayang* show in some annual celebration. Example of those celebration are such as independence celebration and wedding. Classical tradition. Some scholars and philologist have exercised the pre-Islamic archeological and literary culture represented by monuments like the Borobudur and the retelling in old Javanese poetry or prose of episodes of the Hindu Buddhist epics from the pre-Muslim past. It is one of living tradition of Islam (Johns, 1993: 46). Furthermore, according to John, "It is said that Javanese Muslim are tolerant, and do not exhibit the aggressive characteristics of Middle Eastern Muslims because pre-Islamic beliefs are still strong, the implication being that the Javanese in revealing this dimension of tolerance are not behaving as Muslim at all". One scholars in Java that more concern in spirituality is Emha Ainun Nadjib. He perceived Java as *Serambi Madinah* and Aceh as *Serambi Makkah*.

Indonesia have long history with Hinduism and Buddhism. Hindu-Buddhist tradition came to Indonesia approximately in sixth century. *Wayang* is completed with *gamelan*. Particularly Banjarese *wayang* and *gamelan* were imbued with syncretic ancestral venerating and Hindu-Buddhist meanings.

As described by Kartomi by quoting Mabbett (1993-94: 9) it is difficult to generalize the essentials of Buddhism and Islam. For example, *wayang kulit* in Banjar, it is combines Buddhist with Animist, Hindu and Muslim aspects. In Kartomi's writing, Mabbett (1993-93: 25) wrote that Buddhist linked elements inherent in these art forms include the technique, common in Tantrism.

In that time, scholars Islam from Indonesia learn Islam in Mecca and Medina. When they come back to Indonesia they taught Islam. Part of scholar affiliated with Shatariyya order. Some of them develop that order. Besides Shatariyya, there are also other order such as Naqsbandiyah and Qodiriyah. Most of them develop in Java particularly in central Java. Based on Johns' writing, we can see evidence of Islamization especially in Indonesia from scripture entitled *Hikajat Ajteh* a fragment of a panegyric of Iskandar Muda. In Java, Ibn Arabi tradition is only one way of participation in the mystical life of Islam in the late sixteenth century. Javanese are interested in sufi. Sufi tradition is also influenced by al-Ghazali's thinking. The more important people that can develop sufism and philosophy in Indonesia is also Ibrahim al-Kurani (1615-1690). For example, Ibrahim look for deep meaning in Hadist and Al-Qur'an (p.52).

If we rooted, the mystic synthesis or hybrid tradition between animist Buddhist, Hinduism and Islam in Indonesia is from long history and long relation between Indonesia and India which the origin of Hindu-Buddhist tradition is from there. Hindu-Buddhist tradition came to Indonesia around sixth century while according John's writing, Islam came to Indonesia around sixteenth century. One evidence that Hindu-Buddhist tradition is big in Indonesia in that time is the presence of Borobudur temple. Borobudur is built in ninth century. Hindu-Buddhist tradition already big in Indonesia and most nation of Indonesia already admit as Hindu or Buddhist adherent. Even Indonesia have big kingdom, Majapahit which can control part of Southeast Asia.

Majapahit is located in Java. Most Javanese have their own tradition which is animist. Member of Majapahit kingdom automatically follow Hindu-Buddhist tradition. This tradition occurs around ten centuries. Hindu-Buddhist tradition started in sixth century and Islam tradition started in sixteenth century. So, islamizing is not easy way because they have hybrid tradition. So that is why that *walisanga* used modification of Hindu-Buddhist tradition, primarily *wayang*. Later, *wayang* is popularized by Sunan Kalijaga.

After Islam came to Indonesia, Islamic kingdom emerged and Hindu-Buddhist kingdom is weak. One big kingdom, Demak kingdom spread Islam to another island, Kalimantan (Banjar). Demak kingdom spread Islam with *wayang* tradition. Hindu-Buddhist tradition also

big in Banjar. So after spreading Islam, both Javanese and Banjarese have hybrid in Islamic tradition which is influenced by *wayang*.

D. Conclusion

There are several kinds of *wayang*. It may shape *wayang kulit*, *wayang suluh*, *wayang golek*, and *wayang wong* and Dotehi (China puppet). *Wayang* is one medium that is used by *walisanga* to Islamized Javanese people. *Walisanga* used *wayang* because Islamizing Javanese is not easy. Javanese have long tradition of Hindu-Buddhist tradition. It is started approximately sixth century. This tradition happened around ten centuries. So, *walisanga* modified way to spread Islam. Islam that come to Indonesia is not originally from Saudi Arabia. Islam is brought by trader. So, Islam in Indonesia develop in different way and there are several Islamic styles of Indonesia. one of style is sufism. Particularly in Java, Islam with sufi tradition develop in Java. One evidence is the presence of *tarekat naqsanbandiya and satariyya*. Islam in Java mostly shape in sufi tradition because it is compatible with Buddhist tradition such as contemplation.

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