FACTUAL FORMS OF ISLAM: CHARACTER AND TYPOLOGY OF INDONESIAN ISLAM

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Abstract

This article tries to explain the factual Islam happened inevitably in muslim society. Factual Islam is a form of religious muslims in the world which could be affected by the social and cultural background. It may result in differences between one muslim and another. In this article, the factual Islam is explored in Indonesian Islam. The research explores the characters and the typology of Indonesian Islam. The finding shows that the character of Indonesian Islam is moderate and its typology is accommodating the socio-culture of the society. While the typology proposed by Geertz in this case is no longer relevant, particularly to describe Javanese Islam as an example. Furthermore, in this contemporary era, Indonesian Islam experiences a shift in orientation toward transnational Islam, namely Islam with salafi manhaj. This article is a literature review using the findings related to the theme as the object of study.

Artikel ini berupaya menjelaskan Islam faktual sebagai keniscayaan yang terjadi pada umat Islam. Islam faktual merupakan bentuk keberagamaan umat muslim di dunia yang dapat dipengaruhi latar sosial dan budaya masyarakat. Islam faktual dapat memunculkan perbedaan di antara umat muslim yang satu dengan yang lainnya. Dalam artikel ini Islam faktual yang menjadi kajian adalah Islam Indonesia. Pertanyaan yang ingin dijawab adalah mengenai karakter dan tipologi Islam Indonesia. Kesimpulannya karakter Islam Indonesia adalah moderat dan tipologinya adalah akomodatif dengan sosio-kultur di masyarakat. Adapun tipologi yang dikemukakan oleh

Clifford Geertz dalam hal ini sudah tidak relevan lagi, khususnya untuk menggambarkan Islam Jawa sebagai contoh Islam Indonesia.

Selanjutnya pada era kontemporer ini Islam Indonesia sebagian kecil mengalami pergeseran orientasi ke arah Islam transnasional, yakni Islam yang ber-manhaj salafi. Artikel ini merupakan sebuah kajian literatur yang menggunakan hasil penelitian yang terkait dengan tema yang menjadi objek kajian.

Keywords: *Factual Islam; Indonesian Islam.*

Introduction

Islam is a heavenly religion that descended in the Arab land which was conveyed through the Prophet Muhammad and the Quran which is the main source. The Quran is a revelation from God given to the Prophet Muhammad as a guideline to build the civilization of the people. Then all the behaviors, words and agreements of the Prophet clarify what is contained in the Quran. That is what is called as-Sunnah. When the Prophet was alive, all the problems of the people rested on him, so that Muslims at that time did not have difficulty solving any problems. However, when the Prophet died, the next reference was made to those closest to him who tried to explain the Quran and what they knew from the Prophet.

The problem that arises then is the difference of opinion in explaining and understanding the source of Islam. This difference arises because of an attempt to interpret the teachings of existing social problems. Since the time of the Companions (*as-sabiqun al-awwalun*) this difference has occurred. These differences are reflected in understanding, attitudes, and beliefs. The differences between Muslims can be known from the products of Muslim scholars/scholars, such as fiqh. Fiqh products have many variants/sects. Such as *fiqh Shafi'i, Hanafi, Maliki,* or *Hambali.* In addition to the four large schools, of course, there are other small schools. In the field of theology, there are *Khawarij, Murji'ah, Mu'tazilah, Ash'ariyah*, and so on. Including other Islamic sciences, such as *Ulum al-Quran* which gave birth to the interpretation of the Quran with its many variants, then *Ulum al-Hadith, the science of Tawhid, the science of Sufism* and so on. The product of such thinking certainly gave birth to different religions among its adherents.

The source of role models for Muslims around the world is the same, the Quran and the sunnah. However, the question is why do Muslims have different understandings/behaviors? Does the Quran or the sunnah change its

content/different form? The answer is that the main source of reference for Muslims remains

the same, and does not change anytime and anywhere. In this case, Kadir explained that Islam can be understood as ideal Islam and factual Islam. The ideal Islam is a universal Islam, an Islam that is not bound by space and time. Anytime and anywhere does not change or differ. This universal Islam exists in the Quran and the Sunnah, where the text and content are fixed. This means that there is similarity and stipulation for all Muslims in using the Quran and the sunnah as a source of guidance in religion. Then ideal Islam gives birth to factual Islam. Factual Islam is the response of Muslims to the teachings of the Quran and the sunnah. The response can be seen in the form of thoughts, beliefs and behaviors/attitudes. The response to the teachings is called religiosity/behavior of religious people. Before becoming religious, there is a process involved in religious people in responding to teachings motivated by socio-cultural conditions. This process is called factualization (Kadir, 2003: 3–25). The existence of religious differences is of course due to the factualization of different religious teachings between people in certain regions and other regions.

Factual Islam does not always cause religious differences, because there are points of similarity and constancy in religion that all Muslims almost agree. In this case, Abdullah analyzed and categorized how to understand the teachings of Islam into two groups. First, understanding or discussion that is univocality exists. Second, the discussion is a gradation of form (*tashkik al-wujud*), meaning that there are changes and differences. In terms of univocality of existence, Muslims do not get a striking difference for the meaning of sharia in Islamic civilization, for example in matters of Islamic faith or the pillars of Islam. In this case, Muslims agree that it is no different. Furthermore, on the side *of tashkikul wujud* (gradation of existence) is found in the main purpose (*maqasid al-syariah*) and interpretation (Abdullah, 2012). The point is how the main purpose of sharia is formulated and how sharia is interpreted. In this discussion, of course, socio-cultural circumstances will be involved. Of course, there will be continuous shifts according to space and time to adjust the conditions of socio-cultural problems. At this level, sharia discussions become plural.

Understanding of sharia at the plural level causes many variants of religious understanding and behavior. An example that can be witnessed is the religious diversity between Sunni and Shia Islam. In Saudi Arabia, there is Wahhabi model Islam, in Egypt there is al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. In the Indonesian context, there are NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, Nahdlatul Wathan, and others. Each of

these religions has its own character and is different from the others. These differences in diversity are a form of factual Islam, in other words Islam as an expression of its adherents.

To see the diversity of society as a form of factual Islam, it can be seen from the context of religious, cultural and community life relations. Pranowo's research related to Javanese Islam uses several approaches, namely *first*, looking at religion from a local perspective; *second*, looking at the relationship between the community and places of worship; and *third*, looking at the religious practices of the community (Pranowo, 2011). Mudzhar called it the five symptoms of religion. *First*, the manuscript of the source of religious teachings and religious symbols. *Second*, adherents or religious leaders and leaders. *Third*, rites, institutions, and worship such as prayer, hajj, and inheritance. *Fourth*, places of worship; and *fifth,* religious organizations (Mudzhar, 2011: 13–14).

The character of religion can vary according to the context of space and time. However, there are differences in the context of Indonesian Islam, Arab Islam, and American Islam. This paper does not talk about ideal or universal Islam, but will discuss the level of factual Islam that can be seen from both sociological and anthropological perspectives. The factual Islam that is the focus of this paper is Indonesian Islam. This study is also limited to the characteristics of Indonesian Islam and its typology. To see the typology, this article takes one example of the typology of Indonesian Islam, namely Javanese Islam. This article is a literature review to reveal factual Islam sociologically through several research results in the form of journal articles, books, and dissertation research reports.

Indonesian Islam and the Character of Wasatiyah

On May 20, 2015, PPIM UIN Jakarta received guests from Afghanistan. PPIM as the host introduced Indonesian Islam. After the presentation was over, what then became criticism and questions from Afghan guests was why should there be an Indonesian Islam? If so, it means that there are also Arab Islam, African Islam, and so on. In the guest's view, Islam is the same and there should be no difference between followers of Islam. This shows that Indonesian Islam has not been understood as factual Islam or commonly referred to as locality Islam, which is seen from a sociological or anthropological point of view. Islam like this is of course integrated with local socio-cultural conditions. So, the emergence of Arab Islam, African Islam, European Islam, or Indonesian Islam is an inevitable phenomenon.

The term Indonesian Islam can show another meaning, namely the contemporary meaning of Islam Nusantara which was used as the theme of the 33rd NU Congress in Jombang and became the focus of Azra's study in his book about the network of Indonesian scholars (Azra, 2013a). Understanding the term Islam Nusantara or Indonesian Islam according to Bisri is a form of *idhofah* which contains the meaning of *lam, fii,* and *min*. In simple terms, Islam Nusantara can be understood as Islam that develops in Indonesia, in the sense of 'our Islam' or Islam that we live in Indonesia (Bisri, 2015: 13–14). According to Azra, Indonesian Islam has a different character from Islam in other countries in the embodiment of religion in life. That's why Indonesian Islam has its own Islamic culture. Azra maps Islam in the world into eight parts called *Islamic culture spheres*, namely Indonesian Islam (archipelago), Islam of the Indian subcontinent (Bangladesh, India and Pakistan), Sino Islam (East Asia), Islam of Iran (Persia), Islam of Turkey, Islam of Africa, and Islam of Black (Sudanic Africa/Sub-Saharan, and Western Hemisphere) (Azra, 2015: 1–12).

Furthermore, Azra stated that Indonesian Islam has a long historical journey, since its presence and spread in the Indonesian region (formerly called the archipelago). The socio-cultural aspects of society and certain historical events are the aspects that make up Indonesian Islam so that it has its own character. So, to find out what Indonesian Islam is like, a researcher must know the socio-cultural aspects behind it, historical aspects and political aspects. Indonesian Islam cannot be separated from the socio-history of the Indonesian nation. Interreligious and socio-cultural unity is a process that enriches the Islamic life of the archipelago. According to Gus Dur, this is called the word 'privatization of Islam.' Furthermore, the privatization of Islam is part of the history of Islam both in its home country, as well as in a country where Islam spreads such as Indonesia. This is different from *Jawanization* or *syncretism*. In privatization, Islam only considers local needs in formulating religious laws without changing the laws themselves (Wahid, 2001: 109–129).

One example of Islamic privatization is the products of Indonesian Islamic law, for example KHI (Compilation of Islamic Law), *bahth al-masail*, *tarjih* council, fatwa council, hisab council, and so on in Islamic organizations in Indonesia. In this context, Marzuki Wahid referred to the laws with Indonesian fiqh, namely fiqh that is distinctive and inherent in the *social setting*

of Indonesian society. This kind of fiqh occurs because there is an agreement between the state, society, and the market in determining the construction of Islamic law to be legislated. Indonesian fiqh is basically influenced by the social, cultural, and political background in which *fiqh* is practiced. Fiqh always interacts dynamically with the problems of diverse communities, as in the case of KHI (Wahid, 2014). If you look at the face of Indonesian Islam in the past before the 20th century or what is often called Islam Nusantara—as developed by Walisongo, Hamzah Fansuri, and Hamzah al-Sumatrani, its religious practice has a *Sufistic nuance.* In the political aspect, Islam Nusantara is able to integrate. One of the proofs is the integration of scholars and Sultans in the Kingdom of Peurlak Aceh in the 9th century and the relationship between scholars and Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago (Zada, 2014). Simply put, Indonesian Islam is an expression of the religious diversity of Muslims in Indonesia that has been integrated with the socio-historical context of society.

The characteristics of Indonesian Islam were built from Islam that developed in the archipelago at that time. Islam, since its inception in the archipelago, especially Java, has used a peaceful approach. At that time, in its spread, culture was used as a weapon of da'wah. Wali songo in Java, for example, uses the art of puppetry in spreading Islam. From this root, the character of Islam Nusantara is clear, namely friendly with culture. This is called *wasatiyah Islam.* According to Azra, Indonesian Islam has a character of *wasatiyah Islam.* This character shows that Islam is in the middle, balanced, does not stand at the extreme, and is good in understanding and experiencing Islam. According to Azra, the actualization of Indonesian Islam as Islam *wasatiyah (ummah wasatan)* began from the beginning of Islam entering Indonesia, especially at the end of the 12th and 13th centuries, which took place peacefully. The most obvious actualization of Islam can be witnessed today, in the character of the Indonesian state which proclaimed independence on August 17, 1945.

The nation's founders from nationalist and Islamic groups agreed to make Indonesia not a secular country or a religious country based on Islam. This *wasatiyah* is manifested in Pancasila as *the word sawa',* as the same principles among the nation's children who are pluralistic in all aspects of life (Azra, 2015).

Furthermore, Siradj, emphasized Islam as an *ummah wasatan* which can be seen in the religiosity and da'wah of Walisongo. Walisongo's da'wah method is very friendly to local Javanese culture. Previously, the guardians had

studied Javanese culture first before finally succeeding in coloring Java with Islamic patterns. This kind of da'wah is da'wah that is *bi al-hikmah wa al-maw'izah al-hasanah*, open, accepting the culture, traditions, and customs that already exist in the midst of society, especially in Java.

This kind of da'wah, in the current context, can be seen in the NU kiai. The founders of NU, from the beginning until now and beyond, are committed to continuing and developing the religious diversity of the previous guardians (Siradj, 2007). More than that, Islam is always put forward as Islam *tawassut* (moderate), *tawazun* (balance), *i'tidal* (middle way), and *tasamuh* (tolerant). With this mindset, religion will be an inspiration as well as an aspiration for its adherents, so that religious values are able to color the nation's culture and civilization. Islam does not only speak at the formal boundaries of religion but speaks substantially in all orders of society's life. This includes both the individual and the social, as well as in the relationship to man, the universe and to God, so that aspects of human life become important. This is where Islam comes as inspiration (Siradj, 2012).

Another fact, Indonesian *wasatiyah Islam* can be found in the reflection of Islamic education that has been grounded since Islam entered Indonesia. Islamic education is reflected in surau (Minangkabau), dayah (Aceh), Islamic boarding schools (Java) and madrasas which are the means of transmission of scholars in grounding Islamic teachings. The history of Islamic education first began with the recitation of the Quran, then developed into surau, dayah, and pesantren. This form of education is open and interacts with the community (Yunus, 2008). Pesantren is actually a form of assimilation between Islam and local culture, namely from Shiva-Buddhist education called hamlets (dormitories). The purpose of formatting the dormitory according to Islamic teachings is to formulate religious sociocultural values embraced by the Shiva-Buddhist community with Islamic values, especially formulating the values of Shiva-Buddhist Monotheism (adwayasashtra) (Sunyoto, 2012: 130–131). With this, it is clear that the Islamic education that develops in Indonesia is a form of accommodation and dialogue between different cultures. This means that Indonesia's original Islamic education is one of the creative manifestations of its adherents in developing wasatiyah Islam and in instilling values such as difference, democracy, and humanity. This is in line with Hefner's statement that Islamic education in Indonesia aims to create ideals of democratic principles.

The diversity of Islamic education in Indonesia is in accordance with the ideals of democracy" (Hefner, 2009: 55-105). So, Indonesian Islam as *a wasatiyah* Islam is very open to the context of space and time, including the values of modernism in the current era.

The form of *wasatiyah* Islam of the archipelago society initially started from the accommodation of the Islamic legal system to culture, customs or traditions. This can be seen in the life of the community which is marked by Islamic values which are considered as a beacon that can fill and color human life, both mystical, biological needs, and social relationships. Examples of *wasatiyah* Islam are death commemorations (*mitong dino, matang tenuh, nyewu*), pregnancy rituals, births, marriages, funeral arrangements, arrangements for marital rights, *suro* rituals, and so on. Almost all practices of life of the people of the archipelago, especially Javanese, are based on religious values. This is shown by the many events such as *selametan*, *kenduren* and other rituals (Solikhin, 2010). From this form of religiosity, it appears that there is a life together in society that functions as social cohesion.

Therefore, Kahin is impressed that Islam in Indonesia has high religious tolerance, thin fanaticism, and openness to new ideas. This kind of Islam is not found in other Islamic countries. The Indonesian Islamic character occurs, especially in Java, because of the cultural accommodation of the local community that has long been embedded in Islam (Kahin, 2013: 61).

Javanese Islam as an Example of Indonesian Islam

After describing Indonesian Islam and its character, this section will outline its typology. However, in this description, the author limits the part of Indonesian Islam that develops in Java to only. In another sense, understanding Javanese Islam as part of Indonesian Islam.

Before Islam entered the archipelago, especially in Java, the dominant religion of the community was Kapitayan-Hindu-Buddhist. Based on historical data, Islam began to enter the archipelago in the early 1st century Hijri or 7th century AD. However, Islam began to merge with Javanese culture in the 12-13th century AD. For Java, according to Azra, one of the first spreaders of Islam was Maulana Malik Ibrahim. He and Raden Rahmat, known as Sunan Ampel, succeeded in privatizing Islam in Java after Raden Rahmat gained a position in the Majapahit kingdom

and Islam gained momentum from the palace. In addition, in Ampel Raden Rahmat established an Islamic scientific center that made the Islamization process in Java more effective. Then Islamization in Java was followed by Sunan Gunung Jati who lived in the Cirebon sultanate. Maulana Ishak then also invited the residents of Blambangan, East Java, to convert to Islam. Islam has been difficult to develop in the indigenous society of the archipelago for almost eight centuries. It was only then in the 12th and 13th centuries that Islam accelerated, especially in Java (Sunyoto, 2012: 46–55).

The spread of Islam in Java began in the northern coastal region which had a relatively open maritime culture. At least, because the North Coast region became a center of meeting between different cultures, the trading business became the catalyst. From here, the character of Javanese Islam began to be formed, which for example can be seen from the culture *of cosmopolitanism* and *collectivism* (Zamjani & Faishal, 2014).

After Majapahit was on the verge of collapse, Islam at that time increasingly developed into a community religion. To ground Islam to the community, Walisongo created an organization called *Bayangkara Islah*. This organization seeks to intensify the efforts of Islamic education and teaching into an organized plan. One of these efforts is to build mosques and Islamic boarding schools in each region. Furthermore, efforts to accelerate Islam are continued by incorporating Islamic values into all forms of community culture, art, morality, customs, science, and so on related to community life. Thus, Islam is more accepted and becomes a ritual of society. The peak of this success was when the Islamic Kingdom of Demak Bintara was established (Sunyoto 2012: 335–384; Jonah 2008: 238–242).

Regarding to the typology of Javanese Islamic religion, Geertz found three typologies, namely santri, abangan, and priyayi. According to Geertz, the type of santri is aimed at Islamic people/groups who are obedient and diligent in worshipping in accordance with pure Islamic teachings. This group stays away from behaviors that smell of *shirk* and *heresy*, such as salvation and belief in mystical things. The student group had a strong influence on relatively wealthy traders and farmers. The student group is a very exclusive group. They are intolerant of Javanese arts and culture. This is the reason why the student group is a minority.

Then the abangan type is defined as a farming community that likes to perform rituals such as salvation, believes in mystical and

magical things such as subtle spirits. The orientation of the abangan community is more animistic than the student community which tends to be Islamic. An abangan person is commonly called an ID card Muslim, that is, a person with an Islamic ID card, but does not obey the teachings of Islam. They tend to like arts such as ketoprak, ludruk, and others. Furthermore, the priyayi type is aimed at the descendants of blue blood/nobles and civil servants. The religious tradition of priyayi is characterized by thick Hindu and Buddhist elements, especially in viewing the world, ethics, and social behavior. The way of dressing of the priyayi is neater and more modern, different from the students or abangan. The priyayi community has fewer existence than students and abangan. However, priyayi people are able to influence other societies by utilizing *ideological-cultural* leadership (Geertz, 1976: 1–7).

Geertz's concept clarifies the category of Javanese Muslims who cannot unite between students and abangan. It is as if there is a clear distance between students, abangan and priyayi. The three will not be possible for students to be abangan at the same time and or priyayi as well as students or vice versa. The question is whether the typology is representative enough to describe the religious characteristics of the Javanese Muslim community?

Contrary to Geertz's typology, other researchers such as Pranowo found something different. According to him, Geertz's typology is not appropriate if used to describe the religious diversity of Javanese Muslims with existing facts. When viewed from a historical perspective. In the history of the Indonesian nation, socio-political conditions greatly influenced the development of social changes, so that polarization between students and abangan occurred, especially in the new order era. This should not be a generalization in the context of students and abangan. Historical facts also show that there are certain times that make the student community moved to politics where, according to Geertz, students are not involved in the world of politics. Pranowo also reflected on the concept of Geertz's santri-abangan that did not apply in his family life. Pranowo showed that his father was a devout Muslim but also a person who liked art. In addition, Pranowo's father also plays a role as the leader of a political party, namely the PNI (Indonesian National Party). In the eyes of his neighbors, his father is also considered a priyayi (Pranowo, 2011). So, if you look at Geertz's concept of santri, abangan and priyayi, each of which has a different meaning, does not apply to Pranowo's father, because in a father, besides there is the figure of a santri as well as a priyayi and abangan.

In addition to his father's case, Pranowo also mentioned many other people who were similar to his father, such as the famous puppeteer Ki Anom Suroto, Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, and Haji Misbah from Solo. They also play a dual role as priyayi as well as students and abangan. So according to Pranowo, if the concept of santri, abangan and priyayi Geertz is applied to Javanese society, there will be a large number of other Javanese people who neglect them. Pranowo shows that rural communities see the problem of religiosity more as a dynamic rather than static, so Geertz's typology is not enough to understand the diversity of Javanese society (Pranowo, 2011: 1–7).

The same thing was also stated by Ricklefs. He refuted Geertz's theory that it was very difficult for Javanese people to become true Muslims. Similarly, Van Leur said Islam was only 'a thin and fragile porcelain glaze.' According to Ricklefs, the frame of mind used by Geertz and Van Leur is based on the concept of indigenous Javanese culture that dates back to pre-Islamic times that continue to hinder the process of Islamization. According to him, the frame of thinking is wrong and the old fundamental prejudices are no longer acceptable (Ricklefs, 2014). Another argument that shows a difference of opinion with Geertz is that there is a mistake in analyzing the religious diversity of Javanese society by not using the full understanding of Islam. Geertz used a reformist understanding of Islam, so this ignored the other side. "It is impossible to assess religiosity without an analysis of local customs/traditions accompanied by religious textuals, because local traditions are rooted in a larger corpus of religious texts" (Woodward, 2008: 81).

Furthermore, Pranowo explained that Javanese Islam can be seen from three periods. First, the pre-independence period, second, the independence period of 1945-1965; and third, the period from 1965 to the present.

The pre-independence period is divided into two, namely Islam in the pre-colonial period and the colonial period. In the pre-colonial period, based on his research in Java, more precisely in Magelang, the religion that developed earlier was Buddhism. This religion even leaves a great civilization that can be witnessed to this day, namely the Borobudur Buddhist temple, which was built in the heyday of Saelendra. "Islam entered and developed in Magelang around the 15th century when the Islamic kingdom of Demak Bintoro triumphed" (Pranowo, 2011: 119). The pattern of religiosity in the early days of the development of Islam in Java is certainly not far from the religiosity of the early spreaders. "As in other regions, the Islamic style at that time was still colored by the elements

of the previous religion, namely mystical in its religious content" (Ricklefs, 2007: 1–11).

Islam influenced by Buddhism can also be seen after the Javanese war, where after the colonialism entered Magelang, the teachings that developed were mystical teachings with the dimension of Islamic rituals. An example of this kind of teaching is practiced by Ki Surojoyo, one of the troops of the Diponegoro commander. After the Java War in 1825-1830, Ki Surojoyo found the village of Tegalroso as a safe place to take refuge from the encirclement of the Dutch army. It was in this village that Ki Surojoyo played a role as a religious teacher for the community. The teachings emphasized are for example dhikr in the middle of the night remembering God. "In addition, a citizen can be considered Islam if he has declared the creed even though he has not performed the five-time prayer" (Pranowo, 2011: 160).

Furthermore, the Islamic character of the one mentioned above was very visible during the Japanese colonization, when Romusha was treated as a forced laborer. The people of Tegalroso were known as dissidents against the Japanese, and felt saved from *Romusha* forced labor or other disasters. The people of the village, even though they have not obeyed the five-time prayer, are very diligent in following the recitation of Kiai Syiraj and Kiai Dalhar because at the recitation there is a joint prayer to ask for mutual salvation. These two kiai are considered by the community to have *karamah*, so they do not want to miss the recitation. Pranowo described the religious diversity of the community in this period with the word *dereng ngelampahi* (not yet done) or *takseh tebih saking agami* (still far from religious teachings). That is, they are Muslims but not yet pious (have not carried out religious commandments perfectly), and are close to the kiai as their spiritual guide.

Religiosity in the form of *expending* and *religious* intolerance can be considered as a form of acculturation of Hindu-Buddhist culture with a new culture, namely Islam. This pattern of religious diversity contains the nuances of the old culture that are still thick which can be considered as a process of cultural change that is not frontal or contradictory. This kind of cultural change is an accommodation and integration of old and new cultures. This concept is called cultural acculturation (Koentjaraningrat, 2010: 91). This approach is used by Walisongo in Islamizing Javanese society, so that in the spread of Islam there is no bloodshed and prioritizes peace and family (Sunyoto, 2012: 130–131).

Furthermore, during the independence period until 1965, there was no difference in the status of the community. The abangan community, as well as students and priyayi, both live in common, because there are only Islamic communities that are pious and not yet pious people. An example is Pak Prapto, he is a PKI leader in the village of Tegalroso who is also close to the kiai. Mr. Prapto even asked Kiai Subeki Parakan for prayer practices. Then there is Mr. Parto Geni who is a former member of the PNI (in Geertz language, such a person belongs to the abangan group). "Parto Geni also went to Kiai Subeki to ask for prayer practices like those carried out by other student communities" (Pranowo, 2011: 122).

From the above facts, Geertz's typology regarding abangan, santri and priyayi does not apply. At that time, the public generally thought that religion and politics should not be mixed. At that time there were three major ideologies that developed, namely Islamist ideology, the parties were Masyumi and NU; Communist ideology, the party is the PKI; and nationalist ideology, the party is PNI. From this, it is obvious that people who are Islamists and practice religious teachings prefer the Masyumi/NU party. Then those who think that there must be a separation between religion and politics vote for the PNI/PKI. Therefore, Hefner stated that Islamization in Java is inseparable from socio-political conditions. The proof is that when the political situation changes, the religious diversity of the Javanese people will return to the truth. Geertz's typology at that time did not apply due to political pressure, so reform in formulating the religious diversity of Javanese society was urgently needed (Hefner, 1987). Azra also agreed, that the Javanese Muslim community has gone through difficult times since the early spread of Islam, Dutch and Japanese colonialism, the independence period, the chaotic government of President Soekarno, the totalitarianism of the Suharto government, and contemporary democracy. Going through various changes, the Javanese Muslim community is now an extraordinary example in terms of increasing Islamic religiosity. This realization also refutes the notion that most Javanese Muslims are abangan or nominal Muslims (Azra, 2013b).

In the period of independence until 1965, the Javanese people actually lived a multicultural life. Multicultural means the acceptance of differences. In Parekh's term, it is also called *cultural diversity* which means cultural diversity or cultural differences. "However, from these differences, it is not a distinction

between one group and another, but the community can understand and accept each other" (Parekh, 2005: 1–20). In this context, the Javanese people, especially those who are the object of Pranowo's research, live in a single unit or *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Even though they have different political ideologies, they feel that they live in togetherness and equality, there is not a separation of society as Geertz distinguishes, namely between students, abangan, and priyayi.

The Formation of Javanese Muslim Religion

In the previous explanation, it has been described about religiosity. That religiosity is an outward expression of religious people. For Javanese Muslims, religiosity can be seen and shaped through three things. The first is through mosques, the second is religious rituals and the third is Islamic educational institutions, for example Islamic boarding schools.

Mosques as places of worship for Muslims are part of the symptoms of religion, so studying mosques can find out the form of religious diversity of the community. Based on his research, Pranowo sees that the role of mosques is very important, because mosques are places of transformation and change in society. The mosque functions as a medium for the transformation of an Islamic society that is less pious to a pious Muslim. Before 1965, Tegalroso village already had one mosque and three prayer rooms. After the 1965 incident, in which the PKI was accused of being a government insurrectionist, citizens who became former PKI followers flocked to learn to recite or learn to pray. Since then, the house of one of the former PKI followers has been turned into a violation. "The society that was originally *loud or very religious* has changed to pious or obedient Muslims" (Pranowo, 2011: 130–131). Another evidence of Islamic transformation can be seen in the village of Calonan (one of the villages in Magelang), where the people are NU residents. In 1968 in the village, Madrasah Ibtidaiyah was established on waqf land from residents. This madrasah is used as a transformation medium to increase the piety of the community. This happens thanks to the manifestation of the kiai's view that mosques and madrassas are places that make humans good. The following is one of the views of the kiai that has always been the grip of the community, a mosque can be likened to a rice warehouse, while a madrasah is described as a rice field. The rice warehouse will not function if there is no rice stored. In madrasas, students will be educated to be good Muslims who will come to the mosque. If

one mosque is insufficient, of course another mosque will be built or another mosque will be built (Pranowo, 2011: 133).

Religious rituals are part of spiritual activities to remember God which has an impact on social cohesion. In this case, Pranowo described one example of religious ritual, namely *mujahadah*. *Mujahadah* is a ritual of remembering God, for example reciting the tahlil sentence over and over again solemnly. For the people of Tegalroso*, mujahadah* is carried out in congregation. Originally this ritual was started by Kiai Khudori, which was then practiced at the Islamic boarding school in Tegalrejo. Then this ritual is practiced throughout the village area, usually on Friday nights. In Tegalroso, the person who pioneered this activity was the head of the hamlet in Calonan village (Pranowo, 2011: 161).

Mujahadah is carried out in people's houses in turn, usually the placement is at the request of residents who have wishes or who are doing salvation. For example, commemorating the death of his family, or congratulating his family on happiness. In this way, *mujahadah* and salvation become one. Although the form is salvation, the substance is *mujahadah*. This is what Geertz said is the tradition of abangan people carried out by students. This concrete evidence shows that Geertz's concept in the practice *of mujahadah* does not apply. *Mujahadah* has become a medium for Islamization or increasing the piety of the community. Apart from *mujahadah,* recitation is also a new medium for the ummah in increasing piety. Studying literally means studying. In this case, the recitation in question is to study together the religious sciences (Pranowo 2011: 149–155). *Mujahadah* and recitation are clear practices as religious behavior from the basis of Islamic teachings. So, tradition and religion are very related, not to mention what is called Geertz syncretism (Sila, 2011).

In addition to mosques or religious traditions of the community, Islamic boarding schools can also show how the form of community diversity as a form of Islamic educational institution. Pesantren is also part of the religious phenomenon, because there is a strong influence of the religious traditions of the community from the pesantren. The pesantren case exemplified by Pranowo is the Tegalrejo Islamic boarding school in Magelang. This pesantren was initiated by Kiai Khudori in 1912. The pattern that develops in this pesantren is a mystical pattern based on Javanese art. This mystical pattern not only develops religious sciences but also develops Sufism practices. This artistic style was continued by Kiai Muhammad, the son of Kiai Khudori to replace the role of his

deceased father. Kiai Muhammad, who is often called Mbah Muh, has a love for local arts such as *jatilan*. This can be seen in his house which is filled with images of puppets. On certain days, for example khataman al-Quran, Mbah Muh often invites the art of jatilan. With this kind of evidence, it can be said that Islamic boarding schools and Javanese arts are interrelated.

The mystical dimension of the pesantren developed in Tegalrejo village is the practice of *mujahadah* and *riyadhah*. The practice of *mujahadah* is carried out after maghrib and at midnight. The practice of *mujahadah* is intended as training and spiritual struggle. *Riyadhah* is also the same, which is intended as an effort to practice the piety of students such as fasting the sunnah or reading certain practices (Pranowo, 2011: 204–218).

In addition to these two religious activities, students also believe in karamah kiai/wali. Kiai who is clean in heart with the efforts *of mujahadah* and *riyadhah* will get an advantage from God. People who get this advantage means that they are close to God and of course their prayers are *mustajabah*, so the students really hope to be prayed for by the kiai/wali. A phenomenon like this happened to mbah Hasan Muslim, a guardian who has passed away. During his life, Mbah Hasan Muslim was known to have advantages, so even though he had passed away, residents continued to commemorate him by doing a haul every year or visiting his grave. Another phenomenon is Mbah Mangli who has many guests who come from various regions, because he is known as a wali who has advantages. Some of the guests who came asked for prayers to be cured of their illnesses, to succeed soon, and others (Pranowo, 2011: 219–234). The mysticism that exists in this pesantren has also developed in the wider community. One of the proofs is the large number of religious books that have mystical content, such as prayer books" (Pranowo, 2011: 277–300).

According to the language of Gus Dur, pesantren as explained above, is a subculture of society that has its own cultural peculiarities. Pesantren and the community are interconnected and influencing. The pesantren also creates an *alternated way of life* for its residents, namely the students. Furthermore, pesantren became a way of looking at the life of the wider community (Wahid, 2001: 133–138), as in the case of the pesantren in Tegalrejo. Pesantren as a place for community development in social and spiritual affairs (Polh, 2006).

Islam *Manhaj Salafi*

      In addition to what is described in the characteristics and typology of religion above, in the last three decades a new pattern of religion has developed in Indonesian society. This pattern emerged as part of the influence of Islamic globalization from the Middle East. This global Islam can be called Transnational Islam in Indonesia, especially in Java. This global Islamic religious pattern is not like local Islam (Javanese Islam-Indonesian Islam), because this current Islam uses its own method, namely *salafi manhaj*. Din Wahid described the development and typology of the religious diversity of groups that practice salafi after visiting several *Salafi* Islamic boarding schools in Java, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi (Wahid, 2014). The same thing was also explained by Noorhaidi in his dissertation on Laskar Jihad Islam and its militancy after the fall of the new order/Suharto era (Noorhaidi, 2005).

      The term *salafi/salafism* is a movement to purify Islamic teachings to return to the main source, namely the Quran and as-Sunnah. In practice and belief in carrying out Islamic teachings, *Salafi* followers are required to carry out religious practices using *salafi manhaj*. The *manhaj* is the third source after the Quran and as-Sunnah in Islamic law for the *Salafis* group. *This manhaj* refers to the works of the great figures Ibn Taymiyah and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, namely the books al-*'Aqd al Wasati, al-Tawhid*, and *Usul al-Thalathah*. "Then in the contemporary era, the figure who is a reference is 'Abd al-Aziz b. Baz and Muhammad Nasir al-Din al-Albani" (Wahid, 2014: 17–53). This *Salafi* group is prohibited from doing ijtihad itself but refers to the source which is *tauqifi*.

      The emergence of *the salafi* movement in Indonesia in the contemporary era is part of the globalization of *salafism* from the Saudi Arabian government. This *Salafi* ideology is deliberately exported by Arabs to Muslims around the world. Some of the efforts made to socialize *the manhaj* are the provision of educational scholarships to Arabs, the construction of mosques, the publication of books, magazines, the construction of Islamic educational institutions, and the development of *salafi* teaching. The pattern used in this development is through networks, groups, and educational institutions. This movement is supported by large funding from the Middle East, especially for the existence of Islamic foundations or educational institutions. The funding sources are, for example, from *the Kuwaiti Charitable Foundation*, *Jamiyyat Ihya' al-Turast al-Islam* and *The Qatari Sheikh Eid Charity Foundation*. The *salafi movement* is very effective for strengthening the da'wah network, for example through print media, radio, the internet,

book publications, recitation in mosques, and others (Wahid, 2014: 17–5). This is also mentioned by Noorhaidi related to the globalization of Middle Eastern/Saudi Arabian Geopolitics Islam (Noorhaidi, 2005: 29–32).

The strategy of spreading/developing *the salafi movement* is carried out through three things, namely the development of da'wah networks, the development of groups, and the development of educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools. The development of the da'wah network carried out is to voice *salafi* da'wah through radio, TV, magazines, book publications, social media, newspapers and internet media. Then the development *of salafi groups/*congregations is carried out through the creation of organizations, parties, and congregations. Furthermore, the development of educational institutions by establishing *Salafi Islamic boarding schools*, integrated schools, and universities is also carried out.

Islamic boarding schools or educational institutions organized by *salafi groups* are different from Islamic boarding schools with salaf/*salafiyah* teaching as is the case in Indonesia. Salaf/*salafiyah* (traditional) Islamic boarding schools always adhere to the yellow book and old traditions; and the understanding developed is *aswaja* (Bruinessen, 1995; Dhofier, 2011; Aly, 2011). While *salafi pesantren* very clearly refers to the salafi ideology/*manhaj* as explained above. The curriculum adopted by *salafi pesantren* is the curriculum of Islamic boarding schools in Yemen, namely *Darul Hadith* founded by Shaykh Muqbil in Damaji Yemen. This curriculum uses *the mulazamah* method. The materials taught are religious sciences and general sciences for daily life, such as mathematics and language. This curriculum is generally adopted by the rationalist *Salafi purist* group, although there are some that are inclusive with the national curriculum. This is a new form of Islamic education in Indonesia in the style *of salafi manhaj* (Irham, 2016). According to Duderija, education developed with *salafi manhaj* is called *neo-traditional salafism*. The pattern of understanding developed for the teachings of the Quran and as-Sunnah is textualist. This kind of understanding, according to them, gives birth to fundamental religiosity (Duderija, 2010).

The typology *of salafi* in Indonesia is divided into three variants, namely, first, *salafi puris*, second, *salafi haraki*, and third, *salafi jihadi*. The three variants can be distinguished through their attitude towards acceptance or rejection of government policies. The *Salafi jihadi* variant is a *Salafi* group that disagrees with the Indonesian state policy. The state ideology that is believed to be true is based on *sharia*. To realize this, they

always reject and fight the government, such as bombing in the name of *jihad* to enforce the state based on religious law. *Salafi jihadi* is different from *salafi haraki*. This movement has a form of movement that does not agree with the ideology of the state, but does not carry out attacks. "The *haraki* movement could be one step away from becoming a *jihadi movement*" (Wahid, 2014: 271–276).

The most dominant *salafi* movement in Indonesia is the *salafi puris* variant. This movement always voices back to the Quran and as-Sunnah, then avoids religious practices that smell of *shirk, bid'ah, superstition*, and *superstition*. This movement is divided into three, namely rationalist, cooperative, and *tanzimi*. The rationalist movement is more exclusive. This movement negates itself to organize and join a party. Then the cooperative *Salafi* movement is more inclusive, namely open to the Muslim community outside its group by joining the party and accepting government policies. The *salafi tanzimi* movement is considered a *salafi* who creates his own group or organization to voice his da'wah. Such a lifestyle is also found in *Salafi groups* in Sweden. The ideology of purifying Islam has always been emphasized by this movement. A person who does not agree with him is not considered in his group, even if he is a fellow Muslim (Olsson, 2012).

In the context of Indonesia, the *salafi manhaj movement* is very contrary to the local (mainstream) socio-cultural current, especially those related to state politics, such as the rejection of Pancasila, and acting exclusively. This is in contrast to factual Islam in Indonesia, which from the beginning has been very tolerant of differences, upholds humanity, and respects democracy. Muslims in Indonesia should not reject, let alone rebel against the ideology of Pancasila, because Islam and Pancasila are not contradictory. Muslims must also not deny Indonesia's pluralistic and diverse socio-cultural conditions. Islam upholds the values of humanity, culture and civilization (Maarif, 2009).

Conclusion

Based on the description above, this article can provide a conclusion that factual Islam is an inevitability that occurs in all Muslims in the world. Factual Islam has different characters and typologies according to the factors behind Muslims in the process of growing and developing in certain areas. In this case, Indonesian Islam

is one of the examples of factual Islam that has *a wasatiyah character* and an accommodative typology with socio-historical and socio-cultural conditions behind it. In understanding the typology of Indonesian Islam, for example Javanese Islam, a comprehensive perspective is needed by looking at the social setting of the community, not as Geertz did. Then, in this contemporary era, a small number of Indonesian Muslims have experienced a shift in orientation where the typology tends towards transnational Islam, namely, *salafi manhaj Islam*.

There are at least two points that should be cited together, especially in understanding the religious diversity of the Muslim community. The first point is to understand the religious diversity of the Muslim community by not only using one perspective, because if so, it will ignore the actual conditions, for example the typology made by Geertz (1976) in reading the religious diversity of Javanese Islam. In this case, Pranowo provides a new paradigm that needs to be considered in understanding the religious diversity of the Muslim community, especially in the Javanese-Indonesian society. The paradigm is:
a) treating Muslims (Javanese) as true Muslims regardless of their degree of piety; b) understanding religiosity as a dynamic process rather than static; c) differences in the manifestations of religiosity in Muslim societies that must be analyzed with different emphasis and interpretation of Islamic teachings; d) because there is no priesthood in Islam, the Muslim community must be positioned as an active person not a passive person in the process of understanding, interpreting, and articulating Islamic teachings in daily life; and e) historical, socio-cultural, political and economic factors, as factors that underlie the process of forming a distinctive Islamic tradition (Pranowo, 2011).

The second point is the shift in the orientation of Indonesian Islam due to the flow of transnational Islamic globalization. *Wasatiyah* Islam as the main character of Indonesian Islam, especially Javanese Islam, will face new challenges when facing global Islam with *salafi manhaj*. Islam with the character of a global current should prioritize the purification of Islam, even more extreme rejection and rebellion against the ideology of the Indonesian government. This Islamic character is far different from mainstream Islam and the character *of salafi manhaj* Islam so that it can erode the existing *wasatiyah* character. The Islamic typology *of the salafi manhaj* itself is diverse but has a common point of view, namely textualist.

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