

“Angajawi”, or, On Being Muslim Nusantara: The Global Argument for Islam(ic) Nusantara

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DOI : <http://dx.doi.org/10.31291/hn.v8i1.478>

Abstract

The article is an examination of practices, such as the transmission and movement of ideas and knowledge, by which Indonesian Islam or what is called Islam(ic) Nusantara comes into being as a distinct civilizational body, and then considers the ways in which these practices claim a place in a wider Muslim societies. “Angajawi” (being Muslim Nusantara) is a strategic term to convey these practices, while, at the same time, to look closely at the way they constitute the vitality and resilience of Islam(ic) Nusantara cultural riches among the citizens of Muslim world. The method followed in this article is firstly to track down the flow of ideas from Jawi or Nusantara as they were brought about by Indonesian agents of trade, knowledge and pilgrimage to the Holy Land since earlier centuries of the coming of Islam to Indonesia; and then, secondly, to draw our attention to the worldwide Muslim reception of these ideas as the creative energy and qualities of Indonesian Islam in dealing with the problems of humanity. Furthermore, the meaning of “Islam Nusantara” needs to be clarified so as to provide a clear comprehension of the globalized qualities or core ideals of “angajawi”.

Keywords: angajawi, Islam Nusantara, history of Islam, Indonesian Islam

*Di dalam mathba’ah dimasukkan dia
Supaya berhamburan seluruh dunia*

(So it’s coming to be printed in the publishing house
So as to widespread globally to the world)

--- *Perjalanan Sultan Lingga 1894* (The Peregrinations of Sultan
Lingga-Riau).(Proudfoot, 1993 : 52)

The Importance of Being “Jawi”

Many who write about the Islamization of the Archipelago has typified Nusantara within the framework of “Oriental” culture in which the dominant picture represents Islam in Indonesia as marginal to the centers of genuine, authentic Islam. Even, for some pupils of orientalists, Islamization of Nusantara or *Jawi*—as people of Arabia called it—is considered not perfect wherever they found the traces of Wali Songo (nine saints) in local traditions (Nasution, 1992:vol 3). If they found something new, creative or *ijtihad* of any kind in their institutions or their texts, they narrowed it down to a pejorative tone of “*un-Islamic*” or “*anti-Islam*”! (Laffan, 2002: 259 ; Loir, 2009, 2013), Almost for their part the identity of *Jawi* belongs to a passive, uncreative, marginalized subject lacking free will and wilful courage to constitute the meaning of the globalizing Islam to humanity (Drewes, 1955 : 284).

The main point in this article is that Nusantara is not simply a representation held up by orientalists as the display case in a museum. "When you display something, you wrench it out of the context of living life and put it before an (in this case, European) audience", writes Edward Said on the orientalist representation of the Orient which depends upon the silence of the Other (Viswanathan, 2001:41). We realize that each human culture, like each language, is a whole, capable of accomodating within it the wide varieties of human temperament, and that learning another culture, as Islamization process, is like learning a second language. As people build their current culture out of pieces of the old and live out their material conditions in new ways, so their world takes on new configurations. The configurations give the appearance of stability and timelessness, but they are only momentary as people realign and force movement. The forces prompting realignments come from people learning and choosing and, perhaps more often, struggling to learn and choose over time. From this understanding of culture in the making, there is some creative free will and wilful courage on the part of the Indonesian people to constitute, on the instant, the meaning of the situation of Islamisation of Nusantara.

Furthermore, as the article argues, the identity of *Jawi* presents Islam as an active components of Nusantara's religious life exerting a powerful influence in the minds,

feelings and aspirations of the people, while at the same time it constitutes one of the best examples demonstrating the dynamism and the potentiality of Indonesian civilization, providing them with the strength and resilience to build the world anew in freedom, dignity and security.

This article concerns the movement of knowledge and ideas within Muslim world, examining the role of ulama-teachers of Indonesia and their students of many nationalities, while, at the same time, pictures the eddies of news, information and knowledge flowing down the Indian Ocean route from Nusantara to the Holy Land (*al-Haramain*, Mecca and Medina), carried onward by Indonesian traders, seekers of knowledge and pilgrims, and then articulated by outsiders as their construction of identities. This whole body of practices is arguably what we tend to call "*angajawi*".

The term "*angajawi*" (being or going Nusantara) serves as strategic framework for the study of global transmission of ideas and knowledge originating from the ulama of "*ahlu-l-Jawi*" or "*ahlu-l-Jawah*" channelled throughout other parts of the world, especially to their fellow Muslims. Earlier witness to that creative practices comes from Ibn Bathuthah, a 14th-century Maghribian renown traveller, who visited Bengal (India) and its surroundings in 1334 A.D. In his masterpiece, *Rihlah Ibn Bathuthah*, Ibn Bathuthah already saw "*ahlu-l-Jawah*" communities proselytizing Islamic religion among the pagan people of Barahnakar or Barah Nagar (Arakan, in

nowadays Myanmar) at the time (Aryan & Al Qashah, 1987:628).

What does *angajawi* really mean? *Angajawi* is a verb formed from noun *Jawi* or Nusantara, refers to the vast Indonesian archipelago that stretches across the tropics from Sumatra in the west to Papua in the east. It is a region characterized by immense geographic, biological, ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity.

The verb is coined by the text of *Babad Tanah Jawi*, an eighteenth-century Javanese text but incorporating a much older material from sixteenth century northern coast of Java. The text runs as follows:

Wontên drêwis saking tanah ing Atas Angin angajawi, anama Sèh Raidin, adêdunung wontên ing Ngampèl Dênta, lami-lami kesah alêlampah malih, sarêng pêjah dipun pêtak wontên ing Pamalang."(Meinsma & Nijhoff, 1874 : 30)

(It was told that there was a *dervish* [an expert on sufism or an ascetic (E. J. Brill, 1986-2004,vol.2:164)] from the lands above wind [Arab-Persian countries] *angajawi*, named Syekh Raidin, studying and living in Pesantren Ampel Denta [the school of Sunan Ampel, Surabaya]. After that he further wandered in Java, seeking esoteric knowledge, until he died in Pemalang [at northern coast of Central Java]).

The text indicates the great position Pesantren Sunan Ampel Denta have had as the center of learning and scholarship in fifteenth century Nusantara which attracted a great deal of people, even from Arab-Persian countries, to study there

Ampel Denta or Ampel Gading located at the old town of Surabaya called Kampung Ampel. According to *Hikayat Lembu Mangkurat* or *Hikayat Banjar* (Ms. BL Add 12392), f. 43r, Denta or Gading refers to the name of *Gading* tree inhabiting the location when firstly opened up by Sunan Ampel for building pesantren and early Muslim settlement in 15th century.

One *darwish*, as the story goes, came from “*tanah Atas Angin*” (lands above wind; namely Arab-Persian countries) to the lands below wind (“*al-bilad tahta-r-rih*”, as people of Arab-Persian countries called it (Tibbetts, 1979)), or Nusantara, and, then, went to Java to pursue Islamic learning and stayed at Pesantren Ampel in Surabaya. The way he lived as being *Jawi* or *angajawi* for this process represents one of major lines of intellectual tradition among Muslims that will help to illuminate not only the nature of religious and intellectual relationships between Malay-Indonesians and Middle Eastern Muslims, but also the contemporary development of *Jawi* ideas in the Muslim world.

That is to say, *angajawi* signifies intricate networks of Nusantara vessels channeling stream of life enlivening the entire Muslim body while our religious-intellectual heartbeats give rhythm to this flow in tune with the dynamics of the body. In similar way being *Jawi* carries people along and distribute them to all parts of the world and infusing life into it. Being or going *Jawi* means articulating

relations between human identities, that functions as window or device for enlightenment, letting the Nusantara's interior filled with light and providing those outside Nusantara with information and ideas on what happens in the inside and the outside as well. It clearly signifies a shared knowledge which would be recognized by participants of any nation as part of global humanized culture. The meaning-construction of this *angajawi* is already pictured clearly by the eighteenth century Surakarta poet, Kiai Yosodipuro I, in his voluminous *Babad Giyanti*: "*nyênyunari niskara sèsining bumi; kang nyata lan kang samar*" ([*Jawi* ideas] radiate over the earth like the sun, illuminating all that is in the world; that which is manifest and physical [*nyata*] and that which is hidden and spiritual [*ghaib*]) (Bale Pustaka, 1937-1939:vo.14).

From "*Jawi*" to "*Angajawi*": A Notion of the Expanding Islam(ic) Nusantara world

Hence I will illustrate major lines or layers of intellectual tradition which substantiate the core ideals of *angajawi*:

First of all, *angajawi* involves using and speaking *Jawi* language (*bahasa Jawi*) by non-*Jawi* people as if it is their second language. *Jawi* language consists for the most part of the Malay along with its integrated loanwords from Arab-Persian and different Nusantara languages. One of early

eighteenth century Dutch scholars, G. H. *Werndly*, pointed out the position of "bahasa Jawi" or "bahasa bawah angin" which is already used in the world trade during the reign of Malacca sultanate in fifteenth century as one of "the languages of the cultured world, much like Latin in Europe." (Werndly,1763:xxxvii) Francois Valentijn, another eighteenth century renowned Dutch writers, also paid tribute to this same fact when he wrote around 1725 that Malay could be understood from Persia to the Philippines (Valentijn, 1724-1726 :vol. 5. 310).

The familiarity with *Jawi* language among Muslims of different nations consecutively led into the popularity of the world of Nusantara which had become immediately accessible to an Arab Muslim citizen living in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries age of commerce. It has placed Nusantara as one of the potentially undisputed centers of original Islam, and put aside in terms of cultural creativity the peripheral position it has geographically, while making it too drawn nearer to the inner center of Islam.

Let's take a closer look at the fourteenth century *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai*, then quoted in the sixteenth century *Sajarah Melayu*, to set in motion the first trajectory of *angajawi* to take shape globally:

It is related in the hadis [saying] of the Prophet Muhammed, that he said to his companions, “In the latter times men shall hear of an island under the wind (*negeri bawah angin*), named Samutra; as soon as this shall happen, go and convert it to Islam, for the island shall produce many Waliyullah, or persons of gifted piety” (Leyden, 1821:66; Hill, 1960: 2).

Two brief points can be deduced from this Malay brilliant text. Firstly, it's for the first time that Nusantara is to be upheld as part of the centers of Islam, and not a peripheral one, in the context of Islamization during the periode between the tenth and twelfth centuries. It is indicated in the construction of Samutra (Al Attas, 2011) as the object of the Prophet Muhammed prophecy and, as its repercussions, the mission sent directly on his command from the holy land Mecca to convert Semutra to Islam; and from it emerged Darul Islam. The latter epithet signified at that time the strategical position Semutra Pasai have had as it became an emerging important center of Islam in the fourteenth century, religiously, culturally and intellectually which is equal to other centers of Islam in Arab countries. The second point refers to the cultural creativity of Nusantara in terms of the religious authenticity of Semutra's Islam which, in the above-mentioned prophecy of Prophet Muhammed, “shall produce many Waliyullah”, as it would establish the crucial role of the Wali Songo in the next few centuries at one side (discussed later) and the significant contribution of other Walis from different countries at the other.

Thus, the contribution of “other Walis” from different countries is another layer of *angajawi*, which is the identification with *Jawi* identity, including its ideas and culture. This second relation of *angajawi* is also called identity by *nisbah* (relation). Shihabuddin Ahmad asy-Syarji az-Zabidi (d. ca. 1487), for instance, wrote mentioning of the term *Jawi* in a fifteenth-century collection of Sufi biographies, *Thabaqatu-l-Khawwash*, as follows:

Abu Abdullah Mas’ud bin Muhammad al-Jawi, [spelt] with *jim* and *kasr al-waw*, was once known as a great and famous shaykh in the city of Aden [in Yemen] and surrounding areas. He was one of the greats, a syekh and jurist of the people of Uwaja [also in Yemen]. He was a colleague of the great jurist Ismâ’il al-Hadramî, who benefited all and whose turban was a blessing to their souls. He [al-Jawi] was a master of character and upbringing, from whom a great many of the greats benefited, including the Syekh Abdullah bin As’ad al-Yafi’î and others. Syekh al-Yafi’î mentioned him in his history and praised him greatly, saying in recognition of him that the aforementioned syekh [al-Jawi] was: The famous saint, he of true breaths and unprecedented miracles, exalted talents and radiant dignities [*dzu-l-anfas ash-shadiqah wa-l-karamat al-khariqah wa-l-mawahib as-saniyyah wa-l- maqamat al-jaliyyah*]. (Az-Zabidi, 1987 :341)

The same Syekh Abu Abdullah Mas’ud bin Abdullah al-Jawi was also mentioned by Syekh Yusuf an-Nabhani, a nineteenth century Syrian ulama, in his well-known book, *Jami’ Karamati-l-Awliya*; by Hamka in his book, *Tasawuf, Perkembangan dan Pemurniannya* (1976), and by Hawash Abdullah in his *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara* (1980). But, still, there is no further

evidence as to the identity of this named *al-Jawi*. As Michael Feener points out in his article mentioned above, Syekh Abu Abdullah may or may not be a Nusantara. But given his *nisbah* or appellation, he must have had at least some connection with the substantiated identity of being *Jawi* or *angajawi*.

The significant contribution of these *nisbah*-identified Walis lies at their role as “connectors”, i.e. people with a special gift for bringing the world together while identifying themselves as being *Jawi*. They help disseminate a *Jawi* idea or a trend or a piece of *Jawi*-related news travel through a population. For they have as wide a circle of acquaintances and disciples as people like Syekh Abu Abdullah Mas’ud mentioned above. Their importance is a function of the kinds of people they know more than simply the number of people they know. Syekh Abu Abdullah Mas’ud’s biographer, Ahmad az-Zabidi, in particular is one of that kind of people who made the sufi master knowable across the ages.

Consequently, on the third layer of *angajawi*, we find it as a distinct school of thought. This characterized *Jawi* school in Islamic studies has been rendered by Arab authors as “*ibarah Jawi*” (expression and discourse of *Jawi*), for instance, in the manuscript LOr 5691 (17)/Ms KBG 101/PNRI, dated 1186 H., pp. 183-90, containing an explanation of *La ilaha illallah*. The author of the text, Abdusysyakur Ali as-Sami’,

presumably the pupil of Syekh Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. 1690, one of the renowned seventeenth century scholars of al-Haramain), writes this “*ziyadatan min ibarat al-mutaqaddimin min ahli-l-Jawi*” (as a supplement to the school of early generation of *Jawi* authors) (Voorhoeve, 1980: 461). In the next centuries, one of the twentieth century Arab great writers, Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad (d. 1964), in his book, *al-Mar’ah fi-l-Quran*, referred to Syekh Nawawi al-Banteni al-Jawi’s (d. 1897) *Tafsir Marah Labid*, as his *ibarah* calling the author “*asy-Syekh al-Jawi*” (the true *Jawi* master) (Al Aqqad, 2013: 125).

At this level, “*ibarah Jawi*” or *Jawi* discourse also includes promotion of “*kitab Jawi*”, i.e. books used in religious study written by *Jawi* ulama or their disciples in Arabic and Nusantara languages. Promotion included penetration achieved through the multiplication of texts in print. The books comprised compendia of law, guides to prayer and ritual, popular guides to dogma and the pillars of Islam, texts for devotional use, instruction in the recitation of the Qur’an, popular Islamic literature on heroic and romantic themes as well. The productivity of print of *Jawi* books was unprecedented. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, lithographed Qur’ans, digests of law, *tafsir* and the like in Malay, Javanese and other Nusantara languages were being printed in Bombay (nowadays Mumbai, India),

Singapore, Mecca, Cairo and Istanbul. Several Malay-Javanese books by Syekh Abdushshamad al-Palimbani (d. 1832), Syekh Arsyad al-Banjari (d. 1812), and Syekh Muhammad Saleh Darat Semarang (d. 1903) in Islamic studies, to name a few, were printed in Bombay, Cairo and Singapore. These books were carried across the archipelago aboard seasonal native sailing craft, and passed along the informal networks linking Muslim teachers and global centres of learning. As unexceptionable as such works may seem, the effect of their sudden wide dissemination through print was momentous. It impelled Muslims of different nations towards a better-informed Indonesian Islam understanding of the syariat and other tenets of Islam (Pfoufoot, 1987: 1-11).

There is another, fourth layer of *angajawi* as expanded from the previous one: being one in 'ilm (Islamic knowledge), namely, as being a student to *Jawi* masters in one circle of intellectual networks. *Sajarah Banten Rante-rante* and its Malay version, *Hikajat Hasanuddin*, from around 17th century testified to that position. As the above-mentioned Pesantren of Sunan Ampel Denta became popular, the Holy Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him came into Syekh Nurullah's (then Sunan Gunung Jati, one of the well-known Wali Songo) dream while studying somewhere in Medina or Cairo (Jan Edel, 1983: 141):

Isun Nabi Muhammad lan sira anak putu nisun, lungaa sira ing Desa Pase, ana ingkana sawiji saking umat isun, arane Datu Bahrul, lan angambil sira saking ilmune, darapon wuwuh ing sira, lan saking Pase sira maringa Jawa, ingkana ana umat isun, minangka rowang ing sira anyalini agama kalawan agama Islam, ingkana sira mukima.

(One night the Prophet Muhammad came in his dream saying to him: “Nurullah, I’m The Prophet Muhammad and you are my grandchildren [one of my descendents]. Go unto Pasai which is my people where there is one learned scholar named Shaikh Datuk Bahrul from whom you shall gain knowledge so as your learning will take predominance. From Pasai henceforth you should go to Java [Ampel, Surabaya, at the time] where there are my people and my descendants with whom you study and go propagate Islam among the [Javanese] people, and then you should take residence there).

The same dream by one saint of Wali Songo is also expressed in the meetings of the ulama in Kawatan, Surabaya, in 1925, prior to the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). As told by KH. As'ad Syamsul Arifin (d. 1990) of Situbondo, one of the founder of NU, in one religious gathering in the 1980s, there was a scholar who expressed his opinion in the meeting saying: “I find the text of writing history from Ampel which states: ‘When I [i.e. Sunan Ampel] resided in Medina, I dreamed of meeting the Prophet, saying to me: “Bring this Islam to Indonesia [i.e. Nusantara]. Because in his birthplace in Arab lands they are not capable of implementing the Islamic syariah. Bring it to Indonesia!’” .

In this regard, there is a story of Haji Rasul or Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (d. 1945), as told by his son, Buya Hamka, in his book, *Ayahku*, confirming this kind of *angajawi*:

One day his teacher, Syekh Ahmad Khathib al-Minangkabawi (d. 1916), told one of his favorite pupils, Haji Rasul, to go teaching at the Grand Mosque of Mecca (al-Masjidi-l-Haram). However, after several days one of the Meccan muftis came unpleasantly to him and discourage his teaching badly from the Mosque. "I was perplexed," he said in his notebooks then retold by Hamka, "Although many came to teach at the Great Mosque, their stock of knowledge was less superior than mine. Alas, they are altogether Arab (as the only teachers)! Or *Jawi* people (Indonesians) themselves happened to be the only disciples of those Arab teachers."

Later on Haji Rasul went to his teacher telling him what already happened. "O my beloved son," the teacher burst out laughing, "You don't know the secret. It's part of their jealousy [to us]. You are discouraged from teaching at the Mosque because you are my disciple. The story will go in different ways as you happened to be one of his [e.g. mufti's] students. You will be encouraged to teach unhinderedly. This is our struggle my son! We are people of *Jawi*; they are Arabs. They felt arrogantly superior and more entitled than us. They disrespected us, presuming we are nothing, we know nothing at all, even in teaching kitabs in Arabic language. ... From the beginning of my teaching [at the Grand Mosque] I was too bullied vehemently with any kind of harsh words. They looked down upon us unwilling to see us more advanced, until urging their people to stone me while teaching [at the evening] and my lamp was broken by it." (Hamka, 1982: 60)

The same story was also narrated by the *Jawi* ulama-founders of Madrasah Darul Ulum of Mecca in 1934 in responding to the voices levelled against the superiority of *Jawi* teachers (Baso,2015). The big issue involved in these

two cases, I think, is the ultimate unhindered *Jawi* struggle or, as paraphrased by one true *Jawi* master, “*our struggle*”, to uphold the core ideals of *angajawi* as embodied in the norms of Islam as *rahmatan lil’alamin*.

Din Arab Jawi: The Core Ideals of “Angjawi” as Disseminated to the World

The core ideals of *angajawi* lies precisely at the construction by Wali Songo of “*Din Arab Jawi*” rendered nowadays as “Islam Nusantara”. Wali Songo means literally the nine saints or the council of nine saints or the earlier propagators of Islam in 14th-15th centuries Java. Some of them descended from the process of *angajawi* as we have seen above in the case of Sunan Ampel and Gunung Jati. They helped define the greatness of Nusantara alongside with the supremacy of Islam, preoccupied with building the egalitarian, ethical and non-stratified society as their determination springs out of the very roots of their history and their civilization. And, what Wali Songo tried to achieve immediately afterwards is to identify on an ideologico-epistemological level the cultural elements of Nusantara’s fundamentals on which to make Islam and Nusantara intermingled one with another to produce a new body then named Islam Nusantara or *Din Arab Jawi*. These cultural elements are featured as following: adaptive, flexible, tolerant, mutual respect, durable in times of any type,

collective or communal (*guyub*), consensus-oriented (*musyawarah*), brotherhood and friendship as one big family (*kekeluargaan*) and mutual aid or cooperation (*gotong royong*). That is what Sunan Giri Syekh Muhammad Ainul Yaqin had to do when he first coined for this brilliant epistemological crafting the term *Din Arab Jawi*.

The term insofar as I know emerged particularly in the text *Serat Surya Raja*, the late 18century Jogjakarta kraton-based manuscript. The A.J. 1700/A.D. 1774-composed text is already discussed at length by Merle Ricklefs in his *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi* (Ricklefs, 1974: 7). But one thing is lacking in Ricklefs's account, which is the identity of *Din Arab Jawi* mentioned in the text. One version of this text refers to the inauguration and crowning of one Javanese king with the title "*Kimudin Arab Jawi*" (Lantini, 1996: 106) (the Upholder of the Ideology *Din Arab Jawi*) by one waliyullah named Raja Pandita Giri, Sinuhun Giri or Panembahan ing Giri (variations of Sunan Giri honorary titles in the text). *Kimudin* consists of two Arabic words: *kimu*, used imperfectly in line with the calculation of syllables in the context of Javanese *tembang* or song, from *qaimun*, upholder; *din* means religion of Islam; while *Jawi* means Nusantara, not limited to Java. So, it may safe to deduce from this that the term *Din Arab Jawi* used by Sunan Giri is identical with Islam(ic) Nusantara.

In addition to bringing out the significance of geographical regions as far as schools of law were concerned, *Din Arab Jawi* brings out the importance of Nusantara’s leadership in the knowledge of Islam and its disciplines, leadership which led to the proliferation of the many schools of Islamic traditions. By the conscious adaptation of the material achievements of non-Islamic people – as Imam al-Ghazali or Ibnu Rusyd had done in the past each from the context of their Persian or Andalusian background respectively – Wali Songo had to produce a new genuine contribution to the world.

As al-Ghazali was really aware of the superiority of Persian civilisation in the political ethics which is to be used as a vehicle to advance and enrich Islamic norms of politics (known *fiqh as-siyasah*) as *rahmatan li-l-amin*, Wali Songo really did set up a religiously justified epistemological framework to the great human achievements. We do not question whether science or philosophy comes from the West or the East, the emphasis is how far that human genial products help us to live a full *mashlahah* (goodness) in the world and to survive in the next future. From here we can understand then: even if both Imam al-Ghazali and Ibn Rusyd as a great philosophers the world has known had incorporated Greek philosophy and logics into the lives of Muslims, but it does not make them give away the great four Sunni *madzhab* traditions, Syafi’ite and Maliki respectively.

As much as *Bismillah* upon slaughtering in the absence of which animals slaughtered is unlawful to eat, following the Sunnite *madzhab* is the intellectual force that makes Muslims feel free to go making the great in the world. Even for desert Arabs, by following *madzhab* they turned their keen minds and clear brains to achieve perfection beyond the wildest dream.

Well, as the question goes as to why al-Ghazali did what he did for the context of Persians or Ibn Rusyd for his Maghribis, the greatness and long-term viability of Muslims civilisation actually originated from its intellectually crafted flexibility of using and adding together of the separate elements – like aforementioned combination of knife and *Bismillah* – to form a common set. That is “*wujud buda nanging rasa Islam*” (Although non-Islamic are that old traditions in its forms, but its essence is Islamic), as Sunan Kalijaga affirms it as the underlying principle of integration, excavated from the depths of mental domain or social practices of Nusantara (Soeroto, 1951).

So far as the arguments goes, the next question is: what is the superiority of Nusantara that could be the object of *angajawi* by people of other nations, that can be used as a vehicle to enrich Islam and to advance human civilisation?

Here comes the importance of Syekh Jamaluddin Kubro, his son (Syekh Ibrahim Asmoro) and his grandson (Sunan Ampel) in the new trajectory of Islamization:

Berkahe sang Waliyullah; ingkang lenyep lampahneki; sarira tinam tunir; ing Cempa wus padha mati; seger maning manah iki; klawan tur kan kirang banyu; wareg sarwa pinangan; tineka sarwa kumelip; sarupaning kekewan tur padha manak.

Saking paulatane gampang; wong dagang padha dum bathi; suka maring kang pinuja; pan ya akeh ing nemahi; ing sagrenjeting ati; karomat Batara Agung; Sang Samsu Tambres ika; gesang kawarasan iki; tan katekan sasalad lan pancabaya.

Wis suci sajrone desa; Ki Juragan desa muslim; tur slamet sami sentosa; tipang taun sinungsung iki; isine Cempa sami; anderek darusing [darwish] iku; lawan amantubillah.

Panggonane para Ahli; Sunah lan Jamah masjid agung gumawang ... (Baso, 2015)

(With the blessings [*barakah*] of waliyullah Syekh Jumadil Kubro and his son, old established practices, even crops, died out and perished in the land of Champa [present-day southern Vietnam]. And, then, after the coming of Waliyullah, everything came to life again [in Champa, then Nusantara]. They had plenty of water. Anything planted grew well. Food is tasty and everyone eat well. All cheerfulness comes in to everyone life. So as are wildlife and animal; they are easy to breed.

That is a good place to live in. Its people are happy to be traders and make good fortune. They are all keen to pray and observe religious duties thanks to their piety and devotion to the Almighty God.

As for Syekh Samsu Tabarez, he has received the blessing (*karamah*) of God, being well and looking great, and has no difficulties or all sorts of danger.

All this village became a blessed, Muslim one. Thanks are due to the effort of the Master-Wali [*Kiai Juragan*, i.e. Syekh Jumadil Kubro] who brings in security and prosperity to the country. Three years had passed since the people of Champa

followed the teachings of this ulama-waliyullah (*darwish*, sufi master), with their sincere devotion to Almighty God, in carrying on the tradition of Islam of mainstream Ahlussunnah Waljamaah. Mosques stood proudly in the country).

The text indicates the dynamism and the potentiality of Nusantara civilization as object of *angajawi* during the fourteenth-to-fifteenth centuries Islamization: the concept of *barakah* (blessing, grace). *Barakah* (Arabic) or *berkah* (Malay, Javanese) literally means in Arabic *ziyadah fi-l-khair*, increase in goodness. When you confer on someone or something *barakah*, that he/she or it has *barakah*, you give it the added qualities he/she or it already has but more specific, even powerful in terms of its spiritual or religious significance. Where *Jawi* or Nusantara is said to be endowed with the qualities of *barakah*, there are two points in case. *Firstly*, the people of Nusantara have already attached to Islam along with all its tenets and organizations of mainstreaming Ahlussunnah Waljamaah from which flows the *barakah* of the Holy Prophet's descendants; *secondly*, Islam – or, more specifically, the identity of being Moslem – at the same time helps them to empower the dynamism and their civilization and to enrich their cultural resources as well so as to bring out the best of what they can do to contribute positively to the world by promoting Islamic

norms and values of universal humanity, i.e. *Islam rahmatan li-l-amin* (Islam as blessings for all) (Ilyas, 2011: 188).

From construction of *Jawi* as *barakah*, comes *angajawi* for embodying “*Jawi’s barakah*”. As our text testifies, after the fall of Baghdad in 1258 many Arabs began to turn their eyes to eastern parts of the globe, like Southeast Asia and China, looking for human societies with a high level of cultural and civilisational development; while Islam in Arab countries experienced decline and decadence. Syekh Jumadil Kubro, one of the Holy Prophet family descendants, were disappointed with the fourteenth century puritan religious propagandists, i.e. the likes of Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328), in Arab lands after the invasion of Mongol. The latter propagated as a compensation of today’s defeat the return to the pristine Islam devoid of all its *madzhab*, rational and tasawuf streams. He felt that it was not an alternative model of religiosity nor is the bright future of Islamic civilisation. Instead, Syekh Jumadil Kubro paid a respectful attention to *Jawi* or *Nusantara* as a global option for Islam to be revived once again with pride and dignity among the human civilisation. “*Seger maning manah iki*” (everything came to life again).

Hikayat Banjar, an seventeenth century Malay text from South Kalimantan, under the influence of Sunan Giri (Rass, 1969:155; Baso, 2018), makes Nusantara's *barakah* more explicit in such a way that *Jawi* is seen as abode of *barakah*, as an object of *angajawi*:

Baik kamu lari dari nagri Kaling [India] ini mencari tempat lain. Adapun lamun kamu hendak bardiam pada tempat lain dari sini, cari tanah itu maka tabuk kira-kira sapancaluk di tengah malam itu.

Ambil sekepal tanah itu: lamun rasanya hangat serta bau harum, itu baik tempat berdiam, banyak barkatnya pada bumi itu: barang ditanam menjadi, penyakit pun jauh, orang dagang banyak yang datang, sateru pun jauh, sukar ia mengingirakan manyarang, barkat tuah tanah itu; banyak makmur, sedikit yang sukar.

(It is better for you to flee from India and find yourself another home. Now if you wish to go and live elsewhere, in your search for such a country, at midnight while arriving at that country you must dig a hole, only deep enough for you to be able to touch the bottom with your hand. Take a clod of earth, and if feels warm and smells sweet, that is a good place to live in. It will be a blessed country, and anything planted will grow well. Disease will also be rare, foreign traders will come in great numbers and enemies will keep their distance; they will find it hard to contrive an attack owing to the country's good *barakah*. Most thing will flourish and few will prove difficult). (Rass, 1969 : 231-237).

The expression "*banyak barkatnya pada bumi itu*" (that country will be blessed profoundly) describes considerably the strong attachment to the land of *Jawi*, strengthened as abode of *barakah*, land of peace and prosperity, on whose name they fought relentlessly

against enemies from within and without (as in the case of Sunan Gunung Jati against the early 16th century penetrating Portugese power in Southeast Asia), in which they eventually died and buried. Although they are from the undisputed Arabic origins of Holy Prophet descendants, they help develop a religious backdrop on which the argument for Nusantara stands. For their part, the best way to understand and practice Islam as *rahmatan lil-alamin* ought to be conducted from the *Jawi* civilisational storage, using our rich cultural resources of different local languages, in such a way that they are part of us, being one with our people, in identity, solidarity and personality.

As *angajawi* improved in its strength, Nusantara were effectively endowed with the qualities of *barakah*: we prospered, our economy moving around, foundation of our nation established and we knew universal ethics. *Angajawi* with its four layers – as described above – essentially means to a greater degree an essential condition allowing the realization of our supreme ideals on the global stage and promoting the perfection of all. And to this point one of *Jawi* master of 19th century global intellectual networks directed his unsurprisingly creative prayer (Fathani, 19912: 1-2):

Bahwa dijadikan segala negeri mereka itu bendaharanya ilmu dan perladungan kependayan. Dan membukakan segala mata anak jenis mereka itu kepada memandang cemerlang kebijakan dan handalan supaya ada kemegahan bangsa Melayu antara segala alam, dan tertinggi nama mereka itu antara Bani Adam. Dan bertambah-tambah kelebihan ulama mereka itu atas segala ulama. Dan bertambah nyata agama mereka itu atas segala agama.

(May God give all the Malay countries [Nusantara, *negeri bawah angin*] the treasure-houses of knowledge and the shelter of intellectuality; to open the eyes of its fellow citizens to the brilliant wisdom and the excellencies of their country, so as to endow Malay nation with greatness among other nations and with superiority of its name among all humankind.

May God bless Malay's ulama and put them surpassing all ulama of other nations; and their religion be the most distinguished among all religions of the world).

Conclusion

“*Angajawi*” (being or going Muslim Nusantara) is the term used by the Nusantara texts to convey the appeal of Islam(ic) Nusantara among the Muslim communities. Indeed, in some cases, *angajawi* happened to be a new way of constructing identities in facing global transformation, as we see in one of 15th-century Yamani ulama. This testifies strongly to the vitality of Nusantara as a global driving force to promote Islam as the blessing for all mankind (*rahmatan li-l-alam*). That potential is reflected in the practices of speaking *Jawi* language, transmission of *Jawi* ideas and knowledge, distribution of *Jawi* texts, and the transfer of knowledge between *Jawi* ulamas in the Holy Land of Mekka-Madinah and their students of different nationalities. These

practices or layers of intellectual *angajawi* remarkably constitutes the distinct civilizational body that characterizes the discourse of “Islam(ic) Nusantara”.

Afterwards, the article needs to clarify some confusions about the term of “Islam Nusantara” as recently becomes the object of contention dan public discourse among elitists and common people as well. Islam Nusantara is clearly the *ijtihad* or intellectual endeavor of Indonesian ulamas to promote and deliver the best they have to advance human interests in the light of Quran and the Prophet traditions. And *angajawi* is the mechanism by which Islam as religion and civilization comes to the world as *rahmatan li-l-alam*, as blessing for humankind, strengthened mostly by the qualities of Nusantara’s “*barakah*” as the core ideal of *angajawi*.

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Ahmad Baso

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