



## Upholding Religious Moderation through Local History and Culture: A Learning from Cirebon and Surakarta, Indonesia

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### **Abstract**

The aim of this research is to analyze the model of religious moderation in Cirebon and Surakarta and to analyze the contribution of local history and culture in the development of religious moderation in both regions. This research uses a qualitative approach with an analytical descriptive design. Data collection was carried out by interviews, observations, document studies. Data analysis includes reduction, display, verification and interpretation. Finally, the validity of the data through triangulation and deeper observations. The research results show that religious moderation is not an empty concept at the implementation level, especially at the local level such as Cirebon as a pre-colonial region (center of Islamization) and Surakarta as a region formed during the colonial period with relatively sensitive political turmoil including religious dynamics. Both regions also show the large role of local history as capital of experience, religious dynamics and religious models that develop in a region, including in the context of developing religious moderation. Finally, religious culture, which is a product of the cultural sense that developed in Cirebon and Surakarta, has a role in the context of value references and models of religious moderation, at the same time it is also an important capital in efforts to build religious moderation.

**Keywords:** *History; Culture; Religious Moderation; Cirebon and Surakarta*

### **Introduction**

One of the crucial issues after political reformation in Indonesia in the last 1990s is the strengthening of religious radicalism which often leads to acts of violence and terrorism in the name of religion (Djafar, 2018). In this context, the development of religious moderation becomes a necessity. However, the development of religious moderation cannot be separated from the context in which religious moderation will be developed (Suharto, 2019). Various factors including history and culture and even demographic aspects are very important to pay attention to. For example, the development of religious moderation in Aceh will be different from that in Bali, as well as in several other regions. In other words, the concept of religious moderation in its implementation does not come in a vacuum

without paying attention to complex dynamics, especially since Indonesia has been a nation with diverse historical experiences, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious from the inception.

Historically, Indonesian society is a religious society (Akhmadi, 2019). With such long religious experience, it can be said that this nation also has historical capital related to relations between religious communities. This long history of religious life then becomes a kind of local wisdom in the context of ideal patterns and models of religious life. However, after the political reformation, many conflicts involving religion emerged in various regions of Indonesia, such as in Maluku in 1999 (Safi, 2017), which also had a broad impact on religious life in various other regions in Indonesia. This is why it is important to explore the history of religious life in each region, apart from being a source of local wisdom, as well as best practice and the main capital in developing religious moderation.

Meanwhile, in the cultural context, Indonesia has a variety of cultures combined into a large and complete cultural painting and is often labeled as "national culture" (Muzakki, 2019), especially legal culture which is a whole system of values and attitudes that influence the law (Mahanani, 2019). Law is closely related to culture (Asri, 2018), because law itself is a cultural product. Culture will continue to change according to developments over time and human dynamics are born in different cultural processes (Rahardjo, 2010), including in this case the culture of the people of Cirebon and Surakarta.

Another crucial aspect related to Cirebon society is culture which transforms into social aspects which sometimes appear in other forms (Humaedi, 2013). The crucial aspect that exists in Surakarta society is the community's ability to maintain social and religious harmony in the midst of a multiethnic and multicultural society (Purbasari & Suharno, 2019; Wahid et al., 2023). In the political order of regional government, the two cities have a history of a royal system that still exists today. The continuity of the kingdom in Cirebon and Surakarta emphasizes the king and palace as the epicenter of cultural power that is accepted by all groups and is able to bring unity in a diverse society.

Looking at the picture above, of course an interesting thing to study further is how the historical and cultural relationship in Cirebon and Surakarta is linked to the development of religious moderation. This becomes increasingly important considering the fact that Cirebon represents a typical of coastal areas, while Surakarta represents inland areas in the context of a unique model of cultural and religious relations. However, both were formed through the process of Islamization and institutionalization of Islam through the Islamic kingdom of Cirebon and the Islamic Kingdom of Mataram, as well as the center of the Islamic movement at the beginning of the 20th century and the radical Islamic movement through the 2004 Cirebon police bomb incident and the *Jemaah Islamiyah* (JI) network through its main figure, KH Abu Bakar Ba'asyir from *Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School) Ngruki.

## **Methods**

This type of research is field research which uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive analytical research design which aims to explore the contribution of history and culture in Cirebon and Surakarta in forming attitudes of religious moderation (Merriam, 2002; Sugiyono, 2014). Data collection techniques were carried out through interviews, observation and document study (Gill & Johnson, 2008). Data analysis techniques are carried out in several stages, namely data reduction, data display, data verification, and data interpretation (Busetto et al., 2020; Miles & Huberman, 2018). Data validity techniques by means of triangulation and deeper observations (Robson & McCartan, 2017).

## **Results and Discussion**

### **A Concept of Religious Moderation in Indonesia**

Since 2019, the Indonesian Ministry of Religion has introduced the concept of religious moderation as an ideal attitude that must be upheld and carried out by religious communities (Tim Penyusun Kementrian Agama RI, 2019). Many conflicts involve religion. These conflicts are allegedly caused by intolerant attitudes and actions shown by some religious adherents (Prasojo & Pabbajah, 2020). Truth claims for religious beliefs and views held and ignoring the existence of other views are seen as one of the main factors of religious conflict (Mourad, 2000; Sinatra & Lombardi, 2020). Therefore, it is hoped that the application of the concept of religious moderation will be able to build a more peaceful, positive and constructive religious life.

As an ideal concept regarding religious life in Indonesia, the concept of religious moderation at the implementation level still needs to be elaborated more deeply (Aziz et al., 2019). This is mainly related to the complex aspects that influence the development of religious moderation both locally and nationally. Aspects such as historical experience and religious culture with all its sources and elements are determining factors in relation to the formation of people's attitudes and behavior, including religious ones.

History, for example, which is the result of a construction process based on various past events (Absor, 2020) will act as a source of inspiration for the formation of attitudes, character and behavior of the people in a region. This means that history is not only limited to a collection of various events, but also functions as a source of values and reference for the people who live afterwards (Page, 2000; Timilsina et al., 2019). For example, the history of great people, including the Prophets and Apostles and other figures, not only discusses and talks about various events that have occurred around them, but also serves as a reference of value and inspiration for readers of history in determining attitudes, character and religious behavior.

Meanwhile, culture in the view of the German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, as quoted by C.A van Peursen in his book, *Strategi Kebudayaan*, is a kind of school that accommodates humans so they can continuously learn (Peursen, 1998). This means that through culture, humans answer the most fundamental questions about who they are by referring to the things that are most meaningful to their lives such as genealogy, religion, language, history, traditional values and institutions. For example, communities that have been religious for generations have made religious moderation an intrinsic part of their daily religious life (Akhmadi, 2019), as well as the values and principles of religious moderation that have been explicitly stated in their traditional texts. Thus, culture with all its sources and elements becomes a source of values and knowledge in the process of developing religious moderation.

If we refer to the historical and cultural concepts above, the implementation of religious moderation needs to look at the roots and historical struggles of people's religious life as the basis for the experience of moderate religious life. Likewise, a culture that clearly states a moderate religious life will be able to guarantee the development of religious moderation in society (Suharto, 2019). These two aspects, namely history and culture, which provide space for the growth of values and principles of religious moderation will be factors in the birth of a harmonious religious life.

### **A Glimpse of Cirebon and Surakarta**

#### **Cirebon as a Center for Islamization**

In a historical context, Islamization is a turning point for Cirebon. The emergence of Cirebon as a region in the dynamics of Indonesian history cannot be separated from the beginning of the Islamization process on the island of Java. In Al-Mas'udi's terms, Cirebon before Islamization was *Ardh al-Majhulah*

(Unknown Territory). The name Cirebon, which comes from *Caruban* (Mixed) or also *Cai Rebon* (Shrimp Water), is synonymous with the Islamization process in this region. The emergence of Cirebon as one of the centers of the Islamization movement also presents this region in the world of Islamic history on the island of Java, especially the western part to the southern tip of the island of Sumatra (Tjandrasasmita, 1997, 2003).

Godee Molsbergen, a Dutch historian and archivist, noted that Cirebon during the Hindu era was not well known, although many pre-Islamic remains in the form of phalluses, inscriptions and statues were found. In Darma of Kuningan, for example, a phallus was found. Meanwhile, in Talaga of Majalengka, a collection of bronze statues and a sacred lake were found which were used for sacred religious bathing ceremonies for indigenous people, due to which Europeans were not allowed to visit. However, these discoveries do not yet show historically the existence of Cirebon in historical records. On the other hand, regional names such as Kawali, Talaga, Galuh are mentioned much more often than Cirebon.

An important event in the political, economic, social, cultural and religious contexts in the area that would later be known as Cirebon was the arrival of Islamic preachers, namely Sheikh Quro (Sheikh Hasanudin) and Sheikh Nurjati. The arrival of the two succeeded in giving birth to figures who would later become pioneers in the birth of Cirebon such as Prince Walangsungsang, Nyi Mas Rarasantang, Prince Kian Santang. The highlight was the presence of Syarif Hidayatullah later known as Sunan Gunung Jati. This last figure is often quoted by various local and Dutch sources when talking about the great figure behind the glory of the Islamic kingdom of Cirebon. Under his leadership, Cirebon rose as the main power in the western part of Java in the 15th and 16th centuries before being split into three small sultanates (Kasepuhan, Kanoman and Kepanembahan) in the last 17th century (Tjandrasasmita, 2009:161; Danasasmita, 1983 – 1984: 49; de Graaf & Pigeaud, 1985; Atja, 1986:154; Dasuki, 1978:1-2; Sulendraningrat, 1972:9).

The Colonial Period in Cirebon began with the arrival of the VOC (*Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie*) in Cirebon (Deviani, 2016; Katkova, 2019). The VOC was to seek profits by monopolizing trade to obtain maximum profits. Gradually but surely the VOC succeeded in bringing the Cirebon Sultanates to sign a Partnership Agreement contract on January 7 1681. The VOC also triggered conflicts of interest and competition between two dominant powers in Cirebon, Kasepuhan and Kanoman Sultanates. After the VOC went bankrupt in 1799, the fate of the archipelago, including Cirebon, was like a legacy of changing colonial rulers, namely successively: the VOC was sequentially replaced by the *Dutch Bataafsche Republiek* under the French Empire, the British Interregnum, and finally the Dutch East Indies government.

During the Dutch East Indies Colonial period, the land of the Cirebon Sultanate was made into Gubernatorial Land whose management was directly based on the decision of the Governor General. The City of Cirebon was made the Residency Capital, Regency Capital, as well as District Capital using a Centralistic system under the authority of the Governor General in Batavia, until later the Cirebon City Government (*Gemeente Cheribon*) was formed based on *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie* No. 122 of 1906, due to which Cirebon became a Colonial City with a decentralized system (Ninda Lutfianti and Danar Widiyanto, 2020).

As a city government city as well trading port, Cirebon is certainly a city where various complex social groups with various cultures meet. Emigration brings residents with diverse backgrounds, including ethnicity, religion and culture, forming a plural and multicultural ethnic composition as a distinctive characteristic of Cirebon City. The plurality of Cirebon by the Dutch colonial administration was simplified in such a way that it was based on ethnic racial lines. Classified into four groups Indigenous, European, Chinese (Chinese), and other East Asian (Arab, Indian, Japanese). Racial policies are also reflected in the regulation of residential areas, as a result the social structure and life of the people of

Cirebon City are separated based on race. Due to their low economic level, the Indigenous groups, most of whom are Muslims, are in the lowest social strata, below East Asians, Chinese and Dutch.

Geographically, Cirebon has a very strategic location as a border and crossing between the two cultural poles of the island of Java, Sundanese culture (Pajajaran kingdom) in the west and Javanese culture (Majapahit kingdom) in the east. Sundanese and Javanese culture merge together to form its own unique culture, namely Cirebon culture. At the same time, Cirebon culture is also a combination of maritime culture which is synonymous with coastal areas and agrarian culture based on agriculture and plantations in the interior. Maritime culture covers a coastal area called Caruban Larang where the people speak Javanese. Meanwhile, agricultural culture covers the area around the slopes of the Ciremai mountains which is called Caruban Girang and the people speak Sundanese. Mount Ciremai and Mount Jati mark Caruban Nagari from the sea. The Caruban Larang and Caruban Girang areas are connected by a river whose upstream is called the Suba river in Caruban Girang and its estuary is called the Krian river in Caruban Larang.

### Surakarta and Colonialism

In the history of national movements, Surakarta is one of the important cities in Java. In the colonial era, Surakarta was often called *Vorstenlanden*, which means Land of the Kings. *Vorstenlanden* became a territorial area of the Dutch East Indies Government which was organized by colonial officials known as Residents, so that Surakarta became a Residency city which had the specialty of being semi-autonomous. Surakarta is a traditional city that has historical traces related to the dynamics of contemporary Indonesian movements (Bakri, 2018). The dynamics of movement in Surakarta are interesting to study because Surakarta at the end of the 9th and early 20th centuries was the most mobile city in Indonesia that inspired movements in other areas. The history of Surakarta has broad dynamics, both in cultural, social, economic, political and religious contexts. Surakarta has become an important miniature for the social existence of hierarchical Javanese society and has also become a space for political and religious movements, both orthodox, modernist and revolutionary.

Before the 20th Century, the central point of society's social and political circles was in the hands of kings as traditional state rulers. The condition of society is closely related to the structure of relations between *Susuhunan* and *Gouvernemen*. The city of Surakarta is a traditional city characterized by clear spatial divisions based on social status and the proximity of settlers to the palace. This hierarchical structure of society actually began during the reign of Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma (1613-1645 AD) who began to form and regulate the royal bureaucracy (Bakri, 2018).

In the archives before the Giyanti Agreement of 1755 AD, manuscript number 1 was found which contains records of the division of the kingdom's territory, bureaucratic structure and the names of Mataram soldiers. Sultan Agung also formed and regulated the royal bureaucracy and the names of *abdi dalem*. The formation of this hierarchical societal structure was continued by Amangkurat I (1645-1677 AD). which regulates titles and ranks for the Mataram Royal family (Margono: 2004, 1-3).

Sociologically, the social structural context of Surakarta society is very strong with its hierarchical structure, and patron-client (*gusti-kawulo*) relationships prevail. The term *gusti-kawulo* relationship is applied in the kingdom by analogizing the king as patron and the people as clients (Pranoto: 2010, 82-83). This hierarchical structure is so deeply rooted that it is marked by linguistic facts, namely the existence of stratified languages: *ngoko*, *kromo*, and *kromo inggil* (Lombard: 1996, 59). This hierarchical structure indicates that the king's position is above the people. In the patron-client structure, a king is positioned as the axis of the world, as well as a patron (regional ruler and political ruler) which is manifested in the form of land ownership while the people are the owners of labor. Meanwhile, politically, the king is the highest monarchical leader who has full authority to regulate the lives of his people (Pranoto: 2010, 83).

As the center of the kingdom, this city was home to many courtiers, as well as being a center for cultural, language and scientific studies. This was marked by the establishment of the *Voor de Javaansche Taal Institute* (Royal Educational Institution for the Javanese Language) in 1832 AD which emphasized learning Javanese language and ethics. This institution was founded by Gericke in Surakarta which finally disbanded in 1843 (Winter: 1928, v). The city of Surakarta also gave birth to court poets who have produced many literary works, both in the form of *serat*, *babad* and *suluk*. De Graf (1995: 112-113) wrote down the names of famous poets and literary works in Surakarta, namely Kyai Yasadipura I (*Serat Bratayudha*, *Serat Rama*, *Babad Gianti*, *Suluk Dewaruci*), KGPA Amangku Nagara II who after becoming king had the title Susuhunan Pakubuwana V (initiator of the composition of *Serat Centini*), Kyai Ranggalasutrasna, R. Ng. Sastradipura (together with R.Ng. Yasadipura I composed *Serat Centini*), Sri Susuhunan Pakubuwana IV (*Serat Wulangreh*), Sri Mangunagara IV (*Serat Wedhatama*), Yasadipura II (*Babad Pakepung*), R. Ng. Ranggalasmita (*Suluk Martabat Sanga*), R. Ng. Ranggawarsita (*Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati*, *Serat Kalatidha*, *Babad Itih*) and many other poets and texts. Some manuscripts were written without the author's name.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the relationship between movement people and *Gouvernement* was more dominant and had a socio-political impact than the kingdom (Nurhayati: 1999, 157 & 170). This marks a new era in the social and cultural structure in Surakarta. The socio-political position of the palace, which had begun to weaken, had been replaced by the movement. This was accompanied by the policy of the Colonial Government which acted to eliminate the symbols of feudalism of the Javanese nobility. In the early 1900s, the position of the nobility in the city of Surakarta began to decline and they lost their central role, both politically, socially and economically. This is due to the increasing number of nobles, while the number of functions and roles available and sources of income are limited. The decline also occurred due to the increasingly advanced thinking of the people of Surakarta who dared to criticize autocratic power.

In such a socio-cultural situation, the social layer system begins to appear broken. The nobility still fiercely defended the existence of various differences in status between nobles and ordinary citizens, including those related to clothing. Parties held by ordinary people, such as weddings, may not be held in a luxurious manner, and they may not take vehicles through the Surakarta Palace square (Korver: 12). Some Javanese nobles accused the fading prestige of the Javanese nobility because of the influence of the spread of Islam (Ricklefs: 2007, 196).

### **Dynamics of Religious Moderation in Cirebon**

The beginning of the emergence of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon in the mid of the 15th century was a transition period of decline of the Hindu inspired Kingdom of Pajajaran in West Java. At that time, Sundanese as the natives in West Java mostly embraced Hinduism as being adopted by the local elites. However, many also still freely practiced local religion by worshipping Ancestral Spirits. People still performed what a so called *tirakat* or *lelaku* (spiritual practices) by saying certain mantras (*jampe*) complete with offerings according to their needs and beliefs. When Walisongo came and spread Islam throughout Java, it was done with a cultural approach, taking into account local customary conditions in a peaceful manner. Typically-local rites and practices are not immediately prohibited. Walisongo gradually inserted Islamic values and beliefs based on the Shari'a principles in the local system of religious life.

In Cirebon, at the beginning, Sunan Gunung Jati preached Islamic teachings through various methods following the conditions of the local community at that time. For example, people who wanted to watch the *Gamelan Sekaten* play must pay by reading two sentences of the *shahadah* declaring themselves as Muslims. Likewise, the mantras (*jampe*), which were practiced before Islam, were gradually replaced by reading what so called *Sadat Cerbon*. *Sadat Cerbon* was a form of prayers that were read during the transition period from the pre-Islamic period when people first entered Islam. Following the massively successful Islamization of local people in Cirebon, the *Sadat Cerbon* was

gradually replaced with prayers taught according to the instructions of the Al'Quran and the Hadith of the Prophet.

There are several types of *Sadat Cerbon* texts contained in manuscripts that are believed and practiced. These include *Sadat Urip*, *Sadat Wangi*, *Sadat Naja*, *Sadat Sampurna*, *Sadat Adam*, *Sadat Nuh*, *Sadat Musa*, *Sadat Usah*, *Sadat Ibrohim*, *Sadat Muhammad*, *Sadat Cerbon*, *Sadat Cerbon Girang*, *Sadat Astana*, *Sadat Gunung Sembung*, *Sadat Kalisapu*, *Sadat Jepura*, *Sadat Jeneng*, *Sadat Wangi*, *Sadat Sampurna*, *Sadat Sukma*, *Sadat Fatimah*, and so on. Unfortunately, the texts of the *Sadat Cerbon's* sentences cannot be freely accessed to avoid misunderstandings in Islamic Sharia beliefs which could lead to heresy. Therefore, to practice the *Sadat Cerbon*, the presence of the *murshid* (spiritual guide) is a must.

Among the *Sadat Cirebon* texts are *Sadat Japura*. There are several texts in old manuscripts whose substance is as follows: Firstly, they mention sentences before Islam and the Islamic period such as "*Hong, ashadu tilu-tilu, rat sejatining mangkurating Allah*" which are difficult to understand and digest the meaning of (?). Secondly, they also mention several names of figures who spread Islam, such as Sheikh Malaka, Sheikh Kubro, and other local figures including Ratu Kucing Pangeran Campa, Kiyai Buyut Kuper Putih, Kiyai Buyut Halfiah, Kiyai Buyut Suwara, and Kiyai Buyut Jepura, and Kiyai Buyut Kinuncung. Interestingly, those figures are not well known among people in Cirebon. Thirdly, they mention several sacred place names including Bumi Segandu, Gunung Jati, Gua Dalem, Kuningan, Cempa, Banten, Cerbon, Jepura. Finally, they contain sentences whose meaning and purpose are difficult to understand, for example "... *ancik-ancik lemah segandu, bumi Langit secelonong, saiki ora kedang keding, besuk ya ora kedang keding...*". Both *Sadat Cerbon* and *Sadat Japura* are ancestral literary works presumably composed in the early period of Islamization of Cirebon. Unfortunately, no one knows for sure who composed those texts.

At the beginning of its development, the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon implemented Islamic Sharia law. The residents of Cirebon, Pieter Cornelis Hasselaer (r. 1757-1765) and Robbert Hendrik Armenault (r. 1765-1771) made final reports regarding the regulations of Islamic Sharia which were carried out carelessly and haphazardly. In 1768 the Cirebon Resident, Robbert Hendrik Armenault, compiled several Cirebon native regulations into a Code of Law called *Papakkum*, which was ratified by the Sultans of Cirebon and published in *Tjeribonsch Wetboek (Pepakem Cerbon)*. However, following the strengthening influence of the secular outlooks of VOC into the internal lives of the Sultanates, the Islamic Sharia law was gradually replaced by a new compilation of Customary Law (*adat*) in the *Papakkum (Pepakem) Cerbon* that separated that of religious (*agama*) and of secular (*darigama*) affairs.

In 1829 the Burdah group thrived in Cirebon. This group could be seen as an indigenously religious sect. Its practitioners always moved from one place to another and had a special ritual, namely by riding a piggyback horse (*Jaran Lumping*), which was made of buffalo skin. They performed this ritual while walking to the top of the Mount of Ciremai. During the ritual process, members, who were in a state of ecstasy, expected to receive revelation from God. For the Dutch colonialists, the Burdah group was seen as a small and unproductive group (Molsbergen, 1931:24-25). However, for the natives, this group was very attractive. A large number of people regularly joined or at least welcomed this group, as its members performed their rites in their respected villages.

Like in other parts in Java, the 20th century witnessed the rise of a new face of religious dynamics in Cirebon. Muslim students as the rising middle class in society played pivotal roles in this new development. They started using modern instruments, namely mass organizations, to express their voices. In Majalengka, on May 16 1916, K.H. Abdul Halim, a fresh graduate of Mecca based education, founded the *Jam'iyah I'annah Al-Muta'alimin* focusing on the reformation of Islamic education system. To do so, he collaborated with those of the *Jam'iyat Khair* in Batavia (now Jakarta). Alarmed with his move and influence, the colonial government disbanded the *Jam'iyah I'annah Al-Muta'alimin* in 1917. However, with the encouragement of his friend, HOS Tjokroaminoto, the president of Sarekat Islam or SI at that

time, young but eager Abdul Halim founded a new organization name *Persyarikatan Oelama* or PO. Several months later, he got a formal recognition for his new organization from the Dutch colonial government on December 21, 1917.

The colonial authorities' intervention in various internal affairs of the palace caused people to distance themselves from palace life, both Kasepuhan and Kanoman. The establishment of the mass-based organizations like SI and PO was seen as a way to rally people to defend their rights and freedom to practice their religion and free them from the confines of the sufferings they were experiencing. For instance, many *sufi* orders (*tarekat*) groups spreading in Cirebon areas showed their supports for SI and PO. The fact that many of these groups were also centered in the palaces showed a changing political outlook of some of those in palaces against the colonial government. It was not surprising as the palace also supported various SI and PO activities in protesting and criticizing the land rental and taxation system implemented by the colonial government.

From those above descriptions, it is safe to say that in Cirebon Islam since the beginning of its arrival has become the backbone of people's movement in all aspects of their life. However, what Islam was depicted? It is importantly underlined that Islam in fact in many instances adapted to local rites and practices. The *Gamelan Sekaten*, *Sadat Cirebon* and the *Burdah* are just few examples of how Islam was successfully accepted and thrived. At the same time, the rise of SI and PO, which later came NU, Muhammadiyah and others, proves Islam as the pivotal source of identity, values and principles among Cirebon people.

### **Dynamics of Religious Moderation in Surakarta**

The Islamic phenomenon in Surakarta was clearly visible in the 18th century as written in Yasadipura I's *Serat Cabolek*, which depicted the debate between the ulama who guarded orthodoxy (official ulama in the Kartasura-based Mataram kingdom to differentiate from both of Yogyakarta-based and later Surakarta-based) and Moetamakkin who was considered to have the mystical ideology of *Pamoring Kawulo Gusti* (Katalog Pura Pakualaman No. St.20/0143/PP/73). Whatever its form, the debate phenomenon showed that there were pious people during the Kartasura-based Mataram Kingdom. Likewise, the tarekat network that developed during the Kartasura-based Mataram era in the 18th century could be seen as evidence that the Islamization process has developed well (Kartodirdjo: 2000, 15). Islam has developed rapidly in areas of Surakarta since the break of the Mataram Kingdom, following the rise of both the Yogyakarta-based Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat and the Surakarta-based Kasunanan. In term of the second political realm, the choice of location and erection of the Kasunanan Palace buildings involved the ulama and for religious reasons (Hadisiswaja: 1936, 20). In carrying out the government process, Pakubuwana IV of the Kasunanan Surakarta appointed ulama named Kyai Makali as his main advisor.

In the 18th century, the Islamization process continued to develop with the emergence of creative works in the forms of religious literature, of the foundation of the first Pesantren in Surakarta well-known as Pesantren Jamsaren in 1750 (Arsip Pakualaman No. 31/2121), the establishment of the Great Mosque of Surakarta in 1757 AD. Those works were under the initiatives of the Sultan of Kasunanan Surakarta, particularly Sunan Pakubuwana III (r. 1749-1788). Finally, under the guidance of Sunan Pakubuwana X (r. 1893-1939), Muslim leaders in Surakarta founded the modern-typed Islamic school named Madrasah Mambaoel Oeloem in 1905. To operate this new madrasah, Sunan Pakubuwana revived Pesantren Jamsaren after being inactive for almost 70 years since the Java War led by Prince Dipenogoro. To do so, he appointed kiyai Idris to manage the Pesantren affairs. At the same time, the kiyai was also ordered to work together with other Muslim teachers to operate Madrasah Mambaoel Oeloem (Mooryadi: 2009, 139-143). The foundation of the Mambaoel Oeloem school was motivated by the difficulty of finding replacements for the deceased ulama. The establishment of Madrasah Mambaoel Oeloem had been an inspiration for the establishment of other madrasah in various places. This phenomenon had implicated over the progress of Islamic education and the embeddedness of Islamic identity in Javanese society



(Pawarti Soerakarta: 138, 134). A Dutch well-known scholar, Snouck Hurgronje (1999, 63), noted that Islamic identity in the 19th century was deeply embedded in the Javanese people, both in Vorstenlanden and in the surrounding areas (Ismail: 1997, 80). At Madrasah Mambaoel Oeloem, pupils learned not only religious sciences and Arabic but also general sciences (Wijk: 1914, 55). Another example of how Islam grew significantly was when Sunan Pakubuwana X ordered Muslim communities in Surakarta to carry out Islamic law properly such as prayer, fasting and zakat, and ordered them to build mosques in every districts, sub-districts and even villages (Wijk: 1914, 56).

At the beginning of the 20th century, Adipati Sastraningrat, Patih Dalem and Raden Tumenggung Wreksadiningrat of the Kasunanan Surakarta ordered religious songs to be made into songs called *santiswaran*. These songs were sung by an appointed singer or singing guard before being followed by all attendants. Some musical instruments such as *terbang*, *kendhang* and *kemanak* were played to accompany the songs sung. *Santiswaran* was performed in every Sunday from 20.00 up to 24.00 was located at *Kedhaton*. All those explanations showed that Islam has become a spirit and culture in the Keraton community.

Snouck Hurgronje, as being quoted by Ismail, said that during the colonial era, Islam was already embedded in the Javanese people. The role of the keraton) in the process of Islamization was acknowledged to be quite large. One of these roles was played by the *Penghulu* as an official cleric in the palaces who focused more on developing the science of jurisprudence, namely *al-Tasyri' wa al-Qadla* (legislation and justice). As for the *perdikan ulama*, they focused more on teaching and developing the knowledge of faith, morals and *sufism* (Ismail: 1997, 50).

The notions of Islamization outside the Keraton (Palace) had also developed rapidly since the founding of the *Sarekat Islam* in Laweyan of Surakarta in 1912. A number of Muslim-based organization rose to public such as *Sarekat Ngrukti Sawa* of Kauman founded in 1914, *Muhammadiyah* in Surakarta in 1923 and *Nahdlatul Muslimat* in 1931 (Pusponegoro, 10). Furthermore, in 1931, *Muhamadiyah* in Surakarta established a *MULO* (Junior High School Level) (Bromartani: 1931, 39). Islamic activities in Surakarta became increasingly lively with the establishment of the Islamic study centers (*Pusat Kajian Islam*) and the presence of several great scholars such as *Bagoes Arafah*, *Muhammad Adnan*, *Kiai Jauhar Laweyan*, *Kyai Masyhud Keprabon*, *Kyai Imam Ghazali Nirbitan* and so on. They represented traditional scholars who have progressive thinking.

Apart from these formal institutions, the processes of Islamization in Surakarta were also carried out by *ulama*, who were members of the *Sidik Amanah Tableg Vatonah (SATV)* association chaired by *Misbach*. This new association was supported by young students such as *Koesen*, *Hisjam Saini*, *Harsoloemekso* and *Darsosasmito*. With this high profile, those *santri* joined the SATV including *Haroen Rasjid*, *Achmad Dasoeki*, *K. Moechtar Boechari* and *Sjarief* (Simbolon: 2006, 592-593). The existence of SATV was welcomed positively by the police and the government because SATV intended to warn people from what so called *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*. This warning was intended to remind people not to fall into the gambling, drinking, stealing and all immoral matters forbidden in Islam (Islam Bergerak, 1920: 1). One of the late application of the principle of *Amar Makruf* was by sending propagandists to villages and schools (Islam Bergerak, 1921, 2). The presence of SATV further strengthens the spread of Islam. Moreover, what had been done so far by SATV gained massive supports from some important newspapers such as *Medan Moeslimin*, *Tjermin Islam*, and *Islam Bergerak* (1917, 1). In each edition of these mass media, they provided a special edition that deeply elaborated religious issues such as those of *fiqh*, *aqidah*, *tauhid* and *akhlak* as well as some modern Islamic discourses.

In the newspaper of *Islam Bergerak* between 1918-1919, it was reported that these associations were agents of Islamization in Surakarta at the beginning of the 20th century. Religious deepening activities had also spread in Surakarta, both in the palace environment, in Islamic boarding schools and in religious communities. SATV itself holds Islamic studies every Monday and Friday at 20.30 - 23.00 WIB.

Other Muslim leaders in Surakarta discovered the fact that religious learnings were not solely under the tutelage of the Palaces, but also were run by people in a number of private properties such as that of Harsoloemakso's house at Kampung Keprabon held in every Saturday night and Sunday at 21.00-24.00 WIB. Other private properties were M. Mawardi's house at the Kauman Village every 10th of the Hijri month starting at 20.00-23.00 WIB, M. Ngoemar's house at the village of Tegalsari every Tuesday night Wednesday at 20.00-22.00 WIB. Lastly, it was the house belonged to Karijowirono, a Village Head of the Kepatihan Kulom. The learning process was held in every Monday night at 20.00-22.00. Those Islamic study activities coincided with the fast growth of the Madrasah Mambaoel Oeloem. The madrasah opened a number of branches in such several districts as Pengging located at the border of Boyolali and Klaten.

As the time went by, Surakarta became more pivotal in term of Islamic progressive movements. For instance, in 1919, Surakarta was the host of the first ever Al-Islam Congress in which all participants agreed to form a sort of the council of ulama named the Raad Oelama (Islam Bergerak: 1918, 2). From the priyayi religious circle in Surakarta, a number of Penghulu gathered in 1919 in Sragen to take an initiative in setting up their particular association called the Pengoeloe Bond. The main goal of this move was to advance Islam and raise awareness among Muslims to show their loyalties the colonial government. However, a few months later, the name of the Pengoeloe Bond was replaced by a new name called the Oelama Bond. The main reason of this name changing was the fact that many members of the organization were not exclusively pengoeloe but also naib, modin, kyai and others (Islam Bergerak: 1919,2).

Even though there have been many Islamic study activities, the establishment of Islamic associations and educational institutions in Surakarta, most of the people in Surakarta were rightfully categorized as nominal Muslims. They do not understand much about religious knowledge and practically do not implement Islamic obligations properly in their daily life. Their religious feature tended to syncretic. G. F. van Wijk (1914, 55), Resident of Surakarta in 1909-1914, in his *Memori Van Overgave* described the condition of the religious (religiosity) of society in Surakarta as still far from substance and more like religious formalism that had not been actualized in the transformation of society, although massive efforts to ground transformative Islam had also been carried out by Islamic movement activists, ulama and Islamic newspapers.

On the other hand, between 1909-1914 christianization in Surakarta was carried out very intensively. Islam Bergerak newspaper in its article described by stating that "there are still many zending (preachers) that are allowed into our homeland to capture our people who have adopted the Islamic religion" (Islam Bergerak, 1917, 55). The rise of christianization was also marked by the rapid growth of the followers of Sadrach (Javanese Christians) in Vorstenlanden. They made propaganda in Wonogiri for a supernatural contest in which the losing party had to follow the religion of the winner (Wijk, 55). The development of Christianization was also marked by the opening of a zending house in Jebres, Surakarta, in which Pastor Van Andel who had worked for the Gereformeerd (reformed) Church in Amsterdam resided. In Boyolali, Christianization was carried out by priest teachers including Niephaos, Fischer and Scheinider, who were assigned by the zending committee to provide special services for Chinese people (Wijk, 55). Even in 1918, the Christian hospital in Jebres christianized patients. This really hurt the hearts of native people, of whom the majority were Muslims (Wijk, 56).

The Christianization that took place in Surakarta did not happen suddenly, but had long historical roots. During the era of British rule in the Indies (1811-1816), Governor General Raffles had founded the Bible Society in Java which later became (Nederlands) Oost-Indisch Bijbelgenootschap or Batavia's Bijbelgenootschap. This institution was originally a Dutch Bible Society which intended to translate the Bible into the languages of the indigenous people and develop Protestant Christian teachings (Swellengrebel: 1974, 21). Raffles had started a new tradition, in which the government intervened in the matter of spreading religion. This institution, which was founded in Batavia, often sent delegates to several main cities in Java, including Surakarta.

In short, at the beginning of the 20th century, in Surakarta there were already several diverse religions and religious beliefs, namely Catholics, Protestantism, Christen Bala Keslametan, Christen Kerasoelan, Buddhism and Islam (Fachrodin: 1919, 1). In terms of religious freedom, theoretically, the Colonial Government was in a neutral position.

### **Conclusion**

The results of the research show that the religious models and patterns that develop in Cirebon and Surakarta society are plural both within the internal scope of each religion, especially Islam, and between religious communities. Yet, Cirebon could be safely described as more Islamic and even more fanatical since Islam has been the pivotal backbone of Cirebon since the inception. Meanwhile, Surakarta, which was one of the main centrals of Javanese culture along with the inland character of religiosity, tend to place Islam as one source of ideas and values along with other religious and cultural sources. It is not without surprising that people in Surakarta are open to any religions coming and are advocated. The contrasting phenomenon above of course cannot be separated from the religious and religious history experiences that have taken place in Cirebon and Surakarta. Local history has a very significant contribution to the process of experience, religious dynamics and religious models that developed in these two regions. The study of local religious and religious history can be significant in the context of developing religious moderation. Apart from historical aspects, aspects of local religious culture cannot also be separated. Culture, which is a product of cultural intelligence that develops in a society, also has a role as a value reference, model and also capital in building religious moderation in Indonesia.

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