

Islamic-Javanese Hybridization in Politic Cultural Mataram After the Weakening of the Politic Role of Santri

Muhammad Irfan Riyadi

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Ponorogo
Email: irfanriyadi67@gmail.com

Ridho Rokamah

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Ponorogo
Email: rokamahridho@iainponorogo.ac.id

Abstract: *The transformation of Java into a stronghold of Islam can be attributed to the emergence and evolution of Islamic boarding schools, which played a crucial role in disseminating the religion across the region. Initially rooted in the assimilation of the elitist Hindu-Javanese mandala educational model. Throughout their evolution, Islamic boarding schools were instrumental in shaping Islamic politics, particularly during the Sultanate of Demak to Pajang. The influential Walisanga, also known as Kyai of the pesantren, served as pillars in teaching, fighting, and sustaining the sultanates. A qualitative historical research approach using literary sources delves into the factors behind Mataram's diminishing support for the political role of the santri, Sultan Agung's subsequent actions, and the resulting impacts. The study concludes that the King of Mataram perceived the political influence of Islamic boarding schools, especially the former Walisanga Islamic boarding school, as an obstacle to absolute authoritarianism. Sultan Agung's ambition to become the sole ruler comparable to the greatness of Majapahit was hindered. Following the collapse of the political role of Islamic boarding schools, Sultan Agung asserted himself as Agung Binathara, reinforcing acculturative Islamic culture through the Islamic-Javanese calendar and traditions. The aftermath included authorities' arrogance towards Islamic boarding schools, leading Amangkurat I to replace Sultan Agung through the arbitrary slaughter of Kyai and santri. Additionally, this era gave rise to Islamic-Javanese syncretic traditions at the Mataram Palace, encompassing the garbage ceremony, bedoyo tawang dance, belief in the supernatural powers of heirlooms, and the Kejawen concept, embodying Javanese-Islamic syncretism.*

Keywords: *The Political Role; Islamic Boarding Schools; Santri; Sultan Agung.*

Abstrak: *Transformasi Jawa menjadi pusat Islam dapat dikaitkan dengan kemunculan dan evolusi pesantren, yang memainkan peran penting dalam menyebarkan agama ke seluruh wilayah. Awalnya berakar pada asimilasi model pendidikan mandala Hindu-Jawa yang bersifat elitis. Sepanjang evolusinya, pesantren berperan penting dalam membentuk politik Islam, khususnya pada*

masa Kesultanan Demak hingga Pajang. Walisanga yang berpengaruh, juga dikenal sebagai Kyai pesantren, berperan sebagai pilar dalam mengajar, memperjuangkan, dan mempertahankan kesultanan. Pendekatan penelitian sejarah kualitatif dengan menggunakan sumber kepustakaan menggali faktor-faktor yang melatarbelakangi semakin berkurangnya dukungan Mataram terhadap peran politik santri, tindakan Sultan Agung selanjutnya, dan dampak yang ditimbulkan. Kajian tersebut menyimpulkan bahwa Raja Mataram memandang pengaruh politik pesantren, khususnya eks pesantren Walisanga, sebagai penghambat otoritarianisme absolut. Ambisi Sultan Agung untuk menjadi penguasa tunggal yang sebanding dengan kehebatan Majapahit pun terhalang. Menyusul runtuhnya peran politik pesantren, Sultan Agung menegaskan dirinya sebagai Agung Binathara, memperkuat budaya Islam akulturatif melalui kalender dan tradisi Islam-Jawa. Buntutnya antara lain arogansi penguasa terhadap pesantren sehingga menyebabkan Amangkurat I menggantikan Sultan Agung melalui pembantaian sewenang-wenang terhadap Kyai dan santri. Selain itu, era ini memunculkan tradisi sinkretis Islam-Jawa di Keraton Mataram, meliputi upacara sampah, tari bedoyo tawang, kepercayaan terhadap kesaktian pusaka, dan konsep Kejawen yang merupakan perwujudan sinkretisme Jawa-Islam.

Kata Kunci: *Peran Politik; Pesantren; Santri; Sultan Agung.*

INTRODUCTION

Islamization in Java in the 15th-16th century AD successfully occurred through various media, including trade, tasawuf, marriage, and education.¹ Islamization through education was considered the most successful in contributing to the Islamization of Java because education gave birth to networks that continued to spread like multilevel marketing; Islamic education at that time was called pesantren. This educational model is a peaceful transformation of the Hindu-era education system called Mandala.² In this Mandala model, students are known by the nickname *cantrik*; then linguistically, they camouflage themselves in the Islamic Javanese tongue to become santri. The place of education, known initially as *Pecantrikan* has also changed to an Islamic Boarding School, after long time famous named by *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school).

¹ Denys Lombard, *Nusa Java: Cross Culture. Integrated Historical Studies. Part II: The Asian Network*, trans. Winarsih Partaningrat Arifin, Rahayu S. Hidayat and Nini Hidayati Yusuf (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005), 35.

² CC Berg, "Indonesia" in *Other Islam? A Survey of Modern Movements in the Muslim World*, ed. HAR Gibb (London: Victor Gollancz, 1932), 257

Pesantren that rapidly developed at that time included Pesantren Ampel in Surabaya, Pesantren Giri in Gresik, Pesantren Drajat in Lamongan, Tuban, Kudus, Kadilangu, and so on. From the beginning, these pesantren were initiated by the walisanga,³ His students then developed and spread him to various regions, from the coast to the entire of Java.

At the time of the founding of the Sultanate of Demak, Pesantren initiated the establishment of the Sultanate of Demak in the late XV century. The members of Walisanga, who incidentally are the Kyai of the pesantren, laid the foundation, defended, and even fought for it with the armed forces. Then placed the Kyai of the Pesantren Glagah Wangi Raden Fatah, who happened to be a descendant of Brawijaya V as well as the grandson of Sunan Ampel's student as the Sultan, appointed Sunan Giri as the King's Advisory Council, Sunan Ngudung from Kudus as the royal commander who Sunan Kudus would later replace after he died in the battle for the throne of Demak, and walisanga as the royal deliberative council.⁴

The euphoria of the power of the pesantren went on for quite a long time, not less than 1 century. Throughout the reign of the sultanate Demak and Pajang, from the XV century to the end of the XVI century. However, strangely and uniquely, when entering the Sultanate of Mataram, the role of Islamic boarding schools in the political arena of the kingdom almost disappeared or even was deliberately omitted; especially in the era of Sultan Agung, the role of Islamic boarding schools had been marginalized and collapsed.

This condition raises significant questions in the minds of historical researchers: why does the State need to co-opt the political role of Islamic

³ Mahmud Yunus, *History of Islamic Education in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1985), 231. See also Muh. Said and Junimar Affan, *Educating from Age to Age* (Bandung: Jemmars, 1987), 53.

⁴ Slamet Mulyana, *The Collapse of the Javanese Hindu Kingdom and the Emergence of Islamic Kingdoms in the Archipelago* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005) see also Institute for Research, *History and Da'wah Islamiyah Sunan Giri*, (Gresik: Research institute of Islamic Luhur Islamic Boarding School, 1973), 135; and Ahmad Adaby Darban, *Javanese Ulama Part of the Islamic Cultural Heritage in Indonesia: The Dynamics of Struggle and Its Development* (Yogyakarta: Unpublished Seminar Paper, 1995), 6

boarding schools and even tear them down? Is there a hidden purpose from Sultan Agung to undermine the role of the pesantren? This paper does not deny historical evidence that Sultan Agung carried out a massive movement to spread Islamic teachings. And indeed, it was proven that in his time, Islam was almost embraced by the entire population in Java. However, all agreed that Islam at that time was not *syar'i* Islam supported by its inhabitants' religious devotion and normative piety. At that time, Islam was better known as a symbol of religion, whose people's obedience was still limited to the outer side, such as carrying out traditional birth ceremonies, circumcision, marriage, and death. He still needs to be fully obedient to implement the Shari'at. Ultimately, this assumption wants to prove that Sultan Agung is doing Islamic simplification (Islam hybridization) so that he can easily acculturate with Javanese ideology and traditions.

Roughly speaking, it can be proven in the discourse on Javanese history in the era of Sultan Agung, that 1555 Saka or 1638 AD was a sacred year, the year when Sultan Agung declared the establishment of Islam-Javanese, namely hybridization between the teachings of Javanese cultural concepts in the Hindu era and the concept of Islamic teachings.⁵ This concept follows the birth of the Islamic Javanese calendar which recognizes Javanese day, Javanese market, pawukon, windu, an auspicious day, neton, and terms that gave birth to mixed beliefs between Islam and Java.

METHOD

The research questions can be described in the editorial as follows: what factors were behind Sultan Agung's actions in formulating the Mataram politico culture to undermine the political role of the santri; what are the actions of Sultan Agung after the collapse of the santri politics and what are the impacts that arise after the collapse of the political role of the Santri.

This research is qualitative research with a historical approach that uses literary sources. This approach is in line with a chronology, which is required for

⁵ Ricklefs MC, "Islamising Java : The Long Shadow of Sultan Agung", In: Archipel, volume 56, 1998. L'horizon nousantarien. Mélanges en hommage à Denys Lombard (Volume I), [http://www.persee.fr/doc/ arch_0044-8613_1998_num_56_1_3503](http://www.persee.fr/doc/arch_0044-8613_1998_num_56_1_3503), accessed 10 November 2022

the paradigmatic transformation process in Thomas Kuhn's theory, which discusses the stages of paradigm change. As for the steps taken in historical research, according to Luis Gottschalk in his book "Understanding History" which has been translated into Indonesian under the title "Understanding History",⁶ consists of four articles: (1) Selection of Subjects to be investigated; (2) Collection of sources of information that may be needed for the subject; (3) Examination of these sources to test their validity; (4) picking reliable elements from those sources (or parts of sources) that are proven valid. The synthesis of the sources that have been obtained is historiography.

DISCUSSION

The Collapse of the Political Role of Pesantren

1. History of Pesantren

Pesantren, with the root word santri, according to Berg, originates from the word *śāstrī* which in Tamil means a person who understands the sacred texts of Hinduism,⁷ and is a continuation of the ancient Javanese educational institution, the mandala. Evidence for the existence of the name Mandala can be traced in *Nāgarakertāgama* (cant 32: 1),⁸ it is stated that the King (Hayam Wuruk) once visited a mandala in the Gede region named Sagara (*mwang māṇḍala hikañ i gde samāntara ri sāgara kta kadunung*).⁹ Meanwhile in *Pararaton* it is stated that there is a mandala leader who controls seven mandalas named Mpu Tapawangkeng (*mpu Tapawangkěng tinut i rasaning kapralananira, amukti ta sira pitung maṇḍala*).¹⁰

⁶Luis Gottschalk, *Understanding History* . (trans .) Nugroho Notosusanto. (Jakarta: UI-Press, print.4, 1985), 34

⁷Zamakhsari Dofier, *Islamic Boarding School Traditions: A Study of Kyai's View of Life* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982) 18.

⁸ CC Berg, "Indonesia" in *Other Islam? A Survey of Modern Movements in the Muslim World* , ed. HAR Gibb (London: Victor Gollancz, 1932), 257.

⁹ Th. Pigeaud, *Java in The 14th Century a Study in Cultural History. The Nāgara-Kērtāgama by Rakawi Prapañca of Majapahit, 1365 AD* , vol. I ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960) , 24.

¹⁰ JLA Brandes, *Pararaton (Ken Arok) of Het Boek der Koningen van Tumapel en van Majapahit* ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920), 3.

In an Old Javanese text in prose form, *Tantu Panggelaran*, it is stated that the structure of the mandala regarding who leads the mandala and what content it teaches is as follows:

Kahucapa tatwa sia bhaṭāra Parameśwara tumulusakna magawe tantu [praśiṣṭa] ri Yawaḍipa. Makāryya ta sira maṇḍala, makulambi maguṇḍala sira, heelihi su[ra]ngga pataraṇa. Tinhēr manganakna dewaguru sira, umiṣyani sira patapan kabeh, kadyana: katyagan, pangjangan, pangubwanan, pa[ma]nguywan, pangabtan, gurudeśa, hanguṇḍahagi, angarēmban, sirāgawe hika kabeh.¹¹

That is the essence of Bhatara Parameswara, who built his residence in the Land of Java (Yawadwipa) forever. So he made a mandala, put on a priest's robe and earrings, and sat on a throne covered with red cloth. Then, as the leader of the dormitory (Dewa-Guru), he presides over religious ceremonies, pioneered the establishment of the mandala and the hermitage of all, in the form of the residence of plenary ascetics (katyagan), the residence of the teachers (pangjangan), the hermitage of female clergy (pangubwanan), the hermitage of male clergy (pamanguywan), the residence of lowly priests (pangabtan), religious teachers in the village (gurudeśa), a place for carpenters/carpenters (hanguṇḍahagi), a place for farming (angarēmban).

A mandala or learning complex in which there are several residences (dormitories), according to the *Tantu Panggelaran* text, is led by a guru-god or guru-image-God who acts as the leader of religious rites. The mandala structure with the highest strata, namely katyagan to the lowest angaremban, shows that mandalas teach religious knowledge and skills.

Moving on to the Demak era, the Mandala College was later changed to a pesantren; evidence of the existence of pesantren in the Walisanga era can be seen in: The Chronicle of Demak manuscript contains the word 'Islamic boarding school' in the Girisa pupuh (24: 13-14) which tells that Raden Patah studied with Sunan Ampel at the Ngampeldenta boarding school.

[...]

[...]

¹¹ Th. G.Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggĕlaran. Een Oud-Javaansch Prozageschift, uitgegeven, vertaald end toegelicht* ('S-Gravenhage: HL Smits, 1924), 81.

*Lan Dyan Patah came apart
it's a boarding school, kang sinedya
Radyan's light is everlasting
njujug Dukuh Ngampeldenta
kunèng ingkang lampah literature
Sunan Ngampel kang winarna.
I don't want old Néng Jawi
ing mangké sampun twitch
dhukuh Ngampel me arja
agemah wus dadi praja
[...]*

Raden Patah only parted ways towards the intended boarding school once his steps arrived at the Ngampeldenta hamlet accompanied by commendable steps. Sunan Ampel called. Long occupied dukun in Java until the already famous dhukuh Ngampel increasingly bustling into a city
[...]

Whereas in the Chronicle of Cerbon (Brandes edition), the word 'Islamic boarding school' is mentioned once in Pupuh Mijil (16: 9-10) which tells of the founding of the Demak pesantren by Raden Patah.

*even ngadek jum'ahé wus dadi
jum'ahé wong
famous Islamic boarding school,
Demak arané
slowly kathah angungsi
dadi's house
arja kadi dhatu.*

Until Friday [prayers] were established, people in the Friday congregation were famous at the Demak Islamic boarding school. After a while, many settled down; the houses became crowded like a kingdom.

Based on the various historical sources above, there are several pesantren that can be said to be early in Java, namely the Ngampeldenta Islamic Boarding School, which Sunan Ampel led as the center of the pesantren's founders as well as transformer from the Hindu-era Mandala educational model to the pesantren model. Then, the Ampel students' boarding schools, as well as close family members, developed, namely the Giri boarding school founded by Raden Paku with the title Sunan Giri in Gresik, the Drajat boarding school founded by Radin Qosim in Lamongan, the Tuban boarding school founded by Raden Makhdum Ibrahim in the Tuban area and the Demak Islamic boarding school led by Raden Patah. Then, after Demak became a sultanate, Islamic boarding schools for students from the second stage of the pesantren also developed, namely in Kadilangu by Sunan Kalijaga, the pesantren in Kudus by Raden Jakfar Shodiq with the title Sunan Kudus son of Sunan Ngudung, the pesantren in Muria was founded by Raden Umar Sa'id son of Raden Said or Sunan Kalijaga. Several of

these pesantren exist, in fact, in the coastal areas of East Java and Central Java. At the same time, there is the Gunung Jati pesantren in West Java, which Syarif Hidayatullah founded. Later, the pesantren expanded to inland areas, namely the Bayat boarding school founded by Prince Padan Aran with the title Sunan Bayat, then the Kajoran boarding school founded by Panembahan Rama (Mataram era). Some of the pesantren that can be described here are the Ampel Islamic Boarding School and the Demak and Giri Islamic Boarding Schools.

2. Ngampeldenta Islamic Boarding School

Sunan Ampel or Raden Rahmat is said to have come from Cempa. According to Solichin Salam's estimates, he was born in 1401 M.¹² Raden Rahmat or Sayid Ngali Rahmat came to Java —around 1440 or before the fall of Cempa in 1446— with his brother, Raden Santri or Sayid Ngali Murtolo (Murtada), and his cousin, a son of the King of Cempa, Raden Buréréh (Abu Hurerah). The three of them come to Java to visit their aunt, Princess Cempa, who is married to the king of Majapahit (*dit drietal zou van Cěmpa naar Java zijn gereisd om hun tante, de Princesses*).¹³ *The Babad Tanah Jawi* (Meinsma edition) mentions Raden Rahmat and Raden Santri as sons of Makdum Brahim Asmara.

Makdum Brahim Asmara, ingkang wontên ing nagari Cempa, apêputra kalih sami jalêr, an elder named Raden Rahmat, ingkang anèm named Raden Santri, Ratu ing Cempa inggih sampun pêputra kakung satunggil. Anama Radèn Burèreh. Radèn Rahmat wau anyuwun said goodbye to uncle Prabu ing Cěmpa, kalilana dhatêng ing Tanah Jawi, kalih ingkang rayi, badhe tuwi ingkang uwa Ratu ing Majapait .¹⁴

According to de Graaf and Pigeaud, based on Hikayat Hasanuddin, Raden Rahmat was appointed as a priest in Surabaya. In contrast, Raden Santri was appointed as a priest in Tandes (Gresik), by Arya Sena, a sacked tandha — or pancatandha (a position assigned to oversee port trade) — in Eggplant.¹⁵

¹² Solichin Salam, *Around Wali Sanga* (Holy: Menara Kudus, 1972), 29.

¹³ HJ de Graaf & Th. G.Th. Pigeaud, *de Eerste Moslimse Vorstendomen op Java. Studien Over de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de Eeuw* ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), 21.

¹⁴ JJ Meinsma, *Chronicle of Tanah Djawi, in Proza. Javaansche Geschiedenis Loopende tot het Jaar 1647 der Javaansche Jaartelling* ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1874), 27-28.

¹⁵ de Graaf & Pigeaud, *de Eerste Moslimse Vorstendomen op Java* , 21.

While in Serat Walisana, on Sinom's pupuh (4: 37-38), Raden Rahmat, after being appointed as a priest, had the title of Prince Katib, and Raden Santri had the title of Raja Pandita; and Raden Abu Hurerah was appointed priest in Majagung. Arya Lembusura appointed all three.

<i>tan lami sinungan prênah</i>	was not long after being awarded a
<i>personal adhêdhepoka</i>	place
<i>samya jinênêngkên priest</i>	hermitage for each
<i>nênggih Radèn Santri Ali</i>	with the title of priest
<i>jumênêng ing Garêsik</i>	namely Raden Santri Ali
<i>the name of king pandhita gung</i>	raised in Gresik
<i>nicknamed Ali Murtala</i>	the name of King Pandita
<i>dene ta wau kang rayi</i>	His name is Ali Murtala
<i>Radèn Rahmat dadya priest</i>	while the younger brother
<i>Surapringga</i> . ¹⁶	Raden Rahmat became the priest of Surabaya

The Ngampeldenta Islamic Boarding School was probably founded in the first half of the 15th century based on the Ampel Mosque inscription, which reads 1362 Saka or 1440 AD.¹⁷ According to oral tradition, some of Sunan Ampel's students or students include Maulana Iskak or Syekh Wali Lanang, who is said to have been the father of Sunan Giri,¹⁸ Sunan Giri himself with Sunan Ampel's son Prince Bonang¹⁹ And Raden Patah, as mentioned above. There is no definite record regarding the year of Sunan Ampel's death, but de Graaf and Pigeaud estimate that it was not long before the collapse of the Majapahit kingdom. Sunan Bonang, who was single, replaced him for a time at Ngampeldenta (*Sunan Bonang, de celibatair, zou enige tijd zijn opvolger geweest zijn in Ngampel Denta*).²⁰

¹⁶ Tanojo (ed.), *Serat Walisana* (Solo: Sadubudi, 1955), 20.

¹⁷ Nur Khalik Ridwan, *Islam in Java in the XIII-XVI Centuries: The Guardians, Indigenous Islam, and the Struggle for Javanese Human Identity* (Yogyakarta: Langgar Book, 2021), 163.

¹⁸ Jayasubrata, *Chronicle of Tanah Jawi* (Semarang: Van Dorp & Co., 1923), 55. *molananyar rawuh/ so Arab land of Judah/ apêparab Sèh Wali Lanang ngêjawi/ anjujug Ngampèldênta* .

¹⁹ Meinsma, *Chronicle of Tanah Djawi* , 29. *sarêng sampun agêng dipun kèn ngaos dhatêng Sunan ing Ngampèl Dênta, kancanipun ngaos kalih son Sunan ing Ngamèl Dênta, the name of Santri Bonang, wondene Putrani also nyai rôndha wau kanamanan Santri Giri* . In the *Chronicle of Cerbon* , Prince Bonang is named Mahdum Ibrahim and Sunan Giri is named Raden Samudra. See in Brandes, *Babad Tjerbon* , 70-72.

²⁰ de Graaf & Pigeaud, *de Eerste Moslimse Vorstendomen op Java Studien Over de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de Eeuw* ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974) , 160.

3. Demak Islamic Boarding School

Based on the Chronicle of Cerbon, the Demak boarding school was founded by Raden Patah. Javanese historiography says that Raden Patah was the son of Brawijaya, the last King of Majapahit. Regarding which Brawijaya is referring, there are differences of opinion. Some refer to Kertawijaya, King of Majapahit, around 1447–1451 AD. Some others refer to Kertabhumi, King of Majapahit, around 1474–1478 AD. However, because in many sources it is stated that Brawijaya, who is the father of Raden Patah, married Champa's daughter, the Brawijaya referred to is likely Kertawijaya, who holds the *abhiseka* Wijaya Parakramawardhana. This is confirmed by several genealogies compiled by the descendants of Arya Damar, Duke of Palembang, which explicitly mentions Kertawijaya as the father of Arya Damar and Raden Patah.²¹ Raden Patah's mother is said to be a Chinese princess from the King of Majapahit, who, during her pregnancy, was gifted to a child who became a ruler in Palembang, where Raden Patah was born.²²

In the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, it is told that Raden Patah and his brother, Raden Husen (son of Arya Damar), headed to Java to serve the Javanese King (Majapahit). Still, before that, both of them stopped at Ampel, where the two of them studied Islam from Sunan Ampel.

*Kacariyos the Chinese princess, ingkang kaparingakên dhatêng Arya Damar, sampun ambabar miyos kakung, also nicknamed Raden Patah, even kalih Arya Damar piyambak inggih kakung satunggil, kanamanan Radèn Usen. son of kêkalih lajêng sami rêmbag dhatêng ing Jawi land, angabdi Prabu Brawijaya ing Majapait. radèn kêkalih mudhun dhatêng dharat, kèndêl wontên ing Ngampèl Dênta, lajêng sami aggêguru dhatêng Sunan Ngampèl Dênta, and sami manjing agami Islam*²³

After the two of them finished studying with Sunan Ampel at the Ngampeldenta Islamic Boarding School, Raden Husen turned to the Majapahit

²¹ Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo* (Jakarta: IIMaN Library, 2017), 378.

²² de Graaf & Pigeaud, *de Eerste Moslimse Vorstendomen op Java*, 37. Abi Fadhal Senori, *Ahla al-Musāmarah fī Hikāyat al-Auliya' al-'Ashrah* (Demak: Maktabah Ibnu Dimaki, 1381 H), 7.

²³ Meinsma, *Chronicle of Tanah Djawi*, 32-33.

rulers and was appointed saked tandha in Eggplant (*Dyan Husèn jinunjung linggeh, dadya Dipati Têrung, aran Pêcat-tondha Dipati*).²⁴ Meanwhile, Raden Patah received the blessing of Sunan Ampel to open a forest with fragrant trees (glagah Wangi) and got them in the west, in a forest called Bintara. In that place Raden Patah founded a mosque and many people who studied with him (*sarta sami ambabadi wana, angadêgakên masjid. Sangsaya kathah têtayang dhatêng, sami aggêguru dhatêng Radèn Patah*).²⁵

Based on the Demak Mosque inscription, Raden Patah is estimated to have built a mosque for the first time in 1388 Saka or 1466 AD.²⁶ Some interpret the chronogram as a turtledove on the mosque's mihrab with the year 1401 Saka or 1479 AD.²⁷ The construction of the second Demak Mosque was estimated to have been built by the trustees (*dene samya trustees, anèng Dêmak pirêmbagan by the mosque, the rêmbagan trustees*),²⁸ and was completed in 1428 Saka or 1506 AD (*enjingipun dated 1 month Dulkangidah mosque kaadêgakên, sinêngkalan 1428*).²⁹ This mosque is likely to adopt the Great Mosque (*masigit agung*) in the Majapahit urban planning structure, which already had a Muslim community in it in the XIV century.³⁰ De Graaf and Pigeaud mention that the Demak Mosque has two important meanings apart from being a place of worship, namely as the center of the Islamic empire and as a pesantren that continues the tradition of dormitories and mandalas, places of pre-Islamic religious education.³¹

²⁴ FL Winter, *Fiber Babad awit Pajajaran dumugi Demak* (Surakarta: GS Gurneman, 1870), 77.

²⁵ Meinsma, *Chronicle of Tanah Djawi*, 34.

²⁶ Ridwan, *Islam in Java XIII-XVI Century*, 147.

²⁷ TE Behrend, "Kraton, Taman, Masjid: A Brief Survey and Bibliographic Review of Islamic Antiquities in Java," *Indonesia Circle*, no. 35 (1984): 45.

²⁸ Jayasubrata, *Chronicle of Tanah Jawi*, 132.

²⁹ Meinsma, *Chronicle of Tanah Djawi*, 49.

³⁰ SO Robson, "Java at the Crossroads: Aspects of Javanese Cultural History in the 14th and 15th Centuries", *Bijdragen Tot de Taal, Land- En Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 137 (1961), 278. This is based on the following text of *the Sundanese Song* (Berg edition): "*patang wiji kang ingutus, danta ning Sunda apatih, anepaken versus demung tumenggung, ngaran pangulu Borang, mwang Pitar apitih, wong Sinaring umiringa, wonten tigang atus, light ikangidul ndataan asari, at agatangan jumog eng masigit-agung*." See in CC Berg, "Sundanese Song: Inleiding, Text, Vertaling en Aanteekeningen", *Bijdragen Tot de Taal, Land- En Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 83 (1927), 21.

³¹ de Graaf & Pigeaud, *de Eerste Moslimse Vorstendomen op Java*, 32.

4. Giri Islamic Boarding School

When Ampel's supremacy as an icon of Islamic da'wah in the 15th century weakened with the death of Sunan Ampel in 872 H/1467 M. Raden Paku replaced him by building the Giri Islamic Boarding School, which then developed rapidly considering Sunan Giri was a preacher, as well as a trader, trade routes, crossed seas across islands so that reaching areas far outside Java, its communications also reached Islamic kingdoms so that gradually the Giri boarding school was believed to be the trusteeship holder for Islamic kingdoms on various islands, soon the designation of the Giri boarding school became Giri Kedaton or Giri kingdom with the title Sunan Giri or Panembahan Giri, this pesantren was equipped with a mosque building in 1407 S/ 1481 M.³² Giri later became a center for preaching and Islamic political communication with the title Giri Kedhaton.³³

The Giri Islamic Boarding School has a dual role in the propagation of Islam, namely power in the fields of religion and politics. Sunan Giri used his power in religion to spread Islam to other lands, such as Kalimantan, Makassar, Lombok, and Bima.³⁴ While his power in the political field is shown by building a small clerical empire in Giri, which acts as *Ahl al-halli wa al-'aqdi*, which binds to Muslim rulers who incidentally are disciples of the saints, this term means having the right to decide and bind issues related to Islam, statehood and all the affairs of the Muslims.³⁵ As *Ahl al-halli wa al-'aqdi*, Sunan Giri, the top leader of the Javanese Muslims, has the following authorities: 1) To ratify and give the title of Sultan to Islamic kingdoms in Java. 2) Determining the outline

³²Syatibi Al-Haqiri, *Archipelago Religious Inscriptions* (Jakarta: Research and Development Center for Indonesian Ministry of Religion Education and Training, 2011), 136.

³³Sunan Giri's political potential is vital, so in the *Kropak Ferrara manuscript*, Sunan Giri is called "Prince Ratu Ing Giri Gajah". Quoting Drewes, G. Medjanto, *Javanese Concept of Power: Its Application by Mataram Kings* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1987), 51.

³⁴Sugeng Pramana, *Ki Ageng Mangir Wanabaya: Struggling Against Mataram Hegemony*, (Yogyakarta: Tidal Wave, 2006), 80.

³⁵As an Islamic political institution, Giri has started a conflict with the center of the Majapahit kingdom. In response to Giri's treason attempts, it is said that King Brawijaya V ordered his prime minister (Gajah Mada or others) to overthrow Giri, but was unsuccessful. Institute for Research, *History and Da'wah Islamiyah Sunan Giri*, (Gresik: Islamic Boarding School Research Institute, 1973), p. 135. And t Ahmad Adaby Darban, *Javanese Ulama Part of Islamic Cultural Heritage in Indonesia: Dynamics of Development and Struggle* (Yogyakarta: Seminar Papers, 1995), 6.

of government politics, 3) Taking responsibility for the security and harmony of Muslims and Islamic kingdoms, 4) Has the right to revoke the position of the sultan if he deviates from the policies of the trustees. The political role of the Giri clergy was very dominant in Java. The governor general, JP Coen, called Sunan Giri the *der Mohametisten Pope* or the Pope of the Muslims.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF SULTAN AGUNG VS PESANTREN

1. Mataram is in a dilemma of ideals and facts

Sultan Agung has a real name, Raden Mas Jatmika; when he was young, he was called Raden Mas Rangsang. He is the son of the second king of Mataram, Prince Seda Krapyak, and Queen Mas Adi Dyah Banawati. His mother was the daughter of Prince Benawa from Pajang. Sultan Agung was born in Kota Gede, the center of Mataram in 1593 AD. He was crowned as the third King of Mataram in 1613 and ruled until 1645 AD. Under his ³⁶ Reign the Mataram Kingdom was able to conquer all of Java, outside Java, especially Lampung, Palembang to Sukadana, and Banjarmasin area, and built relations to Malacca and Maluku so that he became the most outstanding Islamic King in Java and the Archipelago at that time.³⁷

Sultan Agung faced various problems that were quite complex, including problems of politics, religion, and cultural traditions. First, the political problem arose from the conflict between Mataram and the small kingdoms that were formerly vassals of the Pajang Sultanate who considered that Mataram had unlawfully taken the rights of Raden Benawa of Hadiwijaya descent; this became a complicated issue, especially in the Mangir area which was controlled

³⁶The change of kings in this dynasty can be seen in the text " *Babad Pajang: Cariyos Wewadosipun Karaton Ing Pajang* " (R. Tanoyo ed.) (Solo: Sadu Budi, 1983). And Taufik Abdullah and ABLapian (ed.), *Indonesia in the Stream of History 3: Arrival and Islamic Civilization* (Jakarta: Van Hoeve's New Ichtiar, 2011), p. 38. And Sutrisno Kutoyo (et-al), *History of the Expedition of Sultan Agung's Troops to Batavia* (Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1986), 1-14.

³⁷The greatness of his name in the field of culture and his actions in fighting foreign penetration into the land of Java in particular and the archipelago in general, he is considered worthy as a warrior as well as a humanist, Sultan Agung has been declared a national hero of Indonesia based on a decree. President No. 106/TK/1975 dated 3 November 1975, during the reign of President Suharto. *id. m. wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultan_Agung_dari_Mataram* .

by Wanabaya who formerly a friend of Hadiwijaya; Likewise in Madiun with its ruler Purbaya, a descendant of Prince Timur, the son of Sultan Terengganu Demak; Likewise conflicts with power centers in the north coast from Cirebon to Surabaya and Madura, this political problem can be solved in stages and costs a lot of energy, from Panembahan Senopati, Krapyak to Sultan Agung, in about 50 years,³⁸ This problem left the strength of the pockets of the pesantren, which could become the basis of counter-kingdom resistance. Second, the problem of Islamic da'wah in the interior, the rejection of some rural people, especially the elite religious leaders, towards the penetration of Islam prompted Sultan Agung to build a tradition of acculturative understanding of religion, namely to incorporate traditions that are still ongoing in the life of Hindu society into the traditions of Muslim society. So that there is an assimilation and absorption of Islamic teachings into the Javanese Hindu religious system in a peaceful and mutually acceptable way. This policy, of course, is opposed by the pesantren because it will become a kind of gateway for syncretism that leads to polytheism and will damage the foundations of Islamic aqidah, which the Wali vehemently opposed like the case of Syeh Siti Jenar—fears of mixing Islamic teachings with Hinduism. Third, King Sultan Agung was eager to become a religious ruler and, at the same time, an absolute king. As the King's power at the time of Majapahit, there is no power above him other than God. At that time, the King was the sole determinant of religious and political policies. Religious power is explicitly embedded in his title, "Sayyidin Panatagama Khalifatullah Ing Matarami". With the achievement of this goal, the King hopes to be able to determine any policies related to religion and the State from the results of his considerations and contemplation, whether picking from Islam, the Javanese religion, or the legacy of Majapahit.

Sultan Agung's political steps are:

³⁸ Lombard , Denys, *Nusa Java: Cross Culture. Integrated Historical Studies. Part II: The Asian Network* , trans. Winarsih Partaningrat Arifin, Rahayu S. Hidayat and Nini Hidayati Yusuf (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005) 57 - 59

- a. He is undermining the political role of the Ngampel pesantren by marrying his younger brother Pandan Arum to Prince Pekik, the 7th descendant of Sunan Ampel, and making him a family.³⁹
- b. Destroyed the Giri pesantren, through the hands of Prince Pekik, then captured Sunan Giri Kedhaton, Panembahan Kawis Guwa (the last Sunan Giri Kedaton VII) as a prisoner of Mataram City until he died, and closed the Giri pesantren (the closure was contained in the story of *Serat Centhini* or *suluk Ki among Raga–Tambang raras*, where the two of them were abandoned after the closing of the Giri boarding school and their students were also expelled from the boarding school).⁴⁰

ACTIONS OF SULTAN AGUNG POST THE COLLAPSE OF THE PESANTREN

1. Inauguration of the Sultan as Kang Agung Binathara

During the Majapahit era, the position of a religious scholar called Pastor or Resi ranked first in the hierarchy of powers, which the King highly respected. The religious charisma of the King of Majapahit is considered to have come from the clergy because the clergy is representatives of the Gods on earth. They are the leaders of religious ceremonies and, at the same time, the coronation ceremony. They also have the right to make dead kings become gods and, simultaneously, seat living kings as incarnations of gods (*Batara*).⁴¹

In the social structure of Majapahit society, there are three levels: the religious at the very top, the courtiers who are considered the Kshatriyas, and the people in the villages. However, it should be understood that the King determines the legitimacy of religious people, so the King is in a position above religious people, even above religious law. The King's existence as the head of State and ruler of the religious community places the King above ordinary

³⁹MC. Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia 1200 – 2004*, (Jakarta: Serambi, 2005) 110

⁴⁰The event of the collapse of Giri, which is recorded in *Serat centhini*, can be seen more clearly in HJ De Graaf, *The Peak of Mataram Power: The Politics of Expansion of Sultan Agung* (trans.) Javanologi Series (Jakarta: Graffiti Press, 1986) 215-216

⁴¹Lombard, *Nusa Jawa III*, p. 16.

people, above the law because he is the Great God who incarnates over the world. In Majapahit, this doctrine is known as the doctrine of Ke-Agung Binathara.⁴²

2. Strengthening Javanese-Islamic culture and traditions through the Javanese Islamic calendar, Creating a Javanese-Islamic calendar with a series of traditions that are acculturative by implementing windu (8-year cycle), Islamic Javanese month (12-month cycle), Sapta-wara (seven-day cycle) in the calendar general daily and panca wara (five-day cycle) in the market calendar. The calendar was made in 1555 S or coincided with 1638 AD.
3. Islamic-Javanese traditions are acculturative in the palace traditions, full of mystical ceremonies, adopting the ceremonial system that developed during the Majapahit era and combined with Islamic traditions. For example, the Garebeg Mulud event. Asliya is a tradition of commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, which Muslims carry out in the month of Rabiul Awal.⁴³

IMPACT POST THE COLLAPSE OF THE POLITICAL ROLE OF PESANTREN

1. Mataram Arrogance Against Islamic Pesantren.

This case occurred during the era of Amangkurat I. Entering the reign of Amangkurat I, who replaced Sultan Agung, the "King of the Gods" order, gave birth to an arrogant attitude toward power with high resistance to Islamic politics or Muslim movements. He considered that the Islamic control of this dynasty was over with the collapse of Surabaya and Giri. His arrogance, among others, is that he wants to avoid submitting to the rules of the Shari'a, especially regarding the limit of marrying 4 people. The King is very fond of collecting beautiful girls to have sex with without the marriage process; he has a unique 'army' to look for

⁴²MC Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java: History of Islamization From The Fourteenth to The Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2006), 118

⁴³The Garebeg ceremony comes from the origin of the word ginarebeg, which means accompanied by many people. This is related to the King's wiyosan (out of the palace) to carry out ceremonies with the people accompanied by courtiers, soldiers, sons (children), sentana (family), and invited guests so that this procession becomes thunderous. The event follows the Islamic calendar, but the event follows Javanese culture. Darsiti Soeratman, *World Life of the Surakarta Palace 1830 – 1939*, (Yogyakarta: Tamansiswa, 1989), 139

them.⁴⁴ He once seized a woman who was pregnant and then killed her husband. The woman was appointed queen, but the queen saw her real husband die; she was unfortunate and eventually died too. the queen was given the title of Queen of Malang.⁴⁵

This arrogance triggered a political response from Muslims, leading to rejection and rebellion. Among the rebellions whose excesses impressed Muslims and Mataram were the rebellions of Sunan Alit and Trunajaya.⁴⁶ The 2nd Giri rebellion during Amangkurat II and the Mataram split over three successive governments were other rebellions.⁴⁷

2. Massacre of Ulama and Santri (Sunan Alit Case).

Sunan Alit or Raden Mas Alit is the younger brother of King Amangkurat I from the second consort of Sultan Agung. According to the Chronicle of Sangkala, he was born in 1553 J or 1631 AD. The time of this birth was doubted by Graaf, who considered that he was too young at his brother's coronation as King in 1646 AD. But at least forward or backward around it.

This political movement appeared to respond to the behavior of Amangkurat I, who was considered to have left the moral norms of a king. In 1637, Amangkurat I, as the crown prince, committed a disgraceful act by kidnapping the most beautiful wife of Tumenggung Wiraguna. This behavior received a negative response from Tumenggung Danusaha, so he reported the

⁴⁴HJ De Graaf, *The Disintegration of Mataram: Under Mangkurat I* , (Jakarta: Graffiti Press, 1987) 26

⁴⁵WL Olthof, *Chronicle of Tanah Jawi: From Prophet Adam to 1647* , (translation) HR. Sumarsono, (Yogyakarta: Nasari, 2011) 312-314.

⁴⁶ Ricklefs, *war, Culture, and Economy in Java 1677-1726* (1993), in *the fiber Jaya Baya* Amangkurat I is described in Javanese satirical language, the *negative metaphor Kalpa Sru semune nakaka putting* (the period of tyranny which is likened to a broken nail), *this period of tyranny describes how the King* behaved tyrannically towards the people while broken nails likened the killing of many commanders who were necessary for the State without use

⁴⁷In 1635, Sultan Agung undermined Giri's power through a great battle assisted by Prince Pekik's troops from Surabaya, the descendants of Sunan Ampel, accompanied by the massive expulsion of Giri's students. During the time of Amangkurat II, Agung's grandson, there was a revival of Giri, and in 1680 he again launched a rebellion. Giri's power was only subdued after Amangkurat II asked for help from Surabaya and the VOC. Soemarsaid Moertono, *The State and State Development Enterprises in Java in the Past: A Study of the Mataram II Period from the XVI to XIX centuries* (Jakarta: Yayasan Torch Indonesia, 1985) p37.

crown prince to the King (Sultan Agung) in the hope that the crown prince's position would be canceled and Raden Mas Alit, his younger brother, Amangkurat I, even treated his younger brother as a rebel.

Facing Sunan Alit, whom Islamic leaders supported, Amangkurat I's first step was to kill everyone who was considered to have reported the case of his first affair to his father, Sultan Agung. According to the Babad Tanah Jawi, the order resulted in "the loss of the lives of innocent women and children." Then kill, Sunan Alit's servants and the women were divided among the King's friends. Finally, there was an all-out rebellion, "the final bloody battle." Sunan Alit was slaughtered along with 50 people or 60 of his remaining supporters, which previously numbered 300 people.⁴⁸

After the incident, Amangkurat I hunted down all those who were thought to be involved in helping Prince Alit. Then the Mataram authorities announced to unthinkingly slaughter Muslims consisting of clerics and students, an estimated 6,000 people, in Plered Square.⁴⁹ This event was witnessed by Rijklof van Goens, a Dutchman who participated in the VOC expedition to Java and made five visits to Mataram in 1648, 1649, 1651, and 1564. He became an essential informant about Mataram in those years because of records - his active notes were carried out during the visit.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

Based on the overall explanation of the results of the study in the research above, and referring to the problem which is the urgency of this research, it can be concluded that there are three main things; first, the Walisanga Islamic Boarding School had a central role in the Politico Cultural of the Demak kingdom. Because

⁴⁸Graaf, *Disintegration ...*, p. 28

⁴⁹ HJ. De Graaf, *De Regering Van Sunan mangku-Rat I Tegal Wangi, vorst van Mataram, 1646-1677* (1961) p. 38. See also Sumarsaid Moertono in *State and Statecraft in Old Java, 16th to 19th century*, (1968), the massacre was carried out by scattering soldiers to the four winds to the homes of the kyai and santri families who were accused of treason, both "all men -men, women, and children", signaled by the Sweep cannon from the Mataram square. This event was not disclosed by any chronicle history in Java, but was witnessed by the Dutch official Rijklofs van Goen who served in Mataram, which was later published in *De vijf gezantschapsreizen naar het hof van Mataram*, 1648-1654, 1956

⁵⁰Lombard, *Nusa Jawa II*, p. 111-112.

a union of pesantren leaders founded the kingdom of Demak called Walisanga, the supporting pillars of the government are also the Walis, both the Majlis of Ulama affairs and the spread of religion, the Council of State considerations, ahl al-halli wal 'aqdi to the Military Commander played by the Islamic Boarding School Kyai and their students. Second, during the time of Sultan Agung, the political role of the pesantren was removed and demolished. This was done with the consideration that the political role of the Islamic boarding schools, especially the Wali, would result in the kingdom's decline within religious confines, making it difficult to fulfill its grand ideals to match the greatness of Majapahit in the archipelago. Third, the collapse of the Islamic boarding school has an impact on 1) The appointment of Sultan Agung as Agung Binathara, who has absolute power as God who manifests (incarnates) in the world with his supernatural powers. 2) There was hostility with Islamic boarding schools; during the time of Amangkurat I, there was even a tragedy of the massacre of Kyai and santri; 3) The emergence of understanding and syncretic traditions in the traditional ceremonies of the Mataram Kraton.

This research is not final, so it is hoped that there will be further research related to the political development of the santri after the weakening of Mataram in the Dutch colonial era because the political role of the santri has continued to strengthen to this day. So, these themes are still interesting to study.

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