

**JAVANESE ULAMA IN MALAYSIA:
MIGRATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY**



By :
Arik Dwijayanto
17300016040

Submitted to the Postgraduate Program of UIN Sunan Kalijaga
to fulfil one of the requirements for obtaining
a Doctoral Degree in Islamic Studies

YOGYAKARTA
2024



STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
SUNAN KALIJAGA
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ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

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To be submitted and defended

As one of the requirements to obtain a Doctoral degree (Dr.)
In Islamic Studies with specialization in *Islamic Thought and Muslim Societies*

Yogyakarta, 13th August 2014

STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
SUNAN KALIJAGA
YOGYAKARTA

On Behalf of The Rector
Head of the Examining Committee,

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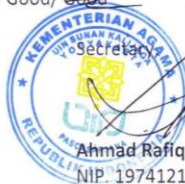
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Prof. Dr. Muhammad Wildan, M.A

PREFACE

The writing of this dissertation would not have been possible without the people who provided services to me for the final process. For the completion of this dissertation, I would like to thank my Promoter and Rector of UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Prof. Noorhaidi, S.Ag., M.A., M.Phil., Ph.D and Co-Promoter Prof. Dr. Muhammad Wildan, M.A., who have provided inspiring comments, insightful discussions, and valuable suggestions. I owe much to the Ministry of Religion (Kemenag) of the Republic of Indonesia for providing 5000 doctoral scholarships. I also sincerely thank all parties who have helped me a lot during my research until the completion of this dissertation.

I would like to express my thanks to UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Prof. Dr. Abdul Mustaqim, S.Ag., M.Ag as Director of the Postgraduate Program, Ahmad Rofiq, S.Ag, M.Ag, Ph.D., as Head of the Doctoral Program and his Secretary, Dr. Munirul Ikhwan, Lc., M.A who provided support and motivation to complete the dissertation. I would like also to extend my gratitude to the lecturers who have taught at the Postgraduate Program at UIN Sunan Kalijaga for three semesters, especially in the ITMS Class of 2017, including Prof. Dr. H. M. Amin Abdullah, M.A., Prof. Dr. Machasin, M.A, Prof. Dr. Moch Nur Ichwan, S.Ag, M.A., Prof. Dr. Phil. Sahiron, M.A., Prof. Syafa'atun Almirzanah, Ph.D., Prof. Fatimah Husain, Ph.D., Ahmad Rofiq, S.Ag, M.Ag, Ph.D., Najib Kailani, M.A, Ph.D., Prof. Mun'im Sirry (USA), Prof. Dr. Maqdy Behmen (USA), Dicky Sofjan, MPP, M.A., Ph.D. (ICRS-UGM) and Ahmad Munjid, Ph.D. (UGM).

My thanks also go to INSURI Ponorogo. On this campus, I served and dedicated myself, including to Prof. Dr. H. M. Suyudi, M.Ag as Rector of INSURI Ponorogo, Dr. Ahmad Syafii, SJ., M.S.I as Vice Rector for Academic Affairs, Dr. Asaduddin Lukman, M.Pd.I as Vice Rector for Finance; Dr. Murdianto, M.Si, Vice-Rector for Student Affairs; Dr. Jauhan Budiwan, M.Ag as

Postgraduate Director; Dr. Nurul Malikah, M.Pd as Head of the Master's Study Program; Dr. Samsudin, M.Pd as Dean of the Tarbiyah Faculty, Dr. Suad Fikriawan, M.A as Dean of the Sharia Faculty, Chair of LPM Dr. Moh. Masduki, M.S.I, as Chair of LP2M, Dr. Muhammad Misbahuddin, M.Hum, as a lecturer colleague at the Faculty of Da'wah and Islamic Communication (FDKI), Head of Islamic Communication and Broadcasting Study Program (KPI), Khafidhoh, M.Hum, Head of Islamic Community Development Study Program (PMI), Teguh Ansori, S.Sos, M.E, Chairman of the Senate for the 2021-2025 period, Dr. Agus Setyawan, S.Th.I., M.S.I, Drs. H.M. Moh. Daroini, M.Pd.I., K.H Tajul Mujahidin, M.Pd.I., Syamsul Wathoni, S.H.I., M.Si, Dawam Multazamy R, M.Hum, Ibnu Muchlis, M.Hum, Khusnul Khotimah, M.Pd.I, Adi Ari Hamzah, M.Sos, colleagues at *Omah Jurnal Sunan Giri* (OJSG), Khoirul Fathoni, M.E, Wahyu Hanafi Putra, M.Pd.I, Nafiah, M.E.Sy, Abdah Munfaridatus Sholihah, M.Pd.I, Rinesti Witasari, M.Pd, Asfahani, M.Pd.I, Tamrin Fathoni, M.Pd.I, Nanik Setyowati, M.Pd, Ahmad Kirom, M.Li, Lisma Meiliana Wijayanti, M.Pd, and Samsul Muqorrobin, M.Pd.I.

I also extend my thanks to all my colleagues in the Ph.D. Program of ITMS 2017, *Mbak Umi* (Surakarta), *Mas Said* (Lombok), *Mas Nasrul* (Jepara) and *Mas Jabpar* (Yogyakarta). I would like to express my thanks to Prof. Dr. Hamed Bin Mohd Adnan Universiti Malaya, Malaysia, *Encik Ahmad Bin Abu Bakar* in Kuala Lumpur, *Pak Masykur* in Kuala Lumpur, *Bu Mimin Mintarsih* in Kuala Lumpur, Chabib Maulana in Kuala Lumpur, *Ustadz Hasyim Hasbullah*, *Ustadz Ali Trimahno*, *Mas Kyai Ihyaul Lazib* and *Tuan Haji Ja'far* in Selangor and all parties who helped me in Malaysia.

Last but not least, I want to express my sincere thanks to my extended family: *Bapak Harmanto bin Muhamad Basuni* (*almarhum*) and *Ibu Sringatun binti Wiryoatmojo* (*almarhumah*), my father in law, *Bapak Syamsul Hadi* and *Ibu Sri Nurul Qomsatin*, my beloved wife Yusmicha Ulya Afif, M.Pd.I, and my

son ElFata Fatihuzaman Bisultan and two daughters Ellena Fauzana Avicenna and Elhawa Qanita Lillahi Hanifa. To my brothers, *Mas* Erwin Kurniawan, Erdian Tri Jatmiko, Fuad Maulana Ibrahim and Rifqi Nafiul Azmi, thank you for your support. I dedicate this dissertation to all of the people mentioned above.



ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with the migration of Javanese Ulama and their role in establishing religious authority in the Malay Peninsula during the 20th century. Using a historical approach and utilizing the Muslim travelling theory and religious authority, this dissertation will answer the following research questions: Why were Javanese Ulama successful in establishing religious authority in the Malay Peninsula? How did Javanese Ulama influence the socio-religious landscape in the Malay Peninsula during the 20th century? And, how did Javanese Ulama maintain their religious authority in the Malay Peninsula? The data sources for this research were obtained from analysis of historical documents in the National Archives of Malaysia, books, journal articles, and interviews with several informants in Malaysia.

The research findings indicate that the success of Javanese Ulama in establishing religious authority in Malaysia was achieved through various means, including the establishment of Islamic institutions such as *surau*, mosques, madrasahs, and *pondok*. These institutions not only served as places of worship and education but also became power bases for Javanese Ulama to affirm their religious authority within the community. Javanese Ulama were also actively involved in Sufi orders (*tarekat*). Through the teachings and practices of *tarekat*, Javanese Ulama, such as Kiai Ahmad Shah and Kiai Suhaimi, managed to build spiritual authority and attract many followers. The hierarchical relationship between *murshid* (spiritual guide) and disciples within the *tarekat* further strengthened the position of Javanese Ulama as influential religious leaders. Moreover, the Javanese Ulama produced textual works in various fields of Islamic sciences. The books written by Javanese Ulama, such as Kiai Muhammad Dahlan, Kiai Suhaimi, and Kiai Shamsuddin, became essential references in religious learning at *pondok* and in the wider Muslim community. Through these works, Javanese Ulama affirmed their authority in

interpreting and disseminating Islamic teachings. Some Javanese Ulama gained political legitimacy from the Sultans through their appointments as *Qadi* and *Mufti*. This not only reinforced the position of Javanese Ulama as religious authorities, but also demonstrated the state's recognition of their important roles. The religious authority of Javanese Ulama was also closely linked to the dynamics of resistance against colonial power. *Pondok* became alternative spaces for the Malay Muslim community to maintain their Islamic identity amidst the pressures of colonialism. Through leadership in *tarekat*, Javanese Ulama played a crucial role in mobilizing the masses and building solidarity among Malay Muslims.

In addition, Javanese Ulama maintained their religious authority in Malaysia through several other means. Firstly, they possessed strong intellectual networks. Javanese Ulama acquired profound Islamic education in Java and Haramayn (Mecca and Medina). They mastered various branches of traditional Islamic sciences, such as Quranic exegesis (*tafsir*), *hadith*, Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), theology, and Sufism (*tasawuf*). This intellectual formation distinguished them from modern Muslim scholars and became a distinctive characteristic of their identity as Ulama. Secondly, they performed socio-religious roles (vocations). Javanese Ulama were actively involved in various roles, such as teaching in *pondok* and *madrasahs*, serving as *mufti*, *qadi*, *penghulu*, *tarekat* leaders, or as advisors to the Sultans. Through these roles, they asserted religious authority and positioned themselves as intermediaries between sacred texts and the Muslim community. Thirdly, they had a strong orientation towards the Islamic scholarly traditions. Javanese Ulama positioned themselves as heirs and guardians of the Islamic intellectual traditions. They referred to classical sources, employed traditional methods of interpretation, and upheld established practices and doctrines. This orientation towards tradition, while remaining adaptive to the local Malaysian context, became a shared frame of reference that bound

them together. They also built networks with various parties, including fellow Ulama, sultanates, and through *pondok* associations. These networks became important social and cultural capital in upholding religious authority, spreading Islamic teachings, and influencing the development of Muslim society in Malaysia. Furthermore, Javanese Ulama produced religious works in various fields of Islamic sciences. The books written or translated into the Malay language and Jawi script became important references in the teaching and practice of Islam. These works affirmed Sunni orthodoxy and developed an Islamic discourse relevant to the local context.

Javanese Ulama in the Malay Peninsula were also involved in the struggle against communism alongside the Malay community as spiritual leaders of the –Laskar Selempang Merah (Red Scarf Force). Their contribution to this armed struggle further strengthened their religious authority and socio-political role in Malay society. They became inspiring role models for the community in reviving Islamic traditions through piety, breadth of knowledge, and wisdom. They were respected figures and exemplars in practicing Islamic teachings. Through these diverse roles and contributions, Javanese Ulama maintained the continuity of Islamic traditions and became nodes connecting the ummah with the intellectual and spiritual heritage of Islam throughout the ages while affirming Islamic identity and practices in the Malay lands.

Keywords: *Migration, Javanese Ulama, Religious Authorities, Malaysia*

ABSTRAK

Disertasi ini membahas migrasi Ulama Jawa dan perannya dalam membangun otoritas keagamaan di Semenanjung Malaya pada abad ke-20. Melalui pendekatan historis menggunakan teori *travelling* Muslim dan otoritas keagamaan, studi ini berupaya menjawab beberapa pertanyaan penelitian sebagai berikut: Mengapa Ulama Jawa berhasil membangun otoritas keagamaan di Semenanjung Malaya? Bagaimana otoritas keagamaan Ulama Jawa memengaruhi lanskap sosial-keagamaan di Semenanjung Malaya pada abad ke-20? Bagaimana Ulama Jawa memertahankan otoritas keagamaan mereka di Semenanjung Malaya? Sumber data penelitian ini diperoleh melalui telaah dokumen historis di Arsip Negara Malaysia, buku, artikel jurnal, dan wawancara dengan beberapa informan di Malaysia.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keberhasilan Ulama Jawa dalam membangun otoritas keagamaan di Malaysia diantaranya dengan mendirikan lembaga-lembaga Islam seperti surau, masjid, madrasah dan pondok pesantren. Lembaga-lembaga ini tidak hanya berfungsi sebagai tempat ibadah dan pendidikan, namun juga menjadi basis kekuasaan bagi Ulama Jawa untuk meneguhkan otoritas keagamaan mereka di tengah masyarakat. Ulama Jawa juga aktif terlibat dalam tarekat. Melalui ajaran dan praktik tarekat, Ulama Jawa seperti Kiai Ahmad Shah dan Kiai Suhaimi berhasil membangun otoritas spiritual dan menarik banyak pengikut. Hubungan hierarkis antara mursyid dan murid dalam tarekat juga memperkuat posisi Ulama Jawa sebagai pemimpin agama yang berpengaruh. Selain itu, Ulama Jawa menghasilkan karya-karya tekstual dalam berbagai bidang ilmu keislaman. Kitab-kitab yang ditulis oleh Ulama Jawa seperti Kiai Muhammad Dahlan, Kiai Suhaimi, dan Kiai Shamsuddin menjadi sumber rujukan penting dalam pembelajaran agama di pesantren dan masyarakat Muslim yang lebih luas. Melalui karya-karya ini, Ulama Jawa meneguhkan otoritas mereka dalam menafsirkan dan

menyebarkan ajaran Islam. Beberapa Ulama Jawa memperoleh legitimasi politik dari Sultan melalui pengangkatan sebagai Kadi dan Mufti. Hal ini tidak hanya memperkuat posisi Ulama Jawa sebagai otoritas keagamaan, namun juga menunjukkan pengakuan negara terhadap peran penting mereka. Otoritas keagamaan Ulama Jawa juga terkait erat dengan dinamika perlawanan terhadap kekuasaan kolonial. Pesantren menjadi ruang alternatif bagi masyarakat Muslim Melayu untuk mempertahankan identitas keislaman mereka di tengah tekanan penjajahan. Melalui kepemimpinan dalam tarekat, Ulama Jawa memainkan peran penting dalam memobilisasi massa dan membangun solidaritas di kalangan Muslim Melayu.

Disisi lain, Ulama Jawa mempertahankan otoritas keagamaan mereka di Malaysia melalui beberapa cara; *pertama*, jaringan intelektual yang kuat. Ulama Jawa memperoleh pendidikan Islam yang mendalam di pesantren Jawa dan Haramayn (Mekah dan Madinah). Mereka menguasai berbagai cabang ilmu keislaman tradisional seperti tafsir, hadis, fikih, teologi, dan tasawuf. Formasi intelektual ini membedakan mereka dari cendekiawan Muslim modern dan menjadi ciri khas identitas mereka sebagai Ulama. Kedua, Menjalankan peran sosial-keagamaan (*vokasi*). Ulama Jawa terlibat aktif dalam berbagai peran seperti mengajar di pesantren dan madrasah, menjadi mufti, kadi, penghulu, pemimpin tarekat, atau penasihat Sultan. Melalui peran-peran ini, mereka menegaskan otoritas keagamaan dan memosisikan diri sebagai perantara antara teks suci dan masyarakat Muslim. *Ketiga*, Orientasi yang kuat pada tradisi keilmuan Islam. Ulama Jawa menempatkan diri sebagai pewaris dan penjaga tradisi intelektual Islam. Mereka merujuk pada sumber-sumber klasik, menggunakan metode interpretasi tradisional, dan mempertahankan praktik dan doktrin yang mapan. Orientasi pada tradisi ini menjadi kerangka acuan bersama yang mengikat mereka, meski tetap adaptif terhadap konteks lokal Malaysia. Mereka juga membangun jaringan dengan berbagai pihak, termasuk sesama Ulama, kesultanan, dan melalui pesantren.

Jaringan ini menjadi modal sosial dan kultural penting dalam menegakkan otoritas keagamaan, menyebarkan ajaran Islam, dan memengaruhi perkembangan masyarakat Muslim di Malaysia. Selain itu, Ulama Jawa juga menghasilkan karya-karya keagamaan dalam berbagai bidang ilmu Islam. Kitab-kitab yang ditulis atau diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa Melayu dan aksara Jawi ini menjadi referensi penting dalam pengajaran dan praktik Islam. Karya-karya ini meneguhkan ortodoksi Sunni dan mengembangkan wacana keislaman yang relevan dengan konteks lokal.

Ulama Jawa di Semenanjung Malaya juga terlibat dalam perjuangan melawan komunisme bersama masyarakat Melayu sebagai pemimpin spiritual Pasukan Selempang Merah. Kontribusi dalam perjuangan bersenjata ini semakin memperkuat otoritas keagamaan dan peran sosial-politik Ulama Jawa di masyarakat Melayu. Mereka menjadi teladan yang menginspirasi masyarakat dalam menghidupkan tradisi Islam melalui kesalehan, keluasan ilmu, dan kearifan. Mereka menjadi figur yang disegani dan menjadi panutan dalam menjalankan ajaran Islam. Dengan berbagai peran dan kontribusi tersebut, Ulama Jawa mempertahankan kesinambungan tradisi Islam dan menjadi simpul yang menghubungkan umat dengan warisan intelektual dan spiritual Islam sepanjang zaman, sekaligus meneguhkan identitas dan praktik keislaman di Tanah Melayu.

Kata kunci: *Migrasi, Ulama Jawa, Otoritas Keagamaan, Malaysia*

المخلص

تناقش هذه الأطروحة هجرة العلماء الجاويين ودورهم في تأسيس السلطة الدينية في شبه جزيرة الملايو في القرن العشرين. ومن خلال المنهج التاريخي باستخدام نظرية السفر الإسلامي والسلطة الدينية، تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى الإجابة على عدة أسئلة بحثية هي: لماذا نجح العلماء الجاويون في تأسيس السلطة الدينية في شبه جزيرة الملايو؟ كيف أثر العلماء الجاويون على المشهد الاجتماعي والديني لشبه جزيرة الملايو في القرن العشرين؟ كيف حافظ العلماء الجاويون على سلطتهم الدينية في شبه جزيرة الملايو؟ تم الحصول على مصادر البيانات لهذا البحث من خلال مراجعة الوثائق التاريخية في أرشيف الدولة الماليزية والكتب والمقالات الصحفية والمقابلات مع العديد من المخبرين في ماليزيا.

تظهر نتائج البحث أن نجاح العلماء الجاويين في بناء السلطة الدينية في ماليزيا يشمل على إنشاء مؤسسات إسلامية مثل سوراو والمساجد والمدارس الداخلية الإسلامية. لا تعمل هذه المؤسسات كأماكن للعبادة والتعليم فحسب، بل تعمل أيضاً كقاعدة قوة للعلماء الجاويين لتأكيد سلطتهم الدينية في المجتمع. ويشارك العلماء الجاويون أيضاً بنشاط في الطريقة من خلال تعاليم وممارسات الطريقة، نجح العلماء الجاويون مثل كياي أحمد شاه وكياي السحيمي في تأسيس السلطة الروحية وجذب العديد من الأتباع. كما أن العلاقة الهرمية بين المرشدين والطلاب داخل الطريقة تعزز أيضاً مكانة العلماء الجاويين كقادة دينيين مؤثرين. وبصرف النظر عن ذلك، فإن العلماء الجاويين ينتجون أعمالاً نصية في مختلف مجالات العلوم الإسلامية. أصبحت الكتب التي كتبها علماء جاويون مثل كياي محمد دحلان، وكياي السحيمي، وكياي شمس الدين مصادر مرجعية مهمة للتعليم الديني في المدارس الداخلية الإسلامية والمجتمع الإسلامي

الأوسع. ومن خلال هذه الأعمال، أكد العلماء الجاويون سلطتهم في تفسير ونشر التعاليم الإسلامية. حصل بعض العلماء الجاويين على الشرعية السياسية من السلطان من خلال تعيينهم كقاضي ومفتي. وهذا لا يعزز مكانة العلماء الجاويين كسلطات دينية فحسب، بل يُظهر أيضًا اعتراف الدولة بدورها المهم. كما كانت السلطة الدينية للعلماء الجاويين مرتبطة ارتباطًا وثيقًا بديناميكيات مقاومة القوة الاستعمارية. أصبحت المدارس الداخلية الإسلامية مساحة بديلة للمجتمع الماليزي المسلم للحفاظ على هويته الإسلامية وسط ضغوط الاستعمار. ومن خلال القيادة داخل الجماعة، لعب العلماء الجاويون دورًا مهمًا في تعبئة الجماهير وبناء التضامن بين مسلمي الملايو.

من ناحية أخرى، يحافظ العلماء الجاويون على سلطتهم الدينية في ماليزيا من خلال عدة وسائل؛ أولاً، شبكة فكرية قوية. تلقى العلماء الجاويون تعليمًا إسلاميًا متعمقًا في المدارس الداخلية الإسلامية الجاوية والحرمين (مكة والمدينة). إنهم يتقنون مختلف فروع المعرفة الإسلامية التقليدية مثل التفسير والحديث والفقه واللاهوت والصوفية. وهذا التكوين الفكري يميزهم عن العلماء المسلمين المعاصرين وهو السمة المميزة لهويتهم كعلماء. ثانيًا، القيام بالأدوار الاجتماعية والدينية (المهنية). يشارك العلماء الجاويون بنشاط في أدوار مختلفة مثل التدريس في المدارس الداخلية والمدارس الإسلامية، أو كونهم مفتيين، أو قاضيين، أو بينغولو، أو قادة طرق، أو مستشارين للسلطان. ومن خلال هذه الأدوار، يؤكدون سلطتهم الدينية ويضعون أنفسهم كوسطاء بين النصوص المقدسة والمجتمع الإسلامي. ثالثًا: التوجه القوي نحو التقاليد العلمية الإسلامية. وقد نصّب العلماء الجاويون أنفسهم على أنهم ورثة وأوصياء على التراث الفكري الإسلامي. لقد أشاروا إلى المصادر الكلاسيكية، واستخدموا الأساليب التقليدية في التفسير، وحافظوا على الممارسات والمبادئ الراسخة. ويصبح هذا التوجه نحو التقاليد إطارًا مرجعيًا مشتركًا يربطهم،

على الرغم من أنه يظل متكيفاً مع السياق الماليزي المحلي. كما قاموا ببناء شبكات مع مختلف الأطراف، بما في ذلك زملائهم من العلماء، والسلطنة، ومن خلال المدارس الداخلية الإسلامية. وتصبح هذه الشبكة رأسماً اجتماعياً وثقافياً مهماً في دعم السلطة الدينية ونشر التعاليم الإسلامية والتأثير على تنمية المجتمع الإسلامي في ماليزيا. وبصرف النظر عن ذلك، أنتج العلماء الجاويون أيضاً أعمالاً دينية في مختلف مجالات العلوم الإسلامية. أصبحت هذه الكتب، المكتوبة أو المترجمة إلى اللغة الماليزية والجاوية، مراجع مهمة في التعاليم والممارسات الإسلامية. تؤكد هذه الأعمال على العقيدة السنية وتطور الخطاب الإسلامي الملائم للسياق المحلي.

كما شارك رجال الدين الجاويون في شبه جزيرة الملايو في النضال ضد الشيوعية جنباً إلى جنب مع مجتمع الملايو كقادة روجيين لجيش المقلاع الأحمر. هذه المساهمة في الكفاح المسلح عززت السلطة الدينية والدور الاجتماعي والسياسي للعلماء الجاويين في مجتمع الملايو. إنهم قدوة يلهمون الناس للارتقاء إلى مستوى التقاليد الإسلامية من خلال التقوى واتساع المعرفة والحكمة. لقد أصبحوا شخصيات محترمة ونماذج يحتذى بها في تطبيق التعاليم الإسلامية. ومن خلال هذه الأدوار والمساهمات المتنوعة، يحافظ العلماء الجاويون على استمرارية التقاليد الإسلامية ويصبحون عقدة تربط الناس بالتراث الفكري والروحي للإسلام على مر العصور، فضلاً عن تعزيز الهوية والممارسة الإسلامية في أراضي الملايو.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الهجرة، العلماء الجاويون، السلطات الدينية، ماليزيا

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The Malay and Javanese regions hold significant importance in the development of Islam within the archipelago. Scholars, Muslims, and the West have extensively studied these regions, focusing on themes such as the early adoption of Islam in the archipelago, international trade routes, and the evolution of local culture, religious practices, literature, and socio-political structures.¹

The migration of Javanese Muslims in the Malay Peninsula (Malaysia), represents a significant facet of the intertwining of religion and cultures within the Southeast Asian archipelago. This migration is a historical footnote and a pivotal chapter in understanding the mosaic of identities, and religious and socio-political developments. Within this broad spectrum of scholarly interest, the migration patterns of Javanese Muslims to the Malay Peninsula stand out as a noteworthy subject. These migrants, particularly prominent in states like Johor, Perak, and Selangor, underscore the dynamic nature of cultural and religious diffusion across geographical boundaries. The migration trends are

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¹ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern "Ulama" in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (University of Hawaii Press, 2004); Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds* (Routledge, 2003); Merle Calvin Ricklefs, *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Social, Cultural and Religious History, c. 1930 to the Present* (NUS Press Singapore, 2012); Denys Lombard, -Networks and Synchronisms in Southeast Asian History,| *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26, No. 1 (1995): 10–16; Yusril Fahmi Adam, Elza Ramona, and Imam Muhsin, -Islam Melayu dan Islam Jawa: Studi Komparatif Akulturasi Islam dan Kebudayaan dalam Perspektif Sejarah,| *Muslim Heritage* 8, No. 1 (2023): 133–52.

remarkable for their scale and impact on the religious and cultural landscape of the regions they settled in.²

The influx of Javanese migrants into Johor is a case in point. By 1890, approximately 15,000 Javanese had settled in the area, which saw a substantial increase to 25,000 by 1894. This rapid growth in the Javanese population indicates the broader migratory waves affecting the peninsula. In the Batu Pahat region of Johor, the population of Javanese migrants had exceeded the local Malay community by 1931, totaling 38,644 individuals.³ This demographic shift highlights the scale of Javanese migration and points to the significant cultural, religious, and social implications of such movements.

Therefore, the presence of Javanese Muslims in Malaysia is not merely a historical occurrence but a testament to the fluid and interconnected nature of cultural and religious identities in Southeast Asia. It reflects the ongoing adaptation, integration, and synthesis processes that have characterized the region's history, shedding light on the complex tapestry of influences that have shaped its present.⁴

The prevailing scholarly discourse on Javanese migration to Malaysia has predominantly centered on the economic dimensions, with significant oversight of other critical aspects, notably the

² Craig A Lockard, The Javanese as Emigrant: Observations on the Development of Javanese Settlements Overseas, *Indonesia*, No. 11 (1971): 41–62; Teruo Sekimoto, A Preliminary Report on the Javanese in Selangor, Malaysia, *Japanese Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26, No. 2 (1988): 175–90; Koji Miyazaki, Javanese-Malay: Between Adaptation and Alienation, *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 2000, 76–99.

³ Khazin Mohd Tamrin and Sukiman Bohari, Orang Jawa Pontian: Kedatangan dan Kegiatannya dalam Aspek Sosio-Ekonomi dan Politik Tempatan, *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics & Strategic Studies* 10 (2020); Kamdi Kamil and Noriah Mohamed, *Masyarakat Keturunan Jawa Johor* (Yayasan Warisan Johor, 2021).

⁴ Arik Dwijayanto, Migrasi, Adaptasi dan Tradisi Komunitas Muslim Jawa di Semenanjung Melayu, *Dialogia* 15, No. 2 (2017): 265; Mohd Taufik Arridzo and Bani Sudardi, Migrasi Tradisi Pesantren Jawa ke Malaysia Awal Abad ke-20, *IBDA: Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 12, No. 2 (2014): 210–24.

religious influences. This narrow focus has led to a preponderance of literature examining the influx of low-skilled labour migrants, thereby marginalizing the intricate roles played by religious leaders (Ulama) and the Javanese nobility (*priyayi*). Within the Malay societal structure in Peninsular Malaysia, Ulama assume a pivotal position, serving not only as spiritual guides but also as key figures in political, social, and economic spheres. It was not until the post-1970s era that scholarly attention began to pivot towards an in-depth exploration of the Ulama's multifaceted roles, as evidenced by increased academic endeavors dedicated to this subject.⁵ Despite this burgeoning interest, research on the specific contributions and influence of Javanese Ulama within the Malaysian context needs to be developed further. This gap is particularly notable given the historical relationship between Javanese Ulama and Malay Ulama, underscoring the need for a more comprehensive approach to elucidate the complexities of this religious and cultural interplay fully.

This relationship was formed when they performed the Hajj pilgrimage, continued the transmission of knowledge, and/or obtained teaching authority from their teachers. Haramayn became a meeting point for Nusantara scholars, including Javanese and Malay scholars in Mecca and Medina, for a long time, thus allowing the formation of intellectual relations (teacher and student) and socio-cultural networks (*Ashabul Jawiyyin*). In fact, since the 16th century, the number of Muslims who went to Haramayn increased, including those from religious circles (Ulama) and various other migrant segments, such as ordinary pilgrims and traders. As Azra explained, the scientific discourse in

⁵ Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, -Towards a History of Malaysian Ulama, *South East Asia Research* 16, No. 1 (2008): 117–40; Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, -The Religio-Political Activism of Ulama in Singapore, *Indonesia and the Malay World* 40, No. 116 (2012): 1–19.

Haramayn in the XVII-XVIII centuries formed a network of Middle Eastern Ulama and Nusantara Ulama.⁶

The migration of Javanese clerics to the Malay Peninsula in the 19th century continued the network of Javanese and Malay clerics in Haramayn during the XVII-XVIII centuries. Moreover, the impact of colonialism further strengthened the network of Ulama, which gave birth to the spirit of resistance to colonialism in the Malay Peninsula (Malaysia) and the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). The hard-fought efforts of Javanese scholars in Mecca and Medina in intellectual and cultural networks through Hajj led to the colonial Government giving the title "Haji" to people who returned from the holy land. This title began to be used in 1916. The title Hajj was initiated by the colonial Government to provide a sign or symbol to recognize everyone who had performed the Hajj from Haramayn. This sign or title was given in connection with the rebellion of the Islamic movement, which was often in conflict with the colonial authorities at that time. The intense pressure from the colonials on religious leaders (Ulama), especially in Java, encouraged them to migrate to the Malay Peninsula.⁷

The migration of Javanese Ulama and their descendants to the Malay Peninsula must be separated from the Ulama network that had been connected for a long time, such as through Kiai Ahmad Shah, a Javanese cleric in Johor who became a student of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi in Mecca after previously studying with Kiai Zarkasi, in Purworejo, Central Java and Kiai

⁶ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern "Ulama" in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (University of Hawaii Press, 2004).

⁷ Muhammad Nashirulhaq, "Haji Sebagai Laku Revolusioner: Tinjauan Kepustakaan. *SIASAT* 4, No. 2 (2019): 24-35; Muhammad Azka Fahriza, "Tarekat dan Kultur Perlawanan Islam Indonesia." *SIASAT* 4, No. 4 (2019): 46-50; Kris Alexanderson, 'A Dark State of Affairs': Hajj Networks, Pan-Islamism, and Dutch Colonial Surveillance during the Interwar Period," *Journal of Social History* 47, No. 4 (2014): 1021-41.

Hasan Ma'ruf in Kebumen, Central Java from 1927 to 1930.⁸ Upon their return from Haramayn, Javanese Ulama in the Malay Peninsula established Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) similar to those in Java. Some of their books were even written in Javanese Arabic (*Pegon*).⁹

The migration and networking of Javanese clerics in Malaya made it easier for them to build legitimacy and religious authority that received support from the local community and the ruling Sultan at that time. Kiai Salleh, who came from Purworejo, Central Java, migrated to the Malay Peninsula in 1907. He founded several *madrasas* in the Batu Gajah area of Perak, including *Madrasah al-Arabiah*, *Madrasah al-Jawawiah*, *Madrasah Saadiah* and *Madrasah Salihiah*. Kyai Salleh was known as a cleric and a businessman who owned shares in a mining company in Kampar, Perak. Kyai Salleh was a good friend of the Sultan of Perak, Sultan Iskandar Shah.¹⁰

The migration of Javanese Ulama in the Malay Peninsula coloured the socio-religious and political landscape of Malaysia. To contribute to existing research, this study aims to comprehensively examine the dynamics of Javanese Muslim migration to the Malay Peninsula, which is not only dominated by workers but also religious groups (Ulama), which are often missed in studies of Javanese migration in Malaysia.¹¹

Based on this explanation, this research attempts to comprehensively examine Javanese Ulama migration in the

⁸ Siti Maimon Md Sirat et al., "Kiai Haji Ahmad Shah: Peranannya dalam Memantapkan Perkembangan Islam di Johor." *Sains Humanika* 10, No. 1 (2018).

⁹ Mohd Taufik Arridzo and Bani Sudardi, "Migrasi Tradisi Pesantren Jawa ke Malaysia Awal Abad ke-20," *IBDA: Journal of Islamic and Cultural Studies* 12, No. 2 (2014): 210-24.

¹⁰ Badriyah Haji Salleh, *Kampung Haji Salleh dan Madrasah Saadiah-Salihiah, 1914-1959* (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, 1984).

¹¹ Arik Dwijayanto and Yusmicha Ulya Afif, "Religious and Political Role of Javanese Ulama in Johor, Malaysia," *Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 4, No. 2 (2019): 157-70.

establishment of religious authority in Malaysia. According to Muhammad Qasim Zaman, Ulama can be defined as figures who possess a strong intellectual formation in Islamic sciences, perform socio-religious roles and functions as leaders and guides of the Muslim community, and have a robust orientation towards the preservation and development of the Islamic intellectual tradition. This intellectual formation, vocation, and orientation shape the identity and religious authority of Ulama within Muslim society, making them the spiritual heirs of Prophet Muhammad in the safeguarding, interpreting, and disseminating of Islamic teachings.¹² This research has important significance in several aspects, including the provision of an in-depth understanding of the migration of Javanese Ulama to the Malay Peninsula (Malaysia). This can provide a comprehensive picture of the factors that drive the migration of these groups, as well as its impact on Malaysia's social and religious landscape. The significance of this study also lies in its ability to fill the lacuna in the existing literature by offering a fresh perspective that highlights the role of Javanese Ulama in the establishment of religious authority in Malaysia. It seeks to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of Javanese Ulama migration and the establishment of religious authority in the Malaysia.

B. Research Questions

This research on Javanese Ulama migration in Malaysia aims to answer the following three questions:

1. Why did Javanese Ulama succeed in establishing religious authority in the Malay Peninsula?
2. How did the religious authority of Javanese Ulama affect the religious and social landscape of the Malay Peninsula in the 20th century?

¹² Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change* (Princeton University Press, 2010). 10.

3. How did Javanese Ulama maintain their religious authority in the Malay Peninsula?

C. Research Objectives

The objective of this research is to analyze the migration of Javanese Ulama to Malaysia and their impact on the religious, social, and political landscape of the Malay Peninsula in the 20th century. Specifically, the research aims to:

1. Identify the aspects that contributed to the success of Javanese Ulama in establishing their religious authority in the Malay Peninsula;
2. Examine the implications of Javanese Ulama's migration on the religious, social, and political dynamics of the Malay Peninsula during the 20th century; and
3. Explore the strategies employed by Javanese Ulama to maintain their religious authority in Malaysia.

D. Literature Review

Research on Javanese migration in Malaysia, particularly from religious groups (Ulama) is still limited. While there have been some explorations of Javanese Muslim migration, these studies have largely overlooked a fascinating subgroup: Javanese Ulama (Islamic scholars). This gap extends further, as there is a complete absence of comprehensive research dedicated to Javanese Muslim educational travelers and intellectual migrants who chose Malaysia as their destination. Existing scholarship on Javanese migration to Malaysia tends to focus heavily on the experiences of low-skilled laborers and domestic workers, and often their navigation of challenging circumstances within the informal economy. It's understandable, perhaps, that the sheer volume of these migrants and complexities surrounding menial labor, particularly Javanese migrants in Malaysia, have directed research efforts towards this specific group. However, this focus has resulted in a significant blind spot – the vibrant community of

Javanese Muslim scholars, students, and intellectuals who have also chosen to live in Malaysia.

The scholarly work authored by Khazin and Sukiman Bohari on the subject of Javanese migration in Malaysia, specifically focusing on the Javanese community in Pontian, Johor, during the period of 1884-1957, represents a significant contribution to the understanding of the socio-economic development of the Pontian area prior to Malaysian independence.¹³ This research meticulously examines the pivotal roles played by Javanese migrants and their descendants in the socio-economic advancement of Pontian, highlighting their contributions to the local economy, social structures, and cultural amalgamation. While the study primarily focuses on the socio-economic impact of the Javanese community, it inadvertently sheds light on the potential role of Javanese Ulama in shaping the religious landscape of Pontian, Johor, despite not explicitly delving into religious aspects.

This oversight suggests an area for further research, particularly in understanding how the Javanese Ulama contributed to the religious and cultural dynamics of the region. The methodology employed by Khazin and Sukiman Bohari in their research encompasses a comprehensive analysis of historical records, interviews with descendants of Javanese migrants, and an examination of the socio-economic conditions of the Pontian area during the specified period. This multi-faceted approach provides a nuanced understanding of the Javanese migration phenomenon and its long-term effects on the development of Pontian. The research conducted by Khazin and Sukiman Bohari serves as an invaluable resource for scholars interested in the migration patterns of the Javanese community to Malaysia and their subsequent influence on the socio-economic fabric of Pontian, Johor. It also opens avenues for further academic inquiry into the role of Javanese Ulama in the

¹³ Tamrin and Bohari, "Orang Jawa Pontian: Kedatangan dan Kegiatannya dalam Aspek Sosio-Ekonomi dan Politik Tempatan"

region, which could offer deeper insights into the interplay between migration, religion, and socio-economic development.

Khazim Mohd Tamrin delved into the intricate patterns of Javanese migration to Selangor from 1880 to 1940 in his scholarly work.¹⁴ Through meticulous research, Tamrin unveiled the multifaceted narratives surrounding the influx of Javanese populations into Selangor, illustrating that their historical backgrounds and migration experiences exhibit remarkable diversity. This diversity starkly contrasts with the histories of Javanese migration to other Malaysian states, such as Perak or Johor, underscoring the unique trajectory of Javanese integration in Selangor. Tamrin's research methodically explores the variegated process of cultural assimilation that unfolded between the Javanese and Malay communities in Selangor, highlighting the reciprocal exchanges in language, culture, customs, and artistic expressions. This examination not only enriches our understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics in Malaysia during this period, but also contributes to the broader discourse on migration, identity, and intercultural interactions within Southeast Asia. Furthermore, Tamrin's analysis sheds light on how the Javanese migrants negotiated their identities and adapted to their new socio-cultural environment in Selangor. The study offers insights into the complexity of cultural integration processes by tracing the evolution of these adaptive strategies and their impact on the Javanese and Malay communities. In conclusion, Khazim Mohd Tamrin's research provides a comprehensive and detailed examination of Javanese migration to Selangor, revealing the intricate interplay of migration, cultural assimilation, and identity formation. This work significantly contributes to the historiography of Malaysia and enhances our understanding of the multifaceted nature of cultural exchanges and transformations within the region.

¹⁴ Khazin Mohd Tamrin, *Orang Jawa di Selangor, Penghijrahan dan Penempatan, 1880-1940* (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pelajaran, Malaysia, 1984).

In the scholarly exploration of Javanese migrants in Malaysia, a substantial body of work has been contributed by notable researchers including Sukiman Bohari, Khazin Mohd Tamrin, and notably, Shamsudin. These scholars have delved deep into the intricacies of the Javanese community's transplantations and adaptations within the socio-cultural fabric of the Malay Peninsula, specifically focusing on the region of Muar, Johor, Malaysia.

Shamsudin's research stands out for its comprehensive examination of the Javanese community's lifestyle and social organization in Malaysia. Through meticulous analysis, Shamsudin sheds light on the historical evolution and transformation of Javanese society from its origins in Java to its current state in Malaysia. The study meticulously documents how the Javanese migrants have managed to preserve their unique family systems and social structures, despite the geographical and cultural shift from Java to the Malay Peninsula.

The research findings illustrate the resilience of Javanese cultural identity, emphasizing the continuity of traditional practices, such as language, art, and social norms, within the diaspora community in Muar, Johor. Furthermore, Shamsudin's work contributes to the broader understanding of migration, cultural preservation, and adaptation processes, highlighting the dynamic interplay between maintaining cultural heritage and integrating into a new sociocultural environment. This in-depth review of the Javanese migrants in Malaysia not only enriches the academic discourse on Southeast Asian migration patterns, but also offers valuable insights into the survival and transformation of cultural identities in diaspora settings. Through this detailed exploration, scholars like Shamsudin open avenues for further research on the complexities of cultural preservation among

migrant communities in the face of globalization and cultural assimilation.¹⁵

Koji Miyazaki's research offers an insightful exploration into the migration patterns of Javanese individuals to Johor in the early 20th century, a period characterized by the significant presence of workgroups. His study meticulously examines the dynamics of interactions between the Javanese migrants and the region's indigenous populations. Miyazaki documents how, through cultural adaptation and social integration, the Javanese migrants were gradually recognized and assimilated into the local Malay community. This fusion of cultures and identities led to the emergence of what Miyazaki terms the "Malay-Javanese" community, signifying a hybrid identity that encapsulates elements of both Javanese and Malay cultures. This research not only sheds light on the complexities of migrant assimilation, but also contributes to the broader understanding of the fluid nature of cultural identities within the Malaysian context. By analyzing the sociocultural interactions and the eventual acceptance of Javanese migrants into the Malay community, Miyazaki's work provides a valuable perspective on the dynamics of cultural integration and identity formation in early 20th-century Johor.¹⁶

The study of Javanese Muslim migration to Malaysia has been significantly advanced by research conducted by Azura, which offers a detailed examination of the processes of land clearing and subsequent area development in the region of Sungai Nibong, Batu Pahat, Johor. In this comprehensive analysis, Azura elucidates how the Sungai Nibong area became a focal point for Javanese migrants before 1913, highlighting the early efforts of these migrants in establishing their presence and initiating agricultural development in the region. Drawing upon a meticulous

¹⁵ Shamsudin, Hitam. —Sistem Kekeluargaan di Kalangan Orang-Orang Keturunan Jawa di Muar!, Undergraduate Thesis, Jabatan Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, (1969).

¹⁶ Miyazaki, "Javanese-Malays: Between Adaptation and Alienation."

review of historical land certificates housed at the Batu Pahat District Land Office, Azura's research unveils that between 1913 and 1915, 21 plots of land were officially recorded as being occupied by migrants from Java Island. This documentation not only serves to underscore the significant contribution of Javanese migrants to the agricultural expansion and socio-economic development of Sungai Nibong but also provides a tangible link to the early migration and settlement patterns from Java to Malaysia. Through its rigorous examination of land occupation and development practices, Azura's study sheds light on the broader narrative of Javanese migration to Malaysia, offering valuable insights into the dynamics of diasporic community formation, land use transformation, and the enduring connections between Java and Malaysia. This research contributes to the academic discourse on Southeast Asian migration patterns, land policy, and the historical interlinkages between migration, development, and regional identity formation.¹⁷

In his scholarly article, Azrul provides a comprehensive analysis of the Javanese diaspora in Malaysia, illustrating that this community is not a monolithic entity but rather fragmented into several distinct groups, each preserving the cultural identity of their specific region of origin. Azrul's study meticulously documents how these sub-groups of the Javanese community in Malaysia maintain their unique cultural practices, which is subtly reflected in their linguistic expressions. Despite speaking a common language, the Javanese migrants exhibit discernible differences in their speech patterns, which Azrul argues indicates their regional origins within Java. For instance, the linguistic nuances of the Javanese residing in Johor markedly differ from those in Selangor, suggesting a deeper, underlying cultural diversity within the Javanese population in Malaysia. Through his research, Azrul

¹⁷ Azura Binti Miran, "Penduduk Komuniti Jawa: Kajian Kes di Kampung Sungai Nibong, Semerah, Batu Pahat, Johor", Undergraduate Thesis. Universiti Malaya, (Kuala Lumpur, 1995).

contributes to the broader academic discourse on migration, identity, and cultural preservation, highlighting the intricacies of intercultural assimilation and the resilience of regional identities in a diasporic context.¹⁸

In their comprehensive study, researchers Mifedwil Jandra, Agus Sulaiman Djamil, Hussin Salamon, Anhar Ansyory, and Moh. Damami Zein thoroughly, explore the nuanced character and identity of Javanese migrants and their significant contributions to the cultural dynamics within Johor. The core of their research delves into the intrinsic qualities of high tolerance and exceptional adaptability exhibited by the Javanese community, which have been instrumental in fostering acceptance and promoting social harmony among diverse ethnic groups in the region. This scholarly work further elucidates the pivotal role of Javanese migrants in the cultural integration process, particularly through introducing and preserving Javanese cultural arts, such as Gamelan, Wayang Kulit, Reyog, and Kuda Kepang. These traditional performances serve as a vibrant expression of Javanese heritage and as a bridge, facilitating cultural exchange and mutual appreciation between the Javanese and local Malay communities.

Moreover, the researchers highlight the enduring presence of Javanese cultural elements in Malaysian cultural showcases, even on international platforms, underscoring their integral contribution to the mosaic of Malay culture. The inclusion of Javanese performances in such events is emblematic of their recognized value and the broader acceptance of Javanese culture as an essential component of Malaysia's cultural diversity. Through their detailed analysis, Jandra et al. provide a compelling argument for the significant impact of Javanese migrants on the cultural landscape of Johor, demonstrating how their cultural practices and ethos have

¹⁸ Azrul Affandy Sobry, "Misteri Etnik Malaysia," *Kuala Lumpur: Berita Harian Publisher*, 2012.

enriched the local culture, promoting a harmonious coexistence among diverse ethnicities within the region.¹⁹

In their seminal work, Linda Sunarti and Teuku Reza Fadeli provide an in-depth analysis of Javanese migration patterns into Malaysia, focusing on how Javanese culture has become interwoven with Malaysian culture.²⁰ This scholarly inquiry was driven by a desire to understand the underpinnings of the recurrent cultural disputes between Indonesia and Malaysia over the past decade. These disputes have, at times, escalated tensions between the two nations. At the heart of these controversies lies the Malaysian Government's contentious claims over certain elements of Indonesian cultural heritage, which have sparked significant debate and concern.

Sunarti and Fadeli's research meticulously examines the processes of assimilation and adaptation undergone by the Javanese diaspora in Malaysia, demonstrating how these processes have culminated in the emergence of a distinctive Javanese-Malay culture. As the authors argue, this new cultural amalgamation should be recognized as a shared heritage that transcends national boundaries, embodying the contributions and historical intertwining of Indonesian and Malaysian societies.

The researchers provide compelling evidence for a blended cultural identity through a comprehensive review of historical migration flows, the analysis of cultural practices, and the socio-political contexts that have shaped the Javanese community in Malaysia. Their work challenges prevailing narratives that seek to attribute cultural ownership solely to one nation or another, advocating instead for a more inclusive understanding of cultural heritage that honors the complex realities of migration, adaptation,

¹⁹ Mifedwil Jandra et al., "Identity and Culture Change of Javanese in Johor," *UMRAN-International Journal of Islamic and Civilizational Studies* 3, No. 3-1 (2016).

²⁰ Linda Sunarti and Teuku Reza Fadeli, "Tracing Javanese Identity and Culture in Malaysia: Assimilation and Adaptation of Javanese in Malaysia", *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal* 28, No. 1 (2018): 2018.

and cultural exchange. The significance of Sunarti and Fadeli's study lies in its contribution to the academic discourse on migration and cultural identity and its potential to inform more nuanced and empathetic approaches to resolving intercultural disputes. By highlighting the shared cultural heritage of the Javanese-Malay population, their research offers a pathway toward mutual recognition and respect between Indonesia and Malaysia, paving the way for more collaborative and harmonious relations between the two countries.²¹

Another study on Javanese Muslims in Malaysia was conducted by Abid Rohmanu, who studied the acculturation of Javanese and Malay Islam in the marriage tradition. The results of his research are as follows: First, the marriage tradition of the Malay-Javanese community is normatively complex. This can be seen from the series of ceremonies that accompany the wedding tradition. The complexity of the Malay-Javanese wedding tradition and its normativity are no longer considered as something that must be carried out; however, to a certain extent, they can be adjusted. This means there has been a shift in wedding traditions due to socio-cultural developments, including cultural contact between Javanese and Malay communities in Selangor. Second, the Malay-Javanese marriage tradition in Selangor shows a high level of cultural acculturation. In the language of anthropology, cultural acculturation leads to "substitution" and "syncretism". Substitution means that most Javanese traditions have been replaced by a new culture (Malay) that fulfils its function. This means that with various similarities in cultural substance, and replacing the old culture is relatively fine. For example, Javanese and Malay wedding traditions view marriage as sacred and social. Therefore, various ceremonies accompany marriage, although they have been simplified in many ways. The substance of the Javanese ethnic wedding tradition in Selangor, Malaysia lies in three dimensions,

²¹ Linda Sunarti and Teuku Reza Fadeli.

namely the spiritual, social and economic dimensions. Cultural acculturation leads to cultural syncretism, which is mixing the two cultures into a distinctive new culture. The Javanese community in Selangor certainly has slightly different traditions from other relatively heterogeneous communities.²²

E. Theoretical Framework

This dissertation delves into a critically understudied area, tackling themes that are undeniably significant for a comprehensive understanding of Muslim societies and Islamic thought. As Eickelman and Piscatori aptly point out, there is a gap in scholarly research in that historians and social scientists have not systematically explored the role of travel in Muslim societies and in Islamic doctrine.²³

In Islamic tradition, the concept of journeying holds multifaceted dimensions, encompassing the hajj and umrah, which are pilgrimages to the sacred city of Mecca and the hijra, signifying migration for religious, economic, or political motives. Meanwhile, the ziyara, or visits to venerated shrines and holy sites, and the rihla, which denotes travel undertaken for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, encompass both religious and secular education.²⁴ This dissertation delves into the phenomenon of migration among Javanese Muslim scholars to Malaysia, particularly focusing on those who embark on religious journeys. To elucidate these distinct forms of travel within the Islamic context, it is imperative to succinctly expound upon the principles underlying the Hajj, Umrah, Hijrah, Ziyara, and Rihla, alongside introducing fundamental theoretical frameworks and posing critical inquiries

²² Abid Rohmanu, "Acculturation of Javanese and Malay Islam in Wedding Tradition of Javanese Ethnic Community in Selangor, Malaysia," *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 24, no. 1 (2016): 52-66.

²³ Dale F Eickelman and James Piscatori, *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination* (Routledge, 2013).

²⁴ Sumanto Al Qurtuby, *Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: Migration, Education, and Islam* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019).

that underscore the significance of these journeys within the Muslim faith.

The Hajj, an annual pilgrimage to Mecca, represents the pinnacle of religious aspiration for Muslims worldwide, with the Kaaba and Masjid al-Haram standing as the epitome of Islamic sanctity. Islam mandates the Hajj as an essential religious duty, incumbent upon all adult Muslims who possess the physical and financial means to undertake this pilgrimage, at least once in their lifetime, but they must ensure that they leave behind sufficient provisions for their dependents during their absence. Given the stipulation of physical and financial capability as prerequisites, historical and contemporary accounts illustrate that numerous Muslims, including those from the Javanese community, have fervently pursued the fulfillment of the Hajj, despite facing constraints in these areas. Often, this entails the liquidation of their most prized assets, such as land, livestock, or homes, underscoring a profound sense of devotion and the intrinsic value placed on the Hajj. This pilgrimage is not merely seen as a religious obligation but as the quintessence of Islamic worship and a spiritual journey that believers perceive as a conduit to eternal salvation in the afterlife.²⁵

Delaney posits that the Hajj, including Umrah, embodies a confluence of sacred devotion and secular engagements. This signifies that the pilgrimage extends beyond mere spiritual worship to encompass various profane elements tied to social, economic, and political spheres. For adherents of Islam, undertaking the Hajj represents a complex experience that transcends spiritual gains, highlighting the pilgrimage's inherent nature as a physically demanding, costly, and often sweltering journey. The pilgrimage to Mecca, or Hajj, represents a quintessential religious journey for Muslims around the globe. For those originating from regions such as the Java Islands or the

²⁵ Al Qurtuby.

Malay Peninsula, this pilgrimage historically necessitated a perilous sea voyage prior to the advent of steamship technology in the mid-nineteenth century. The pilgrims were compelled to embark on a precarious journey aboard modest sailing vessels, navigating from one location to another, in a voyage that could extend up to six months to reach Jeddah, the gateway to Mecca.²⁶

The inherent dangers and complexities of performing the Hajj in this bygone era have been the focus of extensive academic inquiry. Scholars across various disciplines have delved into the multifaceted nature of this pilgrimage, uncovering the myriad of challenges the pilgrims face. Seminal works in this area of study include those by Chernoff²⁷, who examines the sociocultural implications of the journey; Delaney²⁸, who offers insights into gender dynamics at play during the pilgrimage; and Peters²⁹, who articulates historical shifts in the pilgrimage practices. Additionally, the collaborative work of Douwes and Kaptein further enriches the discourse by presenting a comprehensive analysis of the Hajj from both a historical and a contemporary perspective, highlighting the enduring significance of this spiritual journey in the Muslim faith. Thus, the pilgrimage emerges as an intricate blend of spiritual fulfillment, social significance, economic investment, enjoyment, rejuvenation, and a curiosity for exploration, drawing individuals to Mecca.³⁰

The concept of Hijrah, originating from an Arabic term that translates as *to depart*, *to sever connections*, or *to migrate*, encapsulates a multifaceted notion of migration. Historically, the

²⁶ Carol Delaney, "The Hajj: Sacred and Secular," *American Ethnologist* 17, No. 3 (1990): 513–30.

²⁷ John Chernoff, "The Pilgrimage to Mecca: An Excerpt from 'A Drummer's Testament'," *Chicago Review* 34, no. 3 (1984): 68–93.

²⁸ Delaney, "The Hajj: Sacred and Secular."

²⁹ Francis Edward Peters, "The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places," 2021.

³⁰ Dick Douwes and Nico Kaptein, "Indonesia Dan Haji, Terj.," *Soedarso Soekarno dan Theresia Slamet, Jakarta: INIS*, 1997.

roots of this form of journey can be traced back to the era of Prophet Muhammad in 622 AD, which marks a pivotal moment when he, alongside his followers, undertook a migration from the hostile environs of Mecca to the more welcoming and safer precincts of Yathrib (later known as Medina).³¹ This strategic relocation was primarily motivated by the need to evade looming threats and assaults from adversaries in Mecca. Notably, this migration was not an isolated event; an earlier instance saw the Prophet and his companions seeking asylum in Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) between 615 and 622 AD, highlighting Hijrah's diverse motivations and forms. Masud differentiates between the two migrations, noting the voluntary and limited nature of the Abyssinian sojourn, as opposed to the obligatory mass exodus to Medina, which essentially excluded Muslims from residing in Mecca, with exceptions granted only to those who were vulnerable or financially incapable of migration.³²

Over time, the interpretation and application of Hijrah have evolved, reflecting a wide array of meanings and implications across different contexts. While traditional views have sometimes depicted Hijrah as a mandatory transition from non-Islamic to Islamic domains, contemporary interpretations often adopt a metaphorical perspective, equating Hijrah with a spiritual journey. In the modern context of Indonesia, particularly among devout urban Muslims, Hijrah has come to signify a process of religious conversion or deepening of Islamic faith, manifested through outward expressions such as the adoption of Islamic dress codes.³³

For others, Hijrah represents a political stance, shifting from compliance to opposition against state authority, driven by a

³¹ Al Qurtuby, *Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: Migration, Education, and Islam*.

³² Khalid Masud, 'The Obligation to Migrate: The Doctrine of Hijra in Islamic Law,' in *Muslim Travellers* (Routledge, 2013), 29–49.

³³ Eickelman and Piscatori, *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination*; Al Qurtuby, *Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: Migration, Education, and Islam*.

heightened scrutiny of its legitimacy. Additionally, this concept has been embraced as a means of economic upliftment, aligning with movements that promise a better standard of living. Beyond the Muslim world, Hijrah has also been perceived as a transition from nomadism to settlement among Arabs or as a pursuit of economic opportunities abroad, as seen in the migration patterns of Senegalese Muslims to affluent cities like New York and Paris under the guidance of spiritual leaders. The contemporary utilization of Hijrah extends beyond its religious and cultural origins, encompassing political and economic dimensions. This diversification underscores the complex motivations behind Muslim migration today, which are driven not solely by political and security concerns, but also by the pursuit of economic betterment in more prosperous regions.³⁴

The concept of ziyara, derived from the Arabic term signifying *visiting*, encompasses a nuanced form of pilgrimage within the Islamic tradition, distinguished by its focus on various locations deemed by certain Muslim communities to be of profound religious and spiritual significance. This practice, deeply embedded in the cultural and theological tapestry of the Islamic faith, represents a distinct expression of piety and reverence, manifesting in the visitation of sites considered sacred within different Islamic sects and schools of thought. Unlike the universally recognized pilgrimage to the Kaaba, which holds a central place in the Islamic faith for all Muslims, the sites and objects of ziyara exhibit remarkable diversity, reflecting the rich mosaic of Islamic spiritual life.³⁵

The sites esteemed as worthy of ziyara vary significantly across the Islamic world, highlighting the pluralistic nature of

³⁴ Sumanto Al Qurtuby and Shafi Aldamer, –Saudi-Indonesian Relations: Historical Dynamics and Contemporary Development,| *Asian Perspective*, 2018, 121–44.

³⁵ Sumanto Al Qurtuby, —Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: On Islamic and Muslim Scholars,| *Islam Nusantara: Journal for the Study of Islamic History and Culture* 2, No. 2 (2021): 17–44.

Islamic spirituality. For instance, the city of Karbala holds immense sanctity for Shiite Muslims as a site of martyrdom and divine commemoration, though it may not be accorded the same reverence by Muslims of other denominations. Similarly, in Indonesia, the graves of the Walisongo, or the nine saints, are venerated by certain Muslim communities, also underscoring the localized expressions of piety and veneration that characterize the practice of ziyara. This diversity extends to the graves of Islamic scholars and other figures, which may be revered by some as hallowed sites, while others, particularly within groups such as the Salafis, eschew such practices, viewing them as contrary to the tenets of Islam, potentially bordering on the sinful or constituting shirk, and as the sin of idolatry or polytheism.³⁶

The scope of ziyara is not confined to the visitation of graves or traditionally recognized holy sites. It can also encompass pilgrimages to locations of historical and spiritual resonance within the Islamic narrative, such as caves, mosques, battlefields, mountains, or the tombs of significant Islamic figures, including prophets, companions of the Prophet Muhammad, Sufis, saints, scholars, and even Islamic royalty and nobility. This expansive understanding of ziyara reflects its deep integration into the fabric of Muslim devotional life, offering a flexible framework for expressing religious devotion and connection to the divine.³⁷

The practice of ziyara further extends beyond the veneration of specific sites to include the commemoration of familial bonds through visits to the graves of deceased family members, a tradition prevalent in many Muslim societies. This aspect of ziyara serves as a poignant reminder of the interconnectedness of faith, family, and community in Islam, reinforcing the communal and personal

³⁶ Al Qurtuby, *Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: Migration, Education, and Islam*.

³⁷ Sumanto Al Qurtuby, -Islam, Travel, and Learning: A Case Study on Indonesian Muslim Student Diasporas in Saudi Arabia,|| *Journeys* 21, No. 2 (2020): 42–66.

dimensions of religious practice. In essence, the practice of ziyara within Islam serves as a multifaceted expression of faith, embodying a complex interplay of theological, cultural, and historical influences. It underscores the diversity of religious experience within the Islamic world, highlighting the ways in which sacred spaces and practices are shaped by local traditions, theological interpretations, and the unique spiritual aspirations of individual communities. Through its various manifestations, ziyara offers a window into the rich tapestry of Islamic spirituality, reflecting the dynamic and evolving nature of faith across different contexts and epochs.³⁸

Research regarding the travel practices among Muslims, as discussed by scholars like Eickelman and Piscatori, reveals the multifaceted and diverse nature of such journeys within the Islamic community.³⁹ Nancy Tapper emphasizes that for Turkish women, engaging in religious pilgrimages such as the hajj or umrah, visiting local sacred sites known as ziyara, and participating in religious festivals serve as significant affirmations of their spiritual equality with men and their paths to salvation.⁴⁰

Additionally, some Muslims may perceive travel as a physical journey and a voyage through time, allowing them to connect with the intellectual and spiritual lineage (isnad) of eminent figures from the early Islamic period without the necessity of physical displacement. This conceptualization of travel facilitates transcending temporal and spatial boundaries, enabling Muslims to navigate through spiritual realms, overcome gender and political obstacles, and redefine the concept of 'home'—not

³⁸ Al Qurtuby, *Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: Migration, Education, and Islam*.

³⁹ Eickelman and Piscatori, *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination*.

⁴⁰ Nancy Tapper, 'Ziyaret: Gender, Movement, and Exchange in a Turkish Community,' in *Muslim Travellers* (Routledge, 2013), 236–55.

necessarily as the place of origin but as a space of tranquility, security, and belonging.⁴¹

For numerous Muslims outside of Saudi Arabia, including those from Javanese and Malay communities, Mecca is regarded as a "second homeland," illustrating how travel can embody both physical and imaginative dimensions. This notion underscores the importance of considering travel within Muslim societies as a form of social and political engagement. These practices prompt crucial inquiries for the modern social scientific examination of Islam, particularly regarding the understanding of such actions across different contexts and epochs. The challenge lies in unraveling the complexities of Muslims' actions, which are informed by a myriad of personal histories, experiences, and socio-cultural backgrounds, reflecting the non-monolithic nature of the Muslim community that is diverse in its travel motivations and intentions.⁴²

Eickelman and Piscatori further articulate the difficulties in comprehending the motives behind Muslim travels and the significance attributed to these journeys by the individuals involved. They point out that travel within Islamic traditions can be viewed as a distinct form of social action. It is rooted in the understanding that Islam, while universal in its message, emerged within the particular social context of Arab societies on the Arabian Peninsula. This perspective acknowledges Islam as a social phenomenon, where the religion's divine inspiration is intricately linked to the human experience and the societal challenges encountered during its inception.⁴³

⁴¹ Qurtuby and Aldamer, *—Saudi-Indonesian Relations: Historical Dynamics and Contemporary Development.*

⁴² Al Qurtuby, *Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: Migration, Education, and Islam.*

⁴³ Eickelman and Piscatori, *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination*; Dale F Eickelman and James Piscatori, *—Social Theory in the Study of Muslim Societies,* in *Muslim Travellers* (Routledge, 2013), 3–25.

The second rationale underscores the pivotal role of travel as a conduit for social action, which is crucial for a comprehensive understanding of Islam and the perceptions within Muslim communities. The third rationale expands upon the concept of motives and interests: those incentives for travel shaped by cultural and material factors. It is essential to recognize the diversity in the motivations and interests of Muslims, which are influenced by an array of determinants such as social standing, class distinction, level of education, and economic circumstances, among others. For instance, educated and intellectual members of the Muslim elite may be driven by doctrinal reasons in their travels, including pilgrimages (hajj), migrations (hijra), visits to holy places (ziyara), or scholarly journeys (rihla). Conversely, Muslims lacking formal education may be primarily motivated by a desire to receive divine blessings. Moreover, individuals from the so-called lower echelons of society—defined by variables such as ethnicity, education, wealth, power, caste, etc.—may undertake travel and migration primarily due to social, political, and economic hardships.⁴⁴

The fourth rationale pertains to the intertwined issue of impacts and identities, delineating those unique social and religious significances engendered through travel. This process fosters transformative perceptions and experiences of "Islam" and the societal fabric within which Muslims are embedded. As observed across various civilizations and cultural traditions, the act of travel assumes a pivotal role in the evolution of conceptualized Muslim communities, both historically and in contemporary contexts. Travel delineates and constructs boundaries even as individuals engaged in travel perceive themselves as transcending these demarcations. Embarking on journeys with aspirations of encountering new horizons, travelers depart from their familiar

⁴⁴ Al Qurtuby, *Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: Migration, Education, and Islam*.

environs, engage with the other, and culminate their voyages with an enhanced consciousness of divergence and commonality.⁴⁵

Significantly, the practice of travel serves as a crucial medium for Muslim self-articulation, as it inherently influenced by the cultural and societal milieu that shapes Muslim identities. This indicates that while Islamic tenets explicitly advocate for certain modalities of travel — including hijra (migration), hajj (pilgrimage), ziyara (visitation), and rihla (quest for knowledge) — such endorsements do not exclusively delineate the motivations for Muslim travel as solely religious.⁴⁶ This dissertation delves into this nuance, highlighting the importance of Islamic teachings in motivating travel among certain Muslim groups without suggesting a monolithic religious impetus behind all Muslim travel. Indeed, a myriad of Muslims embark on journeys influenced not by religious mandates, but by political, security, or economic exigencies.

This dissertation endeavors to unravel the multifaceted nature of travel among Javanese Muslims, contributing to the academic discourse through a historical lens. Drawing upon seminal works, such as those by Eickelman and Piscatori⁴⁷, this study lays a theoretical groundwork that addresses Muslim travelers' diverse motivations, experiences, and identities, including those in pursuit of knowledge and scientific understanding. The research further benefits from Edward Said's concept of "traveling theory," which posits that the transmission of ideas and concepts is not confined to a sociohistorical void but is profoundly influenced by specific historical contexts and social transformations.⁴⁸ In this light, the study meticulously examines the agency of human actors, notably Javanese Ulama and Elites, while dissecting the historical

⁴⁵ Qurtuby and Aldamer, *-Saudi-Indonesian Relations: Historical Dynamics and Contemporary Development.*

⁴⁶ Al Qurtuby, *Saudi Arabia and Indonesian Networks: Migration, Education, and Islam.*

⁴⁷ Eickelman and Piscatori, *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination.*

⁴⁸ Edward W Said, *Traveling Theory Reconsidered* (na, 2000).

dynamics and sociocultural shifts within Malaysia, thereby shedding light on the complex interplay between travel, identity, and Muslim communities.

In this dissertation, to understand the religious authority of Javanese Ulama in the Malay Peninsula, the concept of religious authority developed by Muhammad Qasim Zaman offers an intriguing analytical framework. According to Zaman, religious authority in the context of contemporary Islam is complex and multidimensional, involving various interrelated actors, institutions, and discourses. Religious authority is not solely centered on traditional Ulama figures, but also involves Islamic educational institutions, religious organizations, and state apparatus that regulate religious life.⁴⁹

One of the important works that has been written about Ulama is "The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change" by Muhammad Qasim Zaman. In the introduction to his book, Muhammad Qasim Zaman mentions three significant terms that describe Ulama: "intellectual formation," "vocation," and "orientation." In Qasim Zaman's perspective, "intellectual formation" shapes the methodological framework used by Ulama in understanding, interpreting, and applying Islamic teachings. This intellectual formation also instills certain ethos and values, such as respect for textual authority and the Islamic scholarly tradition, as well as a commitment to preserving and transmitting that intellectual heritage. It is this intellectual formation that distinguishes Ulama from modern Muslim intellectuals who are usually educated in Western-style secular education systems. Although there are variations in the level of mastery of the Islamic intellectual tradition among Ulama, this formation remains their distinctive characteristic.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "The Ulama and Contestations on Religious Authority," *Islam and Modernity: Key Issues and Debates*, 2009, 206–36.

⁵⁰ Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*.

"Vocation," on the other hand, refers to the socio-religious roles and functions performed by Ulama as Muftis, Qadis, Penghulus, leaders of Sufi orders or tariqahs, and advisors to kings. Traditionally, Ulama are regarded as the inheritors of the Prophet, tasked with safeguarding, interpreting, and disseminating Islamic teachings. Vocation involves various responsibilities, such as teaching in madrasahs, issuing fatwas (legal opinions), leading worship, providing spiritual guidance, and being community leaders. Through these roles, Ulama assert their religious authority and position themselves as intermediaries between sacred texts and the Muslim community at large. Although the modern context has brought changes in the way Ulama carry out this vocation, such as involvement in politics, the essence of that vocation remains an integral part of the Ulama identity.⁵¹

"Orientation" refers to the sense of continuity and attachment that Ulama have towards the Islamic intellectual and religious traditions. Unlike modernist or Islamist groups who often criticize or reject certain aspects of that tradition, Ulama consciously place themselves in continuity with the Islamic scholarly heritage. This orientation is reflected in the Ulama's tendency to refer to classical sources, use traditional methods of interpretation, and maintain established practices and doctrines. Despite differences of opinion and debates among Ulama, this orientation towards tradition is a shared frame of reference that binds them together. However, this does not mean that Ulama are trapped in a static view or reject change altogether. Instead, they are actively engaged in the process of reinterpreting and reconstructing tradition to address the challenges of the times. But, this process is carried out while still referring to and respecting continuity with the Islamic tradition.⁵²

It is the combination of intellectual formation, vocation, and orientation that ultimately shapes the distinctive identity of Javanese Ulama in the Malay Peninsula. Despite facing various

⁵¹ Zaman.

⁵² Zaman.

dynamics, Javanese Ulama continue to play an essential role in Muslim society in the Malay Peninsula by standing on the traditions they inherit and maintain. Drawing inspiration from Zaman's work, this dissertation will explore the role of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia in the 20th century.

In most Malay Muslim societies, Ulama often maintain close and symbiotic relationships with the government. Ulama view the state as indispensable in Islam. Earlier Ulama were very careful to maintain mutualistic symbiotic relationships to ensure that Ulama retained authority over religious matters. Additionally, Ulama acted as religious teachers for the kings, as exemplified by Kiai Salleh, who was appointed as an advisor to the Sultan of Johor.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Javanese Ulama played a more significant role in state structure and were instrumental in formulating laws in several Malay states. For example, Kiai Ahmad Shah and Kiai Syamsuddin became Qadis and members of the Johor Fatwa Committee, which is responsible for formulating Islamic regulations in Johor. In many cases, they were also given positions of power and enjoyed privileges. However, on the other hand, Javanese Ulama also had a significant role in carrying out jihad against communist forces in the southern region of the Malay Peninsula.

By considering the various aspects discussed, the construction of religious authority of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia can be understood as a complex process involving scholarly capital, leadership in Islamic educational institutions and Sufi orders, production of religious discourse, and involvement in political power structures. Javanese Ulama not only play a role as religious figures but also as social and political actors who shape the religious and national landscape in Malaysia. Their distinctive identity is shaped by the combination of intellectual formation, vocation, and orientation towards the Islamic tradition, as conceptualized by Muhammad Qasim Zaman. Despite facing various dynamics and challenges, Javanese Ulama continue to

maintain their significance and influence in the Malay Muslim society, drawing upon the traditions they inherit and uphold.

F. Research Methods

This research combines theoretical and empirical inquiry with a historical approach.⁵³ The sources for this investigation were collected through bibliographic studies and fieldwork. Bibliographic studies were conducted by visiting several libraries, including the University Malaya Library and the Malaysian State Archives, in Kuala Lumpur and Johor. The bibliography in this research includes books, articles, academic works, and research reports that contain preliminary findings on Javanese migration in Malaysia. The bibliographic review was completed by exploring relevant documentation and sources, both primary and secondary.⁵⁴ The most important documents were publications by the Javanese migrants themselves, which included books, letters and internal documents, some of which were obtained from the Malaysian State Archives.

This study uses the historical approach which relies on the process of testing, critically analyzing tapes and relics of the past that include heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. In this research, primary documents collected by the researcher include the following from the Malaysia State Archives: Archive of Malaysia, Resident General Office Selangor No. Perak 8815/04. Subject: *Appointment of Ketuahs or Headmen for Certain Foreign Settlers in the Mukim of Utan Melinting*. (Haji Serat as Ketuah for Javanese and Tungku Si Manik as Ketuah for the other immigrants). 03 November 1904. Archive of Malaysia, District Office Batu Mangkebang Kelantan No. D.O.B. M 120/1912. Subject: *Proposed Establishment of a Mosque on Taku*

⁵³ C. N. Creswell, J. W., & Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (Sage Publications, 2016).

⁵⁴ Monique Hennink, Inge Hutter, and Ajay Bailey, *Qualitative Research Methods* (Sage, 2020).

Estate by the Javanese. 14 August 1912. Archive of Malaysia, District Office Kuala Selangor No. 382/1916. Subject: *Celebration of Service in the Old Mosque at Asam Jawa by Haji Nor and Javanese*. 20 March 1916. Archive of Malaysia, Land Office Kuala Selangor No. (4) in L.K.S. 852/21. Subject: *Application by Javanese for 500 Acres of Land in the Mukim of Ijok*. 4 April 1922. Archive of Malaysia, District Office Kuala Selangor No. (7) in K.S 199-1929. Subject: *Application by Javanese Community for Financial Assistance to Complete a Mosque at 36th Mile Sabak – Kuala Selangor Bridle Path*. (Registered in the name of Haji Nawawi B. Hasan). 28 February 1931. Archive of Malaysia, Assistant Advisor Batu Pahat. Subject: *Proceeding of the Persekutuan Mukim VIII Cawangan 19 Parit Bingan dan Proceeding of the Persekutuan Mukim VIII Cawangan 18 Parit H.Rithuan. Johor*. Archive of Malaysia, Letter from Zainal Abidin Bin Ahmad (ZA'ABA). Subject: *Pengalaman Melawat di Tanah Jawa*, 26 October 1931. Archive of Malaysia, Resident General Office Kuala Lumpur No. 7 in P of C. Sel & Phg. 338/32. Subject: *Accommodation and meeting place for Javanese*. 24 November 1932. Archive of Malaysia, Letter from Secretary, M.C.A.O. dated 8.3.34. Subject: *Opening of the Batu Pahat Landing Ground. Johor*, 1934.

As a complement to both documentary material that has been and will be inventoried, this study also conducted confirmatory interviews with several sources. In practice, interviews can be conducted directly or through correspondence with authoritative sources of research objects. In addition, this study also made observations (field observations) at the locations required, especially those of valuable relics of Javanese scholars which are in physical form, such as manuscripts, books, mosque buildings, boarding schools and others. In addition to the use of documents, interviews, and field observations, this study also included excavation of existing data in communities related to the research object. Sources of data, both in the form of oral source and written

sources, are important to be explored in this research. By using these sources, data that supports the research can be obtained and then, through historical research methods, researchers at the next stage can verify the authenticity and credibility of the data sources.⁵⁵

G. The Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of six chapters. Chapter I is an introduction that explains the background, research questions listed in the problem formulation, research objectives, literature review, theoretical framework and research methods. Chapter II explains the Javanese Ulama network with Ulama in Haramayn (Mecca and Medina). Haramayn is a scientific centre for Nusantara Ulama, including Javanese Ulama. The migration of Javanese Ulama to the Malay Peninsula is connected to the long-established cultural network between Nusantara Ulama in Haramayn, including how success was achieved in building religious authority. Ulama who graduated from Haramayn were seen as more respected than those who received their religious education elsewhere. In addition, the annual Hajj pilgrimage is a moment of meeting between Muslim scholars from around the world in Mecca and Medina, knowledge seekers and scholars who study and teach in Haramayn have cosmopolitan religious views compared to those in other Muslim cities.

Chapter III embarks on an in-depth exploration of the migration patterns of Javanese individuals in Malaysia, with a particular emphasis on the religious scholars known as Ulama. This comprehensive analysis of the demographic segment seeks to illuminate the complex dynamics of migration studies, which have traditionally prioritized the examination of labor migration, thereby often overlooking the significant contributions and influential roles

⁵⁵ Kjetil Fallan, *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method* (Berg, 2010); Gustaaf Johannes Renier, *History: Its Purpose and Method* (Routledge, 2016).

played by the Javanese Ulama within Malaysia. Through a meticulous examination, this chapter endeavors to uncover how the Javanese Ulama have been pivotal in establishing and consolidating religious authority across the Malay Peninsula.

The chapter commences with a historical overview of Javanese migration to Malaysia, tracing the roots and trajectories of this movement and setting the stage for a deeper understanding of the socio-political and religious implications. It then delves into the sociocultural integration of the Javanese community within Malaysia, specifically focusing on the Ulama, analyzing how their religious teachings and practices have influenced and been integrated into the local Malay-Muslim society. Further, the chapter scrutinizes the roles of Javanese Ulama in the propagation of Islam and the development of religious education in Malaysia, highlighting their contributions to establishing Islamic institutions and disseminating religious knowledge. The intricate relationship between the Javanese Ulama and the Malay-Muslim identity is examined, revealing the nuanced interplay between cultural assimilation and religious authority.

Chapter IV describes brief biographies of Javanese Ulama and their descendants in Malaysia. This includes information about individuals, such as Kiai Muhammad Suhaimi (1843-1925), Kiai Ali Qaribun (1858-1955), Kiai Salleh Abdul Rahman (1865-1959), Kiai Muhammad Dahlan (1894-1978), Kiai Ahmad Shah (1901-1971), Kiai Khalil Abu Ammar (d.1978), Kiai Shamsuddin Ridwan (1911-1997), Kiai Husin Abbas (1918-1981), and Kiai Muhammad Hairawi (b.1935). The chapter briefly explains their origins in Java, migration to Malaysia, educational backgrounds, and contributions to the Malay Peninsula. Interestingly, many of these kiai had family connections and received their religious education at the same Islamic boarding schools, including the Tebuireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School, under the guidance of KH Hasyim Asyari.

Chapter V delves into the intricate development of the religious authority wielded by Javanese Ulama within Malaysia,

focusing on the pivotal role played by Islamic institutions such as mosques, madrasas, and Islamic boarding schools. Furthermore, the chapter underscores the significance of *tarekat*, which serves as foundational infrastructure for Sufism and bolsters the religious authority of these Javanese Ulama. Additionally, it brings to light how the intellectual works of the Javanese Ulama contributed to Malaysia; through their authoritative texts, they further cemented their religious authority within the Malaysian Islamic community. The discourse in this chapter culminates by examining the influential positions held by Javanese Ulama, as mufti and kadi, illustrating their profound impact on the religious landscape in Malaysia. This analysis sheds light on the mechanisms through which Javanese Ulama have established their religious authority and explores the broader implications of their role within the Malaysian Islamic context.

Chapter VI explains the role of Javanese Ulama in maintaining religious authority in Malaysia. The role of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia was shaped by their intellectual formation through studies in pesantren in Java and networks with Nusantara Ulama in Mecca and Medina. This gave them a strong orientation towards traditional Islamic scholarship. They played important socio-religious roles as educators, spiritual guides, issuers of fatwas, and community leaders. This vocational dimension asserted their religious authority. The Ulama formed networks with the Malay sultanate, gaining positions like qadi and mufti. They also built networks through the pesantren they established, creating mass support. Javanese Ulama also played a key role in organizing Malay resistance against communist rebels through the *Selempang Merah* army. They combined armed struggle with mystical and religious elements. Through establishing Islamic institutions, writing religious works, providing spiritual guidance and socio-political leadership, the Javanese Ulama formed vital sites, maintaining the Islamic scholarly tradition in Malaysia. In short, the Javanese Ulama, shaped by their traditionalist formation and

adaptability to new contexts, played indispensable roles as guardians and revivers of Islamic authority and tradition in Malaysia through their religious, educational, mystical and at times militant leadership. Chapter VII is the last chapter, and it contains conclusions and suggestions.



CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Finally, I come to the last chapter of this dissertation. This chapter concludes the entire dissertation and proposes further research on studies related to Javanese Ulama in Malaysia. First, I shall revisit the research questions and objectives and discuss how this dissertation's fundamental questions have been answered empirically and conceptually. Secondly, I need to reveal the findings of this study and draw implications for further research on the construction of religious authority of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia. Thirdly, the limitations of the study will be discussed. Finally, I would like to propose some directions for further research, particularly on the study of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia.

In this conclusion, I respond to the research questions and objectives that I stated in the first chapter. This research examines the other side of Javanese migration in Malaysia, especially highlighting the presence and role of Javanese Ulama. The findings conclude that Javanese clerics have played an essential role in establishing religious authority in the Malay Peninsula.

The Javanese Ulama successfully established religious authority in the Malay Peninsula through a combination of several interrelated factors and strategies. Their success can be attributed to their crucial role in transmitting Islamic knowledge, providing spiritual leadership, and engaging in the political power structure in Malaysia.

Firstly, the establishment of Islamic educational institutions, such as *Pondok* (Islamic boarding schools) and madrasahs, served as a powerful means for Javanese Ulama to assert their authority. These institutions functioned as centers of religious learning and became a stronghold for the Ulama to solidify their position as authoritative figures in Muslim society. As leaders of *Pondok*, Javanese Ulama held a central position in the intellectual and spiritual development of their students. They were recognized as

the primary source of Islamic knowledge transmission and were regarded as role models in the practice of religious teachings. Through these institutions, Javanese Ulama successfully produced a new generation of scholars and community leaders who became instrumental in spreading their influence throughout Malaysia.

Secondly, the involvement of Javanese Ulama in Sufi orders, particularly the Qadiriyyah-Naqshabandiyah, further reinforced their spiritual authority. As spiritual guides (murshids) of the tarekat, Javanese Ulama possessed immense charisma and influence among their followers. The teachings and practices of Sufism that they imparted attracted a wide following and fostered a strong spiritual bond between the teacher and the student. The tarekat also provided a platform for Javanese Ulama to establish extensive social networks among Javanese Muslims and other Muslim communities in Malaysia. Through the tarekat, Javanese Ulama consolidated their spiritual authority and extended their influence beyond geographical and ethnic boundaries.

Thirdly, the textual works produced by Javanese Ulama played a significant role in legitimizing their intellectual authority. The books they authored covered various fields of Islamic knowledge, including tafsir (Quranic exegesis), hadith (Prophetic traditions), fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), and Sufism. These works became the primary references for religious learning in pesantren and were widely circulated among the Malaysian Muslim community. Through these scholarly works, Javanese Ulama demonstrated their profound knowledge and ability to articulate Islamic teachings in a systematic manner. This further solidified their position as widely recognized intellectual authorities.

Fourthly, the appointment of Javanese Ulama as Qadis (Islamic judges) and Muftis by the Sultans conferred political legitimacy to their religious authority. These positions granted the Javanese Ulama official authority to make Islamic legal decisions and provide counsel to the rulers. Through these roles, the Javanese Ulama exerted significant influence on the social and political life

of the Malaysian Muslim community. They became pivotal figures in interpreting Islamic teachings and aligning them with state interests. This political legitimacy further bolstered the religious authority of Javanese Ulama and positioned them as key actors in the dynamics of the relationship between religion and politics in Malaysia. These dynamics underscore the complexity of the construction of religious authority in Malaysia, where religion and politics are intricately intertwined in shaping the social and political landscape of Muslim society.

In short, the success of Javanese Ulama in establishing religious authority in the Malay Peninsula can be attributed to a synthesis of their mastery of religious knowledge, spiritual leadership, production of intellectual works, and involvement in political power structures. Through these various channels, Javanese Ulama effectively consolidated their influence and emerged as authoritative figures in the religious and socio-political spheres of the Malaysian Muslim community.

On the other hand, the migration of Javanese Ulama to Malaysia in the 20th century had a significant influence on the religious and social landscape of the Malay Peninsula. Their presence and activities shaped a complex and multidimensional dynamic in the life of the Malaysian Muslim community. The Javanese Ulama's impact can be seen through several key aspects. Firstly, enrichment of Islamic intellectual tradition. The Javanese Ulama brought with them a distinct Islamic scholarly tradition rooted in the Islamic boarding schools (*Pondok*) in Java and the Haramain (Mecca and Medina). They established Islamic educational institutions, such as *pondok* and madrasahs, which became pivotal centers for the transmission of Islamic knowledge and the formation of a strong religious identity among the Malaysian Muslim community. Through these institutions, the Javanese Ulama nurtured a new generation of Muslim scholars and religious leaders who carried on the Islamic intellectual tradition.

Secondly, propagation of Sufism. The Javanese Ulama played a crucial role in spreading the teachings and practices of Sufism in Malaysia. They actively engaged in Sufi orders, particularly the Qadiriyyah-Naqshabandiyah, which attracted a significant following and fostered a vibrant spiritual community. Through the tarekat (Sufi order), the Javanese Ulama promoted the values and practices of Sufism, which deepened the spiritual life of the Malaysian Muslim community and strengthened social ties and solidarity among its members.

Thirdly, formation of Javanese identity and culture. The migration of Javanese Ulama contributed to the formation of a distinct Javanese identity and culture within Malaysia. They established Javanese communities that maintained their local wisdom through various cultural practices and religious rituals infused with Javanese elements. The presence of these communities added to the cultural diversity of Malaysia and created spaces for dialogue and cultural exchange between the Javanese and Malay communities.

Fourthly, contribution to the struggle for independence and national identity. Several Javanese Ulama actively participated in political movements against communist forces and British colonial rule in the Malay Peninsula. Their involvement highlighted their role in shaping Malaysia's political discourse and nationalism. In short, the migration of Javanese Ulama to Malaysia in the 20th century had a profound impact on the religious and social landscape of the Malay Peninsula. Through their role in transmitting Islamic knowledge, establishing Islamic educational institutions, propagating Sufi teachings, preserving Javanese culture, and engaging in religious bureaucracy, the Javanese Ulama shaped a distinct and dynamic face of Islam in Malaysia. They contributed to the enrichment of Islamic intellectual traditions, the strengthening of religious and cultural identity in Malaysia.

Javanese Ulama also maintained their religious authority in Malaya through a combination of intellectual formation, socio-

religious roles (vocation), and orientation towards Islamic tradition. These aspects, as conceptualized by Muhammad Qasim Zaman, shaped the identity and influence of Javanese Ulama in the Malay Peninsula. For the first of these, Intellectual Formation, Javanese Ulama acquired their intellectual formation through studies in *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) in Java and the Haramayn (Mecca and Medina). They studied various branches of traditional Islamic sciences such as *tafsir*, *hadith*, *fiqh*, *theology*, *tasawuf*, and Arabic language under prominent scholars. This scholarly network with Nusantara Ulama in the Haramayn also shaped their intellectual formation and connected them to the broader Islamic intellectual tradition. This intellectual formation became the basis for their authority in interpreting and transmitting Islamic knowledge in Malaysia.

The second is Socio-Religious Roles (Vocation). Javanese Ulama asserted their religious authority through various socio-religious roles. They established Islamic educational institutions such as *pesantren*, *madrasahs*, and *surau*, where they taught Islamic sciences and trained new generations of scholars. They also served as spiritual guides in Sufi orders, particularly the Qadiriyyah-Naqshabandiyah, attracting followers and building strong spiritual communities. Additionally, they held important positions such as Qadi (Islamic judge) and Mufti, which gave them official authority in religious matters. Through these roles, Javanese Ulama positioned themselves as intermediaries between sacred texts and the Muslim community.

Third is Orientation towards Islamic Tradition. The Javanese Ulama demonstrated a strong orientation towards the Islamic scholarly tradition they inherited from their teachers. They adhered to established schools of thought in *fiqh* (Shafi'i), *theology* (Ash'ari and Maturidi), and Sufism. However, this orientation did not make them resistant to change. They adapted to the local Malaysian context by writing religious books in Malay and Jawi script and adopting a more structured *madrasah* education system. They also

engaged in socio-political issues, such as the resistance against colonialism and communism, by applying Islamic principles and practices in innovative ways.

Fourth is Networks and Political Legitimacy. Javanese Ulama built networks with various parties including the Malay Sultanate and through their pesantren networks. Some were even appointed as advisors to the Sultans, Qadis, and Muftis, which provided them with political legitimacy and access to power circles. These networks and political positions strengthened their religious authority and influence in shaping Islamic discourse and policies in Malaysia.

Fifth is Legacy in Islamic Education and Socio-Political Engagement. The Javanese Ulama left a significant legacy in Malaysia through their contributions to Islamic education, intellectual production, spiritual guidance, and socio-political engagement. They established pesantren and madrasahs, wrote religious books, led Sufi orders, and participated in the struggle against colonialism and communism. They demonstrated the relevance and resilience of traditional Islam in facing contemporary challenges while adapting it to the local context.

In conclusion, Javanese Ulama maintained their religious authority in Malaysia by leveraging their intellectual formation, performing crucial socio-religious roles, demonstrating a dynamic orientation towards Islamic tradition, building influential networks and gaining political legitimacy, and leaving a lasting legacy in Islamic education and socio-political engagement. Through these means, they positioned themselves as authoritative interpreters and transmitters of Islam, shaping the religious landscape of Malaysia in the 20th century and beyond.

A. Research Implications

This research on the migration of Javanese Ulama and their role in building religious authority in Malaysia has significant implications in several aspects, notably theoretically,

methodologically, and practically. These implications can contribute to developing Islamic studies, understanding religious dynamics in Southeast Asia, and religious practices in Malaysia. First, this research makes an important contribution to enriching the understanding of the role of Ulama in the context of migration and the formation of religious authority. The findings of this research indicate that Javanese Ulama not only acted as religious leaders but also as agents of social and political change in Malaysia. They used a variety of strategies, such as establishing Islamic educational institutions, being involved in tarekat, producing intellectual works, and participating in power structures, to establish and maintain their religious authority. This understanding can broaden the theoretical perspective on the relationship between religion, migration, and politics in the context of Islam in Southeast Asia.

Second, methodologically, this research demonstrates the importance of an interdisciplinary approach in studying complex religious phenomena as it allows the multidimensional dynamics in the role of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia to be revealed. This approach can be a model for future research that aims to understand religious phenomena more comprehensively and holistically. Third, this research can be a basis for further research that wants to explore related topics, such as the Islamic intellectual network between Malaysia and Indonesia, the role of the Ulama in social and political movements in Southeast Asia, or the dynamics of the relationship between Islam and the state of Malaysia. The findings of this research can be a starting point for developing new research questions and hypotheses, as well as expanding the scope and depth of the study of Islam in Southeast Asia.

Finally, this research also has implications for relations between Malaysia and Indonesia. By understanding the role and contribution of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia, we can encourage dialogue and mutual understanding between Muslim communities in both countries and promote tolerance, moderation, and diversity in religion. The implications mentioned above indicate that

research on the migration of Javanese Ulama and their role in establishing religious authority in Malaysia has significant relevance. The findings of this research not only contribute to the development of academic knowledge for the understanding and managing of religious dynamics in Malaysia and Southeast Asia more broadly, but, by utilizing these implications strategically and reflectively, this research can also catalyze positive change in religious, social, and political life in Malaysia and the surrounding region.

B. Research Limitations

This research on the migration of Javanese Ulama and their role in establishing religious authority in Malaysia has several limitations that must be acknowledged and considered. These limitations include methodological aspects, data coverage, and a study focus that may influence the results and interpretation of the study. First, from a methodological perspective, this research mostly relies on written sources, such as books, historical documents, and secondary literature. While these sources provide valuable information, they may not fully capture the complex social and political dynamics. Limitations in accessing primary sources, such as direct interviews with descendants of Javanese Ulama or their followers, may directly limit a deeper understanding of their experiences, motivations, and perspectives.

Second, the data coverage in this study may not be completely comprehensive. Although this research attempts to cover various influential Javanese Ulama figures in Malaysia, such as Kiai Ahmad Shah, Kiai Shamsuddin, and Kiai Muhammad Suhaimi, it is still possible that other figures have not been covered in depth. Limitations in accessing information about lesser-known Javanese Ulama or limited documentation about their activities may have contributed to an incomplete picture of their overall contributions.

Third, the focus of this research study is mainly directed at the role of Javanese Ulama in building religious authority in Malaysia. While this is important, other dimensions have not been explored in depth. For example, internal dynamics within the Javanese community in Malaysia, interactions between Javanese Ulama and other Muslim groups, and the long-term impact of Javanese Ulama activities on the development of Islam in Malaysia were not looked at in depth. Limitations in exploring these dimensions may limit a more comprehensive understanding of the complexity of the role of Javanese Ulama in the broader social, cultural, and political context.

Fourth, this research focuses on the period of migration of Javanese Ulama to Malaysia in the 20th century. Although this period is significant, it is possible that the dynamics and developments that occurred before or after also had an important influence. Limitations in exploring further historical roots or contemporary developments after the period studied may limit understanding of continuity and change in the role of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia.

Lastly, the researcher's perspective and position may influence the interpretation and analysis of this research. Although efforts have been made to maintain objectivity, it cannot be denied that a researcher's background, values, and theoretical orientation can influence the way data are interpreted and presented. Limitations in researcher reflexivity and potential biases need to be acknowledged and considered when reading the results of this research.

Despite these limitations, this research still provides a valuable contribution to the understanding of the role of Javanese Ulama in establishing religious authority in Malaysia and their impact on the religious, social, and political landscape of the Malay Peninsula in the 20th century. The above mentioned limitations can be a starting point for further research as addressing these can deepen and expand our understanding of this topic. By recognizing

and considering these limitations, we can develop a more comprehensive and nuanced approach to examining the role of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia and their religious, social, and political dynamics.

C. Directions for Future Research

Finally, this dissertation has ended, and I would like to close with some suggestions for further research on the Javanese Ulama in Malaysia. Based on the discussion and research findings regarding the migration of Javanese Ulama and their role in building religious authority in Malaysia, several recommendations and suggestions can be put forward for further research in the future. These recommendations aim to deepen, expand, and develop the study of this topic and address the limitations of current research. Future research could expand the geographic scope by exploring the role of Javanese Ulama in other countries in Southeast Asia, such as Singapore, Thailand, or Brunei Darussalam. Cross-country comparisons can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the migration dynamics of Javanese ulama and their adaptation in different social, cultural, and political contexts.

Future research could also dig deeper into the intellectual networks formed between Javanese Ulama in Malaysia and Ulama in Indonesia, the Middle East, or other regions. This network analysis can reveal patterns of exchange of ideas, transmission of knowledge, and circulation of religious texts that have influenced the religious authority of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia. Future research could also explore the dynamics of contestation and negotiation between Javanese Ulama and other Muslim groups, such as reformist or traditional groups. This study can provide a more complex understanding of the position of Javanese Ulama in the diverse and competitive religious landscape in Malaysia. Future research could also integrate a gender perspective in examining the role of Javanese Ulama in Malaysia. The contribution of women in

the Javanese Ulama network, gender dynamics in the transmission of Islamic knowledge, or the role of women in the Javanese community in Malaysia could all be explored more broadly.

The recommendations and suggestions above will serve as a guide and inspiration for future researchers interested in studying the migration of Javanese Ulama and their role in building religious authority in Malaysia or other relevant contexts. Future research can further enrich our understanding of the dynamics of Islam, migration, and religious authority in Southeast Asia and the Muslim world by exploring new dimensions, using innovative approaches, and engaging in interdisciplinary collaboration.





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