

Symbolic Islamization and Political Authority in *Suluk Linglung* of Sunan Kalijaga: Cultural Negotiation and the Formation of Javanese Islamic Legitimacy

Fatchullah Zarkasi
Universitas Gunadarma
fatchullahzarkasi@gmail.com

Mustolehudin
Badan Riset dan Inovasi, Indonesia
must014@brin.go.id

Siti Nursyamsiyah
Universitas Muhammadiyah Jember
sitinursyamsiyah@unmuhjember.ac.id

Hafiz Abdullah
University of Punjab, Pakistan.
habdullah20112003@gmail.com

Article Received 23 May 2026, Revised 29 June 2026, Accepted 25 July 2026

Abstrak

Pembentukan otoritas Islam di Indonesia tidak hanya berlangsung melalui institusi politik formal, melainkan beroperasi secara dinamis melalui negosiasi budaya dan legitimasi spiritual. Meskipun Islamisasi Jawa telah dikaji secara ekstensif, arus utama pemikiran politik sering kali mereduksi otoritas pada struktur kekuasaan yang berpusat pada negara, sehingga peran praktik simbolik dalam teks vernakular klasik belum dieksplorasi secara mendalam. Penelitian ini menganalisis dimensi pemikiran politik Islam dalam naskah *Suluk Linglung* yang merupakan representasi ajaran Sunan Kalijaga dalam lanskap sosial-politik Jawa masa lampau. Menggunakan pendekatan analisis teks deskriptif dan analisis isi kualitatif, studi ini membandingkan dua versi cetakan manuskrip untuk memaknai kiasan budaya yang ada di dalamnya. Temuan penelitian mengindikasikan bahwa *Suluk Linglung* mengonseptualisasikan model otoritas politik Islam yang bersandar pada persuasi simbolik dan legitimasi spiritual, alih-alih dominasi koersif. Melalui struktur filosofis tradisi *macapat* (khususnya *Pupuh Dhandhanggula*, *Asmaradana*, *Durma*, dan *Kinanthi*), naskah ini mentransformasikan simbol-simbol budaya (seperti kiasan lebah mencari madu, kijang, emas, dan sujud) menjadi kerangka praktis untuk kebijaksanaan (*prudence*), integritas moral, dan tanggung jawab kepemimpinan (*amanah*). Studi ini mengajukan model awal "sintesis teo-kultural" sebagai kontribusi teoretis yang bersifat tentatif, yang mengindikasikan bagaimana otoritas kepemimpinan dikonstruksikan bukan melalui penaklukan institusional, melainkan melalui pribumisasi (*indigenization*) legitimasi etis yang strategis.

Kata Kunci: *Pemikiran Politik Islam, Negosiasi Budaya, Otoritas Simbolik, Suluk Linglung, Sunan Kalijaga.*

Abstract

The formation of Islamic authority in Indonesia did not occur solely through formal political institutions but operated dynamically through cultural negotiation and spiritual legitimacy. Although the Islamization of Java has been extensively studied, mainstream political thought often reduces authority to state-centric power structures, leaving the role of symbolic practices in classical vernacular texts underexplored. This study analyzes the dimensions of Islamic political thought in the *Suluk Linglung* manuscript, a text representing the teachings of Sunan Kalijaga within the socio-political landscape of early Java. Employing a descriptive text and qualitative content analysis approach, this study compares two printed versions of the manuscript to decode its cultural metaphors. The findings indicate that *Suluk Linglung* conceptualizes a model of Islamic political authority grounded in symbolic persuasion and spiritual legitimacy rather than coercive domination. Through the philosophical structure of the *macapat* tradition (specifically *Pupuh Dhandhanggula*, *Asmaradana*, *Durma*, and *Kinanthi*), the manuscript transforms cultural symbols (such as the metaphors of the honey-seeking bee, the deer, gold, and prostration) into a practical framework for prudence, moral integrity, and leadership responsibility (*amanah*). This study offers a preliminary theoretical contribution by proposing a "theo-cultural synthesis" model, suggesting how leadership authority may be constructed not through institutional conquest, but through the strategic indigenization of ethical legitimacy.

Keywords: Islamic Political Thought, Cultural Negotiation, Symbolic Authority, Suluk Linglung, Sunan Kalijaga.

Introduction

The Islamization of Java represents a profound historical period where theological transformation intersected with the negotiation of cultural identities, ethical values, and political authority. Unlike in many other regions where political transitions were often marked by military conquest or coercive domination, the establishment of Islamic authority in early Java operated dynamically through cultural accommodation and spiritual legitimacy. During this transition period, political legitimacy was constructed not merely through institutional control, but through the ability to secure moral recognition, symbolic acceptance, and public trust within the existing Javanese socio-cultural structures.

Within this context, the role of Islamic saints (Wali Songo), particularly Sunan Kalijaga, has been central to scholarly discussions. Previous studies on the Islamization of Java have primarily focused on cultural *da'wah*, religious accommodation, and the integration of local wisdom (Abdullah et al., 2025, p. 77). Sunan Kalijaga is generally portrayed as a cultural agent who integrated Islamic teachings into Javanese traditions

through symbolic and persuasive methods, employing literature, arts, and philosophy to communicate religious values smoothly to the grassroots level.

While these studies successfully explain the cultural mechanisms through which Islam spread in Java, they pay limited attention to how these cultural strategies also functioned as instruments for constructing political authority and ethical governance. Consequently, the political-ethical dimension embedded in the teachings of Sunan Kalijaga remains underexplored. Most studies tend to position classical vernacular texts, such as the *Suluk Linglung* manuscript, as purely mystical or literary works, neglecting their potential as a representation of Islamic political ethics (Yusna, 2020, p. 39). This limitation leaves unresolved the question of how Islamic political ethics were articulated through the cultural and spiritual narratives in Javanese society.

Based on this gap, this study addresses the following question: How does the *Suluk Linglung* manuscript construct Islamic political ethics through cultural and spiritual negotiation in the context of Javanese Islamization? This study aims to analyze how the text articulates ethical leadership, political authority, social harmony, and political responsibility through the cultural and religious strategies embedded within its verses. The significance of this study lies in its contribution to Islamic political thought and Javanese Islam studies by offering a perspective that integrates Islamic political ethics with cultural interpretation. Theoretically, this study extends the understanding of *Suluk Linglung* beyond its conventional interpretation as a mystical literary text by examining it as a discourse of Islamic political ethics. Empirically, it demonstrates how Islamic values are expressed not only through formal political structures but also through symbolic and cultural narratives embedded within local contexts.

This study is grounded in the complementary perspectives of Islamic political ethics and cultural diffusion theory. Islamic political ethics provides the normative framework for understanding justice, moral responsibility, political authority, and social harmony as ethical foundations of governance rooted in divine guidance (Ahmad et al., 2023, p. 51). Meanwhile, cultural diffusion theory explains how religious values are transmitted and transformed through processes of intercultural interaction and local adaptation (Waston, 2018, p. 281). Within this framework, *Suluk Linglung* is analyzed as a cultural-ethical medium through which Islamic political values are negotiated within Javanese socio-cultural structures. By integrating these perspectives, this study argues that the teachings within the manuscript

employed cultural accommodation not merely as a strategy of *da'wah*, but also as a mechanism for constructing ethical political authority and social legitimacy during the Islamization of Java.

This study further reconceptualizes *Suluk Linglung* as an indigenous formulation of Islamic political thought in which authority is constructed through cultural negotiation, symbolic legitimacy, and ethical-spiritual formation rather than coercive domination. By repositioning the text within broader discussions of religion, culture, and political authority, this research contributes to scholarship on Indonesian Islam by proposing a **"theo-cultural synthesis"** model. It demonstrates how the formation of Islamic political identities in plural societies can be constructed through the strategic indigenization of ethical legitimacy.

Research Method

1. Research Design

This study is qualitative library research utilizing a descriptive text analysis approach. The research focuses on Javanese Islamic literature to understand how political ethics, leadership, and cultural accommodation were conceptualized during the spread of Islam in Java. The research was conducted by directly reading and interpreting the text based on its cultural and historical context.

2. Research Objects and Data Sources

The primary object of this research is the *Suluk Linglung* manuscript, a classical text representing the teachings of Sunan Kalijaga. The data consists of verses, dialogues, and symbolic stories from macapat poetry, specifically focusing on Pupuh Dhandhanggula, Pupuh Asmaradana, Pupuh Durma, and Pupuh Kinanthi. To ensure the consistency of the text, the researcher compared two printed versions of the manuscript: the edition by Raden Ayu Supratini Mursyidi and the Balai Pustaka edition by Muhammad Khafid Kasri.

3. Research Procedure

The research was carried out in four practical stages. The first stage was reading the two versions of the manuscript to understand the main storyline. The second stage was data selection, where the researcher isolated specific stanzas containing dialogues about leadership, knowledge, and self-control. The third stage was interpreting the metaphors within those stanzas into practical political ethics. The final stage was drawing conclusions on how the

manuscript defines a good leader.

4. Data Collection

Data collection was conducted using the documentation method. The researcher carefully read the texts and grouped the relevant verses into thematic tables. As shown in the findings, the data was organized based on the type of *macapat* song, the original text or translation, and the specific political or ethical lesson it contains. The focus of the collection was the dialogue between Sunan Kalijaga and his teachers (Sunan Bonang and Prophet Khidir).

5. Data Analysis

Data analysis was performed using simple qualitative content analysis. The analytical process involved three straightforward steps: first, translating the Javanese verses directly into English to preserve their imagery for international readership (as presented in the findings tables); second, finding the meaning behind the cultural metaphors (such as the bee seeking honey, the deer, or the difference between copper and gold); and third, connecting those meanings to the concept of Islamic political leadership. Through this simple analysis, the implicit messages regarding moral authority and ethical leadership in the manuscript could be clearly understood without relying on complex theoretical frameworks.

Research Finding

The Construction of Islamic Political Authority in *Suluk Linglung*: Symbolism, Ethics, and Spiritual Legitimacy

Based on the descriptive text analysis of the two manuscript versions, the findings demonstrate that *Suluk Linglung* constructs a distinctive model of Islamic political authority grounded in cultural accommodation and symbolic persuasion. Rather than relying on coercive power or military domination, political authority is represented as emerging through the gradual integration of Islamic values into Javanese cultural practices. The comparison of the two printed editions, including the Supratini Mursyidi and Balai Pustaka versions, shows a consistent narrative: the Islamization of Java was primarily driven by symbolic legitimacy and cultural authority, with symbolic communication serving as the principal mechanism for gaining social acceptance.

In this manuscript, which represents the teachings of Sunan Kalijaga, political authority

is presented as an ethical process. Through symbolic narratives, poetic expression, and mystical reflection within the *macapat* poetry, leadership is portrayed as a moral responsibility. The following sections detail the results of the content analysis, interpreting specific cultural metaphors found in *Pupuh Dhandhanggula*, *Pupuh Asmaradana*, *Pupuh Durma*, and *Pupuh Kinanthi* into practical political ethics.

The Philosophy of Macapat as a Medium for Islamic Political Ethics

The textual selection process reveals that the *macapat* tradition functions not merely as a poetic form, but as a symbolic framework for teaching political values. Each *macapat* song represents a particular stage of human life and conveys moral teachings that guide leadership conduct.

Table 1. Philosophical Meanings and Functions of the Four Macapat Songs Analyzed in This Study

Macapat Song	Symbolic Meaning	Philosophical Function
Kinanthi	Symbolizes guidance during childhood.	Emphasizes education, moral development, and personal guidance.
Asmaradana	Symbolizes love, affection, and emotional struggle.	Represents affection, desire, and spiritual longing.
Dhandhanggula	Symbolizes sweetness, happiness, and wisdom in life.	Represents maturity, prosperity, and wisdom.
Durma	Symbolizes firmness, courage, righteous anger, and generosity.	Represents discipline, courage, justice, and social responsibility.

The symbolic and philosophical characterizations in Table 1 reflect conventions widely established in Javanese *macapat* literary tradition rather than findings unique to the two compared editions; the manuscript-specific analysis of these four songs is presented in the following sub-sections. Following the philosophical structure in Table 1, the content analysis indicates that *Suluk Linglung* employs this culturally embedded structure to teach Islamic political ethics without disrupting existing Javanese traditions.

1. Pupuh Dhandhanggula: Ethical Formation and the Metaphor of the Bee

The analysis of the selected verses from *Pupuh Dhandhanggula* establishes the ethical foundation of political authority through a specific cultural metaphor: a bee collecting nectar (honey). By translating and interpreting this imagery, nectar represents

beneficial knowledge and moral virtue, while the act of collecting it signifies a disciplined process of learning.

Table 2. Selected Verse from Pupuh Dhandhanggula I

English Translation	Political-Ethical Theme
<i>“Demanding a wage without result, endlessly collecting without a debt, while the one billed remains silent as they truly owe nothing... all of this is no different from Syekh Malaya himself when he began to study and meditate under Kanjeng Sunan Bonang.”</i>	This verse symbolizes discipline, patience, obedience, and perseverance in the pursuit of knowledge. It implies that legitimate authority is acquired through continuous learning, humility, and commitment to moral values, rather than inherited status.

Table 3. Selected Verse from Pupuh Dhandhanggula II

Verse	English Translation	Political-Ethical Theme
14	<i>“Once you have understood and mastered this knowledge and practice, you must be increasingly cautious in facing various matters...”</i>	Prudence, patience, ethical awareness, continuous self-evaluation, and responsible leadership.

Connecting this metaphor to political ethics, the text presents leadership not as an inherited privilege, but as the outcome of intellectual discipline and continuous self-improvement. The dialogue between Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Bonang emphasizes that legitimate authority is acquired through patience, prudence, and a commitment to moral values rather than the mere possession of power.

2. Pupuh Asmaradana: Spiritual Vigilance and the Metaphor of the Deer

Pupuh Asmaradana presents the relationship between the student and the teacher as a prolonged process of spiritual formation. The content analysis isolates Sunan Bonang's symbolic instruction regarding divine guidance (*hidayah*), specifically utilizing the metaphor of a deer. By decoding this cultural metaphor, the deer represents humility, vigilance, adaptability, and an unceasing search for truth. In the context of Islamic political leadership, these qualities represent the ethical dispositions expected of leaders. It implies that a good leader must be spiritually vigilant and adaptable to social changes while

remaining anchored in moral truth. Unlike the single quoted verses presented for *Pupuh Dhandhanggula*, *Durma*, and *Kinanthi*, the deer symbolism in *Asmaradana* recurs across several stanzas of Sunan Bonang's teaching to Sunan Kalijaga rather than in one isolated line; the interpretation above therefore synthesizes this recurring imagery narratively rather than presenting it as a single tabulated verse.

3. Pupuh Durma: True Value and the Metaphor of Copper vs. Gold

The text analysis of *Pupuh Durma* reveals that political authority is inseparable from inner purification and moral integrity. The dialogue between Sunan Kalijaga and Prophet Khidir symbolically illustrates how a leader must distinguish truth from outward appearances.

Table 4. Selected Verses from Pupuh Durma

Verse	English Translation	Political-Ethical Theme
9	<i>Prophet Khidir said, "The first thing you see is a shining light... direct yourself toward praiseworthy traits..."</i>	Inner wisdom, self-awareness, spiritual consciousness, and moral guidance as the foundations of political authority.
10	<i>"Therefore, do not act recklessly..."</i>	Self-control, ethical consistency, vigilance, and restraint in exercising authority.
19	<i>"Even though copper is still considered a noble gold..."</i>	Moral discernment, humility, legitimate authority, and the rejection of false appearances in leadership.

The translated verses highlight a crucial metaphor comparing copper with gold. Interpreting this symbolism into political ethics reveals that genuine value (leadership capability) cannot be determined solely through outward appearance, institutional power, or social status (copper). Instead, it must be evaluated through ethical character, spiritual maturity, and self-control (gold). This indicates that political legitimacy should be grounded in public trust and ethical recognition.

4. Pupuh Kinanthi: Sincerity and the Metaphor of Prostration (Sujud)

The analysis of *Pupuh Kinanthi* demonstrates that political authority must ultimately be founded upon sincerity (*ikhlas*) and religious devotion.

Table 5. Selected Verse from Pupuh Kinanthi

Verse	English Translation	Political-Ethical Theme
26	<i>"With the presence of Islam, it is hoped that all creatures on earth and in the heavens, including yourself, prostrate to Allah with a sincere heart until your head touches the ground. Thus, the beauty of the world is no longer visible before you, because your heart only remembers Allah alone. Yes, this is how it should be. Your feelings should always experience the state of prostrating on this earth."</i>	Sincerity, humility, obedience to God, and spiritual devotion as the ethical foundation of political leadership.

The content analysis of the selected verses portrays prostration (*sujud*) not merely as a physical ritual, but as a deep metaphor for humility and complete submission to divine authority. Connecting this meaning to leadership criteria, the manuscript defines a good leader as someone who consistently subordinates personal ambition to ethical principles. Leadership is presented not as a means of domination, but as a form of ethical service. Therefore, political authority derives its true legitimacy from an inner ethical commitment to serve both the people and God.

Discussion

The descriptive text analysis of the *Suluk Linglung* manuscript reveals that the construction of Islamic political authority in early Java did not rely on structural conquest or coercive power, but rather on the indigenization of ethical legitimacy. By unpacking the cultural metaphors embedded within the *macapat* poetry, this study identifies three main characteristics of leadership representing the teachings of Sunan Kalijaga, analyzed through the dual lenses of Islamic political ethics and cultural diffusion theory.

1. Knowledge and Moral Integrity over Inherited Power

The findings from *Pupuh Dhandhanggula* and *Pupuh Durma* present a strong critique against the notion of inherited political power. By using the metaphor of a bee tirelessly seeking nectar, the text emphasizes that legitimate leadership must be earned through intellectual discipline, patience, and continuous learning. Furthermore, the comparison between copper and gold underscores that a leader's true value is not determined by outward appearances or institutional positions, but by inner moral integrity.

Analyzed through the framework of Islamic political ethics (Ahmad et al., 2023, p. 51), this reflects a normative structure where political authority is inseparable from moral responsibility. This argument resonates with the historical dynamics of early authority in Java, such as the political transition from Majapahit to the Demak Sultanate, where legitimacy was no longer measured solely by bloodline, but through spiritual and moral mastery (Sofyan, 2021, pp. 104–113). This is further reinforced by M.C. Ricklefs' (2006) notion of the "mystic synthesis" in Java, wherein political legitimacy and religious tradition merged into the pursuit of inner truth, demanding profound ethical justification rather than mere structural coercion (Bekkers & Edwards, 2016, pp. 35–60; Wendt, 2016, pp. 227–245; Lepoutre, 2023, pp. 346–365). Through these findings, *Suluk Linglung* is shown to transcend its conventional status as a purely mystical text, evolving into an established philosophical-political discourse.

2. Macapat as a Medium for Adaptive and Non-Violent Politics (*Peithein* and Cultural Diffusion)

The use of the *macapat* tradition and natural metaphors—such as the deer in *Pupuh Asmaradana*, demonstrates a highly sophisticated, non-violent political strategy. Viewed through the lens of cultural diffusion theory, this phenomenon illustrates how Islamic political values were transmitted and transformed through local adaptation rather than military confrontation (Waston, 2018, pp. 281–308; Abdullah et al., 2025, pp. 77–90). In line with the findings of Afandi (2023, pp. 103–124) and Mark R. Woodward (1989), the Wali Songo, including Sunan Kalijaga, consistently utilized cultural acculturation approaches to internalize Islamic values into the inner structures of local society.

Mircea Eliade's postulation that symbols function as mediators between the sacred and human experience is vividly operationalized here; the *macapat* serves as a cultural-ethical medium (Eliade et al., 2005). Instead of provoking ideological conflict, the teachings of Sunan Kalijaga utilized familiar local symbols to negotiate authority. This method mirrors the ancient Greek concept of *peithein* (persuasion), proving that political legitimacy in the Islamization of Java was socially constructed through symbolic persuasion and cultural recognition rather than coercive domination (Papaioannou et al., 2019, pp. 1–16; Von Billerbeck & Gippert, 2017, pp. 273–285). This finding contributes to addressing the research gap regarding how Sunan Kalijaga's da'wah strategies may have simultaneously functioned as instruments for building political legitimacy.

3. The Philosophy of Sujud: Authority as an Ethical Service (*Amanah*)

Finally, the concept of political authority in *Suluk Linglung* reaches its conceptual peak in *Pupuh Kinanthi* through the metaphor of *sujud* (prostration). In mainstream political theory, power is often defined reductively as the capacity to dominate others (Harrits, 2011, pp. 237–258). Conversely, the symbolic act of *sujud* represents the ultimate submission of personal ambition to divine authority.

By integrating the framework of Islamic political ethics, this establishes power not as a tool for domination, but as an *amanah* (sacred trust) grounded in divine guidance (Ahmad et al., 2023, p. 51). As noted by Guillot and Couteau (2020, pp. 141–159) concerning the relationship between clergy and royal power in the Tembayat hills, religious and political authority in Java were frequently legitimized through spiritual depth and ascetic practices. Shifting the perspective of the manuscript from merely a mystical text to a socio-political discourse (Yusna, 2020, pp. 39–52), it becomes evident that the text formulates an indigenous political thought where authority is strictly an ethical service. A legitimate leader exercises their political mandate with sincerity (*ikhlas*) and a profound sense of accountability to both the people and God.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that Sunan Kalijaga constructed a distinctive model of Islamic political authority grounded in cultural accommodation, symbolic persuasion, and ethical-religious negotiation. Through the analysis of the *macapat* tradition in *Suluk Linglung*, the findings reveal that political legitimacy emerged not from coercive domination, but from integrating Islamic teachings with local Javanese traditions. This repositioning of *Suluk Linglung* may contribute to contemporary scholarship by illustrating, within the scope of this single manuscript, how Islamic political authority can potentially be built through moral exemplarity, spiritual responsibility, and cultural dialogue in pluralistic societies.

Practically, these findings imply that religious and political leadership can thrive through ethical alignment with local values rather than structural coercion. Building upon this insight, future research is strongly recommended to conduct comparative studies on other *Wali Songo* figures across the archipelago and to explore how these traditional leadership values can address modern challenges in contemporary Indonesian political culture.

References

- Abdullah, A., Asdam, M., & Alimbagu, A. (2025). The reciprocal acculturation of Islamic culture and local culture in the Nusantara: A historical review. *Jawi*, 8(1), 77–90.
- Afandi, A. J. (2023). Islam and local culture: The acculturation formed by Walisongo in Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4(1), 103–124.
- Ahmad, S., Qamar, A. J., Bhatti, M. A. A., & Bashir, U. (2023). Integrating Islamic ethics with modern governance: A comprehensive framework for accountability across religious, social, and economic dimensions. *Al-Irfan*, 8(15), 51–79.
- Bekkers, V., & Edwards, A. (2016). Legitimacy and democracy: A conceptual framework for assessing governance practices. In V. Bekkers & A. Edwards (Eds.), *Governance and the democratic deficit* (pp. 35–60). Routledge.
- Eliade, M., Smith, J. Z., & Trask, W. R. (2005). *The myth of the eternal return: Cosmos and history*. Princeton University Press.
- Guillot, C., & Couteau, J. (2020). The Tembayat hill: Clergy and royal power in Central Java from the 15th to the 17th century. In *The Potent Dead* (pp. 141–159). Routledge.
- Harrits, G. S. (2011). Political power as symbolic capital and symbolic violence. *Journal of Political Power*, 4(2), 237–258. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2158379X.2011.589178>
- Lepoutre, M. (2023). Political understanding. *British Journal of Political Science*, 53(2), 346–365.
- Papaioannou, S., Serafim, A., & Demetriou, K. (2019). The hermeneutic framework: Persuasion in genres and topics. In *The Ancient Art of Persuasion across Genres and Topics* (pp. 1–16). Brill.
- Ricklefs, M. C. (2006). *Mystic synthesis in Java: A history of Islamization from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth century*. EastBridge.
- Sofyan, Y. M. (2021). Javanese power: A comparative study of the power systems of the Majapahit and Demak Kingdoms. *The International Journal of Politics and Sociology Research*, 8(4), 104–113.
- Von Billerbeck, S. B., & Gippert, B. J. (2017). Legitimacy in conflict: Concepts, practices, challenges. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 11(3), 273–285. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2017.1334969>
- Waston, W. (2018). Building peace through mystic philosophy: Study on the role of Sunan Kalijaga in Java. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 8(2), 281–308. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v8i2.281-308>

Wendt, F. (2016). On realist legitimacy. *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 32(2), 227–245.

Woodward, M. R. (1989). *Islam in Java: Normative piety and mysticism in the sultanate of Yogyakarta*. University of Arizona Press.

Yusna, D. (2020). The interaction of suluk/khalwat and local culture: (Review of the books of Suluk and Khalwat). *Majalah Ilmiah Tabuah: Talimat, Budaya, Agama dan Humaniora*, 24(1), 39–52.

