

ISLAMIC GENEALOGY IN BALI: THE LEGITIMES OF WALI PITU IN A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

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Recent research found that approximately 10.07% the Muslim population in Bali ranks second as the lowest percentage in Indonesia. This low number contradicts with our ancestors massively deployed Islam, as evidenced by the legacy of Wali Pitu who undertook Islamic da'wah in Bali. To decipher, Wali Pitu is a term that refers to the seven clerics for spreading Islam in Bali. Qualitative descriptive through literature is applied to unravel the legacy of Wali Pitu in the perspective of cross-cultural studies. Furthermore, the existence of Wali Pitu in the development of Islam in Bali is something unique to recognize since it experienced different phase compared to Wali Songo in Java. In contrast to the Wali Songo whose existence has been well-renowned for a long time based on archaeological and historical searches, the public's belief in Wali Pitu is based on the sacred seven graves of Islam spreaders in Bali. In addition, the construction of Wali Pitu's sacredness only exists in the contemporary context introduced by Habib Toyib Zaen Arifin Assegaf, a scholar from Sidoarjo, through a long process. Wali Pitu still has a pivotal role in spreading Islam in Bali. This is reflected in the structure of Balinese society with the existence of Muslim communities, the establishment of mosques, Islamic educational institutions (Islamic boarding schools), as well as other cultural acculturation products. It can be concluded that the legacy of Islam in Bali spread by Wali Pitu has had a significant impact on the development of Balinese culture today.

Keywords: *Bali, Culture, Islam, Relics, Wali Pitu*

INTRODUCTION

Bali is a province in Indonesia located in the westernmost of the Lesser Sunda Island and be well-known as the Land of Dewata due to the strong Hindu culture manifested through the many offerings offered to the guardian gods throughout the island. Nevertheless, Hindus people keep up the harmony in living with other religions from myriads ethnics i.e. Chinese with Confucianist, Bugis and Sasak with Muslim, and Europeans with Christians (Armini, 2013). Due to the acceptance of those diversity, Bali is awarded as the 3rd Religious Harmony Index (KUB) released by the Indonesian Ministry of Religion (DPR, 2019). The increasing rate of religious sympathy has led the Islam grew in Bali with its 10.05% percentage of the total population (Kemenag RI, 2021). This number showed a significant development up to 20% proven by the

statistic from BPS in 2019-2021 (BPS Provinsi Bali, 2022). This enlargement cannot be separated from the founding fathers who preceded Islam on the Island.

The history of Islam in Bali has left a number of theories. In the Buleleng Chronicle, translated by Worsley (1997), the arrival of Islam in Buleleng occurred in 1587, preceded by the arrival of three elephant escorts who had embraced Islam. The elephant was a gift from Dalem Solo (the king of Mataram) for the victory of Gusti Ngurah Panji Sakti in the war against the people of Blambangan (Annisa, 2020). Another theory was put forward by Vickers (1987) which was based on the oral tradition of the Balinese Song of Pemañcah which explained that a number of Muslim groups from Mecca tried to Islamize Baturenggong, a Balinese king around the 15th century. This group then settled in the Klungkung area, Karangasem Bali.

Meanwhile, according to Wirawan in Saidi (2002), there is a story passed down many years ago stated that approximately 40 Muslims came to Bali as accompanists to Dalem Ketut Ngelesir (King Gegel) when he returned from his visit to Majapahit. During the reign of Dalem Waturenggong in Gelgel, around 1460, a messenger came from Demak, named Kyai Jalil, who then wandered eastward in the Karangasem district. On the other hand, according to Ginarsa and Suparman in Saidi (2002), Muslims came to Buleleng around 1587, when the King I Gusti Ngurah Panji and his army conquered Blambangan. Over time, many Javanese from Blambangan, Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Ponorogo, Mayong, settled in Buleleng.

In addition, the development of Islam in Bali is also allegedly related to several religious figures called Wali Pitu. Wali Pitu in Bali shows another pattern of the sacred dimension of Wali Songo in Java, which has only been shaped by historical and archaeological evidence (Tohari, 2021). Different with Wali Songo in Java, Wali Pitu was founded by a local figure, namely Toyyib Zaen Al-Arifin in Sidoarjo with his followers namely Manaqib Al-Jamali in 1992. The seven guardians are: 1) Prince Mas Sepuh (Raden Amangkuningrat Pantai Seseh Keramat) which is located on the edge of Seseh Beach, Mengwi, Badung Regency, 2) Dewi Khotijah which is located on Jalan Batu Karu Monang Maning, Denpasar, 3) Keramat in Bedugul Bukit (Chabib Umar Bin Yusuf Al Maghreb), located in the hills of Bedugul, including Tabanan Regency, 4) Habib Ali Bin Abu Bakar Bin Umar Bin Abu Bakar Al Khamid, in Kusamba Village, Dawan District, Klungkung Regency, 5) Tomb of Wali Maulana Yusuf Al Baghdi Al Maghribi, 6) Tomb of Wali Chabib Ali Bin Zaen Al Edrus (Number 5 and 6 are also known as the Twin Sacred Graves which are located in Bungaya Kangin Village, Benden District, Karangasem Regency (Amlapura) and, 7) Karangrupit Sacred Tomb or The Kwan Lie / Shaykh Abdul Qodir Muhammad which is located in Temukus Village, Banjar District, Singaraja City (Chusna 2020).

The existence of Wali Pitu in Bali is more contradictory because the region is predominantly Hindu with the culture, traditions, and customs. The discovery of Wali Pitu was carried out through ‘‘a long search’’ began in 1992. The existence of Islamic villages such as Kampung Gélgél in Klungkung, Kampung Loloan in Jembrana,



Kampung Pegayaman in Buleleng, and Kampung Kecicang in Karangasem is strong evidence that Islam in Bali was formed in small communities refers to Wali Pitu's existence (Tohari, 2021). This study aims to compare the existence of Wali Pitu and Wali Songo in the history of Islam in Bali and present forms of heritage, acculturation, and the locality of Islam in Bali from a cross-cultural perspective.

METHODS

Descriptive qualitative through literature review is applied in this study. According to Sugiyono (2010), the qualitative research method is a research method based on the philosophy of postpositivism, used to research on natural object conditions, (as opposed to experiments) where researchers are the key instrument, triangulation data collection techniques (combined), data analysis is inductive/qualitative in nature, and the results of qualitative research emphasize meaning rather than generalization.

Study Design

This study refers to references from national and international databases such as SINTA, Web of Science, WILEY, ELSEVIER, and other relevant sources based on social science journals. The literature search is divided into several stages starting from determining the right keywords to get access to the literature according to research needs. Researchers use keywords that are also combined with booleans to broaden the scope of the article, such as "Islamic Heritage" OR "Historical Search" AND "Archaeological Search" AND "Muslim" OR "Islam" AND 'Bali" AND "Wali Pitu" AND "Cross Culture" OR "Cross Cultural Perspective".

Selection Criteria

The researcher determines the inclusion and exclusion criteria which serve as the basis or principle in reducing the articles obtained from the previous process. This inclusion criterion plays a role in assisting researchers in choosing and selecting the right reference articles for the preparation of scientific articles so as to make secondary data adequate and accurate. Exclusion criteria are criteria that are categorized as principles that do not meet the requirements in selecting the collected reference articles. The criteria are:

1. The article has a correlation with the development of Islam in Bali
2. This article contains relevant data and evidence related to the historical traces of the spread of Islam by Wali Pitu in Bali
3. The article reveals discoveries that are believed to be historical sources for the development of Islam in Bali
4. Article contains information about Islam from a cross-cultural perspective
5. This article provides information about important figures who played a role in the development of Islamic culture in Bali



Study Selection

In reducing the article, there are several stages that must be passed. First, researchers reduce articles obtained from scientific databases by checking duplication through *Mendeley* to avoid overlapping articles with different sources. Second, researchers select articles based on the suitability of keywords and abstracts. Third, the researcher performs skimming and scanning reading techniques on full paper articles to recognize whether or not the keywords are correct with the research needs. Fourth, the researcher reads the entire article carefully as the last step to get the final reference in designing a scientific article.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Wali Pitu and Wali Songo

Based on the findings, Wali Pitu played the role of seven people whose job was to spread Islam in Bali as done by Wali Songo in Java. Walisongo is a kingpin of nine influential figures who have reached the level of " Wali ", the term to name a high level of guarding the religion of Islam in Java. The guardians do not live together, but have a close relationship with one another. (Sutrisno, 2009)

In Bali, traces of Wali Pitu's whereabouts are marked by the existence of a sacred tomb located in Buleleng, precisely in Labuan Aji. The tomb is called the Sacred Tomb of Karang Rupit as a historical Islamic heritage that has existed in Bali. This tomb is categorized as the sacred tombs *Sab'atul Auliya'* (Wali Pitu who spreads Islam in Bali) that currently a spiritual tourism object for the community not only visited by Muslims, but also many other parties evidenced by the data visitors (Asmara, 2012) Most of the Muslims who make pilgrimages to this tomb are from Java who have spiritual interests. Furthermore, the uniqueness of this tomb is that the name listed in this sacred tomb is "The Kwan Lie" whose title is Sheikh Abdul Qodir Muhammad, who was a Chinese merchant who landed his trading ships on the coast of North Bali in the mid-16th century. He anchored at Lovina beach, Singaraja Bali and began to spread Islam. He was very skilled in Chinese medicine and began to broadcast Islam whilst trading in every area he visited. By looking at the Chinese name, it is reflected that there is a social integration that has arisen in Balinese society, especially in the village of Temukus Singaraja in the midst of the crisis of social disintegration (Atmadja, 2010)

The discovery of Wali Pitu cannot be separated from the expedition carried out by the Manaqib al-Jamali team led by Zain Toyyib Arifin in 1992. The existence of Wali Pitu caused controversy because it created a dilemma in terms of fact and location. According to several people, the discovery of Wali Pitu's tomb is seen as a media to create a peak of fame of the founder.

Wali Pitu is also a sacred tomb believed by a number of Hindus where initially found through a traditional Islamic method namely *hatif* that obviously different with Wali Songo in Java proven through history and archaeological evidence (Hasyim, 2021). *Hatif* is a whisper received by someone who is blessed by God and mediates the message (Fahd, 1971). This discovery was initiated by Toyyib Zaen Arifin, kyai from Sidoarjo, East Java as instructed by God to find the seven sacred tomb in Bali in 1992. The request was in Javanese language.

1. “*Ing telata Bali iku kawengku makam pitu piro wali cubo wujudno!*” [in the land of Bali there are Seven Muslim Sainthoods. Try to find them!]

2. “*Ono sawijining pepunden dumunung ono ing telatah susunanging siti sasandingan pamujaan agung kang manggon sak duwuring tirta kang kadarbeni dining suwitaning pandito ojo sumelang!*” [there is a pepunden shrine in a place on a mound above the water beside a Hindu temple guarded by a faithful priest, so do nothesitate!]

3. “*Waspadakno pitu iku keparang dadi papat*” [notice, the seven are divided into four]

4. “*Pitu iku keparang dadi papat iku pengertenane: kapisan wus kaporo nyoto, kapindo istidroj wujud kembar, kaping telu wus lair naning durung wujud, kaping papat liyo bongso*” [the seven saints are divided into four: the first has existed for a long time, the second is highly respected and are twins, the third has been born but has not yet seen his guardianship, and the fourth is from abroad]

During the expedition, the first tomb was Mas Sepuh or Sacred Tomb of Seseh Beach in Mengwi, Badung (the prince of the Kingdom of Mengwi in 1711). He was believed to have holy powers, namely being able to defeat a group of people who wanted to kill him with his magical kris.

The second tomb is the tomb of Sheikh Yusuf al-Maghribi, a prominent kyai in Tabanan. There was a story of this tomb where Arifin was ill the moment when the community was prohibited by local authorities to rebuild the tomb because of the bad weather. Furthermore, those people asked for permission through the master of nature to allow them to build a tomb. After being allowed, Arifin recovered from his illness and was believed to be the sanctity.

The third grave is the tomb of Habib Ali al-Hamid in Karangasem. According to the story, this character lived during the era of Raja Dewa Agung Jambe I (1686-1722). He is a respected figure but his existence is a hatred for the prince. The prince asked his father to execute Habib, but the King ordered Habib to leave the kingdom. After he arrived in Kusamba, Habib Ali al-Hamid was attacked and killed by a group of people who were allegedly ordered by the prince. On the night of Habib Ali al-Hamid's death, a fire suddenly ignited from Habib's grave and killed the other assassins.



After several years, in 1995, the tomb of Habib Ali Zainal Abidin al-Idrus was discovered and estimated to be more than 400 years old. Beside the tomb, there are rocks around the tomb which are believed to have magical powers that can protect it from damage of the eruption of Mount Agung in 1963. The rocks around the tomb are the tomb of an Iraqi scholar, Maulana Yusuf al-Baghdadi, who was identified as guardian of Habib's tomb. The two tombs are called Twin Sacred Graves because they have a relationship with each other.

The sixth tomb is the tomb of Kwan Lie or Sheikh Abdul Qodir Muhammad which was found in a Chinese cemetery in Buleleng. Kwan Lie is the bodyguard of a Chinese princess who travels to Java to meet Sunan Gunung Djati. When the princess of China and Sunan Gunung Djati married, Kwan Lie became a disciple of Sunan Gunung Djati and helped spread Islam. However, no one knows for sure why Kwan Lie was able to reach Bali and was buried in Buleleng.

On the other hand, the seventh tomb is slightly different compared with the previous. Arifin knows that the seventh wali has not passed away through the hatif he received. On March 29th, 1992, a habib named Habib Ali bin Abu Bakar Bafaqih died. Unlike previous trustees who were sacred because of spiritual strength or other reasons, Habib Ali Bafaqih is known as someone who has high religious knowledge and determination to spread Islam.

Cross-Cultural Perspective in the Development of Islam in Bali

Culture and language are closely related to each other. With language, individual and group identities can be identified (Santoso, 2006) and will show how forms characterize a particular individual or group. According to Kramsch in Suastra (2009), language is seen as a sign system to express, shape, and symbolize cultural reality. As a large ethnic group, the Balinese have a regional language which has been embodied in historical remains.

Relics of Balinese language and literature are commonly found in lontar texts (lontar: papyrus) which have a variety of knowledge content in them, including lontar texts with Islamic nuances. According to Pidada in Jirnaya (2015), several lontar manuscripts with Islamic nuances that have been found include the lontar manuscripts *Wita ning Selam*, *Amad's Poem*, *Amad Muhammad Raden Suputra's Poem*, *Aji Pangukiran's Song*, *Bagendali's Song*, *Tuan Sumeru's Song*, *Sebun Bangkung's Song*, *Ana Song* or *Rumaksa Song at Night*, *Javanese History and History*, and *Siti Badariah's poem*. Apart from that, there is also the *Usada Manak* which implies a syncretism between Islam and Hinduism in Bali.

In *Usada Manak*, Jirnaya (J2015) found important evidence related to the interaction of Islamic acculturation with their Hinduism so that it gave birth to acculturation with intensification of communication. The application of Hindu-Islamic syncretism in the *Usada Manak* mantra, a healing process accompanied by mantras,



contains elements of Hinduism and Islam. In other words, in a mantra there are two highest powers, namely those that are equally believed to be 'Maha'. For Hindus there is used the word 'Om' (symbol of Hyang Widhi/God) which is juxtaposed with *Allah*, name of God.

Balinese traditions that are often easy to find in person are offerings (*sesajen*). Offerings are a cultural heritage of Hindus and Buddhists which are usually made to worship the gods, certain spirits or guardians of places (trees, rocks, intersections) and others which they believe can bring good luck and ward off bad luck (Homaeni et al, 2021). Besides being used in worship rituals, offerings are also used in public places, such as restaurants and shops so they can be seen by visitors (Nurlina & Kurniadi, 2010).

This socio-cultural condition causes the tendency of the Balinese Muslim community to avoid restaurants or places to eat that have offerings around them even though the food ingredients served are halal. According to Susilowati and Chitra Yuliana (2013), as a minority community in Bali, the Islamic community has attitudes and perceptions of higher behavioral control in consuming halal food than in areas with a Muslim majority. In practice, identities and symbols such as the halal logo and stalls managed by Muslims are one of the important options for the Muslim community in Bali in choosing halal food. Therefore, Muslims are encouraged to have more attitudes and control that comes from themselves in deciding to consume halal food.

Acculturation of Hindu and Islamic Culture in Bali

Even though Bali is dominated by Hindus, the cultural acculturation remains strong, proven by the aspect of using names in Bali. Based on the results of interviews with informants (Umami and Kia, 2023), the use of Balinese names, such as Nyoman, Wayan, and so on, cannot only be used by Hindus. However, many Muslims in Bali, especially in several Islamic villages, use Balinese names as their own names or for their descendants. The use of Balinese names is also related to the preservation of the use of Balinese as the mother tongue, the use of names such as Wayan for the first child, Nengah for the second child, and Ketut/Nyoman for the third child, so that Muslim and Hindu communities have been able to live in harmony from a long time ago (Arselan, 2018).

Apart from the name, the acculturation of Islamic and Hindu culture in Bali can also be seen from the variety of architectural arts found in Islamic-style buildings. Balinese decoration is also used in building ornaments at the Village Mosque, giving it a very distinctive character. This uniqueness can be seen in the architectural variety of several mosques in Bali. There are several mosques that use ornaments and colors in the style of Balinese architecture by mixing forms of Islamic symbols in the form of Persian domes and crescent moons.



According to Hindu belief, the number of tiers of roofs is more than two forms that may only be used for sacred buildings for the gods. Meanwhile, in the view of the Archipelago's ancestors, the terraced roofs of meru and pagodas had sacred values. This has been applied to several old mosques in the archipelago, including in Bali, so that the overlapping roof forms on old mosques in Indonesia are not simply due to the need for a roof structure, but after converting to Islam they still view that overlapping roofs have a sacred value that is suitable to be applied to mosque roofs. Furthermore, the existence of a gate in Balinese architecture apart from being a transitional boundary also functions as a barrier to profane and sacred areas (Ardiansyah, 2016).

CONCLUSION

The existence of Wali Pitu in Bali until now is believed to be the propagator of Islam in Bali. This is indicated by the great public trust in the sacredness of the tombs of the Wali Pitu that are spread across Bali. Wali Pitu is different from Wali Songo in Java. The discovery of Wali Pitu uses a new method in an ancient Islamic tradition called *hatif*, in contrast to the discovery of Wali Songo through history and archaeological evidence. However, the existence of Wali Pitu is still the prima donna and the main goal of the Balinese people in carrying out religious activities.

As an area with a majority population of Hindus, Bali has a life of harmony and high tolerance. Islamic and Hindu culture can acculturate to form new patterns. This can be seen from the use of Balinese names for Muslims, as well as the variety of architecture in several Islamic-style buildings in Bali. These legacies are none other than an important legacy in the history of the spread and development of Islam on the Island of the Gods.

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