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Maps and Critiques of Epistemology in Local Islamic Studies in Nusantara

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Abstract: This paper analyzes research that discusses local Islamic studies to be mapped and describes the criticisms circulating in the analysis of local Islamic studies in the archipelago by both insiders and outsiders. This research found that the local Islamic studies pioneered by Gertz with the epistemology of Abangan, Santri, and Priyayi have become role models for subsequent researchers. In general, researchers after Gertz agreed with Islam as a system, but many disagreed with the classification of the pro-day rather than Islam as a system. Next came Nur Syam's collaborative epistemology, Woodward's acrylate epistemology, and others. Criticisms of Abangan, Santri, and Priyayi Epistemology have sprung up after many researchers such as Harsja W. Bachtiar, Zaini Muchtarom, Nur Syam, Mark R. Woodward, Robert W. Hefner. It was Hefner's research and Niels Mulder who conducted the study with the same point of view but in different locations of the study. The local Islam study also developed in the context of urban Islamic studies, which is depicted with lifestyle changes, especially fashion but still accompanied by religious values. Urban Islam shows how the ability of unlimited relations or known as transnational. Through the fashion movement, they identified themselves as modern and shaleh or shalehah.

Keywords: *tradition; epistemology; local islam; nusantara; outsider; insider*

A. INTRODUCTION

There is one thing that has never been separated from the nature of the phenomena around us, especially in Indonesia, namely between Islam and the cultural context, which among them, flows in the social life of our society from the past to the present. Every corner of this archipelago which consists of various cultural systems, reflects that there may be a difference in applying Islam itself (Pongsibanne 2017). This can be caused because, in Indonesia, there are

various kinds of races, tribes, languages, cultures, religions, and beliefs. The motto "Bhineka Tunggal Ika" is the correct expression to explain the reality and hope of the Indonesian nation. So Indonesia is also known as a plural country. According to Blaise Pascal, as quoted by Harold Coward, Pluralism that is not integrated into the form of unity is chaos, while unity that does not maintain plurality is tyranny (Limyah al Amri 2003).



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It becomes commonplace when a religion, in this case, Islam, blends and becomes part of the culture itself. This is because culture is essentially the result of human creation, taste, and ideals (Junaid 2013). Religion and culture both provide insight and perspective in responding to life by the will of Allah S.W.T. Therefore, there is usually a dialectic between religion and culture.

Departing from this concept, coupled with the phenomenon of religious practices in Indonesia, for example, diving and the like, it has become a unique feature for research activists based on socio-religious anthropology research to be studied further. It was started by Clifford Gertz In 1960, who popularized the trichotomy of *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi* in his classic book *The Religion of Java*. Based on anthropological research in Pare in East Java, the city he pseudonymized Mojokuto, in the 1950s, Geertz concluded that the belief system of the majority of Javanese could be divided into three categories, namely *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi*.

Next is Erni Budiwati with *Islam Sasak: Wetu Telu Vs. Waktu Lima*, where she describes how the concept of religious practice of *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima*. In the village area, Sasak lives in Bayan Barat Laut Lombok. (Budiwati: 2000). *Wetu Telu* are still considered rudimentary in understanding Islam and are indigenous or local people, while *The Waktu Lima* identify as perfect Islam and are immigrants. Nur Syam, with the concept of Coastal Islam, captures how beautiful the interaction between NU, Muhammadiyah, and *Abangan* citizens is, thus giving birth to the term collaborative Islam and rejecting the epistemology of acculturation and Gertz's syncretism (Syam: 2005)

The journal entitled *Ecsolute Critique, Worldview, And Sacred Symbols of Clifford Geertz's Views*, written by Fatia Inast

Tsuroya, describes how Clifford Geertz saw the Ethos, Worldview, and symbols that humans have towards a group to name them as sacred symbols that are normative and have great power in their implementation. It can be known, then, that it is caused by religious symbols derived from ethos and views of life are the two most essential elements to human existence and also because these sacred symbols cannot be released in everyday human life, as Geertz asserts that religion is not merely a metaphysical (Tsuroya 2020).

Acculturation of Islam with Local Culture, as a study conducted by Limyah al Amri and Muhammad Haramain, explained how Islamic acculturation and local culture in Indonesia using the study of historical texts. In this paper, it is stated that the success of Islam from Arabia managed to dialogue and be accepted in the local cultural landscape that has long been deeply rooted in the archipelago. His findings show that Islam has succeeded in understanding the existing regional cultural settings and internalizing the cultural backgrounds so that the community can accept their existence. This success is inseparable from the artistic approach taken by Islamic preachers of the XIII century, who acculturated Islamic and local cultures so that they became an indivisible unit (Limyah al Amri 2003)

Of the many local Islamic researchers in Indonesia, simple mapping is needed to make it easier to parse the flow of movement trends in local Islamic research. In addition, an epistemology in local Islamic research also does not mean that it is free of criticism, so criticism inevitably arises in response to the epistemology of previous research. Complaints can, of course, arise from within, namely native Indonesian intellectuals, and from outside, namely researchers who come from outside Indonesia.

The description of the existing literature shows that mapping has not been touched upon in existing studies but focuses on the conception of thought, classification of groups, and cultural acculturation. Thus, of course, the more urgent it is based on the above to take other pictures of maps and epistemological criticism in local Islamic studies in the archipelago.

B. MATERIALS AND METHOD

Literature studies researchers use the method of writing this article. A literature review involves in-depth criticism and evaluation of previous similar research (Jayadianti et al., 2020). A literature review study is a style used to collect data and sources related to a particular subject or theme from various sources, namely journals, the internet, books, and other libraries. In this study, secondary data were used. The data obtained did not come from direct observations of the research subjects but from previous studies' results. The received data is immediately explained in writing, which readers can easily digest later (Ayuningtias and Burhanto 2021). Literature searches are conducted through online publish or parish and Google scholar databases.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

1. Variety of Epistemology in Local Islamic Studies

- a. Trichotomy of Abangan, Santri, And Priyayi In Javanese Society Clifford Geertz

The Religion of Java, work Geertz, has an extraordinary significance as an ethnographic record. The initial discussion covers in detail the religious practices of the Javanese. It provides them with interpretations that make it easier for others to

understand the culture or, instead, the religious actions carried out by the Javanese people. Clifford Geertz created an analytical framework by classifying the Islamic-Javanese society into three variants: abangan, santri, and priyayi. This reading, by Geertz, rests on the assumption that the Javanese worldview is a Javanese religion faced with a system of social stratification in Java (Tago 2017).

This means that the three variants of Javanese diversity are influenced by three core social structures, namely (villages, markets, and government bureaucracy). In his observation, three different environments (rural, market, and government offices) combined with other cultural and historical backgrounds (relating to the entry of religion and Hindu and Islamic civilization in Java) have realized their existence; Abangan (which emphasizes animistic aspects), Santri (which highlights aspects of Islam) and Priyayi (which emphasizes aspects of Hindu)(Tago 2017).

Abangan

Geertz's study reported that the Javanese recognized the existence of a variant or tradition of its own abangan "religion." He suggested that this variant of religion is widely and commonly associated with the Village. The Abangan religious tradition, which consists of a ritual feast called slametan, is a broad and complicated complex of beliefs about the soul and a set of healing theories and practices, occult science, and ghaib science

associated broadly and commonly with Javanese villages. Although Geertz also associated the urban proletariat, that is, the lowly classes in urban areas, with variants of abangan religion. Geertz expressly identified the abangan variant with the peasantry. The abangans were the Javanese peasants. The abangan religion describes the peasant synthesis between things from the city and tribal heritage. One syncretism of old remains from a dozen sources organized into conglomerates to meet the needs of the simple-spirited people who grow rice on irrigated terraces.

In this context, it can be concluded that abangan as a religious variant refers to what in everyday language is called the essential folk tradition and the tradition of the peasantry. The essence of the ritual consists of a slametan or banquet for a neighboring neighborhood to get slamet. That is a psychological state without emotional disturbances. With a complex of beliefs about spirits and healing practices, the abangan religious variant reflects the emphasis on Javanese syncretism's animist aspects. One of the characteristics of the abangans was a foolish attitude toward the teachings, and they were fascinated by the details of the ceremony. The essence of the abangan religious variant, according to Geertz, is slametan (Effendi 2020).

Santri

Geertz identified the "santri" variant by referring to more definitive characteristics, to cultural patterns associated only

with students. These patterns, including one transparent system of beliefs, values, and norms, are better known as Islamic religious traditions. The santri variant is manifested in the careful and regular execution of basic rituals of the Islamic religion, such as the obligation to pray five times a day, Friday prayers in mosques, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and performing the hajj to Mecca. It is also manifested in a complex of social and political organizations, such as Muhammadiyah, Masyumi, and Nahdlatul Ulama. Its values are antidemocratic, accessible, and egalitarian. The students themselves live in groups. Now it has been reduced compared to before the war, but it still appears that their groupings are also visible. Finally, the observance of prayer services at the last level is the measure of students. Whereas Priyayi and Abangan only sometimes do it (Effendi 2020).

Priyayi

Geertz assumed that the priyayi, the legitimate elite, manifested a distinctive religious tradition referred to as a variant of the priyayi religion. Priyayi initially referred only to the hereditary class of nobles, whom the Dutch had released from their ties with the kings of the conquered kingdoms originally, and who were then appointed and salaried civil servants. This elite of employees, whose origins can be traced back to the Javanese-Hindu palaces of the pre-colonial era, continued to maintain and maintain very delicate palace manners. These complex arts included drama-dance, music, poetry, and Hindu-

Buddhist mystics. They did not emphasize the element of animism in Javanese syncretism as a whole, as was done by the abangans, nor did they emphasize the aspect of Islam as done by the students, but what they emphasized was the element of Hinduism.

It can be said that the three main points of "religion" of the Priyayi people are etiquette(manners), mystical art, and practice. The appropriateness and techniques of the priyayi are imbued with four main principles: (1) The appropriate form for the proper rank. This is in terms of language. Especially in the linguistic selection of the interlocutor. Including the pattern of higher levels. (2) Unsustainability. The design of advising others subtly, not directly on the subject. Like the phrase "aim north to shoot south." (3). Pretense or in Javanese "ethok-ethok". Priyayi has a way of hiding her intentions as a tribute to the interlocutor. Like offering something when he didn't want to give it to her. (4) Self-control and not "inconsistent." This is realized by the awareness of knowing(Effendi 2020).

b. Sasak Islamic Dichotomy; Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima
Erni Budiwati

Erni Budiwanti's book entitled *Islam Sasak, Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima*, a study of the Sasak Bayan community in Lombok, focuses on the ideological conflict between two religious and cultural groups. The groups are Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima. Wetu Telu is a Sasak people who, despite claiming

to be Muslims, continue to worship the spirits of their ancestors, various shades, and others within their locality. The time of five is marked by high adherence to the teachings of Islam (Sirnopati 2021).

Zuhdi confirms that on the island of Lombok, two variants of Islam are separated diametrically, namely between Wetu Telu Islam and Waktu Lima Islam. Wetu Telu Islam can be considered a traditional religion, while The Five Times Islam is categorized as samāwi. These classifications are not separate from each other. These two categories can overlap, where a class has specific characteristics that can also belong to the lain category, and vice versa. In other words, traditional religions contain particular values, concepts, views, and practices to some extent also found in the samāwi religion. Likewise, the samāwi religion can have something that turns out to be more parochial.

The identification of Wetu Telu, closer to this traditional religion, and Waktu Lima Islam, closer to the samawi religion, is a partial separation. Some content values belong to The Time of Five, which is also embraced by the Wetu Telu community. The use of Arabic-language do'a-do'a taken from the Qur'an, kyai who perform the role of imams, and mosques are essential factors of Wetu Telu belief taken from universal Islam. Including verses from the Qur'an in Wetu Telu's religious practices is an esoteric quality that does not substantially change its animistic forms and anthropomorphism (Zuhdi 2012).

c. Nur Syam Coastal Islam Collaborative

Nur Syam attempt to describe how Islam and the traditions of its people developed on the coast, in this case, the Talang area. Coastal Islamic studies have become fundamentally critical for Indonesians. In Indonesian practice, Javanese Islamic studies tend only to photograph the setting of inland and mountainous communities. It is this tradition that makes them forget about coastal communities. Nur Syam proposed something new. Javanese Islamic studies must be more concerned with the setting of coastal communities.

Nur Syam then designed the idea of coastal Islam as a response to Indonesians. The opinions expressed include looking at the big picture of the social construct of coastal communities towards local Islamic traditions (ceremonies). The social construct is carried out through their daily rites' cultural terrain (culture sphere). Second, it obtains an overview of how local Islamic traditions (ceremonies) are in the configuration of variants of socio-religiosity. The two ideas above are studied using an ethnographic approach by seeing coastal communities perform ceremonial rituals such as living circle ceremonies, calendrical, Balak rejects traditions, and suitable day ceremonies. (Syam: 2005).

Nur Syam further explained that there are two typologies of Islamic studies in the local context. First, Javanese Islamic studies have a syncretism style, a fusion of

two or more cultures (Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Animism) into Javanese. Nur Syam revised the syncretism of Geertz, Beatty, Mulder, and Woodward's acculturative complexion by carrying out a synthesis. The Levant carries a third typology, namely collaborative Islam. This term describes the relationship between Islam and local culture in an acculturative-syncretic style. The connection results from a joint construction between agents (local elites) and society, forming a continuous dialectic.

Furthermore, Nur Syam also characterized the distinctive Islamic buildings. By adopting local elements that do not conflict with Islam and through a process of continuous transformation by legitimizing the understanding of the interpretation of Islamic texts. The distinctive Islamic tradition appears in the cultural terrain (culture sphere). In this connection, the cultural landscape is used to see the encounters of various variants of society found in coastal areas. Nur Syam refers to the cultural terrain of tombs, wells, and mosques. Wells with nyadran culture, tombs with manganan culture, and mosques as the locus of worship. In addition, Nur Syam also made a new trichotomy between wong abangan, wong N.U., and wong Muhamadiyah. This category was created to look for interactions between agents that later lead to a transformation. N.U. Carries out a balanced exchange. Wong because they can interact with wong abangan and wong Muhamadiyah. Meanwhile, unbalanced interactions were

carried out by wong abangan and wong Muhamadiyah. Syam views wong NU as a bridge between wong abangan and wong Muhamadiyah (Syam 2005).

d. Urban Islam

Anisa R Beta describes how the 'Hijaber' style spreads through various forms of cyber media (blogs and social networking sites) to determine how many young Muslims in Indonesia are computer savvy to explore their gender identity and religion

while working in the 'creative economy' through cyberspace (Beta 2014). Miriam Cooke also explains that Muslim women are often seen as the first to brand religious identity. Studies have shown how urban Muslim women in Indonesia experience different phases of religious expression (Brenner, 1996; Nef-Saluz, 2007; Smith-Hefner, 2007). Islamic identity today is closely related to consumerism as well as lifestyle. One of them is the emergence of middle-class Muslim women who call themselves Hijabers. Community has become a reference for the lifestyle of Muslim women in the upper middle class. (Rachmania 2015).

With a focus on the Hijaber community, which describes itself as a social group that emphasizes the use of the hijab (an Arabic word rather than a general term Indonesian for the hijab, which connotes the act of covering up). According to them, wearing a hijab allows creativity and has its own 'language.' H.C. argues that Hijabers (women in hijab) can be 'virtuous' yet have fun, are friendly,

and are fashionable simultaneously.

Anisa's Hijaber community is a new constellation of young urban Muslim women who produce, collaborate, and consume products that symbolize righteousness. While Cooke envisioned a 'visually imposed collective identification' that 'reduced all diversity to one image,' Anisa found that the Hijabers (H.C. members themselves, or Muslimahs associated with the idea) could be viewed based on appearance, consumption patterns, or lifestyles as a distinct group.

The Hijaber phenomenon is something interesting about the state of Indonesian youth after Suharto. Their apolitical stance illustrates the need for guarantees of religious expression in a society flooded with global values and ever-changing norms. It is a form of articulation of changes in social discourse in urban Indonesia. Piety, in combination with globalized urban life, creates a vibrant 'Islamic' creative industry as part of a modern transnational society that thrives and continues to produce.

Hijab activities eventually developed into a transnational Islamic movement, a term aimed at Islamic organizations that move across countries, where their campaign crosses the territorial boundaries of each country (Aksa 2017). Therefore popular Hijaber idea illustrates a successful strategy for a Muslim woman in major Indonesian cities and even across countries, especially Southeast Asia, successfully placing religious symbols that are

consumers but within the boundaries of a virtuous appearance as defined by religion (Beta 2014).

2. Epistemological Critique of Local Islamic Studies

Criticism of the work is a beautiful tradition, as a scientific dynamic and a refinement of the previous work so that it can be seen from at least two sides, namely the advantages and disadvantages and encroaching on a new finding. Demikian criticisms of epistemology in local Islamic studies also occur from time to time. It should be noted that in general, after Gertz started his research concept, it turned out that he also inspired the next researcher, as well expressed by (Erni 2020), (Syam 2005), (Mastuki 2016) states that they followed Geertz's concept of religion as a system. Some of the criticisms that have emerged include the following:

a. Insider Criticism

- 1) Harsja W. Bachtiar, a social historian, tried to contrast Geertz's conception with social reality. Among the sources he rejected was mixing the terms priyayi (a class category) with the terms santri and abangan (religious type). Abangan is the opposite of musician, as a category of religious observance and not a social classification. Similarly, the concept of priyayi juga is opposite to that of little wong in social type. So, there is chaos in the abangan, santri, and priyayi. Thus, one of the weaknesses of their writing

of Geertz is that there is a lack of parallels in the arrangement of categorization. On the one hand, there is an "economic" stratum to describe priyayi, while on the other hand, there is a category of "religion" when he describes santri and abangan. This means that Geertz has confused the two divisions, which include different arrangements, as well as mixed up horizontal and vertical divisions in Javanese society because, in reality, there are priyayi abangan or priyayi who are santri (Effendi 2020). Bachtiar posits that Geertz's explanation of the typology of society feels very confusing. According to him, Javanese people are not solely Javanese but have a specific position which shows a particular set of behavioral models that do not always reflect religious practices. That is, the behavior of the Javanese should not always be interpreted concerning religion but instead allows it to be interpreted in terms of customs that apply normatively to the situation in which the Javanese live (Asror 2001).

- 2) Zaini Muchtarom, in *Islam di Jawa Dalam Perspektif Santri dan Abangan* also criticized Geertz, according to which Geertz's analysis

- of the length of the religious system and the Javanese worldview gave birth to some complexities that were sometimes also very confusing. The three groups proposed in Geertz's three typologies of Javanese society constitute three worldviews, lifestyles, variants, and religious traditions that apply expressly and strictly. Muchtarom here strongly objected to the opinion expressed by Geertz, in which each typology focused on one of the three specific facets of Javanese religious syncretism, namely Animism, Hinduism-Buddhism, and Islam. (Asror 2001).
- 3) Nur Syam in her research on fishing communities in Tuban, East Java. Syam criticized Geertz's concept of syncretism for ignoring the dialogue between Islam and local culture. The study conducted by the Levant produced a new concept called collaborative Islam, namely the reality of religion that adopts local elements that do not conflict with Islam and strengthen the teachings of Islam through a process of continuous transformation (Syam 2005).
- b. Outsider Criticism
- 1) Mark R. Woodward, in research at the Yogyakarta Palace, expressly said that Geertz's work had dominated the discourse on various positions on "Islam" and "Java" that have been constructed as two entities are opposite, different, separate, and unlikely to be intersected. Such a construction has given birth to a view that Javanese Islam is a deviation from Islamic orthodoxy. Woodward's central thesis on Javanese Islam is that Islam is not deviant but a variant of Islam, as found in Moroccan Islam, Indian Islam, Syrian Islam, and so on. According to Woodward, the uniqueness of Javanese Islam lies not in maintaining a pre-Islamic religious culture but rather in the concept of how to form a perfect human being by the social rules that apply in society.
 - 2) Robert W. Hefner. Hefner's research in the Tengger area of East Java found the concept of ambiguity and multivocality in community traditions. Ritual traditions in the Tengger community were exploited to allow people with different cultural backgrounds and orientations to be present together. An essential part of various ritual

implementations in the Tengger community is that there is no decoding amid society. Regional culture (still recognized as Javanese) thrives without obstacles according to its superior model; there is no longer a distinction,¹⁴ which connects the peasants with those who live in the palace. This finding not only undermines the typology of society that Geertz created but specifically in the religious sphere, there is a compromise that occurs between Islam and the traditions that are the wisdom of the local people (Asror 2001).

- 3) Niels Mulder, in his research, also discusses the interaction of Islam with local culture. In his paper that uses a localization perspective to reject Geertz's concept of syncretization, Mulder said that religion in Southeast Asia is a religion that has undergone a process of localization. This kind of view wants to see the influence of local cultural forces on the religions that come to it. It is foreign religions that then absorb tradition. Not the other way around; it is the local culture or the local religion that absorbs foreign religions. In the example of Islam in Indonesia, Mulder saw that it was Islam that

absorbed local beliefs or beliefs, so what happened was the process of drawing local teachings into other major religions. In this localization process, elements of foreign trusts must find their land in the local culture, and those foreign elements can be grafted. With an old piece matching foreign beliefs, the old ideas can seep so far into the religious tradition. Javanese Islam is essentially an Islam that absorbs local rules (Asror 2001).

From various criticisms about the existing epistemology, especially the building of the concept of *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi*, Clifford Geertz shows that Islam that developed in Indonesia, especially in the Java region, is a unique phenomenon. This uniqueness can be identified through the ability of the Javanese people to reconstruct thinking to Islam through the interaction of Islam with local community traditions without losing the direction of Islamic orthodoxy. As some experts who conduct studies on Indonesian Islam view, Javanese Islam is not something foreign; it should even be noted as an admirable achievement.

D. CONCLUSION

Local Islamic studies, pioneered by Gertz with the epistemology of *Abangan*, *Santri*, and *Priyayi*, became a role model for other researchers domestically and abroad. In general, researchers after Gertz agreed with Islam as a system, but many did not agree with the classification of the product rather than Islam as a system. Therefore, the collaborative epistemology of Nur Syam,

Woodward's acculturation, and others emerged. Criticisms of Abangan, Santri, and Priyayi Epistemology have sprung up after many researchers such as Harsja W. Bachtiar, Zaini Muchtarom, Nur Syam, Mark R. Woodward, Robert W. Hefner. Research Hefner, and Niels Mulder, conducted the study with the same point of view but in different research locations.

The local Islamic study also developed in the context of urban Islamic studies, which was accompanied by lifestyle changes that remained accompanied by religious values. Urban Islam shows how the ability of unlimited relations or known as transnational. Through the fashion movement, they identified themselves as modern people and shaleh or shalehah.

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