

## **Harmonization of Islamic Law and Local Culture: A Study of Indonesian Sundanese Ethnic Culture**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This study analyzed the application of Islamic law in the Sundanese ethnic community and explored the relationship between Sundanese social life and Islamic law. This research is qualitative research with a case study approach. The collection of data was obtained through observation and documentation. Data is described systematically and objectively, then analyzed using the content analysis method. This study concluded that acculturation and assimilation between the structure of Sundanese society and Islamic law had formed a unique characteristic of Sundanese society. It can occur because the reality of Sundanese people who have accepted Islam is due to harmony with Sundanese values. This research can be used as a model for building a harmonious relationship between Islamic law and the social structure of society. Islamic law can be applied without damaging the social structure of society. Culture, social structure, and Islamic law can be applied harmoniously. This study provided an empirical example of a harmonious relationship between the social structure of society and the application of Islamic law. Both can run simultaneously without eliminating each other.

**Keywords:** Sundanese; Islamic Law; Culture.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

In Indonesia, Islamic law and Indonesian Sundanese culture have a complex interaction. As one of the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia, the Sundanese have a unique culture and traditions that have existed since long before Islam came to the region. Islamic law is an integral part of the life of the Muslim community in Indonesia, including the Sundanese. The principles of Islamic law are applied in various aspects of life, such as marriage, inheritance, divorce, and daily life. The process of harmonization between the application of Islamic law, on the one hand, and Sundanese culture, on the other hand, is an exciting matter to study.

Indonesia is a country with a very diverse ethnic composition. In Indonesia, there are more than 600 tribes obtained from the grouping of ethnic groups and sub-tribes in Indonesia. Thousands of islands in Indonesia are one of the characteristics that this country has a diversity of ethnicities and cultural backgrounds (Brata, 2016). It is internationally recognized that Indonesian society is one of the most diverse societies in the world.

Historical facts noted that the diversity of the Indonesian nation existed for centuries before independence and became a proud entity. At that time, Indonesian fame was shown by the Sriwijaya Kingdom in Sumatra, the Airlangga Kingdom in East Java, the Majapahit Kingdom, and several kingdoms in East Java, Kalimantan, and others. These kingdoms respected pluralism, became famous to foreign countries, and established cooperation on an equal partnership basis. Indonesia is famous for its natural wealth, fascinating cultural diversity, social friendliness, politeness, togetherness, and maturation. Likewise, participation in maintaining world order since the Proclamation of Independence 1945 (Brata, 2016).

The most authoritative and reference description of the structure and diversity of the Indonesian population to date is data from the 2022 Population Census. As is well known, the census is the process of recording, calculating, and publishing demographic data that is carried out on all residents who live permanently in a particular area. The census is an ordinary recording activity in Indonesia every ten years (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2023a).

The striking plurality description of Indonesian people emphasizes ethnicity, manifested in tribal communities, and the use of ethnicity as the primary reference for identity. Based on a person's physical characteristics, body movements, accompanied by the language used and accent spoken, and various symbols used or imposed on him, he will be identified as belonging to an ethnic group from a particular area. If the characteristics mentioned above cannot be used by someone to identify their ethnicity, then the person will ask where they came from to find out their ethnic identity (Lestari, 2015).

Besides being based on the same socio-cultural, geographic, and historical background, the unity of the Indonesian nation is also based on the unity of views, ideology, and philosophy of life in the nation and state. Indonesia's ideology and

philosophy of life are holistically reflected in the principles of the Pancasila, which are the basis of the Indonesian state. At the same time, the unity of views, ideology, and philosophy of Indonesian people's life is explicitly stated in the symbol of the state, which reads 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' or Unity in Diversity, which implies diversity (ethnicity, religion, language) but still one, namely Indonesia (Lestari, 2015).

The structure and composition of the Indonesian population are based on ethnic groups; according to the 2010 Population Census, the Javanese from Central to East Java is the largest ethnic group, with a population of 85.2 million people or around 40.2 percent of Indonesia's population. The Javanese have included the Osing, Tengger, Samin, Bawean or Boyan, Naga, Nagaring, and other tribes. The second largest ethnic group is the Sundanese, who originate from the western part of Java, with 36.7 million people or 15.5 percent. Batak tribe followed as the third largest with several 8.5 million people, or 3.6 percent, who came from north-central Sumatra Island. The fourth largest is the ethnic group from Sulawesi, in addition to the Makassar, Bugis, Minahasa, and Gorontalo tribes. The fourth-largest number itself is a combination of 208 types of ethnic Sulawesi. The fifth-largest in the Madura tribe, originating from the island of Madura in the northeast of the island of Java, whose population spread rapidly in various parts of Indonesia to reach 7.18 million people or around 3.03 percent of Indonesia's population (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2023b).

The Sundanese are the second largest tribe after the Javanese in Indonesia. The Sundanese, known as the 'Tatar Pasundan,' covers the western part of Java island, where most of the territory belongs to West Java and Banten provinces. 'Sunda' comes from the word '*sund*' or '*suddha*' in Sanskrit, which means to shine, bright and white (Hasanah et al., 2016).

The main characteristic of the Sundanese mainland is the arc of volcanic islands like the background. The hillside to the river flow is stunning to look at. This makes Sundanese soil more fertile and suitable for farming. Sundanese livelihoods are pretty diverse from the plantation, trade, and agriculture sectors (Noorduyn, 1982).

Most Sundanese are Muslim. In addition to Islam, there are other religions that the Sundanese people follow. Sunda Wiwitan, the religion of the 'karuhun' (ancestor) of the Sundanese people, is still maintained by some. Likewise, some Sundanese people in Cideres (Majalengka) and Cikembar (Sukabumi) embraced Catholicism and Protestantism (Haq, 2019). Followers of 'Kebatinan' or 'Penghayat Kepercayaan' (Belief Believers) can also be found in the Sunda Cigugur (Kuningan) and Ciparay (Bandung) communities (Syukur, 2011).

The Sundanese, one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia, have rituals and customs in daily life (Sjamsulbachri & Tarsidi, 2018). This can be seen in various religious rituals in Sundanese areas, especially in West Java, Banten, Central Java, and Jakarta. Among these cultures are saying *punten* (permission) when entering

other people's homes, wearing an *iket* on the head, bowing when passing in front of an older person, the tradition of thanksgiving with food dishes when happiness is received, and so on.

When Islam entered the Sundanese, he was confronted with pre-existing beliefs. Beliefs are inherited from generation to generation and are influenced by various beliefs that came afterward, namely Hinduism and Buddhism. According to some experts, the original belief in Sundanese is Jati Sunda or Sunda Wiwitan. Wiwitan means 'the first,' 'origin,' and 'principal.' So it is said the Sundanese Wiwitan trust is the first or original Sundanese people's trust (Prawiro, 2015). This study will examine the application or process of acculturation of Islamic values into a Sundanese culture that previously existed.

Several research about Sundanese can be found in academic studies. According to Hurgronje (1931), Islam entered into Sundanese in a condition where the people already had a belief inherited from their ancestors. This legacy of trust is a moral guide in every aspect of Sundanese people's lives. The legacy comes from local belief acculturation of Hindu-Buddhist culture with Islam.

Nina Herlina, as written by Lubis (2011), explained that when Islam in the Sundanese began to be spread by Sunan Gunung Djati, founder of Cirebon Sultanate as well as one of the 'Wali Sanga,' the task was continued by the *kyai* or *ajengan*. *Kyai* is an expert on Islam and is a charismatic leader in religion who spreads Islam by continuing what is inherited by Sunan Gunung Djati. Existing Hindu-Buddhist traditions add to the cultural treasures of the Sundanese.

Sundanese Islam, in general, is a variant representation of 'Santri Islam,' one of the Islamic typologies of Java island, according to Geertz (1960). In contrast to Javanese Muslims, who have a heterogeneous character with a vital significance from previous religious lives and practices, Sundanese Muslims point to a uniform variant. Islam has a big role in building significant Sundanese identity in the Sunda area. Sundanese is considered synonymous with Islam. Sundanese non-Muslims are considered strange in the minds of Sundanese people until now (Musadad, 2018).

Sumardjo (2012) argued that the heritage of Hinduism and Buddhism that first came to the Sunda region did not significantly influence Sundanese Culture. According to Musadad (2018), the acculturation of Islamic values into Sundanese society did not produce terms such as 'abangan' in Java, 'wetu melu' in Sasak, or 'gumai' in South Sumatra. Robert W. Hefner, as written by Picard (2011), explained that named this locally-oriented Islamic tradition is "non-standard Islam," which is not by Sunni standards in a normative perspective.

Sundanese culture is a source of reference for Sundanese people when they are faced with various changes. A change that society rejects or accepts depends on how much the culture can accept the change. Therefore, a change that will be made to the Sundanese people must consider aspects of the traditions and culture of the Sundanese people themselves. When something that comes from an element of

foreign culture is too different from Sundanese culture, the change will be long accepted as part of the Sundanese culture (Kahmad, 2005). Woodward (2019) explained that the relationship between Islam and local culture post-coloniality, the construction of national Islam, and nationalism was very complex. This raises complex academic, theological, and political problems.

According to Ninin (2015), Sundanese culture is similar to other Eastern cultures. Sundanese grows and develops with cultural norms, rules, and values that affect it in almost every aspect of life. For Sundanese, other people are critical because when they see themselves, individuals connect with the social context surrounding them. The Sundanese culture emphasizes caring, adapting to others, and developing synergistic interdependence.

Newland (2000) describes that in Sundanese society, Islam is implemented as a set of interrelated discourses about ethics that must be interpreted, a modernity that must be integrated, and a set of unifying discourses that controls the state's moral authority, modernization, and westernization. Religion provides an accessible idiom to reject unwanted government interference. Religion is how the Sundanese rural community interprets the world and its position when dealing with external parties.

Rohmana (2019) explained that literary and cultural channels contribute to accepting religion. The religious values are cultured into the Sundanese literary tradition and used as a frame of movement toward forming identity. Research conducted by Jamilah (2018) concludes that religious and cultural values also influence the economic actions of the Sundanese people. The link is evident between the two ethics seen from the Sundanese expression associated with it.

The research results of Miranti et al. (2018) concluded that local wisdom in some Sundanese areas could penetrate the school curriculum to prepare for the next generation and cultural preservation. However, many adjustments are needed when acculturation occurs between local culture and school curriculum. Therefore, it is necessary to provide arrangements for this.

The research on the influence of Islam in Sundanese society can help understand the history and development of Islam in this region. This research also can help reveal the identity of the Sundanese people. Studying Islamic influence can help analyze how this religion influenced Sundanese society's social structure, value system, customs, art, and language. Research of this kind provided insight into how Islam interacts with local cultural elements and how this process shapes the identity of Sundanese people.

## **METHODS**

The research method used in this research is qualitative research with a case study approach. The case study in this study is relevant because it will answer the question "how," and the researchers did not engineer the object to be studied. Baxter

& Jack (2008) explained that a case study design should be considered when: the focus of the study is to answer “how” and “why” questions; you cannot manipulate the behavior of those involved in the study; you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study or the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context.

The data collection method in this research is document analysis. Data was taken from documents, books, journal articles, and other written sources related to the research theme. At the data analysis stage, the simplification of data is collected in a form that is easier to read and understand. This study's data analysis stages are: first, data collection. At this stage, the data that have been collected from the results of observations, namely to convert it into a form of writing that is easily understood. After that, the collected data is selected according to the focus of this research. Second data reduction. Reducing data means summarizing, choosing what matters, focusing on the research object, looking for themes and patterns, and removing things unrelated to the research theme. Third, the presentation of data. The data has been summarized and interpreted, and explained. Presentation of data that has been interpreted and explained in narrative descriptions. Moreover, the Fourth is to make conclusions from the data analysis.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Islamic Law, 'Urf Theory and Sundanese Culture**

Social and cultural change are concepts that are interrelated with each other, even though they have differences. The social change includes changes in terms of social structure and relationships, while cultural changes include changes in community culture. According to the multilineal theory of evolution, social change can occur in various ways leading to the exact change and forming a better society (R.Landis, 1986).

The process of social change never stops. Social change theories always follow and try to explain it. Understanding social change must be done using historical analysis. Theories of social change always contain comparative efforts. Comparison between the past and the present is an easy way to see what changes are happening in society (Rosana, 2011).

Sugihen (1997) argues that social change is a process that changes a social system's structure and function. At the same time, Selo Soemarjan and Soelaeman Soemardi argued that social change is defined as a variation of life ways that have been accepted, both due to changes in geographical conditions, material culture, population composition, and ideology and because of diffusion or discoveries in society (Soerjono, 1994). Soerjono Soekanto formulated that social change is all changes in social institutions in a society, which affect its social system, including values, attitudes, and behavior patterns among social groups (Soerjono, 2001).

As one of the bases in establishing Islamic law, the 'urf theory is that there is no intention to build a new society in all its aspects. Islamic law recognizes continuity, change, and development with the previous period in law, customs, value systems, and life patterns in Arab and other regions (Ghani, 2011).

History proves the existence of Islamic dialectics with previous traditions that are very diverse. Appreciation, in general, can be divided into four categories: first, negative appreciation, in the form of rejection of all forms of tradition deemed deviant in principle. Second is duplicative appreciation, in the form of fully accepting previous traditions. Third, modification appreciation, by taking tradition accompanied by modification, and fourth, appreciation by purification, acceptance of tradition accompanied by purification because it contains deviant elements (Yamamah, 2016).

The openness of Islam embodied in the concept of 'urf in Islamic law becomes the basis of critical epistemology because the texts (*nash*) remain limited and do not specify everything, coupled with life that continues to grow and give birth to traditions and new problems. While on the other hand, 'urf is related to the benefit of the society surrounding it. The implementation of the 'urf is part of the maintenance of *maslahah* because one form of benefit is to overhaul the positive tradition that has prevailed among the people from generation to generation. Openness to differences and changes with this 'urf reinforces the adaptability theory of Islamic law (Mas'ud, 1989).

The concept of Islamic law describes customary law as agreed provisions or guidelines for social activities. Islam explained that customary law could be wrong (*fasid*) and good (*sahih*) because Islamic teachings govern these customs. Practicing and applying customary and Islamic laws can affect changes in people's habits (Bukido et al., 2022).

The arrival of Islam to the Sunda region significantly influenced local culture. In several cases, aspects of Sundanese culture that conflict with the principles of Islamic law undergo changes or adjustments. Sundanese culture also has values and traditions that are maintained. Some traditional Sundanese practices and customs are still preserved and respected in Sundanese society. Therefore, there is a harmonization between Islamic teachings and Sundanese culture which enables the parallel existence of both in the daily life of the Sundanese people.

### **Life Philosophy of Sundanese Ethnic**

Religion is believed to have dynamic belief values that can be applied according to the context surrounding it (Hsiung & Djupe, 2019). The practice of religion will occur from the existence of social and political beliefs (Clifford & Gaskins, 2016).

Referring to the theories of primitive religion, the beliefs in local communities in various parts of the world refer to the only Essence that creates,

governs, and controls the universe with various names and terms. Likewise, in a Sundanese community in the past, it was firmly rooted in the community, so when Islam came, they welcomed it as if a Commander in War freed them from all forms of belief in the many gods (Prawiro, 2015).

The Sundanese can well receive Islam because the two have a paradigmatic similarity. Islam views and understands the world as an expression of absolute principles and is recorded in the revelations of God. At the same time, the old Sundanese culture placed absolute values manifested in customs and various ceremonies. Seeing the long time between the two similarities, it is natural that Islam has deep roots in Sundanese society (Lahpan, 2015).

In carrying out their duties, both as individuals and families, as well as members of the community, Sundanese people must carry out what is mandatory and the sunnah continuously and simultaneously, as revealed in the proverbial '*fardu kalaku, sunat kalampah*' (the mandatory is carried out, the sunnah likewise). Acculturation and assimilation between local culture (Sunda) and Islamic values have shaped the characteristics of Sundanese religious diversity. Islamic values influence the Sundanese tradition and culture. Since its earliest historical experience, Sundanese people have always placed religious values (Islam) in a central position almost all their lives. Therefore, the expression '*kacida anehna lamun urang Sunda henteu ngagem agama Islam*' (how strange if there are Sundanese people who do not embrace Islam) can be understood. Even though Sundanese people can tolerate plurality, the family must remain in the same Islamic faith (Safei, 2010).

If categorized, there are several views of Sundanese life about humans as individuals, humans with society, nature, God, and human nature. For example, in achieving life goals, Sundanese people must have a balance called '*siger tengah*,' which means natural and not excessive. In the Islamic language, it is called '*ummatan wasathan*' or the middle people. It was stated in the proverb, '*jaga urang hees tamba tunduh, nginum tuak tamba hanaang, nyatu tamba ponyo ulah urang kajongjonan*' that means let sleep eliminate sleepiness, drink eliminate thirst, eat now eliminate hunger, so in life is not excessive. This aligns with Islamic values; that greedy attitude is very despicable. In fact, in our lives, it is also recommended that there be balance in the world and the hereafter, as revealed in the verses of the Koran (Suyatman, 2019).

Sundanese people as a person is described by their behavior and language. Therefore, it is demanded that '*kudu hade gogog hade tagog*' (good language and behavior) and '*sacangreud pageuh, sagolek pangkek*' (firm determination never breaks promises). These are also the central values in Islam, as expressed in the Messenger Narration; primarily, human beings are the most beneficial to other humans. The presence of a human being not only does not cause damage or difficulties for others but also can provide benefits (Prawiro, 2015).



### **Acculturation of Islamic Law and Sundanese Culture**

Islamic acculturation with Sundanese can be seen in several types of artistic expressions that exist in Sundanese. Aside from interaction, this acculturation occurs because art is often used to spread Islamic symbols at the beginning and even today. The 'Wali' (Religious Leaders) mainly carried out this strategy in the early spread of Islam in Java. The influence of Islam on Sundanese art can be seen in aspects of writing, architecture, music, performance, literature, sound art, and so on (Williams, 2018).

From the aspect of writing, Sundanese found '*pegon writing*' (Arabic letters without *harakat*). In the field of literature, some of the *wawacan* (story) tells about matters relating to Islam. Sundanese songs are also filled with Islamic values and laws, both as Cigawiran, Ciawian, and Cianjuran songs, as well as songs that children in mosques usually sing, and Islamic school include the teachings of monotheism, Islamic law, and family life (Damayanti & Nurgiyantoro, 2018).

Islamic teachings through 'wayang golek' media include Islam as a way of life, including basic teachings on state administration and government (Masroer, 2017). Islamic teachings through 'wayang' often emphasize obedience to the values of religion and the state simultaneously and continuously, reflecting the understanding of the commands of obedience to Allah, the Messenger, and *ulil amri* as mandated in the Quran.

Another field usually carried out in daily life is circumcision for boys. Circumcision is one of the ceremonial processions passed down through generations to entertain until the evening and, when the night has arrived, interspersed with religious preaching to the local community. Marriage in Sundanese is currently based in harmony with Islamic law marriages. The existence of dowry, marriage guardians, witnesses, and marriage registrar is part of the Islamic law that Sundanese people accept (Sujati, 2020).

Providing assistance and entertainment for families who have been affected by the death of one family member is an act that Islam highly recommends. The Sundanese people also carry out this tradition. If a family member dies, the neighbors spontaneously come to the family with rice and food. Others bring money as a form of donation for the deceased's family. The neighbors visited the deceased's family; the women made food (*majengan*) for the men who prepared corpse care (Rohmana, 2012).

The values of Islamic inheritance law are socialized in the sentences of '*sageugeus saeundan*' or '*sakelek satanggungan*,' which means that men have 2 (two) parts. At the same time, women are 1 (one) part according to their capacity and supernatural ability to carry half the things that a man can carry out (Safei, 2010). In addition, in some communities in the Sundanese, the distribution of inheritance is done before the parents die. Parents gave away their wealth to their

children when they were still alive. This is done so that the children will not fight each other's inheritance later when they die.

In many daily activities such as muamalah, marriage, inheritance, and circumcision, all aspects of the law are compiled into Sundanese Islamic law which ultimately makes a wealth of cultural treasures that are dynamic and harmonious while maintaining local wisdom values by practicing Islamic law without releasing local culture. It is made Sundanese Islamic culture more sustainable until now amid the current transnational ideology. Based on the many meeting points between Sundanese culture and Islam, it is very reasonable if Sundanese is identical to Islam and Islam is identical to Sundanese or '*Sunda teh Islam, Islam teh Sunda*' (Suyatman, 2019).

Sundanese people are individuals who have faith in God's power. God determines one's destiny, as reflected in the phrase '*jodo, pati, bagja, cilaka, Pangeran nu nangtukeun.*' This phrase illustrates the Sundanese belief that God has determined a match, life, death, happiness, and misery. However, belief in destiny did not make the Sundanese static (Rohmana, 2012). On the contrary, they are dynamic and confident individuals, as can be seen in the phrase '*urang mah darma ihtiar, hasil henteuna disanggakeun kanu Kagungan*' (our job is only to strive, succeed, or not be left to the will of the Almighty God). The phrase '*ngeunah angen ngeunah angeun*' (the heart favors delicious vegetables) illustrates the Sundanese worldview relating to the harmony and balance of all human aspects. The development of external aspects cannot be separated from the progress of the inner aspects because they always have a relationship that cannot be broken. Therefore, both are essential things that must continue to be developed (Ruhaliah & Hernawan, 2020).

### **Tolerance Behavior in Sundanese Society**

Tolerance as a form of Sundanese personality is a capital in living together in society. A harmonious and peaceful life is highly prioritized in social life. To gain that virtue, succumbing is seen as commendable and is not disgraceful or dishonorable. Sundanese as much as possible to avoid disputes between people in social life. This is done as long as it does not violate the values of goodness held in high esteem, such as trust, honor, and self-esteem (Fajrussalam et al., 2020).

For Sundanese, an attitude of self-control and holding back feelings secretly (*pundung*) is better than putting up a fight. This attitude, if not understood, seems to show fear or courage. In fact, for the Sundanese, fighting with harsh actions is only a later choice if peace cannot resolve the problem. Those characteristics underlie Sundanese social, national, and state behavior patterns (Fajrussalam & Hashanah, 2018).

Sundanese ethics covers all aspects of Sundanese human life, which consist of ethics outward forms, such as intonation of speech, ways of sitting, pieces of clothing, etc., and inward ethics, such as the cleanliness of heart, honesty, sincerity,

subtlety, grandeur, wisdom, courage and so on. Between the two forms of ethics, a relationship explains each other so that a Sundanese society's condition is expected by Sundanese ancestors (Nurazizah, 2016).

As a value system in Sundanese society, Sundanese ethics applies to all members of Sundanese society in a certain period (Jaenudin & Tahrir, 2019). However, along with the different structure of Sundanese society at a particular time regarding social stratification and classification, the Sundanese ethics that apply are also likely to be different even though the substance remains the same (Rohmana, 2018). The abovementioned difference does not reflect the difference between good and evil but only illustrates the action variation. Even so, the influence on the character and life of the Sundanese, both individually and socially, is enormous.

Islam in Sundanese appears in a more egalitarian, harmonious face and far from structural and cultural violence, and has a personality that is far more than just Islam in the sense of a phenomenon. There are two assumptions, the minimum of which is that Islam quickly becomes part of Sundanese life. First, the religion of Islam that comes and is accepted by the Sundanese people is a form of values that are easily digested and understood as simply as the cultural character of the Sundanese people themselves. Second, the culture enclosing Islamic values efficiently synergizes with Sundanese culture (Sumpena, 2014). Therefore, when Islamization in the Sundanese spreads, Islam indirectly forms the identity of the Sundanese people's delay naturally integrated into daily behavior and becoming a permanent identity of Sundanese people.

Traditional cultural values are challenged in economic, social, and cultural transformation and tend to be completely eroded. Most mobility also increases, so they associate with people with customs and other worldviews. The traditional view is challenged by alternative patterns (Anshori, 2018). Naturally, traditional attitudes also come into question. In situations where the orientation of community life is essential, local values must be maintained as the foundation of a community.

For Sundanese culture, contact with foreign cultures is not new. If seen in history, ancestors Sundanese have proven their creativity in dealing with various influences and cultures that come from outside, both from India (Hindu, Buddhist), Javanese (Mataram), and Arabic (Islam). Moreover, the results show that Sundanese souls can make harmonious synthetics. Sundanese, even always brave face to face with the soul, religion, beliefs, and nature of mind.

Human life is always in a state of attraction between different poles. Therefore, a Muslim's authenticity lies in his ability to combine the two in a balanced composition, not heavy to the left or heavy to the right, not only spiritual but also material, not limited to physical but also spiritual, and not only religion but also social life.

## **CONCLUSION**

This research concluded that in the context of the relationship between Islam and Sundanese, the statement 'Sunda is Islam' can be said as an effort of Sundanese people to construct Sundanese ethnic identity, namely by distinguishing it from other ethnic cultures on hand and identifying Sundanese with Islam on the other hand. Therefore, the dialectic between Islam and Sundanese culture created a culture representing these two cultures. This new culture is passed down from generation to generation, building new Islamic culture with a local form. Islam has influenced the Sundanese's language, art, customs, music, dance, and traditional beliefs. However, within certain limits, Sundanese culture still exists and is maintained.

The author recommended many further research themes related to the application of Islamic law in Sundanese society. For example, what is the attitude of the Sundanese people towards the future of Sundanese-Islamic culture, and how is the application of Islamic law in Sundanese society in the fields of economics, health, politics, and others?

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