

GLOCALIZATION OF WALI SONGO ISLAMIZATION IN 15TH – 16TH CENTURIES

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ABSTRACT

Wali Songo's Islamization has been identical to the Islamization of the Island of Java. This assumption, however, holds as if Wali Songo's venture was confined locally to Java while such a process encompassed the Archipelago and beyond. This article aims to reconstruct the Wali Songo's Islamization from glocalization perspective, by involving both local and global phenomenon of the Islamization processes. To further analyze the Islamization, this study uses geo politics and cultural diffusion theories. Data in this study was collected using historical methods consisting of heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The results of this study showed two findings. First of all that Wali Songo Islamization constituted cosmopolitan Islam, indicated by process of Wali Songo Islamization that was not only local Java but also regional (Nusantara) and global ones. Wali Songo Islamization of local Java took the micro areas of the preaching and spreading Islam in the region, including East Java, Central Java and West Java. While the Islamization of regional and global took macro areas as the networking strategies of the preaching Islam in the region, indicated by the integration between global and local (glocalization) processes of the Islamization. Second, the glocalization of Wali Songo Islamization could be understood by emplacing the Islamization as World History of Islam in Medieval Period using multi-perspectives.

Keywords: Islamization; Wali Songo; cosmopolitan Islam; glocalization.

INTRODUCTION

In the Indonesian historiography, Wali Songo's Islamization is still presented as Java-centric; the process has been understood in the local scope of Java. Widji Saksono's study, *Mengislamkan Tanah Jawa* clearly illustrates this Java-centrism. The key figures who propagated Islam and their works were attributed to several areas of East, Central and West Java.¹ Likewise, Ridin Saidi's work in *Islamisasi Tanah Jawa* reinforces the assumption that Wali Songo's Islamization project is Java-centric² In the writing, the author describes each of Wali Songo who propagated Islam in three areas of the Island, East, Central and West Java. Although an explanation of the origins of Wali Songo members who came from various foreign regions is provided, no discussion was put forward to show the process of Islamization in the regional

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¹ Widji Saksono (1995), *Mengislamkan Tanah Jawa*, Bandung: Mizan, pp. 15-25.

² Ridin Sofwan, *Islamisasi di Jawa*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, pp.49, 65.

context of the Archipelago or beyond. Another more comprehensive work on Wali Songo was written by Agus Sunyoto. Wali Songo figures are described by tracing their origins, education and works on the Island of Java.³ The writings by de Graaf also explain the same thing about the Islamization of Wali Songo by relating it to China.⁴

Some of those works have had a strong influence on the works that came later in emphasizing Wali Songo's Islamization with a Java-centric orientation. From these works, the historiographical tendencies of Wali Songo's Islamization can be mapped into three points of view. The first point of view emphasizes Wali Songo's biography and the Islamization of Java as the center in the spread of Islam. The second point of view assumes that the Java-based Islamization of Wali Songo had close relations with China because the main actors were from China, as stated by de Graaf. However, this theory is widely rejected, because it contains many weaknesses.⁵ The third point of view connects Wali Songo's Islamization of Java with the cultural influence of the states in the Archipelago and overseas powers and regions. Although it has involved the Archipelago and abroad, the latter focuses on the cultural influence in the early process of Islamization in Java.⁶

The three different points of view have one thing in common, that is, a penchant for perceiving that Wali Songo's Islamization is Java-centric. Therefore, this article tries to complement the lack of existing studies on the Islamization of Wali Songo by offering a different perspective, elaborating and reconstructing the Java-centric Islamization of Wali Songo. From a different perspective, the Islamization of Wali Songo demonstrated the making of a cosmopolitan Islam in the Archipelago. Taking a different perspective from previous studies, this research was carried out based on three objectives. First, to explore and find the correlational patterns in the local, regional and global events in the Islamization network of Wali Songo in the Archipelago. Second, it provides an "alternative perspective" in the study of Wali Songo's Islamization project, so that it would contribute to the Indonesia Islamic

³ Agus Sunyoto (2014), *Atlas Wali Songo*, 4th edition, Depok: Pustaka IIMaN, pp. 69-70.

⁴ H. J. de Graaf, T.G. Pigeud (1976), *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, p. 7.

⁵ Husaini Ibrahim (2014), *Awal Masuknya Islam Ke Aceh*, Banda Aceh: Aceh Multivision, p. 4.

⁶ Agus Sunyoto (2014), *Atlas Wali Songo*, 4th edition, Depok: Pustaka IIMaN, pp. 24-31

historiography regarding Wali Songo's works. Third, to remap the process of Islamization by Wali Songo on the island of Java concerning regional and global Islamization.

Glocalization is the term that interface of the global and the local, conflation of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies, the dynamics between homogenization and heterogenization, and co-optation of the global and the local. It also means integrating both globalism and localism.⁷ In this paper, the term refers to the Islamization of Wali Songo viewed from local and global contexts, even the regional one that intercede both.

Islamization as stated by G.R. Hawting has two meanings. First, it is analogous to the acceptance of Islam by adherents of another religious tradition. Second, it is an expansion of territory under Islamic rule.⁸ This meaning was also put forward by Ricklefs, that the conversion of people with Javanese religion (Hindu-Buddhist) to Islam, from the Majapahit Kingdom to the Islamic Kingdom of Demak in the 14th and 16th centuries. According to de Graaf, Islamization also means the spread of Islam, which in the context of the Archipelago, was carried out by traders, preachers, and holy people or *wali*.⁹ Similarly The same meaning is stated by Snouck Hurgronje, where Islamization means the spread of Islam and the incorporation of its teachings into the indigenous culture. Both were carried out through three stages, namely, the arrival of Islam, Muslim conquest, and the establishment of Islamic kingdoms.¹⁰

Being the main actors in the Islamization in the Archipelago, Wali Songo came from various foreign regions. The noun is derived from two words, *wali* (Ar. *waliy*, "friend", pl. *auliya*') and *songo* (Javanese for "nine"). The Quranic verse mentioned the word *wali* as *awliya'illah* (10: 63) from the single word *wiliyullah*, "one who loves and is loved by Allah". Therefore, a *wali* is considered a holy man. In

⁷ Adriana Grigorascu and Alexandra Zaif, "The Concept of Glocalization and its Incorporation in Global Brands' Marketing Strategies", *International Journal of Buiseness and Managment Invention*, Vol.6 Issue 1, 2017, p. 71-72.

⁸ R. Hawting, (1981), *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750* New York: Routledge, p. 1.

⁹ H. J. de Graaf, T.G. Pigeuad (1976), *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, p. 2.

¹⁰ Snouck Hurgronje (1916), *Muhammedanism: Lectures on Its Origin, Its Religion and Political Growth, and Its Present State*, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, p. 53.

Javanese chronicles and stories, a wali is a teacher, a mentor who has supernatural powers and is either from Java or abroad, teaching the basics of Islamic beliefs and institutions. As indicated earlier, the word *songo* is the Javanese word for "nine". Some claimed that the word *songo* was derived from Ar. *tsana*, "praise, praised". Thus, Wali Songo semantically means either "nine saints" or "commendable saints". In a broader sense, Wali Songo were holy men, propagators of Islam in Java at somewhat different times, between the 15th and 16th centuries.

There are numerous different opinions regarding the nine members of Wali Songo. Some sources state that the nine members included Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Giri, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Gunung Jati, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Kalijaga, and Sunan Muria.¹¹ Another opinion replaces Maulana Malik Ibrahim with Shaykh Siti Jenar, so that Wali Songo figures include Sunan Ampel, Sunan Giri, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Gunung Jati, Shaykh Siti Jenar, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Muria. However, Agus Sunyoto added the name of Raden Patah, the founder of the Sultanate of Demak, as yet another member, bringing the number to ten.¹²

Cosmopolitan refers to the sense of universality, global or international. Thus, a cosmopolitan Islam means that the Islamization is not only local (Java) but also a global or a universal Islam. The word cosmopolitan comes from Gr. *kosmopolites*, meaning citizens of the world. This word was first uttered by Diogenes of Sinope, Greece (412 B.C.), when asserting himself as a citizen of the world. The term also means elements that come from various parts of the world. In practice, in its association with Islam, a cosmopolitan Islam is also related to universality, which is not separated by ethnic, national and cultural boundaries. The universality of Islam can be viewed from the aspect of Islamic teachings (doctrine) and civilization history. In terms of doctrine, monotheism as the core of Islamic teachings is universal,¹³ as is

¹¹ Ridin Sofwan et al (2000), *Islamisasi di Jawa: Walisongo Penyebar Islam di Jawa Menurut Penuturan Babad*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, pp. 11-12.

¹² Agus Sunyoto (2014), *Atlas Wali Songo*, 4th edition, Depok: Pustaka IIMaN, pp. 151-325.

¹³ Abu al-A'la Maududi (1973), *Towards Understanding Islam*, (tr. & ed. Khursid Ahmad), Lahore: Islamic Publication Limited, p. 2.

the case with *shari'ah* (fiqh) and morality.¹⁴ Meanwhile, in terms of Islamic civilization, the universality of Islam can be proven by the fact that Islamic civilization is a world civilization, which, according to Seyyed Hossein Nasr, is implemented in the concept of the *ummah* and proven in the experience of Islamic history.¹⁵ The same thing was also stated by Isma'il Raji al-Faruqi, who connected the concept of the *ummah* and Islamic civilization as a world civilization.¹⁶

This article is a qualitative historical study using bibliographic sources. The historical method used in this study covers four stages, namely, heuristics or source search and collection, source verification, consisting of internal criticism and external criticism, interpretation and historiography.¹⁷ Sources are classified into primary and secondary sources. Most of the primary sources in this study have been in printed form or translated from original texts, such as the Babad Tanah Jawi, Suluk Linglung, the works of Sunan Kalijaga, Babad Gresik, Babad Cirebon and others. Meanwhile, secondary sources are mostly in the form of books and journal articles related to the Islamization of Wali Songo.

This article uses a political approach. The political approach is related to the concept of geopolitics and sea system, which places the Archipelago as a maritime geographic area with strategic significance as it is located between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. In addition, the Archipelago is also located between two continents, Asia and Australia. With a geopolitical approach, the strategic geographical area of the Archipelago becomes the basis for the political policies of maritime powers in the Archipelago and abroad in hegemonizing the region.¹⁸ Based on various historical sources, both primary and secondary, this article obtained three findings related to the Islamization of Wali Songo in the fifteenth and sixteenth-century. First, the Islamization carried out by Wali Songo was part of the Islamization of the Archipelago, centered around Aceh and Malacca under the

¹⁴ Sulaiman al-Khatib (2007), "Mafhum al-Hadharah 'inda al-Syaikh 'Ali Yusuf," dalam *al-Jami'ah*, Vol. 45, No.1, p. 123.

¹⁵ Seyyed Hossein Nasr (1964), *Ideals and Realities of Islam*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 30.

¹⁶ Ismail Raji Al-Faruqi & Lois Liya Al-Faruqi, *Athlas al-Hadharah al-Islamiyah*, Riyadh: Maktabah al-Abikan, 1998, p. 146.

¹⁷ Gilbert J. Garraghan (1957), *A Guide to Historical Method*, New York: Fordham University Press, pp. 33-34.

¹⁸ Sudarman (2016), *Jaringan Perniagaan dan Islamisasi di Kerajaan Inderapura Abad XVII-Awal Abad XVIII*, Disertasi Pascasarjana, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, p. 18.

Sultanate of Samudera Pasai and the Kingdom of Malacca. Being part of the Archipelago, Java became the goal of Islamization as also delineated above. Second, in the process of Islamization, a network among Wali Songo was built both in the local scope (Java) and regionally (the Archipelago), as well as in the global scope (beyond the Archipelago). In this case, the Islamization of Wali Songo in Java was not a stand-alone event but became part of the interconnectedness of the three networks. Third, the reconstruction of the Islamization of Walisongo is urgent to remap the network and place it in a macro context, involving geopolitical perspectives, sea systems, and a multidimensional approach.

Wali Songo's Islamization as part of the Islamization of the Archipelago

As mentioned above, the Islamization of the Archipelago was first carried out by Aceh under the Sultanate of Samudera Pasai, which had existed since the 12th and 13th centuries.¹⁹ The preachers of Islam were sent from Aceh to various regions in the Archipelago. The Archipelago in the context of the initial Islamization included the regions in the Archipelago where Wali Songo worked, such as Champa, Aceh, Malacca, Palembang, and Java. Subsequent other regions included Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, West Nusa Tenggara, and Bali. Based on the Arab theory that Islamization in the Archipelago has begun since the 7th century,²⁰ it is sufficient to say that the Islamization of Wali Songo in the 15th and 16th centuries was a follow-up, which was oriented to structural and cultural Islamization at the same time. Structural Islamization was carried out to convert kings or kingdoms that were the adherents of the Hinduism-Buddhism in the Archipelago, while cultural Islamization refers to an Islamization with a cultural approach to both the kingdom and the common people in Java, through marriages (kinship) as well as art and culture of the indigenous community.

Before converting the people of Java, members of Wali Songo or their early descendants had converted the King of Champa. The King also married his daughter

¹⁹ Azyumardi Azra (2002), *Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Lokal dan Global*, Bandung: Mizan, p. 12.

²⁰ Hamka (1981), *Sejarah Umat Islam*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, p. 78. Hasjimy, *Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Agama Islam di Indonesia*, Jakarta: PT. Al-Ma'arif, 1981, p. 37

Dewi Chandrawulan to Maulana Ibrahim As-Samarkandi. After converting Champa, he then went to Palembang to convert Arya Damar, the Duke of Palembang. In 1440, he then left Palembang for Java Island and landed in Tuban in Eastern Java, the port city of the Majapahit Kingdom at that time, to convert the King of Majapahit.²¹ It can be drawn that the Islamization of Champa and Palembang by Ibrahim As-Samarkandi occurred around the beginning of the 15th century or before 1440.

Apart from the Champa and Palembang routes, the Islamization of Java was also carried out through Aceh,²² by Maulana Ishak and Sunan Gunung Jati, both from the Sultanate of Samudera Pasai, Aceh, long before they settled in Java. The Pasai Ocean Sultanate since the 15th century was a political, economic and cultural force, as a center of commerce and Islamization in the Archipelago just like Persia, China, and India.²³ With that power, it was natural that Samudera Pasai was not only a center of commerce visited by foreign traders but also a center of Islamization in the Archipelago, where some Wali Songo had lived before settling and introducing Islam to Java, and that the Sultanate exercised his hegemony over the surrounding areas, both in Islamization and trade. Therefore, in the early 15th century, Samudera Pasai converted King Parameswara of the Kingdom of Malacca to Islam, before converting Java through Maulana Ishak and Sunan Gunung Jati.

According to some sources, Maulana Ishak was Sunan Giri's father and Sunan Gunung Jati's grandfather, although some sources mentioned him as Sunan Gunung Jati's father. Maulana Ishak spread Islam in Blambangan (Banyuwangi) in East Java to convert the Duke of Blambangan, while his grandson Sunan Gunung Jati propagated Islam in Cirebon in West Java. Meanwhile, Sunan Giri, his son from Putri Adipati Blambangan, preached Islam in Gresik, East Java. In addition, the member of Wali Songo who was a descendant of Maulana Ishak was Sunan Kudus, his great-grandson, who carried out missionary work in Kudus, Central Java.²⁴

²¹ Slamet Muljana (2011), *Tafsir Sejarah Negara Kertagama*, 5th edition, Yogyakarta: LKiS, p. 231.

²² Thomas W. Arnold (1979), *Sejarah Da'wah Islam*, (trans.) Nawawi Rambe, Jakarta: Wijaya, p. 320.

²³ Amirul Hadi (2004), *Islam and State in Sumatra; A Study of Seventeenth-century Aceh*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 15-16.

²⁴ Teuku Ibrahim Alfian (1999), *Wajah Aceh dalam Lintasan Sejarah*, Banda Aceh: Pusat Dokumentasi dan Informasi Aceh, p. 15; Widji Saksono (1995), *Mengislamkan Tanah Jawa*, Bandung: Mizan, p. 34.

Like the Champa, Palembang and Aceh routes, the Malacca route was also used as one of the choices by Wali Songo and their predecessors to convert the people of West Java. Sheikh Datuk Kahfi, the father of Sheikh Siti Jenar, came from Malacca, returning from Baghdad to Mount Ampar Jati, Cirebon, to spread Islam. Among his disciples were Walasungsang, known as Ki Samadullah, Nyi Lara Santang, both sons of King Siliwangi of the Kingdom of Pajajaran, Shaykh Siti Jenar (his son), Sunan Drajat, son of Sunan Bonang, and Sunan Kalijaga. The last two names were part of Wali Songo members, while Sheikh Siti Jenar was a controversial figure, with some authorities putting him in Wali Songo and some discarded him. Malacca as a global trading port in the Archipelago, besides being visited by traders, was also used as a stopover for Islamic preachers, including some of Wali Songo. In Malacca, there was even a meeting place for Sufis and Islamic saints, both to study and teach the *tarekat* and to preach Islam. Sunan Bonang and Sunan Kalijaga were said to have had a Sufi teacher named Shaykh Sutabris from Persia.

The descriptions above show that Wali Songo's Islamization was part of the Islamization in the Archipelago, of which Java is only a part. In addition, Islamization used different regional routes, indicating the initial center of the spread of Islam by Wali Songo or their predecessors before going to Java. The routes of Islamization could be summarized as follows.

Table 1. The Routes of Wali Songo's Islamization in the Archipelago

Islamization Routes	Pre-Wali Songo Preachers	Wali Songo's Contemporary Preachers	Relationship with Wali Songo	Area of Islamization	Year
Champa	Maulana Ibrahim As-Samarkandi	Sunan Ampel (Raden Rahmat)	Sunan Ampel's father	Champa, Palembang, Java Island	1444
Malacca	Syeikh Datuk (Dzatul) Kahfi (Syeikh Nurjati)	Syaikh Siti Jenar, Sunan Drajat and Sunan Kalijaga	Brother of Syaikh Datuk Saleh (Syaikh Siti Jenar's father) Sunan Drajat and Sunan Kalijaga's Mentor	Cirebon (Amparan Jati, Western Java), Demak (Jawa Tengah), Lamongan (Eastern Java)	1420
Aceh	Syaikh Maulana Ishak	Sunan Gunung Jati	Kakek Sunan Gunung Jati, ada juga yang menyebut ayahnya	Aceh, Cirebon (Western Java)	1419
Palembang	Maulana Ibrahim	Sunan Ampel	Sunan Ampel's	Palembang,	1444

As-Samarkandi	(Raden Rahmat)	father	Surabaya (Eastern Java)
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Source: Compiled from various sources.

Table 1 shows that the Islamization of Wali Songo and their predecessors covered the Archipelago, especially Champa, Malacca, Aceh, and Palembang, with Java as the goal, including the Western, Central, and Eastern Java. From Wali Songo's origins, genealogy and routes of Islamization as delineated above, it appeared that most of them came from abroad. Therefore, the relationship and path of their Islamization scope included the regions beyond the Archipelago. This can be explained through the relationship of the Islamization route between Java, the Archipelago and overseas regions in the Wali Songo Islamization network, as explained below.

Overseas (Global) Networks of Wali Songo's Islamization

The overseas or "global" network in the Islamization of Wali Songo can be traced from three historical facts. First, the origins of Wali Songo in terms of their land of origin. Second, the Nusantara network as described above was also related to the process of Islamization beyond the Archipelago. Third, the geopolitical contexts of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century Archipelago were related to the interests of power (politics), trade (economics), and Islamization (religion). In terms of origins, the majority of Wali Songo members come from various regions in the Islamic world, including the three political power areas of the Islamic World mentioned earlier. The early propagators, before Wali Songo, who spread Islam in the Archipelago, including on the island of Java, from whom Wali Songo members were born, including Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi, Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Maulana Ishak, and Maulana Maghribi, came from Central Asia, Persia, Egypt, and Morocco. They became the genealogical forerunners of the majority of Wali Songo as discussed above.

Viewed from the initial process of Islamization abroad, those actors, apart from being the genealogical forerunners of the majority of Wali Songo, were also the ones who built Islamization networks in the global, regional (in the Archipelago) and local (the Island of Java). The three networks were interrelated and did not stand separately although the targets of Islamization were spread across different areas. Traced from the center, Islamization started in the Middle East, Persia, Morocco and

other surrounding areas to several regions in the Archipelago, such as Champa, Malacca and Palembang, by placing Aceh under the Sultanate of Samudera Pasai as an intermediary, followed by the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam since 16th century.²⁵ Then from several regional areas in the Archipelago, Islamization expanded to the island of Java, with the aim of Islamizing Java both structurally and culturally.

On the other hand, from a political point of view, some of the above regions, apart from Persia, until the 15th and 16th centuries, were still under the control of the Ottoman Empire as the power axis of the Islamic world. As such, the Ottoman Empire had an interest in territorial expansion and Islamization in various regions, including the Archipelago. In addition to having diplomatic relations with Aceh, the Ottoman Empire also had a mission to Islamize areas in the Archipelago that had not yet accepted Islam, especially the island of Java. This mission was closely related to the Islamization of Wali Songo in the Archipelago, including the island of Java. As stated by Hasanu Simon, such figures as Maulana Maghribi, Maulana Malik Ibrahim and Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi were the envoys of the Ottoman Empire to Islamize the Archipelago, including the island of Java. The Majapahit Kingdom, which until the early 15th century remained a Hindu-Buddhist kingdom was the target of the Islamization by foreign networks under the Ottoman Empire.²⁶

From the explanation, it is clear that the Islamization of Wali Songo in the context of international networks can be put into two mappings. First, Islamization of Wali Songo is a globalization process, started from the center of power in the Islamic world, under the Ottoman Turks and Persians, then headed for the Archipelago and ended on the island of Java. In other words, it started from the overseas (global) to the regional (Nusantara) regions and ended in the local area (Java Island). Second, the Islamization of Wali Songo on the island of Java had a tie to a foreign network, marked by the relationship between the Islamization and the involvement of various regions in the Islamic world as mentioned above.

²⁵ Teuku Ibrahim Alfian (1999), *Wajah Aceh dalam Lintasan Sejarah*, Banda Aceh: Pusat Dokumentasi dan Informasi Aceh, p. 65.

²⁶ Hasanu Simon (2008), *Misteri Syekh Siti Jenar*, 5th edition, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, pp. 5, 165-168.

Regional Networking of Wali Songo's Islamization

In the context of Wali Songo's Islamization, the regional network refers to a network built by Wali Songo in the Archipelago. If we look at the route of Wali Songo's Islamization in the Archipelago, it appeared that the Islamization carried out by Wali Songo was quite extensive, covering the vast areas of Champa, Malacca, Palembang, Aceh, and Java. In other words, the areas covered by the Islamization venture were not only Java. Therefore, to facilitate their missionary works, they formed a network of Islamization in the Archipelago, including Aceh, Champa, and Malacca became the initial centers of Islamization. The Kingdom of Champa was converted to Islam by Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi in the early 15th century. Its strategic location, near the South China Sea, connected China and the Archipelago. It was confirmed that after Islamizing King Champa, Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi left for Palembang and then to Java to propagate Islam. Through Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi and his son Sunan Ampel, the network between Champa and Java was well established. Through the Islamization of Champa and Java, Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi was able to marry off the daughter of King Champa, Darwati, to Sri Kertawijaya, King Brawijaya V of the Majapahit Kingdom.²⁷ Meanwhile, Aceh through the Samudera Pasai Sultanate had become the center of power and the spread of Islam in the Archipelago. In this sultanate lived Maulana Ishak and Sunan Gunung Jati, who then both went to spread Islam to Java.²⁸

Meanwhile, in addition to being a center for global trade ports, Malacca has also become a center for Islamization in the Archipelago, especially after the Malacca Kingdom was converted by Aceh in the early 15th century.²⁹ In its position as an international trade center, Malacca was visited by traders from the Western regions such as Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, Persia, Gujarat, Coromandel, Malabar, Rivet, Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, and Kedah as well as traders from the north including Siam, Pahang, Pattani, Cambodia, Champa, and China.³⁰ Meanwhile, traders from the East included those from Java, Madura, Jambi, Palembang, Kampar, Minangkabau, Siak, Aru,

²⁷ Slamet Muljana (2011), *Tafsir Sejarah Negara Kertagama*, 5th edition, Yogyakarta: LKiS, p. 105.

²⁸ Azyumardi Azra (2002), *Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Lokal dan Global*, Bandung: Mizan, p. 15.

²⁹ Abdul Rahman Hamid (2013), *Sejarah Maritim Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Ombak, pp. 92-99.

³⁰ D.G.E. Hall, (1962), *A History of South-East Asia*, 3rd edition, New York: Martin's Press, p. 213.

Batak, Samudera Pasai, Pedir, Maluku, Bima and Timor.³¹ Within this trade network, through its ports in Tuban, Gresik, Jepara and Demak, Java became the middle station connecting the Western and Northern regions.³² With the position of Malacca as a trading center visited by foreign traders,³³ the process of Islamization also followed this trade, as some traders also actively propagated Islam in the Archipelago. Several members of Wali Songo, including Sunan Bonang and Sunan Kalijaga had lived in Malacca.

From the explanation above, we can identify three Islamization networks in the Archipelago between the 15th and 16th centuries, namely the Champa-Palembang-Java Island network, under the mission of Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi, the Aceh-Java Island network, under the mission of Maulana Ishak and Sunan Gunung Jati, and the Malacca-Java network under the missions of Sunan Bonang and Sunan Kalijaga.

Java Local Networks in Wali Songo's Islamization

The Islamization of Wali Songo also applied local, regional, and global network patterns. The local network refers to the network among the members of Wali Songo in Java to Islamize Java's coastal areas and heartland, which until the early 15th century still adhered to Hinduism and Buddhism. In the coastal areas of Western Java, such regions as Karawang, Cirebon, and Banten became targets of Wali Songo's Islamization, while in the coastal areas of Central Java, the targets were Demak, Kudus and Jepara. Furthermore, the targeted coastal areas of Eastern Java included Surabaya, Gresik, Lamongan, Tuban, and Blambangan. Coastal areas, which generally became trading port cities on the Island of Java, became the center of propagation by Wali Songo as those port cities were part of the maritime route connecting the economy with power (politics), rulers with the people and trade with Islamization. Therefore, Wali Songo lived in the vicinity of these port cities, such as Gresik and Tuban, both being major ports of the Majapahit Kingdom. In Central Java,

³¹ . Daliman (2012), *Islamisasi dan Perkembangan Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Ombak, p. 109.

³² Sartono Kartodirdjo (1991), *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru: 1500 – 1900 dari Emporium ke Imporium*, Vol. 1, 5th edition, Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, p. 11.

³³ Anthony Reid (2011), *Asia Tenggara dalam Kurun Niaga 1450-1680*, 2nd edition, Jakarta: Pustaka Obor, p. 78.

Jepara and Demak were two busy trading ports, while Cirebon was the port center in Western Java.

From the trading port cities, an Islamization network pattern was developed through various strategies, namely, mapping and profiling the area for the missionary works, teacher-disciple relations through Islamic religious education and genealogy among Wali Songo members, kinship relations through marriage between members of Wali Songo and the royal family or the ruling elite in Java, and Islamization through structural and cultural channels at the same time.³⁴ In the context of mapping the local network area, Wali Songo's first Islamization network in Eastern Java was centered in three different areas of Gresik, Ampel Denta, and Blambangan. Two members of Wali Songo, namely Maulana Malik Ibrahim and Raden Rahmat (known as Sunan Ampel), played a role in the Islamization of Gresik and Surabaya. Meanwhile, Islamization in Blambangan was carried out by Maulana Ishak, who had lived in Samudera Pasai, Aceh. His relocation to Blambangan was on the orders of Sunan Ampel to convert the Duke of Blambangan and his people.³⁵ Although he was not a member of Wali Songo, he was the father of Sunan Giri and the grandfather of Sunan Gunung Jati, so he had a genealogical relationship with the two members of Wali Songo. In Central Java, in addition to founding the Demak Sultanate, most members of Wali Songo also built the Demak Mosque (1479)³⁶ by adopting local Javanese architecture.³⁷

Meanwhile, in carrying out Islamization in Java, Sunan Gunung Jati settled in the Cirebon, West Java. Like Maulana Ishaq, even before islamizing the people of Cirebon, Sunan Gunung Jati had lived in the Sultanate of Samudera Pasai, Aceh. The arrangement of the members of Wali Songo to a 5:3:1 pattern was geostrategy, of which five were placed in Eastern Java, three were in Central Java, and one was in West Java.

³⁴Muhammad Ali (2011), "Muslim Diversity: Islam and Local Tradition in Java and Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (<https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v1i1.1-35>).

³⁵ Agus Sunyoto (2014), *Atlas Wali Songo*, 4th edition, Depok: Pustaka IIMaN, p. 172.

³⁶ Pierre Fournie (2019), "Rediscovering Walisongo Indonesia: A Potential New Destination for International Pilgrimage," dalam *Tudublin: International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, Vol.7(iv), (<https://arrow.tudublin.ie/ijrtp/vol7/iss4/10>).

³⁷ Naf'atu Fina, Lein Iffah (2018), "Shoutest Asian Islamic Art and Architecture: Re-Examining the Claim of The Unity and Universality of Islamic Art," *Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic Civilization*, Vol. 1, No.2. (<https://doi.org/10.14421/skijic.v1i2.1364>).

Sunan Ampel's Islamization network was built through educational institutions for the broader spread of Islam in the Archipelago. The subsequent members of Wali Songo, including Sunan Bonang, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Giri, and Sunan Kudus, were among Sunan Ampel's disciples at Ampel Denta. Likewise, Raden Patah, the founder of the Islamic Kingdom of Demak and genealogically related to King Brawijaya V of Majapahit Kingdom, also studied with Sunan Ampel. This pattern was also carried out by Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Giri, and Sunan Gunung Jati. Sunan Giri's disciples came from Java and various regions in the Archipelago, such as Kalimantan, Makassar, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Ternate, Tidore and Hitu.³⁸ Sunan Gunung Jati's well-known disciples were Sunan Kalijaga and Shaykh Siti Jenar.

In the teacher-disciples relationship, the Islamization network was developed by sending out disciples who were considered proficient to several different areas in Java, to accelerate the spread of Islam. Sunan Bonang, the son and disciple of Sunan Ampel, for example, worked in Tuban, Sunan Drajat was sent to Lamongan near Gresik, and Sunan Giri in Gresik. Likewise, Sunan Kalijaga, who had previously studied with Sunan Bonang and Sunan Gunung Jati, worked in the Demak area, Central Java. Before spreading Islam in Demak, he had also helped his teacher, Sunan Gunung Jati, propagate Islam in Cirebon. Sunan Kudus, a disciple of Sunan Ampel, worked in Kudus, Central Java, while Sunan Muria, son of Sunan Kalijaga, was sent to Jepara.

In addition to being genealogically related and having a teacher-disciple relationship through education, Wali Songo members also had a kinship relation through marriage to strengthen their Islamization network. Genealogically, most Wali Songo members were related by blood while the rest were related by marriage. This marriage relationship was carried out either within the Wali Songo circle or with the outsiders, especially with the royal family or the ruling elite. These network patterns were part of Wali Songo's Islamization strategy in Java and can be summarized in Table 2 as follows.

Table 2. Wali Songo's Networking Strategies in Java

³⁸ H. J. de Graaf, T.G. Pigeud (1976), *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, p. 15; Agus Sunyoto (2005), *Jaringan Ulama Nusantara Abad XVII-XVIII*, Mizan: Bandung, p. 178.

Islamization Zoning in Java	Genealogical Relations	Teacher-Disciples Relations	Kinship relations by Marriages	Notes
Eastern Java: Surabaya, Gresik, Lamongan, Tuban 1. Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi* 2. Maulana 3. Malik Ibrahim* 4. Maulana Ishak** 5. Sunan Ampel 6. Sunan Bonang 7. Sunan Drajat 8. Sunan Giri	Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi-Sunan Ampel (Father and Son) Sunan Ampel-Sunan Bonang (Father and Son) Sunan Ampel-Sunan Draajat (Father and Son) Maulana Ishaq-Sunan Giri (Father and Son)	Sunan Ampel-Sunan Bonang (Teacher-Disciple) Sunan Ampel-Sunan Drajat (Teacher-Disciple) Sunan Ampel-Sunan Giri (Teacher-Disciple) Sunan Ampel-Sunan Kudus (Teacher-Disciple)	Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi-Sunan Ampel: Maulana Ibrahim Assamarkandi was married to the daughter of the King of Champa, and got a son Sunan Ampel Maulana Ishak-Sunan Giri: Maulana Ishak was married to the daughter of the King of Blambangan, and got a son named Sunan Giri Sunan Ampel-Sunan Bonang & Sunan Drajat: Sunan Ampel was married to the daughter of the Regent of Tuban and got two sons named Sunan Bonang dan Sunan Drajat	*Some included Maulana Assamarkandi as a member of Wali Songo, but some authorities discarded it. The same is also true to Maulana Malik Ibrahim. **Maulana Ishak, despite being a non-member of Wali Songo, some sources mentioned that he was the father of Sunan Giri, the grandfather of Sunan Gunung Jati, and the great grandfather of Sunan Kudus.
Central Java: Demak, Jepara, Kudus 1. Sunan Kalijaga 2. Sunan Muria 3. Sunan Kudus	Sunan Kalijaga-Sunan Muria (Father-Son)		Sunan Kalijaga-Maulana Ishak: Sunan Kalijaga was married to Dewi Sarah (Maulana Ishak's daughter) and got a son named Sunan Muria	
Western Cirebon		Sunan Gunung Jati-Sunan Kalijaga (Teacher-Disciple) Sunan Gunungjati-Syaikh Siti Jenar (Teacher-Disciple)	Sunan Gunung Jati-Sunan Kalijaga (Sunan Gunung Jati married his sister to Sunan Kalijaga)	

Source: Compiled from various sources

Table 2 shows that the Islamization of Wali Songo in the local scope used three network strategies; zoning, family ties, and teacher-disciple relationships.

Glocalization of Islamization of Wali Songo as A Cosmopolitan Islam

This article points out three important points regarding the Islamization of Wali Songo. *First*, the Islamization of Wali Songo was a process of spreading Islam during the 15th and 16th centuries which involved interrelated local, regional, and global networks. Thus, Islamization in Java is only part of the global mission of Islamization of Wali Songo in the Archipelago due to the following two factors. The

island of Java became the target of Wali Songo's Islamization considering that the majority of the population and kingdoms on the island of Java until the early 15th century were seen necessary to be converted to Islam so that the Islamization mission was carried out by building networks and strategies based on regional mapping, the geographical spread of Islam, and structural targets. and cultural. In addition, the fifteenth and sixteenth-century Java was a strategic area in the Archipelago,³⁹ both economically and politically. Economically, Java Island connects regional trade routes in the Archipelago and abroad from the West and North. Meanwhile, politically, until the 15th century, the Majapahit Kingdom which had enormous influence both at the regional and foreign levels and other kingdoms on the island of Java remained Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms, so converting those kingdoms would be strategic.

Second, the Islamization network built by Wali Songo both in local, regional and global scope in the Archipelago, emphasizes that this Islamization has formed a cosmopolitan Islam in the Archipelago, so views on local historical phenomena on the island of Java in the context of the Islamization of Wali Songo need to be seen from a broader, more comprehensive perspective. Because cosmopolitan Islam is constructed not only by local Javanese culture but also by various elements of the regional, archipelago and global culture, Islam has somewhat cosmopolitan, universal characteristics.

Third, as a cosmopolitan Islam that is universal, the Islamization of Wali Songo has a close relationship with global political power, in the context of the Islamic world, as the center and determinant factor in forming a network of Islamization in the regional scope in the Archipelago and locally in Java. If mapped, several areas of the Islamic world in the Middle East and its surroundings, including Arabia, Persia, Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and Morocco are the center of the network, while the areas of Aceh, Malacca, Champa, and Palembang in the Archipelago were intermediaries or network mediators. Meanwhile, the island of Java was a peripheral

³⁹ Soedjipto Abimanyu (2014), *Babad Tanah Jawi*, 4th edition, Yogyakarta: Laksana, pp. 290-294

area being targeted by the network. Therefore, this study also reflects that the Islamization of Wali Songo was a process in the 15th and 16th centuries archipelago, which was systemic, complex, continuous, visionary, organized and cosmopolitan. In other words, the Islamization of Wali Songo uses a central circle model, namely the existence of a central circle which then forms new circles spreading around it and interrelated.⁴⁰

This article has a distinction from previous studies in terms of perspective or methodology and the substance of the study material regarding the Islamization of Wali Songo. In terms of perspective used, this article looks at the Islamization of Wali Songo in a macro and comprehensive manner, by looking at the correlation between the Islamization of Wali Songo regionally in the Archipelago and the involvement of foreign powers in a global context. In contrast, previous studies looked at Wali Songo's Islamization venture from a micro perspective, centered on Java Island, without looking at the Islamization of Wali Songo more broadly. The basic difference between these two perspectives is that the first (macro) perspective places Java as the periphery as it became the target of Islamization from abroad, in the context of the Islamic world and the areas related to it while the second (micro) perspective views Java as the center of the Islamization itself. With such distinction, this study has an important meaning for the development of the study of the medieval history of Indonesian Islam, especially regarding the Islamization of Wali Songo in the Archipelago, through an alternative perspective. Historiographically, as stated by Franz Rosenthal, it became part of a fairly important development in historical studies (Rosenthal, 1968: 7).⁴¹

CONCLUSION

The results of this study indicate that the Islamization of Walisongo was not only a local process of Islamization, but it was a global one, that involved regional and international networking. This Islamization map forms a global network that

⁴⁰ Kuntowijoyo (2003), *Metodologi Sejarah*, 2nd editon, Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, p. 51.

⁴¹ Franz Rosenthal (1962), *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, p. 7.

branched out to a regional network in the Archipelago and finally found a local target on the island of Java. This network map confirms that the Islamization of Wali Songo in the Archipelago in the 15th and 16th centuries formed a pattern of cosmopolitan Islam in the Archipelago. It was marked by the mingling of various global cultures in the Archipelago in the Islamization network. As such, with this pattern, Java-centrism in the study of Islamization of Wali Songo is no longer relevant, since in the map of Islamization, it was not the center.

The reconstruction of the historiography of the Islamization of Wali Songo is an important and urgent part to map and rewrite the Islamization of Wali Songo based on a more comprehensive alternative perspective by understanding the geopolitical contexts of the 15th and 16th centuries. The direction of mapping and rewriting the Islamization of Wali Songo includes two main points. First, the change in the orientation of the study of Islamization from a micro perspective to a macro perspective that involves the relationship between local, regional and global powers. Second, the reconstruction of the Islamization of Wali Songo also emphasizes the need to use a multidimensional methodology in studying Islamization so that the results of the study will be more relevant and impartial.

This article is limited to a reconstruction effort and an emphasis on a remapping in studying Wali Songo's Islamization in the Archipelago in the 15th and 16th centuries. Therefore, further research examining the Islamization of Wali Songo in terms of the relationship between Islamization (religion) and power (politics) and commerce (economy) with different points of view is needed. This is necessary so that different findings using methodologies can be obtained to advance the knowledge, especially regarding the Islamization of Wali Songo and the development in Indonesian Islamic historiography on the theme so that complementary studies could be obtained.

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