

Philosophical Study of The Historical Controversy on The Recruitment of Walisongo

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Abstract:

The controversy surrounding the arrival of Walisongo in Java has sparked academic debates. Two main perspectives emerge: one asserts that Walisongo arrived spontaneously, while another, based on *Kanzul Ulum*, suggests they were recruited by the Ottoman government. This study applies the Philosophy of History approach, combining empirical and speculative paradigms. The findings indicate that these perspectives align with cyclical historical patterns. The first perspective resembles Augustine's Fatum Law, which emphasizes the afterlife, whereas the second corresponds to Ibn Khaldun's Fatum Law, which integrates religious and social education. The debate can also be linked to hadiths encouraging Islamic proselytization. If Augustine's view is applied, recruitment is unnecessary, as every Muslim is obliged to preach. However, Ibn Khaldun's perspective underscores the importance of structured recruitment for optimizing human resources. The synthesis of these views suggests that both perspectives are interrelated and contribute to the understanding of Islamic expansion in Java. The first speculation focuses on Walisongo's influence in the 15th–16th centuries, while the second highlights recruitment efforts beginning in the 14th century.

[Kontroversi mengenai kedatangan Walisongo di Jawa telah memicu perdebatan akademik. Dua perspektif utama yang muncul yaitu: satu



menyatakan bahwa Walisongo datang secara spontan, sementara perspektif lain, berdasarkan *Kanzul Ulum*, menyebutkan bahwa mereka direkrut oleh pemerintah Ottoman. Penelitian ini menerapkan pendekatan Filsafat Sejarah dengan menggabungkan paradigma empiris dan spekulatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kedua perspektif ini selaras dengan pola sejarah siklus. Perspektif pertama mirip dengan Hukum Fatum versi Augustine yang menekankan kehidupan setelah mati, sedangkan perspektif kedua sejalan dengan Hukum Fatum versi Ibn Khaldun yang mengintegrasikan pendidikan agama dan sosial. Perdebatan ini juga dapat dikaitkan dengan hadis yang mendorong dakwah Islam. Jika menggunakan pandangan Augustine, rekrutmen tidak diperlukan karena setiap Muslim wajib berdakwah. Namun, perspektif Ibn Khaldun menekankan pentingnya rekrutmen yang terstruktur untuk mengoptimalkan sumber daya manusia. Sintesis dari kedua pandangan ini menunjukkan bahwa keduanya saling terkait dan berkontribusi dalam memahami ekspansi Islam di Jawa. Spekulasi pertama menyoroti pengaruh Walisongo pada abad ke-15–16, sementara spekulasi kedua menyoroti upaya rekrutmen yang dimulai sejak abad ke-14.]

Keywords:

Walisongo, Philosophy, Historical Controversy, Fatum Law, Ottoman Influence

A. Introduction

There has been a lot of scholars writing about the Walisongo, but few of them have studied the background to the arrival of the Walisongo. Most of them discuss the progress of walisongo in Java. These are Afandi and Abdul Aziz (2024),¹ Siti Uswatun Khasanah et al. (2023),² Rosyadi et al. (2021),³ Achmad Wildan Khoerun Nahar et al. (2021),⁴ Widiastuti and Maria Ulfah

¹ Afandi Afandi and Abd Aziz, 'Pribumisasi Islam: Peran Walisongo Dan Perkembangan Islam Di Jawa', *Javano - Islamicus* Vol. 2, no. 1 (2024): 90–104.

² Siti Uswatun Hasanah, Marhadi Muhayar, and Nadiyah Nur Ramadhan, 'Moderasi Beragama Pada Masa Walisongo', *Mumtaz: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an Dan Keislaman* Vol. 7, no. 2 (2023): 112–30.

³ Zainal Rosyadi et al., 'Peran Dan Periodisasi Wali Songo Dalam Pengembangan Budaya Islam di Nusantara', *SINDA: Comprehensive Journal of Islamic Social Studies* Vol. 1, no. 3 (2021): 191–97.

⁴ Achmad Wildan Khoerun Nahar et al., 'Konsep Kultural Dakwah Walisongo Memperkuat Moderasi Beragama', *Mu'asaroh: Jurnal Kajian Islam Kontemporer* Vol. 5, no. 2 (2021): 85–92.

(2018),⁵ A.R. Idham Kholid (2016),⁶ Dewi Evi Anita (2014),⁷ *Mengislamkan Tanah Jawa: Telaah atas Metode Dakwah Walisongo* by Widji Saksono (1995),⁸ and Asnan Wahyudi and Abu Kholid (1992)⁹.

In this article, the authors focus on the issues behind Walisongo's arrival in Java. According to Abdullah preachers from abroad, including walisongo, came to Indonesia via trade routes.¹⁰ It is the background of their arrival to Java that has become a polemic. The first opinion is the general opinion, that they came by coincidence or without recruitment.¹¹ This is relevant to the opinion of J.C Van Leur, as quoted by Suryanegara that the spread of Islam in Indonesia does not recognize any special institution to handle it. The basic idea is H.R. Bukhari no. 3461 so that Muslims convey what the Prophet taught, even if it is only one verse. This is the basis for the idea that every Muslim is a preacher so that they can spread Islam on their own initiative.¹²

The second opinion is that the Wali Songo came to Java because they were recruited by the Ottoman government.¹³ This opinion is said to originate from a manuscript that refers to *Kanzul Ulum*, a manuscript written by Ibn Battuta (1304-1369). *Kanzul Ulum* reported on information from Gujarat traders about the passive Javanese Muslim community. The Ottoman Sultan then responded by conveying a plan to recruit a number of ulama to help awaken them from their passivity.¹⁴ The Ottoman government, which wanted to send professional preachers to the Javanese

⁵ Widiastuti Widiastuti and Maria Ulfah, 'Mercusuar Di Jawa Dwipa: Menguak Gagasan Penerapan UoS Pada Penyebaran Islam Di Jawa' (Semarang, UIN Walisongo, 2018).

⁶ A.R. Idham Kholid, 'Walisongo: Eksistensi Dan Perannya Dalam Islamisasi Dan Implikasi Terhadap Munculnya Tradisi-Tradisi Di Tanah Jawa', *Tamaddun: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan Islam* Vol. 1, no. 1 (2016): 1-47.

⁷ Dewi Evi Anita, 'Walisongo: Mengislamkan Tanah Jawa (Suatu Kajian Pustaka)', *Wahana Akademika: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Sosial* Vol. 1, no. 2 (2014): 243-66.

⁸ Widji Saksono, *Mengislamkan Tanah Jawa: Telaah Atas Dakwah Walisongo* (Bandung: Mizan, 1996).

⁹ Asnan Wahyudi and Abu Kholid, *Kisah Walisongo: Penyebar Agama Islam Di Tanah Jawa* (Surabaya: Karya Ilmu, 1992).

¹⁰ Taufik Abdullah, *Tradisi Dan Kebangkitan Islam Di Asia Tenggara* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1989), 101.

¹¹ M. Isa Anshory, 'Kanzul Ulum Tidak Bisa Dibuktikan Wujudnya?', Hidayatullah, 2020, <https://hidayatullah.com/kajian/sejarah>. Accessed August, 20, 2024, at 10.28

¹² Ahmad Mansur Suryanegara, *Menemukan Sejarah Wacana Pergerakan Islam Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 98.

¹³ Wahyudi and Kholid, *Kisah Walisongo: Penyebar Agama Islam Di Tanah Jawa*, 45.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 46.

Muslim community, then sent letters to the Ottoman emirs/dignitaries in North Africa and the Middle East to send clerics who had karomah.¹⁵ They were later known as Walisongo.

This second opinion has received quite a lot of criticism. Among them is Anshory, who said that the theory of Walisongo as an envoy of the Ottoman government was fictitious and should not be interpreted as fact. According to him, the theory that they came to Java by chance is actually stronger because, in reality, each Walisongo has a brotherly relationship. He found discrepancies in the lifespan of the writer Kanzul Ulum, namely Ibn Battuta (1304-1368/69 AD), with the Ottoman ruler who was said to have recruited the Walisongo, namely Mehmed I (1379-1421). This information is incorrect because Mehmed I was born after Ibn Battuta's death.¹⁶

The author herself has also used information from Kanzul Ulum as a data source in the article "Mercusuar di Dwipa."¹⁷ At that time, the author mentioned that the Ottoman leader who recruited the Walisongo was Mehmed II. The author's mistake was not checking the suitability of the lifetime of the Ottoman leader with Ibn Battuta as the author of Kanzul Ulum, so it was criticized by Pranata because discrepancies were found between the lifetimes of Ibn Battuta and Mehmed II (1432-1481). Pranata further stated that the validity of the Walisongo recruitment information depended on the validity of the Kanzul Ulum. However, he regretted that this was difficult to do because the manuscript was stated to be kept tightly in the palace museum in Istanbul, making it difficult to trace its validity.¹⁸

Previous studies of this polemic, both by the author herself,¹⁹ Anshory,²⁰ and Pranata,²¹ generally use the scientific paradigm with empirical thinking methods only. The weakness of this paradigm is that when "discrepancies" in the data are found, it will make studying the appropriate data no longer

¹⁵ Anshory, 'Kanzul Ulum Tidak Bisa Dibuktikan Wujudnya?'

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Widiastuti and Ulfah, 'Mercusuar Di Jawa Dwipa', 20.

¹⁸ Galih Pranata, 'Benarkah Isu Walisanga Sebagai Utusan Ottoman Di Tanah Jawa?', National Geographic, 15 February 2023, <https://nationalgeographic.grid.id/amp/133693215/benarkah-isu-walisanga-sebagai-utusan-ottoman-di-tanah-jawa>.

¹⁹ Widiastuti and Ulfah, 'Mercusuar Di Jawa Dwipa', 21.

²⁰ Anshory, 'Kanzul Ulum Tidak Bisa Dibuktikan Wujudnya?'

²¹ Pranata, 'Benarkah Isu Walisanga Sebagai Utusan Ottoman Di Tanah Jawa?'

interesting because its validity is reduced.²² As a result, the author is interested in reexamining it using a theory—philosophical theory, namely the philosophy of history—that does not contest its validity percentage and is able to reconcile opposing viewpoints to produce empirical facts.

Through this article, opinions or arguments will be divided into the general argument as the thesis, and the new argument as the antithesis. The correlation between the thesis and antithesis will become a synthesis. The synthesis is a second thesis if a new argument or second antithesis appears until a holistic understanding is found. That is not only based on speculative historical philosophical thinking, but also based on critical historical philosophical thinking.

B. Theoretical Framework

The differences between philosophy and science include: (a) Philosophy is general, while science is specific because it discusses certain parts of reality. (b) Philosophy is speculative, while science is empirical. (c) Philosophy does not aim to find the truth, while science aims to find the truth. This speculative thinking in philosophy provides the basis for science because it is philosophy that provides fundamental questions about reality.²³

Among the many branches of philosophy, the author focuses on the theory of the philosophy of history, which is related to issues such as the origins of historical evidence, the extent to which objectivity can be carried out, and so on. The difference between the philosophy of history and history is that if historical data focuses on the human past in space and time, then the philosophy of history focuses on the things behind historical events and experiences.²⁴

The term philosophy of history was first introduced by Voltaire as critical history or scientific history. However, in its development, this theory examines speculative historical philosophy and critical historical philosophy. The meeting of these two theories cannot be separated from

²² Utsman, 'Validitas Dan Reabilitas Untuk Mengevaluasi Mutu Penelitian Kualitatif, *ResearchGate* (blog), 2017.

²³ Amsal Bakhtiar, *Filsafat Ilmu* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2006), 35.

²⁴ Suhartono Pranoto, *Teori Dan Metodologi Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2010), 17.

Hegel's dialectical thinking²⁵ which brings together thesis and antithesis. The speculative philosophy of history is the thesis, and the critical philosophy of history is the antithesis.

According to Scriven as quoted by Gardiner truth or truism is basic in the philosophy of history.²⁶ Therefore, historical philosophy is defined as a branch of philosophy that focuses on achieving knowledge about original truths.²⁷ Philosophy of history is divided into two interrelated classifications, namely speculative historical philosophy and critical historical philosophy.

Speculative historical philosophy is a thesis that is conventional or in accordance with community agreement.²⁸ This theory is an approach to the philosophy of history that includes creative interpretation and involves speculation in understanding the past, allowing room for subjective views and theories that are not always supported by strong evidence.²⁹ This theory attempts to look at the historical process as a whole and then tries to interpret it in a way that helps understand the meaning and purpose of history.³⁰ The most important goal is to achieve significance in the results, especially regarding human history, which includes contemplation of the philosophy regarding the nature and purpose of the human historical process.³¹ Therefore, speculative historical philosophy can speculate about possible theological ends to the development of human history, asking whether there are design principles, goals, guidance, or finality in human history. Critical historical philosophy then provides an antithesis as a criticism of it.

Critical historical philosophy is a theoretical aspect of the academic and scientific historical discipline since the mid-19th century AD.³² This theory is the antithesis of conventional speculative historical philosophy. What is criticized are fundamental issues that are still speculative so that a stronger

²⁵ G.W.F. Hegel, *Filsafat Sejarah*, trans. Cuk Ananta Wijaya (Yogyakarta: Pusta Pelajar, 2007), 75.

²⁶ Patrick Gardiner, *Theories of History* (New York: The Free Press, 1959), 96.

²⁷ Siti Mariyah et al., 'Filsafat Dan Sejarah Perkembangan Ilmu', *Indonesian Journal of Philosophy* Vol. 4, no. 3 (2021).

²⁸ Frank Ankersmit, *Refleksi Tentang Sejarah: Pendapat-Pendapat Modern Tentang Filsafat*, trans. Dick Hartoko (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia, 1987), 111.

²⁹ Abdul Rahman, *Filsafat Sejarah* (Makassar: Rayhan Intermedia, 2015), 26.

³⁰ Mariyah et al., 'Filsafat Dan Sejarah Perkembangan Ilmu'.

³¹ Ankersmit, *Refleksi Tentang Sejarah*, 112.

³² Rahman, *Filsafat Sejarah*, 27.

theory building will emerge. This branch of philosophy was born from two opposing currents, namely positivism and idealism, with historicism as one of its branches. One of its founders was Wilhelm Dilthey.

Ankersmit in "Reflections on History" explains three problems that need to be resolved with Critical Historical Philosophy. First, related to the rhythm or pattern studied in the historical process. In this case, historical movement patterns can be classified into four: cyclical, linear, spiral, and dialectical patterns. A cyclical pattern is a pattern that repeats up and down. A linear pattern is a pattern that follows a certain axis line that connects space. Spiral pattern is a pattern that starts with a point and then moves around that point. Dialectical patterns are patterns that refer to thought processes that involve dialogue between two or more opposing concepts.³³

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³³ Ankersmit, *Refleksi Tentang Sejarah*, 113.

³⁴ Theodore Plantinga, *Historical Understanding in The Thought of Wilhelm Dilthey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 26.

³⁵ Ankersmit, *Refleksi Tentang Sejarah*, 114.

³⁶ Marcel Susanto, 'Pola-Pola Sejarah Dan Manfaat Mempelajarinya', Zenius Education, 2022, zenius.net/blog/untuk-apa-belajar-sejarah.

Second, related to the driving factors that give rise to historical processes. According to George Novack,³⁷ the driving factors of history are (1) Great men; (2) Ideal strength; (3) The people or nation are elected; (4) Humans and the environment. Meanwhile, Carl G. Gustavson in *A Preface of History* as quoted by Kuntowijoyo³⁸ classifies the driving factors of history into many more, namely: (1) economics, (2) religion, (3) institutions, (4) technology, (5) ideology, (6) military, (7) individuals, (8) sex, (9) age, (10) class, (11) ethnicity and race, (12) myth, and (13) culture. If the two theories are correlated, then the big person factor can be related to the individual factor; ideal strength factors can be related to religious, ideological, military, and economic factors; selected people or nation factors can be linked to institutions; then human and environmental factors can be related to sex, age, class, myth, culture, ethnicity, and race.

Third, concerning the ultimate goal of the historical process, as the antithesis of speculative historical philosophy both in terms of methodology and logical thinking. In this case, history has several important goals for humans, including: (1) Understanding identity and origins; (2) Increasing knowledge and critical thinking skills; (3) Building historical awareness and moral values; and (4) Establishing relationships between people.³⁹

This classification of speculative and critical philosophy of history is what makes the philosophy of history not question the percentage of data validity because speculative thinking is not ignored. It is critical historical philosophy that will criticize it so that speculative thinking becomes empirical thinking.⁴⁰ In this theory, previously existing opinions will not be overthrown due to the emergence of new opinions. This is because the theoretical concept built in the philosophy of history is a network concept so that they can be interconnected and complement each other. Old opinions that have become conventional public opinions will become a thesis, and new opinions will become an antithesis. The correlation between the two can be drawn from the synthesis that connects them.⁴¹

³⁷ George Novack, *Understanding History: Marxist Essays* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1980), 77.

³⁸ Kuntowijoyo, *Dinamika Sejarah Umat Islam Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Sholahuddin Press, 2013), 112.

³⁹ Gusti Zainal, 'Memahami Historiografi Lingkungan Dalam Sejarah', *Aksiografi*, 2023, <https://aksiografi.com>.

⁴⁰ Rahman, *Filsafat Sejarah*, 28.

⁴¹ Endang Rochmiatun, *Filsafat Sejarah* (Palembang: Noer Fikr, 2017), 45.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Application of speculative historical philosophy

Among the two opinions regarding the background of the arrival of the Walisongo, the more conventional belief is that they were not recruited by any institution. This belief has been associated with various theories about the spread of Islam, both in terms of its origins and the strategies it employed. Therefore, the thesis of this study is that the Walisongo came to Java without being recruited. Based on the selection of this thesis, the philosophy of history will approach it inclusively, incorporating thoughts from other perspectives, creative interpretations, and speculation in understanding the past. This approach allows for subjective views and theories that may not always be supported by strong evidence.⁴²

Among several creative interpretations about the spread of Islam in the archipelago, the first interpretation that is closest to this thesis is that the total number of Wali Songo is nine, in accordance with the meaning of "songo," which is taken from Javanese and means "nine." The nine popular Walisongo are Maulana Malik Ibrahim or Sunan Gresik (d. 1419), Raden Rahmat or Sunan Ampel (1401-1481), Raden Qasim Syarifuddin or Sunan Drajad (1470-1553), Raden Maulana Makhdum Ibrahim or Sunan Bonang (1465-1525), Raden Ja'far ash-Shodiq or Sunan Kudus (d. 1550), Muhammad Ainul Yaqin or Sunan Giri (1442-1506), Syarif Hidayatullah or Sunan Gunung Jati (1448-1558), Raden Syahid or Sunan Kalijaga (1459-1592), and Raden Umar Said or Sunan Muria (d. 1560). Data discrepancies found in this information are: firstly, related to Sunan Ampel's lifetime, who died in 1481, but his son, Sunan Kudus, was stated to have been born in 1500, 19 years after his father died. Then Sunan Kalijaga was born in 1459, and his son, Sunan Muria, was born in 1450, 9 years before his father was born. That is why the author only wrote the year of death of Sunan Kudus and Sunan Muria.⁴³

The second interpretation is that each member of the Walisongo Council has family ties, so it is very possible for them to form a team without recruitment.⁴⁴ Sunan Gresik is Sunan Ampel's father. Sunan Ampel had sons

⁴² Rahman, *Filsafat Sejarah*, 29.

⁴³ Siti Maziyah and Rabith Jihan Amaruli, 'Walisanga: Asal, Wilayah Dan Budaya Dakwahnya Di Jawa', *Endogami: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Antropologi* Vol. 3, no. 2 (2020).

⁴⁴ Anshory, 'Kanzul Ulum Tidak Bisa Dibuktikan Wujudnya?'

Sunan Drajad and Sunan Bonang. Sunan Ampel's younger brother, namely Sunan Santri, was born as Sunan Kudus (d.1550). Sunan Gresik's younger brother has a son, Sunan Giri. Sunan Muria is Sunan Giri's nephew and grandson of Sunan Kalijaga, and Sunan Gunung Jati is the grandson of Sunan Gresik's half-brother.⁴⁵

This second interpretation can also be related to the existence of Admiral Cheng Ho (1371-1435) as the leader of the Ming dynasty trade expedition from China because in the notes in the Sam Poo Kong Stone Building, it is stated that most of the Walisongo were still related to him. This then gave rise to speculation that Walisongo was part of the expedition.⁴⁶ Like the Walisongo genealogy, Cheng Ho's genealogy also shows that he was still a descendant of the Prophet from the line of Husein bin Ali.

Most of the Walisongo also have Champa blood because Sunan Gresik's wife was the daughter of the king of Champa. They had sons Sunan Ampel and Sunan Santri. Sunan Ampel had sons Sunan Drajad and Sunan Bonang. Sunan Santri is the grandson of Sunan Kudus. Similarly, Sunan Gunung Jati, he was the son of the king of Champa from the period 1471-78.⁴⁷ Apparently, this is the basis of Muljana's thinking⁴⁸ which states that the Walisongo were preachers from China.

In the Ming dynasty trading expeditions, it is said that apart from thousands of sailors, there were also construction experts, technicians, military personnel, diplomatic experts, medical personnel, astronomers, and foreign diplomats, especially Muslims. The fleet stopped in Champa (Central Vietnam), Siam/Thailand, and Java Island. After that, the fleet visited points along the Strait of Malacca, then to Cochin and the kingdom of Calicut on the southwest coast of India.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Maziyah and Amaruli, 'Walisanga: Asal, Wilayah Dan Budaya Dakwahnya Di Jawa'.

⁴⁶ H.J. de Graaf, *Cina Muslim Di Jawa Abad XV Dan XVI Antara Historitas Dan Mitos* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1998), 96.

⁴⁷ Maziyah and Amaruli, 'Walisanga: Asal, Wilayah Dan Budaya Dakwahnya Di Jawa'.

⁴⁸ Slamet Muljana, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa Dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam Di Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005), 58.

⁴⁹ Utomo Priyambodo, 'Tujuh Ekspedisi Dinasti Ming Tiongkok, Ada Yang Ke Jawa Dan Sumatra', National Geographic, 2024, <https://nationalgeographic.grid.id/read/134083903/tujuh-ekspedisi-dinasti-ming-tiongkok-ada-yang-ke-jawa-dan-sumatra?page=all>.

Of the seven voyages carried out by Cheng Ho (1405-1433), six of them stopped in Java.⁵⁰ Several members of the delegation who lived in areas in Java were experts in the field of religion, arts and culture, agriculture, and others. Some of them then married natives, including the royal family.

The period of Cheng Ho's voyage coincided with the lives of Sunan Gresik and Sunan Ampel. However, Walisongo's existence as a member of the expedition led by Cheng Ho was only relevant to Sunan Ampel. He traveled from Champa to Java to replace his father (Sunan Gresik) as walisongo. This journey was carried out after his father died in 1409. The period of Sunan Ampel's journey to Java was still in line with the period of Cheng Ho's voyage. Meanwhile, even though Sunan Gresik lived at the same time as Cheng Ho, he had arrived in Java before the Ming dynasty trade expedition began. In 1392, he started preaching in the village of Leran, Gresik, and in 1402, he formed the Walisongo Council.⁵¹

There are at least three opinions regarding the formation period of the Walisongo Council. Firstly, the Walisongo spread Islam in Java between 1250-1404.⁵² This is not correct because in 1250, the Java region was still under Singhasari rule, and the spread of Islam at that time was still carried out by Gujarati traders, not the Walisongo. Then a second opinion emerged that the Walisongo Council was formed in 1404, and a third opinion that this formation was only carried out in 1466. If you follow the second opinion, this means that Maulana Malik Ibrahim or Sunan Gresik was part of the members of the Walisongo Council. Meanwhile, if you follow the third opinion, it means that he was not a member of the Walisongo Council because he died in 1419. In this case, the author tends to follow the second opinion because Maulana Malik Ibrahim's name is often mentioned as the first Walisongo.

Not all Walisongo in this theory lived at one time, so if the Walisongo Council is a team that lives at one time, then the team is divided into three periods: The first period only consists of two people, namely Sunan Gresik and Sunan Ampel. The second period consisted of seven people apart from Sunan Gresik and Sunan Muria. The third period consisted of seven people apart from Sunan Gresik and Sunan Ampel.

⁵⁰ Graaf, *Cina Muslim Di Jawa Abad XV Dan XVI Antara Historitas Dan Mitos*, 97.

⁵¹ Zainuddin, 'Lebih Dekat Dengan Maulana Malik Ibrahim', UIN Malang, 2013, <https://uin-malang.ac.id/r/131101/closer-to-maulana-malik-ibrahim.html>.

⁵² Pranata, 'Benarkah Isu Walisanga Sebagai Utusan Ottoman Di Tanah Jawa?'

2. Application of Critical Historical Philosophy

Critical historical philosophy criticizes fundamental issues that are still speculative, aiming to develop stronger theories. In this case, the author highlights three main points: First, the validity of Kanzul Ulum's information is questioned. Second, the fact that the Walisongo were not recruited by any institution is a problem. Third, the issue of the Walisongo being recruited by the Ottoman government is raised.

a. The issue of the validity of Kanzul Ulum

As stated by Pranata⁵³ Kanzul Ulum is key information about whether the information on the recruitment of Wali Songo by the Ottoman government is valid. The search for the validity of the manuscript begins with whether Ibnu Battutah is the valid author of Kanzul Ulum. The statement that the Kanzul Ulum manuscript is the work of Ibn Battutah is apparently supported by information from ar-Rihlah as an overview of his entire journey. It is said that one of Ibn Battutah's wives was the daughter of the emperor of Constantinople. It is said that he crossed the Silk Road and visited the Ottoman territories around Anatolia several times.⁵⁴ This shows that he was quite close to local leaders, so it is logical to say that he was a witness as well as a recorder of meetings between traders from Gujarat and Ottoman leaders in the Kanzul Ulum script.

The second investigation is related to the validity of information from the manuscript, which is stated to be tightly stored. As a manuscript by Ibn Battuta, who lived in the 14th century AD, Kanzul Ulum must be kept securely because it is now around 7 centuries old. This tight storage is a form of preservation or care for ancient manuscripts, which will minimize the occurrence of damage and theft.⁵⁵ Although ancient manuscripts are tightly stored, the opportunity to obtain valid information remains large as long as the manuscript has a digital version. Additionally, material information can also be obtained from manuscript copies, which are relatively easy to access because they can be collected by the wider community.

The third investigation is related to the validity of information among data discrepancies. Problems with data discrepancies in Kanzul Ulum can

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Ibnu Battutah, *Rihlah Ibnu Battutah: Catatan Perjalanan Sang Musafir Abad Pertengahan*, trans. Ibnu Toha (Jakarta: Alvabet, 2023), 100.

⁵⁵ Ade Iqbal Badruzaman and Ade Kosasih, "Teori Filologi Dan Penerapannya: Masalah Naskah - Teks Dalam Filologi", *Jumantara* Vol. 9, no. 2 (2018).

arise in copied manuscripts because the writing of the original manuscript is not clearly legible, or the copyist does not understand the material presented due to the time span and long distance from the author. Copying the Kanzul Ulum manuscript in handwritten form was very possible because printing was only allowed in the Ottomans after the 16th century AD. As explained in "The History of The Ottoman Empire: Osman's Dream" by Caroline Finkle,⁵⁶ until the 16th century, Turkish people were still prohibited from using printing, even though printing in Europe had experienced rapid development since the invention of printing in Germany in 1440. Sultan Bayezid II strictly prohibited his people from using printing. This is related to the opinion that using it is a crime so that the perpetrator can be sentenced to death. This prohibition was reaffirmed by Selim I in 1515.

Copying manuscripts was very important when society did not yet use printing. The purpose of copying a manuscript according to Baried et al⁵⁷ is: (1) wanting to have a manuscript; (2) the original manuscript is damaged; (3) worried that something might happen to the original manuscript; (4) related to magical matters; (5) the manuscript is considered important. That is why the number of variant manuscripts can be large and of course relatively easy for the public to access if collected by individuals. Along with the large number of copies of manuscripts that exist, there is an increasing opportunity for various variations of discrepancies to emerge.

The discrepancy between the name of the Ottoman leader and Ibn Battuta's lifetime can be resolved by identifying the Ottoman leader whose reign aligns with Ibn Battuta's lifetime. Ibn Battuta's life corresponds to the rule of Orhan I, who governed the Ottomans from 1323 to 1362. This timeframe matches Ibn Battuta's account in *ar-Rihlah*, where he mentioned visiting Anatolia after 1327 and around 1330/1332. Ibn Battuta encountered Orhan I in 1327, and in 1330/1332, he met Orhan I's wife. Orhan I was known for expanding his territory during this period. It is likely that around 1327, Ibn Battuta witnessed and documented the meeting between Orhan I and Gujarat traders, who reported on the passivity of the

⁵⁶ Caroline Finkle, *Osman's Dream: The History of The Ottoman Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2007).

⁵⁷ Siti Baroroh Baried, *Pengantar Teori Filologi* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1985), 50.

Javanese Muslim community. In response, Orhan I planned to recruit a group of scholars to accompany the Javanese people.⁵⁸

The search for the suitability of the *Kanzul Ulum* material can be directly adapted to the stages of criticism in critical historical philosophy. This includes an explanation in terms of the rhythm or movement pattern of the historical process, factors that drive the historical process, as well as the ultimate goal of the historical process.⁵⁹ In this case, if the thesis is the opinion that Walisongo was a team formed by chance, and the antithesis is the opinion that Walisongo was a team recruited by the Ottoman government.

b. Movement pattern of the historical process of the establishment of the Walisongo council

The preaching of Walisongo is part of the cyclical pattern of the spread of Islam in the archipelago, which has fluctuated since the 7th century until later times. According to Pijnapell as quoted by Fandy⁶⁰ the process of spreading Islam in Java began in the 13th century by Gujarati people. Hurgronje (1983) mentioned that the people of Gujarat had knowledge of Islam since the 7th century AD when scholars from Hadramaut spread Islam in coastal areas throughout South Asia, including Gujarat, Malabar, Bengali, and surrounding areas. However, according to Haryanto (2003),⁶¹ the 13th century marked the development of Islam in Java, while its introduction period ranged from the 7th to the 13th centuries. Haryanto's opinion is supported by Chinese news records from the Tang dynasty, indicating that in 674, the west coast of Sumatra, specifically Barus or Fansur, was inhabited by Arabs who were Muslims. Another piece of evidence is the discovery of a burial complex containing a tombstone inscribed with Sheikh Rukunuddin's death in 672 AD.

A fundamental issue that is still speculative is the opinion that the Wali Songo is a team that was formed by chance related to the lifetimes of the 9 Wali Songo individuals. This means that the discussion is related to the cyclical point at the beginning of the 15th-16th century because it

⁵⁸ Batutah, *Rihlah Ibnu Batutah*, 101.

⁵⁹ Ankersmit, *Refleksi Tentang Sejarah*, 115.

⁶⁰ Fandy, 'Teori Gujarat: Proses Masuknya Islam Ke Indonesia', Gramedia Blog, 2022, <https://www.gramedia.com/literasi/teori-gujarat>.

⁶¹ Joko Tri Haryanto, *IAIN Walisongo, Mengeja Tradisi Merajut Masa Depan* (Semarang: Pustakindo Pratama, 2003), 72.

corresponds to the lifespan of the 9 Wali Songo. This cyclical point will also be discussed in that the Wali Songo were a team recruited by the Ottoman government. The difference is that if it is linked to information from Kanzul Ulum, it means that the discussion starts from the period of the recruitment plan since the 14th century. The discussion of the cycle in the 15-17th century is related to the lifespan of all the Wali Songo, numbering more than 9 individuals, from the first period to the eighth period. This periodization is indeed outside of Kanzul Ulum's information, but it is linked to him because the heterogeneity of the Wali Songo's origins in it strengthens the evidence that they were a team of recruits developed based on ideas from a previous period. Institutions that can recruit ulama from various countries are institutions that have broad influence in multilateral relations. The Ottomans met these criteria because they were the strongest Islamic government at that time.

This Ottoman position is also related to the pattern of tolerance in the cycle where the most powerful government is the most tolerant. If it is related to the Ottomans as an institution that recruits Wali Songo as a team, then this is relevant because the Ottomans are known for their tolerance policy, both inter-religious and inter-religious tolerance. Thus, the Gujarat traders' consideration of asking the Ottoman government for help was also inseparable from their pattern of tolerance.

Furthermore, in the cyclical pattern, there is the Law of Fatum, namely the law of fate (*qadr*) which is related to the equalization of the big and small nature (macrocosm and microcosm). These two realms are controlled by *qadr*, which is patterned like a circle or cycle because events that have occurred can be repeated.⁶² The Fatum law is divided into two versions, namely the version of Saint Augustine and the version of Ibn Khaldun.

Augustine's Fatum Law argues that the pattern of human historical movement is centered solely on the afterlife. Everything is completely coincidental, as it is determined by destiny. Meanwhile, according to Ibn Khaldun, the Law of Fatum is not only related to the process for the afterlife but also to the process of educating humans who strive for their society.⁶³ Therefore, the process in this cyclical pattern not only requires a voluntary

⁶² Mariyah et al., 'Filsafat Dan Sejarah Perkembangan Ilmu'.

⁶³ Rochmiatun, *Filsafat Sejarah*, 90.

attitude but also demands hard effort to achieve a better outcome than the previous cycle.

The opinion that Walisongo is a team that was formed by chance can indeed be linked to Augustine's *Fatum Law*. However, when the professionalism of the Walisongo is linked to the professionalism of the preachers who came to Java in the previous period, then the concept of coincidence is less relevant. These cyclical changes from the 13th-15th centuries are more relevant to Ibn Khaldun's *Fatum Law*.

As stated by Pijnapell, the people of Java and Samudera Pasai both learned about Islam from the people of Gujarat in the 13th century. However, the results of preaching in the two regions were very different. The Muslim community of Samudera Pasai in the 14th century had succeeded in building a strong Islamic kingdom while the Javanese Muslim community was still a minority and passive. So even though da'wah in Java has been successful, it has not been optimal. Therefore, the Gujarat traders who came to Java in the 14th century wanted the Javanese people to get better preachers than them.

Gujarat traders realized that they could not carry out da'wah optimally because their main activity was trading.⁶⁴ This is relevant to Toynbee's theory that every civilization has the ability to borrow from other cultures and learn from its mistakes in achieving high civilization.⁶⁵ Gujarat traders also believe that the Javanese Muslim community can be on par with the Muslim community of Samudera Pasai if they are handled by professionals. That is why they asked the Ottoman leaders to help them. The Ottoman government then planned to prepare preachers who not only mastered the field of religion but also had expertise in general knowledge. This profile of the preacher corresponds to the profile of Walisongo as a professional preacher.⁶⁶

At this time, human resources who meet these criteria are generally Sayyid Sharif. Sayyid Sharif is a familiar term for scholars descended from the Prophet from the Sayyidina Hussein line. Initially, they lived in Hadramaut, a valley in the Yemeni region, but they later became known as professional ulama who became preachers in various regions from Africa-Eurasia to the Asian continent, including Gujarat. That is why the term

⁶⁴ Widiastuti and Ulfah, 'Mercusuar Di Jawa Dwipa', 40.

⁶⁵ Arnold Toynbee, *Sejarah Jejak Peradaban Manusia Dari 500 SM-Abad XX* (Wonosobo: Nusa Media, 2015), 20.

⁶⁶ Widiastuti and Ulfah, 'Mercusuar Di Jawa Dwipa'.

Sayyid Sharif is quite popular in the Middle East apart from Yemen, including North Africa and several other regions.⁶⁷

They are known as Muslim preachers because they are spread throughout the world. Among them, they introduced Islam to Gujarat, Malabar, Bengal, and several other regions along the coast of South Asia. The success of da'wah in Samudera Pasai also implies the assistance of Sayyid Sharif. This is based on research conducted by a Dutch Islamologist and legal expert, L.W.C. van der Berg in the archipelago around 1884-1886.⁶⁸ In his book *Le Hadramaut et les colonies Arabes dans l'archipel Indien*, Berg states that the success of broadcasting Islam in the archipelago cannot be separated from the influence of Sayyid Sharif, namely the scholars descended from Hadramaut. Berg adds that: "There were also broadcasts carried out by other tribes from Hadramaut, but they did not leave a big influence."⁶⁹ Based on this information, it is natural that da'wah in Java at that time was less successful because it was carried out by ordinary Gujaratis who worked as swordsmen, while the spread of Islam in Samudera Pasai was successful because it was carried out by Gujaratis from the Sayyid Syarif circle. The view that the Wali Songo are Sayyid Syarif is relevant to Azra's thought, which states that the spreaders of Islam in the archipelago were Arabs and they were teachers or professional preachers.⁷⁰

The cyclical context in Sayyid Syarif's da'wah strategy is carried out, among other things, by "transmitting" several strategies that have been successfully implemented in their home region to become problem solvers for similar problems faced by Javanese society. For example, before preaching in Java, Sunan Ampel was familiar with the formal education system in Champa, so this system was implemented in Java by establishing Islamic boarding schools to develop Islamic education and teaching. Likewise, Sunan Gresik knew the irrigation system well while living in Samarkand. He then taught this system to the Javanese people when their harvest failed.

⁶⁷ Abdul Yazid Adnan Quthny and Ahmad Muzakki, 'Urgensi Nasab Dalam Islam Dan Silsilah Nasab Habaib', *Jurnal Asy-Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Islam* Vol. 7, no. 2 (2021).

⁶⁸ L.W.C. van der Berg, *Le Hadramaut et Les Colonies Arabes Dans l'archipel Indien* (Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2010), 34.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 35.

⁷⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *Islam Nusantara, Jaringan Global Dan Lokal* (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), 19.

The cyclical context in other da'wah strategies is carried out by "adapting" to existing local wisdom. For example, adapting the style of script presentation from the prose model commonly used in Arabic literature to becoming a traditional Javanese poetry model that can be developed. That is why Javanese Islamic texts use the macapat song style of presentation. This is an adaptation of the style of presentation of traditional Javanese poetry from the Hindu-Buddhist period called kakawin.⁷¹

c. Driving factors in the historical process of the establishment of the Walisongo council

In general, the driving force associated with the spread of Islam in Indonesia is the trade routes, as it facilitated the arrival of the Walisongo in the archipelago. The theory suggests that Islam spread from Champa through the China trade route, from Gujarat through the Indian trade route, and from Persia and Arabia through the Middle Eastern trade routes. These theories are interconnected as people from Persia, Gujarat, and Champa received Islam from Arabia and then spread it to the regions they traded with.

The Ottoman Empire's role is crucial in this context as it was the largest Islamic government with territories intersected by the trade routes of these regions. This allowed the Walisongo, as an extended family of Sayyid Syarif, to be connected across different countries. This family not only had ties to the Syarif family from Champa through the Ming dynasty trade expeditions from China but also to the Syarif families involved in the trade expeditions from Gujarat, Persia, and Arabia.

In particular, the reports from Gujarat traders to the Ottoman leaders did not only imply the religious problems faced by the Javanese Muslim community but also highlighted several other issues. This is connected to the establishment of the Walisongo Council. While the religious factor may seem predominant at first, in reality, it is a combination of various factors. This aligns with Kuntowijoyo's explanation, citing Gustavson and Novack's theory that the religious factor, as a driving force in historical processes, is intertwined with ideological and economic factors. Additionally, there are institutional factors and factors related to the chosen individuals or nations.⁷²

⁷¹ Edi Sedyawati, *Sastra Jawa: Suatu Tinjauan Umum* (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa, 2001), 208.

⁷² Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2006), 45.

The passive condition of the Javanese Muslim community under the scrutiny of Gujarat traders was in line with the weakness of the Majapahit government led by Jayanegara (1309-1328). In the book *Pararaton*, as presented by Panji, Jayanegara was nicknamed Kala Gemet, meaning "weak criminal."⁷³ This nickname was a mockery indicating that he was a bad and weak king. According to Panji, this was also noted by an Italian priest, Odorico da Pordenone, who is believed to have visited Majapahit during Jayanegara's reign. Therefore, it was not only the Muslim community that was passive, but the majority of the Majapahit community was also passive due to the unfavorable conditions of the government institutions at that time, leading to various issues, including economic problems.

d. Final goal of the historical process of establishing the Walisongo council

The ultimate goal of the historical process is the antithesis of speculative historical philosophy both in terms of methodology and logical thinking. The aim of forming the Walisongo Council is to assist passive people to become active. That is why the recruitment plan (1327) and the formation of the Walisongo Council (1404) took a long time. This was related to several events so that the recruitment process could not be carried out immediately. This goal is also what makes the Walisongo Council not only consist of one period but eight periods with a time span from the 15th century to the 17th century. The aim is for assistance to be carried out optimally.

Before the Walisongo Council was formed, it was recorded in *ar-Rihlah* that Ibn Battuta first visited Pasai Ocean and Java around 1332-1347.⁷⁴ That time coincided with the peak of Majapahit's glory under the leadership of Hayam Wuruk (1334-1389) and Gajah Mada. Community life was very tolerant. The king was Hindu, while his mother, Tribuwana Tungga Dewi, and the governor Gajah Mada were Buddhist. Even though they had different beliefs, they were harmonious and peaceful, as explained by the principle of unity in diversity, *ika Mpu* in the book *Sutasoma* by Tantular.⁷⁵

Ibn Battutah even said that Majapahit was a kingdom that upheld women's emancipation. He observed that the women in the kingdom were

⁷³ Teguh Panji, *Kitab Sejarah Terlengkap Majapahit* (Bandung: Laksana, 2014), 60.

⁷⁴ Batutah, *Rihlah Ibnu Batutah*, 102.

⁷⁵ Panji, *Kitab Sejarah Terlengkap Majapahit*, 61.

as skilled at riding and fighting as the men. He also noted that Majapahit had a very strong navy.⁷⁶ All of this illustrates that the people of Majapahit were already prosperous, so there was no need for community assistance at that time.

Furthermore, in 1371, during the reign of Murad I, three Sayyid Sharifs were sent to Java. They were Sheikh Jumadil Kubro and his two sons, Maulana Malik Ibrahim and Maulana Ishaq. At that time, Hayam Wuruk was still in power. According to Sunyoto⁷⁷ their arrival was well-received, but the king refused the invitation to convert to Islam. The Sayyid Sharifs respected this decision because there is no religious coercion in Islam. What was remarkable was that the king still invited them to preach and gave them land around Gresik as a center for their preaching. Eventually, only Sheikh Jumadil Kubro settled in Java. He later went to Sulawesi in 1380 and successfully converted King Lamdusalat to Islam. Meanwhile, his two sons went their separate ways. Maulana Malik Ibrahim preached in Champa, and Maulana Ishaq in Samudera Pasai. In 1389, Maulana Malik Ibrahim returned to Java, coinciding with the death of Hayam Wuruk. In 1394, Sheikh Jumadil Kubro passed away. Maulana Malik Ibrahim was then appointed as the syahbadar (port commander) by the Majapahit government, replacing Sheikh Jumadil Kubro.⁷⁸

At the beginning of the collapse of Majapahit or before the formation of the Walisongo Council, the Ottoman condition itself was in an interregnum or period of discontinuity between the revival periods I and II. Meanwhile, the Sayyid Sharifs did not live in the same area. Fortunately, one of Maulana Malik Ibrahim's younger brothers, namely Maulana Isroily or Syarief Ali Nurul Alam (d. 1435 AD), served as an Ottoman diplomat and was able to help gather the entire first period Walisongo team.

The Walisongo Council was formed in 1404, coinciding 15 years after the death of Hayam Wuruk and 10 years after the death of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro.⁷⁹ The death of Hayam Wuruk marked the beginning of the decline of Majapahit. The cause of the decline was the power struggle between the western palace camp led by Wikramawardhana (Hayam Wuruk's son from a

⁷⁶ Batutah, *Rihlah Ibnu Batuttah*, 103.

⁷⁷ Agus Sunyoto, *Walisongo, Reconstruction of Dismissed History* (Jakarta: Transpustaka, 2016), 88.

⁷⁸ HAMKA, *Sejarah Umat Islam IV* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1981), 75.

⁷⁹ Sunyoto, *Walisongo, Reconstruction of Dismissed History*, 90.

concubine) and the eastern palace camp led by Bre Wirabumi (Hayam Wuruk's son-in-law who married his queen's daughter).⁸⁰ As Majapahit weakened, the Walisongo Council was formed because assistance to the community was greatly needed.

The formation of the Walisongo Council coincided with the beginning of the Paregreg War (1404-1406). In this war, Wirabumi died because he was killed by the governor, Minak Jinggo, who defected to Wikramawardhana. After that, the eastern kingdom united with the west, but many subordinate regions outside Java were separated without being prevented. The majority of people live below the poverty line because during the war, the farmers were involved so they did not have enough time to cultivate agricultural land, even though they only rely on rain-fed irrigation. Finally, there was a crop failure and a pandemic due to famine.⁸¹ This is when Walisongo tries to help people regardless of their religious background.

The names of the Walisongo of the first period were: Sunan Gresik (d. 1419), Maulana Ishaq (d. 1463), Sheikh Ahmad Jumadil Kubro (JK II), Maulana Muhammad al-Maghrobi (d. 1465), Maulana Malik Isroil (d. 1435), Maulana Muhammad Ali Akbar (d. 1435), Maulana Hasanuddin (d. 1462), Maulana Alayuddin (d.1462), and Sheikh Subakir. In the second period, Raden Ahmad Ali Rahmatullah or Sunan Ampel (1401-1481) succeeded his father, Sunan Gresik, who died in 1419. Sayyid Ja'far Shodiq or Sunan Kudus replaced Malik Isroil who died in 1435. Then Syarif Hidayatullah or Sunan Gunung Jati replaced Maulana Ali Akbar who also died in 1435.

According to JJ Meinsma in *Babad Tanah Jawi* as quoted by Zainuddin (2013), Maulana Malik Ibrahim originally came from Samarkand, South Russia, so he had another name Makhдум Ibrahim al-Samarqandi or Asmorokondi. Then according to Wahyudi,⁸² Maulana Ishaq is also from Samarkand, Maulana Ahmad Jumadil Kubro from Egypt, Maulana Muhammad al Maghrobi from Morocco, Maulana Malik Isroil from Turkey, Maulana Muhammad Ali Akbar from Persia/Iran, and Maulana Muhammad Ali Akbar from Iran. Even though they come from different countries, their ancestors are the same, namely from Hadramaut.

⁸⁰ Panji, *Kitab Sejarah Terlengkap Majapahit*, 61.

⁸¹ Sunyoto, *Walisongo, Reconstruction of Dismissed History*, 91.

⁸² Wahyudi and Kholid, *Kisah Walisongo: Penyebar Agama Islam Di Tanah Jawa*, 30.

Seven of the nine Walisongo in the first period were the sons of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro, namely: (a) Maulana Malik Ibrahim or Sunan Gresik, (b) Maulana Ishaq, (c) Maulana Muhammad al-Maghribi, (d) Maulana Ahmad Jumadil Kubro (JK II), (e) Maulana Muhammad Ali Akbar, (f) Maulana Muhammad al-Baqir or Sheikh Subakir, and (g) Syarief Ali Nurul Alam. Next, Maulanan Ishaq fielded Sunan Giri. Sunan Ampel derived Sunan Drajad, Sunan Bonang, and Sunan Kudus. Meanwhile, their daughters also married other Wali Songo, so the Wali Songo Council became an extended family of the Azmatkhan clan.⁸³

The Azmatkhan clan is an Alawiyyin clan originating from Hadramaut and India. The word Azmatkhan itself is a combination of the words "azmat," which means "noble" because they come from the sayyid lineage, and "khan," a title in India which means "ruler." The first Azmatkhan figure was Abdul Malik al-Azmatkhan or Sayyid Abdul Malik bin Alwi. One of his descendants was Amir Ahmad Syah Jalaluddin (Sheikh Jalal) from Malabar, an emir who became the minister of diplomacy in the 13th Indian sultanate. One of Syakh Jalal's sons was Sheikh Jumadil Kubro (JK I) or Sheikh Jamaluddin al-Husein al-Akbar (1310-1394) or Sheikh Jumadil Kubro, as the ancestor of the Walisongo.

Based on an agreement among the Walisongo Council, they shared duties as follows: Maulana Malik Ibrahim and Maulana Ishaq in East Java; Maulana Muhammad al-Maghribi, Sheikh Ahmad Jumadil Kubro (Jumadil Kubro Junior), and Sheikh Subakir in Central Java; then Maulana Malik Isroil, Maulana Muhammad Ali Akbar, Maulana Muhammad Aliyudin, and Maulana Hasanuddin in West Java. In its development, the Giri Sunanate or Giri Kedaton emerged in East Java in 1487, the Demak Sultanate appeared in Central Java in 1475, and in West Java, the Cirebon Sultanate emerged in 1430 and the Banten Sultanate in 1526. The development of these Islamic kingdoms is evidence of the success of the assistance provided by the Walisongo to the Javanese community, as it transformed passive communities into active ones.

3. Synthesis

Axiologically, the recruitment of Walisongo is in accordance with the expected goals. This is also a form of harmonization of their ethical and

⁸³ Gelar Taufiq Kusumawardhana, 'Mengenal Diskursus Nasab Alawiyyin di Indonesia', *Varman Institute* (blog), 2022, <https://varmaninstitute.com/2022/05/mengenal-diskursus-nasab-alawiyyin-di-indonesia/>.

aesthetic values. The ethical value of Walisongo lies in their theoretical professionalism. In terms of the human resource standards required, they not only master religious knowledge but also general knowledge, indicating the implementation of the Unity of Sciences (UoS) paradigm that was developed during the time of al-Kindi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd, al-Ghazali, and others in the Islamic world. The UoS paradigm that emerged in the Ottoman Empire (1288-1934), Safavid Dynasty in Persia (1501-1736), and Moghul Dynasty (1526-1857) in India was an early development during the three great empires.⁸⁴ Therefore, it can be inferred that the development of Islam in the archipelago was influenced by the rise of Islamic civilization. Considering the beginning of the Walisongo preaching period in the 14th-15th century AD, the Ottoman period is the most relevant as the Safavid and Moghul dynasties emerged later in the 16th century AD. The expertise of Walisongo members further supports the notion that they were a selected team. Hence, the hypothesis that Walisongo was a team recruited by the Ottoman government can be logically accepted.

The aesthetic value of Walisongo lies in the flexibility of their preaching as an art that determines how their message can be received. The Sayyid Sharifs were foreigners who came to Javanese society with their own ethics derived from local wisdom. If the ethics they convey conflict with local wisdom, it will likely be difficult to accept. That is why they do not start their approach from the ethical side but from the aesthetic or ascetic spiritual side first, and then move on to the spirituality of religious law.

D. Conclusion

The thesis of this discussion is that the arrival of the Walisongo to Java was not through recruitment, as they coincidentally became part of the trading expedition of Emperor Ming from China. However, the antithesis presented by Kanzul Ulum suggests that the Walisongo were ulama recruited by the Ottoman government. Some of the Walisongo have Chinese or Champa descent, indicating a connection to the Ming dynasty trade expeditions. On the other hand, some Walisongo have non-Champa descent. The synthesis is that all Walisongo who come from abroad, whether of Champa or non-Champa blood, are Sayyid Syarif spread across various

⁸⁴ Azhar Siddiq and Jihad Benastey, 'Sejarah Peradaban Islam Tiga Kerajaan Besar (Turki Usmani, Dinasti Safawi Persia, Dinasti Mughal India)' (Pekanbaru: Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, 2018).

countries. Therefore, they did not arrive in Java together. Some came from Champa, while others came from different regions. The composition of the Walisongo Council, consisting of ulama from various countries, suggests that they were a recruited team. The recruitment aimed to acquire better human resources. Previously, the preaching efforts of Gujarat traders in Java were considered less successful, prompting the need for more effective preachers. The desired human resource profile was possessed by the Sayyid Syarif. Gujarat traders sought the Ottoman government's assistance in recruiting Sayyid Sharifs as companions for the Javanese people. This decision was influenced by the Ottoman government's reputation as the strongest Islamic government at that time, with the most extensive international cooperation network among Islamic governments. []

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