

WALISONGO'S CONCEPT OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIZATION OF JAVA IN THE 15TH CENTURY AD

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Abstract

This research offers a review of the concept of Walisongo's religious moderation. As for mapping the concept of religious moderation in Walisongo comprehensively, four indicators of moderation of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia are used as an analytical tool, including national commitment, tolerance, anti-violence, and accommodativeness to local culture. This research is descriptive qualitative research using the historical method. Meanwhile, primary data sources were obtained from the book "Atlas Walisongo", and secondary data sources were obtained from several other supporting kinds of literature. The results of this study show that Walisongo's concept of moderation in terms of four indicators, namely (1) national commitment includes a pledge of loyalty to Majapahit and the stipulation of the Kutara Manawa Dharmashastra law as the constitution of Demak. (2) Tolerance includes the equality of Nawa Dewata's Hinduistic cosmology with Walisongo's Sufistic cosmology and respect for the values of other religious beliefs. (3) Anti-violence includes expanding the influence of Islam through family ties with community leaders and nobles and applying da'wah based on religious humanism. (4) Accommodation of local culture includes Islamization of terms in Hindu-Buddhist and Kapitayan and harmonizing Islamic values with Hindu-Buddhist religious traditions, Kapitayan, and Bhairawa Tantra.

Keywords: Religious Moderation; Walisongo; Nationalism; Tolerance; Anti-Violence.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menawarkan ulasan terkait konsep moderasi beragama Walisongo. Untuk memetakan konsep moderasi beragama Walisongo secara komprehensif, maka digunakan 4 indikator moderasi Kementerian Agama RI sebagai pisau analisis meliputi komitmen kebangsaan, toleransi, anti kekerasan, serta akomodatif atas kebudayaan lokal. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif deskriptif dengan menggunakan metode sejarah. Sedangkan untuk sumber data primer diperoleh dari buku "Atlas Walisongo" serta sumber data sekunder diperoleh melalui beberapa literatur penunjang lainnya. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan konsep moderasi Walisongo ditinjau dari 4 indikator, yakni (1) komitmen kebangsaan meliputi ikrar kesetiaan kepada Majapahit dan penetapan undang-undang Kutara Manawa Dharmashastra sebagai konstitusi Demak. (2) Toleransi meliputi penyetaraan kosmologi hinduistik Nawa Dewata dengan kosmologi sufistik Walisongo dan penghormatan terhadap nilai kepercayaan agama lain. (3) Anti kekerasan meliputi perluasan pengaruh Islam melalui ikatan kekeluargaan dengan tokoh masyarakat dan bangsawan, serta penerapan dakwah berbasis humanisme religius. (4) Akomodasi atas kebudayaan lokal meliputi Islamisasi istilah dalam Hindu-Buddha dan Kapitayan, serta penyelerasan nilai Islam pada tradisi keagamaan Hindu-Buddha, Kapitayan, dan Bhairawa Tantra.

Kata Kunci: Moderasi Beragama; Walisongo; Nationalism; Toleransi; Anti-Kekerasan.

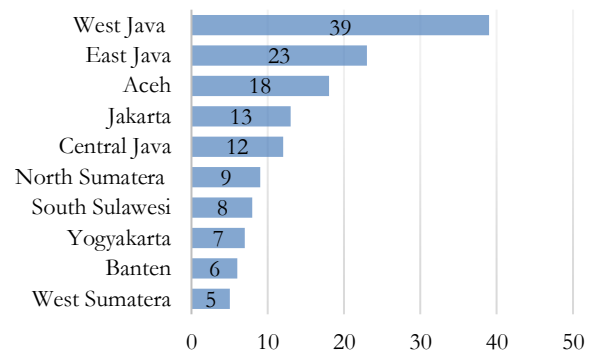
INTRODUCTION

The existence of various races, ethnicities, cultures, languages, and religions has made Indonesia a heterogeneous nation. Currently, out of a total of 272.23 million people in Indonesia, about (86.93%) 238.09 million people follow Islam, (7.47%) 20.45 million people follow Protestantism, (3.08%) 8.43 million people follow Catholicism, (1.71%) 4.67 million people follow Hinduism, (0.75%) 2.03 million people follow Buddhism, (0.03%) 73.63 thousand people follow Confucianism, and (0.05%) 126.51 thousand people follow the belief.¹ Over a very long period of time, the existence of these religions and beliefs has undergone a continuous evolutionary stage, thus contributing to the formation of a pluralistic religious identity. However, it should be understood that plurality can indeed become an integrating force that unites all religious communities, although it is also a factor causing friction, discrimination, and even social conflict.

A conflict arises due to the disintegration of religion, economy, politics, social status, and the unequal distribution of ownership.² However, regarding religious conflicts in Indonesia, most of them are caused by several factors including (1) the widespread attitude of exclusivism among some Muslims which is misunderstood as a form of applying religious law. (2) The tendency of some Muslims to become extreme in understanding Islamic law, then to impose its application on other Muslims or non-Muslims. (3) There is an urge to accept extreme openness (liberalism) in religion and submit to negative thoughts and behaviors rooted in non-Islamic cultures.³ Therefore, these three factors ultimately triggered various religious conflicts in Indonesia throughout 2020.

¹<https://databoks.katadata.co.id>, accessed on 4 February, 2022 at 07.30

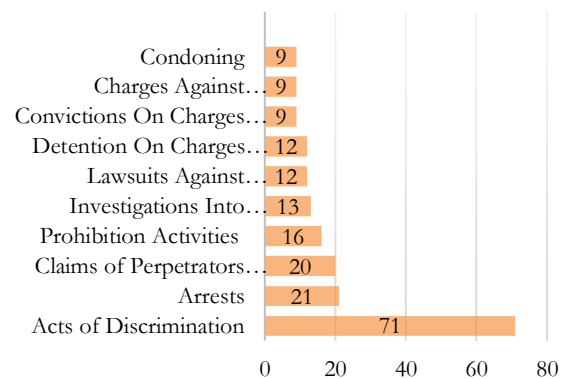
²Elly Setiadi and Usman Kolip, *Pengantar Sosiologi Pemahaman Fakta dan Gejala Permasalahan Sosial: Teori, Aplikasi, dan Pemecahannya* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2011), p. 361.



Picture 1. The Distribution of Religious Conflicts in Indonesia in 2020

In addition, in 2020 the distribution of religious conflicts was quite varied in Indonesia, namely, there were 10 provinces with the highest number of cases including 39 conflicts in West Java, 18 conflicts in Aceh, 23 conflicts in East Java, 7 conflicts in DI Yogyakarta, 13 conflicts in DKI Jakarta, 12 conflicts in Central Java, 9 conflicts in North Sumatera, 8 conflicts in South Sulawesi, 6 conflicts in Banten, and 5 conflicts in West Sumatera.⁴

The types of religious conflicts that occurred in Indonesia include 9 conflicts of



Picture 2. Types of Religious Conflicts in Indonesia 2020

condoning that lead to violence, 9 conflicts of charges against blasphemy of religion, 9 conflicts of convictions on charges of blasphemy of religion, 13 conflicts of investigations into accusations of blasphemy, 12 conflicts lawsuits against blasphemy of religion,

³Ahmad Satori Ismail, *Islam Moderat: Menebar Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin* (Jakarta: Pustaka Ikadi, 2007), p. 13-14.

⁴Kidung Asmara Sigit and Ismail Hasani, *Intoleransi Semasa Pandemi* (Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat Setara, 2021), p. 24.

16 conflicts of prohibition activities, 12 conflicts detention on charges of blasphemy, 20 conflicts of claims of perpetrators of blasphemy, 21 conflicts of arrests, and 71 conflicts of acts of discrimination.⁵

To respond to religious conflicts in Indonesia due to rampant extremism and religious radicalism, the steps taken are to offer a moderate religious life as stated in the vision of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion which calls on all levels of society to uphold an inclusive religious life system based on the contextualization of Islamic teachings. This is important considering that religious moderation is needed to build a sustainable Islam face of Indonesian while maintaining inclusive and progressive characteristics so that it can compete with other people and the dynamics of an increasingly complex era. In this context, religious moderation as a representation of Islamic teachings that promote peace, tolerance, equality, morals, and ethical values must always be integrated with awareness of rationality, objectivity, science, technology, high work ethic, and professionalism to make Muslims a superior force and highly competitive.⁶

The moderation of religion as part of Islamic provisions and local wisdom has become the answer to religious plurality in the archipelago which was initiated by Walisongo in the 15th century AD. Meanwhile, to analyze

the extent to which Walisongo's implementation of religious moderation impact on other religious communities in the archipelago, in particular, it can refer to the 4 indicators of religious moderation of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia including national commitment, tolerance, anti-violence, and accommodating local culture.⁷ In this case, for example, Walisongo's religious moderation is reviewed through accommodative indicators of local culture, it can refer to the traditions of the Javanese Muslim community such as *Nyadran*,⁸ it should be understood that *Nyadran* was originally a Majapahit community's tradition in the form of providing various kinds of offerings and worship of the spirits of the ancestors by Hindu-Buddhist.⁹ However, by Walisongo this tradition was transformed into a different nature and meaning, where *Nyadran* was later known as a tradition of commemorating someone who had died (*tablilan*) as a form of *birrul walidain* (a sign of devotion to parents).¹⁰ As for the development of the *Nyadran*, it was then acculturated to the typical Islamic tradition of Champa, thus it gave birth to a new tradition in the form of a memorial to someone who had died on the 7th (*pitung dina*), the 40th (*patang puluh*), the 100th (*nyatus*), and the 1000th (*nyewu*).¹¹ In addition, if viewed from the indicator of tolerance, it can refer to the use of the term Walisongo, where

⁵Sigit and Hasani, p. 29.

⁶Nur Syam and Nawawi, "Islam Nusantara Berkemajuan Sebagai Basis Moderasi Islam di Indonesia," *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 13, no. 2 (2019), p. 250.

⁷Kementerian Agama RI, *Moderasi Beragama* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2019), p. 43.

⁸*Nyadran* is a tradition initiated by Queen Tribuana Tungga Dewi as the third ruler of the Majapahit empire. Tradition *Nyadran* is intended to offer prayers to Queen Gayatri, the mother of Tribuana Tungga Dewi and the spirits of the ancestors whose ashes are buried in the Jobo Temple. Tradition *Nyadran* accompanied by the provision of offerings including holy water, food, flowers, incense, and incense to the gods. Tradition *Nyadran* continued until the reign of King Hayam Wuruk, where in its implementation it was also accompanied by a grave

pilgrimage to the graves of the Majapahit ancestors. Widiyanto Tri Suyitno, *Jalan Membebaskan Leluhur Dari Alam Menderita* (Yogyakarta: Vihara Karangjati, 2001), p. 107.

⁹Mariasusai Dhavamony, *Fenomenologi Agama* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1995), p. 72. See also Barid Nizarudin Wajdi, "Nyadranan Bentuk Akulturasi Islam dengan Budaya Jawa (Fenomena Sosial Keagamaan Nyadranan di Daerah Baron Kabupaten Nganjuk)," *Jurnal Lentera: Kajian Keagamaan, Keilmuan, dan Teknologi* 16, no. 2 (2017), p. 124.

¹⁰Hasyim Hasanah, "Implikasi Psiko-Sosio-Religius Tradisi Nyadran Warga Kedung Ombo Zaman Orde Baru," *Wahana Akademika: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Sosial* 3, no. 2 (2016), p. 21.

¹¹Agus Sunyoto, *Walisongo: Rekonstruksi Sejarah yang Disingkirkan* (Jakarta: Transpustaka, 2011), p. 104.

the word *songo* (nine) is a number that is believed by the Javanese people to have magical elements as a representation of nine gods or also called *Keblat Papat, Limo Pancer*.¹² Therefore, it can be understood that Walisongo through their *ijtihad* had been able to apply religious moderation by adopting *Nawa Devata* cosmology into Walisongo's Sufistic cosmology.¹³

Furthermore, the concept of religious moderation initiated by Walisongo is also a representation of the Islamic understanding of the Archipelago which has 5 characteristics including (1) tolerance, namely accepting all forms of teachings and understanding of Islam without distinguishing them. (2) Contextual, Islam is understood as a teaching that is flexible and able to keep up with the time. (3) Progressive, namely being able to interact with other paradigms and traditions and consider the progress of the times as a means to develop Islamic teachings. (4) Appreciating tradition, namely Islam Nusantara as a product of acculturation, does not eliminate the essence of the old culture but gives a new color with an Islamic style. (5) Liberating, namely Islam is a paradigm and a value system that can answer various kinds of people's problems regardless of ethnic, racial, or religious differences.¹⁴

By reviewing the development of an increasingly complex era, the entire community, especially Muslims, is faced with various paradigms, both religious and non-religious, which are feared to erode the essence of Islamic values and local wisdom that existed previously. Therefore, through an in-depth

understanding of the history of Walisongo's religious life which is full of elements of inclusiveness, it is hoped that it can add to our insight regarding the urgency of implementing religious moderation as a shield from various destructive influences of paradigms.

A descriptive qualitative approach was used in conducting this research uses. It is literature research that focuses on studying various literature and information that has a close relationship with the research topic.¹⁵ Primary data sources in this study were obtained through the book "Atlas Walisongo", then secondary data sources were obtained through other supporting literature. Furthermore, the research method used is the historical method which includes 4 stages, namely heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography.

THE CONCEPT OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION

According to the Major Indonesian Dictionary, the word moderation is defined as an effort to avoid reducing violence.¹⁶ In English, the word moderation is used to denote several terms such as justice, right, and balancing.¹⁷ In Arabic moderation, it refers to the word *wasath* which has the same meaning with *tawâzun* (balanced) and *i'tidâl* (fair), *wasath* is also interpreted as an attitude of guarding against leaving the line of religious truth.¹⁸ In a more complex understanding, moderation is not only focused on the political sphere, but also includes all efforts to choose the best path in moral, legal, behavioral, and intellectual

¹²Asti Musman, *Sunan Bonang Wali Keramat* (Yogyakarta: Araska, 2021), p. 21. See also Simuh, *Mistik Islam Kejaven Raden Ngabehi Ronggowarsito, Suatu Studi Terhadap Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1998).

¹³Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo Buku Pertama yang Mengungkap Wali Songo Sebagai Fakta Sejarah* (Jakarta: Pustaka IIMaN, 2017), p. 147.

¹⁴Ahmad Agis Mubarak and Diaz Gandara Rustam, "Islam Nusantara: Moderasi Islam di Indonesia," *Journal of Islamic and Humanities* 3, no. 2 (2018), p. 156-157.

¹⁵Mohammad Nazir, *Metode Penelitian* (Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, 1998), p. 112.

¹⁶<https://kbbi.kemendikbud.go.id>, accessed on 25 February, 2022 at 17.15

¹⁷Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *The Middle Path of Moderation in Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 14. See also Edy Sutrisno, "Aktualisasi Moderasi Beragama di Lembaga Pendidikan," *Jurnal Bimas Islam* 12, no. 2 (2019), p. 327.

¹⁸Raghib Asfahani, *Mufradat al Fadʿ Alquran* (Beirut: Darel Qalam, 2009), p. 869.

aspects.¹⁹ According to the perspective of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, *wasathiyah* (moderation) is defined as the best choice, because being in the neutral position is the essence of a fair attitude by always standing on the road between two extreme choices.²⁰ Meanwhile, in the perspective of Khaled Abou el Fadl, *wasathiyah* is a paradigm that describes the stand in the religious life of Muslims.²¹

Religious moderation that emphasizes the urgency of balance, equality, and justice will appear as indicators when these principles are relevant to their acceptance of pre-existing national, value, and cultural aspects. Referring to this reality, the application of the principle of religious moderation must be based on the following 4 indicators:

1. National Commitment

Commitment is an indicator that aims at reviewing the paradigm, attitude, and religious expression of a person or a group towards the national ideology (Pancasila) as the basis of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. As stated by Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, that national commitment is a form of practicing Islamic teachings in the life of the nation and state.²² National commitment is an urgent aspect that must be considered giving the increasing prevalence of religious understanding that is not in harmony with the values and culture that is the noble identity of the Indonesian nation.

¹⁹Tazul Islam and A Khatun, "Islamic Moderation in Perspectives: A Comparison Between Oriental and Occidental Scholarships," *International Journal of Nusantara Islam* 3, no. 1 (2015), p. 73.

²⁰Kementerian Agama RI, *Moderasi Beragama*, p. 16.

²¹Muhammad Nur, "Problem Terminologi Moderat dan Puritan Dalam Pemikiran Khaled Abou el Fadl," *Jurnal Studi Agama dan Pemikiran Islam* 11, no. 1 (2013), p. 27. See also Khaled Abou el Fadl, *Selamatkan Islam Dari Muslim Puritan* (Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu, 2006), p. 117-122.

2. Tolerance

In simple terms, tolerance can be understood as an attitude of mutual respect and respect for diversity. Through tolerance, an inclusive, open, and friendly life pattern will be realized as a real representation of the teachings of Islam that are *rahmatan lil 'alamîn*. Tolerance is the fundamental basis of a democratic system, because democracy will work well if each individual can respect the reality of existing differences. Therefore, the maturity of a country's democracy can be reviewed through the extent to which tolerance awareness has been implemented in that country, where the higher the tolerance, the higher the democratic attitude.²³

3. Anti-Violence

Violence in the term of religious moderation is considered as an understanding that requires change through verbal, physical, and mental violence. The essence of radicalism is to reject the general provisions that apply, then seek drastic changes by legalizing violent means.²⁴ On that basis, Islam is present as teaching that upholds human values, where the indicator of religious moderation concerning radicalism lies in the actualization of religious attitudes that emphasize justice, mutual respect, and understanding of the reality of diversity in society.²⁵

4. Accommodating Local Culture

Application of accommodative religious behavior to local culture can be used to review the extent to which individuals and groups are open to accepting religious practices that are

²²Kementerian Agama RI, *Moderasi Beragama*, p. 43.

²³Kementerian Agama RI, p. 43-44.

²⁴Kementerian Agama RI, p. 45.

²⁵Muhtarom, *Moderasi Beragama Konsep, Nilai, dan Strategi Pengembangannya di Pesantren*, p. 54. See also Aceng Abdul Aziz, *Implementasi Moderasi Beragama Dalam Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Kelompok Kerja Implementasi Moderasi Beragama Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama RI, 2019), p. 21.

adapted to local wisdom. In this case, both moderate individuals and groups certainly have more friendly intentions when accepting local wisdom in their religious behavior as long as they do not conflict with the provisions of the Sharia so that they do not merely emphasize normative truths.²⁶

WALISONGO'S RELIGIOUS MODERATION CONCEPT

In this discussion, the researcher would like to explain the analysis of the Walisongo religious moderation concept which is reviewed based on 4 indicators of religious moderation from the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, namely national commitment, tolerance, anti-violence, and accommodating local culture.

a. Walisongo's National Commitment

National commitment always emphasizes the urgency of efforts to create and maintain state sovereignty through shared identities between individuals or groups. Meanwhile, the goals of national commitment include (1) guaranteeing the will and strength to defend the national community from internal and external resistance that creates the spirit of self-sacrifice. (2) Overcoming the dangers of neo-colonialism in the form of colonialism, liberalism, and extremism.²⁷ Besides that, national commitment also binds every individual in 4 aspects, namely (1) having awareness as a nation with strong unity and integrity. (2) Having the soul and spirit of patriotism related to the love for the homeland, love for the culture and wisdom of the nation, and the willingness to defend their homeland. (3) Having the spirit of creativity and innovation. (4) Having the spirit of shaping the personality and nobility of the nation.²⁸ The study related to national commitment has been

contained in Surah Ali Imran [3]: 103, "*And hold fast, all of you, to the rope (religion) of Allah, and do not be divided, and remember the favor of Allah to you when you were enemies, so Allah united your hearts, so you became by the grace of Allah, brothers; and you were on the brink of the abyss of hell, then Allah saved you from it.*"

Meanwhile, according to Quraish Shihab, the previous verse emphasizes efforts to unite one individual with another individual based on God's teachings in a disciplined manner without exception, then in the context of that unity, if there are individuals who deviate or turn away, it can threaten the balance that previously built unity.²⁹ Therefore, regarding its relation to verse 103 of Surah Ali Imran, having an attitude of national commitment is a real representation of adhering to Islamic teachings in aspects of national and state life to realize unity and common sovereignty. This is important considering that national commitment can erode extremist views that can threaten the unity and sovereignty of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.

Furthermore, if Walisongo's national commitment is reviewed through the interpretation of Surah Ali Imran verse 103 above, then the relation that Islamization must emphasize the values of peace to realize unity and common sovereignty. In this context, Walisongo certainly did not directly enforce Islamic law and completely changed the phenomenon of the nation and state life of the Javanese people who were still under the auspices of Majapahit. Therefore, in order not to cause resistance among the majority of Hindu-Buddhist people and some Kapitayan adherents, there are 2 central efforts that Walisongo made in pioneering the power of Islam as follows.

²⁶Kementerian Agama RI, *Moderasi Beragama*, p. 46.

²⁷Utama Andri, *Nasionalisme Bahan Ajar Latihan Dasar Golongan III Angkatan ke-37* (Jakarta: Pusat Pendidikan dan Pelatihan BPS, 2019), p. 2-3.

²⁸Amalia Irfani, *Nasionalisme Bangsa dan Lunturnya Semangat Bela Negara* (Pontianak: Al Hikmah, 2016), p. 140.

²⁹Muhammad Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al Mishbab* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2006), p. 169-170.

1. Declaring a pledge of allegiance to Majapahit empire, became the starting point of the rapid development of Islam when Raden Patah was appointed as the first duke of Demak. The history of the founding of Demak Sultanate began with Sunan Ampel's order to Raden Patah to open a new hamlet in Glagah Wangi area. However, to spread Islam, Raden Patah received resistance from the local community, thus he finally moved to the Demak area. It was a strategic location which was connected to 4 main ports on the North Coast of Java such as Jepara, Tuban, Gresik, and Sunda Kelapa. It was the main factor that made Demak as an economic base to the spread of Islam. Gradually Demak had transformed into a bustling area, thus prompting Prabu Brawijaya to establish a new duchy, and appoint Raden Patah as his duke. Before being appointed as the duke who ruled the duchy of Demak independently, Raden Patah first went to Prabu Brawijaya to declare his pledge of allegiance as a form of nationalism to the Majapahit empire.³⁰ This then confirmed and refuted doubts that Demak as the new Islamic duchy was judged to be a force that had the potential to overthrow Majapahit during a political crisis caused by prolonged civil war. Therefore, after Raden Patah declared his pledge of allegiance to Majapahit, it was clear that Demak was also a duchy that stood under Majapahit's banner and at the same time was still a subject to the obligation to pay an annual tribute (tax). Therefore, this effort is a manifestation of the implementation of Walisongo's national commitment who always obeyed the ruler (king) as described in Surah An Nisa' [4]: 59.
2. *Kutara Manawa Dharmashastra* Law to serve as the constitutional basis for two Demak sultanates was an important step

taken by Walisongo. This shows that Walisongo with *siyāsah dusturiyah* law *Kutara Manawa Dharmashastra* incidentally was a product of Hindu's legal constitution. In addition, Walisongo was trying to make adjustments and re-examinations to find common ground on several articles of *Kutara Manawa Dharmashastra* law *Angger Surya Ngalam*.³¹ On that basis, this effort was a form of implementing Walisongo's national commitment which could uphold the Islamic constitution (*Angger Surya Ngalam*) and the Hindu constitution (*Kutara Manawa Dharmashastra*). simultaneously to accommodate the practice of law for Muslims, Hindu-Buddhists, and Kapitayan. *Kutara Manawa Dharmashastra* Law includes 5 constitutional principles that are in line with Islamic sharia values, namely (1) justice (*An Nisa'* [4]: 135). (2) Egalitarian (*Al Hujurat* [49]: 13). (3) The rights and obligations of the state-people (*Ali Imran* [3]: 110). (4) Basic human rights (*Al Baqarah* [2]: 256). (5) Sovereignty (*Al An'am* [6]: 57).

b. Walisongo's Tolerance Attitudes

The heterogeneity of ethnicity, religion, and customs is an unavoidable reality of life. Heterogeneity has the potential to create brotherhood and unity, so that each and group can show their existence in harmonious social interaction. However, heterogeneity also holds destructive potential which is the root of friction, discrimination, and social conflict which leads to the erosion of the values of brotherhood and unity. To overcome the problem of social disharmony, the enforcement of tolerance is considered the right solution to re-establish a harmonious and peaceful life order. Besides that, according to Harun Nasution, 3 aspects must emphasize

³⁰Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo Buku Pertama yang Mengungkap Wali Songo Sebagai Fakta Sejarah*, p. 383.

³¹ Sunyoto, p. 447.

tolerance, namely (1) narrowing the differences that exist among religions. (2) Trying to dig up good things from other religions. (3) Understanding the history and morals of religion.³² The study of tolerance has been contained in Surah Yunus [10]: 99-100, "So do you (will) compel people so that they become all believers? And no one will believe except by Allah's permission, and Allah inflicts wrath on those who do not use their minds."

According to the interpretation of Quraish Shihab, the above verse refers to the story of the Prophet Yunus. In this context, Allah showed the picture of the Prophet Yunus who were given the freedom to believe or not, because they had been given rationality to determine what was right or wrong. Through this freedom, some of the people of Prophet Yunus declared they had faith so that Allah did not send down punishment on them and some of them remained unbelievers. However, if Allah wills to make all mankind believe in Him, it is an easy matter, because He is the One who has power over everything.³³

Meanwhile, if Walisongo's attitude of tolerance is reviewed based on the interpretation of Surah Yunus verses 99-100, then there is a meeting point that the delivery of good Islamic teachings should not go through the element of coercion conservatively and radically but must emphasize the urgency of the value of tolerance to be able to create a climate of peace between religious communities. Meanwhile, in this context, Walisongo did not directly enforce Islamic law completely by eliminating the concept of cosmology and the traditions of the Majapahit Hindus. Therefore, to prevent resistance among Hindus, there were 2 steps taken by Walisongo in conveying Islamic da'wah as follows.

1. Equating *Nawa Dewata* Hinduistic cosmology with Walisongo's Sufistic cosmology. In this context, cosmogony is a study that examines the description of the process of the formation of the universe, while in the perspective of Hinduism the existence of the universe was created from the main point which then spreads into a balanced way towards 8 directions including East, North, South, West, Northeast, Southwest, Northwest and Southeast. The nine directions then become the basic reference for the concept of cosmology, religious foundations, and Hindu rituals that give rise to the figures of 9 main deities guarding the cardinal directions including Trimurti (Vishnu, Brahma, and Shiva), then the remaining 6 namely Iswara, Sambhu, Maheswara, Rudra, Mahadeva, and Sankara.³⁴ Since ancient times, Hindus have always adhered to the *Nawa Dewata* which explains that the universe is sheltered and maintained by 9 main Gods. Therefore, for the teachings of Islam to be widely known by Hindus, the term Walisongo was established. This was Walisongo's strategy which could find the common ground between *Nawa Dewata* including the essence of divine elements in the form of 9 deities guarding the cardinal directions which were harmonized with Walisongo's Sufistic cosmology in the form of 9 saints of Allah who had *karâmah* (supernatural abilities) like the Gods that Hindus believe.³⁵ Furthermore, the cosmological equalization was a form of the application of Walisongo's attitude of tolerance as stated in Surah Yunus [10]: 62-64.

2. Respect for the values of other religious beliefs, in this case, Islam always maintains

³²Muhammad Dyayadi, *Kamus Lengkap Islamologi* (Yogyakarta: Qiyas, 2009), p. 614. See also Idrus, "Membumikan Fiqh Toleransi Dalam Arus Pluralitas Agama," *Hakam: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam dan Hukum Ekonomi Islam* 2, no. 1 (2018), p. 35.

³³Shihab, *Tafsir al Mishbah*, p. 512-514.

³⁴I Nyoman Widya Paramadhyaksa, "Eksistensi Titik Brahma Dalam Tata Ruang Tradisional Bali," *Seminar Nasional Tata Ruang dan Space 2* (Denpasar: Universitas Hindu Indonesia, 2015), p. 205.

³⁵Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo Buku Pertama yang Mengungkap Wali Songo Sebagai Fakta Sejarah*, p. 145-146.

the truth of its teachings through emphasizing tolerance, harmony, and respect for individual freedom to believe in and carry out worship practices based on the teachings of their religion. As for the connection to the efforts to spread Islam in Java by Walisongo, in this case Ja'far Sadiq (Sunan Kudus) appealed to Muslims to not slaughter and consume beef as a form of respect for the value of Hindu beliefs which believe that cows are sacred animals.³⁶ Therefore, this effort is a form of application of tolerance as contained in Surah Al Kafirun [109]: 1-6.

c. Walisongo's Anti-Violence Attitude

It should be understood that the perception of Islam as a religion that is the basis for acts of violence, terrorism, and far from the value of peace is still rife today. This of course cannot be separated from the fact that some radical Islamic groups carry the spirit of *jihadun fi sabilillah* to fight other Islamic groups who do not agree with them, even non-Muslims who are considered infidels. Besides that, Islamic radicalism is also used as a central problem that is often discussed in national and global political discourse, thus causing the emergence of the concept of *Islamophobia* in the United States and several European countries including Germany, France, and England.³⁷

The emergence of various kinds of issues regarding Islamic radicalism is a challenge for Muslims to emphasize that Islamic teachings reject all acts of violence and always offer peace

to mankind. Regarding the enforcement of anti-violence, it has been exemplified through the da'wah of the Prophet Muhammad which refers to the development of society vertically to strengthen the understanding of Islamic religiosity and horizontally, where religiosity is reflected in the form of social development to create a harmonious Islamic community. Studies related to anti-violence have been listed in Surah Ali Imran [3]: 159, "So by the grace of Allah you (Muhammad) were gentle with them. If you were hard-hearted and harsh-hearted, they would have distanced themselves from those around you. Therefore forgive and ask for their forgiveness, and consult with them in this matter. If you have made up your mind put your trust in Allah."

According to the interpretation of Quraish Shihab, the verse explains that the Prophet Muhammad received direct instruction from Allah in the form of a heart illuminated by His light and an abundance of knowledge in the revelation of the Quran as the form of mercy for the universe. In addition, the verse also includes 3 commands of Allah to the Prophet Muhammad, namely (1) not hard-hearted, not rude, and gentle are the three qualities that are emphasized for a leader to create a conducive atmosphere, because stubbornness has the potential to cause him to leave deliberation partner. (2) Always forgive and erase any mistakes that have passed, in this context the parties involved in the deliberation must be willing to apologize if there is disagreement that can offend someone's feeling. (3) Always surrender to Allah after deciding.³⁸

³⁶Sunyoto, p. 343.

³⁷There are 3 strong reasons why Islamophobia is used as the main topic in the national and global political discourses of European countries, namely (1) in the development of the socio-religious phenomenon Islam is described as a separate part of European society, this is due to the failure of the government to guarantee equality rights of all groups of people. (2) Islam is accused of being the cause of the economic recession and is also stated as a threat in the agenda of Xenophobia. (3) Islam was involved in the murder of Theo Van Gogh, the Charlie Hebdo massacre, and several other tragedies as a justification for acts of terrorism. These three factors are

then used by the media in Europe to build bad stigmatization of Islam which is attached to acts of violence. Christian Aditya Pradipta, "Pengaruh Islamophobia Terhadap Peningkatan Kekerasan Muslim di Perancis," *Global and Policy Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 2 (2016), p. 102. In addition, Islamic radicalism is often identified with the Islamic revolution in Iran, the Palestinian resistance movement, the attitude of Saddam Hussein and Muammar Ghaddafi who are anti-US, the FIS party in Algeria, and the Sudanese Muslim movement against the United States.

³⁸Shihab, *Tafsir al Mishbab*, p. 242-245.

Furthermore, if Walisongo's anti-violence attitude is reviewed through the interpretation of Surah Al Anbiya verse 107 and Ali Imran verse 159, then there is a common ground that Walisongo strongly emphasized the urgency of the value of peace in efforts to spread Islam in Java. This is then also strengthened by the exposure to historical facts from chronicles and fibers that explain the familial relationship between royal nobles or community leaders and Walisongo. To spread Islam massively, Walisongo tended to apply a socio-political approach, by which if a ruler has embraced Islam, then most of the people in his domain would also be easily mobilized to embrace Islam. The religious humanism approach was also implemented by Walisongo to spread Islam to inland or coastal communities that did not live in the kingdom's territory. Therefore, there were 2 efforts taken by Walisongo in conveying Islamic da'wah as follows.

1. It should be understood that the Islamization carried out by Walisongo faced serious challenges because at that time the political and socio-cultural conditions in each region were different and Hindu-Buddhist was still the majority religion for the kingdoms in the archipelago and Kapitayan which became the beliefs of the people of the interior. Referring to this fact, Walisongo's sure-fire step was to establish kinship ties with community leaders and nobles so that Islamic da'wah started from the bureaucratic scope that occurred structurally and was massive. In this context, Raden Rahmat and Ki Wirajaya established family ties by marrying the daughter, Mas Karimah, to expand the influence of Islam in the Kembang Kuning area.³⁹ In addition, Syarif Hidayatullah and Ki Gedeng Tepasari established family ties by marrying the daughter, Nyai Tepasari, to expand the

influence of Islam in the Lumajang area. Then Syarif Hidayatullah and Ki Gedeng Kawunganten also established family ties by marrying the daughter, Nyai Kawunganten, to expand the influence of Islam in the Banten area.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Walisongo's efforts to build kinship ties in the context of expanding the influence of Islam were a form of implementing an anti-violence attitude to strengthen brotherhood and suppress peace among others as contained in Surah Al Hujurat [49]: 13.

2. Religious humanism considers that every individual has the intellectual capacity to choose to realize human values by upholding the ethical and humanist dimensions implied in religion or science. Therefore, the essence of religious humanism in the ethical dimension is the belief that individuals must be fully respected. This is in line with the perspective of Franz Magnis Suseno which states that there is no difference between men and women in humanity, thus an award must be based on the reality that a person is a human being.⁴¹ Besides that, religious humanism has also become a means of human interest which includes mental-spiritual and physical-material aspects. As for the process of spreading Islam in Java, there is a relevant meeting point between the concept of religious humanism and *Pepalib Pitu* Raden Qasim. In its application, *Pepalib Pitu* is focused on establishing self-respect through 2 stages including (1) spiritual activities as a means of self-reflection and emotional control exercises (lust). (2) Social activities as a means of habituation of tolerance, generosity, cooperation, empathy, and social solidarity to realize a harmonious

³⁹Sunyoto, *Walisongo: Rekonstruksi Sejarah yang Disingkirkan*, p. 111.

⁴⁰Sunyoto, p. 163-164.

⁴¹Franz Magnis Suseno, *Islam dan Humanisme Aktualisasi Humanisme Islam di Tengah Krisis Humanisme Spiritual* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2003), p. 211.

communal life.⁴² Furthermore, da'wah based on religious humanism was a form of Walisongo's anti-violence attitude as stated in Surah Al Isra' [17]: 70.

d. Local Cultural Accommodation By Walisongo

Adoption of Arabian Islamic culture which is expressed in the religious life of a Muslim is a common thing. However, the problem is when the Arabic expression is claimed as absolute truth in the context of religious life, it has an impact on the erosion of local cultural values, and even leads to the claims of heresy and superstition. In addition, the characteristics of such religious life tend to be conservative and anti-syncretization (fusion of Islam with local culture), because the authenticity of Islam will fade along with the fusion of various elements from outside cultures. However, when referring to historical facts, it is known that the spread of Islam in Java was carried out adaptively by absorbing the existing local culture. This also confirms that Islam is always able to blend in and cannot be separated from the aspect of locality, thus giving birth to Islam Nusantara, by which Islamic teachings can adapt the products of human culture without losing their respective identities.⁴³

The 4 important points regarding the understanding of Islam Nusantara include (1) Islam has become a religion as well as a tradition so that each individual cannot leave Islam in his daily activities. (2) Islam does not differentiate between pre-existing traditions, thus Islam as a newcomer can be accepted as a religion and a tradition. (3) Islam always considers the existence of traditions even if they are not rejected, but tries to give a new color and be harmonized with Islamic values themselves. (4) Islam is not resistant to other religions and

beliefs, thus it can live and grow side by side.⁴⁴ Studies related to local cultural accommodation have been contained in Surah Al Maidah [5]: 48, "And We have sent down to you (Muhammad) the Quran with the truth, confirming the books that were sent down before and guarding them, so decide their case according to what was revealed. Allah and do not follow their lusts by leaving the truth that has come to you. For every ummah among you, We have given rules and a clear path. If Allah willed, He would have made you one people (only), but Allah wants to test you for His gift to you, so compete in doing good."

According to the interpretation of Quraish Shihab, the verse above describes the revelation of the Qur'an to the Prophet Muhammad, which includes the truth in its content, the mechanism for its derivation, delivery, and acceptance. As for the Quran, it was revealed to perfect and become a benchmark for the truth of the contents of the previous books, so that they (the Jews) decide their case based on the Quran, Hadith Qudsi, and the revelations of the previous Prophets as long as they were not *nasakh* (canceled).⁴⁵ In addition, the verse also includes 3 things regarding the conception of religious pluralism, including (1) the existence of the unity of the people under the auspices of God (Allah). (2) There was a specificity of the religion brought by the previous Prophets. (3) The role of the holy book is to reconcile and harmonize any differences between religious communities.⁴⁶ Referring to the previous explanation, it can be understood that this conception does not reject the specificity of religious traditions and also emphasizes the meeting point of a better understanding between religious communities. On that basis, the diversity of religious traditions is always appreciated by Islam, because pluralism is

⁴²Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo Buku Pertama yang Mengungkap Wali Songo Sebagai Fakta Sejarah*, p. 309.

⁴³Edy Susanto Karimullah, "Islam Nusantara: Islam Khas dan Akomodasi Terhadap Budaya Lokal," *Al Ulum* 16, no. 1 (2016), p. 63.

⁴⁴Karimullah, p. 70.

⁴⁵Shihab, *Tafsir al Mishbah*, p. 111.

⁴⁶Dewi Anggraeni, "Agama Pra Islam Perspektif Alquran," *Jurnal Studi Alquran* 12, no. 1 (2016), p. 72.

essentially rooted in the teachings of Islam itself.

Furthermore, if Walisongo's accommodation of local culture is reviewed based on the interpretation of Surah Al Maidah verse 48, then there is a common ground in the process of spreading Islam in Java, Walisongo did not reject the specificity of the religious traditions of other people (Hindu-Buddhist and Kapitayan), but tried to adapt it to the values of the Islamic teachings. In this case, Walisongo tended to use a socio-cultural-religious approach by making efforts to syncretize and renew aspects of locality which included the humanities, performing arts, and religious rites without losing their respective identities. Therefore, so that Islam could be conveyed massively and prevent resistance among the people, there were 2 central efforts taken by Walisongo as follows.

1. Islamization of terms in Hindu-Buddhist and Kapitayan when it is viewed from a sociolinguistic perspective, Walisongo acted as a speaker who practiced the system of multilingualism, namely the use of various languages or terms interchangeably in social interaction.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, in the phenomenon of multilingualism, each individual must choose the language to be used in communication, thus it is necessary to consider 3 aspects (1) intra-language variation, which includes the use of language variants or similar terms. (2) Code-switching includes the use of language variants or different terms interchangeably. (3) Code-mixing includes the use of language and terms that mix variants with one another.⁴⁸ Referring to the previous explanation, to spread Islam in Java, Walisongo implemented code-switching and code-

mixing using Hindu-Buddhist terms to replace Islamic terms such as *kanjeng* Nabi Muhammad (Prophet Muhammad), *Susubunan* (hadratus sheikh), *gusti kang murbeng dumadi* (*âllahu rabbul âlamîn*), *santri* (*murid* or *sâlik*), *padepokan* (ma'had or halaqah), *teachers* (ustadz), and *kyai* (a pious). Then they used the term Kapitayan to replace Islamic terms including *tajug* or *langgar* (*mushalla*), *sembahyang* (shalat), *selam* or *sunat* (*kebitân*), *upawasa* (*shaum*), *neraka* (*nâr*), and *swarga* (*jannah*). In addition, Walisongo also absorbed Islamic terms into local terms including *tawadhu'* (*andhap asor*), *tawakkal* (ngalah), *ridha* (*lila*), *shabûr* (sabar), and *adl* (adil). Then absorbed local terms into the terms of Nusantara Islamic tradition including *bedbug*, *tumpang*, and *nyadran*.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the Islamization of terms in Hindu-Buddhist and Kapitayan is a form of accommodation of local culture by Walisongo as contained in Surah Al Baqarah [2]: 31-33.

2. Actually, Islam and culture have a close and inseparable relationship. In Islam, there are universal values, thus as a dogma Islam is not conservative when facing the dynamics of changing times and can harmonize with various local cultures that already exist. When referring to the review of historical facts, religion and culture are able to influence each other, that religion is a symbol that represents the value of obedience to God, while culture is a place for human life that also gives birth to the discourse of religious culture. It should be understood that religion is a perennial and static entity, while culture is a temporary and dynamic entity, hence religion can indeed become an independent entity, but religion without

⁴⁷Abdul Chaer and Leonie Agustina, *Sosiolinguistik: Perkenalan Awal* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2010), p. 85.

⁴⁸Fathur Rohman, *Sosiolinguistik: Suatu Pendekatan Pembelajaran Bahasa Dalam Masyarakat Multikultural* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2013), p. 25.

⁴⁹Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo Buku Pertama yang Mengungkap Wali Songo Sebagai Fakta Sejarah*, p. 450.

culture will not have a wide place in society.⁵⁰ Therefore, Islam accepts local culture as long as it does not contrast with Islamic teachings. The strategy used by Walisongo so that Islam could be accepted by the Javanese community was to harmonize Islamic values with Hindu-Buddhist religious traditions, Kapitayan, and Bhairawa Tantra. In this case, Raden Makhdum Ibrahim gave a pattern of Islamic values to the Bhairawa Tantra tradition, namely the *Ma-Lima (Pancamakara)* which was initially marked by worshipers sitting around offerings and food, while in the middle of the circle there was a *Cakreswara* (leader) who read a mantra, changed to reading Islamic prayers and eating together (*Slametan*).⁵¹ The same thing was done by Raden Mas Sahid to the Kapitayan tradition, which initially provided offerings and tumpeng in a haunted place, which was changed to *Slametan* to send prayers to ancestors and distribute food.⁵² In addition, there are several Hindu-Buddhist and Kapitayan traditions that are also characterized by Islamic values such as (1) the tradition of *Sradha* after 12 years of a person's death is changed to *Nyadran*, namely annually sending prayer intended for one's soul who died. (2) The tradition of giving offerings and *Ketutug* is changed to giving alms tradition *Samadhi* is changed to the implementation of the 5 daily obligatory prayers.⁵³ Furthermore, the harmonization of Islamic values in Hindu-Buddhist religious traditions, Kapitayan, and Bhairawa Tantra is the implementation of local cultural accommodation by Walisongo as contained in Surah Al Baqarah [2]: 148.

CONCLUSION

When referring to the discussion above, it can be seen that Walisongo was the founder and initiator of the application of religious moderation, although in the 15th century AD there was no term religious moderation. However, in this research, the details of Walisongo's concept of religious moderation were reviewed based on 4 indicators of moderation of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, namely: First, Walisongo's national commitment including the pledge of allegiance to Majapahit empire was a manifestation of Raden Patah's sense of nationalism after being appointed as Duke of Demak, then the stipulation of *Kutara Manawa Dharmashastra's* Islamic law, *Angger Surya Nalam*. Second, Walisongo's tolerance that included the efforts to equalize the Hinduistic cosmology of *Nawa Dewata* with Sufistic cosmology Walisongo was a form of tolerance that symbolized similarities between Hindu and Islamic cosmologies, then respect for the values of other religious beliefs also included tolerance, in which Sunan Kudus urged not to slaughter cows as respect for religious beliefs of the Hindus.

Third, Walisongo's anti-violence attitude, namely expanding the influence of Islam through family ties with community leaders and nobles, was a form of anti-violence, whereas Sunan Ampel and Gunungjati chose a family approach to convey Islam peacefully, besides that the implementation of da'wah based on religious humanism also included a form of anti-violence, in which Sunan Drajat through *Pepalib Pitu* emphasized the strengthening of social aspects as the real actualization of the provisions of Islamic law. Fourth, accommodation of local culture by Walisongo

⁵⁰Kastolani and Abdullah Yusuf, "Relasi Islam dan Kebudayaan Lokal (Studi Tentang Tradisi Nyadran di Desa Sumogawe Kecamatan Getasan Kabupaten Semarang)," *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 4, no. 1 (2016), p. 53.

⁵¹Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo Buku Pertama yang Mengungkap Wali Songo Sebagai Fakta Sejarah*, p. 254.

⁵²Sunyoto, p. 372.

⁵³Sunyoto, *Walisongo: Rekonstruksi Sejarah yang Disingkirkan*, p. 253.

that included Islamization of terms in Hindu-Buddhist and Kapitayan was a form of accommodation of local culture, in this case, Walisongo acted as a language speaker who applied code-switching and code-mixing to facilitate the absorption of Islamic terms by local and local communities. On the other hand, the harmonization of Islamic values to Hindu-Buddhist religious traditions, Kapitayan, and Bhairawa Tantra was a form of accommodation of local culture, in which Sunan Bonang and Muria put Islamic values of each *Ma-Lima* and the provision of offerings in haunted places but did not eliminate the essence of these traditions implementation.

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