



Sufism Demak: Moderation of the Java Islamization in XVI Century In the Study of The Manuscript of Suluk Syeh Bari

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Abstract : *Islamization of the archipelago, especially in Java, took place peacefully in Demak period of the XV - XVI centuries. The retribution of walisanga with its sufism teachings was able to embrace Javanese mysticism in the embrace of Islam. The realization of this attitude of peace (penetration pacifique) without conflict shows that sufism has played an attitude of moderation such as appreciation, tolerance, and inclusive attitude so as to attract the sympathy of Hindu-Javanese mystics into Islam. This paper is intended to reveal how Islamic moderation occurs in Demak, for it is studied by an authentic Sufi manuscript published by Demak written by Sunan Bonang under the title Suluk Syeh Bari. This manuscript is studied using the content analysis method by prioritizing the concept of moderation. This study concludes that Suluk Syeh Bari by Sunan Bonang is the foundation for the teachings of moderate Islamic Sufism since the beginning of Islamization in Java. His moderation teachings include 1) inclusive attitudes in the spirit of divinity, 2) perfection of the soul, realizing noble, wise, and open minded. 3) Open attitude and tolerance towards others through the teachings of Sufism, Ridlo, and always happy. 4) Respect religious acculturation. This attitude will be inherited by his two students, namely Sunan Kalijaga and Syeh Siti Jenar, who gave birth to acculturative Islam (Islam of the archipelago).*

Keywords : *Moderation, Sufism, Script, Suluk Syeh Bari.*

Abstrak : *Islamisasi Nusantara, khususnya di Jawa, berlangsung secara damai pada periode Demak abad XV - XVI. Para wali dengan ajaran tasawufnya mampu merangkul mistik Jawa dalam rengkuhan Islam. Terwujudnya sikap perdamaian (penetration pacifique) tanpa konflik ini menunjukkan bahwa tasawuf telah memerankan sikap moderat seperti penghargaan, toleransi, dan sikap inklusif sehingga mampu menarik simpati para mistikus Hindu-Jawa ke dalam Islam. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap bagaimana moderasi Islam di Demak, untuk itu dikaji sebuah naskah sufi otentik terbitan Demak yang ditulis oleh Sunan Bonang dengan judul Suluk Syeh Bari. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis konten dengan mengedepankan gagasan moderasi. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa Suluk Syeh Bari karya Sunan Bonang merupakan peletak dasar ajaran tasawuf Islam yang moderat sejak awal Islamisasi di Jawa. Ajaran moderasinya meliputi 1) sikap inklusif dalam semangat ketuhanan, 2) kesempurnaan jiwa, mewujudkan budi pekerti luhur, bijaksana, dan berpikiran terbuka. 3) Sikap terbuka dan toleransi terhadap sesama melalui ajaran tasawuf, ridho, dan selalu bahagia. 4) Menghargai akulturasi agama. Sikap inilah yang akan diwarisi oleh kedua muridnya, yaitu Sunan Kalijaga dan Syeh Siti Jenar, yang melahirkan Islam akulturatif (Islam Nusantara).*

Kata Kunci : *Moderasi, Sufisme, Naskah, Suluk Syeh Bari*

A. Introduction

In the discourse of Javanese Islamization during the Demak era of the XVI century, historians agree that the mystical contribution of Islam (Sufism) is very vital. Walisanga played an essential role in the spread of Islam by utilizing the mystical contribution of Islam (*Sufism*).¹ So that Islam succeeds in entering Java or *Nusantara* peacefully with other terms penetration pacifique.² This term is in line with the word peace, which is

¹ According to De Graaf, the Process of Islamization is effective through three channels, namely: 1) Trade, 2) Tasawuf Teachings and, 3) Political Channels. The first two contributed greatly to the peaceful Islamization. Nor Huda, *Islam Nusantara: Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2007).

² Penetration pacifique is a term in the peaceful spread of culture, accepting each other without conflict. As opposed to penetration violente, the spread of culture by coercion and violence. Gema Budianto, "Dampak Cultural Invention Terhadap Kebudayaan Lokal", *PAMATOR* 13, no. 2 (n.d.).

the actual condition achieved as a result of moderation because there is tolerance, openness, and mutual understanding of religiosity and diversity.³

The success or failure of the Java Islamization is determined by the genius of the *walisanga* (the early *da'i* in Java) in summarizing the teachings of Islamic Sufism in the concept of acculturative mysticism in Java. It succeeded in constructing an inner aspect (*esoteric*) that can enrich the spiritual dimension, conceptual thinking and even the traditions of Javanese cultural patterns.⁴ It formed a spiritual perception between Islamic Sufism and Javanese mystics based on Hinduism in Javanese society.⁵

Authentic evidence of the indisputable relics of *walisanga* includes archaeological sites in the form of tomb and mosque buildings that, until now, continue to be the center of pilgrimage of traditional Sufi teaching activists, in addition to historical objects and cultural traditions that continue to be maintained and developed in the religious behavior of the supporting community.⁶ Furthermore, Javanese Sufism manuscripts, such as *Suluk Martabat Pitu*, *Suluk Sheikh Siti Jenar*, *Suluk Sheikh Malaya*, *Suluk Dharmo Gandul*, *Suluk Sheikh Bari*, and others are also the evidence of *walisanga* relics.

Slamet Mulyana suspects that the statement of successful Islamization of the Demak era is problematic historical logic because, according to him, Demak in the era of Raden Patah (Prince Jinbun) to XV -

³ D Dawing, "Mengusung Moderasi Islam Di Tengah Masyarakat Kultural," *Rousyan Fikr: Journal Studi Ilmu Ushuluddin Dan Filsafat*, 2017.

⁴ Adnan Wahyudi, *Kisah Walisongo Penyebar Agama Islam Di Tanah Jawa* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, n.d.).

⁵ Meaning of Sufism in this article that is, the philosophy of life and certain ways of human behavior in an effort to realize moral perfection of Islam. an understanding of the nature of reality and achieving the highest ruhaniah happiness. Abu al Wafa Alghanimi, "Madkhal Ila Al-Tsawwuf Al-Islam. Kairo: Dar Al-Tsaqafah Li Al-Nashr Wa Al-Tauzi," 1983. While Acculturation Religion Javanese, mixed between Islam and Hinduism that have developed since the Majapahit era, Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra, "Islam Jawa dan Jawa Islam: Sinkretisme Agama di Jawa", *Makalah Seminar Sejarah*, Yogyakarta: Depdikbud, 1995, p. 16.

⁶ A. Khoirul Anam, "Pilgrimage Tradition: Between The Spiritual, Da'wah and Tourism", *Journal Bimas Islam* Vol. No. 2 (2015): 389 - 411

XVI century, has experienced a stalemate in the process of Islamization, except for the northern coastal areas of Java. So during his reign, he tended to spend time expanding to Malacca. Even his son, Adipati Yunus or well-known as Prince Sabrang Lor, has been a victim of his ambition to confront the Portuguese in Malacca early XVI century. That indicated that Demak was not concentrating on Islamization but economic expansion and trade. At that time, Islamization was still limited to the northern coastal area of Java, where royal and *wali* sites still exist today. Indeed, the success of Islamization, in fact, occurred in the era of Pajang, and the peak was in the Mataram era in XVII century.⁷

This writing did not intend to answer all the accusations of Slamet Mulyana above. The writers believe the allegations are partially true and partially false. Still, historical facts prove that there is no *religious-horizontal* conflict that supports Slamet Mulyana's argument in the process of Javanese Islamization in Demak era, so whatever the results of Islamization achieved by Demak proved that it had been done peacefully; other words, the emergence of moderation values. Even if there was a conflict, it was a political conflict that arose due to responding to the establishment of the Demak kingdom counter to Majapahit instead of social-religious. As a result, moderate Islamic Sufism in Demak is superiorly upright above royal politics foundation.

This paper tries to reveal how the pattern of moderate Sufism applied in Demak so that *penetration pacifique* was achieved. So based on authentic sources of XVI century manuscripts, the first manuscript discovered in that century was *Suluk Syeh Bari*. This manuscript is called authentic because in the colophon is mentioned that the manuscript was written by or based on the thoughts of Sunan Bonang, one of the primary guardians in the land of Java. It is called the first manuscript because Dutch merchants first discovered it in 1595. So based on this manuscript, the profile of the manuscript, the concept of moderation teachings, how successful in leading the moderation of Demak Islamization in that era, and its impact on the Islamization of the next era will be studied.

⁷ Slamet Mulyana, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu Jawa Dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam Di Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2005).

This study is essential and actual because it is expected to be able to elaborate on the legacy of *genuine*, authentic, and *smooth* past thoughts to provide solutions to hot conflict situations due to *religious-politic* penetration from Hindu Majapahit to Demak, who are Muslim which has the potential to arise *radical-conflict*. Still, it can be passed quickly and peacefully. The potential conflict of this *religious-politic* realm remains actual until today's modern era, because it is constantly targeting and becomes a virus of division in heterogeneous societies such as Indonesia.

B. The Concept of Moderation in the Teachings of Islamic Sufism

Art It can briefly be explained here that moderate is an adjective, a derivative of *the word moderation*, meaning middle, not exaggerated or medium. In the Indonesian dictionary, the word borrowed becomes *moderasi*. Moderation is defined as reducing violence or the avoidance of extremes. Whereas in Arabic, moderation is called *wasath* or *wasathyah*, has a word equivalent to *tawassuth* (middle), *i'tidal* (fair), and *tawazun* (balanced).

If moderation is added with religious word will become religious moderation. Religious moderation refers to avoiding extremism (*ghuluw*) or avoiding violence (*tasyaddud*) in religious practice. It refers to the meaning of religious moderation in Lukman Hakim Syaifuddin in the book "Religious Moderation" published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2021. In Arabic terminology, a *tawassuth's* perspective, attitudes, and behaviors are in the middle among the extreme choices.

In religious attitudes, the meaning of religious moderation is a religious attitude that is balanced between violent religious behavior (*extreme*) and strictly on its religion as a form of obedience by considering the behavior of adherents of other religions with openness (*inclusive*), respect or tolerance, and appreciation (*empathy*). This attitude will foster peace in religious life in the community.

While the meaning of Moderation of Sufism in the concept of Islam is a formulation of Sufism teachings and behaviors that respect each other, are open, tolerant of religious concepts and behaviors, and become an example to others. Generally, Sufism is divided into three; *tasawuf akhlaki*, *tasawuf irfani*, and *tasawuf falsafi*. *Tasawuf akhlaki* focuses on moral

teachings, worship, and remembrance (*dzikr*) that can produce attitudes of honesty, sincerity, and disregard towards the world (*zuhud*) or *maqam syariat* and *tarekat*; While *tasawuf irfani* discusses the highest achievements of Sufis who have gained mortality to unite with God (*takhalli*, *tahalli*, and *tajalli*), or *maqam hakekat* and *makrifat*.⁸ While *tasawuf falsafi* is the study of Sufism that uses philosophical terminology. The concept of Islamic Sufism teachings in Demak through the manuscript of *Suluk Syeh Bari* will later be explored using content analysis to find values and moderate attitudes.

Several studies try to interpret moderation in Sufism. One of them was Nanang Mizwar Hasyim "*Tasawuf dan Internalisasi Moderasi Beragama dalam Menghadapi Problematika Bangsa*". His article proposes to apply the concept of *Sufistic transformation*, as proposed by Muhammad Zuhri,⁹ because from there will appear an attitude of respect, openness, and tolerance will even be achieved *rahmatan lil basyar* (mercy for all humans) or increase *rahmatan lil alamin* as the central pillar of moderation.

Muhammad Faiz also wrote "*Said Nursi Sufism Concept: Implementation of Moderate Islam Values*". This paper concludes that Said Nursi is a Sufism figure who is scientific, contextual, easy to apply, and inclusive. The core concept in Sufism will show the nature of *tadharru'* (humble), *tahmid* (always praising Allah), prayer, *khusyu*, feeling '*ajz* (weak before Allah), *faqr* (depending only on God). These attitudes generate appreciation, respect, and positive judgment in others that push towards Sufism moderation.¹⁰

Muzakkir wrote "*Moderasi Beragama dalam Perspektif Tasawuf*". In his view, the primary purpose of Sufism is the realization of a close relationship (*taqarrub*) with God. By building self-awareness in a clean, healthy, and perfect soul. It is where the concept of *tazkiyatun nafs* is achieved. *Tazkiyatun nafs* is a mental state that results in a wise, noble, and

⁸ Rosihan Anwar, *Akhlaq Tasawuf* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2010).

⁹ Muhammad Zuhri dalam Nurul Anam, "Tasawuf Transformatif Di Indonesia," *Al-Mada: Jurnal Agama, Sosial Dan Budaya* 2, no. 2 (2019).

¹⁰ Muhammad Faiz, "Said Nursi Sufism Concept: Implementation of Moderate Islam Values," *Studi Agama Millah* 19, no. 2 (n.d.).

takhalluq bi akhlak al-karimah that aims to respect fellow creatures as the implementation of Sufism moderation.¹¹

As for *Suluk Syeh Bari*, as far as contemporary historical studies are carried out on the manuscript, no one has done anything related to his Sufism moderation thought. Some of the writings about the Bonang manuscript include the author himself M. Irfan Riyadi in a book entitled *Fatwa Sunan Bonang: Membedah Otentitas Tasawuf Walisanga dalam Suluk Syeh Bari*, published by STAIN Po Press, 2015¹² then Muhammad Isa Anshory, et al. "*Pendidikan Ma'rifatullah dalam kitab Bonang*" in *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam Ta'dibuna* vol. 9, No. 1, April 2020, pp. 049-067,¹³ and some freelance writing in particular blogs do not need to be discussed here.

C. *Suluk Syeh Bari* Manuscript

1. Script Writer

Suluk Syeh Bari's author is Sunan Bonang. His little name is Makhdum Ibrahim. He is also known as Ibrahim Asmara, Ratu Wadat, Sultan Khalifah, and others. Given the title Ratu Wadat because he did *wadat*, that is never married or single during his life.¹⁴ Also called *Ratu Wahdat* because he was very firm in fighting for the oneness of God. It is believed that the scriptwriter of *Suluk Syeh Bari* is Sunan Bonang because in the colophon found some evidence: *first*, the sentence "*Tammat carita cinitra kang pakerti pangraning Bonang*" means that it has ended the story told by the Prince in Bonang; *Secondly*, this manuscript was found not far from the Bonang area of Tuban. The manuscript was discovered in Sidayu by a trade traveler from the Netherlands, Amsterdam named Van Dulmen, in 1595 AD, then well cared for in the maintenance manuscripts of Leiden. Sunan Bonang was estimated to have died in 1525 AD, then the difference

¹¹ "No Title," n.d.

¹² Muhammad Irfan Riyadi, *Fatwa Sunan Bonang: Membedah Otentitas Tasawuf Walisanga Dalam Suluk Syeh Bari* (Ponorogo: STAIN Po Press, n.d.).

¹³ Muhammad Isa Anshory, "Pendidikan Ma'rifatullah Dalam Kitab Bonang," *Urnal Pendidikan Islam Ta'dibuna* 9, no. 1 (n.d.).

¹⁴ Purbatjaraka, *Ajaran Rahasia Sunan Bonang* (Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1981).

in years with the discovery of the manuscript is not too long, which is about 65 years.

When Sunan Bonang was born cannot be ascertained. B.J.O. Schrieke estimates that he was born in 1465 AD. According to Moertadji, a Tuban cleric and pioneer of Sunan Bonang haul at Kauman Mosque Tuban, Sunan Bonang was born in 1448 AD and died in 1525 AD.¹⁵ In the news of Sam Po Kong temple, Slamet Muljana wrote that Raden Rahmat (**Bong Swi Hoo**) married Tuban girl Nyai Manila's daughter Haji Gan Eng Cu in 1447 then Sunan Bonang, as the first child, of course, it was born afterwards. Based on the three sources mentioned, Sunan Bonang was born between 1448-1465 AD and died around 1525 AD.

Sunan Bonang is a religious figure who was also active in writing. According to several sources including B. Schrieke (1916), Poerbatjaraka (1938), Pigeaud (1967), Drewes (1954, 1968, and 1978) Sunan Bonang's works other than *Suluk Sheikh Bari* are *Suluk Wujil*, *Suluk Khalifah*, *Suluk Regol*, *Suluk Bentur*, *Suluk Wasiyat*, *Suluk Ing Aewuh*, *Suluk Pipiringan*, *Suluk Jebeng* and others.¹⁶

2. *Suluk Syeh Bari* Profile

Suluk Syeh Bari's manuscript was found in handwriting on the lontar leaves. The manuscript was discovered in East Sidayu Tuban by a trade traveler from the Netherlands, Amsterdam named Van Dulmen, in 1595 AD. Then, it was well cared for at the maintenance of *the Liedsche Universiteitsbibliotheek* since October 1597 AD. and placed under catalogue no. XVII kal. Octob. 1599 M.

There are three scientific studies that have made the Bonang manuscript "Suluk Syeh Bari" as the object of a dissertation in the Netherlands. First, Dr. J.G.H. Gunning in 1881 in *Een Javaansche Geschrift uit de 16 de Eeuw* at Leiden University of the Netherlands;¹⁷ Second, Dr.B.J.O. Schrieke in 1916 entitled *Het Boek Van Bonang* at Leiden

¹⁵ NurKholis and Ahmad Mundzir, *Menapak Jejak Sulthonul Auliya' Sunan Bonang* (Tuban: Mulia Abadi, 2013).

¹⁶ Abdul W. M. Hadi, "Sastra Pesisir Jawa Timur Dan Suluk-Suluk Bonang" (unpublished paper, n.d.).

¹⁷ J. G. H. Gunning, *Een Javaansche Geschrift Uit de 16 de Eeuw* (Belanda: Disertasi Universitas Leiden, 1881, 1881).

University in the Netherlands.¹⁸ So that this text is categorized as an authentic text that has been proven to pass in academic studies. Third, in 1969. G.W.J Drewes has also rewritten in his book *The Admonition of Syeh Bari: A Sixteenth Century Javanese Text Attributed to the Saint of Bonang*, (Den Haag: Martinus Rijkhoff, 1969).¹⁹

3. The Summary of *the Suluk Syeh Bari* contents

The content of *the teachings* and prayers contained in the book of Primbon by Sunan Bonang can be seen in the chart:

Chapter	Number of Paragraphs	Content Summary	Type of thinking
	Acknowledgement	The words of <i>Basmalah</i> , <i>hamdalah</i> , <i>shalawat</i> of the Prophet (Peace be Upon Him), and reference sources	
I	12 paragraphs	Faith, oneness and understanding <i>nafi isbat</i> in the <i>syahadat</i> .	Tauhid / ushuluddin
II	11 paragraphs	Criticism of the teachings of Abd al-Wahid Ibn Makkiyah on the oneness of Allah and the understanding of Allah's hospitality towards His creation.	Falsafi Sufi
III	20 paragraphs	Explanation of Allah's attributes, especially the nature of <i>al-salbi</i> that firmly rejects the likeness of the nature of God with His creatures in <i>manunggaling kawula-Gusti</i> .	The science of kalam and falsafi Sufi
IV	5	Literary explanation of the	Falsafi Sufi

¹⁸ B. J. O. Schrieke, *Het Boek Van Bonang* (Belanda: Disertasi Universitas Leiden, 1916).

¹⁹ G W J Drewes, *The Admonition of Syeh Bari: A Sixteenth Century Javanese Text Attributed To The Saint of Bonang* (Den Haag: Martinus Rijkhoff, 1967).

	paragraphs	meaning of <i>ishq</i> , <i>ashiq</i> , and <i>ma'shuq</i> . The nature of God, the essence of God, and the <i>af'al</i> of God and emanation.	
V	15 paragraphs	Criticizing the <i>kawibataniyah</i> deviant sect, which teaches the likeness of God's nature with His creatures.	Falsafi Sufi
VI	7 paragraphs	Differences in nature and essence. Rejecting the teachings of 'Arabiyah (Ibn 'Arabi) which expresses the nature of Allah <i>qadim</i> while <i>af'al Allah muhdas</i> that are emanated to creatures.	The science of Kalam and Sufi falsafi
VIII	9 paragraphs	The teachings of getting closer to Allah so will get the sweetness of life.	Tasawuf moral
IX	15 paragraphs	Teachings about perfection, the meaning of <i>sapatemon</i> (meeting) with God and finding the right teacher.	Tasawuf moral
X	11 paragraphs	Explanation of the <i>ru'yat of Allah</i> , with the eyes of the heart or seeing in the Hereafter	The Science of Kalam and Sufism
XI	5 paragraphs	Perfecting iman (<i>zuhud</i>), stay away from rejoicing in the world, turn to love for God.	Sufism
XII	8 paragraphs	<i>Ma'rifat fi Allah: ma'rifat Dzāt, ma'rifat shifat</i> and <i>ma'rifat af'al</i> .	Sufism
XIII	27 paragraphs	Criticism of misguided thinking and the emanation of the teachings of <i>Mu'tazilah</i> .	Kalam and Sufism
XIV	21	Understand the nature of God	sufi falsafi

	paragraphs	while in the void (<i>Awang-uwung</i>). It must be distinguished between ' <i>adam mumkin</i> (seeing phenomena such as seeing God) and <i>ma'dum sir</i> (<i>lawh, qalam, 'arsh</i>).		
XV	17 paragraphs	Understand the rights of the attributes of Allah <i>mumtani al-wujud, ja'iz al-wujud</i> and <i>wajib al-wujud</i> .	Kalam	and Sufism
XVI	11 paragraphs	Advice to routinely practice prayers and <i>shadaqah</i> secretly.	Tasawuf	moral
XVII	12 paragraphs	Understand <i>taraqqi's</i> dignity to achieve abandonment with the term <i>gharaqtu fi bahr al-'adamy</i> .	sufi falsafi	
XVIII	25 paragraphs	Advice to pursue the science of Sufism. To reach <i>Rijalallah</i> in order to always be with God, through the teachings of the <i>shari'ah</i> imitate the teachings of the Prophet PBUH.	Tasawuf	moral
-	Cover	<i>Tammat Carita cinitra who like Princeing Bonang</i>	Final	description

From this chart, it can be known that the teachings of Sunan Bonang not only contain Sufism but also there is *kalam* science (oness), *ahlaki* Sufi (*syar'i*), '*Irfani* Sufi, and Falsafi Sufi.

D. Teachings of Sufism in *Suluk Syeh Bari*

Suluk Syeh Bari manuscript, which was used as an object in this study, is a manuscript that had been transliterated by Schrieke into the old Javanese latin letter. The manuscript is not in the pages of Schrieke's dissertation book but is contained in attachments without page numbers,

so page numbering cannot be done by following the pages of the book, but separately in the form of prose texts divided into chapters and paragraphs. The reference does not follow the pages of the book, but follows the pages of chapters and paragraphs in the manuscript that have been marked by Schrieke (Please check in the Schrieke Dissertation). The teachings of Sufism in *Suluk Syeh Bari* are:

1. The existence of God

As mentioned in the witness of the *shahada*, according to Sunan Bonang, the witness is a recognition of the form of God who is One (singular) solely, most holy, supreme, none resembling Him (*Kawroehana jen Sira Pangeran Toenggal, tan kakalih, saksenana jen sira Pangeran asipat saja, Soekma Maha suci Toenggalira, tan ana papadanira, kang Maha Loehoer*).

In the God's nature, there is a form of *nafi* and a form of *isbat*. The *nafi* form means "*nora*" (no) does not mean negating the form of God but eliminating the form of God other than God, and there is no likeness of God as God (*lan norana papadaning Allah Pangeran*), that is, the truth of God, the One, who is worshipped, the praised who creates and the Most Great. While the form of *isbat*, in the form of determination that directly exists with *nafi*, when mentioning "*ora ana Pangeran*" it has begun to *isbat* "*anging Allah Pangeran kang sabenere*" (but Allah is the real God).

In interpreting form, Sunan Bonang determined that the form of God is an absolute transcendent, oneness, independent, not similar to anything, eternal since ancient times (*awang-uwung*) until now. He does not recognize the existence of an immanent form, a form that permeates the creatures. Sunan Bonang firmness towards that opinion led him to be crowned with the title "*Wali Wahdat*", **the fortress of God's oneness**.

2. Creature Form and Human Creation

Understand the seven dignity to know the concept of *tanazzul-taraqqi*. *Tanazzul* explained the concept of God's impression in man through stages of decline as much as seven levels ending with the human form as the estuary of God's immantiation, so that human form is God's creation as well as being part of God Himself, because human beings are created from God's impression. *Taraqqi* is a process of ascending, in which an obedient servant always seeks perfection in order to reunite with God. The path will be reached through seven stages to have a union between a man and God. According to Sunan Bonang, the form of beings and the form of God are different. The form of God is absolutely transcendent

there is no union between the two immanently. Man is not the impression of God, but a creature of God.

Sunan Bonang strongly criticized the opinion of Abdul Wakhid Ibn Makkiyah who said that at first the Allah's *Dzat* was actually a worshiped God, independent without allies. It happens when Allah has not created, has not written in writing, and no one has praised but His own substance, before creating the Prophet Muhammad. But after creating the Prophet Muhammad as a reality of Himself, then from there the beginning of *the nugrahaning* Allah (grace of Allah) all that exists and is created is a clue to the existence of Allah (*tuduhing* Allah).²⁰ Abdul Wahid's concept in understanding the "seven dignity" is *Nur* Muhammad, that is, the essence created first of all existing creations, that essence becomes the forerunner of all those in the world, he is the main cause (*causa prima*) of all existing creations. Sunan Bonang rejected that opinion and regarded it as disbelief. The nature of God's prayer confirms the difference between creatures and God (*Padudoning Kawulo Gusti*), meaning that the nature of God is not similar to creatures, the nature of beings is not similar to the nature of God (*Sifating Pangeran tan kadi sifating makhluk, sifating makhluk tan kadi sifating Pangeran*).²¹

Sunan Bonang interprets the phrase " seven dignity " about *tanazzul-taraqqi* which states that everything comes from God and returns to Allah (*tekane saking Allah, ulihe maring Allah*). Or the phrase "coming from nothing and return to nothing also" (*tekane saking tan liyan, ulihe maring tan liyan*) in addition to Allah Himself. Here, firmly Sunan Bonang rejected the view that man is the shadow of God, where often in the concept of seven dignity likened that man is a reflection of the form of God. This expression can be said to be an interpretation of the Qur'anic verse: *Inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi raji'aun* (indeed we belong to Allah and to Him we will return).

God's nature is to create, there is no intermediary between God and the created, there is no process that precedes (*tan ana kari karoehoen*), meaning to create it on the basis of His will, not the process of dignity as

²⁰ Text chapter II, *paragraf* 7-8. As explained at the beginning of the sub-chapter, the description of this manuscript is contained in the attachment of Schrieke's writing that does not have a page. Because it is a Latin transliteration manuscript from the original manuscript. So, this manuscript is given a chapter and paragraph number by schrieke, to prove it please open Schrieke's dissertation.

²¹ Chapter III, paragraph 11.

understanding the seven dignity, creation is enough with the sentence of Allah *Kun fayakun* according to Allah's will (*khaliq al-makluq kun fa yakun*).²²

Rejecting the existence of a relationship between God and man, for Sunan Bonang, the view is misguided. He stated:

"*Kadi angroepakaken sifating Pangeran, kadi angapesaken sifating Pangeran, kadi aketjap: sakathahing dumadi iki sifating Pangeran. Kadi anganaaken in nora, kadi ama'dumaken ing Allah –iku koepoer! aketjap: endi sifating Allah? Kang angoetjap ikoe dadi kapi*".²³

Like calling out the nature of God, weakening the nature of God like saying all that is in the nature of Allah, such as creating what is not there, and abolishing Allah. It is a disbeliever. Saying which is the nature of God, it's disbelief).

3. Achieving Perfection (*Rijalullah*)

The perfect person is called *washil* or *rijalallah* (man of God's beloved). The person who wants to achieve the perfect degree must be qualified in the form of carrying out religious teachings correctly until reaching a special relationship with Allah.

- a. *Ikhlas*, do not count the merits and good done. Not glorifying his ability to be seen and praised by human, not to excel in knowledge, exhibited here and there, broadcast to hunt for praise (*adoewe 'ilmu agepeh den wedjangaken aboeroe alemaleman*).
- b. One must be trust and compassion; must not take away the rights of others, and must not deny the good (*asih*) that others have done to him, which is meant by *asih* is in the form of teachings to the right way. If the opposite happens, denying the Lord, then you should immediately return to the right path by repenting. With fellow Muslims should love each other and take care of each other to avoid the nature of *dhalalah* (heresy) and *bid'ah* (add-up in the teachings of worship).
- c. Always *taqarrub* and *zuhud* to Allah, carrying out (*ngestokaken*) His commandments in a *zuhud* way. It means that do not like to have a spree, do not like to decorate and luxurious in food and clothing in the world. His heart should not face anything other than Him (*musyrik*),

²² Chapter IV, final paragraph 17

but instead have fun (always feel happy) with God. To achieve glory as a human being wants to taste and process various flavors into sweetness:

- 1) *Mamanising asepi* (sweetness is lonely) means that he feels happy to make friends with God in a lonely situation.
- 2) *Mamanising aloewe/lapa* (sweetness of hunger).
- 3) *Mamanising oerip/agesang* (sweetness of life) means that in human life it is always *ridla* in the maintenance (*poerba-wasesa*) of God.
- 4) *Mamanising rame* (sweetness in a crowd): it means that in crowded conditions all human behavior is a marker of God's grace only.
- 5) *Mamanising lara* (sweetness of pain) it means that in pain it should be a remembrance, the complaints become a compliment to the Lord.
- 6) *Mamanising pati* (the sweetness of death): it means that in death the reality of life will be obtained, there is nothing but meeting Him who is always missed. The person who is incapable of feeling such a situation is no different from an animal, outwardly a human being but an animal mind (*tingale dhahire, batine wong ikoe sato uga*). While those who can do the six things will have their eyesight to come to God, there is no death for him, as long as living in the world and in the Hereafter.²⁴

In order to reach and see God with the eyes of his heart, one will experience a degree and dignity. Sunan Bonang likened it to a banana from raw to ripe, starting with raw, *nyadam*, ripe and *dalū*. He also likened the development of the date in the month. A person will like the first date, go up the second, go up the third date until it reaches the degree of *poernamasada* (perfection). The more his dignity rises the more perfect his vision until his vision becomes one vision with ²⁵*dzat*, nature and *af'al* of God. To those who see *bila tasybih*, who see also *bila tasybih* (without such).

²⁴ Naskah, chapter VIII, paragraph 33.

²⁵ Ibid, chapter X, paragraph 39

d. *Ma'rifat* in Lord

In the case of *ma'rifat*, Sunan Bonang rejects the view that when a voyager (*salik*) reaches the degree of *ma'rifat*, it does not mean that his vision is lost and then changes with God's vision as in the concept of *hullul* (change of place), *fana'-baqa'* (lost and change), or *ittihad* (unification), but his vision is still a vision of himself.

"Anapon *ma'rifat* dede kabeh ndene si awase paningale (*ikoe*) who toenggag maring pangeran *ikoe*, dede sedjatine tingale dadi sjoeh sirna tingale dening kandeh kaganten kalingan tingale dening tingali(ng) kang sadja aningali tiningalan tan lijan paningalira oega toenggag kang aningali kabeh".²⁶

That understanding indirectly rejects the concept of *trans* (loss of self-awareness) or *majdzub* (taken consciousness) in the form of a sense of one with God or other terms *syatahat*.

Sunan Bonang taught *ma'rifat* as the culmination of achievements in Sufism, in the form of a knowledge that must be understood correctly about the nature of God. Sunan Bonang explained that the essence of *ma'rifat* are three: 1) *Ma'rifatu dzatillah*, namely knowing that the essence of God is singular, not two, transcendent with its nature, the holiest, without bodies, without gathering, without soul, and no one giving soul. His eternal state in His kingdom has not changed in the slightest. 2) *Ma'rifatu nature*, namely knowing that God is eternal life without using life, thinking and knowing without the mind, power without with parts of the body, seeing without eyes, hearing without ears, willing without using wishful thinking, speaking without using the voice of the tongue. Nothing compared Him. 3) *Ma'rifatu af'alillah*, which is to know the nature of God's deeds, doing and working without utilizing tools, giving without using hands, killing without using weapons, turning on and ruling over life as a whole.

E. Moderation of Islamic Sufism in *Suluk Syeh Bari*

1. Inclusive attitude in the nature of monotheism

Monotheism, according to Sunan Bonang is a witness to the form of God who is One (single) solely, holiest, supreme, and no one resembles Him (*Kawroehana jen Sira Pangeran Toenggag, tan kakalih, saksenana jen*

²⁶ Ibid, chapter XI, paragraph 43

sira Prince asipat Saja, Soekma Maha suci Toenggallira, tan ana papadanira, kang Maha Loehoer). It is thus recognized that the beginning of *the nugrahaning of Allah* (the grace of God), all that exists and is created, is a clue to the existence of God (*tuduhing Allah*).²⁷ With the recognition that everything created is a clue to the existence of God raises an inclusive and open attitude to fellow beings because the existence of all beings is the existence of God. so that whoever God's creatures are likened to any religion, any belief, whatever form he is proof of the existence of God. Because He Himself who created them. As the Word of God QS. al-Rum: 30

"Then turn your face singlemindedly to the faith and adhere to the true nature on which Allah has created human beings. The mould fashioned by Allah cannot be altered. That is the true, straight faith, although most people do not know."

2. Man processes towards the perfection of the soul so that noble morality, compassion, wisdom, and open-minded achieved.

In order to achieve the perfection of the soul (towards God), one will experience a level and dignity. Sunan Bonang likened it to a banana from raw to ripe that begins with raw, *nyadam*, ripe and *dalu*. Or the development of the date in the month, a person will like the first date, go up the second, go up the third date until it reaches the degree of *poernamasada* (perfection).²⁸ The more his dignity rises, the more perfect his vision until his vision becomes one vision with *dzat, God's nature and af'al*. A man with a perfect vision will have a noble ethics, affection, a wise attitude, and courtesy towards everyone. In the hadith of the Prophet PBUH:

"Whoever believes in God and in the last day, should he not hurt his neighbor, whoever has faith in God and in the last day, should he glorify his guest, whoever believes in Allah and to the last day, should he say good or silent" (Muttafaq 'alaih).

3. Open attitude and tolerance towards others through Ridlo's teachings and always happy and make others happy in various

²⁷ Chapter II, paragraphs 7-8.

²⁸ Ibid, chapter X, paragraph 39

circumstances. Always smiling even in a lonely state, hungry, sick, crowded, and just longing for God.

According to Sunan Bonang, people who achieve perfection always feel happy with God (*ridla*). To achieve glory as man wants to taste and process various kinds of flavors into sweetness: 1) *Mamanising asepi* (sweetness is lonely),: the meaning is that in a lonely condition he feels happy to make friends with God. 2) *Mamanising aloewe / lapa* (sweetness of hunger) 3) *Mamanising oerip / agesang* (sweetness of life) means that in human life it is always *ridla* in the maintenance (*poerba-wasesa*) of God. 4) *Mamanising rame* (sweetness in crowd): it means that in crowded conditions all human behavior is a marker of God's grace alone. 5) *Mamanising lara* (sweetness of pain): it means that in the pain it should be a remembrance, the complaints become a compliment to the Lord. 6) *Mamanising pati* (the sweetness of death): it means that in death that the reality of life will actually be obtained, there is nothing but meeting Him who is always missed.

4. Appreciate Religious Akulturation.

Sunan Bonang quotes the qur'anic verse: "*maraja al-bahraini yaltaqiyun, bainahuma barzahun la yabghiyun*". This verse is clearly explained like the meeting of two sea waters between the salty and the fresh, which are different but essentially the same in the ocean. This concept is like being the basis of acculturation because acculturation is the meeting of two cultures that form a new culture, but basically the two cultures are different and still seems their main characteristics. Like Islam with Hinduism, meet in the culture of *selamatan*, but the nature of Islam and Hinduism is still clearly displayed.

F. Conclusion

Suluk Syeh Bari by Sunan Bonang is the foundation for the teachings of *Islamic Sufism moderation* since the beginning of Islamization in Java. His moderation teachings include 1) inclusive attitude in the spirit of piety, 2) perfection of the soul, realizing noble morality, love sayings and wisdom. 3) Open attitude and tolerance towards others, through teachings for *Ridlo* and always happy. 4) respect for religious acculturation. This moderate teaching will be very influential on two great students, namely

Sunan Kalijaga with his acculturative mystical teachings when preaching in Pajang-Mataram, and Syeh Siti Jenar with his syncretist mystical teachings when preaching in Pengging. Both of them enlivened the Islamization of Java during the Pajang-Mataram era and became pioneers in the formation of Archipelago Islam. [.]

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