



Integration between Islamic Revelation and Local Culture: A Study of Theology and the Indigenisation of Islam in Indonesia

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Abstract

This research explains the Islamic revelation in the context of the synergy between *fiqh* and tradition. Using qualitative methods, this research concludes that: first, the pribumization of Islam is the result of the thought of K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) by seeking harmonization between *fiqh* and tradition. Gus Dur referred to the compromising process of Islamization by the Walisongo in spreading Islam in Nusantara as a very effective instrument or medium in the spreading of Islam. Secondly, in the Islamic Pribumization discourse, Gus Dur used the *fiqh* methodology of *al-'ādah muhakkamah* and *al-'tsābit bi al-'urf ka al-'tsābit bi al-nash*, which were seen as capable of paying attention to the needs present in the local culture. For example, the greeting *assalamu'alaikum* is interpreted in the good morning greeting only in the relationship of *mu'amalah*, not up to the level of worship, in the custom of marriage by carrying out the conditions of harmony, but still given space in expressing their respective cultures while not contrary to religion. Third, based on its historical flow, religious values within culture in the Pribumization of Islam substantially shifted towards the discourse of Islam Nusantara and are now transformed into one of the indicators of religious moderation, namely accommodating a local culture so that it has a relevant relationship therein.

Keywords: Indigenization, harmonization, *fiqh*, tradition, religious moderation.

Introduction

Debates about tradition and religion have never found a bright spot in Islamic intellectual discourses, including those in Indonesia. Islam is only understood legally-formally or *fiqh* centrally or Islamic law that does not pay attention to local traditions and culture in the archipelago. Islam seems to be only the authority of the Middle East, so Islam in various



aspects, such as how to dress, etc., must correspond to the first area where Islam originated. Gus Dur thinks this is not a process of Islamization but rather one of Arabization (Wahid, 2006:244). From this long process, Gus Dur came up with an interesting idea, namely Pribumization of Islam (indigenization of Islam). However, this is also not a new thought that came from Gus Dur because since a long time ago, the kiai pesantren have tended to present a type of Islam unique to Indonesia, without much mixed with elements of Arabism. So, the Pribumization of Islam is just the stamp. Gus Dur was instrumental in the theory. Gus Dur has given a name to the type of struggle carried out by Indonesian scholars since Walisongo until now (F. Ahmad, 2018).

The overlap between religion and culture will be continuous as a process that will ultimately enrich lives of people. The Pribumization of Islam is not an attempt to abandon norms for the sake of civilization but for norms to accommodate diverse cultural needs (Syauqi, 2015). It used the opportunities provided by the variation of *nash* understanding while still giving a role to *ushul fiqh* and *qawā'idul fiqh* (Mustofa, Syarifudin, & Santoso, 2021). Gus Dur's criticism of Islamic Arabism, namely Islamic Arabism, will lessen understanding and reflection on tradition. Arabism, or the process of identifying with Middle Eastern culture, is essentially the uprooting of Indonesian culture from its roots so that it is not yet suitable to be applied. Pribumization is not an attempt to avoid resistance from local cultural forces, but rather so that the culture is not lost. At the heart of the Pribumization of Islam is the need to maintain the inevitable polarization between religion and culture (Usman, 2019).

Regarding the way Islam is religious in Indonesia (read: Nusantara), some people consider it a modern *jahiliyyah* (ignorance); the practice of Islam is not authentic, even far from the original (*perifal*). In fact, for indigenous Islam, Islam is not an instant religion but rather a process and historicity surrounds it. Just as the Qur'an and Hadith descend not in empty time and space, both (the Qur'an and hadith) are constructed based on the traditions of a particular historical context. Therefore, a real Islam lives amid a plural society and considers how Islam can understand the needs of society, problems, and the challenges ahead. Thus, the discussion emphasized in this study is the synergy between *fiqh* and tradition in the idea of Islamic Pribumization proposed by K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur). In addition, to add to the universal understanding of the Pribumization of Islam, it will also be discussed how the historical background of the idea emerged, the methodology and main ideas, as well as the criticisms and challenges that the Pribumization of Islam will face in contemporary Islamic discourse.

There is of course much previous research on the Pribumization of Islam, including: Islam Nusantara: Pribumisasi Islam ala NU (2018), (Ramdhan, 2018), Islam Formalis Versus Islam Lokal: Studi Pribumisasi Islam Walisongo dan Kiai Ciganjur (2016), (Achmad, 2016), K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid: Dari Pribumisasi Islam ke Universalisme Islam (2011), (Salim, 2011), Islam Nusantara Menurut Gus Dur: Kajian Pribumisasi Islam (2018), (F. Ahmad, 2018) Pribumisasi Dalam Pandangan Abdurrahman Wahid (2017), (Mukarom, 2017) Pribumisasi Islam Nusantara dan Relevansinya dengan Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal di Indonesia (2018), (Asnawi & Prasetiawati, 2018), however, the previous research has not comprehensively explained the approach study of *fiqh* with tradition in the context of Islamic Pribumization initiated by Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), so this research can complement previous research.

Methodology

This study adopted a qualitative research approach including a literature study, where sources in the form of books, academic and popular articles, and online media describe and explain the notion of Islamic Pribumization that synergizes between *fiqh* and tradition. According to Danandjaja, reference sources in literature research can be done by analyzing



articles, books, and writing sources that are relevant to the theme. Then to get accurate analysis of results, an interpretative analysis was carried out to reveal the objectives and answers to the research problems posed and that that arose (Danandjaja, 1997: 87).

According to Sugiyono, the qualitative descriptive method is a research method based on the philosophy of post-positivism which is used to study the condition of the object of study (as opposed to experimentation), where the researcher is a key instrument of data collection techniques carried out by triangulation (combined). This method means that researchers use different data collection techniques to obtain data from the same source, data analysis is inductive, and qualitative research results emphasize the meaning of generalizations far more (Sugiyono, 2017:28). In relation to the theme of Islamic Pribumization, the author has sought to analyze the sources of previous writings by comparing them with the latest information or phenomena that are related to the theme.

Result and Discussion

Historical background of Islamic Pribumization: then to now

The conceptual approach of culture occurred since Islam was first introduced to the Javanese peoples and was adhered to as a royal religion. When most Javanese accepted Islam, they did not strip away all the wisdom of Javanese culture, including its customs. That is why Ricklefs, who cites the book *Suma Oriental* by the Portuguese traveller Tome Pires, argues that Javanese Islam differs from Islam in Malaya and Sumatra. Ricklefs says most Javanese are nominally Islamic (Ricklefs, 1993:9). For example, the spread of Islam during the Majapahit period, was especially on the northern coastline. King Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389 CE) with Patih Gajah Mada (d. 1364 CE) had come into contact with the Islamic spread through traders in the ports. It's just that, as a newcomer religion, Islam has not shown its original existence aspects. Islam coexists with Hinduism, Buddhism, and the indigenous religions of Java (Abdullah, 2014:75). In this contact, of course, Islam does not directly openly teach the points of doctrine as required. There are compromises between Islam and culture. The new Muslims emerged who had previously been Hindus, Buddhists, and or Animists, which in the language of Agus Sunyoto is referred to as the *Kapitayan* religion (Sunyoto, 2012:13). Of course, those who had just converted to Islam did not entirely abandon their old traditions. Adaptation, acculturation, and inculturation thus continue to occur.

Furthermore, In the 15th and 16th centuries, the spirit of proselytizing by promoting Pribumization was continued by Walisongo. Walisongo spread Islam while respecting local wisdom. Walisongo felt the symbolization of religious movements was a movement irrelevant to the prophetic traditions and society of Java. This condition strengthened the model of Islamic Pribumization in Javanese society. The symbolization of Islam or Islamization will only cause counter-productive efforts to strengthen Islamic religious teachings' noble and primacy values. The symbolization of religion that forms the radical formalist Islamic movement will make it difficult to promote Pribumization in the teachings of Islam. This Pribumization will also lead to the ironism (active participation) of religious movements because religious movement actors do not understand the religious values that already exist in the local community. Walisongo did not want a religious symbolic model that eliminated the nature of religious teachings already well underway in the local community (Achmad, 2016). Another piece of information can also be seen in *pasantren* intellectualism, that the spread of Islam carried out by Walisongo is accommodating to the needs of the local community with cultural and structural paths (Mastuki & El-Saha, 2003:15).

In this regard, Walisongo incorporated local values in Islam that are peculiar to 'Indonesianness'. Walisongo's creativity gave birth to a new cluster of Indonesian Islamic reasoning that does not imitate Islam in Arabia. No Arabization was inherent in the early



spread of Islam in the archipelago. This *da'wah* is in contrast to what later spreaders of Islam in the 17th Century, such as Abdurrauf al-Singkili and Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqassari, were more purifying in the renewal of Islam (*tajdid*) (Susanto, 2008). Meanwhile, activists and thinkers discuss the central theme of "returning to the Qur'an and Hadith (Azra, 1994:16–17). The discourse that developed in religious intellectuals at the time was a return to orthodoxy, with more ritualistic doctrines. Azyumardi Azra revealed that the many Javanese disciples who went to Haramain formed a "Jawi colony" village. They learned and taught, giving rise to a fairly solid "network of scholars." Some returned to the country by bringing diverse thinking paradigms, one of which was Singkili, who pushed for renewal.

This transformation or authentication continued to heat up until the next period when Western imperialism began to entrench itself in the archipelago. The current modernization cannot be contained anymore. The response and perception of each Islamic community to modernization coloured the process of Islamic development in Indonesia. What happened in the 1970s and 1980s in the policy of Pancasila as a single principle became a matter of debate. It's just that the politics of the New Order regime could precipitate the puritanical Islamic forces. And when the regime fell, it could now be seen how this puritanism, now better known as hardline or fundamentalist Islamist groups, was more courageous to carry out their struggles openly, which easily forbids tradition with the claim of *bid'ah*, *khurafat*. So, they want to present a real alternative as pure religious teaching of the Qur'an and Sunnah, which they call authentic Islam (*kaffah*) (Rahmat, 2003: xvii). Tensions continued to occur within the community and in international-level meetings such as in the congress, which most Islamic groups in Indonesia attended. One of the hot topics of discussion at the time was the international Islamic caliphate in connection with the abolition of the Daulah Usmaniyah caliphate by Musthafa Kamal. Meanwhile, there is a debate about the representation of Islam following the culture and tradition, in addition, the opposite to the condemnation and destruction by puritanical Islam against local rituals and traditions by the fundamentalism community (Fitriah, 2015).

This unrest about this phenomenon later gave rise to the idea of the Pribumization of Islam by Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur). Those who urge that religious law be uniformed and formalized must have a formal taking (Qur'an and Hadith); views of statehood and political ideology must be universal. According to them, the only truth is the understanding of Sayyid Qutb, Abul A'la al-Maududi, or Khomeini. Whereas the other opinions, outside of their opinion, is stated to be false. If so, according to Gus Dur, it will even eliminate Islamic historical values from its local cultural roots. He writes: "Then, under such circumstances, is the life of the Muslims not uprooted from the roots of their local culture? Is it not detached from the history of each place? In Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Al-Jazair, Islam was made against Arab nationalism – which also each had its ideological colours" (Wahid, 2011:107).

Furthermore, Gus Dur also explained that the concept of Islamic Pribumization departs from the need to describe the reality of the diversity of people forming an Islamic identity since Islam came to the archipelago (Arif, 2009:187). The idea of Indonesian Islam, which has been raised since 1987, finds space, namely efforts to contextualize Islam, to deal with the efforts of some Muslims who want to muzzle the Indonesian context in their Islamic proselytizing. so that Islamic ideals in the Arab world that refer to the utopia of the Islamic State or the symbolization of Arab culture do not try to dialogue themselves with the reality of Indonesian society which has its own unique culture.

Thus, "the Pribumization of Islam" is not a new idea in the context of local Islamic wisdom. It is a revitalization of ideas adopted from the spirit taught by Walisongo in his proselytizing of the archipelago. Ibn Khaldun, in his *Muqaddimah*, affirms the importance of cultural acculturation. Ibn Khaldun posits the thesis "man is essentially an acculturative being," which can be understood that the will to acculturate is not only based on the character of Islam,



which is always dynamic and contextual, but is also based on the disposition of human beings who tend to adapt to the culture that develops in their community (Khalidun, 1995:40). Suppose the author is able to map in contemporary Islamic discourse, in that case, the idea is almost the same as the spirit of interpretation carried out by Fazlur Rahman towards the meaning of a text through socio-cultural reading. Namely, the so-called double movement, A movement projected backwards to obtain a correct understanding, is brought back to reality today. Likewise, with Gus Dur's efforts in reading reality and stemming the insistence of puritans, he then drew an understanding to return to the history of the spread of Islam in the past. This Walisongo period was able to dialogue with the existing culture.

In this regard, Gus Dur reread how Walisongo's struggle in proselytizing was very compromising with the traditions and culture that developed in the local community. Walisongo uses the local religion and, it can be seen here that he used local cultural instruments to spread Islam. This is not forbidding local religion, let alone muzzling it. Although wrapped in tradition, Islam in Indonesia is substantially the Islam brought by the Prophet Muhammad through the hands of the saints. He does not highlight religious symbols because it will make a person understand Islam only superficially, tend to demonize his fellow man, and consider the worship that develops through local traditions to be heretical (Sunyoto, 2012:13).

Furthermore, Gus Dur brought issues to the realm of praxis that occurs today, accommodating an idea he referred to as the 'Pribumization' of Islam, not Javanization or syncretism. It is not Islamization as Nur Cholis Madjid said in Ahmad Basos explanation. To obtain a true Islam is to free oneself from the shackles of all existing beliefs, that is, by two actions. Detach oneself from traditional values and look for values oriented towards the future. More details can be seen in the caption (Baso, 2016: 272) because the Pribumization of Islam merely considers local needs in formulating religious laws without changing the law itself. Nor is it an attempt to abandon norms for the sake of culture, but for them to accommodate the needs of the culture by using the opportunities provided by the *nash* understanding while still giving a role to *ushul fiqh* and *qaidah fiqh* (Wahid, 2001:119).

The Main Idea of the Pribumization of Islam

As explained above, Islamic Pribumization emerged as an answer to the problem faced by Muslims throughout its history, namely how to bring together culture (*'Adah*) and norms (*shari'a*). According to Gus Dur, the overlap between religion and culture will occur continuously as a process that will enrich life and make it not arid. However, religion and culture have their independence as philosophy and science. One would not be able to philosophize without science, but it also cannot be said that science is philosophy (Fitriah, 2015:47). Religion (Islam) is sourced from revelation and has its norms; because it is normative, it tends to be permanent. While culture is artificial, and it develops according to the times and tends to change. However, these differences do not preclude the possibility of manifestations of religious life in cultural forms. It can also be understood that the idea of Pribumization of Islam is how Islam as normative teaching derived from God, is accommodated into a culture of human origin without each losing their respective identities. That is, the basis of local traditions and culture will not affect the understanding of Islam. To borrow the term *Rumadi*, a person can still become one hundred percent Islamic by consistently practicing his religion and not reducing *'urf* (tradition) (Rumadi, 2008:17). So, the Saman dance that appeared in Aceh, the student's way of life, the culture of respecting the *kiai*, and so on, are part of the form of Pribumization of Islam that has a religious and also a cultural character. The principle of Islamic Pribumization is to consider local needs in formulating religious laws without changing the law itself. The Pribumization of Islam is not an attempt to abandon norms for the sake of culture, but for them to accommodate the needs of culture by utilizing the opportunities provided by the variation of *nash* understanding while still giving a role to *ushul fiqh* and *qawaid fiqh*. Here, revelation-in Gus Dur's view must be



understood by considering contextual factors, including legal awareness and a sense of justice (Wahid, 2001:119).

Thus, it can be understood that the core of Islamic Pribumization is the need not to avoid polarization between religion and culture because such polarization is inevitable (Wahid, 2001: 111). The Pribumization of Islam has made religion and culture not seek to 'defeat' each other. But rather manifest in a pattern of the religious reason that no longer takes its authentic form from religion, and it seeks to bring together the bridges that have been separating religion and culture.

Methodology of Gus Dur's Thought on the Pribumization of Islam

In an effort to consolidate Islam and local cultures, one of the steps that must be taken, according to Gus Dur, is how Islamic understanding can pay attention to the needs that are present in local culture by giving a role to *ushul fiqh* and *qawaid fiqh* as a methodology to harmonize between the two (Wahid, 2001:119). In this case, "Pribumization of Islam" does not understand local culture as enemies and obstacles in religion, but rather as local wisdom that can strengthen the existence and acceleration of Islamic mission as *rahmatan lil ālamīn*. One of the main missions of Islam in the context of culture is to spread harmony and acculturation with various cultures that grow in the local community. Some *fiqh* rules open space to hermeneutics so as to make room for previous peoples' local traditions to be adapted to Islam. For example, the rule reads, "*al-ādah muhakkamah*" (custom can be used as a source of law), and "*al-tsābit bi al-urf ka al-tsābit bi al-nash*" (something set in a habit just as much as something established in the text) (Rahmat, Rosyad, Zada, & Ghazali, 2003:20).

Another example relates to Gus Dur's Pribumization methodology in the case of greetings. Gus Dur once poured out a controversial discourse around the meaning of greetings in Islam. According to him, greetings *assalamu'alaikum* have the same position traditionally as the expressions like good morning, good afternoon, and similar sayings. If *assalamu'alaikum* is a common speech for people who use Arabic as their mother tongue, then good morning greetings and other sayings have the same meaning in Indonesian. The essence of the two forms of pronunciation is the same, distinguishing only different forms of pronunciation of languages, that is, between Arabic and Indonesian. So, in the case of *salam* the rule in *qāidah al-fiqh*, which says that *al-ādah muhakkamah*, can be applied in this case. But what needs to be seen in the case of Pribumization of *assalamu'alaikum* into the form of good morning and others can only be applied to the relationship of the *muamalah* only, not in terms of worship. Because in terms of worship, the law of its origin must be returned to the normative foundation.

The next case I will highlight is the issue of openness in the wedding procession. Gus Dur views that the issue of openness is not the essence of marriage. The essence of marriage can be summarized from the pillars of marriage. In this case, the marriage bill includes the bride and groom, *maskawin*, *ijab qabul*, witnesses, and guardians. If the five pillars of marriage are fulfilled, then the elements of the *syara* have all been fulfilled. As for the matters related to the wedding procession afterwards, they are left to the customs of each region. In Gus Dur's reasoning, openness is not a crucial issue in the form of religious understanding among the people. Openness is not regarded as an act as corrupt as adultery, disobedience to parents, and other serious crimes. Such deficiencies are generally understood as part of the custom, as long as the religious conditions of marriage and subsequent relationship arrangements,



such as the question of living and household obligations, are still governed Islamically. At the same time, its cultural manifestations are left to custom (Wahid, 2001:122).

From Pribumization of Islam to Nusantara Islam; Criticisms and Challenges

So far, Islam Nusantara has been predicted as a transition of issues from liberal Islam. The core of his teachings remains the 'same-oriented', but his skin changes colour. Regarding its historical background, Islam Nusantara is a manifestation or extension of the Pribumization of Islam. But from one side, Islam Nusantara is more inclined toward one particular variant, the Nadhlatul Ulama (N.U.) organization. Namely, during the 33rd NU Mukhtamar in Jombang, Islam Nusantara was raised as a theme to strengthen N.U.'s position as an Islamic mass organization that upholds moderation and tolerance to strengthen Indonesian solidarity and universal humanity. The Discourse of Islam Nusantara is getting stronger through a very popular rule among Islamic boarding schools, "*al-muhāfadhah 'alā al-qadīm al-shālih wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadīd al-aslah*" (maintaining good old traditions and taking on better new/modern traditions). Therefore, Islam Nusantara is not something new in the Islamic treasures in Indonesia but has been going on for a long time. The *ijtihad* of these scholars was resurfaced to reaffirm our identity as Muslims living in this country, maintaining peace, caring for diversity, and bringing about social justice. Likewise, with a foothold used by the Pribumization of Islam, he used the benefit as a benchmark to determine policy. The true face of Islam as a religion, *rahmatan lil 'alamin*, can be felt on this Nusantara earth. It is from this same spirit that the two, Indigenous Islam and Nusantara Islam meet. Both have the same link in realizing a religious Indonesia according to values that are not uprooted from the roots of tradition but do not deviate from the original religious teachings.

However, in reality, the Pribumization of Islam and Nusantara Islam face a serious problem in contemporary Islam, namely how to respond to minority groups. Some of them are victims of the authoritarianism of the majority group, which is often regarded as the only representation of Islam. It is not uncommon for the majority group to exclude splinter groups who are regarded as those who must get out of Islam. In fact, how can a group or individual claiming to be God's representative on earth to have the right to exclude a group from the ranks of Islam?

In addition, both have also drawn criticism among young people who are notoriously progressive, be it internal or external criticism. Both impersonation and abuse then drive localism. The resistance of this culture meets space, for example, in the symbol of the scabbard, which the ruler identified with traditionality, *jumud* (stagnant), and backwards so that terminology appears *kaum sarungan* over *Nahdliyyin* community. The marginalization of culture over this scabbard was the turning point of resistance when, in the new order era, *kaum sarungan* often wages resistance to the state's hegemony both socially and culturally (Baso, 2002:22–25). Externally, Islamic Pribumization has an external discursive enemy, namely Arabization, which caused Gus Dur to give birth to the concept of Islamic Pribumization.

Nevertheless, this process of discursive resistance has reaped increasingly strong resistance from Islamist groups that are already patterned with the symbolization of Arab culture. They are increasingly rampant by accusing heresies (*bid'ah*) and infidels of worship wrapped in local traditions and culture. That is Gus Dur's translation of the process of Islamic Pribumization. That is, the symbol of the Pribumization of Islam is semiotically counteracted radically-symbolically by those who carry the Arab locality and move Islam symbolically rather than substantively.

Gus Dur puts forward several arguments, according to Zubaidi, in defending the offer of the Pribumization of Islam. First, the historical reason that the Pribumization of Islam is part of Islamic history both in its home country and in other countries, including Indonesia. Here it



shows that Islam is experiencing a process of struggle with historical realities. This process, according to Gus Dur, did not change Islam but changed the manifestations of Islamic religious life. Second, the process of Pribumization of Islam is closely related between *fiqh (nash)* and custom (Zubaedi, 2007:182).

However, according to Syaiful Arif, custom cannot be dominative and replace *nash*. The only action that can be done is the development of *nash* applications so that they accommodate realities, such as the expansion of the meaning of *qūt al-balad*, from wheat to rice (Arif, 2013:106). This framework became an effort of *nash* application development. The provisions of the law have not changed since rice remains within the *qūt al-balad*. Ultimately, the Pribumization of Islam provides a solution to the tension between religious normativism and cultural relativism that is impossible to avoid due to its overlapping nature. As Gus Dur explained, the relationship model between Islam and culture is overlapping because it has its independence.

Social indigenization in the Pribumization of Islam and Religious Moderation

There has been indigenization, namely the process of acceptance of Islamic society as an integral element of cultural identity in various world civilizations as it happens in Persia, North Africa, Southeast Asia, and the archipelago (J. Ahmad, 2019:14). As for the condition of the archipelago, in the midst of the plurality of society, indigenization has reached the point where non-Muslims consider Islamic expressions as being their own. The 'expression of the expression' has changed in the daily conversation used. The people adopted expressions such as '*alhamdulillah*', '*Assalamu'alaikum*', 'God willing', and others. It was assumed that a term is a tool or language of communication not attached to one particular religion that sometimes becomes a barrier among human beings (Nasrullah, 2017).

Social activities that were originally related to Islamic proselytizing are now being seen as an inseparable part of the cultural heritage of the Indonesian people. There are many activities of gathering at home, for example, praying for the deceased as is the tradition of *tahlilan yasinan*, and gathering *silaturahmi* during the Eid al-Fitr moment. Consequently, the activity, which has been passed down for generations, is now popular and jointly carried out by religious people (Rodin, 2013). From a certain point of view, it is the highest form of success that can be achieved by Islamic proselytizing.

Abdurrahman Wahid presented the concept of indigenization with the term Pribumization of Islam for the Indonesian public discourse in the 1990s. And the Pribumization of Islam is intended to carry out several missions:(Dwijayanto, 2017) First, minimizing friction and tension among forms of local cultural heritage, massive and honourable proselytizing to strengthen Islam that is proselytizing which began again in acculturation towards the end of President Soeharto's leadership. Second, raising awareness about the need for an exclusive view in Islam that sees any theological system through a narrow lens or muzzles the framework of intellectual ideas regarding any belief or understanding. To be precise, all Muslims must make multi-dimensional efforts to build Islamic civilization.

Since its establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama in 1926, its leaders have taken the chair and made unequivocal decisions many times, including: first, accepting and acknowledging the designation of *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI)* as a nation-state and not a religious state. Second, it is a matter of human rights and equality for all Indonesian citizens before the law, regardless of differences in religion and beliefs. Third, participation and being



involved in transforming the world system into a real state of reality. That is, a world system built on freedom, peace, and social justice (Farih, 2016):

Table 1. Relevance of Pribumization of Islam, Islam Nusantara and Religious Moderation

No.	Historically	Pribumization of Islam	Islam Nusantara	Religious Moderation
1.	Who?	K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) Chairman of PBNU (1984-1999)	K.H. Said Agil Siradj Chairman of PBNU (2010-2022)	Lukman Hakim Saifuddin Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (2014-2019)
2.	What?	An indigenization conception between Islam in Indonesia and Islam in Arabia	Islam that synergizes universal values is theological from a divine God with a cultural culture of tradition that is human or human creativity.	National Commitment, Anti Radicalism, Tolerance, Accommodation of Local Culture
3.	Why?	To harmonize between religion and culture	How important is cultural harmony and contextualization to local culture as long as it does not violate the value of Islamic teachings	Campaigning for a moderate Islam and preventing the spread of radicalism
4.	Where?	27 th NU Muktamar in Situbondo	33 rd NU Muktamar NU in Jombang	Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia
5.	When?	1984	2015	2019
6.	How?	His discourse continues to be rolled out by the Gusdurian network	Became one of the Faculties at Nahdlatul Ulama Indonesia University Jakarta, and Nusantara Islamic University in Bandung	Entry into National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020-2024

Sources: articles data, 2023

The choices made by Nahdlatul Ulama are clearly reflected in decisive decisions that play a role in building a new world system. Rather than entering into a useless dispute that calls for a return to the prevailing world system.,now is the time for the clerics and the Islamic world to rise and join together in the ranks of people with clear hearts from different religious and national backgrounds to fight to strengthen the charter of a just and uniform world system. A world system built on respect for human rights and equality for every human being is essential (Rahman, Ahmadin & Rifal, 2021).

Islam Nusantara, delivered by Said Aqil, is a continuation of the Islamic Pribumization of Gus Dur's idea, who is also the former Chairman of PBNU, through an oral interview with Abdul Mun'im Saleh published in the book *Islam Indonesia Menatap Masa Depan*, (Jakarta: P3M, 1989). According to Gus Dur, the Pribumization of Islam is an effort to consider local needs in formulating religious laws, and it is not an attempt to abandon the norms of Islam in favour of a local culture. But rather it is intended for those norms to accommodate the needs of culture by using the opportunities provided by variations in the understanding of *nash* (provisions of Islamic law derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah). So, the Islam Nusantara intended here is not in opposition to Arab Islam because the basis of the idea of Islam Nusantara is the local need to formulate religious law (Arif, 2020). Although, according to Gus Dur, the danger of the Arabization process of identifying with Arab culture is uprooting ourselves from the roots of Indonesian culture. This brings us back to Said Aqil's statement that the Arab Islam referred to by him, is a safeguard against the phenomenon of Arabization. Islam Nusantara is like a magnet that has brought Indonesia closer to Islam Nusantara, a sustainable religious moderation. From here, by the Nahdlatul Ulama circles, it was captured as Nusantara Islam, which is Islam that embraces all traditions and cultures. Through Islam Nusantara, Islam



developed as a teaching that upholds social and moral values and maintains religious moderation (HS., 2021).

Conclusion

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that: first, the Pribumization of Islam is the result of the thought of K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid in the 1980s by synergizing between *fiqh* and tradition. Gus Dur used the Walisongo proselytizing method, which used traditional and cultural media to spread Islam so that it was easier to accept. Secondly, Gus Dur's idea of Islamic Pribumization uses the basis of the methodology of *ushul* and *qaidah fiqh*, namely *al-'ādah muhakkamah* (customary tradition can be the source of law) and *al-'tsābit bi al-'urf ka al-'tsābit bi al-nash* (something established in custom as is the case with something set forth in the text) in synergizing between religious law (*fiqh*) and tradition/culture so that one with the other does not negate either, for example in the greeting *assalamu'alaikum, ahlan wa sahan, shobāhal Khair*, which is interpreted as 'good morning' (only in the relationship of muamalah not in terms of worship), and marital traditions. Third, there is relevance between the pribumization discourse of Islam, Nusantara Islam and Religious Moderation in terms of cultural accommodation values that synergize with religion. In the novel *ijtihad* we find an entrenched view of the process of Islam in Indonesia as "Indigenization of Islam" (pribumisasi Islam) that is aimed at avoiding any divergence between religion and Indonesian culture per se.

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