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Religious Moderation in the Context of Integration Between Religion and Local Culture in Indonesia

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Abstract

This study analyzes the historical flow of Islamic indigenization to Religious Moderation (*wasaṭiyah*). With qualitative methods and literature study approaches, this study concluded that firstly, Islamic *Pribumization* is the result of the thoughts of K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), *Islam Nusantara* initiated by K.H. Said Aqil Siradj and Religious Moderation by Lukman Hakim Saifuddin which was motivated by his response to the trend of Arabization, Fundamentalism and Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia. Secondly, the discourse of Islamic *Pribumization* and *Islam Nusantara* has similarities; both use the methodologies of *al-'ādah muḥakkamah* and *al-'tsābit bi al-'urf ka al-tsābit bi al-naṣ* which are considered capable of paying attention to the needs that exist in local culture. Meanwhile, Religious Moderation is a top-down policy by the government under the Ministry of Religious Affairs to maintain religious harmony by applying a moderate religious perspective. All three have the same characteristics of affirming moderate Islamic principles, upholding tolerance, and maintaining local wisdom. Thirdly, based on the historical flow and contextualization of religious values with culture, the concept of Islamic Indigenization has substantially shifted to be adopted by the concept of *Islam Nusantara* and now represents it as one of the indicators of religious moderation, namely accommodating local culture so that it has strong relevance. This research shows the relationship between the historical flow of Islamic indigenization, *Islam Nusantara*, and Religious Moderation, which seeks to create a dialogue between religion and culture.

Keywords: Integration, religion, local culture, *Pribumization*, *Islam Nusantara*, Religious Moderation

Introduction

Debates about tradition and religion have never found a bright spot in Islamic intellectual discourse, including 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 worship, how to dress, so on, must correspond to the first area where Islam was born. Gus Dur thought this was not a process of Islamization but Arabization.[1] From this process, Gus Dur came up with an interesting idea, namely, the Islamic *Pribumization* (indigenization of Islam).

However, this is not a new thought from Gus Dur because, for a long time, many *kiai* (ulama) of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) have presented a type of Islam unique to Indonesia, without much mixed with elements of Arabism. Gus Dur had given a name to the kind of struggle carried out by Indonesian scholars since *Walisongo* up to now.[2] Gus Dur, whose real name was Abdurrahman Wahid (d. 2009), was a Muslim intellectual, politician, and the fourth president of Indonesia, the grandson of the founder of the Indonesian Islamic organization *Nahdlatul Ulama* Hadratussheikh K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari (d. 1947). He was known for his modernist-progressive thoughts and reformist movements in Indonesia.

The overlap between religion and culture will be continuous as a process that will enrich human lives. The Islamic *Pribumization* is not an attempt to abandon religious norms for the sake of culture but to

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[1] Abdurrahman Wahid (2006), *Islamku Islam Anda Islam Kita: Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi*, Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, p. 244.
[2] Fathoni Ahmad (2018), "Islam Nusantara Menurut Gus Dur: Kajian Pribumisasi Islam," *Mozaic : Islam Nusantara*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 21-40.

accommodate cultural needs.[3] It used the opportunities provided by the variation of *naṣ* understanding while still giving a role to *uṣul fiqh* and *qawāidu al-fiqh.*[4] Arabism, the process of identifying with Middle Eastern culture, involves stripping Indonesian culture from its origins, making it unsuitable for application. *Pribumization* is not an attempt to avoid resistance from local cultural forces but rather to prevent the loss of culture. In essence, Islamic *Pribumization* is related to the necessity of maintaining the inevitable polarization between religion and culture.[5]

Furthermore, according to Gus Dur (2006), religious methods such as the indigenization of Islam bridge the religion and culture. Thus, it is best applied in Indonesia.[6] Some people consider it a modern *jahiliyyah* (ignorance), such as fundamentalist groups purifying their religious practices, who consider Islamic practices, such as integration with traditions, as inauthentic and far from the original. However, for indigenous Islam, Islam is not an instant religion but rather a process from history that 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 specific historical traditions.

Therefore, a true Islam thrives within diverse communities by understanding society's needs, issues, and challenges. Thus, the discussion emphasized in this study is the synergy between *fiqh* and tradition in the idea of Islamic *Pribumization* proposed by Gus Dur. Then, another term emerged, namely *Islam Nusantara*. According to Said Aqil Siradj, *Islam Nusantara* is not a new stream but is a typology, *mumayyizāt, khaṣāiṣ,* Islam that is polite, cultured, friendly, tolerant, moral, and civilized. Looking at this term, it seems to be a connection with Indigenous Islam in the context of the dialectics between religion and culture.[7]

Meanwhile, Religious Moderation is believed to have arisen due to the escalation of radicalism and intolerance. There are four main indicators of religious moderation: national commitment, anti-radicalism, tolerance, and accommodation of local culture.[8] Interestingly, this theme is interesting to study when the term intersects religion and local culture. This study aims to see the historical path of the emergence of Islamic Indigenization, *Islam Nusantara*, and Religious Moderation. In addition, to see the relevance between the three concepts as well as the differences or uniqueness of each. Related literature review on the research topics of Islamic *Pribumization*, *Islam Nusantara*, and Religious Moderation can be traced in the latest books and articles as listed in the following table.

Table 1: Reference Sources of *Historisitas*

No.	Focus	Source
1	The historicity of Islamic Indigenization	Wahid (2001),[9] Mudhofir (2014),[10] Fitriah (2015),[11] Achmad (2016),[12] Mukarom (2017),[13]
2	The historicity of *Islam Nusantara*	Syauqi (2015),[14] Ramdhan (2018),[15] Ahmad (2018),[16] Asnawi and Prasetiawati (2018),[17] Kato (2021),[18]

[3] Muhammad Labib Syauqi (2015), "Islam (di) Nusantara; Esensi, Genealogi serta Identitasnya," *Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 321-334.
[4] Imam Mustofa, Ahmad Syarifudin and Dri Santoso (2021), "Pemikiran Hukum Islam Abdurrahman Wahid : Harmonisasi Islam dan Budaya," *Undang: Jurnal Hukum*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 507-535.
[5] Muh. Ilham Usman (2019), "Pemikiran Kh. Abdurrahman Wahid: Pesantren Fiqh-Sufistik dan Pribumisasi Islam," *Aqidah-Ta: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 211-223.
[6] Wahid (2006), *Islamku Islam Anda Islam Kita: Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi*, p. 245.
[7] Hisanori Kato (2021), "The Islam Nusantara Movement in Indonesia," *Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion*, Vol. 21, pp. 110-128.
[8] Imam Subchi et al. (2022), "Religious Moderation in Indonesian Muslims," *Religions*, Vol. 13, No. 5, pp. 1-11.
[9] Abdurrahman Wahid (2001), *Pribumisasi Islam dalam Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan*, Depok: Desantara, pp. 4-29.
[10] Mudhofir Abdullah (2014), "Pribumisasi Islam dalam Konteks Budaya Jawa dan Integrasi Bangsa," *Jurnal Indo-Islamika*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 67-90.
[11] Ainul Fitriah (2015), "Pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid tentang Pribumisasi Islam," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 39.
[12] Ubaidillah Achmad (2016), "Islam Formalis Versus Islam Lokalis: Studi Pribumisasi Islam Walisongo dan Kiai Ciganjur," *Addin*, Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 233.
[13] A. Soheh Mukarom (2017), "Pribumisasi Dalam Pandangan Abdurahman Wahid," *Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama dan Lintas Budaya*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 63-74.
[14] Syauqi, "Islam (di) Nusantara; Esensi, Genealogi serta Identitasnya."
[15] Tri Wahyudi Ramdhan (2018), "Islam Nusantara: Pribumisasi Islam ala NU," *Al-Insyiroh: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 73-91.
[16] Ahmad (2018), "Islam Nusantara Menurut Gus Dur: Kajian Pribumisasi Islam," p. 25.
[17] Habib Shulthon Asnawi and Eka Prasetiawati (2018), "Pribumisasi Islam Nusantara dan Relevansinya dengan Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal di Indonesia," *Fikri : Jurnal Kajian Agama, Sosial dan Budaya*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 21-40.
[18] Kato (2021), "The Islam Nusantara Movement in Indonesia," p. 115.

3	The historicity of Religious Moderation	Tim Kemenag (2019),[19] Fahri and Zainuri (2019),[20] Hefni (2020),[21] Subchi et al., (2022), [22] Syamsurijal et al., (2022),[23]
4	Characteristics of Islamic Indigenization	Susanto (2008),[24] Dwijayanto (2017),[25] Usman (2019),[26]
5	Characteristics of *Islam Nusantara*	Luthfi (2016),[27] Nurhisam and Huda (2016),[28] Alwi (2021),[29] Setiawan and Stevanus (2023),[30]
6	Characteristics of Religious Moderation	Arif (2020),[31] Fuadi (2022),[32] Rasyid et al., (2022),[33] mim Kurniawan and Afifi (2023),[34]

Source: Relevant books and articles

Based on the literature review above, it can be known about the history and characteristics of Islamic *Pribumization*, *Islam Nusantara*, and Religious Moderation. However, no one has historically analyzed the relationship and tangent between the concepts of Islamic Indigenization, *Islam Nusantara*, and Religious Moderation, so this study is able to answer the intersection, differences, and uniqueness of each.

Methodology

This research employs a qualitative method with a literature study approach, where each source, in the form of books and articles, describes the explanation of Islamic *Pribumization*, *Islam Nusantara,* and Religious Moderation. According to Danandjaja (1997), reference sources in literature research can be done by analyzing articles, books, and writing sources that are still relevant to the theme. Then, to get accurate results, an interpretation analysis can be conducted to reveal the objectives and answers to the research problems that arise.[35]

According to Sugiyono (2017), the qualitative descriptive method is a research method based on the post-positivism philosophy used to study the condition of the research object (as opposed to the experiment), 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 more on the meaning of generalization.[36] In relation to the theme of Islamic *Pribumization*, the author tries to analyze the sources of previous writings by comparing them with the latest

[19] Tim Penyusun Kementerian Agama (2019), *Moderasi Beragama*, Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, pp. 9-19.
[20] Mohamad Fahri and Ahmad Zainuri (2019), "Moderasi Beragama di Indonesia," *Intizar*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 95-100.
[21] Wildani Hefni (2020), "Moderasi Beragama dalam Ruang Digital: Studi Pengarusutamaan Moderasi Beragama di Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri," *Jurnal Bimas Islam*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 1-22.
[22] Subchi et al. (2022), "Religious Moderation in Indonesian Muslims."
[23] Syamsurijal, Wasisto Raharjo Jati, and Halimatusa'diah (2022), "Religious Moderation within Islam of the Archipelago: Lesson Learnt From Nine Islamic," *Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 361-378.
[24] Edi Susanto (2008), "Islam Pribumi versus Islam Otentik (Dialektika Islam Universal dengan Partikularitas Budaya lokal)," *Karsa*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 16-24.
[25] Arik Dwijayanto (2017), "Pribumisasi Islam Nusantara : Antara Nalar Beragama dan Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan di Indonesia," *Qalamuna: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial dan Agama*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 71-92.
[26] Usman (2019), "Pemikiran Kh. Abdurrahman Wahid: Pesantren Fiqh-Sufistik Dan Pribumisasi Islam," p. 217.
[27] Khabibi Muhammad Luthfi (2016), "Islam Nusantara: Relasi Islam dan Budaya Lokal," *SHAHIH : Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
[28] Luqman Nurhisam and Mualimul Huda (2016), "Islam Nusantara: A Middle Way?," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 152.
[29] Muhammad Alwi (2021), "Islam Nusantara Sebagai Upaya Kontekstualisasi Ajaran Islam Dalam Menciptakan Moderasi Beragama," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama*, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 75-94.
[30] David Eko Setiawan and Kalis Stevanus (2023), "Significance of Islam Nusantara Values in an Indonesian Multicultural Society," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 203-214.
[31] Syaiful Arif (2020), "Moderasi Beragama dalam Diskursus Negara Islam: Pemikiran KH Abdurrahman Wahid," *Jurnal Bimas Islam*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 73-104.
[32] Moh Ashif Fuadi (2022), "Tradisi Pemikiran Moderasi Beragama Nahdlatul Ulama," *Al-Fikra : Jurnal Ilmiah Keislaman*, Vol. 21, No. 1, p. 12.
[33] Arbanur Rasyid et al. (2022), "Actualization of the Concept of National Fiqh in Building Religious Moderation in Indonesia," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 21, No 2, pp. 433-464.
[34] Dandi Kurniawan and Abdullah A. Afifi (2023), "Penguatan Moderasi Beragama Sebagai Solusi Menyikapi Politik Identitas," *AL-IMAM: Journal on Islamic Studies, Civilization and Learning Societies*, Vol. 4, pp. 13-21.
[35] James Danandjaja (1997), *Folklor Indonesia: Ilmu Gosip, Dongeng, dan Lain-lain*, Jakarta: PT. Pustaka Utama Grafiti, p. 87.
[36] Sugiyono (2017), *Metode Penelitian Bisnis: Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, Kombinasi, R&D*, Sofia Yustiyani Suryandari (ed.), 3rd ed., Bandung: CV Alfabeta, p. 28.

information or phenomena, especially historical studies of the relationship between Islamic indigenization with *Islam Nusantara* and Religious Moderation.

Result and Discussion

Historical Background of Islamic Pribumization, Islam Nusantara, and Religious Moderation

The background of the emergence of Indigenous Islam can be analyzed from the conceptual approach of culture that occurred when Islam was first introduced to the Javanese and adopted as a royal religion. When most Javanese people embraced Islam, they did not forsake their entire Javanese culture wisdom, including their customs and traditions. Therefore, Ricklefs (1993), citing the book "Suma Oriental" by the Portuguese traveller Tome Pires, mentioned that Javanese Islam differs from Islam in Malaya and Sumatra. Ricklefs said that the majority of Javanese people nominally adhere to Islam.[37] For example, the spread of Islam during the Majapahit period, especially on the northern coastline. King Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389), with *Patih* Gajah Mada (d. 1364), had contact with Islam, which had spread through traders in the ports. However, as a newcomer religion, Islam had not yet fully demonstrated its presence. Islam coexists with Hinduism, Buddhism, and native Javanese religions.[38] In this contact, of course, Islam did not immediately openly teach its doctrinal points. There are compromises between Islam and culture. People who newly embraced Islam, who might have previously been Hindu, Buddhists, and or Animists, as Agus Sunyoto (2012) puts it, were referred to as the *Kapitayan* religion.[39] Certainly, those who had just converted to Islam did not entirely abandon their old traditions. Adaptation, acculturation, and assimilation continued to occur.

Furthermore, In the 15th and 16th centuries, the spirit of preaching by embodying *Pribumization* was continued by *Walisongo*. *Walisongo* spread Islam while respecting local wisdom. *Walisongo* believed that the symbolization of religious movements was a movement irrelevant to the prophetic traditions and Javanese society. This condition reinforced a model of Islamic *Pribumization* in Javanese society. The symbolic representation or Islamization would only lead to counterproductive efforts in strengthening the noble values and excellence of Islamic teachings. The symbolism of religion, forming formalistic radical Islamic movements, would make it difficult to adhere to Islamic teachings. *Walisongo* did not want a symbolic religious model that would eliminate the inherent nature of religious teachings that had already developed well in the local community.[40] Another information can also be seen in the intellectualism of *pesantren,* that the spread of Islam carried out by *Walisongo* is accommodating to the needs of the local community through cultural and structural avenues.[41]

In this regard, *Walisongo* combined local values within a distinctive Indonesian Islam. The creativity of *Walisongo* gave rise to a new colection of Indonesian Islamic thought that does not imitate Islam in Arab. There is no inherent Arabization in the initial spread of Islam in these islands. This *da'wah* differed from the spread of Islam in the 17th century by figures such as Abdurrauf al-Singkili and Muhammad Yusuf al-Makassari, which was more purification-oriented in Islam renewal (*tajdīd*).[42] Meanwhile, activists and thinkers discuss the central theme of "returning to the Qur'an and Hadith". The discourse that evolved among religious intellectuals at the time focused on the return to orthodoxy with more ritualistic doctrines. Azyumardi Azra (1994) revealed that the many Javanese disciples who went to *Haramain* formed a *Jawi* village; they learned and taught, giving rise to a fairly solid network of scholars. Some returned to the country by bringing diverse paradigms, one of whom was Abdurrauf As-Singkili, who advocated for reform.[43]

This transformation or authentication continued to intensify in the following period when Western imperialism began to take root on this island. Modernization can no longer be controlled. The response

[37] M.C. Ricklefs (1993), "A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300," in *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300*, 2nd ed., Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 9.
[38] Mudhofir Abdullah (2014), "Pribumisasi Islam dalam Konteks Budaya Jawa dan Integrasi Bangsa," *Jurnal Indo-Islamika*, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 75.
[39] Agus Sunyoto (2012), *Atlas Wali Songo*, Jakarta: Pustaka IIman & LT NU, p. 13.
[40] Ubaidillah (2016), "Islam Formalis Versus Islam Lokalis," pp. 233-362.
[41] Mastuki and Ishom El-Saha (2003), *Intelektualisme Pesantren: Potret Tokoh dan Cakrawala Pemikiran di Era Pertumbuhan Pesantren*, Jakarta: Diva Press, p. 15.
[42] Edi Susanto (2008), "Islam Pribumi versus Islam Otentik (Dialektika Islam Universal dengan Partikularitas Budaya lokal)," *Karsa*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 16-24.
[43] Azyumardi Azra (1994), *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Mizan, pp. 16-7.

and perception of each Islamic community to modernization coloured the process of Islamic development in Indonesia. The events in the 1980s regarding Pancasila as a single principle became a matter of debate. However, the politics of the New Order regime could trigger the strength of puritan Islam. When the regime collapsed, it was now evident how this puritanism, now better known as hardline or fundamentalist Islamist groups, was more courageous to carry out their struggles, easily denouncing tradition with the claim of *bid'ah,* or *khurafat.* Thus, they want to present a real alternative as pure religious teaching of the Qur'an and Sunnah, which they call authentic Islam (*kaffah)*.[44] Meanwhile, there is a debate about the representation of Islam following the culture and tradition, besides the condemnation and destruction by puritan Islam of rituals and local traditions by the fundamentalist communities.[45] Discomfort with this phenomenon then gave rise to the idea of the Islamic *Pribumization* by Gus Dur around the 1980s.[46]

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 these islands.[47] Thus, the Islamic *Pribumization* is not new in the context of local Islamic wisdom. It is a refreshing of ideas adopted from the spirit taught by *Walisongo* in his proselytizing of the archipelago.[48] Ibn Khaldun, in his *Muqaddimah*, affirms the importance of cultural acculturation. Ibn Khaldun posits the theory that humans are essentially creatures who undergo acculturation. It can be interpreted that the desire for acculturation is not only based on Islamic character, which is always dynamic and contextual, but also on the disposition of human beings that tend to adapt to the culture evolved in their society.[49] Similarly, with Gus Dur's efforts in reading reality and stemming the insistence of puritans, he then formed an understanding to return to the history of the spread of Islam in the past. The period of *Walisongo* was able to engage dialogue with the existing culture.

Furthermore, Gus Dur brought it to the realm of current practices, accommodating an idea he referred to as the Islamic *Pribumization*, not the Javanization or syncretism, as stated by Nur Cholis Madjid (d. 2005).[50] Thus, the Islamic *Pribumization* only considers local needs in formulating religious laws without changing the laws themselves. It is not an attempt to abandon norms for the sake of culture, but to accommodate the cultural needs by using the opportunities provided by various *nash* understanding while still emphasizing the role of *uṣul fiqh* and *qawāidu al-fiqh.*[51]

The background to the emergence of *Islam Nusantara* in 2015 by K.H. Said Aqil Siradj is responding to religious fundamentalism. Therefore, the concept of *Islam Nusantara* seeks to contextualize the universally applicable values of Islam according to the cultural realities in Indonesia.[52] The response to the term *Islam Nusantara* faced resistance from various groups, especially from Wahabi groups who wanted to purify Islam from local elements such as the practice of *shirk* and *bid'ah*. Other opposing groups are the *Front Pembela Islam (FPI*) and *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)*, which view the syncretism concept as potentially damaging to Islamic unity and detrimental to the unity of the Muslim community.[53] Thus, *Islam Nusantara* signifies Islam that does not erase culture, Islam that does not conflict with traditions, and Islam that does not reject or eliminate culture. *Islam Nusantara* is an Islam that synergizes universal theological values from the divine God with traditional culture that is inherently human or reflective of human creativity.

Meanwhile, Religious Moderation was popularized by Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, the Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia from 2014-2019. The emergence of Religious Moderation is suspected of acts of violence committed in the name of religion, such as extremism, fundamentalism, terrorism, and liberalism groups. Additionally, moderation is also seen as a perspective that is expected to serve as a solution to all forms of intolerance threatening religious harmony. Therefore, Religious

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[44] Imdadun Rahmat (2003), *Islam Pribumi: Mendialogkan Agama, Membaca Realitas*, Jakarta: Erlangga, p. xvii.
[45] Ainul Fitriah (2015), "Pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid tentang Pribumisasi Islam," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 39.
[46] Abdurrahman Wahid (2011), *Salahkah jika diperibumikan? Dalam Tuhan tidak perlu dibela*, Yogyakarta: LkiS, p. 106.
[47] Syaiful Arif (2009), *Gus Dur dan Ilmu Sosial Transformatif: Sebuah Biografi Intelektual*, Depok: Koekoesan, p. 187.
[48] Dwijayanto (2017), "Pribumisasi Islam Nusantara," p. 75.
[49] Ibnu Khaldun (1995), *Muqaddimah*, Beirut: Maktabah al-Ashriyah, p. 40.
[50] Ahmad Baso (2016), *NU STUDIES: Pergolakan Pemikiran antara Fundamentalisme Islam dan Fundamentalisme Neo-Liberal*, Jakarta: Erlangga, p. 272.
[51] Abdurrahman (2001), *Pribumisasi Islam dalam Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan*, p. 119.
[52] Setiawan and Stevanus (2023), "Significance of Islam Nusantara Values in an Indonesian Multicultural Society," pp. 203-214.
[53] Khoirurrijal (2017), "Islam Nusantara Sebagai Counter Hegemoni Melawan Radikalisme Agama di Indonesia," *AKADEMIKA: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, Vol. 22, No. 1, p. 77.

Moderation is expected to be a solution to the issues of radicalism and intolerance by strengthening Religious Moderation across all Ministries of the Republic of Indonesia.[54] Religious moderation is reflected in national commitments that respect diversity, tolerance that honors differences in beliefs, rejection of all forms of violence in the name of religion, and acceptance as well as accommodation of cultural richness and traditions existing in society.[55]

In the context of religious moderation, related to the acceptance of traditions and culture, it involves appreciation and recognition of the diversity in worship practices, customs, and traditions within the community. Each religion has its uniqueness in carrying out religious practices, which are often related to local traditions and culture.[56] For example, respect for traditions outside Islam, Vesak celebrations in Borobudur involving Buddhist religious rituals and Javanese culture, or *Nyepi* celebrations in Bali that reflect syncretism between Hinduism and Balinese customs. Of the Islamic traditions of these islands, many are well-known, such as the *Halal Bihalal, Grebeg Syawal, Muludan, Sekaten, Tahlilan, Yasinan,* and *Kupatan* traditions. These practices demonstrate how diverse traditions and cultures are accepted and accommodated in religious contexts. Thus, it can be understood that the teachings of *Islam Nusantara* and religious moderation are related to respect for local culture but still firmly upholding Sharia. They are capable of building social, cultural, and religious harmony in the context of Indonesia.

Table 2. Historical Relevance of Islamic *Pribumization*, *Islam Nusantara*, and Religious Moderation

No.	Historically	*Islamic Pribumization*	*Islam Nusantara*	Religious Moderation
1.	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
2.	Who	K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) Chairman of PBNU (1984-1999)	K.H. Said Agil Siradj Chairman of PBNU (2010-2021)	Lukman Hakim Saifuddin Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (2014-2019)
3.	When	1980s	2015	2019
4.	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
5.	Where	Presented on 27th NU Muktamar Situbondo	33th NU Muktamar NU in Jombang	Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

[54] Mirzon Daheri et al. (2023), "Strengthening Religious Moderation: Learning from the Harmony of Multireligious People in Indonesia," *Journal of Population and Social Studies*, Vol. 31, pp. 571-586.
[55] Arbanur Rasyid et al. (2022), "Actualization of the Concept of National Fiqh in Building Religious Moderation in Indonesia," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 21 No. 2, pp. 433-464.
[56] Ahmad Agis et al. (2018), "Islam Nusantara: Moderasi Islam di Indonesia," *Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 153-168.

6.	How	His discourse continues to be rolled out by the Gusdurian network	Became one of the Faculties at Nahdlatul Ulama Indonesia University Jakarta, Nusantara Islamic University in Bandung, and other UNU campuses.	Entry into National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020-2024

Sources: Articles data breached

Moderate Islamic practice: Harmonization between 'Adah (Culture) and Sharia (Norms)

As explained above, Islamic *Pribumization* emerged as a response to the challenges faced by Muslims community throughout its history, namely how to integrate culture *('adah)* with norms *(shari'a).* According to Fitriah (2015), Gus Dur emphasized that the overlap between religion and culture will continue as a process that will enrich life.[57] Religion (Islam) is sourced from revelation and has its norms; it tends to be permanent because it is normative. Meanwhile, culture is artificial, evolves with time 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 Islamic *Pribumization* is how Islam as normative teaching derived from God is accommodated into a culture of human origin without losing their respective identities. According to Rumadi (2008), a person can still become one hundred per cent Islamic by consistently practising his religion and not reducing '*urf* (tradition).[58]

The principle of Islamic *Pribumization* is to consider local needs in formulating religious laws without changing the law themselves. The Islamic *Pribumization* utilizes the opportunities provided by the variation of *naṣh* understanding while still emphasizing the role of *uṣul fiqh* and *qawāidu al-fiqh.* According to Gus Dur, revelation must be understood by taking contextual factors into account, including legal awareness and a sense of justice.[59] 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 unavoidable.[60] According to Imdadun Rahmat (2003), Gus Dur said that Islamic understanding can address the needs present in local culture by giving a role to *uṣul fiqh* and *qawāidu al-fiqh* as a methodology to reconcile the two. Some *fiqh* rules open space to hermeneutics to make room for previous peoples' local traditions to be adapted into Islam. For example, these rules state *al-'ādah muḥakkamah* (custom can be used as a source of law), and *al-'tsābit bi al-'urf ka al-tsābit bi al-naṣ* (something followed by custom is like something followed by text).[61]

Another example related to Gus Dur's *Pribumization* methodology is greetings. Gus Dur once conveyed a controversial discourse regarding the meaning of Islamic greetings. According to him, greeting *assalamu'alaikum* has the same position traditionally as expressions like good morning, good afternoon, and similar sayings. If *assalamu'alaikum* is a common expression for those using Arabic, then greetings like good morning with the same meaning in Indonesian have similar essence. 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 *qawāidu al-fiq*h says that *al-'ādah muḥakkamah*.[62] However, it should be noted that the application of the *Pribumization* of *assalamu'alaikum* in the form of good morning and others can only be applied to social matters (mu'āmalah), not in matters of worship. In worship matters, the original law must be returned to the normative basis.

Another case example is the issue of *aurat* (part of the body which may not be visible while performing a ritual) in the marriage ceremony. Gus Dur argued that the issue of *aurat* is not the essence of marriage. The essence of marriage can be summarized from the pillars of marriage: the marriage contract involving the bride and groom, dowry (*maskawin), consent (ijab qabūl)*, witnesses, and guardians. If the five pillars of marriage are fulfilled, then the elements of *sharia* have been met. As for matters related to the marriage ceremony afterwards, they are left to the customs of each region.[63] Furthermore,

[57] Fitriah (2015), "Pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid tentang Pribumisasi Islam," p. 47.
[58] Rumadi (2008), *Post-Tradisionalisme Islam: Wacana Intelektualisme dalam Komunitas NU*, Cirebon: Fahmina Institute, p. 17.
[59] Wahid (2001), *Pribumisasi Islam dalam Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan*, p. 119.
[60] Wahid (2001), *Pribumisasi Islam dalam Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan*, p. 111.
[61] Imdadun Rahmat et al. (2003), "Islam Pribumi: Mencari Wajah Islam Indonesia," *Tashwirul Afkar*, Vol. 14, No. 1 , p. 20.
[62] Setiyawan Gunardi et al. (2017), "Konsep Al-Adah Muhakkamah Dalam Pewarisan Tanah Adat Menurut Adat Perpatih Di Malaysia," *Malaysian Journal of Syariah and Law*, Vol. 5, No. 2 , pp. 161-177.
[63] Wahid (2001), *Pribumisasi Islam dalam Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan*, p. 122.

Syaiful Arif (2013) says customs should not dominate and replace religious texts (*nas).* The only action that can be taken is the development of the application of religious texts (*naṣ)* to accommodate realities, such as expanding of the meaning of *qūt al-balad,* from wheat to rice.[64] This framework became an effort to develop the application of religious texts (*naṣ).* The legal provisions do not change because rice still falls under the *qūt al-balad.* In the end, the Islamic *Pribumization* provides a solution to the tension between religious normativism and cultural relativism that is impossible to avoid due to its overlapping nature.

The Discourse of *Islam Nusantara* is strengthened through a very popular rule among Islamic boarding schools, *al-muḥāfadhah' alā al-qadīm al-ṣālih wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadīd al-aṣlaḥ* (preserving good old traditions and adopting new/modern traditions are better). Therefore, *Islam Nusantara* is not something new in the Islamic treasures in Indonesia but has been ongoing for a long time. The Islamic *Pribumization* and *Islam Nusantara* intersect. Both are concerned in realizing a religiously diverse Indonesia in accordance with values that are not inseparable from the roots of tradition but do not deviate from the original religious teachings.

The idea of *Islam Nusantara* is not to change Islamic doctrine. It only aims to find ways to root Islam in the cultural context of a diverse society. Such efforts in jurisprudence may take the form of *maṣlaḥah mursalah, istiḥsān* and *'urf*. Regarding maṣlaḥah mursalah, it refers to the proposition, "What is considered good by most people is also considered good by Allah". If *istiḥsān* takes (practice) the benefit of *juz'iyyah* (specific) when it contradicts the *kulliyyah* (general) proposition, then *'urf* often accommodates local culture. A rule states, *al-'tsābit bi al-'urf ka al-tsābit bi al-naṣ* (something established according to tradition "equal in position" with something established according to the Qur'an-Hadith). Another rule of jurisprudence states *al-'ādah muḥakkamah* (custom can be a source of law). This indicates how much Islam values the cultural creations of society. As long as the tradition does not violate the principles of humanity, it can be maintained. *Islam Nusantara* methodologically relies on these three postulates, namely *maṣlaḥah mursalah, istiḥsān* and *'urf*. These three postulates are considered relevant because *Islam Nusantara* is more engaged in applying law (*taṭbīq al-ḥukm*), seen from its correspondence with the practical aspects of utility in the field.[65]

So, it can be said that the position of indigenous Islam is as a methodology for formulating *Islam Nusantara*. If indigenous assimilation was purely consumed during Gus Dur's time, it has now become a methodology for formulating *Islam Nusantara* in the current era. This is possible because Gus Dur emphasized that indigenous Islam is the process of embodying Islamic values through local culture. This is done either through the rule of *al-'ādah muḥakkamah* (custom can be law).

Meanwhile, the concept of Religious Moderation known as *wasaṭiyyah,* is a government program through the Ministry of Religious Affairs to strengthen national commitment, tolerance, non-violence and accommodation of local culture. Moderation comes from the Latin word *moderatio*, which implies neither more nor less. In English, it is known as *moderation,* which is a moderate attitude. In Arabic, moderation is known as *wasaṭiyyah,* which is equivalent to *tawassuṭ,* meaning middle, *i'tidāl* meaning fair, and *tawāzun,* meaning balanced. From all these expressions, moderation is an attitude of choosing the middle path, striving for fairness and balance, and avoiding excess. Thus, religious moderation can be understood as a view, attitude and behaviour always takes a middle position, always acts fairly, and avoids extremism in religion.[66] Unfortunately, moderation is often interpreted as compromising beliefs with other religions, not being serious about religion, not caring about one's religion, and even being said to be liberal and others. In fact, religious moderation is a balanced religious attitude between the practice of one's religion and respect for the religious practices of others who have different beliefs, accept differences, and live together peacefully to create tolerance and harmony.

Relevance and Distinction

The concepts of indigenous Islam, *Islam Nusantara*, and Religious Moderation have different histories and backgrounds. The emergence of Pribumization is related to Arabization, *Islam Nusantara* is linked

[64] Syaiful Arif (2013), *Humanisme Gus Dur: Pergumulan Islam dan Kemanusiaan*, Yogyakarta: Ar Ruzz Media, p. 106.
[65] Abd Moqsith (2016), "Tafsir Atas Islam Nusantara (Dari Islamisasi Nusantara Hingga Metodologi Islam Nusantara)," *Multikultural & Multireligius*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 20-32.
[66] Abd Kadir Massoweang (2020), "Discovering a Religious Moderation of The Pesantrent Tradition," *Pusaka: Jurnal Khazanah Keagamaan*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 763-773.

to Arabization, and religious purification movement of religions, while Religious Moderation is triggered by religious radicalism. All three are driven by the development of Transnational Islam (global). Gus Dur's indigenous assimilation went viral due to Arabization trend, responded by some as *Javanization* or syncretism. As for *Islam Nusantara*, which is the development of the idea of Pribumization, it was responded to quite frontally by opponents such as the *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (*HTI) and *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI) because it was considered a metamorphosis of liberalism groups that threatened the integrity of Muslims comunity. Meanwhile, Religious Moderation is a government program through the Ministry of Religious Affairs to campaign for moderatism and tolerance amidst the rapidly growing radicalism in the name of religion.

Islamic *Pribumization* and *Islam Nusantara* were born from the civil society content of the *Nahdlatul Ulama* socio-religious organization. Subsequently, *Islam Nusantara* became a discipline and academic study, as seen in the establishment of the Faculty of *Islam Nusantara* at *Nahdlatul Ulama* Indonesia University (UNUSIA) Jakarta, and Nusantara Islamic University (UNINUS) in Bandung. In contrast, Religious Moderation as the government's response to the trend of radicalism, whose policy direction and spread are more *top-down*. The way they are disseminated also differs among the three, where Islamic *Pribumization* and *Islam Nusantara* are more discursive within academic circles that tend to be theoretical. Meanwhile, Religious Moderation is a structured government policy through the National Medium-term Development Plan under the Ministry of Religious Affairs.[67] From the dissemination models of these three concepts, it can be seen some characteristics can be observed where the strengthening of Islamic *Pribumization* and *Islam Nusantara* is more dynamic as it will continue to echo through intellectuals from *Nahdlatul Ulama*, while Religious Moderation tends to be more static because its emergence has a temporal dimension because the government implements it at a certain time.

All three concepts Islamic *Pribumization*, *Islam Nusantara*, and Religious Moderation possess harmonious characteristics as they embody moderate Islam traits, emphasize tolerance, and preserve local wisdom. The emergence of the terms Islamic *Pribumization* and *Islam Nusantara* was triggered by the social and historical structure of the entry of Islam into Indonesia by *Walisongo*. The spread of Islam in Indonesia was carried out by peaceful cultural acculturation, without any bloodshed between the propagators of Islam (*Walisongo*) and the indigenous people. This peaceful process contributed to the acceptance of Islam by the diverse Indonesian population, who had various cultures and local wisdom. Meanwhile, one of the indicators of religious moderation is accommodating local culture, creating a strong convergence among the three concepts.

During the NU Conference in 1984 in Situbondo, when Gus Dur had just been inaugurated as Chairman of PBNU, he tried to explain the indigenization of Islam to journalists. With this idea, he sought to establish the presence of Islam in Indonesia. According to him, through the steps of Islamic indigenization, *Walisongo* has succeeded in Islamizing the Java region without having to experience a crisis with the local culture.[68] *Islam Nusantara* is a manifestation of, initiated by K.H. Said Aqil Siradj as the theme during the 33rd *Nahdlatul Ulama* Conference in Jombang on August 1, 2015, aiming to strengthen NU's position as an Islamic organization that upholds moderation and tolerance.[69]

K.H. Said Aqil also stated that *Islam Nusantara* is not a new school Islamic *Pribumization* or sect but a typology, *mumayyizāt, khaṣāiṣ* Islam that is polite, cultured, friendly, tolerant, moral, and civilized. In this way, the debate on the idea of *Islam Nusantara* is more academic in nature, as can be seen from the establishment of the study of *Islam Nusantara's* program within Nahdlatul Ulama universities. Nevertheless, this discursive resistance process is facing increasing opposition from symbolic Islamic movements and fundamentalist Islamic movements. They accused *Islam Nusantara* of being a liberal Islamic movement, and fundamentalists labeled it as a deviant and syncretic teaching. Thus, the symbol of the Indigenous assimilation of Islam is semiotically countered radically and symbolically by those who carry the Arab locality and move Islam symbolically rather than substantively. Essentially, all three have fundamental similarities about moderate Islamic practice, so the uniqueness or distinction is more

[67] Syamsurijal, Jati, and Halimatusa'diah (2022), "Religious Moderation Within Islam Of The Archipelago," pp. 361-378.
[68] A. Soheh Mukarom (2017), "Pribumisasi Dalam Pandangan Abdurahman Wahid," *Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama dan Lintas Budaya*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 63-74.
[69] Khabibi Muhammad Luthfi (2016), "Islam Nusantara: Relasi Islam dan Budaya Lokal," *SHAHIH : Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.

practical, as well as trigger, initiator, amplification methods, and responses, as outlined in the table below:

Table 3: Characteristics *Islamic Pribumization*, *Islam Nusantara*, and Religious Moderation

Term	Initiator	Equation	Difference	Response	Information
Islamic Pribumization	Initiated by Gus Dur in the 1980s	Moderate Islamic style with Synergy method between religion and culture (al-'ādah muḥakkamah)	Responding to *Arabization,* Islamic Fundamentalism	By some groups, it is considered Jawanization or syncretism	Disseminated through discussion studies or seminars among academics, Gusdurian (Gus Dur's ideological successor)
Islam Nusantara	Initiated by K.H. Said Aqil Siradj in 2015	Moderate style with Synergy method with good religion and tradition (*al-muḥāfadhah' alā al-qadīm al-ṣālih wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadīd al-aṣlaḥ*)	Responding to the movement of Symbolic Islam and Islamic Fundamentalism	Much opposed (resistant), especially by HTI, FPI, Wahabi Salafi, Nu Garis Lurus groups	Disseminated through the theme of the 33rd NU Congress in Jombang 2015, it became an academic study at Nahdlatul Ulama University
Religious Moderation	Initiated by Lukman Hakim Saifuddin Menteri Agama (2014-2019)	Moderate in style with strengthening inter-religious harmony, has indicators of national commitment, anti-radicalism, tolerance, and accommodating tradition	Emphasizing inter-religious harmony, responding to extremism, intolerance, liberalism and fundamentalism movements	Resistance by religious fundamentalism	Distributed top-down and systematically in government institutions of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (RPJMN 2020-2024)

Therefore, the Indigenization of Islam with *Islam Nusantara* has a meeting point. An effort to accommodate cultural needs by utilizing the opportunities provided by various understanding of *nasḥ* (Islamic legal provisions derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah). *Islam Nusantara* does not contradict each other with Arab Islam because the basis of the idea of *Islam Nusantara* is local needs in formulating religious law. At the same time, Religious Moderation (*wasaṭiyah*) is interpreted as a middle ground. The opposite of moderation is an exaggeration, *taṭarruf,* which implies extreme right (fundamentalism and radicalism) and extreme left (liberalism). The concept of Religious Moderation is not to moderate religion but to moderate the way we understand and practice religious teachings in the context of living together in a pluralistic society. Islamic *Pribumization* and *Islam Nusantara* are always needed as proof that Islam is dynamic, universal, and suitable for anyone and anywhere. *Islam Nusantara* is a representation of Religious Moderation, which is a moderate Islamic style. Meanwhile, Islamic *Pribumization* can be adapted into the methodology of *Islam Nusantara* in formulating compatible laws in Indonesia.

Conclusion

From the discussion, it can be concluded that, first, the indigenization of Islam is the result of the thoughts of K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid in the 1980s, who combined religion with culture. *Islam Nusantara* was initiated by K.H. Said Aqil Siradj in 2015 during the NU Conference in Jombang and Religious Moderation by Lukman Hakim Saifuddin in 2019 which was triggered by his response to the trend of Arabization, Fundamentalism and Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia. Second, Pribumization Islam and *Islam Nusantara* have similarities in the use of the methodologies al-'ādah muḥakkamah and

al-'tsābit bi al-'urf ka al-tsābit bi al-naṣ, considered capable of attending to local needs without contradicting the Shari'a. Meanwhile, Religious Moderation is a top-down government structured policy effort under the Ministry of Religious Affairs to maintain religious harmony by applying a moderate religious perspective. All three have the same characteristics of affirming moderate Islamic principles, upholding tolerance, and preserving local wisdom. However, there are some rejections of these three concepts, especially from transnational Islamic groups (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia), symbolic Islam (Front Pembela Islam) and fundamentalist groups (wahhabi-salafi) with their puritanism movements. Third, based on the historical flow and its contextualization of religious values with culture, the concept of Islamic Indigenization has substantially shifted to be adopted by the concept of *Islam Nusantara* and now representing one of the indicators of religious moderation, namely accommodating local culture, thus having strong relevance. This research contributes to showing the relationship between the historical flow of indigenous Islam, *Islam Nusantara*, and Religious Moderation, both from the background of its emergence, similarities, differences and uniqueness.

Therefore, this study is very useful for developing the relationship of these three variables with other concepts or variables for future research. This research contributes to showing the historical period regarding the emergence of the concept of Indigenousization of Islam around the 1980s, followed by the term *Islam Nusantara* in 2015, and the term Religious Moderation in 2019. All three have similar views regarding strengthening and integrating aspects of local culture that are in line with normative religious arguments amidst the current wave of religious fundamentalism and puritanism. Future researchers can explore, from various aspects in detail, the social context of the birth of these three concepts in a comprehensive manner through oral and written sources, making the differences and innovation more visible.

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