# ISLAM OF THE ARCHIPELAGO: COSMOPOLITANISM OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION IN INDONESIA

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## Abstract

*This article elucidates and analyses one of the Muslim intellectual heritages in Indonesia which is phenomenal and cosmpolitan, what is called Islam Nusantara (Islam of the Archipelago). The objective of this article is: 1). To know the basic concept of Islam Nusantara, initiated by Nahdhatul Ulama. 2). Analyzing the idea of Islam Nusantara and its implications in religious life in Indonesia. The main problem that became the focus of this writing: first, what is a Social Setting of the Emergence of Islam Nusantara?, second how is the articulation model of Islam Nusantara ?, and third, how the implication it in the context of national and State in today's Indonesia. To answer this problem, the type of research used is qualitative through the library research. The methods used are descriptive, historically, and heuristic. Results obtained: 1. There are three aspects underlying the emergence of the term Islam Nusantara: a). Stigmatisation of the Western world against Islam as a religion of violence. b.). Distortion of the Middle East Islamic political power, and c.. Polarization problem of Islamic thought in Indonesia. 2. Islam Nusantara is a religion that brings universal hospitality or mercy to all the universe. Islam is a cosmopolitan religion. 3. Islam Nusantara can become one of the approaches to addressing the emergence of the hardline Islam in Indonesia.*

**Keywords**: *Islam Nusantara; cosmopolitanism; Nine Saints; moderate Islam*

## Abstrak

*Artikel ini menjelaskan dan menganalisis salah satu warisan intelektual Muslim di Indonesia yang fenomenal dan kosmpolitan, yaitu apa yang disebut Islam Nusantara. Tujuan artikel ini adalah: 1). Untuk mengetahui konsep dasar Islam Nusantara sebagaimana diprakarsai oleh Nahdhatul Ulama. 2). Menganalisis gagasan Islam Nusantara dan implikasinya dalam kehidupan beragama di Indonesia. Masalah utama yang menjadi fokus penulisan ini: pertama, apa yang menjadi seting sosial munculnya Islam Nusantara ?, kedua bagaimana model artikulasi Islam Nusantara itu ?, dan ketiga, bagaimana implikasinya dalam konteks nasional dan Negara di Indonesia saat ini. Untuk menjawab masalah ini, jenis penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif melalui studi kepustakaan. Metode yang digunakan adalah deskriptif, historis, dan heuristik. Hasil yang diperoleh: 1. Ada tiga aspek yang mendasari munculnya istilah Islam Nusantara: a). Stigmatisasi dunia Barat terhadap Islam sebagai agama kekerasan. b.). Distorsi kekuatan politik Islam Timur Tengah, dan c. Masalah polarisasi pemikiran Islam di Indonesia. 2. Islam Nusantara adalah agama yang membawa keramahtamahan universal atau kasih sayang ke seluruh alam. Islam adalah agama kosmopolit. 3. Islam Nusantara dapat menjadi salah satu pendekatan untuk menyikapi kemunculan Islam garis keras di Indonesia.*

**Kata kunci:** *Islam Nusantara, kosmopolitanisme, Wali Songo, Islam Moderat*

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**مستخلص**

تحلل هذه الورقة أحد الموروثات الفكرية الإسلامية في إندونيسيا والتي تعتبر ظاهرة وعالمية ، والتي تسمى إسلام نوسانتارا (إسلام الأرخبيل). والأهداف من هذه المقالة هي: الأول معرفة المفهوم الأساسي للإسلام نوسانتارا ، الذي اكتشفه نهضة العلماء. الثاني: تحليل فكرة الإسلام نوسانتارا وآثارها في الحياة الدينية في إندونيسيا. وأما المشكلة الرئيسية التي هي محور هذه الكتابة: أولاً ، ما هو السياق الاجتماعي لظهور الإسلام نوسانتارا؟ ثانياً ما هو نموذج التعبير عن الإسلام نوسانتارا؟ وثالثا، كيف يؤثر هذا المفهوم في سياق الوطنية و الدولة في اندونيسيا اليوم. للإجابة على هذه المشكلة ، يكون نوع البحث المستخدم نوعياً من خلال بحث المكتبة. وكانت الأساليب المستخدمة وصفية وتاريخية ومرشحة. و تتكون نتائج البحث على ما يلي: الأول, هناك ثلاثة جوانب الكامنة وراء ظهور مصطلح الإسلام نوسانتارا: أ). وصم العالم الغربي ضد الإسلام كدين العنف، ب.). تشويه السلطة السياسية الإسلامية فى الشرق الأوسط، ج) مشكلة استقطاب الفكر الإسلامي في إندونيسيا. الثاني: إسلام نوسانتارا هو الدين الذي يجلب الضيافة العالمية أو الرحمة إلى كل الكون. الإسلام هودين عالمي. الثالث: يمكن إسلام نوسانتارا أن يكون أحد الأساليب لمعالجة ظهورالاسلام المتشدد في اندونيسيا

**الكلمات الرئيسيّة**: الاسلام الأرخبيل ؛ العالمي؛ الأولياء التسعة؛ الاسلام الوسطي

## A. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, discourse on Indonesia as one of the Southeast Asian states has occupied a very strategic and significant position in the international world. This strategic position is due to a recent world situation which was marked by the attack of Al-Qaeda to World Trade Center in America on 11 September 2001, and following attacks to London, Paris and Indonesia, as Biesel said in his comment to Max L. Gross's book, A Muslim Archipelago: Islam and Politics in Southeast Asia.[1] Because of this event, Biesel said that in the West, the ideology of Islamic revolution and communism in 1991 was condemned. Therefore, it is proper to study Islam as a strict power in its international relations, not only in the Arab world, but also in the states with the biggest Muslim populations in the world, particularly in Southeast Asia.

With a Muslim population of more than 220 million people or 90% of the population embraced Islam,[2] Indonesia played a significant role in reducing cultural tensions between

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[1] Roger E. Biesel, "A Commentary on A Muslim Archipelago: Islam and Politics in Southeast Asia", in Max L. Gross, A Muslim Archipelago: Islam and Politics in Southeast Asia (Washington DC: National Defence Intelligence College, 2007), ix.

[2] As to the Muslim population in Southeast Asia, there is a significant difference from Muslim population in Indonesia. For instance, Malaysia has 23. 5 million people, and 52. 9% of them or 12.4 million are Muslims. Cambodia has 13.4 million people, and more than 0.1% or 0.1 million are Muslims. Brunei constitutes 0.4 million people, and 67.2% of them or 0.3 millions are Muslims. China constitutes 1289 million people, and

states in the world, particularly in relation with Islam as a humanistic and civilized religion. Yusuf Wanandi clearly expressed that Islam in Indonesia is a moderate religion whose followers had the intention to coexist with the followers of other religions. They had an open mind and believed that democracy is a natural political system, while human rights, including rights of women to gender equality, are regarded as an important part of Islamic learning. The Muslim population in Indonesia also thinks that both private sector and market emphasize economic factor, but social justice is deemed important for the market system to be acceptable.[3]

However, in most recent years, particularly after the fall of Soeharto's regime, a group of Muslim extremists emerged and to some extent asserted their agenda in this country. The question arises from foreign researchers whether or not such groups as Laskar Jihad (Soldier of Jihad), Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defence Front), and others, are radicalizing Islam in a way that confirms the future of Islam in Indonesia. At the same time, the question arises whether or not mainstream organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, which have made an effort to improve their followers through education and social service in urban areas, have lost their positions in Muslim communities to small militant and extremist groups.[4]

Recently, after the Western mass media labelled Islam as a religion of violence and deemed NU and Muhammadiyah as having relations to radical Islamic organizations in the Middle East, these Indonesian groups repositioned their religious movements by promoting and socializing Islam as a religion of peace. For instance, NU offered an idea of Islam Nusantara (Islam of the Archipelago) which was made as the primary theme in its 33rd Conference, held in East Java on 1-5 August 2014. Some thinkers in Indonesia agreed with this concept. However, some doubted it because it is regarded as a part of the secularization process and liberalization of Islamic thought, which was promoted by Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid in 1980s, while others saw this notion as having great potential to divide the unity of Islam into Indonesia Islam, American Islam, Middle Eastern Islam, and others.

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1.4% of them or 18.2 million are Muslims. Indonesia constitutes 238.5 million people, and 88% of them or 210 million are Muslims. Singapore constitutes 4.4 million people, and 14% of them or 0.6 million are Muslims. Philipine constitutes 86.2 million people, and 5% of them or 4.3 million are Muslims. Thailand constitutes 64.9 million people, and, 3.8% of them or 2.5 million are Muslims. Vietnam constitutes 82.7 million people, and more than 0.01% or 0.1 millions are Muslims. For more detailed, see the report of Central Intelligence Agency, The World Fact Book, 2004, in Max. L. Gross, A Muslim Archipelago: Islam and Politics in Southeast Asia (Washington DC: National Defence Intelligence College, 2007), 1.

[3] Yusuf Wanandi, "Islam in Indonesia: Its History, Development and Future Challennges," Asia-Pacific Review, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2002), 2-3.

[4] Yusuf Wanandi, 3

The idea of Islam Nusantara was seen as triggering an attitude of showing localities in their Islam, as the way to recite the Quran with the Java style and melody, which marked an egoism of local Islam, such as the Acehnese, Sundanese, and Batak ways of Quranic recital.

For the supporters of Islam Nusantara, this notion comes not to change the doctrines of Islam. It tries only to find how to put Islam in the cultural context of diverse Muslim socieities. Islam Nusantara is not a syncretic effort to merge Islam with Javanese Religion, but a cultural awareness in preaching as conducted in the past by the Nine Saints (Walisanga). However, Islam Nusantara is not Anti-Arab, since the bases and main reference of Islamic teachings are in Arabic. Islam Nusantara is simply a combination of the word "Islam" as the religion brought by the Prophet Muhammad and the word "Nusantara" as a name of a whole lands in Indonesia. In short, the term "Islam Nusantara" is not an effeort to localize Islam or to create a religion of Islam Nusantara, but an effort to understand and apply Islam without marginalizing the place where Islam has been adopted and embraced.[5]

Based on this reality of understanding religious particularity such as this, then for more systematis discussion of this article, there are three main problems that are interesting to be examined: 1). What is a Social Setting of the emergence of Islam Nusantara?, 2). How is the articulation model of Islam Nusantara?, and How the implication it in the context of national and state in today's Indonesia?

## B. DISCUSSION

### 1. Social Setting of the Emergence of Islam Nusantara

The emergence of the notion of Islam Nusantara in Indonesian discourse today is not in a historical vacuum. This idea arose in general as a response to global human problems, as Peter L. Berger[6] said, as an anomie, mainly, first, negative stigmatisation of the western world to Islam as a religion of violence; second, distortion of political Islam in the Middle East; third, polarization of Islamic thought in Indonesia. As to the West's negative stigma to Islam, Shadid and Koningsveld[7] wrote that at the last three decades, there was an incredible increase in scientific publication, media and journalism about Islam, Muslim world, and Islam's position in the West. This increase was mostly driven by national and international events

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[5] Umar AH., "Memahami Islam Nusantara dalam Bingkai Ilmu Nahwu", in *http://m uktamar.nu.or.id* (Accessed: 1 January 2016).

[6] The word anomie as explained by Berger is a condition where every individual loses his or her bond which gives safety and stability to others, so they know the purpose and meaning of life in this world. See Peter L. Berger, Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethic and Social Change (Publisher Anchor, 1976).

[7] W. Shadid dan P.S. Van Koningsveld, "The Negative Image of Islam and Muslims in the West: Causes and Solution," in W. Shadid and P.S. van Koningsveld (Eds.), Religious Freedom and the Neutrality of the State: The Position of Islam in the European Union (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 174.

such as the Iranian Revolution, Salman Rushdi's controversy, the Gulf War, the Yugoslavian war, revolution in Afghanistan, and the development of Islam as a political factor in the Muslim world. Another important, unpredictable factor was the migration of Muslims to Western-European states whose population are different from Muslim societies not only in terms of culture, but also in terms of religious background.

Shadid said that it is commonly known that relations between the West and the Muslim World, Muslim and non-Muslims in Europe and North America are built on tension that is mostly based on stereotype and prejudice, which can be clearly seen in media news that Islam is fanatic, irrational, primitive, dangerous, and belligerent.[8] This last attitude "belligerent", according to Lukas, is

> An interesting example for a biased European view of the past would be the so-called Padri war or Imam Bonjol war after the Minangkabau Imam Bonjol (1772-1864), the most outstanding leader of the Padri movement. This war started in 1821 and ended in 1838 with the capture of the last Padri fortresses, Bonjol and Dalu-Dalu, by the Dutch colonial army. The so-called Padri warriors were the most noticeable sign for the Islamic revival movement among the Minangkabau on the eve of the 19th century. Inspired by Wahhabi ideas imported to Sumatra by returning hajjis, the Padris who called themselves orang putih ("white people") tried to reform the Islamic faith and to get accepted a strict observance of the sharia.[9]

This negative stigma not only afflicted the Western community, but also their politicians. A former general secretary of NATO, Willy Claes, for instance, was openly hostile to Islam, as John Casey[10] confirmed. He said, "After the fall of communism, Islam is our new world enemy." Everyone who wrote sympathetically about Islam in the media, according to Claes, may probably get one or two letters which informed the Islamic conspiracy in the entire world. Liberals and feminists condemned the position of women in the Muslim world. Therefore, it is appropriate to express enthusiastically the sentiment of anti-Islam without being accused of racism. Certainly, to disagree with this sentiment will lead to suspicion. It is no wonder that Islam was condemned as a religion of terrorists, "no wonder Muslims feel misunderstood –denounced as blind male chauvinist at best, as terrorists at worst".

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[8] W. Shadid dan P.S. Van Koningsveld, 174.

[9] Helmut Lukas, "The Perception of Indonesia's History and Culture by Western Historian and Social Scientist", Paper presented at the seminar organized by the Indonesian Embassy, Brussels in cooperation with European Institute for Asian Studies, Brussels The Royal Academy of Overseas Sciences, Brussels and the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, Hotel Tulip Brussels, Monday 16 December 2002, 4.

[10] John Casey, "How Ignorance and Prejudice sour the West's view of Islam," in The Telegraph (14 Agustus 2001).

As to the distortion of political power in the Middle East, which has not shown positive trend until today towards a better improvement, it is interesting to quote Stoddard's poetic expression as a form of reflection and appreciation to the experience of political Islam at the golden and dark ages of Islam.

> Mohammed, an Arab of the Arabs, was the very incarnation of the soul of his race. Preaching a simple, austere monotheism, free from priestcraft or elaborate doctrinal trappings, he tapped the well-springs of religious zeal always present in the Semitic heart. Forgetting the chronic rivalries and blood-feuds which had consumed their energies in internecine strife, and welded into a glowing unity by the fire of their new-found faith, the Arabs poured forth from their deserts to conquer the earth for Allah, the One True God. Thus Islam, like the resistless breath of the sirocco, the desert wind, swept out of Arabia and encountered—a spiritual vacuum. Those neighbouring Byzantine and Persian Empires, so imposing to the casual eye, were mere dried husks, devoid of real vitality ... Intermarrying freely and professing a common belief, conquerors and conquered rapidly fused, and from this fusion arose a new civilization--the Saracenic civilization, in which the ancient cultures of Greece, Rome, and Persia were revitalized by Arab vigour and synthesized by the Arab genius and the Islamic spirit. For the first three centuries of its existence (circ. A.D. 650-1000) the realm of Islam was the most civilized and progressive portion of the world. Studded with splendid cities, gracious mosques, and quiet universities where the wisdom of the ancient world was preserved and appreciated, the Moslem East offered a striking contrast to the Christian West, then sunk in the night of the Dark Ages[11].

Suppose that Stoddard is still alive, he must be sad seeing ruins of Islamic civilization that he described brilliantly in his book. The destruction of Middle Eastern Islam today is in a stark contrast to the Christian West. The Middle East today is absorbed in a dark age due to continous conflicts. In this context, seen from a modern historical perspective, the Middle East is an area coloured by the change of conflict configuration from time to time. In 1950s and 1970s, the first conflict configuration is Arab vs Israel which began at the Arab-Israel war in 1948, 1956, 1967 and ended in 1973. In 1980s, the main conflict configuration is war between Iran and Iraq that has lasted for more than eight years which mounted in 1988. In the following decade, political configuration changed to between Iraq and the Gulf due to the invasion of Kuwait in 1990. After the invasion of America to Iraq in 2003 that overthrew Saddam Hussein's regime in Baghdad, the main configuration of conflict then shifted into the competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia. The dispute between both states began to emerge after Saddam Hussein's regime. It is known that since 2003 Iran and the Gulf Arab countries had been involved in an indirect war in Iraq. A sectarian political system emerged with

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[11]Lothrop Stoddard, The New World of Islam (New York: Scribnet, 1921).

political axes of Sunnis, Shi'ites, as well as Kurds, which had been applied in Iraq after the fall of Shaddam, contributing to drawing Saudi Arabia and Iran into the conflict[12].

Saudi Arabi is known as a Sunni political power, while Iran is the supporter of Shi'ite politics in Iraq. The conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia expanded into Syria after the rise of the Syrian people's revolution in 2011 that fought to overthrow Bashar al-Assad's regime. Sectarian issues then emerged in the conflict in Syria,[13] which in turn made the King of Saudi Arabia, Salman 'Abd al-Aziz, accuse him of helping the emergence of Islam in Iraq and Syria, which is called Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)[14], an organization created from domestic disturbance in Iraq and Syria, starting from its creation on 18 March 2003, when multinational armies led by the United States of America attacked Iraq of making genocide weapons, although this was not proven.

This escalation of violence between Saudi Arabia and Iran—two powers in Middle East which are struggling for influence, not only in the Muslim world, but also in the world at large—is getting worse and distorted the image of Islam as a sympathetic human political power in the world's eyes, mainly when Saudi Arabia declared a decisive storm operation from 26 March to 21 April to the Shi'ite sect of the Houthis in Yemen,[15] and escalated in the killing of Shi'ite scholar Nimr a-Nimr who rebelled in Saudi Arabia. This aroused fierce reaction of the youth in Iran who burned the Embassy and consulate of Saudi Arabia in Tehran.

Today, nowhere is more volatile than the Middle East, as though it is a centre of the world where all political, economic and cultural interests compete with each other. The area in which exist three holy places such as Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, and three great monotheistic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, have been surrounded with endless problems which led to continous conflicts, wars and bloodshed.[16] This area has been

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[12] Rifaldi Rahalus, "Opini: Konfigurasi Konflik Timur Tengah", in http://rakyatku.com/2016/01/07 (Accessed 1 January 2016).

[13] Rifaldi Rahalus.

[14] Farid Assifa, "Arab Saudi Tuding Asad sebagai penyebab munculnya ISIS", in http://internasional.kompas.com/2015/12/23 (Accessed 23 December 2015).

[15] For detailed information on this decisive storm operation see the report of Al-Jazeerah Center for Studies as follows: "Late Wednesdey, 25 March, fleets of Saudi Air Force jets began bombing millitary targets across Yemen. The operation name "Decisive Storm", was annnounced a few hours after it launch. Riyard released an official stetment while Saudi's ambassador to Washington, DC held a press confrence there, in which addressed the operation's legal basis and goals. Some Arabs began to express their support, and Arab official made several resulitions during the Arab Summit in Sharm al-Shaikh on 28 and 29 March reflecting their commitment to the operation. See al-Jazeerah Center for Studies, "Operation Decisive Storm: Reshuffling Regional Order," in http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/2015/ (Accessed: 23 December 2015)

[16] Hajriyanto Y. Thohari, "Silang Sengkarut Dunia Arab," in Harian Media Alkhairaat (Thursday, 28 January 2016).

continously flaring as if it does not stop, particularly since the occupation of Israel over Palestine in 1948. Consequently, a lot of researchers, world politicians and observers of the Middle East were disappointed with this situation and put expectations on Indonesia.

The third or last factor which relates to social setting of the emergence of Islam Nusantra includes the issue of polarization of Islamic thought in Indonesia. As we know that Muslims in Indonesia currently deal with at least two challenges: first, the trend of most Muslims to be extreme and rigid in undestanding Islamic laws and trying to force other Muslims to embrace their understanding, even in some cases using violence; second, the trend of some Muslims to be extreme in behaving so liberal in religious life and loyal to negative thought coming from other cultures and civilizations.[17]

The first trend may arise from the fact that Islam and Muslims today live in backward conditions in all aspects of life. Therefore, to regain the glory that Muslims had achieved in the past, Muslims should return the tradition of rightous predecessors (al-salaf al-salih}). In this case, they quoted the Qur'an, Hadith and other classical works as the basis of their frame of thought employing a textualist approach regardless their historical context. As a result, Islam appears as an exclusive, stagnant religion which is not compliant with modernity (literalism). On the other hand, the spirit to put forwad Islam as a religion that is line with change in time and place drives some people to import a myriad of thought from foreign civilizations that have been dominated by materialism. Even so, it has been carried out by sacrificing religious texts through contextual interpretation (Islamic liberalism).[18]

Both attitudes do not benefit Islam and Muslims. The first trend gives a negative image to Islam as a religion that teaches violence in its missionary message and to Muslims as exclusive, radical community. Meanwhile, the second trend made Islam lose its identity due to its merging with other culture and civilization. It is in the context of the tension between two poles that a discourse of Islam Nusantara emerged promoting Islam as a humane and civilized religion. According to Martin van Bruinessen,[19] Islam in Indonesia has characteristics that make researchers consider it unique. One of the researchers is Fazlur Rahman (died in 1988), a mentor for some Indonesian intellectuals such as Nurcholish Madjid dan Ahmad Syafii Maarif. His analytical-rational approach brought him in trouble in his native Pakistan, but this attracted most young intellectuals in Indonesia. Rahman was happy

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[17] Muchlis M. Hanafi, Moderasi Islam Menangkal Radikalisasi Berbasis Agama (Ciputat: Ikatan Alumni Al-Azhar dan Pusat Sudi Al-Qur'an, 2013), 1.

[18] Muchlis M. Hanafi, vii.

[19] Martin Van Bruinessen, "Indonesian Muslims and Their Place in the Larger World of Islam", Paper presented at the 29th Indonesia Update conference, Australian National University, Canbera (30 Septermber- 2 October 2011), 3.

with what he had seen in Indonesia, and he certainly did not regard Indonesian Islam as inferioror less authentic than Islam in the Arab world and India. He commented that Pancasila is an interpretation of Islam for Indonesians which is appropriate for Indonesian people and their culture.

The same was also said by the United States of America's Ambassador for Indonesia, quoting Cantwell Smith, that Islam in Indonesia has specialties. Without understanding Islam in Indonesia, it is impossible to understand Islam completely in the world. He hoped that Islamologs especially in America could pay more attention to analyze Islam in Indonesia in order to get better understanding between two states. He also said that it is impossible to understand Indonesia without understanding Islam which is adopted by most of the population in Indonesia.[20]

## 2. Islam Nusantara: Cosmopolitan Indonesian Civilization

When reading and studying the history of Islam's arrival in Indonesia,[21] one interesting thing that is hard to deny is the attitude and behaviour of the Muslims who came first to Nusantara (Archipelago) either as tourists, traders, or preachers. They did not feel strange in the indigenous community at that time. In contrast to areas in Persia and India, which in some cases, become Islamized after military expansion from the Western Asia, no area in Archipelago underwent such Islamization. According to Azyumardi Azra, scholars and researchers when analysing the process of the coming and spread of Islam in Archipelago agreed with the fact that Islamization of this area occurred commonly through peaceful means.[22] They assimilated each other as if they became "citizens of the world,"[23] to which

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[20] Rifyal Ka'bah, "Wawasan Islam Ke-Indonesiaan dalam Konteks Islam Universal," in Percakapan Cendekiawan tentang Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan, 1990), 21.

[21] In general, there are three theories about the coming of Islam into Indonesia. First, the Gujarat theory, in which Islam arrived in Nusantara in the 13th century from Gujarat (Cambay) India. This theory is supported by Pijnappel and Snouck Hurgronje, W. F Stutterheim and Bernard H. M. Vlekke. Second, the Persia theory, in which Islam came into Indonesia in in the 13th century from Persia (Iran). This theory is adopted by Umar Amir Husen and P. A. Hussein Jayadiningrat. Third, the Arabia theory, in which Islam emerged in Indonesia in the 7th century from Arab peninsula. This theory is adopted by Hamka, Van Leur, dan T.W. Arnold. For detailed information, see Azyumardi Azra, Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), 10-17.

[22] Rifyal Ka'bah, 18.

[23] The term "world citizen" used in this paper is inspired by the concept of Diogenes of Sinop, "I am a citizen of the world". This expression is called in Greek "cosmopolitan". This concept is then used by Stoics, and developed further by Jacques Derrida and Immanuel Kant. See Amanda Anderson, "Cosmopolitanism, Universalism, and the Divided Legacies of Modernity," in P. Cheah and B Robbins (Eds.), Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

Jacques Derrida refers as a model of universal hospitality[24] or, citing Kant's word, a guiding principle to protect people from wars.[25]

As a religion that brings universal hospitality or mercy to all the universe, Islam is cosmopolitan (salih likulli zaman wa makan). This cosmopolitanism of Islam, according to Nurcholish Madjid,[26] is proven by the fact that Islam is a religion that mostly includes races and nations. As we can see from the Prophet's life and his sayings, Islam appreciates racial and cultural plurality, or in Abdurrahman Wahid's words, Islam emerged with dominant elements such as the disappearance of ethnic boundaries, strengthening of cultural plurality and political diversity. This cosmopolit[27]anism even appears in religious life for centuries.[28]

This principle of cosmopolitanism considers a concept of humanity not from a Western humanism built upon the same basis as ancient Greek mythology which assumes that there are tensions and struggle between heaven and earth, world of gods and human beings, which bring about hatred and hostility between them,[29] but as the only creature in this universe that has God's spirit and is responsible for "God's trust", and must have the same ethics as the ethics of God. This ethics, according to Wahid, is understood not only in a moral way, but to show great care for humanity (insaniyyah), such as equality before the law, protection of people from tyranny, protection of the rights of the powerless, and so on. This principle should be accompanied with the wisdom arising from the openness of Islamic civilization itself. This openness has made Muslims for centuries absorb all kinds of cultural manifestations and knowledge coming from other civilizations, such as Persia.

This is a reason, according to Azra,[30] for the diversity of the earliest Islamization in the Archipelago. The level of Islam's acceptance to another civilization depends not only on time, but also on the nature of local culture that Islam deals with. For instance, in coastal regions which have maritime culture and are highly open to cosmopolitan life, Islam enters more easily and deeper than in hinterlands that have a more precluded agrarian culture. In

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[24] With the concept of hospitality, Derrida wanted to assert that the foundation of hospitality is a willingness to accept the other in his "home". This hospitality allows the recognition of differences based on understanding of equality (universalism). For more details, see Martha C. Nussbaum, "Kant and Stoic Cosmopolitanism", *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 5, No. 1 (1997): 9.

[25] For Immanuel Kant, the law of cosmopolitanism serves to guide someone to noble principles that protects human beings from hostile wars. See Ulric Beck, The Cosmopolitan Vision (Camrbidge: Polity Press, 2006), 45.

[26] Nurcholish Madjid, Islam Doktrin dan Peradaban sebuah Telaah Kritis Tentang Masalah Keimanan, Kemanusiaan dan Kemoderenan (Jakarta: Yayasan Paramadina, 1992), 426.

[27] Abdurrahman Wahid, "Universalisme Islam dan Kosmopolitanisme Peradaban Islam", in Kontekstualisasi Doktrin Islam dalam Sejarah (Jakarta: Yayasan Paramadina, 1994), 549.

[28]. See Ali Syariati, Humanisme Antara Islam dan Mazhab Barat (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1992), 40.

[29] Abdurrahman Wahid, 47

[30] Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal*, 19.

other words, Azra tried to elaborate further, that the population in coastal regions depends economically on international trade on one hand, but on the other hand, they tend to accept Islam in order to protect Muslim traders who had been in the Archipelago at least since the seventh century to visit and do business in this area. With the arrival of Islam, local rulers, to some extent, adopted rules of Islamic trade used in community of harbor. This in turn would create a more supportive situation for trade. A case in point is the example of the conversion of the ruler of Malaka, Parameswara, to Islam in order to attract Muslim traders to come to the newly-established harbor.

According to Max L. Gross,[31] the same occurred in the tenth and eleventh centuries through traders from Arabia, Persia and India. Islam occupied this area gradually through doing business and marriage with local people and living family life according to Islamic law. This new belief spread slowly to Hindus and Buddhists who were established in this area, and gradually brought local rulers to the conversion of Islam and to founding of Islamic sultanates in the 14th and 15th centuries. The first big state of this kind that was established was the Sultanate of Malaka in the fifteenth century, although other royal families had embraced Islam earlier. By establishing a strong Islamic sultanate in Malaka as a centre of trade in the Archipelago, Islam penetrated gradually into harbors and trade cities in other kingdoms on Malaya and Southeast Asian islands long before penetrating agricultural hinterlands in Eastern Indonesia.

In the following centuries, around 13th and 14th centuries, the cosmopolitanism of Islamic teachings was reflected in the concept of egalitarianism. This new belief was interesting for indigenous traders since it did not disturb the stratification of Hindus. With this concept, Islam provided a blueprint for political-economic organization which in turn opened the way for the movement to change a new structure from "agrarian-patrimonial" system to what Van Leur called "capitalism-politics". It was this political-economic blueprint that made indigenous traders believe that Islam participated in an international community of Muslim traders.[32]

Until the middle of the 15th century, the Muslim community spread widely not only to all over the Archipelago, but it also began to dominate socially as the centre of change in history. At that time, Islamic thought had spread not only to remote areas completely, but also had built "diasporas of trade" particularly in coastal areas. With the support of traders, the

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[31] Gross, *A Muslim Archipelago*, 5.
[32] Gross, 5-6.

Islamization process occupied an amazing position and as a whole became a dominant historical landscape in Indonesia.[33]

This diaspora or spread of seeds of Islamic hospitality which is coloured with trade was intermingled with the system of the spread of Islam Nusantara which is acculturational and adaptive to cultures of the Archipelago by the way of Islamic preaching (da'wah), not rigid doctrines. One of the unique characteristics of Islam when entering Indonesia is the ability to adapt to local cultures, and so Islamic belief was not only embraced easily by indigenous people, but also there was no resistance in its spread and development at that time. Citing Nock's category of "conversion" and "adhesion,"[34] their acceptance of Islam is more appropriately called "adhesion", that is, their conversion to Islam without leaving their old belief and religious practice. This is proven by the fact that the Muslim preachers who are most widely known in Indonesia are the Nine Saints (Wali Songo)[35] on Java, who introduced Islam to the local population not in the form of prophetic exclusivism, but in a compromising form with established local beliefs coloured by superstition and other animism.

One of the compromising forms is, according to Madjid, mutual acculturation between Islam and local culture, which is stipulated in a basic rule of Islamic law as "customs become law" (al-'adah muhakkamah). This means that the tradition and customs of community or their local cultures are made into a source of law in Islam.[36] It is not necessary to assert that elements of local culture which are made as sources of law are not contradictory with the principles of Islam because those elements are automatically removed and replaced. And this is the meaning of the presence of Islam in one particular area. Therefore, each Muslim

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[33] Sulasman, "Rethinking the Historiography of Islam Indonesia," Jurnal of social Science, Volume 2, Number 4 (October 2013), 200.

[34] Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal*, 18.

[35] Wali Songo are saints who disseminated Islam in Indonesia especially on Java. They lived on the northern coast of Java from 15th century until the mid 16th century in Surabaya-Gresik-Lamongan in East Java and Demak-Kudus-Muria in Central Java and Cirebon in West Java. They were intellectuals and reformers in society in their period. They introduced new civilization: health, farming, trading, culture, arts, and government science. There were three phases of Wali Songo. Only the first phase will be described. This phase was around 1404 in which there were nine saints: (1) Maulana Malik Ibrahim, from Turkey. He dissiminated Islam in East Java. He died in Gresik in 1419; (2) Maulana Ishak came from Samarqand (near Bukhara-modern-day Uzbekistan). He was a doctor, and after his duty in Java finished he moved to Pasai and died there; (3) Maulana Uahma Jumadil Kubra came from Egypt, he dissiminated Islam and died in Mojokerto, Trowulan, East Java; (4) Maulana Muhammad al-Maghrobi was from Morocco. He did itinerant propagation, and died in 1465 in Jatinom, Klaten, Central Java; (5). Maulana Malik Isroil came from Turkey, an expert of government science, died in 1435 and buried in Gunung Santri; (6) Maulana Muhammad Ali Akbar came from Persia, a doctor, died in 1435 and buried in Gunung Santri; (7) Maulana Hasanudin came from Palestine, died in 1462, and his grave is located in Banten; (8) Maulana Alayuddin came from Palestine, died in 1462 and his grave is next to the mosque of Old Banten; and (9) Syekh Subakir came from Persia, and he was an expert of rukyat for places with ghosts. He returned to Persia in 1462 and died there. For more detailed see "History of Wali Songo: Legendary 9 Saints Dissiminated Islam in Java, Indonesia" in www.javaisbeautiful.com.

[36] Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Doktrin*, 50.

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community has its own dark age parallel with that of pre-Islamic Arabia. The dark age of a given community is the period before the coming of Islam there in which the practices contradictory with Islam proceeded such as social order without law, supersition, myths, feodalism, indifference to the oppressed, resistance against equality of humans, and so on. All practices must be removed and replaced with Islam and its teachings about the oneness of God (tawhid) that resulted in respect to human beings based on achievement, social justice, equality before law, and so on.[37]

So, the coming of Islam always results in the reorganization and transformation of society into a better form. However, at the same time, the coming of Islam is not necessarily "disruptive" or purely eradicating society from their past, but preserving what is good from the past and implementing the universal and cosmopolitan context. This is what Sunan Kalijaga confronted in Javanese society, in which he saw that the feodalism of Majapahit Kingdom was easily overthrown and replaced with egalitarian Islam that had invaded northern coastal areas of Java, which became trade centers at the international and Archipelago levels. Afterward, Sunan Kalijaga decided to urge the escalation of transformation process using local values. One of the ways he took was wayang and gamelan, which he combined with Islamic elements leading to the sekatenan tradition in the centers of Islamic power such as Cirebon, Demak, Yogyakarta, and Solo. As a form of mutual interaction between Islam and local culture (in this case, Javanese), a lot of Javanese customs just remained in bare-bones form; their contents had been "Islamized".[38] The transformation carried out by Sunan Kalijaga is expressed interestingly by Geertz, as follows:

> In short, as a symbol, a materialized idea, Sunan Kalidjaga connects Indic Java with Muslim Java, and therein lies in his interest both for us and for the Javanese. Whatever the facts may be, he is seen as the bridge between two great religions: that of the Madjapahit Hindu-Buddhism in which he grew up and that of the Mataram Islam which he fostered.[39]

The same also applies to Raden Patah,[40] the first King of Demak, who issued a policy to protect local culture. History reports that Muslims at that time could live together with the local indigenous community with their diverse traditions, cultures, and religions. For instance, Raden Patah tried to "marry off" Javanese customs and Islam by adopting the model of

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[37] Nurcholish Madjid.

[38] Nurcholish Madjid, 51

[39] Clifford Geertz, Islam Observed (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), 25.

[40] Raden Patah (sometimes spelled Raden Fattah) is Sunan Ampel's disciple, son of the King of Brawijaya Majapahit. In 1462 he was promoted as Adipati Bintoro and built the Mosque of Demak in 1465, and in 1468, he was officially appointed as the Sultan of Demak.

vihara, pura and candi to the architecture of mosque which has a triple-tiered roof. (Previously, there was a pura with eleven-tiered roof for a king, pura with seven-tiered roof for the nobles, and triple-tiered roof for the common people). What Raden Patah did is a form of transforming egalitarian Islamic values into the system of folk life at that time which had been previously stratified into different social classes in Hinduism. In this context, Raden Patah intentionally adopted triple-tiered pura architecture to make people feel comfortable to join that place.[41]

The Walisongo's creativity led to a new cluster of Islamic thought that purely imitated Islam in Arabia. There was no Arabism reason attached in the spread of early Islam in the Archipelago. Great appreciation to indigenous culture is a key to the success of Islam in a massive way in a relatively short time. What Sunan Bonang[42] did, such as modifying Javanese gamelan which was at that time strong with Hinduist aesthetics into remembrance of Allah (dhikr) that drove people to the love of spiritual transcendental life. "Tombo Ati" (the medicine of the heart) is one of the Sunan Bonang's works. The same applies to Sunan Kalijaga,[43] who chose art and culture as a means to do Islamic preaching. The same also applies to Sunan Kudus,[44] who used Hindu and Buddhist symbols, which can be clearly seen in the shapes of minaret, gate, and faucet for ritual washing, which represented the eight ways of the Budhha. This is higly compromising. In the History of Walisongo, it is narrated that, one day, Sunan Kudus encouraged people to go the mosque through his missionary activity. To that end, he tied his cow at the mosque's yard. Hindus who had worshipped a cow became sympathetic even when they listened to him explaining the Qur'anic sura of Al-Baqarah, which means female cow. This method is a mode of cultural tolerance that was attached to him, so until today, people of Kudus declined to sacrifice cows. He also created a fiction

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[41] Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "The Religion of Pesantren," paper presented in *the International Confrence of Religious Harmony: Problem, Practice, and Education* in Yogyakarta-Semarang, (27 September-3 October 2004), 4-9.

[42] Sunan Bonang was the son of Sunan Ampel, and the grandson of Maulana Malik Ibrahim. His childhood name was Raden Makdum Ibrahim. He was born in 1465. His mother was Nyi Ageng Manila, daughter of Adipati Tuban. Sunan Bonang studied religion from his father and disseminated Islam all over Java. He died in Bawean, Tuban in 1525. See "The History of Walisongo".

[43] Sunan Kalijaga was the most mentioned saint by Javanese. He was born in 1450. His father was Arya Wilwatikta, Tuban regent, descendant of Majapahit rebel, Ronggolawe. His childhood name was Raden Said. His other names were Lokajaya, Syekh Malaya, Prince of Tuban or Raden Abdurrahman. He was involved in designing Masjid Agung Cirebon and Masjid Agung Demak. The "tatal" pillar was one of main pillars of the mosque and the creation of Sunan Kalijaga. He was the mentor and close friend of Sunan Bonang. He followed Sufism with a salaf base, not panteistic Sufism. See "The History of Walisongo".

[44] Sunan Kudus' childhood name was Jaffar Shadiq. He was the son of Sunan Ngudung with the Sharifah, sister of Sunan Bonang, Nyi Ageng Maloka. Sunan Ngudung was the son of princes in Egypt and traveled to Java. Sunan Kudus studied from Sunan Kalijaga. He followed the approach Sunan Kalijaga used to preach: very tolerant to local culture. He was very gentle in preaching, he used also the symbols of Hinduism and Buddhism. This can be seen from the architecture of Masjid Kudus. See "The History of Walisongo".

about the oneness of God (tawhid) in a series of story. This made people become interested to know its continuation. This approach is the same as the story of 1001 nights in the Abbasid period.

With this kind of activity, quoting Abdurrahman Masud's analysis,[45] Walisongo were unique agents on Java in the 15th and 16th centuries who were able to merge spiritual and secular aspects in spreading Islam. Their position in socio-cultural and religious life in Java was attractive, and it is said that Islam would never have became a religion of Java without Sufism developed by Walisongo rooted in the population. This was present in a peaceful way, although it seemed slow but sure. Based on the historical fact that by respecting local tradition, this new religion was embraced by the nobles and the majority of Javanenes people at coastal areas.

History tells us that the Walisongo were successful in converting people from Hinduism, Buddhism, animism and dynamism, which had been deeply rooted in the population. The key to success was the strategy of cultural acculturation they adopted. They did not frontally replace local culture with Islam since they considered that ineffective. Otherwise, they adopted cultural acculturation between Islam and local culture. And this is made as a role model in developing Islam in the current context. In other words, what they had done so far for this country needs critical reflection in order to build a more ethical and humanistic global civilization.

## 3. Islam of the Archipelago: Reflection and Reformulation

It is a fact that violence, terror, killing in the name of religion, injustice, and so on, are still a reality today in the world, including Indonsia. There are many causal factors, which include, among others, religious exclusivism, misintepretated jihad, truth claims, injustice, liberalization of religious thought, and so on. However, apart from these factors, this reality is ironic for Muslims since Islam is purely not only full with liberating moral values leading to the creation of a moral humanistic and civlized social order, but also in history Islam had conquered and influenced world civilizations for 750 years. In this way, Geertz wrote,

> Everyone is aware of the "international," "cosmopolitan," "transcultural" nature of Islam, and aware, too, that it has been thus virtually since its beginnings. A generation after the Prophet's death it had reached westward through Egypt to Berber North Africa, eastward through Asia Minor toward Persia and India, after which it moved on to the Malay world in the one direction and to Black Africa on the other. But through

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[45] Abdurrahman Mas'ud. *Dari Haramain ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2006), 54-56.

all this cultural filtering—through Turkish mysticism, through Persian ecclesiasticism, through Mughal state formation—as intense and as various as any body of thought and belief has ever passed, the fact that its mid-eastern, Arabic character and image, however overlaid, reinterpreted, and further developed, has persisted tends to go unremarked. It is more sensed than specifically inquired into, more taken for granted than examined. [46]

What Geertz asserted is that Islam with its open, worldly and transcultural nature becomes a gold bridge for the followers to reposition their role and function all over the Muslim world, including Indonesia. With the biggest Muslim population in the world, if seen from the context of the world's demand for global ethics, Indonesia can become the world's "lungs" to build peace and harmony in religious life. Indonesia can revise a negative and distortive face of Islam, as it was described by media news in the Western world. Indonesia can become a comfortable house for religions, helping to stabilize the religious climate and space which is full of conflict and violence, protecting it from humilation of religion, supporting peaceful and fair human life with its rich source of thought. Indonesia is surely an interesting place to be visited by all followers of religion from different places. However, Martin van Bruinessen[47] said, with a population of more than 220 million, Indonesia has not played a significant role in global Islamic thought. They had great desire to learn from the Arab world, but they do not have yet something valuable to offer in relation to Islamic thought.

Islam Nusantara can be said as an answer to Martin's doubt of Islam's role in Indonesia in the context of global thought today. Based on the roots of Indonesian culture framed by Islamic values and Walisanga's Sufism, Islam Nusantara can play a role to respond to global human problems today, particularly in relation to religious conflict, radicalism, and terrorism. For instance, what Walisanga did in the process of Islamization in the Archipelago is a form of the contextualization of Islam in the spectrum of Indonesian culture, as an expression of cultural Islam, or indigenization of Islam, to quote Abdurrahman Wahid.[48] This endless process needs gradual, evolutionary prorgress and a long time to achieve a social order which is civilized, respecting each other, friendly, coexisting peacefully. Peaceful

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[46] Clifford Geertz, "The Near East in the Far East on Islam Indonesia," Paper Number 12, December, 2001.

[47] Martin Van Bruinessen, "Indonesiaan Muslims and Their Place", 1-2.

[48] According to Abdurrahman Wahid, indigenization must be seen as a need, not an effort to subordinate Islam with local culture, because in indigenization of Islam there must be Islamic character. This does not mean Javanisation or syncretization, since indigenization of Islam only focuses on a need of local cultures in formulating religious laws, without modifying the law itself. See Abdurrahman Wahid, "Pribumisasi Islam", in Muntaha Azhari and Abdul Mun'im Shaleh, (Eds), Islam Indonesia Menatap Masa Depan (Jakarta: P3M, 1989), 82.

coexistence is, according to Abdurrahman Mas'ud,[49] a main characteristic of Javanese philosophy that emphasizes unity, stability, safety and harmony.

The principle of harmonious coexistence begins with basic thought which can be traced into the Archipelago's ancient civilization compounded with Islamic thought that developed and put forward the idea of Islam Nusantara. This concept emphasizes humans' nature to do good things and care for others based on cultural and Islamic values. In short, this cultural system put emphasis on the idea that human life is in accordance with natural law. Human beings are part of nature; therefore, they must be harmonious with the life of nature. Since there are differences in every human, Islam Nusantara then emphasizes peaceful coexistence between different human beings, not on homogenizing them because differences in human identities tied down with different social, political culture and identity are natural law.[50] That is Islam Nusantara as a "manifesto" of cosmopolitan Islamic civilization in Indonesia, Islam without cultural, religious or national boundaries. Islam with a friendly face dignifies humanity and promotes tolerance to human beings wherever they exist. Islam is a comfortable house for all religions and cultures.

Being a "big house" for all religions and cultures in the context of Indonesia is not only a certainty, but also God's trust that should be transformed into real actions in human life. Indonesia today, especially after reformation, marked by democratization, becomes fertile ground for radical Muslim groups. The phenomenon of radicalism among Muslims is often associated with religious belief, although the iniators come from different doors such as economic, political, and social. However, such factors as belief, excessive textual-literal understanding (ghuluww), and extremism (tatarruf) of religious doctrines seem to be the most dominant.

The face of Indonesian Islam today is different from the face of Islam Nusantara. Islam from our predecessors did not present religion merely as a doctrine, but as a social reality. Religious people, according to Walisanga, had to be encouraging, but today Islam seems terrifying. People today are not deemed religious if they do not claim that others are sinful and misleading. Therefore, to preserve and implement the tradition of Islam Nusantara which is friendly and exciting, it is necessary to reformulate Indonesian religious doctrines and social realities to be developing a religious tradition approach that had been deeply rooted

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[49] Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "The Religion of Pesantren," 8.

[50] This idea is inspired from the theory of cosmoplotanism and philosophy of Stoicism. Immanuel Kant, and Jacques Derida. See Nussbaum, "Kant and Stoic Cosmopolitanism".

for a long time in the Archipelago, that is, an approach of moderate Islam (manhaj al-wasatiyyah).

What is moderate Islam?[51] To answer this question, there must be a long debate. As an example, in an American or Western context, the concept of moderate Islam is generally understood differently by Indonesian muslims. For the West, this concept emphasizes more on religious mindset and mentality which is reflective, self-critical, supporting democray, human rights, and secularism as an ideology. However, for Indonesian Muslims, this concept is problematic if it is seen the context of Indonesia.[52] Therefore, in order not to be trapped in such a debate, at least in the discourse of Islam Nusantara, it is said that moderate Islam is a model or approach used by Muslim scholars of Islam Nusantara. In the context of the development of Islamic culture, this concept is defined as a method of thinking, interacting, and behaving based on moderation, tolerance, and harmony in dealing with two extreme poles, which are easy to be analyzed and compared. As a result, an attitude which is harmonious with religious principles and social tradition is found.

This kind of understanding refers to the word wasatiyyah (moderation) as it is understood by Yusuf al-Qardawi,[53] who argued that wasatiyyah means "an effort to keep balance between two contradictory poles, so one pole does not dominate or negate the other". For instance, according to Murtadha Mutahhari, if particular society is to be able to stand firm and stabilize, it has to be in balance (wasat, tawazun dan mu tadil), in the sense that its parts should be united and related to each other in a harmonious way. This means that moderation does not demand equality since the effectiveness of one part in relation to another is not due to the same size and form as the others, but due to "harmonious" relation between those parts. For instance, Muthahhari[54] said, had someone done justice if he treated all people equally? The answer is, according to Muthahhari, justice in the meaning of equality still needs more explanation. If equality is seen as purely equal treatment of everyone regardless of differences in ability, task, and function between one and another—for instance, a manager is treated equally as a servant, then injustice will emerge, not justice (moderation). However, if moderation is understood as an equal treatment for those who have the same rights (because of the same ability, task, and function), then equality in the meaning of justice can be

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[51] The word wasatiyyah comes from the word wasat, which means justice, kind, moderate, and balance. See Hans Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, (Ed.), J. Milton Kowan (London: Wiebaden, 1971), 1066.

[52] See Masdar Hilmi, "Wither Indonesia's Islamic Moderatism? A Reaxamination on the Moderat Vision of Muhammadiyah and NU", Journal of Indonesian Islam, Volume 07, Number 01 (June, 2013).

[53] Yusuf Qardawi, *al-Khasa'is al-'Ammah li al-Islam* (Cairo: Maktabah Wahbah, 1996), 115.

[54] Nurcholish Madjid, Islam Doktrin, 513-516.

legitimized. To support this argumentation, Muthahhari quoted the poet Mawlawi, "What is justice? To put something in its proper place. What is injustice? To put something in a wrong place. What is justice? If you pour water to trees. What is injustice? If you pour water to thorns."

An extreme attitude (al-ghuluww), for instance, is contradictory with wasatiyyah (moderation). This is the same as pouring water to thorns or putting something not in its place. This attitude, according to al-Qardawi,[55] have been warned many times in the Prophetic Hadiths in relation to its dangers. When the Prophet had finished throwing in Aqabah at the tenth day of Dhu al-Hijjah, he asked his companions and his cousin, Ibn 'Abbas, to take few pebbles for him for that purpose. Ibn 'Abbas took few pebbles and gave them to the Prophet warning him to avoid the attitude of extremism (al-ghuluww). The relevance of this warning of pebbles given to him, according to him, is this kind of throwing is a symbol of throwing satans, as carried out by the Prophet Ibrahim. You might be thinking that throwing using big stones is superior to small ones. This indicates that the Prophet warned to get rid of excessive attitude in religious life which may arise from his followers.

The most dangerous excessive attitude, according to Muhammad Habsyi,[56] is if this attitude reachs the level of accusing others of being apostates or infidels, or even allowing them to be killed. This happened to a group of Khawarij in early Islam who were religious in their life. However, because of their extreme view, they permitted the shedding of Muslims' blood. This extreme view led to the killing of 'Uthman ibn 'Affan and 'Ali ibn Abi Talib. 'Uthman was killed by the few people who confessed Islam and did the killing based on a misleading fatwa that allowed them to shed his blood because he was accused of infidelity. The same also applies to 'Ali, who was killed by 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muljam, a Khariji. After killing 'Ali, he proudly prayed to Allah, "O God, accept my jihad. I did it for You and to please You."

In the context of Indonesia, this attitude can be seen in the case of the Bali bombing, the attack on the Mariott Hotel Jakarta, the bombing at the Tentena market Poso, the cases of Cikeusik, Banten and Temanggung, that involved the use of Islamic sentiments and symbols. Whatever the reason, it is obvious that any act of violence cannot be justified. Violence only creates more violence, which in turn leads to the creation of a circle of violence that is hard to end. Moderate Islam is actually a particular characteristic of Islam in Indonesia, although

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[55] Yusuf Qardawi, *al-Sahwah al-Islamiyyah bayn al-Jumud wa al-Tatarruf* (Cairo: Dar al-Shuruq, 2001), 25.

[56] Muchlis M. Hanafi, *Moderasi Islam*, 19.

there is a diversity of schools of thought among Indonesian Muslims, who constitute the biggest population compared to other countries in the Muslim world. Therefore, to hinder this extreme attitude in religious life, moderate attitude must be put in priority and made as a mindset of Islamic religiosity in Indonesia. Among other moderate charateristics of Islam are as follows:[57]

First, understanding a reality (fiqh al-waqi ). Human life is always changing and developing without limits, while religious texts are limited. Therefore, Islamic teaching contains regular-absolute values (thawabit) and changing values according to changes in place and time (mutaghayyirat). Regular-absolute values (thawabit) are limited, which include the principles of belief and fixed worship, while the rest is categorised into mutaghayyirat, which are flexible and understandable in accordance with changes of time. In legal maxims, there is a rule al-darar la yuzal bi al-darar. For instance, overthrowing a tyrannical ruler is necessary. However, some Muslim jurists allowed him to rule if his overthrowing will lead to bigger danger to Muslims.

Second, understanding the natural law of creation, that is, the process of gradualness (tadarruj) in all natural and religious rules. Heaven and  earth were created in six phases, while it is easy for God to create at one time. The religious instructions were also revealed gradually. Those who want to establish an Islamic state should pay attention to this rule. In this case, it is necessary to study the maps of strengths and obstacles.

Third, facilitating others in their religiosity. This attitude is a Qur'anic method and the method used by the Prophet when delegating Mu adh ibn Jabal and Abu Musa al-'Ash ari to Yemen, saying to them to make easier in preaching and giving legal opinion, and not to make trouble (yassira wa la tu assira). This does not mean to sacrifice religious texts by looking for the easiest for people, but to study the text and understand them deeply to find ease and conveniences given by Islam. If in one case there are two contradictory opinions, one is more difficult while the other is easier, then the easier one is chosen as exemplified by the Prophet.

Fourth, being open to the outside world, promoting dialogue and tolerance. The moderate attitude of Islam is shown through openheartedness to others who have different views. This attitude is based on the fact that differences among people are certain, including an option to have faith or not (QS. al-Kahf: 29).

These are some charateristics of the method of moderate Islam that, in the context of Indonesia today, should be preserved, developed, empowered and optimized in terms of its

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[57] Muchlis M. Hanafi, 21-28

implementation, particularly by the pillars of Islam in Indonesia. These pillars include Muslim organizations and Pesantrens which from their beginnings until today have made an effort continuously to implement the idea of Islam Nusantara that is peaceful, humanist and civilized. These organizations have strong and massive supporters in society who are different from one to another, such as Nahdatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Alkhairaat, and Nahdhatul Wathan. These organizations and Pesantrens are part of the intellectual heritage and civilization in Indonesia to protect, inherit, and spread a moderate approach to societies, adjusting localities and particularities in each society.

## C. CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that, when reading and studying the history of the coming of Islam in the Archipelago, it is obvious that Islam came to Indonesia in a peaceful way. This peaceful Islam was threaded with the system of the spread of Islam Nusantara which is acculturational and adaptive to cultures of Archipelago by the way of Islamic preaching (da'wah), not rigid doctrines. One of the unique characteristics of Islam when entering Indonesia is the ability to adapt to local cultures, and so Islamic belief was not only embraced easily by indigenous people, but also there was no resistance in its spread and development at that time.

The historical fact about hospitality of Islam, by NU was used as a method of thinking and acting that they call with Islam Nusantara. Islam Nusantara as Islam for humanity, with a system of the spread of Islam Nusantara which is adapative and acculturational through professional preaching done by Walisanga which included a method of harmonizing Islam and local cultures. Islam Nusantara is a kind of Islam which is a result of interaction between universal Islam and social-cultural reality of Indonesia. Islam Nusantara is Islam without cultural, religious and national boundaries. Islam Nusantara is Islam where everyone feels as a part of the citizen of the world, and becomes a big house for all religions and cultures, especially in the context of Indonesia today. This will be made possible if Muslim organizations participate in spreading moderate Islam altogether. This moderate Islam would become an alternative for global civilization that has been alienated and infected with dehumanization virus.

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