

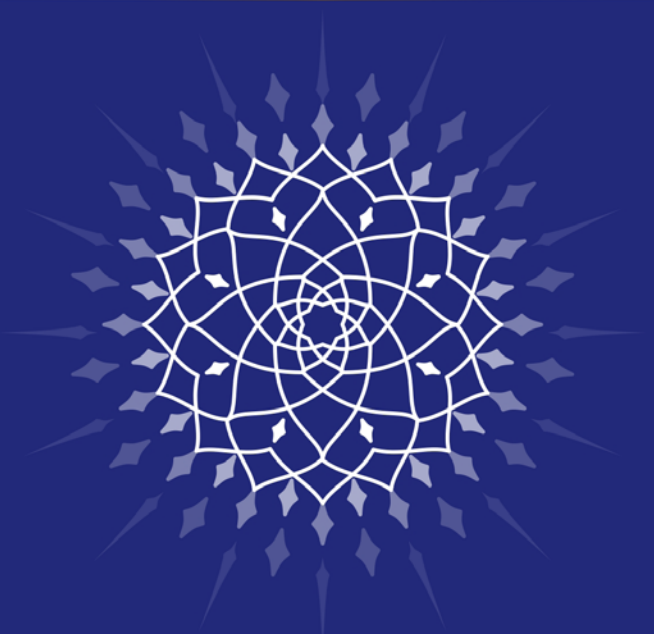
Volume 5, Number 1, June 2016/1437

ISSN *Print* : 2301-9166

ISSN *Online*: 2356-3877



Jurnal Pendidikan Islam



NUSANTARA ISLAMIC EDUCATION

CULTIVATING CULTURAL EDUCATION VALUES OF ISLAM NUSANTARA
IN MA (ISLAMIC SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL) ALI MAKSUM KRAPYAK

Sembodo Ardi Widodo

THE DYNAMICS OF ISLAMIC CALLIGRAPHY TEACHING
AND LEARNING IN SOUTH SULAWESI

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TRACING THE HISTORY OF THE ARABIC-JAVANESE LANGUAGE
TRANSLATION BOOKS IN NUSANTARA ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Abdul Munip

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

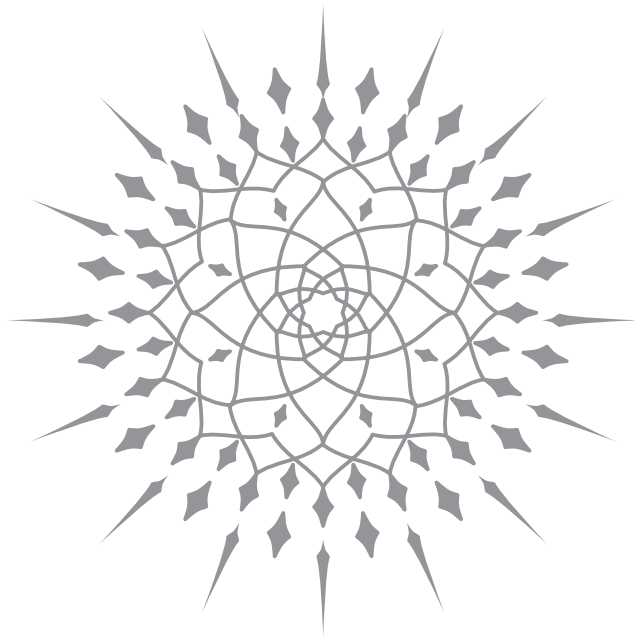
Volume 5, Number 1, June 2016/1437

P-ISSN : 2301-9166

E-ISSN : 2356-3877



Jurnal
Pendidikan Islam



Jurnal Pendidikan Islam (*Journal of Islamic Education*) – JPI, is a periodically scientific journal published by the Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teaching Science, State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. The journal focuses its scope on the issues of Islamic education. We invite scientists, scholars, researchers, as well as professionals in the field of Islamic education to publish their researches in our Journal. This Journal is published every June and December annually.

Jurnal Pendidikan Islam (*Journal of Islamic Education*) – JPI, has been accredited by the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education with Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Penguatan Riset dan Pengembangan Kementerian Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi Republik Indonesia No. 1/E/KPT/2015, date 21 September 2015.

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Institution:	Rp. 60.000,-/issue	Rp. 110.000,-/year
Individual:	Rp. 50.000,-/issue	Rp. 90.000,-/year
Outside Indonesia:	\$ 60/year (individual)	\$ 60/year (institution)

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Islam Nusantara as Moderatand Tolerant Islam: a Literature Research

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DOI : 10.14421/jpi.2016.51.69-84

Received: 17 February 2016

Revised: 12 April 2016

Approved: 02 May 2016

Abstract

Some questions are raised by foreign researchers and observers about Islam of Indonesia. After literature survey was done, it's concluded that format of the Indonesian Islam is moderate and tolerate one. This is viewed in its characteristic doesn't support the method of coercion, eviction, and destruction of the religious tradition existing before Islam came to Indonesia in developing it in archipelago, before it changes to Indonesia. The accommodative characteristic of the Islam developed by the clergy (religious figure) such as *walisongo* in Java Island, the religious figure (*muballigh*) from the Middle East in Indonesia and also the *muballigh* after *walisongo* coming from Muhammadiyah and NU. Islam never discredited another religion even though it's different. So, the culture developed is the moderate and tolerate culture even though it aims to do renewal about which one is not suitable with Islam. The literature done in this writing has shown the characteristic of the Indonesian Islam which is known also with the term Islam of archipelago (Islam Nusantara).

Keywords: *Islam of Archipelago, Moderate, Tolerant, and Accommodative*

Abstrak

Terdapat sebagian pengamat dan peneliti bertanya tentang Islam Indonesia. Setelah dilakukan kajian survei kepustakaan, format Islam Indonesia adalah moderat dan toleran. Hal ini ditunjukkan dalam sifatnya yang tidak mendukung metode

kekerasan, pengusiran, dan perusakan pada tradisi agama yang hadir sebelum Islam di Indonesia dalam mengembangkannya di nusantara, sebelum menjadi Indonesia. Sifat akomodatif Islam yang dikembangkan oleh para mubaligh seperti wali songo di tanah Jawa, mubaligh dari Timur Tengah di Indonesia serta mubaligh pasca wali songo seperti dari Muhammadiyah dan NU. Islam tidak pernah mendeskreditkan agama lain sekalipun berbeda, oleh sebab itu kultur yang di kembangkan adalah kultur moderat dan toleran sekalipun bermaksud memperbaharui apa yang tidak sesuai dengan ajaran substansial Islam. Kajian kepustakaan yang dilakukan dalam tulisan ini telah menunjukkan akan sifat dari Islam Indonesia yang sering pula disebut dengan Islam Nusantara.

Kata Kunci: *Islam Nusantara, Moderat, Toleran, Akomodatif*

Introduction

Discourse about Islam of Indonesia is always interesting for the scholars either from the international world such as Abdullahi Ahmed An-Naim coming from Sudan putting Islam of Indonesia as the Islam having different culture from the Islam in the Middle East, Nashir Hamid Abu Zaid sees Islam of Indonesia as the subculture from the contextual Islam, not the Arabic Islam. Whereas, Robert W. Hefner puts Islam of Indonesia as the very available one and accommodative enough with the democracy. So, Islam Indonesia is very tolerant and progressive.¹

Besides that, in Indonesia itself, M. DawamRaharjo, for example, one of the Muslim scholars has serious attention with the idea of the Islam of Indonesia. One of the proofs of his seriousness is that he (Dawam) wrote article Project of Indonesian Islam, which was then shared to his friends to have responses from many of his friends. By that article shared, with some backgrounds of the writer, it's hoped to give contribution of the idea, related to the big project of the Indonesian Islam so by that way, the face of the Islam of Indonesia can be shown. Then, it's shared to

¹ Abdullahi Ahmed AnNaim, *Islam Dan Negara Sekuler* (Bandung: Mizan-LKiS, 2010), 278–299. One of the discussions in this book is the explanation about the existing the social institution (Non-Governmental Organization) at NU and Muhammadiyah having agenda in developing the discourse of Islam by adopting Islamic thought from Middle East such as Abdulahi An Naim, HasanHanafi, Mohammed Arkoun, Nashir Hamid Abu Zaid, Mohammad Syahrur, Mohammad Mahmud Thaha andKhaledAboue el Fadhl. From the Muslim thinkers, Institution of Islamic and Social Study (LKiS), the social institution from the generations of NU, give contribution on the map development of the moderately, inclusively, and tolerantly Islamic thought in Indonesia. The book from Nashir Hamid Abu Zaid was interpreted by LKiS, Al-Quran and Historical Context, LKiS, 2002, and the book from Robert Hefner GegerTengger, studying about the journey of Islam at GegerTengger when it faced with the Hindu people and political regime there. Another book from Robert Hefner is Civil Islaminterpreted by ISAI and The Asia Foundation, cooperated with Lakpesdam NU Jakarta. The book also becomes the important reference to read by the young generations of NU and Muhammadiyah in Indonesia. .

Muslim people of Indonesia, even to the international world. From Dawam's view, Islam will be faced with the national and international matters coming by turns because Islam has existed and has been embraced by society in Indonesia for a long time.

There are many questions about Islam of Indonesia which is still trying to find out its format until now. Is it right that there is the culture of the Indonesian characteristic? Indeed, if there is the culture of the Indonesian characteristic, how does it look like? Is the culture of the Indonesian characteristic Islam without coercion (*Islam rahmatanlilalamin*)? Islam, whenever it is, must be *rahmatanlilalamin*, right? Is there any the culture of the Indonesian characteristic as the peace (*salam*) Islam such as the name of Islam itself as the peace religion, so the Islam of Indonesia is Islam giving peace? Who is saved and for whom? And another critical questions that can give some answers of the heterogenic people. The study of this writing is the literature study trying to build the construction of Islam of Indonesian characteristic, even though it's little difficult to find out the real construction. After doing this research, it can be found in the literatures exploring the coming in and developing of Islam in the archipelago since the first coming of Islam having moderate culture.

Indonesia is one of the Muslim majority states, where citizen embracing Islam is about 88.7% of the Indonesian popularity, 237,4 million popularity (data from BPS 2010), whereas data from 2012 was getting 240 million people (data from BPS 2012). Right now, popularity of Indonesia is estimated as 245 million people where the Muslim people is about 204 million, and the Muslim becoming the members of NU is about 96 million people and who become the members of Muhammadiyah is 76 million people (LSI 2014). That's why the Islamic society in Indonesia is strategic enough sociologically or politically if it can formulate what is the Islam of Indonesia really having Indonesian characteristic of the Islam of archipelago. The position of Islam geopolitically is very strategic in Southeast Asia. In Asia or Southeast Asia, the popularity of the Indonesian people is big enough and will have big influence if it can give real contribution in developing the Islamic philosophical and epistemological foundation.

Islam of Indonesia will give significant contribution in developing Islamic thought and movement having developed and spread in the world. This is important because there are many negative stereotypes of Islam, such as Islam identifies as terrorism, authoritarianism, idiocy, and lacking behind. There are too many poor people and leaving in the idiocy suffering, so Islam has negative image, not productive. This one has been stated by Ahmad Syafii Maarif (Buya Syafii) that the Islamic people of Indonesia is as foam in the ocean waved and doesn't have

certain aim because of the problem and weakness faced. The Muslim intellectuals of Indonesia are still the chew intellectuals, not the producer, that will make them respected in international world in the developing of the global Islamic thought.²

All the stigmas put Islam in the “ravine which can be said humiliated” or insulted not to say humiliated, even though some groups of people prefer to name Islam with the above category, the name that doesn’t sound good for some people. Here is the importance of the construction of the archipelago Islam or Islam of Indonesia hoped to be able to counter the distortion of the construction of the real Islam coming from the Islamic people itself. Islam in the world, some analysts say, will depend much on the “face” of the Islam of Indonesia. If the face of the Islam of Indonesia looks polite, peace, bringing *rahmah*, so the face of Islam in the world will be like that. On the contrary, if the face of Islam of Indonesia looks full of coercion and brutality, the face of the Islam in the world will be like that also. This argument can be found in the Abdullahi Ahmed An-Naim, the Islamic law and human right scholar from Sudan becoming lecturer in the United States of America.³

It’s hoped that the above explanation can be made as the fundament in exploring theme of Islam of Indonesia becoming the big idea from DawamRaharjo and most of the Islamic people in Indonesia in developing and spreading the spirit of Islam of Indonesia. What Islam of Indonesia looks like and how it can be discussed in detail so if it’s not described clearly, it’s hoped that it’s described indirectly about the form and the formulation of the Islam of Indonesia. Here is DawamRaharjo’s idea with the spirit of Islam of *rahmatanlilalamin*(mercy of God for the universe), seemingly, will have positive responses from the Muslim intellectual of Indonesia in formulating Islam of Indonesia or Islam of Archipelago seriously.

Islam Accommodates the Culture

One of the most influential writers of the nineteenth until twentieth century, even until now, is Clifford Geertz who had done research about Javanese society (in Mojokerto), in 1950s. Geertz’s study, *The Religion of Java* (1960), by anthropological perspective, described Javanese society, which is then known in the literature of the cultural anthropology, even the political sociology of Indonesia, about the group

² Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Membumikan Islam*, 2 and 3 (Pustaka Pelajar, 1996), Please chapter 2 and 3. Pages: 120-179 This book is the collection of thought written by Islamic scholar of Muhammadiyah about how Islam must be taught or spread in Indonesia when it faces some social matters of humanity getting more and more also getting larger and larger in Indonesia. The explanation from SyafiiMaarif as the titile of the book, Islam must be the part of the society’s life or “spreading to earth” (dibumikan), so it will give benefit for humanity and for Indonesia. .

³ Ahmed AnNaim, *Islam Dan Negara Sekuler*, 270–90.

of society classified as *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyai*. Clifford Geertz gave description about the three group of people in the Javanese society by anthropological approach made by him as the way to analyze.

The Clifford Geertz's opus using approach of functionalism anthropology of the Weber personality (Max Weber) as the founder of functionalism sect, clearly will say that in the Islam of Java there are some rituals done by the society which are then identified as the forms of the ritual function and the characteristic of the society doing it. In the book of *The Religion of Java*, Clifford Geertz showed the integration and the harmony in the society of Java (at the time) by mechanism and social functions through the tradition of "slametan", Idul Fitri day, charity and some other rituals of Java. Some "slametan" tradition put function as the way to keep peace and integration in the society of Java in three cultures of religiosity (*abanganism*, *santrinism* and *priyayism*). So, it's clear that ritual has power and social function.

With some weaknesses said by his critics of the categorization he made, Clifford Geertz had succeeded in giving "social map" of the rural society at the time. There are many characteristics which can be studied from Geertz's explanation, mainly about *abangan* and *santri*. Whereas the *priyai* categorization is much criticized, because it's not suitable with the spiritual categorization. *Priyai*, from his critics, is precisely categorized as usual culture, not religiosity, even it's better for the social class tending to have relation to having wealth and work. But those two categorizations, with some weaknesses, are still recognized and received for the year of 1950s in the rural area.

Clifford Geertz's thesis actually came from Weber's thesis viewing that in the society there will be always a tradition embraced communally, and it will be made more clear in the behavior of the society. Social, political, cultural, and economic behavior can be described from Weber's thesis (1919) about the spirit of capitalism, or *moda-spirit* of production which can give economic and spiritual benefit. ⁴Geertz tried to explore in the field what's meant by Weber about culture, about the spirit and also about the community. The fact, Geertz believed that society could adopt certainly cultural system that could support on the specific spirit, namely the spirit for the business and spiritual spirit.

Clifford Geertz, with the theory he found: *santri*, *abangan*, and *priyai* in the Java society has put him as great social anthropologist which is deserved to be appreciate highly in mapping how the was the religious life of the Javanese society

⁴ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (Ltd London: Pinguin Book, 1919), Chapter 4 and chapter 5, pages: 172-187.

(Mojokuto, Kediri) at that years. For some years after, it could be said that Geertz's theory (finding) became the matter of discussion and reference of the scientist of the political, religious, and social culture in the rural area of Java. It's so anthropologic and social about what was done by Clifford Geertz.⁵

The study of Clifford Geertz about three religious variants in the Javanese society (Jawaism) which was identical with "*abangan*" actually could be found apparently in his next study when he gave long explanation about the culture existing in the society in the book of *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), dan *Local Knowledge* (1983). There Geertz gave explanation that social factor had bigger influence in the matter of religiosity than in the matter of personality. So, the social matters become the important factor in doing religiosity than the individual believe. Religion never becomes the cluster soldered individually, but religion is the cluster of the social understanding, religions is life text living in the society, religion is the cluster of meaning interpreted together and also discussed together so it enthused many results of meaning, including social meaning.

From that, it could be understood if Clifford Geertz then saw that religion (mainly in Java) was the religion understood socially and interacted socially so it could build peace and integrated culture of harmony. Religion of Java was always brought in some symbols, rituals, and religious activity of Java enabled to make social integrity; those were *slametan* and *ngalapberkah*. *Slametan* and *ngalapberkah* were two things which could be left in the tradition of the Javanese religiosity called by Geertz as the part of the tradition of the Javanese religion (*abangan, santri, and priyayi*).

It's different from Clifford Geertz, Robert W. Hefner *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition ad Islam* (1985), discussed about Islamization and the effect for the religion of Javanese Hindu. The book of *Hindu Javanese* was the next process (developing) of his dissertation having title *Identity and Cultural Reproduction Among Tengger Javanese* (1980). Whereas the next book was *The Political Economy of Mountain Java : An Interpretative History*, (1999), studying the changes of the political economic social happening in the slope of Tengger Mountain where most of the society there was Hindu of Bali or Hindu of India. The Javanese Hindu in Hefner's research was different from Hindu existing in Bali or India. Here was the special characteristic of Hindu existing in Java with the Hindu in Bali having Indian characteristic. Whereas, the Hindu in Java was strong enough with the Javanese culture.

In a while his dissertation written in 1980 was more detail in studying about the religious culture and social system happening in the slope of Tengger Mountain. Here, Hefner gave more serious attention of the social matter existing in the

⁵ *The Religion of Java* (USA, 1958).

tradition of Hinduism with the society culture located below the security, mainly National Army of Indonesia (TNI) that was very superior toward the society in the New Order era so if there was the group of people that were difficult to govern by the ruling regime, they would be treated roughly and would be in the dangerous position because they would deal with the army. Many people of Tengger must have reported to local commander of the army administration (Danramil) or the local Dansektor to be 'guided' because their behaviors were viewed to violate and not near enough to the government.

Robert Hefner clearly said that religious tradition of Hindu at Tengger slope was faced apparently with Islam then doing Islamization of the Hindu society. The Islamization at Tengger Mountain was irrespective from the economic and social political matter found behind it. Embracing religion because it related always with the economic and politic. The minority group of people, such as Hindu at Tengger Mountain, would be always in the weak, marginal, dominated position by the majority religion because they would be always the object of "developmentalism" and modernization brought by the majority religion. The majority religion in Indonesia is, of course, Islam collaborated with the regime (government).

That's why, Hefner's study had put Java religion (Islam at Tengger Mountain) came, at first, from the Hinduism tradition then converted to Islam because of some process of Islamization of the animism and dynamism society viewed less pious in the tradition of pure Islam. Pure Islam then became one of the keywords in the tradition of Javanese Islam. Pure Islam of normative Islam is always faced with the Sufism Islam existing in Java and Indonesia in general.

About *Slametan*, *ritual*, and piety as explained by Clifford Geertz then became the attention of the other anthropologist coming after that in Indonesia, specifically studying the tradition of the normative religion and tradition of the Sufism Islam in Yogyakarta. He was Mark R. Woodward, writing *Islam in Java; Normative Piety and Mysticism in The Sultanate of Jogjakarta* (1987), would prove what was said by Clifford Geertz in the tradition of the Javanese Islam (*abangan* and Hinduism).

The anthropologist coming later was from Arizona State University, Mark Woodward, writing about the tradition of religiosity at Keraton Yogyakarta located at Kauman Yogyakarta. Kauman was the center where Muhammadiyah was found, the biggest modern Islamic organization in Indonesia since 1912, found by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, the interior and merchant of Batik who had wife named Siti Walidah, the daughter of the religious leader (*Kiai*) at Kauman, Yogyakarta. Ahmad Dahlan succeeded in building Islamic culture viewed different

from the culture of the Javanese Islam existed at the years and the Javanese Islam in general.

Mark Woodward precisely studied about religiosity of Keraton of Java in the category: Symbolic Islam or Normative Islam and Sufism Islam which was more spiritual, even it was more syncretism to say for the another term (name) of another culturally anthropological categorization. Mark Woodward gave explanation that in Islam of Java, at least, developed tradition of “*Syariat Islam*” held by Keraton Yogyakarta, beside that the spiritual Islam also developed run by *abdidalem* and some from the loyal follower (*penderek*) of Sultan HamengkuBuwono XIII and Sultan HB IX

Another book (publication) from Mark Woodward is *Java, Indonesia and Islam*, 2011, shows that the developing tradition in Java about Islam which doesn't leave the *slametan* tradition, including tradition of *tahlilan*, *nyekar*, until the practice of native healing and also medical treatment by *rukyah* remains developing in Java even though they call themselves as Muslim. In Java, mainly in Yogyakarta, the region where Muhammadiyah was found, the tradition of *yasinan*, *tahlilan*, and medical treatment of *rukyah* and also the practice of native healing remain developing beside, off course, *wayang* becoming the part of their lives.⁶

Detail explanation about Islam in Java done by Mark Woodward relates much to the ceremonial, ritual, and some kinds of the religious activity (Islam) such as *ngalapberkah* said by Geertz before. What relates to the practice of native healing as the way to give medical treatment of the sick man, *sekatenan*, and *labuhan* (hanging down) in the south sea are always done by the Islamic people living around Java island, such as Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Cirebon, and the passengers of South Java. Those traditions describe that the tradition of the Javanese Islam is never irrespective from the ritual unsure relating to the tradition of *slametan* and *ngalapberkah* such as the Hinduism tradition. Mark Woodward's explanation about those things can be found in his newest book published in 2011, *Java, Indonesia and Islam*.

Following explanation from Mark Woodward, we can have description that In Java, Islam constitutes the religion embraced by the society having Javanese culture and the Javanese culture influences them strongly in the ritual and Islamic symbols. The building of GedeKauman mosque, for example, looks like *Joglo* house in Java. We can also see the building of the five Pathok Mosques of state in Yogyakarta built by HamengkuBuwono 8. The Five Pathok Mosques of state are Kauman Mosques (Gedhe Mosque, BabadanBantul Mosque, Gedhe Kota GedheMosque, AgungMlangi Mosque, and AgungPlosoKuningMosque), looking

⁶ Mark Woodward, *Java, Indonesia and Islam*, 2011, 201–20 Springer, Muslim in Global Societies Series, National University of Singapore.

like *joglo* of Java. So, could we say that Islam of Java, physically, is the combination (acculturation) and dialectical result with the Java and maybe also with the Hindu coming earlier in Java.

If we agree with physical building and some rituals run by Islamic society and Hindu society which both keep *slametan* for *ngalapberkah* of life, we may say that between Islam and the Javanese culture in Java there is the cultural and social accommodation. It also happens to Hindu coming earlier. There, we see, for example, the tradition of “sedekah Bumi” (earth charity) such as Merti Bumi, sea charity, and it also happens in Hindu. Shortly, we can say that Islam of Java is not irrespective from the Javanese tradition and Hindu tradition coming earlier to Java, mainly in Mataram ground. So, Islam of Java must be understood, finally, in the culture of Java, the biggest population in Indonesia. Even, in Java earth, we know the world of Islam of *wali* (the high spiritual leader) or popularly called *Wali Songo* (nine *Wali*) and some local wali, such as Syekh Maqduum Wali and Syekh Pasir in Banyumas, Purwokerto.

Islamic Contestation of Sharia Versus Sufism

Timothy Daniels, a Britain anthropologist who converts to Islam, gives the same attention with Clifford Geertz, Robert Hefner and Mark Woodward, to examine Islamic tradition that grows in East Java (Kediri) in 90s and the beginning of 2000s. There it also found as Mark Woodward did about quackery tradition, massive therapy by *rukayah* (incantation and dua; Quranic passages), manner of *kanuragan* and ceremonials for bless-wishing from *hyangwidi*, *sang murbahing dumadi* (God the Creator, the First, the Almighty). Timothy Daniels’ research seems to provide us problems of Javanese spiritual on practicing Islam and behaving simply daily yet provides profound meanings.

Timothy Daniels delivers the report written in *Islamic Spectrum in Java* (2009).⁷ In the report, Timothy raises the matter of Islamic propagation now developing in East Java with various forms of sharia regulation, Islamic thought-spreading through the mass media and popular Islamic propagation carried by TV stations and celebrities mullah who are dealing with pure Islamic tradition and substantial piety. The Islamic Formalist propagation dealing with the Islamic Substantialist then gives rise dispute what so called the Islamic Scriptural versus Islamic Substantialist.

The explanation shows the contestation (the struggling between Scriptural traditions versus substantialism) between Sufism with Sharia that are both

⁷ Timothy Daniels, *Islamic Spectrum in Java* (New Delhi: Asghate, 2009), 120–65.

developing in Java today. Here, Clifford Geertz prior ideas on harmonic and integration tradition apparently start to fade, because religious people then look for firmness covered in sharia, while others look for piety (Piety) as a form of individual piety. Individual Islam will be adjacent to Islam as social Piety which is a refinement of personal piety believed by every Muslim who works socially (righteous deeds) in their life.

A Dutch anthropologist, Martin van Bruinessen, also give serious concern about the condition of Indonesian Islam by writing a book *Rakyat Kecil, Islam dan Politik*, 2013. The book is a collection of his opuses for approximately 25 years, either as a guest lecturer in IAIN (now Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta), as a researcher consultant at LIPI, as a researcher at ISEAS Singapore or as a researcher consultant at the NGO. He later wrote some articles which he called "not just a collection of articles", because it leads him to love more and be steeped in Indonesian culture and Islamic practices.⁸

In his work, Martin describes the contestation between mainstream and non-mainstream Islamic groups. Moderate Islamic groups inhabited by NU and Muhammadiyah, while the non-mainstream Islam shown by Front Pembela Islam, Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia, Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia and Laskar Jihad. They fight for Islam with different own perspective and approach. Several non-mainstream Islamic groups fight for Islam as a part of the political Islamic movement to succeed formalization of sharia, while NU and Muhammadiyah are no longer questioned the formal form of state of Indonesia; whether it should be based on Islam or Khilafah as the idea of Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia, or the Sharia State as initiated by Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia and Jamaah Tauhid Ansharu led by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir.

The ideas from Clifford Geertz, Robert W. Hefner, Mark R Woodward, Timothy Daniels and Martin van Bruinessen demonstrate that Islam and religion in Java is very varied. The Javanese social condition creates such varied religious characteristics. Such conditions are forcing us, both writers and researchers, should not be haphazard in inferences-drawing about the Islam in Java, even from artificial things since it related to the Javanese tradition in common. Javanese tradition, in fact, creates a lot of characteristics of people with a sharp differentiation from one another, though they remain harmonious as part of Javanese culture negotiations to be told as dislike for confrontation among members of society, even in the history of Indonesia it occur various kinds of confrontation between the Javanese community with colonization.

MB Hooker, a student of Indonesian Islamic law, provided more specific explanation in the context of Indonesian Islamic law to be applied over the years.

⁸ Martin van Bruinessen, *Rakyat Kecil, Islam Dan Politik, Gading Edisi Revisi*, 2013, 209–29.

MB Hooker wrote his studies as *Islam Mazhab Indonesia*, Mizan, 2004. In his study, Hooker shows a fairly detailed explanation related to the peculiarities of Indonesian Islamic law (fiqh) since the pre-independence era to the post-independence; from several Islamic organizations such as Persis, Muhammadiyah, NU to Natsir, Hazairin, and the law introduced by Hasby Ashidiqy, a scholar from Padang which effect rather intensely in the study of fiqh (Islamic law) surroundings IAIN - as of Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Makassar and Malang.⁹

Political Islam Contestation with Local Culture

The author intends to invite the readers to give attention on what several contemporary Indonesian scholars reviewing Islam in in historical and anthropological perspective, such Taufik Abdullah, Azyumardi Azra, Bambang Pranowo, and Moeslim Abdurrahman. Those four Indonesian Islam reviewers will be used as examples in the literature review that discusses Indonesian Islam. It is certainly a view yet not intended to simplify and put them as 'Gods' in the Indonesian Islam review. They are only taken as foothold in the anthropological historical analysis. In addition, review on Indonesian Islam has been massively done by Indonesian reviewers.

We are undoubtedly able to create a longer list of Indonesian reviewers on Indonesian Islam. If the disciplines categorized, however, we actually have five categories. Those are historical, political approach, cultural, social movements, and archaeological knowledge approach or thought biographical approach. Therefore, here the author does not intend to provide a detailed explanation on the approach used in approaching the Indonesian Islam.¹⁰

Noting the study completed by Taufik Abdullah and Azyumardi Azra, we would understand that they approaches Islam in historical perspective and promotes that Indonesian Islam is accommodative with the local culture. It, however, occasionally turns controversial even collides with the local culture and Islam. When Islam is understood as normative, there would be a collision between Islam and the local culture. Nevertheless, when ethically and substantially understood, Islam would be accommodative and acculturative. Reviewers of Indonesian Islam define that Indonesian Islam is "different" from Islam on the other countries, even if reviewed more; its history has a long relation to Islam in Middle East, South Asia, and Central Asia and so on.¹¹

⁹ MB Hooker, *Islam Mazhab Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 2004), chapter 4-5, 200-256.

¹⁰ The author had explained about approach in understanding Indonesian Islam in another publication, within Zuly Qodir, *Islam Liberal: Varian-Varian Liberalisme Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2010), Chapter 3, pages: 130-156.

¹¹ Taufik Abdullah, *Islam Dalam Pantulan Sejarah* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1987), chapter 5. Pages: 199-

Indonesia's renowned historian, Taufik Abdullah, provides historical records of Islam in Indonesia with various events that occurred since the days of empire in Perlak, Aceh, to the empires of Sulawesi and Ambon. In his study, Indonesia Islam is not only broadcasted (carried) by the Gujarat-origin merchants, but also by Sufi of the Middle East, especially Iran. There it is then discovered historical evidence to that Sufi (tarikat) evolved vary in number in Indonesia. If Islam were only developed by the merchants, there would be a possible expansion of the market in an Islamic society and that was very homogeneous. Because there are dimensions of Sufism, Islam in the country is able to be accommodative with local culture across the archipelago.

Meanwhile, in the study of contemporary Indonesian politics people find a very different study over historical and anthropological perspective. Study completed by Syafii Maarif, for instance, argues that partly Indonesian Islam is very hopeful for "the establishment of the Islamic State", even if it is finally able to compromise with the reality of Muslims and the others in Indonesia. Maarif's study provides a fairly clear explanation that Indonesian Islam is very varied in any ideological struggle, not singular, in which Substantialist Islamic group claims the victory of Indonesian Islam, not that of Formalist group. Otherwise, it is also able to be argued that Indonesian Islam is actually Islam to rather agree with substantial matters than the symbolic formal.¹²

Quite the same with Syafii Maarif is Bahtiar and M. Syafii Anwar Effendi to put Indonesian Islam in political contestation involving powerful regime that raises a variety of strategies and Islamic culture to build. Bahtiar Effendi (1998) examines the change in Islamic political attitudes against the State. Syafii Anwar, though, examines accommodative and confrontational attitudes of Islam against the State.

220; Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, Revised Edition (Prenada, 2005); Azyumardi Azra, *Islam Nusantara* (Bandung: Mizan, 2001), 302–345.

¹² Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam Dan Masalah Kenegaraan, Perdebatan Dalam Konstituante* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1987), chapter n4, pages: 201-243 In this book, Syafii Maarif vividly describes the difference in views on the subject of the philosophical basis of Indonesian state, which later creates a view to put Islam as the Indonesian principle. On the other hand, another view believes that Indonesia does not need to use Islam as the state principle. From the debate, Indonesia finally agrees not to use one religion as the basic philosophy yet accommodates the universal values of religion as the foundation of nation and state. Thus, the majority of Muslims show a tolerant and accommodative nature for the sake of an ideal of the state and nation called Indonesia. In some of his writings, Maarif prefers substantial dimension of Islam rather than Islamic formalism that is unable to colorize. Maarif does not believe Islam as a "lipstick" that simply looked the color but no taste, as he quotes from the expression of Bung Hatta. Maarif last work that many cites many Bung Hatta's thoughts is *Islam dalam Bingkai Keindonesiaan dan Kemanusiaan* (Islam in Frame of Indonesian-ness and Humanity), Mizan, Bandung, 2009, revised edition, 2015. Pages : 209-220. In this book, Maarif explained importance of presenting Islam in the context of Indonesian-ness and humanity because there Islam would be beneficial to the nation and state hit by a multidimensional crisis.

Anwar also observes the responses of Indonesian Muslim scholars over the country. Both Syafii Anwar and Bahtiar Effendy explained that Indonesia has a truly diverse variant of Islamic political culture and thought. Indonesian Islam contains many kinds, from the very formalistic, substantial, to the transformative all belong to Indonesia. That is merely the wealth of Indonesian Islam.¹³

The mentioned literatures are able to clearly show us that Islam Indonesia is not only in contact with the local culture, but also with the growing national politics. Indonesian Islamic culture as described is closely associated with Javanese and Hinduism culture. While in the case of political attitudes, Indonesian Islam relates to the accommodative and dialectic attitudes toward the State of modern Indonesia. Those are fairly clearly visible in Indonesia then turn the idea of changing Pancasila State into an Islamic State remains weak. It also fails the belief of those who support Islamic state form that Islamic State would be approved by the majority of the Indonesian population. In case of Pancasila as the National principle, Islamic societies have some mixed views. Mostly of Muslim community, in fact, agree with Pancasila as the principle of the Republic of Indonesia. 37% is figures for those who agree with Islamic state of Indonesia, while 87% supports the Pancasila state.¹⁴

¹³ M Syafii Anwar, *Pemikiran Dan Aksi Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995), chapter 4-5, pages: 245-355 Also Bahtiar Effendi Islam dan Negara, Paramadina, Jakarta 1998. Both M. Syafii Anwar and Bahtiar Effendy explained at length about the perspective of Indonesian Muslim scholars on how to present Islam in Indonesia when dealing with the subjects of democracy, religious, politics, modernization, as well as that of feminism. Both later conclude that Indonesian muslim scholars tend to be accommodative to and agree with the state and with the tradition evolving in Indonesia as strategy of da'wah (proselytizes) in order that Islam is accepted in Indonesia and the public in general.

¹⁴ Zainal Abidin Bagir, Suhadi Cholil, and Endy Saputro, *Laporan Tahunan Kebebasan Beragama Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: CRCS UGM-Mizan, 2008) The annual report states that there is a small number of Indonesian societies which aspires Indonesian Islamic state where Pancasila is not its basic philosophy. However, the amount is very small when compared to those who support Pancasila as the principle of Indonesian Republic. There are only 37% people who support the Islamic State of Indonesia, while those who agreeing the Pancasila State reach 87%. Here, it can actually be said that the idea of revising its philosophical foundation of Pancasila into Islam is not strong. Nevertheless, those Indonesian Muslim communities that wishes the revision are still remain until now as performed by Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia and Jamaat Ansahru Tauhid. The idea of non-mainstream Islamic groups often collided with mainstream groups represented by Muhammadiyah and NU as the pillars of moderate Islam in Indonesia. Without intention to discredit one of the parties in the Indonesian Islamic schools of thought, discourse dialogue seems necessary to think deeply about the need for Indonesia formulating theology in a non-Islamic country.

Conclusion

Indonesian Islam is “Indigene Islam” that inherits accommodative and tolerant characteristic and is capable of dialectic with the real condition of pluralistic Indonesia. It polarizes no Islam over culture, because there are many cultures derived from Islam and become an Islamic wealth. There is also culture to influence Islam so that Islam becomes pliable in the symbol, not the substance. In short, between symbol and substance should be sought its “consensus”; need not be contradicted sharply. This is because the obligation of religious people are seriously looking for authentic sources of Islamic practices of revelation and the Sunnah, and human creativity then supports the progress and development of Islam.

Indonesian Islam can thus be believed to be a form of Islam that is not allergic and refuse the developing culture in Indonesia, although it does not mean that Indonesian Islam is Indonesian cultural Islam. It was very clear that both culture and Islam are two different things, but there is plenty of culture to establish Islam itself. Indonesian Islam, accordingly, is capable of understanding a tradition in Indonesia and become a driving force in the development of Indonesia. It is humane Islam, equitable and typical of Indonesia. Indonesian Islam is thus not the Middle East Islam, but Islam with Indonesian culture. Abdurrahman Wahid mentioned it as *Islam Pribumi* (Indigenous/Native Islam), an Indonesian-grounded Islam, not alienated from Indonesia. Muslim scholars thought that we discussed clearly demonstrates that Indonesian Islam is the moderate, tolerant and inclusive Islam.

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