PRIBUMIZATION: THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF THE THOUGHT OF ABDURRAHMAN WAHID (GUS DUR)

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ABSTRACT

The pribumization of Islam, Gus Dur's thoughts, is very important to be described in the world of education, in order to explain to the wider community, about the advantages of the development of Islam in Indonesia. With the aim, so that people better understand the cultural Islam that exists in Indonesia, where Islam and culture cannot be separated from one another. This is in line with the motto of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, namely Bhineka Tunggal Ika, which means different, both ethnicity, race, religion, culture, language, but still one, namely Indonesia. The method used in writing this article is to use the literature study method, by reading several references both from books, journals and other articles related to the title above. In short, the pribumization of Islam is how Islam is used as a normative teaching, which comes from God and is then accommodated into a culture that comes from humans without losing their respective identities, Islam remains with its Islamic state and culture remains with its culture.

Keywords: Pribumization; Islam; Gus Dur's Thinking.

Introduction

Islam is a very perfect religion, performed by the Prophet Muhammad shalallu 'alaihi wasallam, descended from Allah subhanahu wata'ala who was through the intermediary of the angel Gabriel. The Qur'an is one of the guidelines for the most important Religion of Islam, in which there are many sources of knowledge, rules, norms, and so on, which are used as reference material in the application of Muslims in the world and later in the hereafter.

Islam is very easily accepted in various circles of society, tribe, race, culture, nation and State. Where the Prophet Muhammad shalallahu 'alaihi wasallam, who became the leader in bringing the idea of Islam as a religion that is rahmatan lil 'alamin or a religion that gives mercy, compassion, gives security to the entire universe.

Islam entered various circles of society, tribe, race, culture, nation and state, to become the basis for them to carry out all activities, both worship, social, and others. As one example, Islam entered Indonesia, where at that time in this Indonesian land there were already many races, tribes, religions, cultures and so on. Then Islam came not to
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replace what had become a custom that existed in the archipelago, but Wali Songo, who at that time as one of the spreaders of Islam in Indonesia was proselytizing by means of a cultural approach, a social approach, which in this approach the Wali Songo tried to adopt various kinds of cultures or habits of society in general then collaborated as a medium in proselytizing. For example, what Sunan Kalijaga has done is preaching through wayang staging, where this wayang performance has become a trasidi for the Javanese people, and when Sunan Kalijaga entered java, finally continued to use wayang as a medium for proselytizing, by replacing Javanese wayang stories with islamic stories, such as the example of asy-syahadatain that is, reading two sentences of the creed and so on. By adopting community customs, maintaining local wisdom, that is where Islam is easily accepted by all communities, especially in Indonesia.

Such a thought was later adopted also by Abdurrahman Wahid or commonly known as Gus Dur. So this is where it is important to examine the thoughts of Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur regarding the pribumization of Islam. However, as Wahid admitted, that he was not the first to start the idea, because he was only the relay successor of the strategic steps once carried out by Wali Songo. With this pribumization step, according to him, Wali Songo has succeeded in islamicizing the land of Java, without having to face to face and experience tensions with the culture and customary traditions of the local community.

Research Methods

The research method used in this study is qualitative and the method of presenting the data is descriptive analysis, and is designed with a literature approach that explores several discussions about pluralism in Islamic education in the perspective of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid. The main sources used as references are books, journals, and similar literature related to the theme of the study. The analysis in this study uses content analysis and discourse analysis. The author conducts an analysis by reviewing the contents of various literatures in accordance with the theme of the study. As for the validity of the data, the researchers used source triangulation, namely cross-checking back to the library sources discussing KH's thoughts. Abdurrahman Wahid on pluralism in Islamic education.

Results and Discussion

A. Biography of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur)

Abdurrahman Wahid or commonly known as Gus Dur is a son of a couple of great scholars in Indonesia. Wahid was born on August 4, 1940 in Denanyar Jombang with his childhood name Abdurrahman Addakhil, the first of six sons. His father, Kyai Haji Abdul Wahid Hasyim, was the son of Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy'ari, the founder of the Tebuireng Islamic boarding school and the founder of Jam'iyyah Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Meanwhile, his mother, Nyai Hajah Sholihah, is also the daughter of a major Nahdlatul Ulama figure, namely Kyai Haji Bisri Syamsuri, the founder of the
Denanyar Jombang hut and as Rais Aam, the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU).

Genetically, both from the paternal and maternal lineages, Wahid is a figure who really occupies a high social strata of Indonesian society, where his two grandfathers, both Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy'ari and Kyai Haji Bisri Syamsuri are known as prominent scholars in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and big figures in the Republic. But thus, the life history of Wahid does not reflect the life of a nobleman or the son of a prominent figure, he lived and proceeded as befits society in general. When Wahid was a child, he studied at the Islamic boarding school and was taught to recite, learning to read the Qur'an by his grandfather Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy'ari at the Tebuireng Jombang Islamic boarding school.

In 1949 when the military confrontation or tension of the armed forces in Indonesia with the Dutch colonial government ended and his father was appointed as the first Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, finally Wahid Hasyim's family moved from Jombang to Jakarta. Since then, Wahid as a child had to finish his schooling in Jakarta. Thus, a new atmosphere and new environmental conditions he had entered, guests arriving consisting of figures with various fields of profession who had previously been encountered in his grandfather's house, continued when his father became Minister of Religious Affairs. This indirectly provided his own experience for Wahid, who there began to get acquainted with the world of politics heard from his father's colleagues who at that time often came to his house.

In his daily life Gus Dur has a hobby or love of reading and diligently uses his father's personal library, besides that he also actively visits public libraries in Jakarta to read various books, thoughts and so on. Even at the age of still in his teens, Wahid was already familiar with various magazines, newspapers, novels, and very serious books. Wahid not only read about works whose content is stories, especially fiction stories and martial arts stories, but Gus Dur is also very deep in books on Philosophy and foreign documents that never go unnoticed by him, besides reading, this one character also likes to play football, chess and music. Another passion, which also participated in completing his hobby was watching cinema, this passion caused a deep appreciation in the world of cinema, this is also the reason why Wahid in 1986-1987 was appointed as the chairman of the jury of the Indonesian Film Festival.

At the time of adolescence Gus Dur mostly spent his time in Yogyakarta and Tegalrejo, it was in these two places that Gus Dur's development of science began to increase. Then after from those two places, the next time Gus Dur lived in Jombang, in the Tambak Beras Islamic boarding school, until then continued his education and knowledge development in Egypt. But before leaving for Egypt, Gus Dur's uncle had proposed a girl for him, namely Sinta Nuriyah, the daughter of Haji Muhammad Sakur, and her marriage was carried out when Wahid was in Egypt.

**B. The Background of Gus Dur's Islamic Pribumization Thinking**

The idea of the genealogical pribumization of Islam or events, was first floated by Wahid in the 1980s, since then, indigenous Islam has become a very interesting
debate in the environment of intellectuals, both senior (old) intellectuals and young intellectuals. In the indigenous Islam initiated by Wahid, it is illustrated how Islam as a normative teaching derived from God is then accommodated into a culture that comes from humans without losing their respective identities, so that there is no longer a purification of Islam or the process of equating with the religious practices of Muslim communities in the Middle East.

The phenomenon that has occurred from the past and even now, some circles of preachers in Indonesia always say that we must follow what Muslims in Arabia do, starting from religious practices, how to dress, how to look and so on. Doesn't the thought of having to be Arabism or the process of identifying with Middle Eastern cultures mean simply uprooting our own culture? In this case, pribumization is not an attempt to avoid resistance from the forces of local cultures, but rather so that the culture does not disappear. According to Wahid, the core pribumization of Islam is a necessity, not to avoid polarization between religion and culture, because such polarization is indeed inevitable.

The pribumization of Islam has made religion and culture no longer defeat each other, not weaken each other, but rather this pribumization of Islam is manifested in a pattern of religious reason that no longer takes the authentic form of Islam itself and seeks to bring together the bridges that have been crossing between religion and culture.

In the next context, the purpose of the existence of Islamic pribumization thinking itself is to create a diversity mindset (Islam) according to its respective local contexts in the form of "Indigenous Islam" as an answer to "Authentic Islam" or "Purific Islam" who want to carry out arabism projects within every Islamic community in all corners of the world, which assumes that Middle Eastern Islam is considered the original and most correct. In this case,"Indigenous Islam" actually gives a fresh breeze to the diversity of interpretations in the practice of religious life (Islam) in each different region, ranging from race, ethnicity, culture, nation and State. Thus, Islam is no longer viewed singularly, but rather diverse in adjusting the culture and customs into which it belongs. There is no longer the notion that Islam in the Middle East is the purest and most correct Islam, because Islam itself as a religion that experiences a historic that continues with the times.

One example of islamic pribumization can be seen from the ritual practice in popular culture in Indonesia as described by Kuntowijoyo, which shows the marriage between Islam and local culture quite closely. The Pengiwahan ceremony in West Java, for example, which has a certain intention so that humans can become wiwoho or noble humans, departing from this understanding, there is a special cultural value where people must glorify birth, marriage, death and so on. All these rituals are intended to show that human life is noble, and this concept of the glory of human life is clearly colored by islamic culture itself which views that humans are noble beings.

With the existence of "Indigenous Islam" this is the answer to "Authentic Islam" by presupposing on three things. First, "Indigenous Islam" assesses the
contextual nature, that is, Islam which is understood as a teaching related to the context of times and places, so that changes in time and regional differences become one of the keys to interpreting Islamic teachings in society. Thus, Islam will experience changes and dynamics in responding to the times. Second, "Indigenous Islam" is progressive, that is, by responding to the progress of the times is not understood as a threat in deviation from the basic teachings of religion (Islam), but can be seen as a trigger to carry out an intense creative response to changes and developments in the times. Third, "Indigenous Islam" has a liberative character, namely Islam is a teaching that can answer and provide solutions to universal humanitarian problems regardless of differences in religion, ethnicity, race, and culture. Thus, Islam is no longer rigid or rigid in the face of changes in diversity and social realities that occur in an ever-changing society.

So that in this context "Indigenous Islam" came and wanted to liberate puritanism and all forms of Islamic purification, while being able to maintain local wisdom without having to eliminate the normative identity of Islam itself, therefore "Indigenous Islam" is more of a spread cultural ideology that is spread (spread cultural ideology) especially in Indonesia. Where it considers more about locality differences than cultural ideologies that focus and recognize religious teachings without a certain interpretation, so that they can be spread in various regions without having to damage the local community's local culture. Thus, there will be no longer any tone of radicalism practices that are supported by religious understandings that are understood to the extreme, which have been a threat to the creation of peace in the midst of society.

One thought about religious culture, of course, can provoke people in responding to this, so that the pros and cons always arise regarding this conception of indigenous Islam are inevitable. Around March 08-09, 1989 approximately 200 (two hundred) kyai gathered at the Darut Tauhid Arjawinangun Islamic boarding school in Cirebon to "prosecute" Wahid, from here several camps emerged that faced each other in responding to the discourse rolled out by Wahid related to his indigenous Islamic ideas. However, as Wahid himself admitted that he was not the first to start in carrying out the idea, he was only as the next generation of strategic steps that had been applied by the Wali Songo. Because with the pribumization step, according to him, Wali Songo has succeeded in islamicizing the land of Java, without having to face and experience tensions with the culture and traditions of the local community.

Since the arrival of Islam in the archipelago, scholars have tried to selectively adopt various local cultures, ranging from social systems, arts, and even government, when this is considered appropriate, it is no longer changed, including customs that are ultimately developed in an Islamic perspective. With this, it can allow the culture of the archipelago to remain diverse, even though Islam itself has united the region religiously, starting in terms of how to dress, most of them still wear traditional clothes, and by local scholars it is considered that some are qualified enough to cover the aurat and kyai wives wear traditional clothes, as the local people use. In this period
Islam was very thick with its local colors, so it was seen that the familiarity between Islam and the local environment, so that every Islam in a certain area could display its Islamicness distinctively based on their customs and culture. So that in this case, Islam is really integrated with kenusantaraan or Indonesianness, not only in terms of customs, but also its political thoughts and aspirations that are oriented towards nationality, not Islamic.

The indigenous Islam initiated by Wahid actually took the spirit that had been done by the Wali Songo in his proselytizing to the Archipelago around the 15th and 16th centuries, especially on the island of Java. So that in this case, Wali Songo has succeeded in incorporating local values in Islam that are peculiar to Indonesia, wali Songo's creativity gave birth to a new idea for Islamic reasoning that no longer harfiyah imitates Islam in Arabia. The Wali Songo strongly accommodates Islam as a religious teaching that has been historicalized with a culture that is adapted to the environment of the local community. For example, as done by Sunan Bonang, by changing the Javanese gamelan which at that time was thick with Hindu aesthetics was then changed to the nuances of dhikr which encouraged a love for transcendental life. The lyrics of the song "Tombo Ati" are one of Sunan Bonang's works, later in the puppetry performance, Sunan Bonang changed the play and incorporated typical Islamic interpretations and there is also a Pandawakurava story interpreted by Sunan Bonang as a war between nafy (negativity) and 'itbath (edification).

While what Sunan Kalijaga did was to choose art and culture as a means of proselytizing, he was very tolerant of the local culture, he also argued that the community would stay away if attacked by purification (feeling the most correct Islam). Therefore, Sunan Kalijaga believes that if Islam is understood, then by itself the old customs will disappear, he uses carving, puppetry, gamelan, and suluk sound art as a means of proselytizing. Sunan Kalijaga is also believed to be the originator of Islamic traditions in Java such as, Baju Takwa, Celebration of Sekaten, Grebeg Maulud, Layang Kalimasada, Lakon wayang petruk jadi raja, the existence of palace symbols and so on.

Those are some examples that have been done by the Wali Songo in Islamic proselytizing in Java, by not making moral purifications, but by making direct adaptations or adjustments to the socio-cultural conditions of the local community, so that the community does not take action of resistance or rejection of new teachings that enter the community. Therefore, indigenous Islam can be used as part of a discourse battle that is a continuation of previous ideas with the same meaningful spirit and challenge, the challenge facing indigenous Islam is the universalization of Islam in all its forms leading to Islamic arabism itself.

C. The Direction of Wahid's Thoughts on the Pribumization of Islam

There is one of Gus Dur's writings that is directly related to the theme of Islamic pribumization, namely an article about the idea of "Pribumization of Islam" which Gus Dur intended as an answer to the problems faced by Muslims throughout its history, namely how to bring together culture ('adah) with norms (shari'ah) as has
always been a problem in *ushul al-fiqh*. According to Wahid, the problems that eventually become overlapping between religion and culture will inevitably occur constantly as a process that will enrich life that makes it not arid. Religion (Islam) and culture have their own independence, but both have the same regional influence, as do philosophy and science. One cannot philosophize without science, but one cannot also say that science is philosophy. It is the same as what happens between religion (Islam) and culture which become overlapping as well as different. Thus, "pribumization of Islam" according to Wahid is an understanding that considers local needs in formulating religious (Islamic) laws without having to change the law itself. The point with this islamic pribumization thinking, is not an attempt to abandon religious norms (Islam) for the sake of culture, but so that these norms can accommodate the needs of culture by using the opportunities provided by the variation of *nass* understanding, while still giving a role to *ushul al-fiqh* and *qowa'id al-fiqh*. Therefore, from this, the revelation in Wahid's view must be understood by bringing together contextual factors, including in legal awareness and a sense of justice. However, in this process the intermingling of Islam with culture according to Wahid should not occur, because if blending means the loss of the original qualities possessed by religion and culture, Islam must remain on its Islamic nature, the Qur'an must continue to use Arabic, especially in prayer, because this is the norm, while the translation of the Qur'an is only intended to facilitate understanding, not replace the Qur'an itself with the local language.

The process of struggle that occurs with cultural reality is not intended to change Islam, but only to change the manifestations of Islamic religious life, therefore what is native is the focus carried out by Wahid. In fact, according to Wahid, Islam must remain Islam wherever Islam is located, but that does not mean that all must be equalized in its external form, so in this case there must be a meeting point between Islam and culture. Wahid used the term "pribumization of Islam", because it was difficult to find another suitable word to use, the domestication of Islam, for him felt political, namely the taming of attitudes and the castration of stances. Wahid's idea was motivated by the unrest over the factions that always urged that religious law (Islam) be uniformed and formalized and there must be a source of formal retrieval, namely the Qur'an and hadith. Under such circumstances, Wahid stated that this indicates that the meaning of Muslim life has been uprooted from the roots of its local culture, regardless of the historical framework of each place, as is the case in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Algeria, where Islam is "made" against Arab nationalism and also each is still confused with the color of its ideology. This then made Wahid tickle him by giving the question "then how to preserve the roots of the local cultures that Islam has had in this country?"

According to Wahid, in this idea, what is prioritized is a mere manifestation of Islamic life, not teachings that concern the core of his faith and formal worship, but what Is On Wahid's agenda is to think about how to preserve Islam as a culture, through efforts to serve and realize the interests of the entire nation. In this case, the
starting point of Wahid's thought is not to glorify modernism, but to criticize modernism which is universalized by using the knife of Islamic traditionalism. Gus Dur's style of thinking like this is already apparent when Wahid explains the question of Islamic universalism and the cosmopolitanism of Islamic civilization. For example, in terms of Islamic universalism, according to Wahid, it is not necessary to refer directly to the Qur'an or hadith, as is often used by modernist groups, but rather to refer to the theory in ushul al-fiqh called al-duraruyat al-khamsah (the five basics of religion).

The five basics are first, *hifz al-din* (guarding religion) which Gus Dur interprets as the salvation of their respective religious beliefs without any compulsion of conversion, second, *hifz al-nafs* (self-preservation) which is interpreted as a necessity in maintaining the physical safety of citizens from physical actions outside the provisions of the law, third, *hifz al-'aql* (guarding reason) which is interpreted as the maintenance of intellectual intelligence, fourth, *hifz al-nasl* (guarding the family) which is interpreted as the salvation of the family and descendants, fifth, *hifz al-mal* (guarding property) which is interpreted as the safety of property rights, property and professions from interference and eviction outside legal procedures.

From this explanation, Actually Wahid has used the term classical Islam, then given its contextual meaning, for example in the term *hifz al-din*, originally it was just given the meaning of maintaining religion, in the sense that Muslims should not leave Islam and embrace other religions, but in the hands of Wahid, this term became a spirit to defend freedom of religion and belief without any coercion. Likewise with the term *hifz al-'aqli* (keeping reason), which in classical fiqh is always exemplified by the prohibition of drinking liquor, but in the hands of Wahid *hifz al-'aqli* this is interpreted and associated with the necessity to maintain intellectual intelligence.

Thus, for Wahid, Islamic universalism is reflected in his teachings that have concern for human values as evidenced by providing protection to society from tyranny and arbitrariness.

So in this case the universalism used by Wahid was to develop against the theology of *ahl Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* or commonly abbreviated as Aswaja in the face of various changes and challenges in the midst of society. According to Wahid, there are several general basics regarding social life, namely, first, the view of man and his place in life, second, the view of science and technology, third, the economic view of the regulation of social life, fourth, the view of the relationship between individuals and society, fifth, a view of tradition and its dynamization through legal, educational, political and cultural institutions, sixth, a view of the ways of development of society, seventh, a view of the principles of internalization and socialization that can be developed in the context of formal doctrines that are acceptable today.

So that with the aswaja development framework proposed by Wahid, it is very visible that his efforts so that Aswaja does not become a standard and frozen doctrine, but a dynamic doctrine. Even Wahid seemed to want to say that if Aswaja wanted to
be a living doctrine, then there was no other choice but to be willing to interact openly with the development of social reality, that way, the pattern used by Wahid was how to create a balance method by emphasizing the creation of harmony in the midst of a diverse society.

Conclusion

The pribumization of Islam is how Islam is used as a normative teaching, which comes from God and is then accommodated into a culture that comes from humans without losing their respective identities, Islam remains with its Islamic and culture remains with its culture. Because according to Wahid, Arabism or the process of identifying with Middle Eastern culture is a sign of our detachment from our own culture, moreover Arabism is not yet suitable for needs if applied in Indonesia.

Pribumization is also not an effort to avoid resistance from the forces of local cultures, but rather so that the culture does not disappear and is maintained in the midst of society. The core of the indigenousization of Islam (Indigenous Islam) is a need for bukah to avoid the pillars between religion and culture, because such polarization is inevitable. The pribumization of Islam is not an attempt to abandon religious norms for cultural sake, but so that they can accommodate the needs of culture by using the opportunities provided by the variety of understandings of nass, while still giving a role to ushul al-fiqh and qowa'eid al-fiqh.

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