Ahl as Sunnah waal Jama’ah in Indonesia: A Study on Al-Banjari’s and Islam Nusantara Sunnism

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Abstract
This study focused on the early history of the emergence of the ahl as-sunnah waad-jama’ab (Sunnism) and its development in Indonesia. This study also compared Al-Banjari’s Sunnism with Indonesia’s Islamic group Nahdlatul Ulama’s Sunnism. To this end, content analysis and comparative analysis were performed on two Al-Banjari books, Tuhfah al-Raghibin and Sabilal Muhtadin, and some articles discussing Islam Nusantara (Indonesian Islamic Sunnism Model) promoted by the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The results of analyses revealed that both Al-Banjari and NU’s Sunnism was a moderate form of Islam compatible with Indonesian cultural values. Al-Banjari’s Sunnism was a bit different from the NU’s Sunnism. The NU’s Sunnism was deemed more adaptable to the Indonesian culture.

Kata Kunci: Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah; Islam Nusantara; Moderasi.

Abstrak

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INTRODUCTION
Ahl as-sunnah waad-jama’ab (in Indonesia commonly shortened as Aswaja) or Sunnism is an Islamic theological school widely claimed to be practiced by various Islamic groups and communities, both the radical textualists and the moderate contextualists. One of the radical Islamic organizations claiming to practice ahl as-sunnah waad-jama’ab is Laskar Jihad founded by Ja’far Umat Thalib. Among the moderate Islamic organizations are Nahdatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah (Saleh 2008; Qomar 2014). Many groups claim to practice ahl as-sunnah waad-jama’ab. This has something to do with a hadith saying that Islam will be divided into 73 groups; all groups are misled, except for those who follow the sunnah called ahl as-sunnah waad-jama’ab. That is why all of these groups claimed to be ahl as-sunnah waad-jama’ab.

Sunnism developed well in Indonesia, brought into by the Middle East Ulama and Archipelago Ulama Network in the 17th Century such as ar-Raniri and al-Sinkili, and in the 18th Century such as al-Falimbani and al-Banjari (A. Azra ed. 2001; A. Azra 2013: 240).
Further spread of Sunnism was done by Habaib (the descendants of Prophet Muhammad) and the next generations of ulama developing Islamic boarding schools (called pesantren) in Java such as Nawawi al-Bantani, Mahfuzhal-Termisi, and Hasyim Asy'ari who later found Nahdatul Ulama in 1926 (Mas'ud, 2006). In addition, the spread of Islam in Java was also done by the Walisongo in the 15th and 16th Centuries. Their act of spreading Islam was done by adapting the local cultural practice to Islamic teaching (Mas'ud 2006; Saleh 2008).

According to Azra, the majority of Muslims in Southeast Asia including Indonesia embrace Sunnism. Theologically, they follow the Ash’ari school. In fiqh, they follow the four Sunni schools (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, Hanbali), especially Shafi’I (Yasin 2014). In Sufism (tasawwuf), they follow Ghazali school.

One of the Indonesian ulama following Sunnism is Al-Banjari who played a crucial role in the spread of Islam in the Sultanate of Banjar. His books Sabiil Muhtadin and Tuhfahar Raghibin become the reference for many Muslims in fiqh and theology respectively. There have been many studies on al-Banjari’s Sunnism such as Mujiburrahman (2013), Jahja (2005), Hasan (1999), Syukur (1989), Steenbrink (1984), Anwar (1996), and Azra (1994). These studies, however, focused on the early history and the spread of al-Banjari’s Sunnism in the Banjar community without touching upon classical Islamic theological schools. The present study, on the other hand, discusses al-Banjari’s Sunnism and compares it with Sunnism in classical Islam and Modern Islam promoted by the NU and Muhammadiyah. These are the first and second-largest Islamic groups in Indonesia, and hence represent moderate Islam in Indonesia.

This study focused on (1) the history of the term "ahl as-sunnah waal-jamā'ah" among ulama, (2) the development of "ahl as-sunnah waal-jamā'ah" in Indonesia, and (3) the difference and similarities between al-Banjari’s Sunnism and the NU’s Sunnism. To this end, content analysis on al-Banjari’s books Tuhfat al-Raghibin and Sabiil al-Muhtadin was performed. Al-Banjari’s Sunnism was then compared with Sunnism in Classical Islam and the NU’s Sunnism was called Islam Nusantara.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Early History of Abl as-Sunnah wal-Jamā’ah

According to scholars (A. Azra 2013b; Qomar 2014; Saleh 2008), the term or concept of "ahl as-sunnah waal-jamā’ah" had not come known during the times of Muhammad, the Companions of the prophet, and the Umayyah’s (41-133/611-750). The term arose during the Abbasid period (750-1258), especially during the period of the Caliph al-Ma’mun (198-218/813-833) as a response to the development Mu’tazila school and the proliferation of politically fabricated hadiths. The Mu’tazilites are the Islamic rationalists denying the validity of abaad and mashur hadiths. They base their views only on Quran and diffusely recurrent (mawtawatir) hadiths. The Mu’tazilites were opposed by the majority of Muslims at that time, who called themselves "ahl as-sunnah waal-jamā’ah" (Nurwahidah 2001). This term seems to have existed before the appearance of Ash’arism. In his letter to Governor Ishaq ibn Ibrahim, the Caliph al-Ma’mun said: “Wanasabnaa'asabumila al-sunnah” (they attribute themselves to the sunnah) (Nasution, 2011). It was then concluded that the term "ahl as-sunnah waal-jamā’ah" first emerge in the early 9th Century, before the birth of Abul Hasan al-Ash’ari in 873 M.

While the birth of Ahl as-sunnah wa-al-jamaah is still a matter of debate among experts, including: (1) the opinion which states that the term Ahlussunnah wa al-Jama’ah was born in the late second century H. or early III century H., namely the peak of the development of the science of kalam which was marked by the development of modern schools in Islamic theology pioneered by the Mu'tazilites (rationalism) (Ramli, 2014).
Therefore, to balance the Mu'tazilah sect, Imam Abul Hasan al-Ash’ari appeared to defend the Islamic creed. His followers call this movement of Imam al-Ash’ari as Ahlussunnah wa al-Jama’ah. However, some others who do not like Imam al-Ash'ari's theology, call it Ash'ariyyah or Asy'ar'ah (Ramli 2014). (2) The opinion expressed by Harun Nasution (Nasution 2011) that the nomenclature of Ahlussunnah wa-Jama’ah emerged as a reaction to the ideas of the Mu'tazilah group who do not so much adhere to the sunnah or tradition. The Mu'tazilah advocated human freedom and freedom in thought, will, and action. Nasution added that their attitude is not because they do not believe in the traditions of the Prophet and his companions, but because they doubt the originality of the hadiths that contain the sunnah or these traditions. This factor gave rise to the term Ahlussunnah wa al-Jama’ah, namely, the group that adheres to the sunnah again constitutes the majority, as opposed to the Mu'tazilah group which is a minority and does not strongly adhere to the sunnah (Fauzi 2020).

According to Syafiq Mughni, the term *ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ab* was firstly found in the book *Syarh al-Fiqh al-Akbar*, which was probably written by Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi (d. 983), a follower of Imam Abu Hanifa. The term was also used by Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855) to refer to those who hold to the Sunnah of the Prophet and oppose *ahl al-Raq‘y, ahl al-Kalam, or ahl al-Bid‘ab* (Mughni 2001). In the author's opinion, if 983 was the year of the death of Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi, al-Sha'arilived around 873-935, it could be strongly assumed the term *ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ab* was more likely to appear in al-Sha'ari's *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyīn*. The term *ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ab* or its varieties such as *ahl al-badith wa al-sunnah, ahl al-sunnah wa ashhad ab al-hadith, ahl as-sunnah wa al-istiqamah, and ahl al-baqquwa al-sunnah* was prolifically used (Al-Asy’ari and al-Hamid 1969; Al-Asy’ari 2007; Al-Bazdawi 1963).

According to Saleh (2008), *ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ab* is also well known as Sunnism as opposed to Shi’ism in the politically driven division and opposed to *ahl al-bid‘ab* in theology. Hodgson (1974) said that the term *ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ab* is used to oppose the Shia Imamah during the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258). Hodgson did not specifically mention in whose reign it was, but the author assumed, as Nasution put it, it was during the reign of the Caliph Ma'mun (813-833) because there was no evidence that the term was used during the reign of the Caliph Harun al-Rashid (786-809).

Furthermore, Ibn Taymiyah said that the term Sunni was attributed to the *ahl al-badith*, used long before the birth of al-Ash’ariism. He also asserted that madhhab al-badith came to existence long before madhhab al-fiqh, during the times of the Companions and the Tābi’een (Taymiyah 1903; Al-Banjari 1354; 1313). In the author's opinion, Ibn Taymiyah did not specifically mention what book firstly used and who coined the term *ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ab* (Al-Banjari 1988). Thus, it cannot be made sure that the term *ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ab* was used firstly during the time of the Companions. In addition, according to al-Zābidi, cited by Khulayf, *ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ab* are the Ash’arites and the Maturidites (Al-Banjari 1405). Thus, the term Sunni was used as opposed to Shia in politics, and as opposed to Mu’tazilites during the reign of the Caliph Ma’mun. The first book to mention the term *ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ab* was al-As‘ar’i’s *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyīn* (Al-Banjari, n.d.). Some scholars, like al-Zābidi, use the term *ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ab* to refer to Ash’arites and the Maturidites, and some others to refer to the Ash’arites, the Maturidites, and the Salaf (Hasan 2005).

**The Development of *Ahl as-sunnah wal-jama‘ah* in Indonesia**

Islam is a religion that is realistic, not always idealistic. Islam has high ideals and a passionate spirit to apply the provisions and rules of law, but Islam does not turn a blind
eye to the reality of life which is more colored by a lot of things that are not ideal. Therefore, Islam comes down to earth reality rather than continuing to hang on an empty sky of ideals. This does not mean that Islam surrenders to the reality that happened, but instead pays attention to reality while still trying to achieve its ideality. An example of *wasatihiyah* in the sense of waqî’yyah is the application of the law of azîmah under normal conditions and Rukhshah law in a state of emergency or intent. *Wasatihiyah* character in Islam Ahl as-sunnah wal Jama’ah is reflected in all aspects of its teachings, namely aqidah, sharia, and morality as well as in manhaj (Hasan 2021).

Madzhab or sects in Islam that exist and dominate throughout history, especially in the archipelago. Starting with trade relations between the indigenous population and Arab, Persian, Indian, and Chinese traders, the people of the archipelago also know and follow the religion and madhhab which they profess. Within this framework, Sayids from Hadramaut (Hadrami) take an important role in building a religious model resident of the archipelago, because apart from trade, they also spread Islam and build traditions. They generally adhere to the madhhab Shafi’i and dominate the Islamic-style Indian Ocean coast (Alatas 2010).

Muhammadiyah, Islamic Association, Syarikat Islam, Al Ershad, Da’wah Council Indonesian Islamiyah, although adhere to the Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama’ah is never called a people ASWAJA. The reason, Muhammadiyah, and these organizations in better understanding and practice of Islam emphasize a return to Al Qur’an and Sunnah, reject taklid to scholars, purification of aqidah, and practice Sufism without tarekat (Mufid 2013). Meanwhile, NU as an ASWAJA supporter added the practice of worship with taqlid to scholars, practice what is called fadha’il al-a’mal, and tarekat. Understanding Ahlu Sunnah wal Jama’ah in the view of the kyai in Java has a narrower sense, not just to differentiate by understanding and Shiites but also for different from the Islamic group modernist (Jawas, 2018).

Some theory says that the spread of Sunnism in Java was done by the Waliisongo, the nine saints Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Giri, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Kaliwaga, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Muria, dan Sunan Gunung Jati (Saleh 2008). They do not live at the same time. But each other has a close relationship, such as in blood ties or teacher-student relationships. For example, Maulana Malik Ibrahim is the father of Sunan Ampel. Sunan Giri is Malik Ibrahim's nephew. Sunan Kaliwaga is Sunan Kudus’s teacher. The Waliisongo lived and spread Sunni Islam in the 15th and 16th centuries.

To institutionalize Islam, Waliisongo uses several stages. First, they built mosques as places of worship and studies. Secondly, they built pesantren as the place for the spread of Sunni Islam. In the 20th Century, pesantren mushroomed in Java. Therefore, the Waliisongo played a very crucial role in the spread of Sunnism (Piiper 1987).

Sunnî Islam was also said to be brought in by the Middle East Ulama and Archipelago Ulama Network in the 17th Century (Azra, 2013). Some Archipelago ulama’s such as Nuruddin ar-Raniri, Abd al-Rauf as-Sinkili, and Muhammad Yusuf al-Makassari went to Mecca and Medina to study Islam and came back to spread it in Indonesia. The spread of Sunnism continued in the 18th century by Abdussamad al-Falimbani, Daud al-Fatani, Abdul Malik ibn Abdullah, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari and in the 19th by the likes of Ahmad Rifa’i Kaisalak, Muhammad Nawawi al-Bantani, Muhammad Mahfuz al-Termasi, Muhammad Saleh Darat al-Samarani, Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, and Hasan Mustafa Bandung (Hasan 2000). These ulama wrote books to spread Sunnism using Jawi Alphabet (Arabic alphabet modified for writing Malay, Acehnese, Banjarese, Minangkabau, and some other languages in Southeast Asia).
In 1926, Hasyim Asy’ari founded the NU which has now become the largest Sunni Islamic group in Indonesia as stated in its by-laws that the NU follows one of the four madhhabs: Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi’i, and Hanbali in fiqh, follows one of Ash’arism and Maturidism in theology and follows the school of Imam al-Junaid al-Baghdadi, Imam al-Ghazali, and other imams in tasawwuf (Bruinessen 1995).

Al-Banjari’s Sunnism and the NU’s Islam Nusantara

The history of the development of Islam in Kalimantan cannot be separated from the role of a prominent cleric named Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (d. 1812 AD) was a thinker and reformer whose services were very large for Muslims, especially Muslims in Kalimantan. He left behind several great works that until now can still be read by the whole community, namely his famous intellectual work, the fiqh book Sabil al-Muhtadin (Barsihannor 2010). This work proves his desire to improve the condition of Muslims, especially regarding religious life properly.

Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al Banjari, Muslim scholars who are very famous in the Islamic world in the 18th century. His father, Abdullah bin Abdur Rahman al-Banjari bin Saiyid Abu Bakr bin Saiyid Abdullah al-Aidrus bin Saiyid Abu Bakr as-Sakran bin Saiyid Abdur Rahman as-Saqaf bin Saiyid Muhammad Maula ad-Dawilah al-Aidrus and a direct descendant of Saidina Ali bin Abi Talib and Saidatina Fatimah bint Nabi Muhammad, PBUH (Salleh et al. 2017). Born 13 Safar 1122 H/1710 M., in the village Lok Gabang, Astambul District, Banjar Regency, Kalimantan South (Barsihannor 2010).

Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari studied Islam in Mecca for 30 years and Madinah 5 years, (1737-1772). Three disciplines in Islam that developed, including: (1) aqidah stated in the book Tuhfat al-Râghibîn, (2) sharia in the book Sabl al-Muhtadin, (Mujiburrahman 2013), and (3) Sufism, there are in the book kanzal-ma’rifah (Hadi 2017).

To educate and build Islamic society, Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al Banjari built a hut boarding school, to accommodate the students who come to study from various remote areas in Kalimantan. From here were born scholars who will develop Islam with the symbols and da’wah of Islam in Indonesia Kalimantan, including Sheikh Shihabuddin and Shaykh Abu Zu’ud, both sons of al-Banjari; and Shaykh Muhammad as-‘Ad, grandson of Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al Banjari (Ahyat 2015). The spread of Islam to all remote areas of Kalimantan is the work of Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al Banjari with his grandchildren, who already know their education (Wafa 2019). They spread Islam to Pagatan, Taniran (Upstream of the South River), Amuntai (Upstream of the North River), Marabahan (Barito Kuala), and Martapura (Banjar Regency) (Ahyat 2015).

Al-Banjari taught theology not only based on Ash’arism and Maturidism but also on Hanbali theology. He forbade cultural practices that are against the teaching of Islam such as manyanggar banna and membuang pesilah. He was also against the tasawwuf teaching of wujudiyah mulhidah and declared serving food and drinks to guests in the event of someone’s passing bid’ah (Al-Banjari 1988; Abdurrahman 2001).

Aqidah and Sharia for Arsyad al-Banjari cannot be separated. Aqidah is the spirit of Sharia, and Sharia is the implementation of Aqidah. In Tuhfat al-Râghibîn the integration of Aqidah and Sharia is articulated with the relationship between "faith" and "Islam". Adhering to the views of Ash’ariyah and Maturidiyah, two different schools of thought considered representing Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamâ’ah, for Datu Kalampayan The essence of faith is tashâbîq or believing with the heart the truth of what the Prophet brought Muhammad, PBUH. Pledge verbally, that is, saying two sentences of the creed, not included in the essence of faith. This view, as expressed by Arsyad al-Banjari, is in contrast to the opinion of a small number of Hanafi schools and schools of thought Ash’ar’iyah who

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consider that oral narrative is an integral part of faith. That is, to be categorized as a believer, a person is not enough only to believe with the heart, but also have to swear it verbally. With Thus, someone who believes with his heart the truth of the teachings of the Prophet, but does not say it verbally by reciting the two sentences of the creed while he is still able to say it, then the person is not categorized as a believer both physically and mentally (Iqbal 2021).

Al-Banjari does not seem to have explained in detail what Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama’ah beliefs must be enforced (Daudi 1980; Dahlan 2014). This is different from previous Sunni scholars, such as al-Ash’ari (d. 324 H.), al-Bagdadi (d. 429 H.), al-Bazdawi (d. 493 H.), al-Taftazani (d. 791 H.), and Abu al-Mudaffar al-Isfarayni (d. 471 H). The cleric explained in detail the pillars or beliefs of al-fiqh al-najayah agreed upon by Sunni scholars after they previously explained the 72 fiqh beliefs that were heretical and heretical. However, it is strongly suspected that Al-Banjari followed the agreement of the Sunni clerics on the teachings that must be followed and enforced by Muslims, especially those who are Sunni (Al-Banjari 1354; 1313).

In the author’s opinion, al-Banjari’s Sunnism has some things in common with the NU and Muhammadiyah’s teaching. Al-Banjari and the NU explicitly stated to follow ahl as-sunnah wal-jamā’ah. Even so, they are different in some way. The NU only attributes ahl as-sunnah wal-jamā’ah only to Ash’arism and Maturidism although in practice the majority follow Ash’arism rather than Maturidism (Hasan 2005). The fact that Ash’arites in the NU are larger than the Maturidites because (1) books on Ash’arism are more numerous than those on Maturidism, (2) the influence of prominent Ash’arites like al-Baqillani, al-Juwaini, and al-Ghazali on Islam in Indonesia is so strong while the Maturidites like al-Bazdawi are less known in the circle of pesantren, and (3) most NU members located in rural areas tend to have simple ways of thinking. Furthermore, a prominent NU ulama Siradjuddin Abbas does not consider Ibn Taymiyah as a Salafi (Abbas 2004). Al-Banjari also tends to be a textualist, and the NU is rather contextualist and more accommodative toward cultural traditions like tabililan (the gathering in the event of someone’s passing) and the celebration of the Mawlid. The NU Indonesia-ize Islam is now popularized as Islam Nusantara (Indonesian model of Islam).

Since its declaration at the 33rd NU Congress in 2015, the idea of Islam Nusantara has been the subject of many seminars, religious sermons, and social media debates. Interestingly, being promoted by the NU, Islam Nusantara has raised some pros and cons, not only from external parties but also among the Nahdiyin (NU members). The term Islam Nusantara is not agreed upon by Muslim scholars. According to Sahal (2015), to understand the concept of Islam Nusantara, one should be aware that there are religious and cultural elements intertwined with each other. This dimension makes Islam compromise and accommodates cultural values to a certain extent. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) once said, "Overlapping between religion and culture will occur continuously as a process that will enrich life and make it more interesting."

So, what is Islam Nusantara? According to Mustofa Bisri (Gus Mus), the word Nusantara should not be understood as a modifier, but as an idafa construction to mean Islam in Nusantara (archipelago). In line with this, Azra also stated that Islam Nusantara is the Southeast Asian Islam, Islam that exists in Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Pattani (Southern Thailand), and Mindanao (Southern Philippines). Woodward (2017) also defined Islam Nusantara as the Islam of the Southeast Asian Archipelagos.

In contrast, Fasya (2015) said that Islam Nusantara is a process of living and practicing the locality. The word Nusantara not only refers to a place but also the quality of Islam. The quality of Islam “here” is not the same as that of Islam “there.” The success of
Islam being the peaceful religion of Nusantara is due to its adaptability to the local culture. The theological dimension of Islam meets the cultural dimension of society. The NU chairman Said Aqil Siradj said that Islam Nusantara is a peaceful, friendly, civilized, and cultured Islam (Mustofa 2015). A distinctive feature of Islam Nusantara is Islam which goes hand in hand with culture. Therefore, the definition of Islam Nusantara should further be discussed to prevent misconceptions even among the NU ulama. Is it a place? An attribute? Or both? However, the NU ulama seem to agree that Islam Nusantara is a solution to the latest global challenges like religious conflicts like what is happening in the Middle East, radicalism, anarchism, and terrorism. Islam Nusantara is the model that the world needs. This Islam is peaceful, tolerant, and democratic. Islam Nusantara, which in nature is Sunnism, should then be continuously promoted to prevent radicalism and terrorism.

Islam Nusantara can moderately present Islam. Islam requires a Muslim to be able to respond to a difference between each religion or sect, it does not need to be equated, what is the similarity between each religion or sect should not be differentiated or contradicted. Moderation can indeed be said to be the identity and even the essence of Islamic teachings in which a moderate attitude is a form of manifestation of the teachings of Islam rahmah li al'alamin (Jennah, Surawan, and Athaillah 2021). For that, you need a concept practice, where a follower of that religion carries out or practices the teachings of their religion in moderation or not extreme, be it extreme right or liberal or not extreme left or excessive (radical) so that threaten the integrity of the country (Anshari et al. 2021).

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the term abl as-sunnah wal-jama’ah firstly emerged in al-Ash’ari’s Maqalat al-Islamiyyin. The term emerged as a response to radicalism, rationalism, and liberalism happening at that time Abl as-sunnah wal-jama’ah was promoted by the likes of al-Ash’ari, al-Maturid, al-Bazdawi, and the Salaf. Furthermore, the coinage of abl as-sunnah wal-jama’ah was also associated with a hadith that Islam will be divided into 73 sects but only one is the right one. The moderate abl as-sunnah wal-jama’ah is proven to be acceptable by many Muslims around the world.

Abl as-sunnah wal-jama’ah develops well in Indonesia. It was brought into South Kalimantan in the 18th Century by Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (1710-1812). It was reflected in his two books Tuhfat al-Raghibin on aqidah of abl as-sunnah wal-jama’ah and Sabilal Muhtadin on fiqh. Al-Banjari’s Sunnism was moderate but less accommodative to local traditions deemed against Islamic principles.

The spread of abl as-sunnah wal-jama’ah in Java was done by Walisongo in the 15th and 16th centuries by adapting Islam to the local culture. It continues in the 20th century by the NU, the largest Islamic group in Indonesia founded by Hasyim Asy’ari in 1926, as a response to the textualists. In the 21st century, the NU promoted Islam Nusantara, which again in nature is abl as-sunnah wal-jama’ah, to prevent the emerging radicalism.

Al-Banjari’s Sunnism and the NU’s Sunnism have both similarities and differences. They are both moderate. However, al-Banjari’s Sunnism was not only based on Ash’arism and Maturidism but also Salafism. The NU is also more accommodative to local cultures than al-Banjari. The NU’s Islam Nusantara is tolerant and peaceful, so it should be promoted to prevent radicalism and liberalism that are against Islamic teaching.
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