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The Contribution of Al-Ghazali in Promoting Islamic Moderate Thought in Indonesia

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Abstract

The current paper is dedicated to investigate a moderate religious doctrine through the presence of Islamic mysticism (sufism) resulted from Imam al-Ghazali. We argue that al-Ghazali's teaching imparted balance between the world and the hereafter like body and spirit. Al-Ghazali's thought influenced many Indonesian mystics across fifteenth to nineteenth century. We believed that Indonesian Moslems scholars who were influenced by Al-Ghazali's teaching developed religious propagation through wisdom and morality. We found that by applying mysticism moderate Islamic propagation were accepted by most of Indonesian Moslems. As a result, they were succesful in undertaking social transformation without any negative impact.

Keywords: Mysticism, Moderate, Culture.

A. Introduction

Al-Ghazali's complete name is Abu Hamid ibn Muhammad al-Ghazali. He was born in Thus, Khurasan (Iran) in 450 H/ 1058 AD and died in 505 H/ 1111 AD. Al-Ghazali is a knowledgeable scholar who is rich in knowledge and firm in criticizing philosophers who tend to be counter-productive to the text, especially the Neoplatonism of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina. In the view of Nurchalish Madjid (1939-2005) Al-Ghazali is recognized as one of the greatest and most original thinkers not only in Islam but also in the history of human intellectuals. al-

Ghazali, in the eyes of many modern Moslem and non-Moslem scholars, is the most important person after the Prophet Muhammad, in terms of influence and role in organizing and strengthening religious teachings.

Imam Al-Ghazali struggle for knowledge has experienced epistemological dynamics starting in the study of sharia and then Greek philosophy until he lost balance in his spiritual wandering. Imam al-Ghazali in the end pursued and stopped in the knowledge of Sufism until he felt an inner condition that could transcend to God. Imam al-Ghazali only felt mental stability after stopping in a spiritual field that previously experienced doubts (shāk). Imam al-Ghazali has regular dialogues with a conscience that is sensitive to a sense of God which can realize the knowledge of integration between sharia and haqiqat. Imam al-Ghazali was present in the era of the Bani Abbasyiah where there was marked spiritual silence in addition to political turmoil. Three years before Imam al-Ghazali was born, the Abbasid capital of Baghdad fell under the control of Turki Saljuq after more than a century of being ruled by Shi'a Buwaihiyyah emirs.

The intellectual-spiritual depth of Imam al-Ghazali during his life invites serious debates between philosophers and theologians on how to interpret and understand religious teachings. Imam Ghazali's scholarship was not only in fiqh, theology and sufism, but also sciences such as physics, chemistry and astronomy. Western scholar such as H.A.R Gibb palced Imam al-Ghazali equally to the philosopher like St. Augustine (354-430 AD), a Christian philosopher who authored The City of God. The difference is that if Augustine remains attached to philosophy, while Imam al-Ghazali continues to take the Sufi path as a search for the truth. In addition, Gibb positioned Imam al-Ghazali equally to Martin Luther, the reformer of Christianity in Europe at the beginning of the 16th century. Here is Gibb statement on Imam al-Ghazli as quoted by Ahmad Syafi'I Ma'arif as follows:

The story of Imam al-Ghazali's religious journey is truly heartwarming and valuable - how he found himself in rebellion against the false intelligence of theologians who had sought the ultimate reality through all the Moslem religious and philosophical systems of his time, and how it ended after struggling long time both physically,

¹ mentally and intellectually, he fell into philosophical agnosticism solely on his personal experience of God and (at the end of the wanderings) he found it on the Sufi path.

Imam al-Ghazali took the path of Sufism as a way and pattern of his life. In his last analysis, Imam al-Ghazali is a moderate scholar who balance his scientific stand with the Islamic practices in the modest ways (wasṭīyah). Many Moslem scholars regarded Al-Ghazali's world view as the most influential figure in the history of Islamic intellectuals. Even Al-Ghazali's monumental book such as the book *Iḥyā' Ulūmuddīn* is seen as the second source after the Qur'an. He was entitled as *Ḥujjatul Islām* by his followers

Imam al-Ghazali's thoughts and books had a major role and influence on the development of Islam and Sufism in the nusantara. In this paper, it will be explained how the geneology of Imam al-Ghazali's contribution in thoughts to many of the nusantara scholars. On the other hand, the books of Imam al-Ghazali have been studied as main reading and references in various educational institutions of Islamic boarding schools and universities.

B. Contribution of Sufism at The Arrival of Islam in Nusantara

There was a time in which events coincided, emerging with a symmetrical and accurate chronology of time. Like the blooming of a rose, if we rewind the slide with slow motion, the natural motion will appear. When asked when Islam entered the nusantara, who the preachers were, where they first set foot on Indonesian soil, then how was the process of spreading so that they were successful. What methods do they use so that local people who have previously embraced religion and have their own beliefs can warmly accept the invitation of the propagators of Islam.

The history of Sufism in Indonesia is actually the history of Islamization in the nusantara. In fact, Islamization uses a Sufism approach which is neatly wrapped in a da'wah container that is processed with local culture. People believe that the 6th century BC was the century where the philosophers appeared in the Grik lands in the West, the Zoroastrian religion in the Middle East, the Buddhists in the Hindustani lands, and to the Far East the reformers Lao Tse and

¹ Confucius emerged. The century which witnessed the meeting of two oceans, two mainstreams, two patterns of thought, two sources of truth, the ratio of revelations, reason and revelation; or as Hossein Nasr said, two niches of truth: Misykat al-Hikmah wa Misykat al-Nubuwwah. And the 15-16 century AD was the century of conversion of religions, as said Anthony Reid, quoted by Geoff Wade:

“Between about 1400 and 1700, universalist faiths based on scared scripture took hold throughout the region. Eventually, they created profound divisions an Islamic are in the south, a counfusion of political orthodoxy in Vietnam, a Theravada Buddhist bastion in the rest of the mainland, and a Christian outrider in the Philippines.”

The people of Southeast Asia at that time were witness to a religious revolution in which more than half of the population of Southeast Asia converted (conversion) to Samawiah religions, especially Islam and Christianity.

In the economic aspect, the atmosphere of the century was very lively with the phenomenon of economic revival, especially in Western countries as a result of modern technology that was generated by the industrial revolution. This affects all aspects of human life in all lines of human civilization. Furthermore, according to Reid, in the 14-16th century, for Southeast Asia it was the period of achieving the peak of the glory of international trade as well as a symbol of its prosperity before the arrival of European colonialists. Southeast Asian people, especially sailors and traders, played a big role in the process of dynamizing the world market and trade with their valuable products, such as spices, textiles and sandalwood. This intensive interaction has made various regions in Southeast Asia the "destination" for international traders who come from various regions of the world, especially China, Japan, India, Persia, Arabia, and even Europe. The expansion of the international trading network, for the people of Southeast Asia, including the nusantara, in addition to making them more prosperous economically, also brought about significant changes. In general, there have been several changes, starting from the political system, law, trade economy, religious ideology, technology - especially military technology, shipping and agriculture -, historical writing traditions, and demographics.

¹ That was the general atmosphere of Southeast Asia and the Nusantara before and after Islamization. Islamization is perhaps one of the most prevalent phenomena in the setting of a new civilization in Southeast Asia. If we present the atmosphere of the Islamic world, as a prologue and epilogue of Islamization, we will get a different picture of the atmosphere. It was a very tragic and sad atmosphere with the collapse of the Khilafah of Bani Abbas by the Mongols in 1258 which made the map of the internal strength of the Moslems undergo a change. There is no line of command that can direct the pace of Islamic civilization. Each element runs independently. This incident had shattered the *dkawah* strategy which had been carried out simultaneously with the development of political power. Therefore, the task of preaching and spreading Islam was no longer commanded by the power of a country or dynasty, but by an order or organization which was later referred to as a *tarekat*.

Philip K. Hitti, stated that the condition of Moslem rulers since the 10th century AD has begun to waver. Both in the west and in the east experienced almost the same conditions due to the prolonged conflict both internally and externally. The Umayyad dynasty in the west was threatened with the emergence of the Idrisiah, Thulun, Iksidiah, and Hamdaniah dynasties. Meanwhile in the east the Abbasiah dynasty was threatened by the rise of the Tahiriah, Saffariah, Samaniah, and Ghaznawi dynasties. These minor dynasties are what historians - including Hitti, refer to as *Mulūk al-Ṭawa'if* or The Petty States, however, it was one of the factors or seeds for the collapse of the hegemony of the Abbasid dynasty and the Umayyad dynasty in the west. 1258 AD is the culmination of the destruction of the Abbasiah dynasty by Hulagu. Hitti said, following the destruction of Baghdad, Arab hegemony disappeared forever and the history of the caliphate ended.

It was in such an atmosphere that the spread of Islam to the east coincided with the emergence of preachers from among the Sufis or *tarekat* adherents. Meanwhile in pre-Islamic times, throughout the nusantara, including in the Aceh region, Hinduism had strong roots, especially in coastal areas. After Baghdad collapsed, the task of maintaining Islamic unity and spreading Islam to distant places passed

¹ to the Sufis, including Indonesia. As a continuation of the previous activities of the Sufis, in the 13th century, various tarekat emerged. Tarekat is always associated with a lineage that connects its adherents to the founder or Sufi figures who were born at that time. Each tarekat has its own shekh or kaifiyāt al-dzikr and ritual ceremonies. Usually shaikh or mursyid teach their students in a spiritual practice dormitory called rumah sulūk or ribāṭ.

What appeared first were the Qadiriyyah Order; developed by Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani in Tibristan, Central Asia, his birthplace and operations. From Tibristan then developed to Baghdad, Iraq, Turkey, Saudi Arabia to Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, India, China. Then came the Rifaiyyah Order in Morocco and Algeria. Followed by the Suhrawardiyah Congregation in North Africa, Central Africa, Sudan and Nigeria. These tarekat then developed rapidly through their students who were later appointed to become caliphs or badals and spread these teachings to Islamic countries, when Daulah Usmaniyah was established, the Bakhtesyī Tarekat played a very large role, both in the political and military fields. Likewise, in North Africa, the role of the Sanusiyyah Order was very large, especially in the regions of Algeria and Tunisia; while in Sudan, the Syadziliyyah Order had a big influence. As for the nusantara, especially Indonesia, the development of Islam in the 15-16 century and thereafter was largely due to the efforts of the Sufis, so it is not surprising that at that time the spiritual leaders of Islam in Indonesia were not experts in sharia, but rather tarekat Sheikhhs.

When the natives of the nusantara began to embrace Islam, with a style of Islamic thought tinged with Sufism, the thoughts of great Sufis such as Ibn al-'Arabi and abu Hamid al-Ghazali greatly influenced the practices of the first generation Moslems. Precisely because of this Sufism, the people of the nusantara easily embraced Islam, especially since the first generation of ulama also became followers of a tarekat or more. The 13th century AD was indeed a revival of the tarekat, in a relative sense Islamic thought that was once influenced by Sufism then developed into a tarekat. That was when the people of the nusantara began to establish themselves in embracing Islam, that was when the style of Islamic thought was at its peak.

¹ The history of the Islamization of the nusantara actually has many versions. Regarding when the Islamization started, there is no agreement. At least there are versions of Western scholars and non-Western scholars. Snouck C. Hurgronje and Clifford Geertz are seen as representing the first group, have researched the nusantara ethnographically and can issue theories in the form of classification and categorization regarding the existence of the Indonesian people. Snouck C. Hurgronje divides aspects of Islam into three variants: personal worship, community worship, and politics. Clifford Geertz mixed the socio-religious classification and stratification of the Javanese people into: Islamic santri, abangan, and priyayi. Hurgronje clearly shows his feudalism-imperialism motive, while Geertz on the pretext of his eidetic studies.

In the eyes of the West, nusantara literature containing stories, tales, chronicles, history, etc. is not sufficient to explain the nusantara. The majority of the nusantara's historiography contains more "myths" than history. Because of this, researchers usually prefer Western sources written by Europeans who came to the nusantara as nomads, journalists, missionaries and imperialists, which in fact contain biases. In turn, these writings lead to distortions and misconceptions in viewing Nusantara Islam. However, not all orientalist did the same thing, because some of them did it more objectively, exploring local sources as did De Graff and Pigeaud.

In fact, the history of the nusantara can be drawn earlier through the writings of foreigners, including excerpts from Chinese news which mention in more detail the date of their envoy's arrival to pay tribute, as well as simple reports about Arabic stories containing anecdotes or descriptions of an incident. Archaeological and epigraphic discoveries altered this perception and restored the objectivity of the documentation. Because these documents were based on outside testimonies, for a long time Southeast Asia was considered a meeting, shelter and colonization area. This resulted that the determination of the entry of Islam to the nusantara was based more on estimates. There is even an assumption that since the 7th and 8th centuries AD there have been contacts of Arab traders with China through the Ceylon

¹ route. According to the news, there was an Arab official who became the leader of the Arab ethnic groups in West Sumatra.

Van Leur seems to follow this opinion. According to him, in the 7th century AD these Arabs were in a group with other groups such as Persian, Jewish and Catholic traders. This opinion was corroborated by J.H. Kramers; he stated that at that time sea trade by the Arabs was more advanced than that of the West (Europe). The Arabs controlled the sea route through the Indian Ocean, which they called the Persian Ocean, because since pre-Islamic times the Persian Gulf with its ports, Siraf and Basrah, was the center of trade between Asia, Africa and the Middle East. On their way to the Far East and Japan, they entered into trade relations with a country which they called Zabag or Sriwijaya. The Middle East and the nusantara have many diplomatic relations. Azyumardi Azra supports this view. He said that since the time of the Umayyads (7th-8th century), Moslem traders had carried out trading activities to the Far East. This was the longest regular shipping route, as G. Hourani said, before the rise of Europe in the 16th century AD.

From these opinions, a common thread can be drawn that Islamization in the Nusantara was possible earlier, namely before the 13th century AD. In turn, coastal Moslem cities emerged, starting from Pasai, Aceh, Malacca, Demak, Banten, Cirebon, Ternate, Tidore, Gowa Tallo, Banjar, Kutai, Mataram, and so on. The period of Islamization of the nusantara can be drawn from the Pre-Walisongo period, the Walisongo period, Post-Walisongo era, and so on. But it seems that the patterns and methods used are the same, namely by promoting a cultural approach. With this cultural approach it is more possible to carry out a dialogical side between one culture and another, between old and new thoughts, between old religions and new religions. In a dialogical approach, the transfer of ideas is based on the side that touches everyday life, a life that is immediately carried out and its existence is felt. It is everyday life that seems the similarity rather than the difference. Like a bottle and its contents. The bottles used were retained, but the contents were gradually replaced with new ones. The dialogical transfer process creates less friction because the changes are slow, gradual, but latent.

¹ In this dialogical approach, the same sides of humanity are prioritized. The same side is in the form of feelings and experiences in diversity. Basically, humans want goodness, beauty, peace, and more than that, they want something better in the future. When there is something new that looks better, is more suitable, and can be felt to be more conscientious, it is easy for someone to follow that new thing. Islamization is likened to something new, more attractive, the easier it is to accept. The propagators of Islam have been looking for the most suitable formula in carrying out their da'wah, namely a cultural approach in which the values of mysticism become the meeting point for all traditions. As an object of preaching, the people of the nusantara did not feel anything odd, which was frontally opposite to the imaginations they had been living so far.

What distinguishes between the pre-Walisongo Islamization and the Walisongo period and afterwards, among others, is that the pre-Walisongo period of preaching was carried out by individuals and there was no place to institutionalize this da'wah activity. While Islamization during the Walisongo era, the implementation of da'wah in addition to individuals in each region, there are also state institutions that oversee it, especially after the formation of the Demak Sultanate. Demak is the first Islamic da'wah center in addition to being an Islamic government which also develops aspects of governance and aspects of the spread of Islam.

Those listed as spreading pre-Walisongo Islam included Sheikh Nurjati, a teacher from Sunan Gunung Jati for the Cirebon and West Java regions. Sheikh Quro for the Karawang and West Java regions. During Walisongo, religious cultural ties among propagators of Islam were tied to the existence of the Sultanate of Demak, but after Demak collapsed and the Sultanate moved from the coastal areas to the hinterland, Pajang and then Mataram, because of that the Walisongo institution was no longer effective. It seems that the institution disbanded or dissolved itself, and the subsequent da'wah process returned to the individual wali or propagators of Islam. Pajang itself is slowly returning to the old tradition in Java, which is more towards mysticism outside of Islam than to Islamic mysticism or Sufism. Here the color of "Islam Kejawen" began to develop along with the

¹ subsequent Islamization process that occurred in other areas in Java, especially in the Cirebon region of West Java.

According to Azyumardi Azra, debates about movement, process, time, origins and who perpetrated the Islamization of the nusantara are still ongoing in line with the increasing number of studies and researches being carried out. The large number of studies conducted by taking different cases actually adds to the variety of conclusions that can be drawn and provides an overview of how complex the process of Islamization is. Rushing to conclusions is not only misleading but also makes us ahistorical. One example of many issues that have long been debated is the origin of the first Islamic preachers to the nusantara. Scholars have proposed various theses ranging from those stating that Islam came directly from Arab lands to the thesis that Islam first passed through several other parts of the world, especially Persia, India and China before reaching the nusantara.

While specifically for the Islamization of Java, the most dominant thesis states that the ulama who are members of Walisongo are believed to be the earliest preachers of this region, although some recent studies and research seriously doubt this thesis and instead state that there was an Islamization movement before Walisongo. The wali are more believed to be those who are in the consolidation stage than at the arrival stage and the introduction of the Islamization process that had been carried out previously by the early preachers who came gradually and were relatively separate from one group to another. Figures such as Fatimah binti Maimun, Sheikhh Jamaludin Al-Kubra or Al-Kabir, Sheikhh Hasanudin (Sheikhh Quro), Sheikhh Nurjati and others.

Apart from this debate, Islam certainly entered the nusantara on the merits of the Sufis, because Islam entered the nusantara through the Sufism channel. Because it is not an exaggeration to say that the spread of Islam in the nusantara was largely due to the services of the Sufis. According to Uka Tjandrasasmita Islam developed into the nusantara through six channels, namely trade channels, channels, marriage, Sufism channels, Islamic education channels, political channels, and arts channels. The channel of Islamization through the

¹ well-known art is wayang. It is said, Sunan Kali Jaga is the character most adept at performing puppets. He never asked for performance fees, but he did ask the audience to follow Him in reciting the creed. Most of the wayang stories are still drawn from the Mahabharata and Ramayana stories, but these stories include teachings and names of Islamic heroes. Other arts are also used as means of Islamization, such as literature (saga, babad and so as), building art, and carving.

Of the six channels of development of Islam to the nusantara above, Sufism is a channel that cannot be separated, because the journey of Islam to the nusantara is related to the carriers of Islam who have the teachings of Sufism. The Sufis who developed Islam and Sufism originated from Aceh, here the authors mention some (not all) of the Sufis of the nusantara who had a major influence in developing Sufism to various regions of the nusantara to Cirebon such as Hamzah Fansuri, Syamsuddin al-Sumartani, Abdur Rauf al- Singkili, Abdul Samad al-Palimbangi, and others. Some of these Nusantara Sufis with their various Sufism doctrines originating from West Sumatra, especially from Aceh, have colored and influenced the subsequent development of Sufism to various regions of the nusantara such as Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Java. With the role and contribution of the Nusantara Sufis above, it proves that the Nusantara Sufis have played an important role in the process of spreading and developing Sufism and at the same time the development of Islam in the nusantara to Cirebon.

Cirebon is one of the areas that is significant due to the influence of the spread and development of Sufism from the Sufis of the Nusantara who came from Sumatra. Cirebon is seen as the center of the spread and development of Islam and Sufism, because Cirebon has a strategic area both geographically and as a maritime area, so it can be said that Cirebon is considered the center of the earth for the spread and development of Islam and Sufism.

Sufi scholars who were influential in the spread of Islam and Sufism were first Sheikhh Nurjati Cirebon. Didin Nurul Rosidin in his research on Sheikhh Nurjati explained that Sheikhh Nurjati is believed to be the founder of the first Islamic educational institution of a kind of Islamic boarding school in Bukit Amparan Jati. One of the

¹ important arguments regarding the study of this preacher figure is his figure who can help explain the early Islamization process of the Nusantara. Compared to other figures such as Haji Purwa and Pangeran Cakrabuana, Sheikh Nurjati represented the Islamic cosmopolitanism movement that was so dominant in medieval times in the context of the international trade economic movement. Sheikh Nurjati did not come from the West Java region like the two figures above but came from Malacca before traveling to Mecca and Baghdad until landing at Muara Jati Harbor. The study of Sheikh Nurjati can help to trace the origins of Islam, the time of its arrival, the bearers and the characters of Islam that were introduced, especially to the residents of Cirebon and its surroundings.

C. Sufistic Way Imam Al-Ghazali and Influence in Nusantara

The history of the entry of Sufism cannot be separated from the Islamization process in the Nusantara. Because it is not an exaggeration to say that the spread of Islam in the Nusantara was largely due to the services of the Sufis who were influenced by two great Sufis, namely Ibn Arabi and Imam al-Ghazali. Two Sufis can be ascertained that have colored the Indonesian Sufis, both their teachings and their works. Regarding the figure of al-Ghazali, it is more than enough to recognize his capacity by only seeing his masterpieces that are scattered in almost all Islamic education institutions, both formal and non-formal in various parts of Indonesia. Especially for Nahdliyyin circles, al-Ghazali with his work *Iḥyâ' Ulūm al-Dīn* is a standard reference in exploring Sufism and tarekat. Juridically, almost all Sufism teachings are represented in al-Ghazali's work. For the Islamic boarding schools, especially those that teach classical books (Salafiyyah), if a santri has entered the study of *Iḥyâ' Ulūmuddīn* it means that she is already in "high class". Because actually in the pesantren environment, the books being studied have their own hierarchy. And to climb up these hierarchies requires a fairly long process of time, especially when coupled with the effort to apply it in actions. The material of the book studied and the extent to which the results of the study are applied in daily behavior are usually used as benchmarks to see the "classes" of these students.

¹ Yemen is one of the Islamic countries that played many roles in the birth of the Nusantara Sufis. Yemen is the center of scientific activity which has given birth to hundreds or even thousands of scholars as inheritors of the Prophet's legacy. Scientific activity in Yemen is centered in Hadramaut. Unlike Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and several areas in mainland Syria, the Yemeni state is considered to have a strong tradition of upholding the teachings of Ahlul-sunnah. The majority of Moslems in this country are in fiqh with the Syafi'i school of thought and in the creed with the Asy'ari school of thought. Even this was clearly expressed by the leading figures of Hadramaut themselves in their works. One of them as-Sayyid al-Imam 'Abdullah ibn' Alawi al-Haddad, author of *ratib al-Haddad*, in *Risālah al-Mu'āwanah* said that all descendants of as-Sādah al-Husainiyyin or known as Al Abi 'Alawites are the people of Asy'ariyyah in creed and Shafi'iyyah in fiqh. And the teachings of Asy'ariyyah Syafi'iyyah were disseminated by the ancestors of the descendants of Al Abi 'Alawi, namely al-Imām al-Muhājir as-Sayyid Ahmad ibn' Isa ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn al-Imām Ja'far ash-Sadiq. And the teachings of Ash'ariyyah Syafi'iyyah were later inherited and instilled by the Wali Songo in the land of the Nusantara.

In this case al-Ghazali has put his Sufism which is derived from the al-Qur'an and Hadith which is easily understood and accepted by Indonesian Moslems regarding the doctrines of his tasawuf teachings compared to the philosophical Ibn Arabi. His scientific capacity is undoubtedly proven by his monumental works that have graced the library shelves of the Nusantara Sufis and were studied in various Indonesian Islamic boarding schools.

Al-Ghazali's Sufism thoughts and teachings are spread in almost all Islamic educational institutions, both formal and non-formal in various corners of Indonesia. One example of Imam al-Ghazali's work which is quite influential and used as the main reference is the book *Ihyā' Ulūm al-Dīn* with adequate standards in exploring Sufism and tarekat, *Ihyā' Ulūm al-Dīn* as the Book of Sufism Encyclopedia which is quite complete which consists of five thick volumes. In a "juridical" manner, almost all the teachings of Sufism in the Nusantara, especially the Akhlaqi tasawuf style, are very much represented by al-Ghazali's

¹ work. Among the salafi Islamic boarding schools who are accustomed to the yellow book, it always shows that the students are considered high when they have been and are reciting the book *Iḥyâ' Ulūm al-Dīn*. Traditions in the pesantren environment of the books studied have their respective levels and hierarchies ranging from elementary, middle and high class books with a gradual period of time through a fairly long process after which they are required to apply them in their daily behavior so that they are in line with their values. -values in the book *Iḥyâ' Ulūm al-Dīn*. The materials contained in the yellow book will be tested on students through daily behavior, this will prove whether the behavior of the students is in line with the substance of the yellow books that are recited every day or vice versa. The harmony of the recitation of the book with daily behavior is a measure of the success of students and students can move up to the next level or class.

Among the dominant Sufis of the Nusantara, the thoughts and teachings of Imam al-Ghazali were influenced as follows:

Syaikh 'Abd Ash Shamad Al-Jawi Al-Palimbangi

Sufi from Palembang, Sumatra, which is colored by the Sufism of Imam al-Ghazali, namely Sheikh 'Abd ash-Shamad al-Jawi al-Palimbangi who lived around the end of the twelfth century Hijriah. He is a student of Sheikh Muhammad Samman al-Madani; known as the doorman of the Prophet's grave. This Sufi cleric is quite legendary and well known in almost all mainland Malay. From his hand was born a major work in the field of Sufism entitled *Siyar al-Sâlikîn Ilâ 'Ibâdah Rabb al-'Âlamîn*. This book in Malay has contributed significantly to the development of Sufism in the Nusantara. In the opening of the book, which is composed of four volumes, the writer said that the purpose of writing the book in Malay was so that people who could not understand Arabic in the Nusantara and its surroundings could understand Sufism, and could practice its teachings as a whole.

Sheikh 'Abd ash-Shamad al-Jawi al-Palimbangi is one of the Nusantara's Sufi Ulama who has produced many written works, according to Drewes said that there were seven of his works, while Cuzwain mentioned one, eight in all. As for his works *Hidāyah al-Salīkīn fi Suluk Maslak al-Muttaqīn*, written in 1778 AD the

translation of *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah al-Ghazali*. *Siyār al-Sālikīn ila Ibādah Rabb al-'Alamīn*, written in 1779 AD the Malay translation *Iḥyā' Ulūmuddīn al-Ghazali* and includes the source from Ibn 'Arabi, al-Jilli and Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani. This book is a compromise between Ghazalian Sufism and Ibn 'Arabian. *Tuhfah al-Raghibīn fi Bayān Haqīqah Imān al-Mu'minīn*. Written in 1774 AD, this book aims so that believers do not get lost and do not misunderstand. *Naṣīḥah al-Moslemīn wa Tadzkīrah al-Mu'minīn fi Fadhā'il al-Jihād fi Sabīlillah wa Karāmah al-Mujahidīn fi Sabīlillah*, this book is for the advice of jihad to drive out the invaders. *Zuhrat al-Murid fi Bayān Kalimah al-Tawhīd*, contains Tawhid sentences completed in Makkah in 1764 AD *Al-Urwah al-Wusqā wa Silsilah Uli al-Ittiqa*, about wirid-wirid. *Ratīb Abdus Ṣamad Zadd al-Muttaqīn fi Tawhīd Rabb al-Muttaqīn* A summary of the teachings of tauhid taught by Sheikh Muhammad al-Saman.

The background of his understanding is based on the controversy of Ibn 'Arabi's Sufism about *Wahdat al-Wujud*. In this case Abdus Samad al-Palimbangi has succeeded in reforming Sufism by compromising between Ghazalian Sufism and Ibn 'Arabian. Renewal of *Wujudiyah's* interpretation: Avoiding the form of *Mulhidah* (atheist) such as the *Ḥubbiyah*, *awliyā'iyah*, *samarkhiyah*, *khaliyyah*, *waqifiyah*, *hululiyah*, *mujasimah*, *ilāhiyah*, *hururiyah*, *mutajahiliyāh*, dan *wujūdīyah*.

Sheikh 'Abd ash-Shamad al-Jawi al-Palimbangi Implemented the *Wujud Muwahidah*. The One God form can be identified with the concept of *Martabat Tujuh* with several modifications. Namely by combining al-ghazali and Ibn 'Arabi. The first is *Martabat al-Ahadiyah* which called *La ta'ayun* and *martabat al-ithlaq*, which is like from His Essence alone, that is, looking with his heart the form of Allah with no intention of His nature, *af'al* and *asthma*. The second is *Martabat al-Wahidiyah* is called *ta'ayun al-awwal* and *haqiqat al-Muhammadiyah*, namely God's knowledge of His essence and nature as well as this universe globally. The third is *Martabat al-Wahidiyah* which is also called *haqiqat al-Insaniyah*, namely God's knowledge of himself and the universe in detail. These three dignity are *qadim* and *azali*, because no one has emerged except the substance of Allah. Meanwhile, the

¹ universe is already in Allah's knowledge, but it is not yet seen in its external form.

Furthermore, Sheikh Abdus Samad al-Palimbangi explained that Martabat Tujuh by using the doctrine of Sufism al-Ghazali started from three levels of humans towards Ma'rifat to Allah, namely the first dignity called nafs al-Ammarah, the second dignity of the nafs al-Lawamah, the third dignity of the nafs al-Mutmainnah. Al-Palimbangi was not satisfied with al-Ghazali's explanation, then he perfected the human level to seven. He wanted to integrate the concept of seven dignity in achieving the dignity of the kamil into the Ghazalian school of thought. According to him: the human soul has seven ranks, namely: Nafs al-Ammarah, Nafs al-lawamah, Nafs al-Mulhamah, Nafs al-Mutmainnah, Nafs al-Radhiyah, Nafs al-Mardhiyah and Nafs al-Kamilah.

Sheikh Abdus Samad explained the Seven Dignities with Taraqqi Efforts: first the journey to subdue the nafs al-Ammarah is like a tendency to evil, is ignorant, stingy, angry, eats a lot and is forgetful. This journey is identical to the nature of Ajsam and is taken through the Sharia The second journey to conquer the nafs al-Lawwamah is like pride, joy, and argumentation. This journey is synonymous with the realm of mithal and is taken by way of the Tariqat. The three journeys taking the Nafs al-Mulhamah, such as having the nature of being generous, kanaah, knowledgeable, tawaddu, patient, and virtuous, this journey is identical to the realm of the spirit that is traversed by ma'rifat. Fourth, we must carry out the nafs al-mutmainnah like being generous, tawakal.

One of the prominent books by Sheikh 'Abd ash-Shamad al-Jawi al-Palimbangi which is characterized by Imam al-Ghazali's Sufism is that the book Siyar al-Sâlikin is actually a "translation" of the book Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn by Imam al-Ghazali. with some explanation adjustments. This shows that the Sufism carried by Sheikh 'Abd ash-Shamad is Sufism that has been formulated by Imam al-Ghazali. And this means that the orientation of the Sufism of Sheikh 'Abd al-Shamad which he taught was really based on the Ahlussunnah faith. Because, as we already know, Imam al-Ghazali is a figure who very closely adheres to the teachings of Asy'ariyyah Syafi'iyyah.

¹ In fact, according to Nurchalish Madjid, it was actually thanks to al-Ghazali's thoughts that Ash'arism got its final victory, which later became the main characteristic of Sunni ideology. It is also because of al-Ghazali's works that the gap between Sufism and other fields of religion, especially creed and shari'ah, is becoming ever smaller. Even al-Ghazali has succeeded in giving a firm place to Islamic esotericism in a whole religious understanding that is considered valid or orthodox. The solutions offered by al-Ghazali were so great that they amazed the Islamic intellectual world and made it seem as if they were drugged unconscious. In this case al-Ghazali is so complete in providing solutions to Islamic religious problems, that what actually happens is that he seems to have created a room for the ummah which, although very comfortable, has the effect of imprisoning Islamic intellectual creativity, perhaps until now.

Wali Songo

Imam al-Ghazali's literary style colored the movement and teachings of Wali Songo which we will never forget; Sunan Ampel, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Giri, Sunan Gresik, Sunan Muria, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Kalijaga, and Sunan Gunung Jati were prominent figures in the history of the spread of Islam in the Nusantara. These legendary figures lived around the middle of the ninth century Hijriah. This means that Islam has been entrenched in this Nusantara since around 600 years ago, maybe even before that. History records that the preachers who came to Indonesia came from Gujarat India, most of which their ancestors were from Yemeni Hadramaut. The state of Yemen at that time, even today, was the "storehouse" of al-Asyrâf or al-Habâ'ib; are people who have the lineage of the Prophet.

Because of that, the songo guardians who are scattered in the Nusantara have lineages that continue to the Prophet. Wali Songo's Sufism in the Shari'a line still adheres to the Imam Shafi'i sect or the Imam Shafi'i school and his Sufism adheres to the Imam al-Ghazali school as an indicator of the Book of Ihya Ulumuddin as a source of inspiration in carrying out his preaching, in addition to the mainstay books of Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah congregations, such as the book Qut al-Qulub by Abu Thalib al-Makki, the book Al-Washaya, the work

¹ of al-Muhasibi, Bidayahtul Hidayah and Minhajul Abidin by Imam al-Ghazali. The influence of Imam al-Ghazali, which is deeply rooted in Wali Songo's Sufism, is mainly due to the originator of the Tariqat al-Alawiyah, which was founded by Sheikh al-Imam abdullah ibn al-Imam Ahmad al-Muhajir as the ancestor of Wali Songo. Just as Imam al-Ghazali and Abdullah ibn Ahmad al-Muhajir built their Sufism thoughts based on the doctrines of Abu Talib al-Makki, even the wali Songo met in Mecca during the pilgrimage of 377 H. Other factors that contributed to the influence of the Imam al-Ghazali towards Sufism Wali Songo is because one of the leaders of the tareqat al-'Alawiyah, namely Imam Muhmmad ibn 'Ali with the title al-faqih al-Muqaddam (leader of fiqh experts) who has similarities with Imam al-Ghazali.

One of the Wali Songo who was influenced by the teachings of Imam al-Ghazali Sufism was Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah or Sunan Gunung Djati who became the successor of Prince Cakrabuana with the title "Ingkang Sinuhun Kanjeng Susuhunan Jati Purba Panetep Panatagama Aulia Allah Kutubizaman Kholifatur Rosulullah Shallallahu Alaihi Wassalam". Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah in this regard considers it important that in the midst of society the presence and role of a guardian who has prophetic values and morals is still needed, which is marked by a serious form of obedience and devotion to Allah and His Messenger to spread Islamic preaching. The methods used by Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah in spreading the teachings of Islam and Sufism were not only through doctrines, but he was very friendly to culture or tradition even though he still smelled of Buddhism and Hinduism. Religious traditions through acculturation of religion and culture of the Cirebon people are still preserved until now.

Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah's Sufism teachings are well known for the teaching of the pepatah petitih Proverb which contains the values of piety and belief, discipline, wisdom and wisdom, as well as politeness and manners. This pepatah petitih proverb seems to have been accommodated in such a way by the keraton's relatives in Cirebon now. The source of the reference for this pepatah petitih is not clear, but the court's relatives based on their hereditary beliefs it is assumed that the petitih proverb is derived from the proverbs conveyed by

Sunan Gunung Djati. The following are some of the moral messages from the Pepatah-Petitih teachings related to character education and religious morals.

The Pepatah-Petitih proverbs which mentioned above show that Sunan Gunung Djati is a character of Sufism with the character of tasawuf akhlaqi which is almost the same as the Sufism teachings taught by Imam al-Ghazali. Tasawuf akhlaqi emphasizes three aspects of practice, namely *ubudiyah*, *sunni*, and *amali*. The purpose of these three aspects is that tasawuf akhlaqi. Tasawuf Akhlaqi is a way of climbing or *suluk* a Sufi (*Salik*) to God by focusing his attention on the practice of the Prophet's *sunnah*, worship, pious deeds, and *akhlaqul karimah*. Or in other words, akhlaqi Sufism is that humans must first identify their existence with divine characteristics through the purification of body and soul which starts from the formation of a person with perfect moral and noble character, which is known in Sufism as *Takhalli* (emptying oneself from despicable qualities), *Tahalli* (control oneself with praiseworthy qualities), and *Tajalli* (revealing unseen wisdom for a clean heart so as to be able to perceive gods light).

Following the teachings of Imam al-Ghazali's Sufism, in this case *walisongo* has succeeded in grounding Nusantara Islam which is full of traditions and culture. According to Ngatawi Al-Zastrouw, *Walisongo*'s success comes from two things, first because of their ability to absorb, deeply understand the various traditions, local values and social constructions of the Indonesian people. They make all of this a creative source of inspiration by combining the best elements from outside traditions. The *Walisongo* do not just accept external values and culture, but respond to external culture critically and selectively and make it a reference for developing traditional values and local culture.

Sheikh Nawawi Al-Bantani

The Javanese Sufi who was influenced by Imam al-Ghazali's Sufism was Shaykh Nawawi al-Bantani, he was born in 1230 H / 1813 AD in Tanara Village, Tirtayasa District, Serang Banten Regency. He died on 25 Shawwal 1314 H / 1897 AD at the age of 84 years and was

¹ buried in Ma'lla cemetery next to the grave of the famous fiqh expert Ibn Hajar al-Haitami (d. 974 H). He is the 12th descendant of the lineage that continues to Sunan Gunung Djati or Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah Cirebon. Thus from his father's lineage, Shaykh Nawawi's lineage continues to the Messenger of Allah.

Syekh Nawawi Al-Bantani's style of Sufism is oriented towards Al-Ghazali Sufism. Sheikh Imam Nawawi Al-Bantani continued Al-Ghazali's thoughts in maintaining a balance between sharia, tarekat and essence, and combining the three Islamic sciences. Shaykh Imam Nawawi Al-Bantani emphasized the balance between syari'at, tarekat and nature. Syekh Imam Nawawi Al-Bantani explained that the sharia is like a sailing ship, the tarekat is like the ocean and the essence is like a pearl. The meaning of Nawawi Al-Bantani's analogy is that if someone wants to find pearls, he must first ride a boat, then he had to dive in the sea to find pearls, then finally he got the pearls. Nawawi's thinking is the same as Al-Ghazali's thought, according to Al-Ghazali, the path to makrifat is a combination of knowledge and charity, and the fruit is morality. The balance of the three main sciences in Islamic scholarship is also maintained by Sheikh Imam Nawawi, the main sciences, namely Sufism, fiqh and kalam.

Syekh Nawawi Al-Bantani's style of thinking of Sufism is oriented towards Al-Ghazali Sufism. Nawawi Al-Bantani continued Al-Ghazali's thoughts in maintaining a balance between sharia, tarekat and essence, and combining the three Islamic sciences. Tarekat and nature in the concept of Nawawi Al-Bantani were revealed in their nine wills to take the wali path. This can be seen from his 115 works such as Tafsir Munir, the Nashoihiul Ibad Book, Muraqi Al-'Ubudiyyah, Al-Hidayah Al-Bidayah, Al-'Aqd As-Samin, 'ala Manzhumah As-Sittin, Fath Al- Majid, Durar Al-Farid fi At-Tauhid., Fath Ash-Shamad, 'ala Maulid An-Nabawi., Nihayah Az-Zain, 'ala Qurrah Al-'Ain, and others.

The scientific journey of Sheikh Imam Nawawi as mentioned by Zainul Milal Bizawie that he did has forged him to become a great scholar. In Mecca he gathered in the "village of Java" with the great scholars who also came from the Nusantara, and studied with the seniors among them. Among them are Shaykh Khathib Sambas (from Kalimantan) and Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani (from Bima NTB). To the

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prominent Meccan scholars at that time, Shaykh Nawawi studied among them as-Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahlan (mufti madzhab Syafi'i), as-Sayyid Muhammad Syatha ad-Dimyathi, Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid ad-Dagestani, and others.

Because of his upbringing, many Moslem intellectuals who were very popular in the history of Indonesia were born. They are not only clerical figures whose "job" is to wrestle with recitation, but also as leading figures for the struggle for Indonesian independence and establishing the largest Islamic organizations such as Nahdatul Ulama (NU). Among the scholars trained by Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani are; KH. Kholil Bangkalan Madura (d.1345 H), KH. Hasyim Asy'ari (w.1366 H), the originator of the NU social movement, KH. Asnawi (Caringin Banten), KH. Tubagus Ahmad Bakri (Purwakarta West Java), KH. Najihun (Tangerang), KH. Asnawi Kudus, Central Java (w, 1379 H), K.H. Tubagus Akhmad Bakri Banten (d. 1975 AD) and other figures.

In this period, the teachings of Ahlussunnah; Asy'ariyyah Syafi'iyyah from the theological and fiqh aspects as well as Ghazaliyah teachings from the aspect of Sufism in Indonesia have become very strong. Likewise, with the spread of Sufism which was practically affiliated with Imam al-Ghazali and Imam al-Junaid al-Baghdadi, at that time it was very popular and entrenched in Indonesian society. The spread of Sufism in this period was marked by the number of tarekat-tarekat adhered to by various levels of society. The dominance of Shaykh Nawawi's students who were scattered from the west to the east of the island of Java had a big influence in the spread of the teachings of Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah. Teachings outside of Ahlussunnah, such as "non-madzhab" (al-Lâ Madzhabiyyah) and hulûl or ittihâd creeds and beliefs of other splinter sects of Islam, have very narrow space for movement.

D. Closing

The thought of Sufism Imam al-Ghazali had a big share in the development of Indonesian Sufism, on the other hand, the Sufis of the Nusantara were very receptive to Imam al-Ghazali's Sufism because Imam al-Ghazali was seen by Sufism scholars who were compatible

¹ with the pluralistic character of the Nusantara Moslem culture. Imam al-Ghazali is seen as a Sufi who has a psychomoral style whose Sufi teachings prioritize moral education and is moderating, far from extreme and radical teachings, therefore the Indonesian Sufis prefer the doctrine of Sufism to favor Imam al-Ghazali rather than Sufis. a philosophical Sufi.

Tasawuf with its own philosophical pattern is only a few like Sufi Hamzah Fansuri who is Ibn Arabi with the concept of Wahdat al-Wujudnya so that it invites controversy and Syekh Siti Jenar with his real name Sheikh Abdul Jalil who is popularly known as Sheikh Lemah Abang, he is a follower of his Sufism al- Hallaj with his hulul doctrine which later became known as Manunggaling Kawula Gusti teachings, he also ended up with a death sentence

Religious doctrine in the context of Nusantara culture for a long time seems to want a moderate religious doctrine, which then the momentum emerged with the presence of Imam al-Ghazali's Sufism doctrine. The typology of Sufism Imam al-Ghazali teaches the balance between the world and the hereafter, the balance of mind and heart and balance of body and spirit, so from here Imam al-Ghazali is placed as a Sufism Ulama who has colored the Sufi of Nusantara. Imam al-Ghazali affects Nusantara Sufis in developing religious preaching with a wisdom and moral approach. With this approach, the Sufis or the Nusantara Wali were more accepted by the diverse Indonesian people. The Sufis or guardians of the Nusantara have succeeded in formulating appropriate cultural strategies so that they are able to carry out social transformation appropriately and quickly without any negative excesses and significant social conflicts. The Sufis of the Nusantara have been able to form cultural strengths capable of knitting the diversity and diversity of the ummah that exist in the Nusantara.

Facing the current of globalization with a tight and high risk of competition, where in the era of globalization changes in the values, social and cultural values of the world community occur very rapidly. The values, culture and social structure of people in various parts of the world are forced to change and in order to adapt to the demands of the situation, in this situation it is necessary to have creativity and sophisticated strategies by referring to the Sufis of the Nusantara in

² religion and socializing so that this global society becomes harmonious and peace. In the contemporary context, the strategy of the Sufis of the Nusantara needs to be implemented properly by the components of the nation in taking part in various sectors, especially religious leaders.

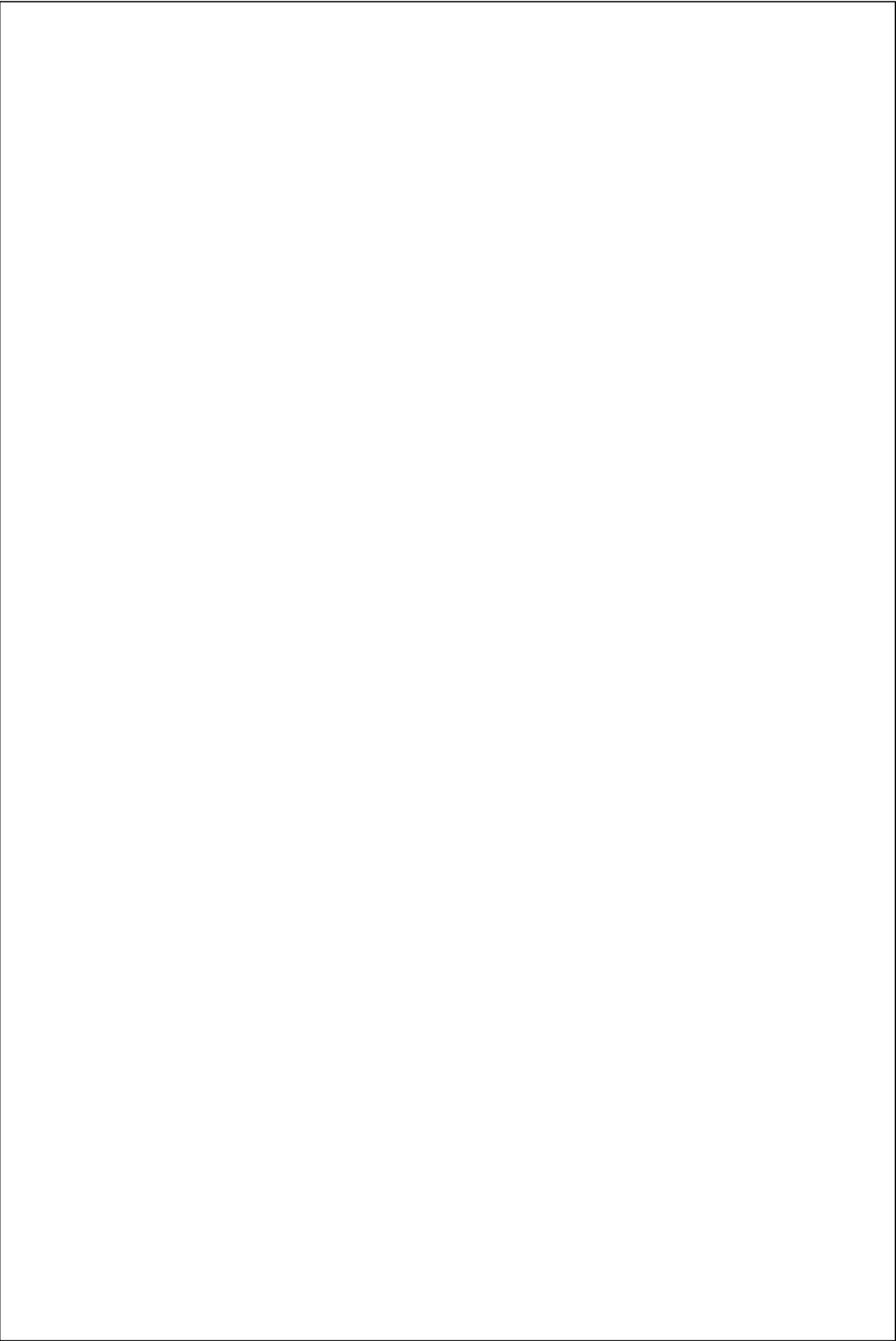
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