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## **Abdurrahman Wahid's Political Legacy and the Development of Civilisation Fiqh in Indonesia**

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### **Abstract:**

This study examines the intersection between Abdurrahman Wahid's concept of Cosmopolitan Fiqh and Nahdlatul Ulama's recent initiative of Fiqh of Civilisation. This study seeks to analyse three primary aspects: Wahid's cosmopolitan fiqh model, its epistemological construction, and its contribution to democracy in Indonesia. Wahid's model of cosmopolitan fiqh is entrenched in a vision that positions fiqh not merely as a normative legal framework but as an instrument to promote universal humanity, protection of rights, and respect for diversity. The epistemological construction of this fiqh is shaped through a dialogical method, employing al-Jabiri's trilogy of epistemology—*bayani* (textual reasoning), *burhani* (rational argument), and *irfani* (intuitive-cultural wisdom). This methodological approach enables the integration of Islamic teachings with Indonesia's socio-political realities and indigenous wisdom, resulting in a flexible, context-sensitive fiqh. The findings reveal that Wahid's cosmopolitan approach provides an epistemological foundation for the development of Fiqh of Civilisation within Nahdlatul Ulama. Its contribution to democracy in Indonesia is evident in three dimensions: strengthening democratic values and pluralism, ensuring the protection and recognition of rights across different groups, and projecting Indonesian Islam as a global model of peaceful and inclusive civilisation. Thus, Wahid's fiqh serves as both a theoretical and practical reference for embedding Islamic principles within democratic and multicultural contexts.

**Keywords:** Abdurrahman Wahid; cosmopolitan fiqh; democracy.

## Introduction

*Ijtihad* has long been a critical keyword for Islamic thinkers in addressing rapidly changing social and humanitarian issues.<sup>1</sup> In today's political and national context, various Islamic scholars have proposed different models of governance. Figures like Fazlur Rahman,<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Qutb,<sup>3</sup> and Hasan Turabi<sup>4</sup> advocated for the establishment of Islamic states, viewing them as a means to implement Sharia values. Rahman was influential in the ideological formation of Pakistan as an Islamic state, while Qutb's involvement with the Muslim Brotherhood and Turabi's political activism in Sudan reflect similar aspirations. In contrast, Mahmud Muhammad Taha—although operating in the same Sudanese context as Turabi—supported an inclusive, nation-state model.<sup>5</sup>

These diverse political models were critically observed by Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur).<sup>6</sup> Unlike proponents of an Islamic state, Wahid viewed state formation as a historical necessity rather than a theological imperative.<sup>7</sup> According to scholars like Greg Barton and Nur Khalik Ridwan,<sup>8</sup> Wahid's preference for a nation-state was underpinned by rational and scientific considerations. Syaiful Arif situates this within *siyasah al-fiqh* and *nawazil al-fiqh*, interpreting Wahid's position as a form of contextual *ijtihad* responsive to contemporary socio-political realities.<sup>9</sup> For Wahid, the nation-state model was not a deviation from Islamic principles but

<sup>1</sup> Aksin Wijaya and Shofiyullah Muzammil, "Maqāṣidi Tafsir: Uncovering and Presenting Maqāṣid Ilāhī-Qur'anī into Contemporary Context," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 59, no. 2 (December 2021): 449–78, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2021.592.449-478>; Jefry Tarantang et al., "Rereading the Concept of Joint Property: Fiqh Literacy in the Book of Sabilal Muhtadin and the Genealogy of Sheikh Arsyad's Thoughts," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 3 (November 2024): 1840–58, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i3.23016>; Yulianti Muthmainnah et al., "Zakat Initiatives for Supporting Victims of Violence against Women and Children in Indonesia," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 24, no. 2 (December 2024): 331–57, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v24i2.331-357>; Muhammad Habibi Siregar et al., "Digital Fiqh and Ethical Governance: Negotiating Islamic Normativity and Online Narcissism in Contemporary Indonesia," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 24, no. 1 (June 2025): 181–91, <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v24i1.13218>.

<sup>2</sup> Fazlur Rahman, *Revival and Reform in Islam a Study of Islamic Fundamentalism*, ed. Ebrahim Moosa (London: Oneworld Academic, 2021).

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Syukron et al., "The Relationship Between Islam and the State in the Qur'an: Sayyid Qutb's Perspective on Islamic Political Governance," *QOF* 8, no. 2 (December 2024): 285–300, <https://doi.org/10.30762/qof.v8i2.2887>.

<sup>4</sup> Oseolla Savana et al., "Hasan Turabi's Concept of Fiqh Democracy and Its Relevance in Modern Political Contexts," *Pendas: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Dasar* 10, no. 02 (June 2025): 331–45, <https://doi.org/10.23969/jp.v10i02.24395>.

<sup>5</sup> Hijrian Angga Prihantoro, Noorhaidi Hasan, and Mohammad Yunus Masrukhin, "Islamic Law and The Politics of Nation-State: Debating Citizenship Fiqh Through The Al-Maskut 'Anhu Discourse," *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 23, no. 2 (December 2023).

<sup>6</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islamku Islam Anda Islam Kita Transformasi Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islam Kosmopolitan Nilai-Nilai Indonesia Dan Transformasi Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2007).

<sup>8</sup> Nur Khalik Ridwan, *Negara Bukan-Bukan* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2018).

<sup>9</sup> Syaiful Arif, *Humanisme Gus Dur Pergumulan Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2013).



a pragmatic embodiment of core Islamic values, including justice, freedom, and public welfare.

Rigorous intellectual methodology marked Wahid's *ijtihad*. As Ahmad Baso observes, Wahid applied systematic, scientific reasoning to socio-political questions, yielding contextual and reformist Islamic thought.<sup>10</sup> His articles and public lectures offered a consistent stream of analysis grounded in coherent epistemological frameworks.<sup>11</sup> Thus, any discussion on Wahid's contribution must engage both his methodology and the substantive content of his thought.<sup>12</sup> In recent years, Wahid's approach has found renewed perspective through Nahdlatul Ulama's (PBNU) initiative of Fiqh of Civilisation. Led by KH. Yahya Cholil Staquf, this initiative responds to multifaceted humanitarian issues—ranging from radicalism and anti-nationalism to international conflicts such as those in Gaza, Ukraine, and the broader Middle East. PBNU's Fiqh of Civilisation aims to foster global peace by opening spaces for intercultural and interfaith dialogue—efforts exemplified by NU's active engagement with the United Nations.<sup>13</sup>

On the national front, Fiqh of Civilisation also responds to the rise of anti-nationalist movements that reject Pancasila, democracy, and local wisdom.<sup>14</sup> PBNU identifies this trend as a protest against Indonesian identity and pluralistic heritage. Reactions include refusal to state symbols, the national flag, and cultural Arabisation, threatening the foundational values of the Republic.<sup>15</sup> In this context, Civilisational Jurisprudence reaffirms the importance of nationalism embedded in Islamic ethics and local traditions.<sup>16</sup> Recent surveys by Indonesia's Ministry of Religious Affairs show that around 12% of Indonesian youth express sympathy for movements aiming to replace the nation-state with a caliphate model. The Setara Institute documented more than 40 cases of acts of intolerance in educational institutions across Indonesia. These findings indicate that the ideological contestation between nationalism and transnational Islamism remains a pressing concern. In this context, PBNU reaffirms the importance of nationalism grounded in Islamic ethics and local traditions. Despite a growing body of literature on Wahid's Islamic legal thought, a critical research problem remains: the epistemological intersection between his Cosmopolitan Fiqh and NU's evolving discourse of Fiqh of Civilisation has not been fully explored. While Wahid's *ijtihad*

<sup>10</sup> Ahmad Baso, *Islam Nusantara Ijtihad Jenius Dan Ijma' Ulama Indonesia Dialog-Dialog Santri-Kiai Tentang Studi Islam Dan Kajian Ke-Indonesiaan Dari PBNU (Pancasila, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, NKRI Dan UUD 1945) Untuk Dunia*, 1st ed. (Jakarta: Pustaka Afid, 2015).

<sup>11</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, *Kumpulan Kolom Dan Artikel Abdurrahman Wahid Selama Era Lengser* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2002).

<sup>12</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, *Prisma Pemikiran Gus Dur* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999).

<sup>13</sup> Masykuri Abdillah, "Sharia and Politics in The Context of Globalization and Society 5.0," *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 22, no. 2 (December 2022).

<sup>14</sup> Irfan Noor et al., "Islamism and Muslim Support for Islamist Movement Organizations: Evidence from Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 30, no. 1 (April 2023): 39–63.

<sup>15</sup> Noor et al.

<sup>16</sup> Badrun Badrun et al., "Pancasila, Islam, and Harmonising Socio-Cultural Conflict in Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 61, no. 1 (November 2023): 137–56, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2023.611.137-156>.



has been widely studied, its continuity and influence on NU's contemporary global initiatives remain underdeveloped in scholarly debates.<sup>17</sup>

Several prior studies have explored the themes of Cosmopolitan Fiqh and Fiqh of Civilisation, each contributing to the growing body of literature on Islamic jurisprudential responses to contemporary issues. However, a closer reading reveals that these works remain limited in scope and do not directly address the epistemological continuity between Abdurrahman Wahid's Cosmopolitan Fiqh and Nahdlatul Ulama's evolving discourse of Fiqh of Civilisation. For instance, Firmanda Taufiq and Ahalla Tsauro<sup>18</sup> examined NU's strategies in employing the Fiqh of Civilisation to address humanitarian crises. While this study is valuable for highlighting NU's global activism, it primarily focuses on practical applications and does not connect these initiatives to the epistemological foundations of Wahid's *ijtihad*. Similarly, Fathorrahman, Anis Masduqi, and Arif Sugitanata<sup>19</sup> analysed NU's intellectual transformation toward Fiqh of Civilisation. Their analysis emphasises institutional transformation but does not address how Wahid's intellectual legacy inspired such developments at the epistemological level.

Furthermore, the study by A. Hashfi Luthfi et al.<sup>20</sup> sheds light on the dynamics of Fiqh of Civilisation discussions in *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) circles in Yogyakarta. This work offers valuable insights into localised religious discourses but does not extend to the broader continuity between Wahid's Cosmopolitan Fiqh and the global dimension of NU's initiatives. Similarly, Mukhlis Latif, Muhammad Mutawalli, and Zulhilmi Paidi<sup>21</sup> explored the actualisation of Fiqh of Civilisation in religious and national life. Yet, their normative-applicative approach lacks a clear methodological framework—such as al-Jabiri's epistemology of *bayani*, *burhani*, and *'irfani*—to bridge theory and practice.

Other works situate the discussion within broader theoretical landscapes. For example, Thohir Luth and Md. Yazid Ahmad assessed the tension between universality and contextuality in Islamic legal thought through the perspectives of Wael B. Hallaq and Thaha Jabir al-Alwani. Although illuminating, their analysis does not relate directly to Wahid or NU. In contrast, Suhaimis and Amrizon

<sup>17</sup> Ahmad Zainul Hamdi, "Constructing Indonesian Religious Pluralism: The Role of Nahdlatul Ulama in Countering Violent Religious Extremism," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 15, no. 2 (2021): 433–64, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.2.433-464>.

<sup>18</sup> Firmanda Taufiq and Ahalla Tsauro, "Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the Fiqh of Civilization (Fikih Peradaban): Strategies, Contributions, and Challenges in Overcoming the Humanitarian Crisis," *International Journal Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din* 26, no. 1 (2024): 173–83, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ihya.26.1.20255>.

<sup>19</sup> Fathorrahman Fathorrahman, Anis Masduqi, and Arif Sugitanata, "The Scholarly Transformation of Nahdlatul Ulama: Fiqh of Civilization as a Step Towards Embracing the Future," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 24, no. 1 (2024): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.21154/altahrir.v24i1.8536>.

<sup>20</sup> Fathorrahman et al., "Dynamics of Thought in the Fiqh of Civilization Halaqah at Pesantren Affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Yogyakarta," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 24, no. 1 (2024): 71–95, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v24i1.71-95>.

<sup>21</sup> Mukhlis Latif, Muhammad Mutawalli, and Zulhilmi Paidi, "Fiqh Peradaban and the Actualization of Religious and State Life in the Modern Society," *FIKRAH* 11, no. 1 (September 2023): 151–76, <https://doi.org/10.21043/FIKRAH.V11I1.22570>.





examined paradigm shifts in Islamic education toward cosmopolitan orientations, yet their focus remains educational rather than juridical or political. Likewise, Maftukhin<sup>22</sup> addressed the cosmopolitan dimensions of Islamic *da'wah*, centring on communication strategies rather than the epistemology of Islamic law. Several other contributions are noteworthy but reveal similar limitations. Seventh, Affa Mohammed Saeed Osman advanced a comparative methodology for fiqh to address contemporary challenges, but did not engage with Wahid's Cosmopolitan Fiqh or NU's Fiqh of Civilisation. AbdulWahed Jalal Nori, Lee Pei May, and Zhilwan Tahir discussed global governance through an Islamic paradigm of justice, peace, and ethical diplomacy. Yet, their approach lacked a grounding in Wahid's Nusantara-based intellectual tradition. Finally, Hairatu Saleha et al. focused on fiqh and Sufi perspectives in environmental conservation, presenting a critical issue, but it remains within an ecological framework rather than addressing epistemological or political dimensions of civilisation and jurisprudence.

Taken together, these studies are more oriented toward practical, normative, or sectoral scopes. None explicitly addresses the epistemological linkage between Wahid's Cosmopolitan Fiqh and NU's Fiqh of Civilisation within the framework of Mohammed Abid al-Jabiri's tripartite epistemology. This is the specific gap the present study seeks to address. Specifically, it applies Mohammed Abid al-Jabiri's epistemological framework<sup>23</sup>—*bayani* (textual reasoning), *burhani* (rational argument), and *'irfani* (intuitive-cultural wisdom)—to uncover the epistemological convergence between Wahid's Cosmopolitan Fiqh and NU's Fiqh of Civilisation.<sup>24</sup> This study comprises three objectives: first, to analyse the continuity between Wahid's thought and NU's evolving practice; second, to demonstrate how Wahid's methodology of *ijtihad* has extended to a global stage; and third, to evaluate the contribution of this convergence to religious moderation and peace-building in plural societies. By demonstrating how Wahid's reformist *ijtihad* informs NU's contemporary jurisprudential innovations on a global stage, this research offers a novel contribution: it situates NU's Fiqh of Civilisation not as a departure from Wahid's legacy, but as its cosmopolitan evolution—anchored in Nusantara values, yet responsive to the 21<sup>st</sup> century's humanitarian challenges.

## Method

This study employs a qualitative-descriptive approach, utilising library research to examine the political *ijtihad* of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) as a dynamic form of contemporary Islamic thought.<sup>25</sup> The data sources are divided into two main categories: primary sources, including Wahid's works such as books, essays, speeches, and media statements; and secondary sources, comprising

<sup>22</sup> Maftukhin Maftukhin, "Contemporary Da'wah Based On Cosmopolitan Islam," *Indonesian Journal Of Humanities And Social Sciences* 4, no. 2 (2023): 307–20.

<sup>23</sup> Ahmad Baso, *Al-Jabiri, Eropa Dan Kita Dialog Metodologi Islam Nusantara Untuk Dunia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Afid, 2018).

<sup>24</sup> Muhammad Iqbal Juliansyahzen, "Rekonstruksi Nalar Arab Kontemporer Muhammad 'Abed Al-Jabiri," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Law* 1, no. 2 (2019): 16–38.

<sup>25</sup> Steven J. Bogdad, Robert dan Taylor, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods* (New York: John Willy and Sons, 1975).



scholarly works, biographies, institutional documents, and credible media analyses. The selection of sources followed clear criteria. Primary sources were prioritised as they represent Wahid's original voice and ideas,<sup>26</sup> while secondary sources provided critical framing, scholarly interpretation,<sup>27</sup> and broader contextualisation.<sup>28</sup> This study also utilised institutional documents of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), policy reports, and empirical data from research institutes and surveys to underpin the social background of the discourse. In contrast, non-credible sources, such as partisan blogs or unverified social media posts, were excluded, except those containing primary materials, such as transcripts of speeches.

The data were analysed using content analysis in several interrelated stages. The first stage involved compiling the corpus by collecting relevant primary and secondary sources, along with metadata on authorship, context, and audience. The second stage was data reduction, which entailed selecting analytical units such as paragraphs, argumentative statements, or quotations related to pluralism, democracy, *Islam Nusantara*, Islamic cosmopolitanism, and Fiqh of Civilisation. The third stage consisted of open coding to identify preliminary themes, followed by axial coding to group these themes into broader categories aligned with the study's objectives. The fourth stage was epistemological categorisation using Mohammed Abed al-Jabiri's framework of Arab-Islamic reason, which distinguishes between *bayani* (textual-normative reasoning), *burhani* (rational-contextual reasoning), and *'irfani* (intuitive-spiritual reasoning).<sup>29</sup> Each unit of data was analysed according to specific indicators. Explicit references to the Qur'an and Hadith were categorised as *bayani*; logical, empirical, or political reasoning as *burhani*; while expressions of Sufi ethics, spirituality, or indigenous wisdom were classified as *'irfani*. In many cases, a single text by Wahid contains elements of multiple epistemological modes, requiring dialogical and contextual analysis.

The fifth stage was thematic synthesis, which connected the epistemological categories with recurring patterns of argument in Wahid's thought. This process revealed how Wahid integrated textual, rational, and spiritual approaches in formulating his political *ijtihad*. The sixth stage involved contextual interpretation, which related the findings to the realities of Indonesia's post-authoritarian democratic transition and to global Islamic reform discourses. This stage was enriched with empirical data, such as surveys on intolerance and documentation of NU's international engagements. To ensure validity, the author applied triangulation by comparing Wahid's writings with analyses by scholars, such as Greg Barton, Ahmad Baso, and Nur Khalik Ridwan. Reflective notes were also

<sup>26</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2006).

<sup>27</sup> Abdul Syukur et al., "Empowering Islamic Community in Understanding Democracy and Shura Through the Wasathiyah Da'Wa Movement in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 18, no. 1 (2024): 98–126, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2024.18.1.98-126>.

<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Nasruddin, "Halaqah Fikih Peradaban Dan Relevansinya Terhadap Penguatan Nilai Moderasi Beragama Di Pesantren," *Pesantren Studies Annual Symposium on Pesantren Studies (Ansops) 2022 Prosiding Nasional Vol. 01 2022 e ISSN: 2746-1238* 01 (2022): 2–14.

<sup>29</sup> Zainul Mun'im, "The Epistemology of MUI's Fatwas on Covid-19: Bayani and Burhani Eclecticism," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 7, no. 1 May (May 2022): 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.29240/JHI.V7I1.3216>.



maintained to ensure transparency and traceability of analysis, while acknowledging the study's limitations due to archival availability and the interpretive nature of categorisation. Thus, the methodological design of this study emphasises both procedural rigour in source selection and systematic analysis, as well as the operational application of al-Jabiri's epistemological framework to Wahid's works. This approach enables a structured mapping of Wahid's intellectual patterns in articulating Islamic cosmopolitanism, Islam Nusantara, and Fiqh of Civilisation, while also demonstrating their contribution to democracy in Indonesia and within the broader Muslim world.

## Results and Discussion

### Abdurrahman Wahid, Cosmopolitan Fiqh, and Fiqh of Civilization

Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) was born into the *pesantren* tradition of *Islam Nusantara*, a socio-religious milieu that values pluralism, tolerance, and cultural inclusivity.<sup>30</sup> His intellectual formation was grounded in the conviction that Islam must not be reduced to a culturally or politically exclusive ideology. This principle shaped his lifelong rejection of an Islamic state as a formal political model. Since NU's 9th Congress in Banjarmasin (1935), Wahid asserted that Muslims bore no theological obligation to establish such a state. Epistemologically, Wahid's framework parallels Mohammed Abed al-Jabiri's tripartite epistemology: *bayānī* (textual reasoning), *burhānī* (rational-empirical reasoning), and *'irfānī* (experiential-spiritual reasoning). From the *bayānī* perspective, Wahid respected the authority of the Qur'an and the Hadith but contextualised them to Indonesia's socio-political realities. In his essay *Counter Discourse on the Idea of an Islamic State*, he critiqued literalist readings that politicise Islam, proposing instead a hermeneutic attentive to democracy and pluralism. From the *burhānī* dimension, Wahid articulated rational-democratic reasoning based on empirical evidence, arguing that democratic institutions are the most effective instrument of realising *'adl* (justice), *maṣlaḥah* (public welfare), and *ḥurriyyah* (freedom), as he stated, "Democracy is not only not *haram* but a compulsory element of Islam." Meanwhile, the *'irfānī* aspect of Wahid's thought reflected his deep engagement with spiritual experience, Sufism, and local culture, later taking shape as the concept of *Islam Nusantara*—a model of indigenised Islam that harmonises faith and local wisdom.

Empirical realities further reinforce the relevance of Wahid's epistemological synthesis. A USAID-PUSAD survey in 2023 across eight provinces revealed persistent religious discrimination, while Setara Institute data in 2023–2024 documented 400+ cases of intolerance nationwide. These findings highlight Wahid's critique of rigid textualism: without contextual reasoning, religion risks breeding exclusivism. Hence, Wahid's legacy offers a holistic paradigm that integrates textual fidelity, rational-democratic reasoning, and spiritual-cultural insight, setting a framework for addressing Indonesia's enduring issues of pluralism, democracy, and national cohesion. These findings demonstrate that Wahid's critique of formalistic religious-political models remains profoundly relevant

<sup>30</sup> Greg Barton, *Biografi Gus Dur The Authorized Biography of Abdurrahman Wahid* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2003).



because many of Indonesia's contemporary issues stem from the rigid application of religious texts without adequate contextual reasoning to safeguard pluralism. In summary, Wahid's intellectual legacy rests upon a synergistic balance between reverence for Islamic textual sources, rational-democratic reasoning, and the spiritual-cultural realities of local society. His approach provides not only a theoretical foundation for organisations, such as NU, but also a practical framework for addressing the growing issues of intolerance, democratisation, and the reimagination of Islam's role in pluralist nation-states.

Wahid's idea of Cosmopolitan Fiqh emerged from his conviction that Islam, as a universal religion, must engage with global civilisation without abandoning its local roots. For him, Islam is not a political system but an ethical project promoting justice, humanity, and dignity. He rejected dichotomies between Islam and local culture, interpreting Javanese traditions, such as *wayang*, *slametan*, and *gamelan*, as living expressions of Islamic ethical values. This inclusive hermeneutic positioned *Islam Nusantara* as both locally grounded and globally relevant.<sup>31</sup> At the global level, Wahid's cosmopolitanism translated into active interfaith engagement. His invocation of *rahmatan lil-'ālamīn* emphasised Islam's mercy toward all humanity.<sup>32</sup> His participation in international dialogues and defence of minority rights demonstrated a lived theology of pluralism.<sup>33</sup>

This attitude was reflected in his active involvement in international interfaith forums and his advocacy for minority groups in Indonesia and abroad.<sup>34</sup> Thus, Wahid's Islamic cosmopolitanism presents Islam as inclusive, humanistic, and responsive to global challenges without losing its rootedness in local traditions. This intellectual foundation later provided the epistemological basis for the development of Fiqh of Civilisation by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).<sup>35</sup> The concept of *Islam Nusantara*, popularised by KH. Said Aqil Siradj, extended Wahid's legacy by emphasising the integration of Islamic values with Indonesia's plural traditions. *Islam Nusantara* functions both as a theological principle and a socio-political strategy to counter radicalism.<sup>36</sup> This concept stresses the importance of integrating Islamic values with Indonesia's plural cultural traditions, thereby fostering peaceful, tolerant religious practice that aligns with local customs. For Wahid, Islam in Indonesia cannot be

<sup>31</sup> M. Nur Fauzi, "Jejak Pemikiran Kosmopolitan Gus Dur: Antara Universalitas Islam Dan Partikularitas Kearifan Lokal," *Jurnal Transformatif (Islamic Studies)* 3, no. 2 (2019): 215–40, <https://doi.org/10.23971/tf.v3i2.1896>.

<sup>32</sup> Benny Ridwan et al., "Islam Nusantara, Ulemas, and Social Media: Understanding the Pros and Cons of Islam Nusantara among Ulemas of West Sumatera," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 9, no. 2 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.18326/IJIMS.V9I2.163-188>.

<sup>33</sup> Arifki Budia Warman et al., "Strengthening Family Resilience Through Local Wisdom: Pulang Ka Bako Type of Marriage in Minangkabau," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 8, no. 1 May (May 2023): 253–68.

<sup>34</sup> Gugun El Guyanie and Aji Baskoro, "The Constitutional Rights of Indigenous Beliefs Adherents in Minority Fiqh Perspective," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 21, no. 2 (2021): 155–75, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v21i2.155-175>.

<sup>35</sup> Muhammad Ridho Syabibi et al., "Communicative Cultural Dakwah of Abdurrahman Wahid in Pluralistic Society," *Karsa: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 29, no. 2 (2021): 1–33, <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v29i2.5220>.

<sup>36</sup> M. Nur Fauzi, "Islam Nusantara : Telaah Metodologis Dan Respons Terhadap Khilafatisme Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Islam Nusantara* 3, no. 1 (2019): 74, <https://doi.org/10.33852/jurnalin.v3i1.122>.





separated from its long history of acculturation with Hindu-Buddhist traditions and indigenous culture.<sup>37</sup>

The Indonesian Survey Institute in 2022 found that most NU followers view practices like *tahlilan* and *ziarah kubur* as integral to Islam, affirming its deep cultural embeddedness. By resisting cultural *Arabisation*, *Islam Nusantara* affirms that Islam's universality flourishes through local particularities. The 33rd NU Congress (2015, Jombang) institutionalised this vision, positioning *Islam Nusantara* as a model of global Islamic moderation.<sup>38</sup> Wahid stressed that Islam must not be narrowly equated with Middle Eastern culture, since the religion is inherently adaptable to local values and traditions. From this perspective, *Islam Nusantara* represents a middle ground between fidelity to classical Islamic traditions and openness to local cultures. At the global level, *Islam Nusantara* is increasingly recognised as a model of moderate Islam.<sup>39</sup>

Under KH. Yahya Cholil Staquf's leadership, NU expanded Wahid's cosmopolitan ethos into the Fiqh of Civilization—a jurisprudence of global ethics.<sup>40</sup> The concept of Fiqh of Civilization was formally introduced by KH. Yahya Cholil Staquf, after being appointed as the chairman of NU in 2021.<sup>41</sup> Introduced in 2021, this paradigm seeks to transform fiqh into an instrument for addressing humanitarian crises, promoting justice, and advancing intercultural cooperation. The Fiqh of Civilisation rests on three pillars: global justice, human dignity, and interreligious solidarity. NU operationalised these ideals through the 2022 *Religion of Twenty (R20)* forum in Bali, which the United Nations endorsed as a model for interfaith diplomacy. The 2023 R20 report proposed collaborative mechanisms for addressing the Gaza and Ukraine crises. Nationally, this framework counters anti-nationalist and transnational ideologies that reject Pancasila and democracy, reaffirming nationalism as a moral principle compatible with Islam's ethical core.

The relationship between Wahid's Cosmopolitan Fiqh and NU's Fiqh of Civilisation represents one of epistemological continuity rather than conceptual rupture. The former provides an intellectual foundation emphasising pluralism, dialogue, and universal responsibility, while the latter institutionalises these principles into NU's educational, political, and diplomatic practice, with both relying on contextual *ijtihad* to address national and global realities. Before

<sup>37</sup> M. Noor Harisudin, "The Formulation of Nusantara Fiqh in Indonesia," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 21, no. 1 (June 2021): 39–58, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v21i1.39-57>.

<sup>38</sup> Fajar Ari Nugroho, "Pemikiran KH. Abdurrahman Wahid Tentang Pribumisasi Pendidikan Islam: Solusi Integratif Menyatukan Agama Dan Budaya," *Tsaqofah Dan Tarikh: Jurnal Kebudayaan Dan Sejarah Islam* 6, no. 2 (2022): 33, <https://doi.org/10.29300/ttjksi.v6i2.3910>.

<sup>39</sup> Rizky Alif Alvian and Irfan Ardhani, "The Politics of Moderate Islam in Indonesia: Between International Pressure and Domestic Contestations," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 61, no. 1 (June 2023): 19–57, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2023.611.19-57>.

<sup>40</sup> Masdar Hilmy, "Fikih Peradaban untuk Kemanusiaan - Jawa Pos," Fikih Peradaban untuk Kemanusiaan - Jawa Pos, December 5, 2025, <https://www.jawapos.com/opini/01615319/fikih-peradaban-untuk-kemanusiaan>.

<sup>41</sup> Rahmat Fajar Nugraha, "Gus Yahya Sebut Fikih Peradaban Merupakan Platform Pemutus Kekerasan Yang Melanda Dunia," May 4, 2023, <https://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2023/04/05/gus-yahya-sebut-fikih-peradaban-merupakan-platform-pemutus-kekerasan-yang-melanda-dunia>.



Indonesia's Reform era, Wahid rejected the formalisation of Islam as state ideology, setting Pancasila as a theological balance that upholds Islamic values of justice and humanity. According to a 2022 Kompas survey, 67% of NU members affirm that Pancasila aligns with Islam. This is higher than the national average, which represents only 54%—illustrating the relevance of moderate Islam to Indonesia's democratic foundation.

From 2021 to 2024, NU organised *halaqah* and scholarly forums integrating classical texts studies with contemporary issues such as climate change, pandemics, and migration. The 2023 *Halaqah* Fiqh of Civilisation in Yogyakarta, for instance, brought together scholars, activists, and academics, with 80% of participants agreeing that classical texts must be reinterpreted contextually. This confirms a methodological synthesis implying that *bayānī* hermeneutics remains vital but is complemented by *burhānī* reasoning to assess *maṣlaḥah*, and by *ʿirfānī* insight entrenched in Sufi traditions and local wisdom.

### Tracing the Construction of Abdurrahman Wahid's Thought

It is important to emphasise that Wahid's model of *ijtihād*—commonly referred to as Cosmopolitan Fiqh—and the Fiqh of Civilisation operate primarily through thematic or case-based *ijtihād* (*al-mawḍūʿiyyah*), rather than in the manner of classical *mujtahid* scholars.<sup>42</sup> Classical scholars in the early periods of Islam developed a variety of methodologies for deriving Islamic law in response to the dynamics and needs of their time. Within the field of Islamic legal theory, several methods are widely recognised for exploring and establishing Islamic law from its primary sources, the Qur'an and *ḥadīth*.<sup>43</sup> These methodologies include *takhrīj al-manāṭ*, *taḥqīq al-manāṭ*, and *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah*.

First, *takhrīj al-manāṭ* identifies the underlying rationale of legal norms. This framework allows Islam to adapt to Indonesia's plural society. The acceptance of Pancasila as *kalimatun sawā'* (a common ethical platform) exemplifies this. The first principle, "Belief in the One God," mirrors the Islamic concept of *tawḥīd* while ensuring interreligious coexistence. Saudi official Izzat Mufti once remarked that Indonesia's adoption of Pancasila was theologically appropriate in a multi-religious context, unlike Saudi Arabia's homogeneous society. Izzat Mufti, a senior Saudi Arabian official, among others, confirmed the uniqueness of Pancasila. During his visit to Indonesia in the 1980s, he observed that, while Saudi Arabia based its state on the Qur'an and *ḥadīth* due to its homogeneously Muslim population, Indonesia, being religiously diverse, had rightly chosen Pancasila as its foundation without contradicting Islam.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Moh Dahlan, "The Hermeneutics Of Authentic Jurisprudence Of Gus Dur In Indonesia," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 17, no. 01 (2017): 11–27, <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v17i01.18>.

<sup>43</sup> Joseph Schacht, *The School of Law and Later Development of Jurisprudence Law in The Middle East: Origin and Development of Islamic Law* (Washington: D.C The Middle East Institute, 1995).

<sup>44</sup> Abdul Moqsiṭh, "Tafsir Atas Islam Nusantara (Dari Islamisasi Nusantara Hingga Metodologi Islam Nusantara)," *Harmoni* 15, no. 2 (August 2016): 20–32, <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v15i2.27>.



Second, *tahqīq al-manāṭ* applies legal reasoning through *maṣlaḥah al-mursalah* (public interest) and *ʿurf* (custom). Guided by the maxim *mā raʾāhu al-muslimūna ḥasanan fahuwa ʿinda Allāh ḥasanun*, this method views the nation-state as a locus of shared welfare and justice. Scholars like Syaiful Arif note that the Indonesian nation-state embodies *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah*, particularly the protection of religion (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*), through inclusive citizenship.<sup>45</sup> Third, *ijtihād* grounded in *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah* provides yet another layer of epistemological construction,<sup>46</sup> emphasising the ethical objectives of law. Caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's jurisprudence serves as a prototype, prioritising moral intent over literalism.<sup>47</sup> His approach, reinterpreted by Wahid and NU, inspires a progressive, human-centred legal reasoning aligned with public welfare (*maṣlaḥah*) and justice.<sup>48</sup>

At the *Halaqah* Fiqh of Civilisation at Cadangpinggan Islamic Boarding School, Indramayu, on December 12, 2023, KH. Ulil Abshar Abdalla outlined three epistemic sources: sensory perception (*al-ḥiss*), reason (*al-ʿaql*), and revelation (*al-khabar/al-naṣṣ*).<sup>49</sup> The epistemology of the senses captures empirical reality, laden with violence, radicalism, and global conflicts, while reason enables rational analysis and problem-solving. Text remains a normative anchor through NU's *baḥth al-masāʾil* tradition, though reliance on it alone risks textual rigidity. Integrating the three dimensions yields a dialogical epistemology that unites empirical observation, rational deliberation, and scriptural guidance.

This epistemological model, as applied in the Fiqh of Civilisation, exhibits a critical-transformative character. It is crucial because it balances textual fidelity with rational and empirical reflection, and transformative because it generates actionable frameworks for resolving humanitarian crises at both national and global scales.<sup>50</sup> Thus, Fiqh of Civilisation globalises Wahid's Cosmopolitan Fiqh, shifting from intellectual discourse to institutional praxis that unites religious ethics, democracy, and human solidarity. It is *critical* insofar as its interpretations are grounded in the synergistic interplay of the three epistemologies, articulated within a dialogical and dialectical framework.<sup>51</sup> In a simplified framework, the dialogical epistemology of the Fiqh of Civilisation may be represented as follows:

Figure 1 visualises the dialogical epistemology of the Fiqh of Civilisation, where the text (*naṣṣ*) provides normative reference, reason (*ʿaql*) functions as mediator and interpreter, and empirical reality (*wāqiʿiyyah*) offers contextual grounding. The triadic dialogue ensures that Islamic thought remains critical,

<sup>45</sup> Syaiful Arif, *Islam, Pancasila, Dan Deradikalisasi Meneguhkan Nilai Keindonesiaan* (Jakarta: PT Elex Media Komputindo, 2018).

<sup>46</sup> Aḥmad Raysūnī, *Madkhal Ilā Maqāṣid Al-Syarīʿah* (Kairo: Dār al-Salām, 2010).

<sup>47</sup> Abdullah Saeed, *Reading the Qurʾan in the Twenty-First Century: A Contextualist Approach* (London: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>48</sup> Abdullah Saeed, *Islamic Thought, An Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>49</sup> Abdullah Saeed, *Al-Qurʾan Abad 21 Tafsir Kontekstual* (Bandung: Mizan, 2014).

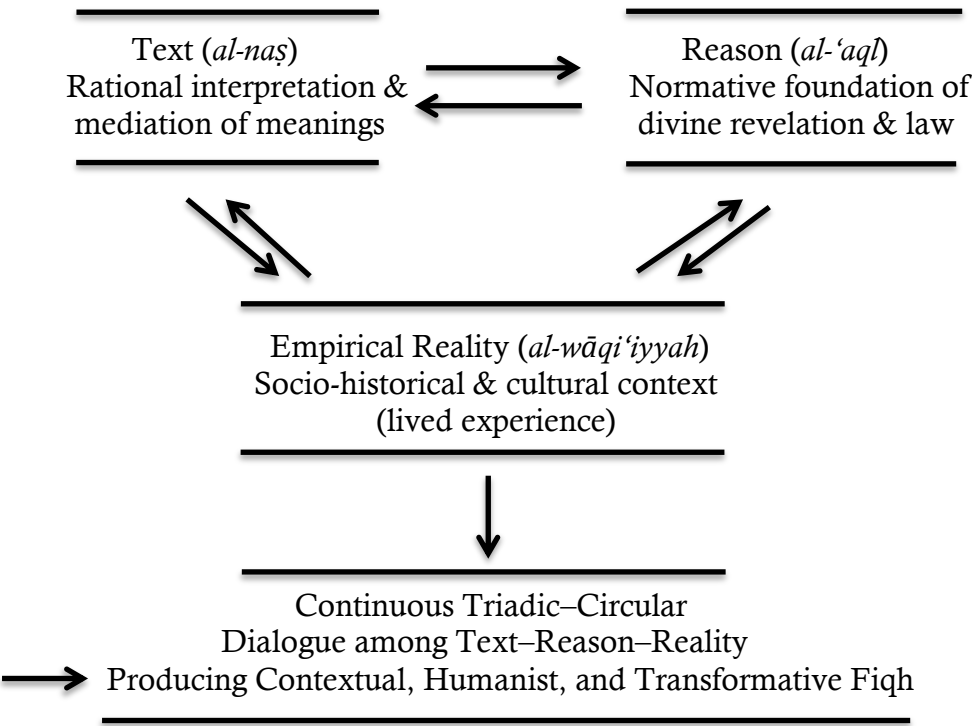
<sup>50</sup> Muhammad Taufiq, Muhammad Noor Harisudin, and Maimun Maimun, "Multi-Track Diplomacy Fiqh of Nahdlatul Ulama in Countering Islamophobia in Netherlands," *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 22, no. 2 (December 2022).

<sup>51</sup> Mariam al-Attar, "Meta-Ethics: A Quest for an Epistemological Basis of Morality in Classical Islamic Thought," *Journal of Islamic Ethics* 1, nos. 1–2 (2017): 29–50, <https://doi.org/10.1163/24685542-12340003>.



transformative, and socially relevant. The interpretive mechanism is represented by the three epistemologies (text, reason, reality) that interact in a circular and triadic dialectic, forming a continuous process of meaning-building. No single element dominates; instead, they sustain a dynamic equilibrium that shapes Islamic thought responsive to societal change.

Figure 1. Dialogical Epistemology of the Fiqh of Civilisation



Source: formulated by authors, 2025

Based on the triadic epistemological model, the dialogical framework of Fiqh of Civilisation can be articulated as follows:

Table 1. Dialogical epistemology framework of the Fiqh of Civilisation

Epistemological Source	Nature of Knowledge	Function in Interpretation	Dialogical Relationship	Illustrative Example
Text ( <i>al-naş / al-khabar</i> )	Normative–Theological	Providing divine and moral guidance; serving as the foundation of Islamic law and ethics	Engaging with reason ( <i>al-‘aql</i> ) and empirical reality ( <i>al-wāqi‘iyyah</i> ) through contextual reinterpretation	Qur’anic principle of ‘ <i>adl</i> (justice) contextualised within plural Indonesian society



Epistemological Source	Nature of Knowledge	Function in Interpretation	Dialogical Relationship	Illustrative Example
Reason (al-'aql)	Rational–Analytical	Interpreting, critiquing, and contextualising textual meanings based on logical and ethical reasoning	Mediating between text and empirical reality in dialectical reflection	<i>Ijtihad</i> model emphasising <i>maqāṣid al-sharī'ah</i> to ensure social benefit
Empirical/Social Reality (al-wāqī'iyyah)	Experiential–Sociological	Capturing lived experience, historical dynamics, and socio-cultural contexts	Providing real-life feedback that redefines both textual and rational interpretations	NU's adaptation of Islam to Indonesian local traditions and democratic pluralism

Source: formulated by authors, 2025

This triadic epistemological framework departs from the classical model in its approach to interpreting social realities. In the classical epistemology, the position of the *nass* (textual sources) tends to be overly dominant compared to other modes of reasoning. A visual comparison between the two models is presented in the following table:

Table 2. Comparative Epistemological Features: Classical vs. Dialogical Model

Aspect	Classical Epistemology	Dialogical Epistemology (Fiqh of Civilisation)
Source Hierarchy	Text dominates reason and reality	All three sources are coequal and interactive
Method of Interpretation	Linear and authoritative (top-down)	Circular, dialogical, and reflexive
Orientation	Normative–Dogmatic	Contextual–Humanistic
Goal	Preservation of legal orthodoxy	Realisation of social justice and humanity
Example	Literal reading of <i>nas</i> without socio-historical analysis	Integrative <i>ijtihad</i> considering <i>maqāṣid al-sharī'ah</i> and empirical



Aspect	Classical Epistemology	Dialogical Epistemology (Fiqh of Civilisation)
		conditions

Source: formulated by authors, 2025

When examined from the perspective of interpretive sources, the traditional model of meaning developed within the Fiqh of Civilisation follows a pattern derived from the Qur'anic text (*al-naṣ*), reason (*al-ijtihād*), and empirical/social reality (*al-wāqī'īyyah*). Paradigmatically, as Abdul Mustaqim argues, the position of text, reason, and reality functions simultaneously as both object and subject. These three dimensions are engaged in a continuous circular and triadic dialectic. Within this framework, the roles of text, author, and reader are balanced. The paradigm adopted in interpreting text, reason, and reality is functional, in contrast to a structural paradigm that tends to establish hierarchical domination among them.<sup>52</sup>

### Interconnection and Contribution to Indonesian Democracy

The challenges of national politics addressed by Cosmopolitan Fiqh and the Fiqh of Civilisation are deeply established in Abdurrahman Wahid's seminal ideas—his rejection of an Islamic state and commitment to the Indonesian nation-state. Wahid's writings across media and scholarship frame Cosmopolitan Fiqh as an interpretive method for capturing Indonesia's plural reality, blending *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, and critical social sciences. This interdisciplinary synthesis invites a comprehensive and contextual reading of Islam.<sup>53</sup> Gus Yahya's development of the Fiqh of Civilisation continues Wahid's intellectual legacy. Built on three epistemologies—reason, text, and empirical reality—this paradigm advances both internal and external critique: reinterpretation of Islamic law amid new realities and critical engagement with modern political thought. Historically, the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate (1924) led NU to affirm the nation-state as the most relevant political form,<sup>54</sup> while Wahid's rational approach rejected Islamic formalism as incompatible with democracy and pluralism.<sup>55</sup>

Globally, Cosmopolitan Fiqh and the Fiqh of Civilisation follow the legitimacy of the United Nations (UN) as a guardian of justice and peace. Despite criticisms, NU regards the UN's 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights as consistent with *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. This position underscores NU's ability to

<sup>52</sup> Abdul Mustaqim, *Epistemologi Tafsir Kontemporer* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2010).

<sup>53</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid (ed), *Ilusi Negara Islam Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gerakan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika-the Wahid Institute dan Maarif Institute, 2009).

<sup>54</sup> Imam Sukardi, "Islamic State Utopia: Investigating Khilafatul Muslimin Movement in Contemporary Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 13, no. 2 (December 2023): 339–67, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v13i2.339-367>.

<sup>55</sup> M. Djidin and Sahiron Syamsuddin, "INDONESIAN INTERPRETATION OF THE QUR'AN ON KHILĀFAH: The Case of Quraish Shihab and Yudian Wahyudi on Qur'an 2: 30-38," *AL-Jami'ah* 57, no. 1 (2019): 143–66, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2019.57143-166>.



contextualise Islamic jurisprudence within modern global governance. The Religion of Twenty (R20) forum in Bali (2022) exemplifies this engagement, convening 464 participants from five continents to promote reconciliation and ethical cooperation. NU institutionalised these values through the Center for Shared Civilizational Values (2021) and the ASEAN Intercultural and Interreligious Dialogue Conference (2023). International recognition, such as the 2024 Zayed Award for Human Fraternity, confirms NU's leadership in religious diplomacy.

Domestically, these paradigms contribute to Indonesia's democratic consolidation in five main ways. First, they strengthen pluralism and tolerance. Wahid's *pribumisasi Islam* (localised Islam) legitimised Islam's integration with local traditions, neutralising exclusivist narratives. NU's cultural practices (*slametan*, *tahlilan*, *yasinan*) reinforce social cohesion. Kompas Research and Development (2022) found that 58% of NU members see support for Pancasila as part of their Islamic faith, not just political compliance.<sup>56</sup> Second, they promote contextual interpretation of Islam. NU's acceptance of democracy (Situbondo 1983) and rejection of an Islamic state reflect *maqāṣid*-based reasoning. Surveys by the Wahid Foundation (2021) show over 70% of NU members accept religious diversity as part of their Islamic understanding.

Third, they institutionalise human rights within Islamic discourse. The Fiqh of Civilisation affirms the UN's human rights framework as relevant to *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. NU's theological grounding supports gender equality, minority rights, and the prevention of anti-blasphemy violence, all of which represent the main components of democratic sustainability.<sup>57</sup>

Fourth, they prevent radicalisation. NU's framing of the nation-state as *shar'ī*-compliant legitimised the government's 2017 ban on Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), providing an intellectual counterweight against caliphate ideology.<sup>58</sup> NU's Fiqh of Civilisation, however, provides an intellectual counterweight by framing the nation-state as more compatible with Islamic values. This discourse played a crucial role in legitimising the government's decision to ban HTI in 2017, with NU leaders publicly defending the move as consistent with both sharia objectives and democratic preservation. By promoting a narrative of Islam that harmonises with the nation-state, NU's epistemology actively curtails radicalisation and preserves democratic order.

Fifth, they foster the empowerment of civil society. NU, Indonesia's largest Islamic organisation with over 90 million followers (according to estimates from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2020), represents a massive civil society force. Through the Cosmopolitan Fiqh and Fiqh of Civilisation paradigms, NU has mobilised its networks in education, social services, and humanitarian aid to

<sup>56</sup> "Peringati Hari Lahir Pancasila, Khofifah Ajak Muslimat NU Tangkal Radikalisme," accessed October 6, 2025, <https://surabaya.kompas.com/read/2022/06/01/233935578/peringati-hari-lahir-pancasila-khofifah-ajak-muslimat-nu-tangkal?page=all>.

<sup>57</sup> Karima Zahroh and Mokhamad Syaifudin, *Penanaman Nilai-Nilai Islam Nusantara Di Lembaga Pendidikan Islam*, in *Akademika*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.30736/adk.v15i2.1842>.

<sup>58</sup> "Indonesians No Fans of Caliphate - Mon, June 5, 2017 - The Jakarta Post," accessed October 6, 2025, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/06/05/indonesians-no-fans-caliphate.html>.



strengthen grassroots democratic participation.<sup>59</sup> NU's extensive network of *pesantren*, comprising more than 28,000 across Indonesia (EMIS Kemenag, 2022), serves not only as centres for religious education but also as platforms for promoting democratic values, including tolerance, inclusivity, and civic responsibility. For example, NU-affiliated institutions have partnered with international organisations, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and USAID, to promote peacebuilding and counter-extremism initiatives. This demonstrates how epistemological frameworks are translated into practical, grassroots contributions to the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia.<sup>60</sup> In sum, the interconnection between Wahid's Cosmopolitan Fiqh and NU's Fiqh of Civilisation provides an epistemological foundation for pluralism, human rights, and democratic resilience. These paradigms unite local traditions, Islamic textual authority, and universal ethics, positioning Indonesia as a model where Islamic thought sustains democracy and contributes to global peacebuilding.

## Conclusion

This study reveals a strong epistemological continuity between Abdurrahman Wahid's Cosmopolitan Fiqh and Nahdlatul Ulama's (NU) evolving practice of Fiqh of Civilisation. Wahid viewed the nation-state not as a theological command but as a historical necessity that allows Islamic principles of justice, freedom, and welfare to flourish within Indonesia's democratic framework. His approach laid the intellectual foundation for integrating Islamic ethics into civic and pluralistic governance. NU's contemporary initiative—Fiqh of Civilisation—builds upon this foundation by globalising Wahid's intellectual legacy, positioning Islamic law as a dynamic moral compass for addressing transnational and humanitarian issues. Wahid's *ijtihad* methodology, inspired by Mohammed Abed al-Jabiri's epistemological triad of *bayani* (textual reasoning), *burhani* (rational argument), and *'irfani* (intuitive-cultural wisdom), was initially applied to Indonesian sociopolitical realities. NU, however, has expanded this model onto the global stage. Through the United Nations, NU now employs this epistemological synthesis to address extremism, humanitarian crises in Gaza and Ukraine, and promote interreligious dialogue. In doing so, NU transforms Wahid's contextual reform into a framework for civilisational dialogue and peacebuilding, exemplifying Islam's contribution to global ethics. The convergence between Cosmopolitan Fiqh and Fiqh of Civilisation significantly strengthens Indonesia's democratic and pluralistic ethos. First, it reaffirms democracy, pluralism, and minority rights as integral Islamic imperatives. Second, it rejects exclusivist, formalist, and transnational ideologies that threaten social cohesion. Third, it elevates Indonesian Islam as a model of

<sup>59</sup> Muhammad Wildan and Ahmad Muttaqin, "Mainstreaming Moderation in Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) in Pesantrens in Central Java," *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 10, no. 1 (August 2022): 37–74, <https://doi.org/10.21043/QIJIS.V10I1.8102>.

<sup>60</sup> Zahrotul Hayati, Irfan Fadholi Putra, and Milana Abdillah Subarkah, "Perkembangan Islam Moderat Di Indonesia Dalam Perspektif Pendidikan Moderasi Beragama," *Masterpiece: Journal of Islamic Studies and Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (April 2025): 258–70, <https://doi.org/10.62083/w9wxxv67>.





inclusive and peaceful civilisation rooted in *Nusantara* culture yet open to universal values. In this sense, Wahid's intellectual legacy bridges tradition and modernity, providing a theoretical and practical model for embedding Islamic reasoning in democratic contexts while contributing to global peace and religious moderation.

Nevertheless, this study acknowledges several limitations. First, its analysis remains primarily conceptual and hermeneutical, relying on secondary literature without empirical validation. Future research should conduct fieldwork, interviews, or case studies to observe how Fiqh of Civilisation is operationalised in NU's institutions, diplomacy, and education. Second, the research does not thoroughly examine NU's internal dynamics, particularly how leadership transitions and organisational structures shape the interpretation and implementation of Wahid's epistemology. Third, a comparative analysis with other reformist thinkers, such as Fazlur Rahman, Mahmud Muhammad Taha, or Jasser Auda, would deepen understanding of Wahid's synthesis of traditionalism and universal humanism. Fourth, emerging global issues of digital ethics, environmental justice, and migration remain underexplored in this framework. Future scholarship could test the adaptability of Wahid's *bayani-burhani-irfani* epistemology to these humanitarian and technological challenges. In conclusion, Fiqh of Civilisation is not a rupture from Wahid's intellectual tradition but its globalised evolution, rooted in *Nusantara* wisdom, yet oriented toward universal peace. By advancing a dialogical, inclusive, and ethical form of Islamic jurisprudence, Wahid's legacy continues to inspire a progressive vision for both Indonesian democracy and global civilisation. Future research should integrate empirical and comparative approaches to fully capture the transformative potential of this epistemological continuity in shaping the moral foundations of a plural and peaceful world.

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