



ISLAM NUSANTARA AND PROGRESSIVE ISLAM: Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) And Muhammadiyah's View on Relationship of Religion and Culture

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ABSTRACT

This study will focus on the differences between the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) concept of Islam Nusantara and the Muhammadiyah concept of Progressive Islam and what the epistemological differences in the characteristics of both are. This is qualitative research using content analysis. The researcher found that there are differences between the concept and the characteristics of Islam Nusantara and Progressive Islam. Islam Nusantara refers to the teachings of Islam practised in Indonesia to articulate the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah with local tradition. While Muhammadiyah with the concept of Progressive Islam wants to present al-Qur'an and al-Sunnah as universal teachings, which not only contains commands and prohibitions but also contains values of progress to realize enlightened human life. The differences from the epistemological characteristics reveal that NU is more accommodating to local culture. At the same time, Muhammadiyah with the concept of al-ruju (back) to al-Qur'an and al-Sunnah is very strict in accommodating local culture. The different characteristics have an impact on the assessment of whether culture/tradition should be accepted or not.

INTRODUCTION

Discussing Islam in Indonesia, including the relationship between religion and culture, cannot be separated from the two largest organizations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. Both organizations are known as organizations that consistently preach Islam wasathiyah (moderate Islam) also known as *Islam rahmatan lillalamin*. Moderate Islam is actively promoted by Muhammadiyah and

NU. In the field of theology, these two organizations claim to be adherents of *ahlussunah waljama'ah*.

However, both of them have different religious understandings and orientations. Muhammadiyah, which was founded by K.H Ahmad Dahlan in 1912 in Yogyakarta, carried the purification movement towards the practice of Javanese Muslim worship which was very thick with occult culture. The thought of K.H Ahmad Dahlan inspired by Muhammad Abduh and Rasyid Ridha emphasized that the rise of superstition, heresy and *khurafat* in the Muslim community at that time could pollute the Islamic creed and claimed that some of this even included acts of *shirk*. Meanwhile, NU was established by KH. Hasyim Ashari in Surabaya in 1926, proclaimed as an organization to preserve the traditions and noble values of the nation's culture. NU has the jargon *al-muhafadzah alal qadim al-sholih wal akhd bil jaded al-ashlah* (maintaining good traditions and taking new things better). In 2015, NU confirmed the orientation of the socio-religious movement towards Islam Nusantara (Nusantara refers to the Indonesian archipelago). While Muhammadiyah, in 2015 as well formulated their movements towards Progressive, Universal Islam.

The concept of Islam Nusantara received intense attention from the public after being inducted into the theme of the 33rd NU in Jombang, East Java, in August 2015. The Chairman of the NU, KH Said Aqil Siradj, insisted that Islam in the form of Islam Nusantara was polite, friendly, civilized and cultured. The influential NU intellectuals assumed that Islam Nusantara is an ideal concept for preaching Islam than that advocated by the Middle East. Moderate values of Islam Nusantara has long been applied in Indonesia, even since the time of Wali Songo in Java (Abid Rohman et al., Tt; AF & Sahrasad, 2019). NU with the Islam Nusantara has sought to articulate the Qur'an and al-hadith with the cultures of the communities. Values and teachings of Islam are substantially translated in the locality and the cultural characteristics of Indonesia.

The concept of Progressive Islam was confirmed at 47th Muhammadiyah Congress in Makassar. The Chairman of Muhammadiyah Din Syamsuddin stated that "Progressive Islam" is Islam that can adapt, accommodate and adjust firmly to the dynamics of the times. This meant that Muhammadiyah had firmly stated its affiliation to Salafism ala Muhammad Abduh oriented rationalistic Islamic reform, and not on Salafism ala Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab oriented Islamic scriptural purification and *harfiyah*. (Nasir et al., 2019; Susanto & Karimullah, 2016), With the concept of Progressive Islam Muhammadiyah intends to revise the radical movement of purification that had been the spirit of the reform movement. With the purification movement, Muhammadiyah is often regarded as the organization that fears the contamination of local culture. Aware of the high cost to be paid by the cultural extension of the purification movement, the Muhammadiyah immediately initiated an internal critique and reformed themselves. Muhammadiyah became more aware of the importance of complete understanding of the culture. Muhammadiyah realized also that the local culture contains a vibrant

local wisdom with messages of virtue and aesthetics that can be used as a source of inspiration for the movement, which advocated spiritual, moral and social upliftment.

This article will examine further the concept of Islam Nusantara NU and Muhammadiyah concept of Progressive Islam, and how the characteristics of both epistemologies are seated in relation to religion and culture.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is focused on NU's view of Islam Nusantara and Muhammadiyah's view of progressive Islam. Both are two of the largest social organizations in Indonesia. The Alvara Research Center estimates, that 50.3% of the Indonesian Muslim population claimed to be affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama, and 14, 9% claimed to be affiliated with Muhammadiyah (Agung Sugiarto, 2020; Masrukhin & Supaat, 2018). Secondly, both are known as organizations that propagate moderate Islam based on *ahlusunnah wal jama'ah*. (Abdullah, 2017; Darojat, 2019; Niam, 2019). Third, besides having similarities, both have differences in positioning with regards the relationship between culture and religion. Muhammadiyah promotes the purification movement which wants to detach Javanese culture from Islam, while NU, proclaimed that as an organization it wants to preserve the traditions and noble values of the nation's culture. NU has the jargon *al-muhafadzah alal qadim al-sholih wal akhd bil jadid al-ashlah* (maintaining good traditions and taking new things better). (Nurhadi, 2018)

This is qualitative research using content analysis. Data retrieved for this study came from the following:

- 1) Data on NU's views on Nusantara Islam, and cultural position in NU's concept of the archipelago Islam. Data collection techniques are carried out by tracing documents, literature describing the views of NU figures on Nusantara Islam. The NU figures are KH. Mustofa Bisri (Advisor of the Great Administrator Nahdlatul Ulama/ PBNU) KH. Said Aqil Siroj (Chair of the Great Administrator Nahdlatul Ulama/ PBNU), KH. Afifudin Muhajir (Deputy Leader of the Ulema of the Great Administrator Nahdlatul Ulama/ PBNU) and KH. Ibrahim Husen, Abdul Moqshid Ghazali, both represented NU scholars. To complete the data above, researchers conducted interviews with East Java NU figures who were experts in their fields; KH. Marzuki Mustamar (Chairman of the East Java NU Regional Board) and KH. Abdurrahman Nafis (Director of the East Java NU Aswaja Center).
- 2) Data about Muhammadiyah's views on progressive Islam and cultural position in Muhammadiyah's concept. Data collection techniques are carried out by tracking documents, and literature that explains the views of Muhammadiyah figures on the Concept of Progress Islam. Muhammadiyah figures are; Syafi'i Maarif (Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Board for the period 2005-2010), Din Syamsuddin (Chair of the Muhammadiyah Central Board for the period 2010-2015), Haedar Nasir (Chair of the Muhammadiyah Central Board for the 2015-2020

period), Yunahar Ilyas (the Central Board of the Muhammadiyah Center for the 2015-2015 period) 2020). and Abdul Mu'thi (PP Secretary of Muhammadiyah). To complete the data above, researchers conducted interviews with Muhammadiyah figures in East Java; Najib Hamid (secretary of Muhammadiyah Regional Administrators of East Java), Agus Tri Cahyo (Muhammadiyah Regional Management secretary Madiun) and Ahmad Munir (Former Chairman of Muhammadiyah Regional Council, Ponorogo).

The data was analyzed using content analysis. The analysis was carried out in two stages:

- a. Identify messages that appear/manifest from the views of NU figures on Islam Nusantara and Muhammadiyah figures on progressive Islam.
- b. Interpret the data, covering the context, process, and background of the birth of the NU concept of Islam Nusantara and the Muhammadiyah Concept about progressive Islam.

In more technical applications, this research will focus on the study of texts, the study of the context and assessment of the relationship between text and its application to society. The study of texts on this research is used to uncover the genealogy of the concept of Islam Nusantara and Progressive Islam with previous ideas, which allegedly deeply affected and were possible variants of NU and Muhammadiyah scholars in understanding and implementing these two concepts. The study context in this study was used to find the macro-historical atmosphere in which the concept of Islam Nusantara and Progressive Islam was triggered. The study of the text and public relationship was used to see the extent to which the concept of Islam Nusantara and Progressive Islam schools was implemented in both organizations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

NU's View of Islam Nusantara

The term Islam Nusantara consists of two words; Islam and the Archipelago. The word Islam is a religious dimension, and the word Nusantara is a cultural dimension that is interconnected with one another. This dimension is a way of Islam to compromise with territorial boundaries that have certain cultural roots. This resulted in Islam no longer presenting itself in a rigid and closed context, but instead respecting diversity. Thus, Islam highly accommodates the values that are already contained in a particular region. This was also confirmed by Abdurrahman Wahid, who said, "The overlap between religion and culture will occur continuously as a process that will enrich life and make it not arid." (Sahal, 2015)

The statement above extended to "what is Islam Nusantara?" and "is Islam in the archipelago" or "is Islam an archipelago?" The first question refers to the region, while the second is a more typical value. KH. Mustofa Bisri (Gus Mus) once

described the term Islam Nusantara. According to him, the word Nusantara would be wrongly understood if it was understood in the structure of *na'at-man* (attribute) so that it meant, "Islam that was made for the archipelago." However, it would be true if placed in the structure of *Idhafah* (designation of place) so that it means "Islam in the Archipelago".(Bisri, 2015)

Prof. KH. Said Aqil Siroj emphasizes that Islam Nusantara is not a new teaching or sect in Islam so there is no need for worry. According to Cleric Said, the concept is a view of Indonesian Muslims that is inherent in the culture of the archipelago. He explained that Muslims in Indonesia are very close to the culture in which they live, and this is the basis for the emergence of the Islam Nusantara. According to him, Islam Nusantara portrays Indonesian Muslims who are united with a culture created by the community that is not in conflict with Islamic law.(Siraj, 2014)

KH. Afifudin Muhajir and Abdul Moqsith Ghazali reinforce the views of Gus Mus and Cleric Said above. KH Afifuddin Muhajir interprets Islam Nusantara as an understanding, practice, and application of Islam in the *fiqmu'amalah* segment as a result of dialectics between texts, shariah, and *'urf*, culture, and reality in the archipelago. (KH. Afifudin Muhajir: 2015). Likewise, Abdul Moqsith Ghazali calls Islam Nusantara as Islam that can have a dialog with the culture of the people. Ghazali further argues that people who accept Islam Nusantara believe in the perspective of Islam which relates to the motto of Unity in Diversity. That is, Islam Nusantara views differences as wealth and God's grace not to accuse, blame, mislead, or even disbelieve. Ghazali believes that the concept of Islam Nusantara can suppress the threat of radicalism in Indonesia. Many ulema figures from the Middle East study religious relations with the state, such as the spirit of Pancasila in Indonesia, which can balance nationalism with Islam as a religion. According to them, conflicts in the Middle East occur a lot because there is no attitude of nationalism or the love of the country, so it is prone to civil war.(Ghazali, 2015)

The Regional Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (PWNU) of East Java officially discussed the understanding of Islam Nusantara in the Bahtsul Masa'il forum on February 13, 2016, at the State University of Malang. In the forum, it was decided that the notion of Islam Nusantara:

1. Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah Islam which is practised, preached and developed in the Nusantara to anticipate and fortify people from understanding radicalism, liberalism, Shi'a, Wahhabi, and other notions that are not in line with Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah.
2. The method (*manhaj*) of Islamic *da'wah* on the Nusantara is with respect for the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious communities, therefore conducted politely and peacefully.(PWNU, 2020)

Muhammadiyah's View Of Islamic Berkemajuan (Progressive Islam)

The term "Progressive Islam" has existed since the Muhammadiyah was founded. In 1912, the word "advance" is listed in the Muhammadiyah goal and which states: ... to advance the religious affairs for its members ". (Aminuddin, 2018). According to Haedar Nasir, Progressive Islam has a theological, historical, ideological and epistemological foundation. Muhammadiyah has its own identity as an Islamic movement (Nashir, 2015). Nasir further said that the spirit of Progressive Islam is grounded in his birth to be a connecting chain of Islamic reform-oriented progress. Muhammadiyah was founded to bring about the renewal and enlightenment of Muslims and the people of Indonesia who lost it through colonization and are lagging in many aspects of life. Muhammadiyah presents Islam as a religion that is advanced and is committed towards advancing human civilization as *din al-hadara*. Muhammadiyah has a renewal mission, namely purify Islam in Indonesia from the influences and habits that are not Islam-compliant, and defend Islam from the negative influences and external attacks.(Nasir, 2015)

The spirit of Progressive Islam delivers on the ideology of modernism and the Muhammadiyah Islamic reformism. The estuary aims to give birth to enlightenment in the form of purification (purification) and promote development (dynamics) in the Muhammadiyah movement. Altogether, it stems from an approach which redirects it to the back to the Qur'an and Sunnah movement (*al-ruju 'ila al-Qur'an wa al-Sunnah*).

The slogan of Progressive Islam became famous after it became the theme at the 47th Muhammadiyah Congress, 2015, in Makassar. Din Syamsuddin found that Islam is a religion of civilization (*din al-hadharah*). Din Syamsuddin said that Progressive Islam is the vision of Islam Muhammadiyah not bound by dimensional space, not bound to the dimension of time since it will be limited, but rather it becomes the third dimension, the dimension of motion, moving the lives of the people and nation, so that this day should be better from yesterday, and the day to come will be better than today. The character of Progressive Islamic cosmopolitanism goes beyond skin colour, ethnicity, race, religion, class, political party affiliations and others.(NASHIR dkk., 2019; Widodo & Yusuf, 2019)

Progressive Islam pursues *ijtihad* in order to deal with more complex humanitarian development issues such as poverty, education and community empowerment. For Muhammadiyah, Progressive Islam is not just a religious idea but also an inspiration for social movements. Muhammadiyah, as a civilization development agency has aspirations for realizing Indonesia as a 'progressing' nation and country as well.(Bachtiar, tt)

Cultural Positioning within the epistemology of Islam Nusantara

According to KH. Afifudin Muhajir, the epistemology of Islam Nusantara initiated by NU promotes a dialog between shariah texts and local culture and reality.

(Muhajir, 2015). Abdurrahman Wahid (d. 2009) with the idea of Islamic privatization emphasizes the importance of making *'urf* (customs, culture) and local needs as considerations in establishing Islamic law. This is following *qaidah fiqhiyah yataghayyaru al-ahkam bi taghayyuril azman wal amkinah* (laws can change according to changes in time and place). Why is that? Because the purpose of Islamic law is to create advantages and avoid disadvantages. Both of these objectives will be achieved if the process of formulating and establishing the law is carried out by considering local customs and traditions. (Sahal, 2015)

The problem that arises is in the context of how customs and traditions can be considered in establishing a legal provision so that benefit can be realized? Is it in the whole law of worship and *mu'amalah*? Or is it one of the two?

In this case, Husen Muhammad argues that the teachings of the shariah are *tsawabit* (permanent, unchanging), and some are *mutaghayyir* (things that can change). (Muhammad, 2015). The teachings included in the *tsawabit* classification are the teachings on the creed, *mahdlah* worship, such as prayer, fasting, *zakat*, and pilgrimage. Whereas legal issues relating to human relations (*mu'amalah*) such as family, political, social, economic relations between nations are included in the classification of *al-mutaghayyir* (laws that can change). In addition to the problem of *mu'amalah*, legal issues concerning customs and culture (*al-awa'id*) can be classified in the realm of *al-mutaghayyir*.

From some of the opinions above, it can be stressed that the Islam Nusantara domain is in the *mu'amalah* domain and not in the worship domain. The area of worship is absolute, does not change in any situation and condition (*al-tsawabit*), while with *mu'amalah*, the provisions governing relations between humans, politics, social, economic and so on are dynamic, and can change based on the situation, conditions, and place (*al-mutaghayyir*).

Another aspect of the epistemology of Islam Nusantara is its association with the *manhaj al-fikr* (method of thinking) of the *Ahl al-sunnah wal jama'ah* (Aswaja) ideology adhered to by NU. The main characteristics of *manhaj aswaja* are *tawazun* (balanced), *tawassut* (moderate), and *tasamuh* (tolerant). (Said Aqil Siroj: 2015). By resting on the *manhaj al-fikr* aswaja, Islam Nusantara is able to promote the teachings of Islam that are tolerant, friendly and accommodating, towards local cultures and traditions.

Cultural Positioning in the Epistemology of Progressive Islam

Progressive Islam and Muhammadiyah want to translate the texts of the Quran and al-Sunnah into aspects of life of the nation, the state and society in the light of Shariah, and which moves towards an advanced Indonesia. To realize the idea of Progressive Islam they believe it should be based on several principles. First, monotheism. In order to realize the pure monotheism, Muhammadiyah rejects all forms of synthesism, syncretism and religious relativism. Second, understanding al-Qur'an and al-sunnah independently, comprehensively and integratively. In this

case, Muhammadiyah is not tied to a theological school, schools of fiqh as well as the congregation but remain in its position as the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah. Third, *tajdid*. Muhammadiyah considers that *tajdid* has two wings which should be in balance, namely purification and modernization. Purification would be in the realm of faith, worship and morality. Meanwhile, the dynamic in all aspects of life is very broad, covering political and economic fields which are to be offered to the country. (Widodo & Joseph, 2019)

What is the position of culture, and customs in Progressive Islamic epistemology ?.

Muhammadiyah doctrine relates to the back to the Qur'an and Sunnah (*al-Ruju 'Ila al-Qur'an wa al-Sunnah*) strategy and slogans against TBC (*tahayyul, bid'ah and khurafat*) which suggests that Muhammadiyah is a puritan organization that rejects culture. Recognizing this, Muhammadiyah began to reform itself to develop a conceptualization of culture. At the 43rd Congress and National Conference (National Conference) Tarjih XXIII in Aceh, 1995, Muhammadiyah started to change the motion of the discourse of local culture and tradition. At the National Conference Muhammadiyah decided on a few things:

1. Art is one aspect of human nature that is bestowed upon God, and must be maintained by God's provisions;
2. Creating and enjoying art is permissible as long as it does not lead to or cause damage (*fasad*), danger (*dharar*), is ungodly (*'ishyan*), and remote from Allah (*ba'id' anillah*).
3. If art can be used as a propaganda tool to foster and improve the quality of faith in God, then creating and enjoying it is seen as a pious charity (Hidayat, 2011b).

The results of the XXIII Tarjih National Conference became the foothold of Muhammadiyah to carry out development in the socio-cultural field. The development of Islamic thought, including culture, continued to be carried out so that in the 44th Conference in Jakarta in 2000, the guidelines for Muhammadiyah residents in living life in the socio-cultural field were established. These guidelines were then recorded in the Citizens Handbook of Muhammadiyah Islamic Life. This guideline is the development from the results of the Tarjih XXIII National Conference in Aceh, which includes some Muhammadiyah views on culture and art. Muhammadiyah also decided that fine art and sound art is permissible for the sake of teaching, science and history and forbidden (*haram*) if it leads to sinful acts (*'ishyan*) and polytheism. Muhammadiyah also recommends that literary arts be developed to increase the richness of Muslim civilization and culture. In the matter on dance, Muhammadiyah has not yet decided on its definition, scope and legal status, because this matter is still being debated among scholars (Hidayat, 2011b). At the 2002 Tanwir Session in Bali, Muhammadiyah discussed the theme of the Cultural Da'wah strategy which would be decided at the 2003 Tanwir Session in Makassar. This is an effort to approach and appreciate culture. (Hidayat, 2011a)

This phenomenon shows that Muhammadiyah is eager to change the da'wah strategy by better accommodating local traditions, culture, and customs. The da'wah strategy of adjusting to the variety within religious life as a socio-cultural process is what is called a cultural da'wah. These efforts have implications for Muhammadiyah's openness to the phenomenon of change and cultural plurality and the values it contains, as long as it does not conflict with religious teachings. This fact also shows that although Muhammadiyah is known as promoting purification and spearheading the puritan movement, it does not mean that it must adhere to rigid religious patterns. On the contrary, Muhammadiyah appears as a friendly and intelligent movement in responding to the phenomenon of plurality and changes in socio-cultural values, while at the same time giving direction to these changes and plurality in accordance with Islamic principles.

Epistemology of Islam Nusantara and Progressive Islam: A Comparison of application

From the above explanation, it is clear that Nahdlatul Ulama with Islam Nusantara and Muhammadiyah with Progressive Islam are seen to be accepting culture and tradition as being part of religion. Both also have similarities in terms of how culture, tradition must be a dialogue with religion. However, at the axiological level, Muhammadiyah has differences with NU in that it believes culture/ tradition can be allowed if it does not have conflicts with the teachings of Islam.

NU and Muhammadiyah differ in assessing tradition or culture in accordance with the Islamic Shari'a. The following below will be some of the cases where there are differences in understanding:

The event *tahlilan* is a ritual ceremony that is usually performed by most Indonesian people to commemorate the *day* of death. The family and the surrounding community gather to recite several verses of the Qur'an, *dhikr*, and *dzikir*, and this is accompanied by specific prayers to be sent to the deceased. There are *tahlil* sentences that are repeated (hundreds of times and even thousands of times). The event is known as "*Tahlilan*". This event is usually held after the funeral process is completed (sometimes done before the burial of the dead). *Tahlilan* continues every day until the seventh day. Then it is held again on the 40th and 100th day. Then, *tahlilan* is carried out every year on the day of death of the deceased. After the prayer ceremony, guests are given a meal. The model of serving food is usually always varied, depending on the customs that run in the place. (Rodin, 2013)

Najib Hamid (one of the Management within Muhammadiyah in East Java) argues that Muhammadiyah forbids the implementation of *tahlilan* as families incur substantial costs, and in many cases this leads to debt. Events like this seem to burden the family and in fact lead to waste (*tabdzir*). Muhammadiyah also does not agree with the tradition of *tahlilan* in which people believe that as a result of the readings of the Quran, reward is sent to the deceased. Muhammadiyah considers this to be unacceptable because a person will only receive reward from Allah, and

nothing more than the reward for whatever good deeds that have been accumulated before death. Sending rewards to people who have died has no legal basis, both from the verses of the Qur'an and al-hadith. Muhammadiyah believes that the tradition of *tahlilan* is heresy. (N. Hamid, 2020)

According to Agus Tricahyo, Muhammadiyah cannot accept traditions such as *tahlilan* for the following reasons:

1. There is no history that illustrates that the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions gave gift readings of the Quran to the deceased. Worship must be based on the Quran and al-Sunnah not based on the notion of (*ra'y*) or *qiyas*.
2. Merit award habits of reading the Quran to the deceased is seen to "deflect" the revelation of the Qur'an and its functions as a guide for living.
3. The assurance of the gift reward has negative impact to the layman. They became less motivated towards worship and charity when they are alive because they believe upon death, they will be helped by living relatives. This is certainly not in line with Islamic teachings that tell Muslims to worship with enthusiasm when they are live, like as if tomorrow they could be confronted by death (A. Tricahyo, 2020).

KH. Marzuki Mustamar (Head of NU East Java) argues that it is extraordinary if there are people who dispute the tradition of *tahlilan*. *Tahlilan* involves reading of the Quran whereby this results in reward awarded to the deceased. (M. Mustamar, 2020)

The difference between NU and Muhammadiyah in evaluating the tradition of *tahlilan* is due to the difference in the way both of them assess a tradition, to see if it can be regarded as *bid'ah* or not. Therefore, it is also interesting to explain here, the two organizations' views on *bid'ah*.

Muhammadiyah defines *bid'ah* as something new in terms of religion (worship) which was never exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. *Bid'ah* is haram, misguided and rejected. New things outside of religious affairs (worship) are permitted (permissible), such as the problem of relationships between fellow humans (*muamalah*), culture/customs/'*urf* and technological inventions that provide convenience and support for the implementation of worship. All other forms of *bid'ah* in terms of worship are considered misguided and will be rejected.

Muhammadiyah's heretical concept is in line with the principle of *tajdid* in the sense of purification. For Muhammadiyah, whole ritual and religious practices should be cleaned of additional practices which are not at all exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. Muhammadiyah does not classify heresies into two categories, such as was done by Nahdlatul Ulama. For Muhammadiyah the application of the principles of all forms of worship should be based on the instructions of the Qur'an and al-hadith. Therefore, Muhammadiyah assessed

tahlilan, included it into heretical traditions, and recommended that it should be abandoned.

Muhammadiyah's conception of heresy (*bid'ah*) as aforesaid will carry significant implications in view of religion and culture, both at the level of thought and movement. Among the implications of the concept of heresy in question is:

1. Understanding of Islam must really be sourced from its primary source, namely the Quran and the Sunnah of the Apostles, using the mind in accordance with the soul of Islamic teachings.
2. Understanding and implementing Islamic teachings must be free from the influence of local customs and culture, especially customs and culture that smells of mistrust that can disrupt the Islamic faith.
3. Muhammadiyah recognizes cultural plurality. Therefore, Muhammadiyah should act selectively and critically, to choose an aspect of culture that is permissible, and encourage its practice to the public. Culture that is noncompliant to Islam should be abandoned and prevented in its development.
4. Cultural plurality encourages Muhammadiyah to be more creative and innovative in developing its propaganda movement and cultural strategy.
5. Cultural Dakwah was done by accommodation, repair (reconciliation) and purification (*tajdid*), so that the local culture is not contrary to *aqidah*. Shari'ah and Islamic morality can be maintained from these measures. In addition, in fulfilling their cultural propaganda, Muhammadiyah will perform new creations by offering an alternative culture which is an expression of appreciation of the teachings of Islam. In addition would cleanse all the cultural elements that contain values implying *shirk*, *tahayyul*, heresy, and superstition. (Hidayat, 2011b)

Meanwhile, according to Nahdlatul Ulama, as explained by KH. Aburrohman Nafis, *bid'ah* is all-new practices that never existed at the time of the Prophet SAW. This definition is still general and still needs explanations. In practice, not all new things that the Prophet had never exemplified could be included in the heresy category. (A. Navis, 2020) Then Abduurohaman Navis shows the opinion of Imam Shafi'i, as follows;

البدعة بدعتان: محمودة ومذمومة، فما وافق السنة محمودة وما خالفها فهو مذمومة

"Heresy is two, heresy that is commendable and despicable heresy, heresy in accordance with the Sunnah that is commendable (*hasanah*) and heresy contrary to the Sunnah that is reprehensible (*madzmumah*)".

Based on the distribution of the types of heresy above, Nahdlatul Ulama assesses that the tradition of *tahlilan* is *hasanah* heresy, because in that tradition there are readings of verses of the Quran and readings of *dhikr*. Furthermore, there is no element of sin in these activities.

According to NU, on the practice of Islamic Da'wah in Nusantara, (when dealing with various cultures, in multi-cultural settings), four approaches can be used. First, the adaptation approach can be conducted to respond to cultures, which in principle do not contradict Sharia. Second, the neutralization approach, conducted to respond to the cultures in which there are elements mixed with haram and halal. Neutralization of the culture removes the unclean and let the halal thrive. Thirdly, the minimalization approach is done to respond to a culture containing elements that cannot be eliminated instantly. The minimalization of this kind of culture is done by removing the Haram elements and replacing it with a lighter version whereby it is gradually decreased in its impact. Fourth, the amputation approach, is done to respond to cultures that contain elements that must be eliminated. Amputation of this kind of culture is done gradually, as is connected to the beliefs of animism and dynamism which have been practiced for a long time. (PWNU, 2020)

CONCLUSION

The findings can be summarized as follows:

1. According to NU, the term Islam Nusantara consists of two words: Islam and Nusantara. The word Islam is a religious dimension, and the word Nusantara is a cultural dimension that is interconnected with one another. This dimension is a way of Islam to compromise with territorial boundaries that have certain cultural roots. This has resulted in Islam no longer presenting itself in a rigid and closed, but as an entity respecting differences. Thus, Islam highly accommodates the values that are already contained in a particular region. According to NU, Culture should not be discarded, let alone be opposed as long as it does not conflict with universal and fundamental principles in the Islamic *law*.
2. While according to Muhammadiyah, Progressive Islam is Muhammadiyah's vision to present the Qur'an and al-Sunnah as universal teachings, comprehensive, and that not only contains commands and prohibitions but also contains values of progress to realize an enlightened human life. To realize this goal, Muhammadiyah prioritizes the concept of renewal (*tajdid*) with purification in worship and dynamism in matters of *muamalah*.
3. The epistemology of Islam Nusantara and Progressive Islam have something in common. The similarity lies in the efforts to dialogue the text of the Qur'an and al-hadith with the local culture. Nevertheless, at the level of application, NU and Muhammadiyah often differ in their assessments of aspects of culture or tradition; which is permitted and which is not. The difference is more due to different understandings of heresy (*bid'ah*).

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