
Harmonization of Culture and Religion: Comparison of Baduy and Nahdlatul Ulama Traditions

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Abstract

This study discusses Islamic thought as an ideology and scientific methodology for young Muslim generations. Then the analysis with the phenomenological approach under the qualitative design philosophy description is continued. Evaluate coding system on text and all relevant themes. Finally, data validity and reliability were obtained to answer the research questions of this review. The finding is that Islam as a revealed religion has an ideology that is friendly to all mankind that rests on the truth. The essential truths of Islam can be understood and practiced with a methodological approach based on the Koran and Hadith.

Keywords: Baduy people, Pikukuh Costume, Religion value, Nahdlatul Ulama

Abstrak

Kajian ini membahas pemikiran Islam sebagai ideologi dan metodologi ilmiah bagi generasi muda muslim. Kemudian analisis dengan pendekatan fenomenologi di bawah deskripsi filosofi desain kualitatif dilanjutkan. Evaluasi sistem pengkodean pada teks dan semua tema yang relevan. Terakhir, validitas dan reliabilitas data diperoleh untuk menjawab pertanyaan penelitian review ini. Temuannya, Islam sebagai agama wahyu memiliki ideologi yang bersahabat dengan seluruh umat manusia yang bertumpu pada kebenaran. Kebenaran esensial Islam dapat dipahami dan dipraktikkan dengan pendekatan metodologis berdasarkan Alquran dan Hadits.

Kata kunci: Agama, Baduy, Budaya, Pikukuh, Nahdhatul Ulama.

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A. Introduction

In general, Indonesian society cannot be separated from religion and culture. Religion is believed to have originated from God, who was revealed to the prophet. Thus religion is sacred. Whereas culture is something that is constructed by humans themselves, thus worldly or secularly and not sacred.¹ In solving this problem, the researchers then look at the concept offered by Clifford Geertz about religion as a cultural system, namely religion contains symbols a socio-cultural system that provides a conception of reality and the constructs to make it happen.² In almost the same context, Emile Durkheim's view of social facts is found, which has a general function, is transcendent from individual manifestations, and is binding. Religion is included as part of these social facts. So that religion is an objective reality that becomes a guide or benchmark for human action. Humans are forced to follow the normative rules of religion that have been applied as a social system or norm in society. In terms of the substance of the problems studied in this study, it is more on seeing how the Baduy indigenous people still preserve and maintain local traditions and Nadlatul Ulama in the context of religious groups that until now still preserve Indonesian cultural traditions acculturated with Islamic teachings. This integration process will be the main reason to be raised in this study, seeing how the pattern of religious dialectics and cultural acculturation.

As culture adjusts to the physical environment and biological needs, culture is also an adjustment to the social environment. In the Baduy community, it is

¹When viewed from the history of Islam, the dichotomization between the sacred and the profane comes from theological concerns about the relationship between the sacred and the profane. M. Amin Abdullah, 'Rekonstruksi Studi Agama Dalam Masyarakat Multikulturalis Dan Multireligius', in *Ontologi Studi Islam: Teori Dan Metodologi* (Yogyakarta: Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2000), 3–23. According to Seyyed Hussein Nasr, in Islam there is basically no difference between the sacred and the profane, but everything that exists is all sacred, because it originates from one most holy substance. Seyyed Hussein Nasr, *Islamic Life and Through* (Boston: George, Allen and Unwil, 1981), 7. Aslan and Purniadi Putra, *Dampak Islamisasi Terhadap Agama Dan Kebudayaan Lokal Di Paloh, Kalimantan Barat, Dalam Buku "Agama & Budaya Nusantara Pasca Islamisasi*, vol. 1 (Semarang: eLSA Press, 2020). Aslan et al., 'Paradigma Baru Tradisi "Antar Ajung" Pada Masyarakat Paloh, Kabupaten Sambas', *IBDA` : Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 18, no. 1 (29 April 2020): 87–103, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v18i1.3354>. Aslan et al., 'Dinamika Keagamaan Masyarakat Perbatasan Paloh Kabupaten Sambas, Kalimantan Barat', *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya* 22, no. 1 (31 May 2020): 90–101, <https://doi.org/10.25077/jantro.v22.n1.p90-101.2020>.

² Clifford Geertz, 'Religion as a Culture System', in *Philosophy of Religion: Toward a Global Perspektif* (Wadsworth Publishing Company: An International Thomson Publishing, 1999), 11–20. Clifford Geertz, *The Religion Of Java* (London: The University Of Chicago Press, 1976). Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation Of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publisher, 1973).

known to maintain and preserve the pickup custom. This Baduy Pikukuh is a customary prohibition today used as a guideline that is still being maintained based on Sundanese Wiwitan teachings amidst the onslaught of modernization. The Baduy community is already imprinted, let alone changing, just violating everything in life that has been determined. Likewise, Nahdlatul Ulama is a religious group whose religious teachings adapt to its social and cultural life in the archipelago. The habits that exist in a particular society adjust that society to the environment, but that one mode of adjustment does not represent all possible ways of adjustment.³

Different human societies may choose different ways of adapting to the same situation. The Baduy and Nahdlatul Ulama communities are among the many community groups in Indonesia who still maintain traditional customs and traditional customs acculturated with other cultures - Islam in this context. However, we must also remember another thing: society does not have to adapt to its particular circumstances. Although, in general, people do change their behavior following what they think will be useful for them, this is not always the case.⁴

B. Local Traditions and Islamic Development in the Archipelago

Some cultural experts view that the tendency to be cultured is divine dynamics.⁵ The tendency of cultural results can be wrapped in the processing of the work from a touch of tradition, and culture may be inseparable from the values of the beliefs held by particular communities. Culture is a term that comes from the word culture, which in the Big Indonesian Dictionary states that culture is the mind and reason.⁶ Culture itself comes from Sanskrit, born from the word buddhaya, which is the plural form of buddhi (Budi or intellect). The word "mind"

³ Carol R . Ember, 'Konsep Kebudayaan', in *Pokok-Pokok Antropologi Budaya* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2013), 29.

⁴ Erna Herawati, 'Budaya, Agama, Dan Makna Volunterisme Bagi Kader Warga Peduli Aids Di Kota Bandung', *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya* 21, no. 02 (2019): 132-41.

⁵ Hasani Ahmad Said, 'Islam Dan Budaya Di Banten: Menelisik Tradisi Debus Dan Maulid', *Kalam: Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Pemikiran Islam* 10, no. 1 (2016): 118, <https://doi.org/10.24042/klm.v10i1.338>.

⁶ W.J.S Poerwadarminta, *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: PN Balai Pustaka, 1985), 157.

means reason, behavior, and norms. Meanwhile, the word "Daya" means the work of human creation. So with this, culture is all creation, taste, human work in a society. Thus, culture is the result of activities and the creation of the human mind (mind), such as beliefs, arts, and customs.

E. B. Tylor, who since 1871 defined culture as a complex whole encompassing knowledge, arts, beliefs, norms, laws, customs, and various abilities and habits acquired by humans as society members.⁷ In line with Tylor, J. J. Honigman defines culture by distinguishing the cultural phenomena that understand it with the cultural system (value systems, ideas, and norms), social systems (a series of activities and actions of humans in society), and human creation in the form of physical culture. Culture is an understanding of a whole nation's feelings, including beliefs, arts, knowledge, morals, customs, and laws, as well as other traits obtained from members of the community. Culture also contains symbols and values so that humans can live in it. Islam as a religion also needs a symbol system, which means that Islam needs religious culture. However, both must be distinguished, Islam, a final, comprehensive, eternal, and absolute religion. Meanwhile, culture is particular, temporal, and relative. Religion without culture can develop as religion itself, but religion as collectivity will not have a place without culture. On the other hand, culture inserts itself into the human domain, which eventually causes humans to process the earth and everything in it to become the yard of the human movement itself.⁸

According to Azyumardi Azra,⁹ Islam was introduced to and existed in the archipelago in the first centuries of Hijrah. However, the influence of Islam was more visible after the 12th century, as many Indonesian-Malaysian scholars stated.¹⁰ Of the traders. The 13th to 16th centuries, especially with the emergence

⁷AL Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Cultural: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (Massachusset: The Museum, 1952), 43.

⁸ Mawardi and Nur Hidayati, *Ilmu Alamiah Dasar Ilmu Sosial Dasar Ilmu Budaya Dasar* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2007), 183.

⁹ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994), 31. Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi Dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru*, Cet-4 (Jakarta: PT. Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2002). Azyumardi Azra, 'Islamisasi Jawa', *Studi Islamika* 20, no. 1 (2013): 169–77.

¹⁰Azyumardi Azra, *Network of Middle East and Archipelago Ulama Ages XVII and XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994), 31.

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of Islamic-style kingship, was a continuation of Islam's spread. This stage requires time and a long process, depending on the situation and conditions of Islam's society. Therefore, the process of Islamization accelerated between the 12th and 16th centuries. Azyumardi Azra added, "Those who first converted to Islam were the rulers." In this connection, the religious jargon that has been put forward in front of "الناس على دين ملوكهم" has become a reference for propagators of Islam. By Islamizing the ruler, it will automatically make it easier to convert the population or its people. And even by itself, the people will follow the religion professed by the king.¹¹

In subsequent developments, the Islamic empire played an important role. Establishing the sultanate as a Muslim political institution and entering into the formation and development of other Muslim institutions, such as education and law, and increasing the year and da'wah of Islam. Besides, since its existence, the Islamic sultanate has become a vital force in international free trade. Anthony Reid even referred to the Islamic Nusantara sultanate period as the age of commerce (trading period). The efforts and process of Islamization carried out by Islamic broadcasters are continuing. They introduced them with a wise approach without going against the local traditions adhered to by the natives. One of the messages offered is that Islam is a religion of tolerance and equality, without social classification elements.¹² The royal palace became the center of Islamic intellectual development for the rulers' official protection, which then gave rise to famous intellectual clerics such as Hamzah Fansuri, Shams al-Din Pasai, Nur al-Din al-Ranieri, and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili. These totkohs have a comprehensive scientific network both at home and abroad, thus supporting Islam's development and their ideas. This kind of scientific network was further strengthened and

¹¹ Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*, Volume One (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1988).

¹² It has been agreed that Islam initially found its strongest strongholds in port cities, such as Samudra Pasai, Malacca, and other port cities on the north coast of Java. Departing from the theory that Islam is basically urban (urban) and that Islamic civilization is essentially (also) urban. John stated that the process of Islamization in the archipelago began with the existing port cities. In urban itself, Islam is a palace phenomenon. Didin Saepuddin, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam* (Jakarta: UIN Jakarta Press, 2007), 204.

enriched, especially since the 17th century, by the tasawwuf orders widespread in the archipelago. The organic character inherent in such networks provides sustained momentum for the development of Islam.¹³

The penetration of Islam in Southeast Asia can be roughly divided into three stages. The first stage began with Islam's arrival, which was then followed by a decline, such as the collapse of the Majapahit empire in the 14th and 15th centuries. The second stage was from Dutch colonialist rule in Indonesia, Britain on the Malay Peninsula, and Spain in the Philippines until the 19th century. Meanwhile, the third stage began in the 20th century with the "liberalization" of colonial government policies, especially the Dutch in Indonesia.¹⁴

After the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511 AD, Islamic centers of power increased in number. Taufik Abdullah views the year of the fall of Malacca as the beginning of the revival of Islamic power centers at that time. The 16th and 17th centuries are considered the period of growth of the centers of Islamic power. Such as the kingdoms of Aceh, Banten Mataram, Gowa, and Ternate. In the 18th century, he saw it as a setback century for the center of Islamic power, especially in Java, Banten, and Mataram.¹⁵

Meanwhile, in some regions such as Singapore, the Philippines, Southern Thailand, Myanmar, and Cambodia, where Muslims are in a minority position, they struggle with the various forms of challenges they face to maintain their identity and beliefs. This situation reveals the facial variations and dynamics of Islam that arise due to the response to the social and political conditions of each country in the region.¹⁶ Indonesia is the country with the most Muslim population, not only in Southeast Asia but also in the world. With the number of Muslims who reach 230 million of the 255 million total population, Indonesian Muslims are also the most significant contributor to the pilgrimage every year. Although the abundance of Indonesian Muslims outpaces the Middle East's Muslim population as their country of origin, the "Islamic" of Indonesian Muslims is still underestimated by the world.

¹³ Azyumardi Azra, *Renaissance Islam Asia Tenggara* (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 1999).

¹⁴ Azra.

¹⁵ M Dahlan, "Dinamika Perkembangan Islam Di Asia Tenggara Perspektif Histori," *Jurnal Adabiyah* XIII, no. 11 (2013): 117.

¹⁶ Helmiati, *Sejarah Islam Di Asia Tenggara*, 22.

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Perhaps apart from the Arab Centric pattern, Indonesian Muslims' contribution (especially Southeast Asia) to Islamic scholarship is still far from the Arab world.¹⁷ This is not proportional to its abundant population. Whereas Islam's presence in the archipelago was quite early and almost coincided with Muslim countries' conquests in the Middle East region.

However, despite the minimal contribution of the Nusantara Muslims to the Islamic scientific treasures, this does not mean reinforcing the role of the Archipelago Ulama in developing their knowledge. It was proven in its classical period that the archipelago has also participated in contributing Islamic works through its scholars who already have networks with their home countries. Even the archipelago has become the center of Islamic scholarship in the Southeast Asian region. Until the following period, the Muslim Nusantara succeeded in expelling the invaders who seized and spread western religions.

C. Baduy Maintain and Preserve the chaos in the grip of the times

The Baduy community settlements are located in hilly areas, where the lowest place is at an altitude of 800 meters above sea level. So it can imagine that the jungle around the Kendeng mountains is an area rich in pollution-free springs. The locations used as settlements are generally on the slopes of the mountains, gaps in the hills and valleys where large trees are growing, which are close to springs. The green bushes around it also color the beauty of life and the calm atmosphere's coolness, the silence and peace of a quiet life. Kanekes traditional village covering an area of 5,101.85 hectares,¹⁸ one area that is almost landless and consists solely of steep hills and valleys in several places and rivers, making it difficult to reach the villages in a short time. Ten villages are scattered in the customary forest, with their physical state and customs, which are adhered to by the Baduy community. Moreover, compared to the surrounding community, the Baduy community is classified as an isolated community, especially in Banten. The term Baduy for Kanekes Village people does not come from themselves, but from

¹⁷ Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi* (Bandung: Mizan, 2008).

¹⁸ Judistira Garna, *Masyarakat Baduy Dan Kebudayaannya* (Bandung: Pusat Kajian Pengembangan Sosial Budaya, 1985).

outside, which grows into a self-term. The Dutch called them badoe'i, badoej, badoewi, Urang Kanekes, and Ramayan.¹⁹ Meanwhile, according to the definition from several fairy tales and folk tales in Banten, Baduy came from the name of the place used to live.

There is another opinion that says if Baduy comes from the word Buddha, which changes to Baduy. Some say from the word Baduyut because the village where he lives has many clown trees, a banyan type. What is clear is that the word Baduy was born after the exiled community built a village, which is known as the Baduy. According to the Baduy community's beliefs, they are descendants of Bhatara Cikal, one of the seven gods sent to earth to maintain world harmony. They also believe that the land they live on is where humans first descended on earth - the earth's peeler, the center of the world. The Baduy tribe's belief, which is often referred to as Sunda Wiwitan, is rooted in the worship of ancestral spirits (Animism), which was further influenced by the ancient Hindu religion.²⁰ Meanwhile, the most crucial object of belief for the Kanekes people is Arca Domas, a sacred statue that is worshiped once a year, and its existence, which is kept secret. Baduy people worship this statue in the month of Kalima, only pure - the highest adat leader - and only a few elected members of the community follow the worship group.²¹

They are still loyal to their customs and live like their ancestors. It is not surprising that the Inner Baduy people still abstain from using soap, riding in cars, or riding motorbikes. They have never worn sandals, let alone shoes, if they traveled to Jakarta; for example, they traveled by foot for three days and three

¹⁹ In Sunda Wiwitan, they acknowledge the existence of Allah as " *Guriang Matua* " which is creator of the universe. Wiwitan Sundanese belief is oriented towards living a life contains simple worship, behavior, speech and patterns. Description of tribal life Baduy is also reflected in the domas statue, where the statue is located there is a mortar stone that stores water rain. If during the process of worshiping the statue, the water is full and clear in the mortar, then the year there will come a lot of rain and a sign the harvest will be successful. Conversely, if in a mortar dry and cloudy water, as a sign that the harvest will fail. Judistira Garna, "Orang Baduy Dari Kanekes: Keterangan Dalam Menghadapi Tantangan Zaman" (Museum Negeri Jawa Barat, 1992), 2.

²⁰ C.E Permana, *Arca Domas Baduy: Sebuah Referensi Arkeologi Dalam Penafsiran Ruang Masyarakat Megalitikum* (Indonesia Archeology on The Net, 2003).

²¹The taboos and strict restrictions summarized in this *pipukuh* are taken literally. If farming or farming, still uses a primitive farming system, which does not change the structure of the soil. So that they are still practicing and simple farming, not cultivating the land with hoes or plow, do not make terraces, only plant using *tugal* - a piece of bamboo the tip is sharpened, to make a hole where the seeds are planted..

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nights. The list of prohibitions against taboo for them is still lined up: not wearing clean, using glass, abstaining from consuming alcohol, using iron nails, raising four-legged animals, and many more. It is the principle of wisdom that they carry out from generation to generation, making the Baduy community very independent, both in social and economic terms. Therefore, when the global financial crisis storm hit the world, the Baduy tribe was freed from this difficulty. This is thanks to the independence they instill in the principles of everyday life.

Baduy people are independent in fulfilling food, but they are also independent in clothing and shelter. They do not buy rice for daily food because they grow it themselves. They do not buy clothes in the market, because they are making their cloth which will become clothes. They build houses, bridges, barns, and other infrastructure using materials provided by nature. To maintain the purity of customs from tourists' external cultural contamination when visiting the Baduy traditional settlement area, once a month, Jaro - the head of the village - inspects the Outer Baduy village. This was done to examine whether objects can destroy their belief, which will hurt their lives. Because the Baduy villages are an exact point, the sound of the weaver's tool clashing becomes a gentle rhythm that accompanies the natural silence there. Every society must experience changes because no human being stops at a certain point throughout time. At any time, this flow of change underlies human society, which often causes a process of change that takes place dramatically and thoroughly, this will appear to be the result of a revolutionary event, but the process of change can also be prolonged and take a relatively long time (evolution).

People other than the Baduy tribe members cannot just accuse the Baduy tribe of a backward society. Aren't they more sophisticated than today's modern society? In a modern society which is consumptive and hedonistic, what will we do when all the things we need will be eaten away? Many are done by the indigenous people of the Baduy tribe in maintaining and preserving their traditions and nature; with a simple lifestyle, the Baduy tribe is more prosperous with what nature always provides. The Baduy tribe does not go to school; studying in the fields and learning the wisdom of living in the open is their school. What is very

encouraging, behavior that imitates the central morality becomes the primary reference for the personality and behavior of Baduy people in everyday life. Their words and actions are innocent, honest without further ado; even in their daily activities, such as trading, they do not bargain.

To maintain and preserve the purity of customs from outside cultural pollution brought by tourists when visiting the Baduy tribal settlement area, the village head or Jaro conducts inspections to the Outer Baduy village once a month. This was done to examine whether objects could melt them, often when inspections were made of confiscation of items believed to diminish their belief. However, nowadays, maintaining tradition is very difficult for the Baduy tribe, especially the outer Baduy. For example, nowadays, Baduy children are starting to "leave" their traditional clothes, namely hand-woven cloth in black and white. Baduy children may be more comfortable wearing shirts that are considered more practical. Previously they were taboo on buying and selling and using money, still maintaining the bartering pattern, and finally, now they are starting to get involved in the trading process.

The buying and selling process can make them get money to buy other necessities of life. Usually, they sell Baduy knick-knacks and natural products such as fruit or honey produced from forest bees. They peddle it to Jakarta or anywhere that they think is crowded and have a high chance of selling their merchandise; of course, those who do this are not the Inner Baduy but the Outer Baduy tribe. The severe threat faced by the Baduy people is the development of an opinion in society that calls them primitive people who need to be "cultivated." Apart from outsiders who want to enter their beautiful area with economic interests, some groups also persuade them to "convert" and embrace Islam. This can be proven by Baduy children who began to be circumcised, something that was previously taboo by the indigenous Baduy community, who also refused modern medical equipment and treatment. However, now, amid globalization with all the allure and pressure of various economic interests, as well as the strengthening of consumptive desires that are too often pushed by the capitalist economy as a necessity of this century, the question is whether the Baduy people can persist in maintaining the wisdom of life and the traditional norms that have been around for a while this they believe?.

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Although it cannot be denied that many indigenous Baduy tribesmen persist against all the temptations of various commodities, they are also able to build emotional intelligence and reason, including by learning to read and count by themselves. Culturally, the Outer Baduy people are almost unable to stem civilization from outside anymore, as evidenced by the start of Baduy people who communicate using cell phones. Even though this is done in secret, it is not an impossibility if the authenticity and exoticism of Baduy culture will be subdued by the lure of the charm of convenience and enjoyment offered by the Baduy tribe. Through all the promises and dreams that eventually became the cause of Baduy culture's erosion, as has happened in Balinese culture. The Baduy tribe, a tribe that is still left out of the hundreds of tribes in this country, a tribe that still maintains its life to stay close and friendly to nature is right—building a peaceful, prosperous, and prosperous society without having to contact the outside world that is racing with modernity and the progress of the times. Nadlatul Ulama: Keeper of Islamic Traditions in the Archipelago Nadhlatul Ulama, often known as NU, is a religious, cultural identity adhered to by most Muslims in the archipelago. Nadhlatul Ulama is also one of the associations among the associations in the large family of the creed. For a nahdiyyin, different interpretations, schools of thought, or flow in each religion reflect the breadth of meaning contained in the teachings of the holy books.²²

Nadhlatul Ulama is the largest social organization in Indonesia founded by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari who has the full name Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari bin Abdul Wahid bin Abdul Halim with the name laqab (nickname) Prince Benowo bin Abdurrahman (Jaka Tingkir) who has the title Sultan Hadi Wijaya bin Abdullah (Ox Peteng) who has the title Brawijaya VI bin Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Fattah bin Maulana Ishaq. K.H.M. Hasyim Asy'ari was born in Pondok Nggedang, Jombang, East Java, 10 April 1875 and died at 03.00 am, 25 July 1947, to coincide with 07

²² Masdar Farid Mas'udi, "Kata Pengantar," in *Tradisi Orang-Orang NU* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren, 2006), xii–xiv.

Ramadan 1366 H.²³ He is also the founder of the Tebuireng Islamic boarding school, East Java and is known as a figurehead. education for pesantren reformers and freedom fighters for the Republic of Indonesia. According to Tauseef Ahmad Parray, Nadhlatul Ulama is the largest civil society group in Indonesia whose goal is to preserve traditionalism and oppose modernism. Its teachings contain elements of traditionalism, Sufism, and Javanese, which are reflected in Nadhlatul Ulama's symbol.²⁴ Nadhlatul Ulama makes the pesantren as the basis of its teachings, the center of which is the Kiai's charisma as a spiritual leader who inherits authority from intellectual and spiritual strength.

Nadhlatul Ulama is faced with enormous social changes in the 21st century. Industrialization and urbanization reduced the rural population's proportion and changed the rural way of life rapidly, while the expansion of modern national education affected the continuity of traditional Islamic scholars based on pesantren education. In turn, it appears to be very dependent on the direction and behavior of Nadhlatul Ulama in responding to these challenges. The new generation of Nadhlatul Ulama leadership personified by Abdurrahman Wahid seeks to respond to global challenges by transforming Nadhlatul Ulama into a massive social movement for a more democratic, prosperous, and harmonious Indonesia.²⁵ Nadhlatul Ulama made its social basis a pesantren or traditional Islamic learning institution, a testimony to the resilience, adaptability, and vitality of Islamic traditionalism in Indonesia.²⁶ This is related to the concept of religious understanding and the patterns of religious life patterns for each group. Tawasuth, tawazun, ta'adul, and tasamuh are the basic principles for Nadhlatul Ulama in solving contemporary problems. Nadhlatul Ulama is a fiqh society. This is none other than because of the pesantren's dominance in the ranks of Nadhlatul Ulama, while the paradigm of pesantren is identical with fiqh. Borrowing the language of

²³ Muhammad Hasyim Asyari, *Adab Al-'Alim Wa Al-Muta'Allim* (Jombang: Maktabah al-Turast al-Islami, n.d.), 3. Lihat pula Muhammad Ishomuddin Hadziq, ed., *Kumpulan Kitab Karya Hadhratus Syaikh KH. Muhammad Hasyim As'ari* (Jombang: al-Ma'had al-Islami al-Salafi, 2007), 3.

²⁴ Tauseef Ahmad Parray, "Nadhlatul Ulama," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, n.d., <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com>.

²⁵ Nakamura Mitsuo, "Nahdatul Ulama," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, n.d., <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com>.

²⁶ Ibid.

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Marzuki Wahid and Abdul Moqsith, Nahdlatul Ulama is a macro boarding school, and an Islamic boarding school is Nadhlatul Ulama-micro.²⁷

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D. The Existence of Local Traditions and Islam Amid the Clash of Culture and Modernity

A local tradition emerged through a lengthy trial and error process. This is used as a potential energy source for a community in building a harmonious and harmonious social life. This is because local traditions are not just a reference for community groups in their behavior but also a source of inspiration for specific communities to organize a more civilized and dignified life. By being based on local traditions, a community can be motivated to build togetherness and awareness of communal solidarity that can stem any form of external influence that can reduce and destroy society's order and structure that has been well developed and established. Therefore, local traditions are believed to have essential instruments in strengthening social cohesiveness between internal communities and relationships with external residents of that community.²⁸

The clash of culture with modernity associated with Islam's existence has always been an issue that has always been hotly discussed. Of course, with a unique cultural background and modernity between the two. At this point, the author will explore in-depth whether the two can run dynamically, then how modernization with all its strengths and associated with Islam, which already has a value system, could be a different reason for its existence. On the one hand,

²⁷ Marzuki Wahid and Abd. Moqsith Ghazali, "Relasi Agama Dan Negara," *Jurnal Islam-Indonesia* 4, no. 2 (2011): 168.

²⁸ Yusno Abdullah Otta, "Dinamisasi Tradisi Islam Di Era Globalisasi: Studi Atas Tradisi Keagamaan Kampung Jawa Tondano," *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif* 10, no. 1 (2015): 104.

religion rests on something holy, sacred, and holistic, while culture and modernity with all its tools rest on a secular world view, which often removes sacredness.

As one of the largest religions adopted by the Indonesian people, Islam emphasizes the vertical relationship between humans and God and the horizontal relationship between humans and the natural environment. From this point of view, it can be understood how important it is to have a close relationship between two directions; on the one hand, we are good with God, but on the other hand, a good relationship with God means nothing without being accompanied by a close relationship with nature and the social environment. In this position, the meeting between Islam as a value from God and local values can be seen as a manifestation. The result of human interaction with the local environment results in behavior or activities, including those of a religious or Islamic nature. Rituals of worship, especially those concerning muamalah ma'a al-nas (the interaction of a person or Muslim community with the social and natural environment), cannot be separated from how humans treat other people or the environment in everyday life.²⁹

In this era of modernization and globalization, experts may disagree in responding to and the clash of Islam amid modernity, culture, and religion.³⁰ This discussion has also caught the attention of prominent figures, including Nasr, trying to contrast religion, culture, and modernity.³¹ In Indonesian discourse, religion, with various variants of its teachings and traditions, is preserved as the fundamental foundation of morality against the influence of the modernization current. Modernization is a natural form of social change itself. Social change here is a change from a more directed socio-cultural side based on careful planning. In the author's opinion, modernization is not a problem that society must face because modernization covers vast fields, such as disorganization, social problems, conflicts between groups, obstacles to change, and others. In short, modernization in a social science setting leads to a transformation from an underdeveloped state to a

²⁹ Gazi Saloom, "Akulturasi Islam Dan Nilai Lokal Dalam Perspektif Psikologi," *Kalam* 10, no. 1 (2016): 5.

³⁰ Otta, "Dinamisasi Tradisi Islam Di Era Globalisasi: Studi Atas Tradisi Keagamaan Kampung Jawa Tondano," 86.

³¹ Read more Seyyed Hussein Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World* (London & New York: Keagan Paul International, 1987); See also John L. Esposito and Dalia Mogahed, *Who Speaks for Islam* (New York: Gallup Press, 2007).

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better one with the hope of achieving a better life, developing, and, of course, prosperity.

Thus, the concept of modernization, which modernization theorists agreed to in the 50s and 60s, as defined in 3 ways, namely historical, relative, and analytical.³² At this level, modernization is a movement towards society's characteristics, which is used as a model. Thus, Eisenstadt said that historically modernization is "the process of change towards a process of social, economic and political systems that have advanced in Western Europe and North America from the 17th to 19th centuries and then spread to other European countries and from the 19th century. and 20 to South America, Asia, and Africa". The same picture was put forward by Wilbert Moore, who said that modernization is "the total transformation of traditional or pre-modern societies into a type of technological society and social organization that resembles the progress of the western world whose economies are prosperous and the political situation is stable".³³

What about the denial of the spiritual value of modern society today? So far, it could be felt and tended to lead to the elimination of traditional values, thus shifting and even getting rid of humans' old paradigm as social beings who are very polite in interacting with one another. The social values of togetherness are continually being destroyed into a new paradigm of humans as individualistic beings. Traditional manners as part of social institutions have a very fragile role in the interaction of modern human rivalries.³⁴

Deliar Noer divides Indonesian society into two major groups: the modernist and traditional groups.³⁵ This grouping occurs because, from a historical perspective, the existence of Islam in Indonesia has collided with various local syncretic forms and, also, with Western civilization, especially during

³² Baca lebih lanjut Seyyed Hussein Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World* (London & New York: Keagan Paul International, 1987); Lihat pula John L. Esposito and Dalia Mogahed, *Who Speaks for Islam* (New York: Gallup Press, 2007).

³³ Piotr Sztompka, *Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2004), 153.

³⁴ G.K.R. Wandansari, "Aktualisasi Nilai-Nilai Tradisi Budaya Daerah Sebagai Kearifan Lokal Untuk Memantapkan Jatidiri Bangsa" (n.d.), <http://ikadbudi.uny.ac.id>.

³⁵ Baca lebih lanjut Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam Indonesia 1900 -1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), 34.

colonialism. Azyumardi Azra divides three Islamic concepts, namely fundamentalism, modernism, and post-traditionalism.³⁶

This grouping of social classes is certainly not unreasonable because that is what happens at the community level. As described by Deliar Noer, modern and traditional groups will always be entrenched, and even, in turn, there will not only be two classes but many more classes. Unlike Noer, Azra is no less impressive in mapping Islamic groups into three classes, which in Azra's language are known as fundamentalist, modernist, and post-traditionalism Islam. This is religious teachings certainly has a little contradiction; for example, the holy text of the Koran affirms that all humans do not see ethnicity, race, and skin color, but God will see how his piety is roughly the image of God through His words "Inna akramakum 'indaAllahi atqakum." In harmonizing Islam with local culture, Cak Nur, the nickname of Nurcholis Madjid, when he understands the editorial of the text of the Qur'anic verse al-ma'ruf understands and harmonizes it with the meaning of al-'urf (customs).³⁷ This suggests that the relationship between religion and local culture is very thick. . Thus, it is impossible to separate religion and culture. In other words, Islam's existence as a religion is very friendly and in harmony with cultural values as long as the culture does not crash into the corridor of Sharia law according to the guidance of the Koran and hadith.

Sociologically, Islam is a socio-cultural phenomenon. In the dynamics of space and time, Islam, which originally functioned as a subject at the real-life level, acts as an object and at the same time applies to various social laws. The existence of Islam, among others, is very much influenced by the social environment in which it grows and develops.³⁸ If you look at the early history of Islam's development in Indonesia, the Islamic teachings that have been present have received much accommodation for local culture.³⁹ Discussing Islam and local traditions is certainly an interesting discussion, where Islam as a universal religion is a blessing for the universe. In its presence on this earth, Islam mingles with a

³⁶ Azyumardi Azra, *Reposisi Hubungan Agama Dan Negara; Merajut Kerukunan Antar Umat* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2002).

³⁷ Nurcholish Madjid, "Menjawab: Menatap Islam Masa Depan," *Ulumul Qur'an* 5, no. 1 (1994): 54.

³⁸ Brian Morris, *Antropologi Agama: Kritik Teori-Teori Agama Komtemporer* (Yogyakarta: AK Group, 2003), 393.

³⁹ Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Sebagai Kritik Sosial* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2003), 150.

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local culture so that Islam and local culture in a society cannot be separated, but both are mutually supportive parts.

Regarding local culture, Nur Syam, in his work, introduces collaborative Islam, namely Islam, the result of joint construction between agents and the community which produces a distinctive Islamic style, namely Islam that is in contact with a local culture whose research object is the fishing community in Tuban, East Java. This Islamic style is what is called not only pure Islam but also not only Javanese. Coastal Islam is a dynamic mixture of mutual acceptance and giving between Islam and local culture.⁴⁰

Likewise, with the values of Islamic teachings, both the text of the Koran and the hadiths. For example, faith is always coupled with righteous deeds. So the term individual transgression arises along with socially pious. When viewed from the point of view of their teachings and practices, all Islamic teachings always pay attention to the social. For example, the very private prayer teaching between a servant and the Creator in prayer begins with takbiratul ihram, but the prayer movement's end is closed with a greeting by looking right and left. The shahada also involves other people at least to witness; zakat is very thick with social nuances with poverty alleviation, fasting even though private worship but by fasting teaches the values of caring and shares how it feels hungry. Likewise, the pilgrimage also involves the community at large, with the degree of labor, which means that hajj mabrur is there when it can spread Kabakan to others. The pluralist Indonesian society with all the diversity of local cultures, as conveyed by Gandasari,⁴¹ actually produces a wonderful cultural vehicle. The local cultural wisdom possessed by indigenous peoples can radiate beauty. The paternalization instilled by the ancestors full of the East's politeness is now in a worrying position. As a manifestation of long-term submission, voluntary ethics is contaminated with the interests of certain community authorities. Society has been uprooted from its own cultural roots. The national identity is sold only for certain interests, which, if

⁴⁰ Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005), 286–291.

⁴¹ Wandansari, "Aktualisasi Nilai-Nilai Tradisi Budaya Daerah Sebagai Kearifan Lokal Untuk Memantapkan Jatidiri Bangsa."

left unchecked, will destroy the harmony of the local culture without having to suppress one's diversity.

Besides, there is an interesting conclusion from what Muhammad Mahdi did in his research, saying that customary values, which are the objects of modernization change, can acculturate positively because customary values are dynamic and are always changing and able to adapt well to local and global conditions. The customary values that exist in society are proven to bring people to openness to modernization, and this can be seen from the attitude, which is the embodiment of the values that society believes. These values are believed to shape their behavior patterns that are open to various modernization processes so that the modernization process that develops and integrates with their customary life becomes a distinctive feature for the community.⁴²

E. Concluding Remarks

A local tradition emerged through a long trial and error process. This is used as a potential energy source for a community in building a harmonious and harmonious social life. This is because local traditions are not just a reference for community groups in their behavior but also a source of inspiration for certain communities to organize a more civilized and dignified life. Sociologically, Islam is a socio-cultural phenomenon. In the dynamics of space and time, Islam, which initially functions as a subject at the real-life level, acts as an object and at the same time applies to various social laws. The existence of Islam, among others, is greatly influenced by the social environment in which Islam can grow and develop. If you look at the early history of Islam's development in Indonesia, the Islamic teachings that have been present have received many local cultural accommodations.

Finally, discussing Islam and local traditions is certainly an interesting discussion, where Islam as a universal religion is a blessing for the universe. In its presence on this earth, Islam mingles with local culture, so that between Islam and local culture in a society is inseparable, but both are mutually supportive parts.

⁴² Muhammad Mahdi, "Peranan Nilai Adat Dalam Modernisasi Di Kampung Ciptagelar Cisolok Sukabumi" (Institut Pertanian Bogor, 2014), 45.

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