

The Convergence of Nahdlatul Ulama and Jamaah Tabligh Traditions in Temboro Village, Magetan, East Java

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Abstract: Temboro Village in East Java, known as the "Medina Village" due to its Araban atmosphere, underwent a cultural transformation when the al-Fatah Temboro Islamic Boarding School shifted its preaching orientation from salafiyah-NU to salafiyah-Jamaah Tabligh in 1989. This transformation did not erase NU traditions but rather coexisted harmoniously with the culture brought by Jamaah Tabligh (JT). This study, utilizing a cultural anthropological approach and cultural resilience theory, along with historical research methods, highlights that the influence of JT's da'wah did not alter the identity of the Temboro people as Nahdliyin members. NU traditions continued to thrive, enriched in worship and social aspects. Several factors supported the persistence of NU traditions, including the kiai's background, Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School's influence, and community support.

Keywords: cultural resilience; existence; Jama'ah Tabligh; Nahdlatul Ulama tradition

Citation (APA):

Nurhayati, A., Muhsin, I., Prabowo, T. T. (2023). The Convergence of Nahdlatul Ulama and Jamaah Tabligh Traditions in Temboro Village, Magetan, East Java. *Ibda': Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, 21(2), 221-240. <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v21i2.7797>

Submitted: Feb 9, 2023

Accepted: Jun 28, 2023

Published: Oct 1, 2023

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A. Introduction

Temboro Village is located in Karas District, Magetan Regency, East Java Province, which is entirely populated by Muslims ([Sabar et al., 2022](#)). Long before the Jamaah Tabligh (JT) came to the village, most of the people in Temboro were very close to the religious traditions of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Culturally the Temboro people's affiliation with NU is due to the influence of Islamic boarding schools in Temboro with the NU orientation, one of which is the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School ([Dalhari, 2014](#)).

The missionary orientation of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School is closely related to the background of its founders, who are familiar with the NU. K. H. Mahmud Khalid Umar, who pioneered the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, had studied at various NU boarding schools, such as the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School under the guidance of Hadratussyaikh K. H. Hasyim Ash'ari ([Yusuf, 2019](#)). In addition, K. H. Mahmud was also one of the pioneers of NU Magetan and held the position of Rais Syuriah PCNU Magetan for the first period ([Awabien, 2020](#)). Thus, it is unsurprising that the NU tradition is very close to the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School and the surrounding people.

The image of NU, which had been attached to the Temboro people, changed when the JT came to the village in 1984 and officially opened the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School in 1989. The shift in the orientation of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School's da'wah had a mass impact, both in the teaching system in Islamic boarding schools and the Temboro people's way of life. Gradually, the pesantren and all elements of society are transformed into a religious people group that is unique and "unfamiliar" to Indonesian society.

Jamaah Tabligh was founded by Sheikh Maulana Muhammad Ilyas in 1923 in North India ([Awabien, 2020](#)). JT delivered his da'wah door to door and traveled from one country to another, from one mosque to another, for four months a life, 40 days per year, or three days per month, known as *khurūj* ([Yasa' & Hidayana, 2018](#)). The main goal of JT's da'wah is to form an ideal Muslim society through the revival of the sunnahs of the Prophet and his companions. JT's non-attachment to certain schools of thought and mass organizations made it easier to spread the da'wah to Indonesia, one of which was to Temboro Village. Temboro Village, precisely the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, is a place that becomes the center on developing the da'wah of the JT throughout East Java ([Awabien, 2020](#)).

Temboro Village is more familiar with "Kampung Madinah" (Medina Village). This is strongly influenced by JT's da'wah, which creates the atmosphere of the City

of Medina at the time of the Prophet Muhammad by practicing His sunnahs. While most of the Santri's lives in Java are close to the Indonesian Islamic culture, in Temboro Village, they are attached to Arabic culture. However, JT's preaching, whose members came from Pakistan and belonged to the Hanafi school, did not change the Temboro people. The Temboro people are still like most Indonesians who adhere to the Syafii school of thought ([Awabien, 2020](#)). The preaching of khuruj intensified to the people and did not necessarily remove NU's religious traditions. NU is still culturally sustained in people's daily lives and co-exists with JT's da'wah life. The interaction between these two elements makes the culture of the Temboro people unique and distinctive. Thus, it becomes an interesting topic to study.

Many studies have been conducted on the JT, the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, and the Kampung Madinah. For example, the dissertation by Moh.Yusuf entitled "Jamaah Tabligh Temboro Magetan: Studi Gerakan Sosial Lokal Berorientasi Nilai" ([Yusuf, 2019](#)), thesis by Tegar Imanda entitled "Kontribusi Pondok Pesantren pada Perilaku Religiusitas Masyarakat Desa: Studi Kasus di Ponpes Al-Fatah Temboro Karas Magetan" ([Imanda, 2019](#)), thesis by Rowi Dalhari entitled "Sejarah Masuk dan Perkembangan Jamaah Tabligh di Temboro Magetan" ([Dalhari, 2014](#)), and an article in the Living Hadis Journal by M. Rasyied Awabien entitled "Living Hadith di Kampung Madinah Temboro Magetan" ([Awabien, 2020](#)).

Some studies above reveal that before the arrival of the JT, both the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School and the Temboro people were culturally affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama. However, the existence of the NU tradition as the original religious identity of the Temboro people after being influenced by JT has not received enough attention. Most literature also tends to emphasize that the unique culture of the Temboro people is the output of JT's da'wah with its Arabic-style culture. Even though the NU tradition continues to exist and coexist nicely with the JT culture, it is the main uniqueness of the Temboro people's culture. Thus, this research is expected to fill in the gaps and complement previous studies.

In addition, the existence of JT as a transnational Islamic movement created a negative stigma among the Temboro people who were actively involved in JT da'wah, which was often assumed to be a radical, hard-line Islamic community, and some are even considered the Ahmadiyya, Shi'ah, or Wahhabi congregations. This fact strengthens why this research is important to be carried out to clarify the negative stigma.

In general, culture is defined as the product of creation, taste, and initiative of human and is actualized in three forms, namely ideas, activities, and objects. ([Koentjaraningrat, 2010](#)). Culture is a way of life that develops in a group of people

and is passed down from generation to generation. E.B. Taylor explained culture as knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, traditions or customs, human abilities, and habits ([Abdurrahman, 2011](#)).

Traditions or customs are complex concepts and rules that are steady and firmly integrated into the system of a culture that regulates human action in social life. ([Koentjaraningrat et al., 1984](#)). W.S. Rendra said that tradition is not an inanimate object ([Rendra & Eneste, 1983](#)). Tradition is not definitive, so it cannot be changed. Tradition can actually experience additions or combinations with various other human actions. The concept of tradition in this study refers to NU. NU culture is a living tradition, such as *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, and *kenduri*. They are the hallmarks of the Nahdliyin people and the character of Indonesian Islam. The character and practices carried out by Muslims in Indonesia are based on Nahdlatul Ulama teachings ([Kurniawan, 2012](#)).

According to Rogers and Shoemaker, culture can experience imminent change (the trigger comes from within the system) or contact change (the trigger of change comes from outside the system). Immanent change occurs when new ideas are created and developed by members of a society without external influence. Meanwhile, contact change can be selective or directed. Selective contact changes occur when members of a social system are open to external influences. So, new ideas are accepted based on their own needs. On the other hand, directed or planned contact changes occur intentionally by outsiders who are intensively trying to introduce new ideas for a specific purpose ([Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971](#)).

Meanwhile, according to Ki Hajar Dewantara, the relations, and attitudes of culture towards foreign cultures, as quoted by Ignas Kleden, can give birth to three concepts he calls the tri-kon principle. First, concentricity emphasizes the existence of a core (centrum) from which a culture begins to develop, which will later strengthen the core. Second, the principle of continuity refers to the development of a culture over time; today is a continuation of the past and will continue tomorrow. Third, the principle of convergence refers to the movement of culture in space, where a culture with other cultures will lead to one world culture: the culture of mankind ([Kleden, 2016](#)). Based on these three principles, cultural relations have two fundamental needs: to oppose change and maintain identity and to accept change and develop its identity further ([Soedjatmoko, 1983](#)). Cultural change is a process that develops in three aspects and a three-step movement, namely: value = integration-disintegration-reintegration; system of knowledge and meaning = orientation-disorientation-reorientation; and behavior = organization-disorganization-reorganization ([Kleden, 2016](#)).

Cultural contacts and relations do not necessarily lead to cultural change but can also create cultural resilience. Cultural resilience is a process of realizing collective awareness to strengthen, absorb, and adapt various influences from other cultures through cultural learning processes, including enculturation, socialization, and internalization based on the same historical experience ([Makmur & Biantoro, 2014](#)). Cultural resilience is not interpreted as a static cultural heritage but a dynamic cultural strategy. Thus, cultural resilience to adapt to foreign elements without much changing the older culture that has become the societies' life order ([Makmur & Biantoro, 2014](#)).

B. Methods

This study used a cultural anthropological approach. Koentjaraningrat explained that cultural anthropology focuses on the social or human culture, patterns, and background of the way of life of a social group of people ([Nurmansyah et al., 2019](#)). This approach aims to analyze the social, cultural, and religious conditions of the Temboro people both before and after the arrival of the JT, as well as the factors that motivate the Temboro people to maintain the NU tradition amid the influence of structured, systematic and massive JT da'wah.

The research data were analyzed qualitatively by applying the historical research method. This method is used to explain historical studies as well as about the causes and effects of history ([Kartodirdjo, 2017](#)) which undergoes four stages, namely: 1) Heuristics (data collection) through library research, which is explored more deeply through field research with observation and guided free interviews. 2) Verification (source criticism) to assess the authenticity and credibility of sources through external (physical) and internal (content) criticism. 3) Interpretation to analyze (decompose) and synthesize (unify) the data and information. 4) Historiography (historical writing) to present information chronologically, logically, and systematically to produce sharp and in-depth descriptive text.

This research was conducted in Temboro Village, Karas District, Magetan Regency, East Java, where Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, the epicenter of JT's da'wah, is located. The temporal period of the research starts from 1989 to 2021. JT started to influence the people of Temboro through the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School in 1989. The JT da'wah movement began when the kiai from the NU Magetan management structure officially departed, and it focused on developing JT da'wah by firstly changing the orientation of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School da'wah from aswaja-NU to aswaja-JT. As for 2021, this research will end.

C. Results and Discussion

Temboro Society, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School

Temboro is one of 11 villages in the Karas District, Magetan Regency, East Java. Temboro Village oversees four hamlets: Temboro, Puh Telu, Pule, and Balibatur. Based on the Magetan Regency Semester II Population Aggregate Data for 2021, this village was inhabited by 7,975 residents (not including students outside Temboro) who are all Muslim ([Sabar et al., 2022](#)).

The history of Temboro Village is closely related to the history of Madiun and Magetan. Although it often correlates with the G30S/PKI movement, Madiun residential area is a santri base ([Muhammad, 2022](#)). Therefore, it is not surprising that several Islamic boarding schools have been established in Temboro Village, including Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, Al-Qodir Islamic Boarding School, Roudhotut Tholibin Islamic Boarding School, and Darul Muttaqin Islamic Boarding School (Z. Abidin, personal communication, November 24, 2022). The number of students from the four pesantren exceeds the number of native residents of Temboro Village and continues to increase, especially at the al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School. They do not only come from the island of Java but also from all areas of Indonesia and even from abroad, such as Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, Somalia, Cambodia, Brunei Darussalam, Papua New Guinea, Timor Leste, Bangladesh, and Suriname.

Temboro Village originally lacked religious education ([Awabien, 2020](#)). The people were very disobedient. The establishment of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School in the 1930s by K. H. Shiddiq did not necessarily change the Temboro people to be more Islamic. Only some people in the pesantren adhered to it. However, it did not lead to social segregation. It happened because most people in Temboro Village are members of NU ([Awabien, 2020](#)) who were united as a harmonious and intact social community. Temboro people had similar traditions to the Nahdliyin people in general. They performed NU cultural activities and religious traditions such as *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, *salawatan*, and visiting graves, and it has become the Javanese traditional culture which is still strong (J. M. Bakri, personal communication, November 21, 2022).

Nahdlatul Ulama is a religious mass organization that views culture positively and even uses it to preach. The religious practices of NU members follow the Prophet Muhammad and the Walisongo. According to Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), there are two Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), namely structural NU and cultural NU ([Mulyono, 2017](#)). Structural NU refers to kiai, ulama, and other figures who sit in

NU organizational management positions, both in tanfidziyah, syrah, NU institutions, as well as NU autonomous bodies at the central, regional, branch, and sub-branch levels ([Rouf, 2019](#)). Meanwhile, cultural NU refers to the kiai, clerics, and their followers who are loyal to preserve the religious traditions spread by Walisongo. The NU organization, which is developing structurally as it is today, originates from cultural NU. This is as revealed by Masdar Farid Mas'udi (Chairman of PBNU for the period 2004-2010) that: *"NU yang dibawa Mbah Hasyim adalah NU struktural (organisasi), yang mana untuk melengkapi NU kultural yang telah berjalan beratus tahun sebelumnya dan akan terus berjalan"* which means "NU brought by Mbah Hasyim is a structural NU (organization), which is to complement the cultural NU that has been running for hundreds of years before and will continue to run" ([Mkf NU-online, 2007](#)).

The cultural NU that colors the diversity of the people in Temboro Village got the full support of the Kiai and all elements in the pesantren, especially the al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School. The close relationship between the pesantren and the Temboro people has resulted in both having the same religious characteristics culturally, including in preserving the NU tradition. This is closely related to the educational background of the Kiai of the Al-Fatah Temboro Islamic Boarding School as graduates of various Salafiyah-Nahdliyah Islamic boarding schools. Some of them have even been active in NU politics.

Like other NU Islamic boarding schools in Java, the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School adheres to the Aswaja Islamic ideology and follows the traditional salafiyah educational curriculum system. Apart from that, the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School has also become a platform for developing the Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah since its inception ([Arifin, 2017a](#)). The NU tradition, deeply rooted in the Islamic boarding school, has impacted and colored the daily life of Temboro residents as an inseparable element of the Islamic boarding school. Until now, the traditions of NU and the Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah are still being maintained and collaborated with the JT's da'wah system. The NU tradition, in terms of worship and social aspects, is still carried out consistently by the Temboro people. Cultural NU, Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, Temboro Village, and all elements of society are united and cannot be separated. Since ancient times the existence and harmony of the three elements above have been maintained even in the inculturation of foreign cultures and the unstoppable flow of modernization.

The Da'wah Movement of Jamaah Tabligh in Temboro Village

Jamaah Tabligh was formed in 1927 in Mewat, South Delhi, India. This movement was initiated by a Sufi scholar who graduated in Deoband, North India,

named Maulana Muhammad Ilyas bin Muhammad Ismail al-Hanafi al-Diyubandi al-Jisti al-Kandahlawi (1885-1944) ([Bustamam-Ahmad, 2008](#)). The JT has no official name, establishment deed, or other organizational matters ([Romlah, 2011](#)). Even JT is only a designation the community attaches to the da'wah congregation ([Hasanah, 2017](#)). As a community that is not tied to any organization or institution, the networks between groups tend to be loose. Moh. In his writings, Yusuf states that to participate in this 'Walking Madrasah', there are no special conditions required, registration process, or time limits ([Yusuf, 2018](#)). There is also no member identity card because there is no formal registration of membership in this movement ([Hasanah, 2017](#)).

JT is an ahlussunnah wal jamaah da'wah community that is oriented to Imam Asy'ary or Maturidi in aqidah and follows one of the four schools of thought (Shafi'i, Maliki, Hanafi, and Hambali) in fiqh. The Da'wah movement of the JT was forged on four different Sufi orders, namely the Tarekat Chistiyah, Tarekat Qadiriyyah, Tarekat Suhrawardiyah, and Tarekat Naqshabandiyah ([Dalhari, 2014](#)). It indicates that the JT is not anti-tarekat ([Hasyimi, 2017](#)). Moreover, Muhammad Ilyas is affiliated with Tarekat Naqshabandiyah ([Bustamam-Ahmad, 2008](#)).

The JT missionary movement adheres to six principles (characteristics) of a Muslim ([Pabbajah et al., 2022](#)) as written in the Treatise on the Six Principles of Tabligh by Maulana Asyik Ilahi based on the arguments compiled by Mufti Zainul Abidin al-A'zhami ([Suparta, 2009](#)). Those principles are: 1) *Kalimah tayyibah*, 2) *Ṣalāt al-khushu' wa al-khuḍu'*, 3) *Al-'ilmu ma'a al-dhikr* (the importance of knowledge and remembrance of Allah), 4) *Ikrām al-Muslimīn* (glorify fellow Muslims), 5) *Taṣḥīḥ al-niyyāt* (set the right intentions), 6) *Al-Da'wah ila Allāh wa al-Tablīgh* (delivering da'wah through *khurūj fi sabīlillāh*).

Tabligh congregation first entered Indonesia in Medan around 1952. They came from India, led by Miaji Isa ([Aziz, 2004](#)). JT's da'wah showed significant development when they arrived at the Jami' Kebon Jeruk Mosque, Jakarta, in 1974, led by Maulana Rahman from Pakistan ([Maharsi, 2020](#)). JT first came to Temboro in 1984 under the leadership of Abd al-Sabur from Pakistan after going through long journeys in several areas in Indonesia. They stopped at the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, which was then led by K. H. Mahmud.

At first, K. H. Mahmud only allowed his guest to convey the message he had brought. At that time, he has no target but to become a JT preacher activist to change the orientation of Islamic boarding schools from NU to the JT ([Yusuf, 2019](#)). However, due to JT's persistent preaching efforts in Temboro throughout the 1980s and supported by several other factors, finally, K. H. Mahmud began to sympathize

with and be active in the JT's da'wah movement in addition to his activities in the NU management structure. Al-Fatah Temboro Islamic Boarding School gradually transformed from Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah An-Nahdliyah (Salafiyah NU) to Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah Jamaah Tabligh (Salafiyah Jamaah Tabligh) around 1989 or 1990 ([Ahror, 2022](#)).

There are several factors motivating K. H. Mahmud in joining the JT da'wah movement while at the same time changing the orientation of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School's da'wah, including:

a) K. H. Mahmud Khalid Umar's Firasah

Dreams and inner power (*firasah*) are important factors in Islam. K. H. Mahmud was known to be excellent in *firasah* ([Muhammad, 2022](#)). Before the arrival of the JT group to Temboro Village, K. H. Mahmud had several times received clues through his dreams. One of them, he saw the earth turned into ocean like in the time of Prophet Nuh a.s. Then in the middle of the ocean a large ship sailed from India. He interpreted it as a sign that the world has been damaged by various human disobedience. Therefore, by participating in sailing with the 'ship' from India, humans will get safe ([Kaltsum, 2020](#)).

b) Alignment of Jamaah Tabligh and Nahdlatul Ulama Understanding

Broadly speaking, the religious understanding of JT from Pakistan mirrors NU. However, they have different da'wah methods and understanding or interpretations of the Qur'an and Hadith ([Arifin, 2017a](#)). In interpreting the Qur'an and Hadith, the NU community tends to adhere to the Mazhab Shafi'i. However, the religious practices carried out by JT Pakistan and the NU community in Temboro are not contradicted. The small differences that exist between the two do not become a barrier to continuing mutually developing Islamic da'wah. Thus JT Pakistan was finally accepted by the Temboro people, who were majorly Nahdliyin members. This was supported by JT's preaching method, which was not against the traditions that had been well established in Temboro.

c) The Return of Nahdlatul Ulama to Khittah 1926

NU's decision to return to the "1926 NU's khittah" at the 27th Mukhtamar in Situbondo in 1984 brought a big influence ([Ridwan, 2012](#)). This Outline refers to the lines, values, and model of the 1926 NU, which was built as a socio-religious movement (*jam'iyah diniyah ijtima'iyah*), not bound by any political organization. NU's returned to the basic principles of 1926, which was considered as the neutrality

of the JT. Thus, the inclusion of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School into the JT da'wah movement was at the same time to support NU reaching its vision and mission, which returns to the 1926 Khittah, even though through different methods.

d) The Da'wah Method of Jamaah Tabligh

K. H. Mahmud, besides leading Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, also got involved in politics, which over time made the pesantren far away from society. Islamic boarding schools were transformed into an elite community ([Yusuf, 2019](#)). Therefore, K. H. Mahmud believed that the preaching of the JT could be an alternative to this problem. Khuruj fisabilillah, which was developed by JT, was considered to be able to reunite community relations with pesantren people. Thus, Islamic boarding schools could bring a meaningful impact on societies.

e) Support from K. H. Uzairon Thaifur Abdillah

While studying in Egypt, K. H. Uzairon Thaifur Abdillah (son of K. H. Mahmud) got a chance to meet the JT preaching group. Due to his big interest, he decided to go to Pakistan to learn more about the JT ([Awabien, 2020](#)). Even K. H. Uzairon had been sworn in as a JT member around 1986 before his return to Temboro ([Yusuf, 2019](#)). Besides K. H. Uzairon, Kiai Noor Thohir (K. H. Mahmud's son-in-law) also studied JT's preaching. Kiai Thohir, while completing his studies at the Islamic University of Medina, joined the annual Jamaah Tabligh ijtima' in Lahore ([Yusuf, 2019](#)).

This further supported K.H Mahmud to develop JT's da'wah at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School. But before the Islamic boarding school totally changed its missions, K. H. Mahmud and 18 of his entourage first visited the center of the JT movement in Nizamuddin, India. K. H. Mahmud met the top leader of the JT, Maulana In'amul Hasan, and obtained a tabligh diploma directly from him ([Yusuf, 2019](#)). Through this visit, K. H. Mahmud has confirmed that in the JT, there is nothing that deviates from the Shari'a. K. H. Mahmud considered that JT's ideology was in line with Nahdlatul Ulama and even had a stronger preaching intensity.

The change in the Temboro people towards a religious society is an inevitable impact of the change in the orientation of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School's da'wah. Gradually and continuously, JT succeeded in changing the face and culture of Temboro Village to become Kampung Madinah (Medina Village). Temboro people were trying to revive the traditions of the Medina people as in the era of the Prophet Muhammad Saw. in their daily activities. Even the research of Mustaqim Pabbajah et al., is found to be similar to the Arabization process because it is considered to imitate all forms of religious expression of Medina residents in Saudi Arabia ([Pabbajah et al., 2022](#)).

The transformation of the Temboro people into Kampung Madinah (Medina Village) can be seen from various aspects, including education, social life, culture, economy, and religion. The religiosity of the Temboro people has improved significantly. Religiosity here refers to religious behavior, belief, and spirituality, which is manifested through acts of obedience to religion ([Pabbajah et al., 2022](#)). This can be seen from the penetration of Islamic values in all aspects of life so that the Muslim community's character that JT aspires could be realized (Suparta, 2009). The uniqueness of the culture of the Kampung Madinah includes the obligation to pray five times a day in congregation at the musala/mosque for men, religious activities in the mosques and musalas (through daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly activities), high enthusiasm for community learning, women's involvement in religious activities namely masturah, the use of Arabian dress, and the crucial role of the kiai in people's lives, and even being a determinant of the governmental policy making.

The NU Tradition in "Kampung Madinah" of Temboro Village

The entry of JT in Temboro Village can be analogized to the entry of Islam into Indonesia, which had an advanced civilization and various beliefs and traditions that were rooted in society. The arrival of Islam did not change or even eliminate the established order but rather adapted to the existing culture and instilled Islamic values into it. This is in accordance with Walisongo's da'wah principle in spreading Islam which was then used as a guide by NU in viewing culture and traditions ([Mkf NU-online, 2006](#)):

المَحَافَظَةُ عَلَى الْقَدِيمِ الصَّالِحِ وَالْأَخْذُ بِالْجَدِيدِ الْأَصْلَحِ

Meaning: Maintaining the good old values and accepting the new better values.

JT in Temboro also dealt with people who already had a strong belief system and tradition (cultural). Instead of eliminating existing understandings and traditions, JT actually merged into people's lives. Thus, JT could grow well together with the existing local culture by increasing the intensity and quality of religious practices. JT appreciated the local wisdom and worked together to maintain social harmony and balance in Temboro Village. The NU tradition in Temboro also survived and became an entity that continued to grow sustainably. Worship and traditions of the Kampung Madinah (Medina Village) community of Temboro Village tend to follow the NU amaliyah as the local tradition of the community. Therefore the Temboro people cannot be equated with extreme, radical, or fundamentalist Islamic movements ([Pabbajah et al., 2022](#)).

This, at the same time, rejects the notion that the people of Kampung Madinah of Temboro Village have different religious understandings and expressions from most Indonesian people ([Awabien, 2020](#)). The fact is that the religious understanding and practices of the Temboro people are the same as those of the Indonesian Muslim in general. It is just that symbolically, the intensity and quality of religious expression is far stronger than that of the people outside Temboro. This is due to JT's mission to revive the sunnah of Rasulullah Saw. which is symbolized by Arabization nuance in the life of the Temboro people. However, broadly speaking, the NU tradition and the Mazhab Shafi'iyah of worship practices are still embedded in the soul of the Temboro people.

In worship, for example, the people of Temboro still recite the intention (niat) by reading "ushalli" when starting the prayer, reading the "kabiran" iftitah prayer in every prayer, reading the basmalah as the first verse of Surah Al-Fatihah in the prayer, recite the qunut prayer in the Subuh Prayer, read the wirid and zikir in the congregation, pray twice in Friday Prayers, pray Tarawih for 20 rakaat, and do the Tasbih Prayers.

In the socio-religious aspect, the local culture and traditions of NU are still preserved and grow side by side with JAMAAH TABLIGH traditions which are accommodated in the local culture ([Maghfirroh, 2018](#)). Islamic holidays and national holidays are still celebrated, such as Isra' Mi'raj, Mawlid Nabi, Nuzulul Qur'an, Muharraman, bodo kupat (Ketupat feast), Independence Day celebrations, National Santri Day and other Muslim events such as yasinan, selawatan, tadarusan, khataman Al-Qur'an and ziarah (grave pilgrimage). Indonesian Islamic local wisdom activities such as tingkeban, aqiqahan, selamatan/kenduri/bancakan, tahlilan, istigasah, tingkeban (the tradition of seven months pregnant), and burying the ari-ari (afterbirth) are also still sustainable today ([Yusuf, 2019](#)).

In addition, the Nahdliyin tradition that accompanies worship, such as the use of tasbih seeds in remembrance, mentioning sayidina in the Prophet's selawat, praise after azan (the call to prayer), the presence of bilal (in Friday prayers, Eid al-Fitr prayers, Eid al-Adha prayers, and Tarawih prayers), and reciting tawasul cannot be separated from the Temboro people the customs.

The NU's religious understanding and tradition in the life of the Temboro people could be retained due to several factors, among others:

a) Background of Kiai and Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School

K. H. Shiddiq (1885 – 1961), the founder of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, was the son of Kiai Dimiyati from Kerten Village, Ngawi Regency, and Hj. Thohiroh

from Subontoro Village, Karas District ([Suparta, 2009](#)). Kiai Dimiyati is a murshid of the Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah. Similar to his father, K. H. Siddiq also studied a lot of tarekat knowledge. Besides studying to his father, K. H. Shiddiq also studied to Kiai Misri in Mindi Nganjuk, Kiai As'ad bin Muhammad Thohir in Selopuro Madiun, and at the Sulus Ngawi Islamic boarding school and had studied with Kiai Kholil in Bangkalan, Madura ([Suparta, 2009](#)).

K. H. Mahmud Khalid Umar (1926 – 1996), son of K. H. Siddiq, studied at several salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in Java. Apart to his own father, K. H. Mahmud also studied to Kiai Sholeh at the Subontoro Islamic boarding school ([Ahror, 2022](#)) and entered the congregation of the Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah under the guidance of Kiai Imam Ghazali at the Kerten Ngawi Islamic boarding school ([Muhammad, 2022](#)). After that, K. H. Mahmud continued his education with Kiai Sulaiman Zuhdi Afandi in Mojopurno Magetan, at the Selopuro Ngawi Islamic boarding school and at the Baran Islamic boarding school, Kediri (Muhammad, 2022). In addition, K. H. Mahmud also studied tarekat knowledge under the guidance of Kiai Abdurrazzaq, Kiai Adnan, Kiai Suyuti, and especially Kiai Abu Umar (a majdzub wali) at the Bacem Madiun Islamic boarding school ([Yusuf, 2019](#)).

K. H. Mahmud then continued to study religion, social and political sciences with Kiai Habib at the Termas Pacitan Islamic Boarding School and also with Kiai Dimiyathi for three years ([Muhammad, 2022](#)). It did not stop there; he continued to study religion (especially Kutubul Hadith) and government at Hadrotus Syekh K. H. Hasyim Asy'ari at Tebuireng Jombang for about three years ([Ahror, 2022](#)). Then he studied with Kiai Muhajir at the Ndresmo Islamic Boarding School in Surabaya to study astronomy ([Yusuf, 2019](#)). There, K. H. Mahmud obtained a certificate of wirid practices such as hizb-hizb and ayatul hirzi ([Muhammad, 2022](#)).

Aside from being a cleric, K. H. Mahmud is also known as a fighter and politician. K. H. Mahmud is one of the actor for the Hizbullah movement in the Magetan region ([Ahror, 2022](#)). The Jihad Resolution initiated by the Supreme Master, K. H. Hasyim Asy'ari, also motivated K. H. Mahmud ([Muhammad, 2022](#)). K. H. Mahmud is also one of the NU Magetan founders. Even the deliberations on the founding of NU took place at the residence of K. H. Mahmud in Temboro. In the deliberation, K. H. Mahmud received the mandate as Rais Syuriah NU for the first period, 1983-1988 ([Muhammad, 2022](#)). His deep Tarekat knowledge also supported him to be a murshid of the Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah at the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School ([Awabien, 2020](#)).

Son of K.H Mahmud Khalid Umar, namely K. H. Uzairon Thaifur Abdillah (1963 – 2014), also has a similar educational background. Since a young age, he has been

introduced to the Indonesian salaf kiai. Kiai Uzairon studied at the Pasuruan Islamic boarding School under the guidance of Kiai Abdul Hamid and at the Batokan Kediri Islamic boarding school under the guidance of Kiai Jamal ([Suparta, 2009](#)). In Kediri, K. H. Uzairon also studied with Kiai Mahrus Ali at the Lirboyong Islamic Boarding School, Abah Dimiyati at the Pendeglang Banten Islamic boarding school, and Kiai Dalhar at the Muntilan Islamic Boarding school, Magelang.

Kiai Uzairon also deepened his knowledge of Makkah at the Faculty of Tarbiyah Ummul Quro Arabic Language Department ([Ahror, 2022](#)). There, he deepened his knowledge of hadith with Sheikh Yassin Al-Fadani, Sayyid Muhammad Al-Maliki, and Sheikh Sayyid Sabiq. Also in Mecca, K. H. Uzairon studied with two great scholars, Habib Umar Al-Hafidz and Maulana Umar Palanpuri. Departing from Mecca, Kiai Uzairon continued to Al-Azhar Egypt in the field of qiraat at Dirasah Khassah ([Suparta, 2009](#)). It was in Egypt that Kiai Uzairon deepened his knowledge of JT. Upon returning to Temboro, Kiai Uzairon continued in his father's tracks in NU Magetan. Kiai Uzairon replaced his father's position as Rais Syuriah NU ([Muhammad, 2022](#)) and was involved in the NU management structure until JT arrived in Temboro.

b) Authorization of Kiyai Leadership

Kyai of Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School as a leader, murshid of the Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Khalidiyah, as well as the amir of JT, is an influential and highly respected figure in society ([Awabien, 2020](#)). Even since the initiation of the Islamic boarding school, the figure of the kiai has had a great affinity and contribution, which brought him to an exclusive position in the societies. That is why the policies that become the stipulations of the kiai gain the full support of the community and then have a major influence on the life of the community itself. This condition is supported by the Kiai leadership model at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, which is more spiritual ([Arifin, 2017b](#)). This spiritual leadership is able to move and influence the community through a spiritual approach based on JT's da'wah ideology that developed at the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School ([Arifin, 2017a](#)). The inculcation of this new ideology was accompanied by a local cultural resilience strategy which continued to strengthen its existence.

c) Principles of Da'wah of the Tablighi Congregation

JT's da'wah principle never objected to the differences in the mazhab of thought adhered to by the ummah as the object of da'wah. JT's da'wah mission does not wish to eliminate the pre-existing community traditions. Some JT also adheres to different schools of thought. For example, the majority of JT in Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh

adhere to the Mazhab Hanafi, JT in the Middle East are mostly oriented towards the Maliki School, while followers of JT in Indonesia adhere to the Syafii ([Awabien, 2020](#)). JT's da'wah also does not have a mission to change the tradition of the object of its da'wah (J. M. Bakri, personal communication, November 21, 2022). JT's main mission is only to re-fertilize faith, strengthen akhlakul karimah, and revive the sunnahs of the Prophet ([Yusuf, 2019](#)).

d) The Influence of Al-Fatah Boarding School Tradition

The Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah Order, which has been developed since the time of K. H. Shiddiq, was further strengthened in subsequent periods both during the K. H. Mahmud, K. H. Uzairon, until now during the K. H. Umar Fatahillah. *Ayat al-Hirzi* (verses of the guard) compiled by K. H. Mahmud also continues to practice it by doing *taḥqīq* and adding fadilah verses ([Suparta, 2009](#)). This tarekat accompanies fardhu prayers and is obligated to all santri. In addition, the Suluk Group in Islamic boarding schools is still active today. This group consistently carries out worship and *riyāḍah* with night prayers, *i'tikāf*, reading the Qur'an, *istighfār*, reading *ṣalawāt*, *tasbīḥ*, *taḥmīd*, *tahlīl*, and other activities ([Suparta, 2009](#)).

The Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School also uses the *Kitab-Kitab Kuning* (yellow books) of the salaf scholars as the main reference in the learning in addition to the tabligh books. For example, the Nahwu book *Matan Jurūmiyyah* by Sheikh Imam Assonhaji and *al-Imriṭi* by Sheikh Syarifuddin Yahya, the book of Tasrif Amsilah Tasrifiyah by Sheikh Mahsun bin Ali, the book of Fiqh *Matan Taqrib* by Imam Abu Suja', and the book of hadith *Arba'īn Nawawiyyah* ([Arifin, 2017a](#)).

e) Supports from All Elements of Temboro Village

Despite the rejections expressed by various parties in the early days of JT's development in Temboro, gradually the community enthusiastically supported the policies of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School's kiai. Voluntarily the community lent their residence as a place for JT activities. Even some people are happy to sell their land at a low price for the development of JT's da'wah ([Awabien, 2020](#)). Apart from that, the community also obediently follows the kiai's instructions, one of which is related to changes in the way they dress.

Not only ordinary residents but Temboro Village Government officials also support and follow the policies and directions of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School Kiai ([Awabien, 2020](#)). It is proven by the motto, vision, mission, and programs of the Temboro Village government, which accommodate JT's da'wah mission. In carrying out its policy, the government of Temboro Village has the motto: "Making

Temboro as a Medina Village" for the realization of the vision: "The Development of Islamic, Good, and Clean Village Governance to Realize Temboro Village as a Medina Village". This vision is further translated into missions, as follows: 1) consolidating with boarding schools to implement clean and democratic village governance that is free from corruption, collusion, and nepotism as well as other forms of abuse, 2) Developing the community's economy by employing of village potential as *ahlussunnah wal jamaah*, and 3) Increasing the potential of Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School as an icon of Temboro Village.

D. Conclusion

The divisions of the Temboro communities prior to the arrival of the JT generally were *santri* (people who master religious knowledge) and the common people (people with minimum religious knowledge). The *santri* group is centered at and around the boarding school, while the common people make up the majority of Temboro Village people. However, both of them were culturally affiliated with NU (*Nahdliyin* people). They mingle with each other to form a unified community, and together, they care for and live up to the NU tradition as the *Kiai*, who are role models, do.

The arrival of JT in the 80s created a major transformation in Temboro Village. The inculcation of JT's *da'wah* ideology to the residents of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School and the Temboro community has a complex influence on the Temboro people. Although at first, JT's *da'wah* drew various rejections from many parties, nowadays, JT's *da'wah* is accepted, and its traditions merge harmoniously into the culture of the Temboro people.

JT's *da'wah* brought a new tradition but did not lose Temboro people's identity as *Nahdliyin* members. On the other hand, NU's religious traditions are even more lively. The diversity of the Temboro people is also more expressive with increased intensity and quality. This cannot be separated from the influence of JT's preaching, which carried the mission of reviving the *sunnah* of Rasulullah Saw. This mission is implemented in the form of "Arabization" of several aspects of the Temboro people's life, but substantively the traditions and practices of NU-style worship remain the main elements and are firmly rooted in people's lives. This is due to several factors, both internal and external. Internal factors are like the scholarly background of the *Kiai* and Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, which is strengthened by the authority of the *Kiai* leadership, the influence of Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School tradition, as well as support from all elements of society. While external factors are like the

principle of JT's da'wah, which is not contradicted by NU's religious understanding and traditions, in fact, both of them support and strengthen each other.

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