

Anti-Hadith Discourse and The Post-Secularism Turn: Rethinking Nazwar Syamsu and Minardi Mursyid and their Followers on Digital Platform

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Abstract: *The Indonesian Anti-Hadith Group (AHG) thought has never been extinguished. No matter how big the public's rejection of their ideas, that's how significant their resistance is. This article aims to reveal the Anti Hadith discourse, especially in post-secularism, which is considered momentum for religious openness. Through the virtual ethnography method, this article argues that in the post-secular era, the activities of AHG followers are increasingly dynamic. They build the network, revive and publish the founders' thoughts, and appeal to followers through digital platforms. Post-secularism, which is marked by the decline of the privatization of religion in the public sphere, opens up opportunities for Islamic discourses, including the Anti-hadith discourse. The implication, on the one hand, is that religion is no longer a matter of privacy that is separated from the public sphere. On the other hand, the current Anti-Hadith thought potentially challenges the sources of Islamic law. This fact becomes a paradox that post-secularism is usually characterized by religious desire. Still, on the contrary, the presence of AHG stimulated controversies in the mid of Indonesian Muslim communities.*

Keywords: AHG, post-secularism, digital

Abstrak: *Nyala pemikiran Komunitas Anti Hadis (AHG) Indonesia tak pernah padam. Sebesar apapun penolakan publik atas pemikiran yang mereka usung, sebesar itu pula resistensi terhadapnya. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap wacana Anti Hadis khususnya dalam konteks post-secularism yang dinilai sebagai momentum keterbukaan keberagamaan. Melalui metode etnografi virtual, artikel ini berpandangan bahwa di era post-secularism aktifitas para pengikut tokoh-tokoh Anti Hadis Indonesia semakin dinamis. Mereka menjalin jejaring, menghidupkan kembali pemikiran para tokoh penggagas dan mempublikasikannya, serta menggait pengikut melalui platform digital. Post-secularism yang ditandai dengan pudarnya privatisasi agama di ruang publik, membuka peluang berbagai wacana keislaman, tak terkecuali wacana Anti hadis. Implikasinya, di satu sisi, agama bukan lagi menjadi persoalan privasi yang*

terpisahkan dari ranah publik, tetapi di sisi lain, arus pemikiran Anti Hadis berpotensi untuk meragukan sumber hukum Islam. Kenyataan tersebut menjadi paradok bahwa post-secularism biasanya ditandai dengan gairah keagamaan tetapi justru sebaliknya, kehadiran AHG memicu kontroversi di tengah Masyarakat Muslim Indonesia.

Kata kunci: AHG, post-secularism, digital

INTRODUCTION

Anti-Hadith Group (later written with AHG), also known as *quraniyyun*, *quranites*¹, *ahlul qur'an*, or *inkar hadith*, has rooted in historical Islam. This group questioned the legal authority of the *hadith* or *sunnah* in Islam. They bring the slogan of returning to the Quran as the only source of Islam. They are similar to Karaites in Judaism, who denied secondary legal resources except Torah.² AHG spreaders around the globe, from Egypt, India, Turkey, Malaysia, Indonesia, and some Western countries.

Looking at the Indonesian context closely, AHG has a dynamic history. As mentioned, by Abdul Majid Khon, AHG first appeared in 1981 and grew up in the following years.³ The development of AHG in Indonesia is strongly related to the role of Orientalism, spreading among Muslim countries such as Egypt and India. According to Khon, orientalist figures such as Snouck Hourgronje are essential to spreading the idea of the AHG in Indonesia. Daud Rasyid confirms that Snouck Hourgronje intentionally destroys the Islamic legal jurisprudence by attacking the primary lawful source, the *hadith*.⁴ As quoted by Khoridatul

¹ Hassan Rezaee Haftador, "Validity of Religious Teachings in Karaite and Quranite Views," *Advances in Environmental Biology*, November 1, 2014, 566–73.

² Haftador.

³ Abdul Majid Khon, *Pemikiran Modern Dalam Sunah: Pendekatan Ilmu Hadis* (Prenada Media, 2019).

⁴ Daud Rasyid, *As-Sunnah Fi Indoensia: Baina Anshariha Wa Khushumiha* (Jakarta: Robbani Press, 2020), 6, <https://repository.uia.ac.id/2021/02/01/as-sunnah-fi-indoensia-baina-anshariha-wa-khushumiha/>.

Mudhiiah, according to Daud Rasyid, the existence of AHG in Indonesia is not only influenced by Orientalists but also influenced by Indonesian scholars who study in the West countries. He mentions several scholars, such as Harun Nasution and his college.⁵

Some aspects can be classified regarding Indonesia's demography of the AHG development. Several studies mentioned that the most prominent period shows the emergence of AHG teachings in Indonesia from 1981 to 1986 when the New Order government ruled Indonesia. This range of periods is related to the era of the first appearance of the MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia/ Indonesia Ulama Council*) in the public spare. According to Nadirsyah Hosen, between 1975 and 1998, MUI acted as the Islamic organization in assisting Indonesian Muslims in coping with the social problems of modern times.⁶ MUI controls the emergence of AHG. Despite its role as a mass organization, MUI also seems like an Indonesian Government's 'spokesperson,' which follows up on the official government policy on Islamic problems in the public sphere. In the New Order, known as a regime that upholds national stability, the existence of MUI was intended as an institution that played a role in disciplining the aspirations of various Islamic organizations. AHG became one of the targets labeled as a heretical group by MUI. The opposition comes from Muslim Fundamentalists such as FPI (*Front Pembela Islam/ Islamic Defender Front*). They pressure the government to disband AHG due to their controversial teaching.

The AHG discourses in Indonesia emerge in the public sphere, which influences some scholars to examine it from various perspectives and points of view. The standpoint of binary opposition between valid and invalid Islamic teaching is a more dominant discussion than the other perspective. Some scholars investigate the origin of the AHG doctrine in Indonesia from its Islamic norm and examine whether their teachings are classified as heretical or not. I argue that

⁵ Khoridatul Mudhiiah, "Pemikiran Daud Rasyid terhadap upaya Ingkar Sunnah Kelompok Orientalis di Indonesia," *ADDIN* 7, no. 2 (November 14, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v7i2.586>.

⁶ N. Hosen, "Behind the Scenes: Fatwas of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (1975-1998)," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 15, no. 2 (May 1, 2004): 147–79, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/15.2.147>.

research is closer to the normative's point of view category. I found it in Syamsul Hidayat⁷, Caca Handika⁸, Khon⁹, and Mudhiiah's¹⁰ findings.

Data from several studies suggest that AHG in Indonesia is related to the political situation, particularly in terms of domination of government rule in controlling the Muslim society. Indeed, Indonesia is neither a secular state nor an Islamic state, but at the time, minority Muslim groups were subverted by both government organizations and Islamic fundamentalist groups. The second one usually brings the vision of Islamization of the Indonesian state and glorifies Islam as the official state religion. Interestingly, the political situation has not changed much after the *reformasi* era. Therefore, Burhanuddin Muhtadi considers it a period of democratic decline by presenting the influence of Islamic populism in Indonesia's public sphere.¹¹

Related to the emergence of AHG discourse in the public sphere, it also had strong relationships with the post-secularism turn. Initially, post-secularism turned into Western culture. Post-secularism, as theorized by Jurgen Habermas, suggests that religious and secularist people should learn from one another and not exclude each other. They have to live in coexistence tolerantly. Post-secularism society also identified with the emergence of religious practice in the public

⁷ Syamsul Hidayat and Amrul Choiri, "Firqah Inkarus Sunnah Di Solo Raya (Kajian Kritis Pemikiran LPPA Tauhid Tentang al-Quran Dan al-Sunnah)," May 2013, <http://publikasiilmiah.ums.ac.id/handle/11617/4023>.

⁸ Caca Handika, "INKAR AL-SUNNAH DI INDONESIA (Studi Analisis Tentang Pemikiran Inkar al-Sunnah Ir. M. Ircham Sutarto)," *Al-Din: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial Keagamaan* 5, no. 2 (December 31, 2019): 35–46, <https://doi.org/10.35673/ajdsk.v5i2.584>.

⁹ Abdul Majid Khon, "Paham Inkar Sunnah di Indonesia (Studi tentang Pemikirannya)," *Jurnal Theologia* 23, no. 1 (September 4, 2017): 57–74, <https://doi.org/10.21580/teo.2012.23.1.1759>.

¹⁰ Mudhiiah, "Pemikiran Daud Rasyid terhadap upaya Ingkar Sunnah Kelompok Orientalis di Indonesia."

¹¹ Burhanuddin Muhtadi, "Populism, Islamism, and Democratic Decline in Indonesia," Middle East Institute, 2022, <https://www.mei.edu/publications/populism-islamism-and-democratic-decline-indonesia>.

sphere, contradicting the secular culture that religion is become privatized.¹² Extensive research has shown that AHG does not lead to significant development or change in teaching. I assume that the social change dynamics potentially influence the appearance of AHG in different time-space. The appearance of AHG in the last decade, along with the rise of Islamic populism and Islamism.

Previous studies on the AHG have not dealt with its relation to post-secularism in the Indonesian context. Further, two influential figures Nazwar Syamsu¹³ and Minardi Mursyid¹⁴ of AHG did not elaborate on previous studies.

¹² Jürgen Habermas, *An Awareness of What Is Missing: Faith and Reason in a Post-Secular Age* (John Wiley & Sons, 2014).

¹³ Nazwar Syamsu was born on 1918 in Padang Panjang, West Sumatra, Indonesia and died on November 20, 1983. He was a policeman in Indonesia. He actively in publishing his ideas through various media. In the beginning, his thought spread to radio and cassette tape. He also wrote many books: *Terjemahan (Tafsir) al-Qur'an Jilid I dan II, Tauhid & Logika, al-Qur'an tentang Manusia dan Masyarakat, Tauhid & Logika, Manusia dan Ekonomi, Tauhid & Logika, al-Qur'an tentang al-Insan, Tauhid & Logika, al-Qur'an tentang Mekkah dan Ibadah haji, Tauhid & Logika, al-Qur'an tentang Shalat, Puasa dan Waktu, Tauhid & Logika, al-Qur'an Dasar Tanya Jawab Ilmiah, Tauhid & Logika, al-Qur'an tentang Pelengkap al-Qur'an Dasar Tanya Jawab Ilmiah, Tauhid & Logika, al-Qur'an dan Sejarah Manusia, Tauhid & Logika, Perbandingan Agama (al-Qur'an dan Bibel), Kamus al-Qur'an (Diktionari), Koreksi terjemahan al-Qur'an Bacaan Mulia HB. Yasin*. Most of the books are published by PT Ghalia Indonesia. See, for more detail, Nazwar Syamsu, *Isa Al-Masih Di Venus* (Padang Pandjang: Pustaka Sa'adijah, 1969); Nazwar Syamsu, *Koreksi Terjemahan Bacaan Mulia H.B. Jassin* (Padang Pndjang: Pustaka Sa'adijah, 1978); Nazwar Syamsu, *Pelengkap al Quran, dasar tanya jawab ilmiah* (Ghalia Indonesia, 1982); Nazwar Syamsu, *Kamus al Quran, al Quran - Indonesia - Inggris: berisi petunjuk surat dan ayat*, n.d.

¹⁴ Minardi Mursyid is the leader of the *Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pendalaman Al-Qur'an/LPPA* (Research and Intensive Study on Qur'an). Prior, the community was named the Yayasan Tauhid Indonesia/YATAIN (Indonesian Tauhid Foundation), located in Sukoharjo, Central Java. Minardi Mursyid has several times confronted the Indonesian Muslim Community Organization over accusations of controversial thoughts. Minardi Mursyid and his followers were accused of being inkar sunnah (Prophet hadith deniers). In 2012 Indonesian Government Authorities, through the Ministry of Religious Affairs, issued a decree to stop their activities. Based on a study published by the Balai Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama (Center for Religious Research and Development) Semarang West Java, in the 2000s, there were more thousand's Minardi Mursyid followers. Their followers are scattered in various regions. The massive growth of the follower because their da'wah was carried out through radio. He also wrote various articles and books to support the spread of his ideas. Some of his books are: *Al Quran sebagai Rahmatan lil 'Alamin, Benarkah Mendalami Al Quran Itu Ingkar Sunnah? And so on*. One of the most popular and influential works of Mursyid is the *Al-Qur'an dan terjemah versi Tadabbur* published by LPPA Tauhid in 2007. Nowadays, he and his follower spread their teaching through social media platforms, including YouTube Chanel. See, for more detail, Minardi Mursyid, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemah Versi Tadabbur* (Sukoharjo: LPPA Tauhid, 2007); Minardi Mursyid, *Al-Qur'an sebagai rahmatan lil alamin: untuk kalangan sendiri sebagai bahan informasi dan pemikiran bagi yang mau memikirkan* (Yayasan Tauhid Indonesia, 2010); Hidayat and Choiri, "Firqah Inkarus Sunnah Di Solo Raya (Kajian Kritis Pemikiran LPPA Tauhid Tentang al-Quran Dan al-Sunnah)"; "Kajian Al-Qur'an Tematik Lembaga Pengkajian Dan Pendalaman Al-Qur'an (LPPA Tauhid Sukoharjo"

They established the community in the digital platforms that nowadays have a vital societal role. The post-secularism era is potentially an era of revival or awakening of AHG. Research on the AHG in the Indonesian Islam discourse has been unable to specify the social dynamic concerning the rise of the AHG movement. This study seeks to obtain data that will help to address these research gaps.

Therefore, this study explores the relationship between the AHG movement and the specific time-space, namely post-secularism, mainly in the South East Asian context. In addition, this study provides new insight into the dynamic of two central figures of Indonesian AHG teaching Nazwar Syamsu and Minardi mursyid and their followers on digital platforms. In other words, the article analyses the development of AHG in Indonesia in terms of specific time-space, namely post-secularism and Digital Platforms.

METHOD

To examine our preliminary argument in this article, we conducted a virtual ethnography by observing two popular AHG in Indonesia through their social media platform. The first is observing the Facebook group entitled “NAZWAR SYAMSU (Pesantren Virtual buku-buku NS)” associated with Nazwar Syamsu Followers. And the second one is a YouTube channel affiliated with Minardi Mursyid entitled “Kajian Al-Qur’an Sasmito Aji.” This research was designed with the qualitative method. We do not use all of the content of these two virtual communities. The primary data gathered on social media ranges between 2021 to 2022 by focusing on Threat starter and its comments and the YouTube video’s content and comments. We agree that not all followers and the comments they

(Balai Litbang Agama Semarang, 2012); Sunarwoto, “Contesting Religious Authority: A Study on Dakwah Radio in Surakarta, Indonesia” (Netherlands, Tilburg University, 2015).

posted represent the ideas of the two figures. However, we have found that communities have certain rules regarding membership. Every forthcoming member who will join has gone through selection and is able to comply with the rules made by the admin. In addition, in our opinion, the diversity of followers' and commentators' views can enrich their repertoire in analyzing the dynamics of anti-hadith discourse on the social media they publish.

Nevertheless, specific criteria then coded the textual data that was gathered. The criteria are about the popularity and trend of their identity, the topic, and the relation to the social-political dynamic. We use MAXQDA for the performing of management data. After the data had been validated and coded, we analyzed it with the social cognitive discourse analyses of Tuen Van Dijk.¹⁵

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Using digital data tracking, we classify the findings of this study based on several aspects. The first aspect is the popularity of the name associated with this group and what they want to identify (identity). The second aspect relates to popular themes that are the subject of discussion. This topic is also observed in its relationship with several popular issues that AHG in Indonesia often raises. The third aspect looks at the correlation with the existing socio-political discourse of society. It examines its relationship with the existence of the post-secularism era in the context of society in Southeast Asia.

In several comments tracked either in Nazwar Syamsu's Facebook group or Minardi Mursyid's YouTube Chanel, their opponents are referred to as '*inkar sunnah*.' The group admin and members didn't declare the rejection of the *sunnah* through status, comment, and a group name. In some of the existing statuses, posts, and comments, they also refer to themselves as 'practices of *ahsanah*

¹⁵ Teun A. van Dijk, *Discourse and Knowledge: A Sociocognitive Approach* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

*hadith*¹⁶ and a Qur'anist. However, in the many uploaded contents on Facebook, as well as the comments, it is clear that they do not consider *hadith* as an authoritative source of Islamic norms, as an example of the following quote:



Figure 1 a quote posted by a member of Nazwar Syamsu facebook's group

DEPAG RI MUI ICMI (Ministry of Religious Affairs, Indonesia Ulama Council, Indonesian intellectual Muslim Association): You should know that taking the *hadith* of the Prophet as a guide is more idolatrous than idol worshiper.

The quote from the status of one of the members of Nazwar Syamsu's Facebook group can be understood that the *hadith* of the Prophet does not have authority as a source of law. Even the owner of the Facebook status calls it as making *hadith* as a guide is more despicable than a polytheist. The implication of

¹⁶ *Ahsan al-hadits* is a phrase found in the words of the prophet. The complete text is as follows:
 قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: إِنَّ أَحْسَنَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللَّهِ وَأَحْسَنَ الْهُدَى هُدَى مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَشَرُّ الْأُمُورِ مُحَدَّثَاتُهَا...

The phrase indicates that the best word is the book of God (the Qur'an). The AHG believe that the main source of Islamic teachings is the only Qur'an as stated in the text of the *hadith* (*ahsan al-hadits*) because it is believed to be the best. As for the position of the prophet's *hadith*, they place it in a position equivalent to the book or other religious books. But it is a paradox. On the one hand they do not believe in *hadith* as a source of law but on the other hand they take *hadith* to support their belief.

rejecting the hadith also places the narrators as less honourable figures. For example, the hadiths narrated by Abu Hurairah are not considered prophetic traditions, as the following quote shows,

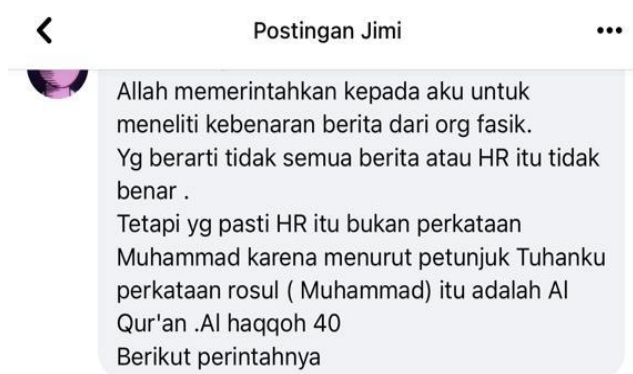


Figure 2 a comment on the topic of Haidth Narator in Nazwar Syamsu official facebook group

Allah commanded me to examine the truth of the news from the *fāsiq* (an Islamic term referring to someone who violates Islamic law). This means that not all information or HR (HR means the Hadith narrator, primarily associated with Bukhari) is untrue. But what is certain is that HR is not the word of Muhammad because, according to the instructions of my God, the words of the Prophet (Muhammad) are the Qur'an. *Al-Haqqah*: 40 here is the command.

As for the popular topics that were the subject of discussion, we found the themes quite diverse, as stated in the following table:

No	Theme	Nazwar Syamsu Ideas	Minardi Mursyid Ideas
1.	Qur'an is the only source of religious teaching	√	√
2.	All religious practices, including Islamic practices, are from Abraham	√	
3.	The life of human beings in Venus (Isa Al-Masih in Venus)	√	√
4.	Islamic ritual (<i>ibadah</i>) only from Qur'an e.g., <i>Jum'ah</i> prayer, <i>shalat</i> , <i>zakat</i> , fasting	√	√
5.	Doomsday	√	√
6.	Aliens and UFO Mystery	√	√
7.	The place of Ka'ba is more than one, not only in Mecca	√	

No	Theme	Nazwar Syamsu Ideas	Minardi Mursyid Ideas
8.	Tradition is different from the worship	√	
9	Comparing between Hadith and Qur'an	√	√
10.	Degrading the position of the <i>Ulama</i>	√	
11.	Comparing between Ulama and Qur'an	√	
12.	Solar system (<i>samawat</i>)	√	√
13.	Muslims included in <i>Ahl Kitab</i>	√	√
14.	There is no distinction between Ulama and <i>Ahlu bait</i> (Prophet Muhammad family)	√	
15.	Muhammad was only a messenger	√	
16.	The salvation of Isa	√	√
17.	Jesus is the Prophet of Islam	√	
18.	The interpretation of <i>Isra' Mi'raj</i>	√	√
19.	Interpretation about Angel (Ina. <i>malaikat</i>)	√	
20.	There is no torment of the grave	√	
21.	<i>Shalat</i> as a ritual or non-ritual	√	
22.	Doubt the existence of Muhammad as a messenger	√	
23.	Doubt the existence of the Hadith narrator	√	
24.	Using the previous scripture's religion for interpreting the Qur'an, such as a Bible of Torah	√	√

Table 1: Popular thematic classification wide spread around digital platforms

The topics discussed by Nazwar Syamsu community are more varied than those discussed by Minardi Mursyid followers. We obtain this data from the social media they express in it. We got Nazwar Syamsu's views from their discussion either on post or comment on the Facebook group, while Minardi Mursyid's views were gathered from the YouTube channel managed by his team.

Particularly the topic collected from the title of the video content and also the following comment on it.

The data we obtained from Nazwar Syamsu's Facebook group¹⁷ is more varied for three reasons. First, the interactions that take place within the group are classified as interactive compared to the Minardi Mursyid Youtube channel.¹⁸ Second, the Nazwar Syamasu community was developed by followers and fans of Nazwar Syamsu's thoughts. They want to revive their thoughts even though their owner has died. Third, Nazwar Syamsu left more written works in books and articles than Minardi Mursyid. Because of that, his ideas became a repertoire that was discussed by later generations.

In general, we observe that the topics discussed are not the up to the dated issue. These topics were also discussed in the 1980s when Nazwar Syamsu was still alive. The topics if grouped thematically into several: for example, subjects about the universe, including the solar system, the history of the Prophet, the debates on hadith as sources of Islamic norm, a topic about the reinterpretation of the implementation of Islamic rituals, and topics about the scriptures prior Qur'an.

The re-existence of Indonesia's AHG community in the digital space cannot be separated from the Indonesian government's openness to various religious reasons. Monitoring of activity in social media groups is still relatively unfastened. On the other hand, the atmosphere of post-secularism, which is also a marker of the presence of religion in the public sphere, is also increasingly visible. In the AHG context, even though the themes being discussed in the realm of social media are not new, they consider it important to show the awakening of their ideas and movement. From their point of view, in the post-secularism era and also supported by massive traffic of social media circumstances, bringing out old themes in new settings and places is very important.

¹⁷ See, for instance, "Nazwar Saymasu (Pesantren Virtual Buku-Buku NS)," 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/nazwarsyamsu/>. (accessed 04 December 2022)

¹⁸ See, for instance "Kajian Al-Qur'an Sasmito Aji," 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/@KAJIANALQURANSASMITOJATI>. (accessed 04 December 2022)

Discourse on anti-hadith seems to resurrect after decades of the issue being extinguished. The post-secular era became the underlying arena. The statement that post-secularism can only be observed in secular countries is not entirely correct. Post-secular phenomena marked by the emergence of diversity in the public sphere can also be observed in communities with strong religious roots, although not to the level of religious ideology in the realm of the state, such as in many religious countries.

According to Md Ziaul Haque Sheikh, from the perspective of multi-religious South Asia, secularism means tolerance between religious believers.¹⁹ All religions are equal before state patronage. This argument is closely related to the context of religions in Indonesia. The factual data of Indonesia show that secularism does not mean separation between state and religion. The concrete manifestation of secularism in Indonesia can be seen in understanding religious pluralism and the coexistence of religious beliefs. The efforts built by national figures such as Gus Dur and Cak Nur²⁰ by researchers are referred to as the phenomenon of secularization in the public sphere. Even so, not a few people see that this is an agreement for the nation's citizens to live together in differences and diversity, not merely to separate religion and state. Even if it is referred to as 'secular' in a unique sense, it is relevant to the phenomenon of the further Islamic revival, namely the era of post-secularism in Indonesia.

It is not entirely wrong if this post-secularism is marked by the presence of Islamism or populist Islam in public spaces. Efforts to carry out Islamization in various public spheres can be found in the public sphere, as in the phenomenon of Islamic Populism which has penetrated the realm of politics, urban Muslim

¹⁹ Md Ziaul Haque Sheikh, "Akbar's Interreligious Dialogue, Post-Secularism, and Global Intellectual History," *BISS Journal* 37, no. 4 (October 23, 2016).

²⁰ Gus Dur or Abdurrahman Wahid and Cak Nur or Nur Cholis Majid are two very popular Indonesian Muslim intellectuals who have the idea of religious pluralism in Indonesia.

culture, financial products, or other expressions of Islam, as Mujibuddin and Rina Zuliana view.²¹ Islam Populism is present as a picture of the face of Islam in the public sphere as it used to be when Jurgen Habermas saw it as a revival of church norms in a secular society. He considered that secularization could not present morality in the public sphere.²²

However, we also don't entirely agree with what Mujibuddin and Rina Zuliana said. Islamic populism looks dominant in the public sphere, but on the other hand, the rise of minority Islamic communities is also growing, as is the case with AHG. Even though Indonesia Ulama Council's fatwa judged the AHG as sinful, it did not dampen their enthusiasm to come back to contest other Islamic ideologies. We suspect that the rise of the global AHG community has also influenced and added confidence to appear in public again. As an illustration, global AHG has mushroomed in various countries with various names and identities, such as Ahlu Qur'an, Quranites, Quranism, Submitters, and Qur'an alone.²³

The religious atmosphere in Indonesia, which has recently been seen to be dominated by traditionalist Islamic groups, has indirectly influenced the development of AHG discourse in Indonesia. Several informants stated that they seemed antipathetic to the teachings of the *Nahdhiyyin* (Indonesian Muslim traditionalist).²⁴ To some extent, they even mock and demean traditional Muslim practices and rituals. With satirical or straightforward language, they clearly show that their existence cannot be doubted. Although they are small numbers, they have militancy in spreading ideas through any possible media. Their Facebook group page has more than 2200 followers. Likewise, the subscriber from the recitation YouTube channel, which is side by side with Minardi Mursyid, has a following of about 2520 subscribers, with each viewer of over a thousand on each

²¹ M. Mujibuddin and Rina Zuliana, "Post-Sekulerisme Islam Populis di Indonesia," *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* 3, no. 1 (April 15, 2019): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2019.3.1.3486>.

²² Habermas, *An Awareness of What Is Missing*.

²³ See some popular official website affiliated to them, such as <https://quranite.com>; <https://www.quran-islam.org/>; <https://submission.org/>; <https://www.quranalone.com/>; <https://www.ahl-alquran.com/>, and several official website affiliated to the Qur'anism figure.

²⁴ "Nazwar Saymasu (Pesantren Virtual Buku-Buku NS)." (Accessed 4 December 2022)

video. In other words, efforts to publish anti-hadith ideas are considered more effective than efforts made in the past. Either through regular recitations or radio channels.

Through this media, AHG conducts mass communication by opening conversations and dialogues with groups that agree or with groups that do not. Those who decided to carry out indoctrination and spread the ideas that the Quranists had raised. As for those who disagree, they make explanations that are considered scientific to confirm the views they believe in. They are reluctant to be labeled as deviant Muslims. Instead, they feel that what they understand is a new idea that doesn't get much attention from most Muslims. Their reluctance to be called a deviant group can be observed in the structure of the text by claiming the truth that they are firm in their stance as the truest Muslims.

Although they criticize a lot of traditionalist Islamic groups, they cannot be classified as puritanical or modernist Muslims. Of course, they strongly disagree because modernist or puritans Muslims generally place the hadith of the Prophet in a very central position. Efforts to purify Islamic teachings from the elements of heresy indirectly legitimize the slogan of returning to the Qur'an and Sunnah strongly. This is contrary to the teachings of AHG, which do not consider hadith or sunnah as sources of authoritative Islamic teachings. This means this study indicates that they have closely closed the possibility of the Prophet's hadith as a source of interpretation of the Qur'an. They don't need any source than the Qur'an to interpret any verses. Al-Qur'an is interpreted by the Qur'an itself, or the verse of the Qur'an interpreting each other.

There is a tendency for the discourses observed in social media to show more efforts to re-read by rationalizing various verses of the Qur'an following scientific findings. However, some scholar identifies their scientific approach as The pseudoscience of Quranic interpretation. Though they disagreed, they were

classified as an apologetic group. Akhmad Supriadi explicitly categorizes his interpretation as affirmative-apologetic.²⁵ Minardi Mursyid, for example, firmly said that the technology of the Koran is very advanced. The Qur'an has provided various adequate information about the signs of nature. What is explained in the Prophet's hadiths about the events of *isra'* and *mi'raj*, for example, is too simple if only described as stories popular in the Islamic knowledge treasury.

It is important to note that the discourse differences between the two communities observed also lie in the sources of knowledge discussed. Minardi Mursyid's ideas are more authentic than Nazwar Syamsu's. The first is caused by the source of still-alive information and can be accessed through audio-visual recordings. The concept of Nazwar Syamsu may have been mixed with various wild thoughts. In the observed Facebook groups, members often quote ideas obtained from Nazwar Syamsu through the books he has written. However, many of Nazwar Syamsu's thoughts have changed because of the different interpretations of the members of the group.

On the other aspect, this finding is consistent with some previous research stating that the translators' source and their interpretations were based on logic and scientific insight. They also interpret using other verses of the Qur'an or stories in the books before the Qur'an, such as the Torah and the Bible.

From all the texts observed in these two virtual communities, there are important messages in the AHG discourse in Indonesia. We see that the readers are made relatively straightforward or, at a certain level, can be said to be vulgar. However, we see that the structure of the text that has met the rules for creating discourse is still tied to social cognition and the context that existed when the text was narrated.²⁶ Both of these communities carry a fairly firm ideology. The idea brought is refining Islamic teachings and returning them to the teachings of the Qur'an. Although they do not declare dissenters of the *sunnah*, we are pretty sure they reject the hadith from the various posts and comments.

²⁵ Akhmad Supriadi, "Integrating Qur'an and Science: Epistemology of Tafsir Ilmi in Indonesia," *Refleksi* 16, no. 2 (2017): 181, <https://doi.org/10.15408/ref.v16i2.10191>.

²⁶ Teun A. Van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (SAGE, 1998); Dijk, *Discourse and Knowledge*.

CONCLUSION

The discourse constructed by the Nazwar Syamsu community and Minardi Mursyid was that they confidently accepted the Qur'an as the only source of Islamic teachings. The choice of diction and sentence that is conveyed firmly becomes a sign that this community wants to show its existence amid the ideological domination of a certain Muslim mass Organisation in Indonesia. The expressions of sarcasm we encountered criticizing the presence of hadith, Prophets, hadith narrators, or scholars are sufficient to indicate that they carry the ideology of the Anti-hadith or the Quranist straightforwardly. The topics surrounding the saintification of the Qur'an are also their efforts to show their existence amid the majority of existing interpretations and interpretations of the Qur'an. They chose that path because of the lack of Muslim scholars who interpret the Qur'an using a scientific approach. In that aspect, they look very confident even though, in some cases, the scientific al-Qur'an that is carried out is trapped in pseudoscience as if it is scientific but just a coincidence.

The momentum of post-Secularism in the Indonesian context is unconsciously used as an arena for competing for power over the understanding of religion in the public sphere. AHG in Indonesia is between the majority Muslim organizations with traditionalist nuances and modernist Muslims with a populist pattern. Post-secularism, for us, is like a developing social context. When various minority Muslim communities received defense from many groups, AHG also took this moment to express their ideas to the public sphere. Unfortunately, the existence of AHG in this public space creates a counterproductive dualism. On the one hand, the public space is also filled with minority Islamic ideologies, but on the other hand, its presence with different perspectives on understanding Islamic norms, at a certain level, can cause conflict.

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