

Religious Tradition: Between Intrepretation and Text Innovation

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Abstract: The discussions of Islam which linked with tradition and/or Islam and culture have been conducted since early 19th century. Such discussions have drained the energy of Muslim intellectuals due to its vast scope which ranges from humanities, sciences, literature, and arts. The discussions become more interesting when they suggest the results of interaction among Islam, Malay tradition, and culture as a Malay Islamic heritage called as *Islam Nusantara* (Islam of the archipelago). In addition, in its subsequent development modern version of *Islam Nusantara* turns to be an ideal ‘alternative’ version for modern Muslim intellectuals. Besides having Malay characteristics, *Islam Nusantara* might have a role in preserving the *Nusantara* identity and existentialism, an effectively proven way to maintain social stability in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnics, and multi-faiths country like Indonesia, Thailand, Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia. However, this stable social condition might be difficult to be maintained forever. There are acts of resistance from some groups of Islamic purists that bring forth a jargon to return to the culture and tradition which practiced by Prophet Muhammad PBUH and his *sahabah* (earlier companions of Prophet Muhammad). Thus, finding a ‘correct’ mechanism and understanding toward tradition and culture in the regulation of purist view of Islam or original Islam is a rationalization project of *Islam Nusantara* which can be

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considered as authentic Islam despite its contemporary package and term. A deep understanding of *Islam Nusantara* is not only intended to return to a classic heritage of *Islam Nusantara* but also as a way to explore positive ideological attitudes in order to defy colonialism and underdevelopment.

Keywords: Progressive Islam, Original Islam, '*urf-taqlīd, ādat.*

Abstrak: Diskusi tentang Islam yang dikaitkan dengan tradisi dan/atau Islam dan budaya sebenarnya sudah lama sekali, sejak awal abad kesembilan belas hingga kini. Diskusi ini menguras banyak energi intelektual Muslim, karena cakupannya yang sangat luas, dari berbagai bidang humaniora, bidang pengetahuan sastra, artistik dan intelektual. Diskusi ini semakin menarik ketika memposisikan hasil interaksi antara Islam-tradisi-budaya sebagai sebuah warisan Islam Melayu yang sering disebut sebagai Islam Nusantara. Tidak hanya itu, dalam perkembangan selanjutnya Islam Nusantara modern justru dijadikan sebagai alternatif model Islam “ideal” bagi kaum intelektual muslim Indonesia saat ini. Selain ramah lingkungan, Islam model ini dianggap memiliki peran besar dalam pelestarian identitas dan eksistensialisme jati diri bangsa serta terbukti mampu menjaga stabilitas sosial yang multi kulturalisme, multi etnis dan multi keyakinan. Namun sayang, tampaknya tawaran ini tidak akan berjalan dengan mulus. Beberapa kelompok pejuang Islam orisinil melakukan aksi perlawanan dengan mengusung jargon kembali kepada budaya dan tradisi yang telah berjalan dan dipraktekkan oleh Rasulullah dan para sahabatnya. Menemukan kembali mekanisme dan pemahaman yang “benar” mengenai tradisi dan budaya dalam regulasi Islam orisinil merupakan proyek rasionalisasi Islam Nusantara

yang sebenarnya juga Islam otentik, meskipun dikemas dalam bentuk dan istilahnya yang kontemporer. Pemahaman mendalam tentang Islam model ini tentu tidak akan hanya untuk kembali ke warisan Islam Nusantara klasik, tetapi juga untuk mengeksplorasi sikap ideologis positif dalam rangka menghadapi kolonialisme di satu sisi, dan memerangi keterbelakangan di sisi lain.

Kata Kunci: Islam progresif, Islam orisinil, ‘urf-taqīd dan ādat

Introduction

A project to hunt Original Islam or originality in Islam is still challenged by the description of *Islam ḥaqīqī (mā anā ‘alaihi al-yaum wa aṣḥabī)*. A demand of originality in Islam is still halted in a debate over which Islamic identity that can be considered as a real Islam. However, the discourse over Islam and local tradition is still about on how Islam should be mixed with local wisdom, tradition, and customs. Besides that, despite majority people who have seen how Islam dealt with local tradition which eventually created *Islam Nusantara*, in reality there are many groups of people that want to return to the golden ages of Islam. The authenticity of *Islam Nusantara*, which is held as an ideal mix of Original Islam and its interaction with local culture, is questioned by some people. When Islam is presented in the forms of culture and ideology (with its supporting doctrines) through mode of discourse, many people think that Original Islam has gone. Therefore, a hunting of Original Islam is over because there is no subject which is able to present its originality. This dilemma is not only on its identity-originality but also on the ideological defense mechanism to progressive-reformist ideas.

However, an effort to bring back the past to the present days, without creating a modification and a reproduction to represent the present day Islam, needs to be analyzed. Such model of Islam becomes 'powerless' to face its problems because it is considered as 'other and new'. This powerlessness is not a problem of Islam as a religion but its followers that consider a new one as a partner. Some Muslims believe that Islam does not need something new (*bid'ah*) although ideological justification and new ideas are not against Islam as the sources of the new ideas. This perspective demands elimination to everything which is considered as *bid'ah* despite adopting *bid'ah* does not always mean losing identity of Original Islam (Sallām, 1994: 113). Maintaining exclusivity will cause the isolation of Islam from daily life. On the other hand, adopting local culture and tradition without presenting Islam will make the Islamic identity gone. It is impossible to represent Islam like it was in its golden era in these days. It is because Islam does not exist in an empty and void place. Islam came into a condition where culture and tradition had rooted. Thus, how should Islam and its followers interact when taking a position in the middle of feud between Islamic doctrine (originality) and tradition doctrine (progressive)? What kind of friendly mechanism is able to combine them into not only an eye-pleasing but also ideal mechanism?

Clear Objective

This study aims to provide ideas or applicative solutions to end a feud between Original Islam and *Islam Tradisi*. In addition, this study aims to open an accommodative slot that bridges both sides of Islam. In fact, Islam interacts with local tradition and customs. On the other hand, Islam is a religion that still needs to keep its authenticity or *samāwī*. Besides

that, this study might provide a mechanism on how Islam, through a mode of discourse, deals with local tradition and culture (with its supportive doctrines) and is still able to show the original face of Islam. Islam does not exist in an empty space but reconstructs a shared space in which its content filled the space first. The presence of Islam is not only to deliver its dogmatic theories but also to influence human behaviour and life. Through this study, the ideas of originality in Islam can be explained through its presented practical-ideological sides so that an organic relationship between originality (as an origin) and creativity (as an interpretation result) can be seen as a coherent unity instead of oppositions.

Research Methods

The research method of the present study is a library research due its collected data which came from literature data. The main resource of this study is Islamic literary works from various fields of study such as history, political traditions, as well as Islamic thoughts (Surakhmad, 1991: 132). In addition, the applied method of this study can be considered as a qualitative method whereas the research findings are descriptive ones such as written works that can be observed and analyzed. (Moleong, 2000: 3). The focus of the present study is to describe the reality of the history of Moslem's traditions that were able to collectively influence a way of thinking and acting.

Episteme and a dominant power relation have a tight relationship with the revelation of history of knowledge, socio-cultural as well as the meanings behind historic events. Therefore, the present study applied several approaches such as historical approach and philosophical approach in order to understand the historical contexts. This philosophical

approach is important to be conducted because the revelations of meanings and what happened behind the applied traditions will show that from the beginning to the modern era, those traditions are in fact only the results of a struggle between intellectual and social functions.

1. Data Collection Technique

This step was conducted by grouping and categorizing data according to the research questions of the present study. Next, the collected and categorized data was processed according to the addressed characteristics of the present study. The last step is to process and analyse data. *Content analysis* is a scientific analysis about the message content which shows three prerequisites: objective, systematic, and generalization. (Muhadjir, 2001: 68) and (Eriyanto, 2001: 93-102).

2. Data Validity

Applied data validity of the present study is triangulation in which certain data is checked with another data taken from other sources (Nasution, 1996: 15). Collected data can be considered as more valid if it is taken not only from one source. In addition, to make collected data more reliable, collected information or data obtained from other documentations or references need to go through data checking or clarification with its primary data through a method called cross reference.

3. Data Analysis

Collected data will be analysed with a historical analysis method or a method which critically analyses how far religious values can be transferred into a tradition system and becomes a unity that is collectively trusted. On the other

hand, the procedure to achieve the present research' theme will be organized into following steps.

First is data reduction or processing collected data into the forms of detailed and systematic descriptions or reports. The aforementioned reports would continually increase. If there is any data increase, analysis will be conducted in the beginning to avoid the accumulated difficulties. Those reports will be reduced, summarized, sorted according to its category by defining main things which are significantly related with the focus of study, focusing on important things and looking the themes or patterns, and so on.

Second is data reduction which is obtained by systematically organizing the data to make it suitable with the focus of study. The findings were organized in a narrative way to avoid the difficulties and make it easier to draw the conclusion or follow-ups although they are still temporary in nature. The main components of the analysis process of a qualitative research are data reduction (cutting), data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Data reduction would be conducted since the beginning of data collection and continued during data collecting period and simultaneously tied with data presentation and verification.

Third is drawing conclusion. The conclusion obtained in the beginning was tentative and vague (second steps) but the obtained conclusion can be more accurate through the search of pattern, theme, relationship, equation. Those conclusions need to be clarified and verified during the research period so that the final conclusion can be a valid one.

Due to the literary nature of the present study that is very high on its interpretative content, the present study is a

flexible one. Although the research activity is focused on its formulated objectives and research questions, the study is still a speculative and relative one so that everything might change according to the change on its interpretation.

Discussion

***Bid'ah* Monster**

It is a fact that Islam has performed a cultural and tradition penetration to the point it created a new tradition, a result of tripartite interaction of Islam, people, and tradition. Ibn Taymiyyah (2004) agreed that there are some Arabian traditions and customs from the era before Prophet Muhammad which are still kept by Arabic people. He refused to say that those traditions and customs as *jāhilliyyah* (ignorance or things from the era before Islam) because Islam annulled or accepted them as genuine parts of Islam. In his opinion, there is nothing (culture or tradition) applied in Islam except Allah has decreed it in a representation of Prophet Muhammad's behavior (Ibn Taymiyyah, 2004: 10-12). Although it seems obvious, an innovative-creative intervention (*mubtadi'ah*) often faces 'tradition sword' which stands to block it. Ibn Taymiyyah (1991) in his work *Dār' Ta'ārūd al-'Aql al-Naql*, builds an argument to refuse everything he considers as *bid'ah*. Combining *sharī'ah* with tradition is unwise. There are three mechanisms in this matter; putting *sharī'ah* (*naql*) and leaving behind rational thinking ('*aql*'), putting both of them in the front or abandoning both of them. The above mechanisms cannot be used to explain the interaction between *sharī'ah* and tradition. Choosing one of the above alternative mechanisms can negate one from the rest of them or eliminate the all of them (Ibn Taymiyyah, 1991: 3-6). He seems to forget that a compromise between *naql* (*sharī'ah*) and *aql* (rational

thinking or tradition) had been established long before he built his argumentative theorems.

The identity of Original Islam often faces identity of Syncretic Islam, a Reformist-Progressive Islam. It is imperative to note that the present day Original Islam is a result of evolution and transformation of past 'Islam'. The present day Islam is not a new species (doubling) but in this consideration, the present day Islam is a part of chains spreading along countless interactions until its perfection as mentioned in Holy Quran in Surah Al Maidah verse 3. In this sense, the present day Islam did not give a birth 'the other' or was resulted from other but a compromise mechanism between Islamic principles (as a religion and *sharī'ah*) with its reality. It is not a matter of hierarchical identity which confirms two variables; superior and inferior. This evolution just shifts a classification based on hierarchy because of its mechanism which is based on the formation of ongoing species network. Such mechanism allows the reformist-progressive Syncretic Islam (*Islam Bid'ah*) to accommodate things like tradition, customs, and culture from a wild space to a focused space. It brings meaningless to meaningful, irreligious to theological, false to something with philosophical roots.

Islam *bid'ah* is identical with *Islam Tradisi* because it was originated from a syncretism process between Islam and all extrinsic forms outside of Islam. This term refers to a new mechanism on how *bid'ah* can be accommodated into the forms of *al-'urf*, *al-taqlīd* and *al-ādat*. In this regard, a tradition refers to something which is inherited and moved according to the condition and environment. Substantially, Islam is unchanging but practically it moves to form a new structure and ornament. In this context, there is nothing

wrong with *Islam Tradisi*. It might be wrong if one tries to create a new mechanism (interpretation) based on things which are unrecognized in Islam. However, if the mistakes on interpretation can be avoided, the originality in Islam and its characteristics are still able to be represented in different time and spaces.

The term tradition in Arabic language refers to the term *al-urf*. Ibn Manẓūr describes *urf* as something *ma'rūf* or good (Ibn Manẓūr, 1992: 239-242). Al-Jurjānī defined, every stable thing in a person, is harmonious with logic and has persisted for generations and is not against *sharī'ah* (al-Jurjānī, 2004: 125) and (Su'ūd bin 'Abdillāh, 4). In its practical side, we can understand it by including *sharī'ah* opinions which created current traditions in our society. Tradition is usually a symbol of faith or belief which is eventually expressed into a form of behavior in a certain community for generations. Besides that, a tradition can be transferred into verbal language or spoken tradition. The institutionalization of tradition is aimed to perpetuate the existence of custom, faith, teaching, and practice. In other words, the institutionalization and symbolization of tradition is really important to maintain the existence of tradition. The cultural ritual, politics, and faith are not more substantially significant than the sustainability of tradition itself, making it more difficult for an individual to get out of it. There are many things that can be used to describe tradition such as a memorial for third days of death, a memorial for seventh days of death, or an annual death memorial which have direct emotional-cultural bounds with the strength, authority, sympathy, and full support from the present authority. Although these activities include the reciting of Al Quran and special *duas* (prayers) for dead people, they are categorized as *taqlīd*. Of course, it should be viewed from

the periodic perspective of third, seventh, fortieth, hundredth, or else and not from the reciting of Al Quran. These activities are aimed to observe a death of person. Due to the periodical aspect of those anniversaries which is not based on anything but tradition, those anniversaries are considered having polytheist aspect, not *sharī'ah* or *bid'ah*. Besides that, these rituals are not consistent and not equivalent with *sharī'ah* teaching because in fact, *taqlīd* is a direct descent of its own geographical culture. On another case, *taqlīd* is also performed by some Arabic people. They venerate forty (Al-Aḥmad, 2011: 152). It can be said that although *taqlīd* is considered as 'other' or 'not Islam' but in fact it has 'spiritual' genealogical and epistemological itself as well as its principles of internal coherency.

Many people might not know the origins of those rituals to the point they consider those rituals as 'heretic' and 'abnormal' (against Islamic principle). *Taqlīd* is created to strengthen its authority on its birthplace. Local needs are the specific needs of *taqlīd* itself. The knowledge management of community of the concept of *taqlīd* is in line with local needs. Roles from aspects such as things, time, and place which are included in the ritual actually can be explained through *taqlīd*. A growing tradition among Muslims is not originated from Arabic people or Middle East. Such analysis is important because Islam is commonly argued as a product of Arabic culture. Arabic culture and tradition, in facts, cannot represent the whole aspect of Islamic culture and tradition. Identity character, which is chosen to represent and differentiate it, lies in Islam itself. Local tradition follows and modifies it without hindering the value and normativity of Islam. From this analysis, it can be said that there are two kinds of Islamic traditions and culture; the universal and

constant ones as well as local ones. The origin of former ones can be traced to Al Quran and Sunnah (things or traditions performed by Prophet Muhammad) whereas the latter is based on local customs and traditions.

Cultural archeology explains how a configuration of tradition and culture was born and created the identities of each community. Both created internal relationships among elements which run their functions totally. Therefore it can be said that customs, tradition, and culture are natural processes which were born due to the needs to express organized feelings. The seventh night ritual, the fortieth night ritual, the hundredth night ritual are forms of expressions to link the chains of organic structures. In fact, those rituals are not only about family matter (mourning dead family members) but also the identity for relations among organized elements (a part of relation), not because these people live close with each other or related.

There is no system of thought which came into existence suddenly. It is actually a new version of existing substance or something previously recognized. It is not a coincidence that *ādat* is identical with *taqlīd*. If *taqlīd* is something with rooted since the early generation to the next generation, *ādat* is something contemporary and not too rooted. Due to its temporary nature, *ādat* is easily changed with the changes in time, understanding, civilization and economic condition. Therefore, the difference in *ādat* and *taqlīd* lies on how quick or slow the change happened to it.

The clothing style is a part of what we call as *ādat*. Few years ago, clothes worn by a Muslim man to mosque or formal places was sarong. However, as time goes by, Muslim men are more used to wearing trousers and we only see them

wearing sarong to mosque because it is considered as informal. Nowadays sarong is only worn in specific places. Some places even forbid people from wearing sarong because it is considered as informal, not respectful and irrelevant. If it is forced, there is a social sanction in a form of social isolation from its community. Maintaining a certain position might lead to an egotistical desire which show a personal ambition and bring difficulties on someone's social life. Plato argued, don't force your children with your tradition because they are from different generation and time from you (Ibn Munqidh, 1987: 237).

An Ideal Compromise

Islam as we can find these days is a result of compromise and search of interaction model among Islamic religious texts (Al Quran), interpretations of original Islamic texts in the forms of prophetic tradition or hadith, local tradition with its normative forms which cover human throughout the history of life. There are three compromise theories which are commonly applied by historians to analyze an organic relation between religion and tradition. First theory is based on point of view, on how the glory of the past era can be confirmed to be sort of vaccines to counter the recent condition. Second theory is a liberal one which rejects all forms of tradition whereas the third one compromises all theories which combine the ideas of pro-tradition and openness to all traditions. This pattern follows a pattern project of *turāth* which is proposed by Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Jābirī (al-Jābirī: 1982: ٣٧).

Quranic texts and hadith are not impotent writings. Both are new sources of strength for local tradition and culture which will be Islamized. Tradition of *Tahazzī al-Atfal* (Al-Aḥmad: 2011) or in Javanese tradition called as, *Tedhak Siten* is a tradition to introduce land for the first time to the newborns.

This ritual starts by introducing land to seven months babies. In short, this episode is believed as a lesson of reviving human from values and norms which gives a balance in the order of life (Bratawijaya, 1997). Islam views this ritual as a nothing, meaningless, empty art or culture which is aimed to fill a void. In Islam, *Tedhak Siten* will be meaningful if it refers to a certain Islamic identity (teachings) which signifies interaction. Despite its well-intentioned philosophy, if *Tedhak Siten* is separated from its Islamic identity, it will turn into two opposing characters which will feud as good versus bad characters. But if those characters are combined into one, they will make a way for a new character; a humanistic and traditional Islam. Besides that in order to show Original Islam in this context, the existing tradition which is considered as *bid'ah* should be eliminated. Islam is not only about a number of arguments which systematically reject all traditions and culture. As a 'judge' for all tradition, it does not mean Islam stands objectively alone. Islam is really related with the perspectives of knowledge, power, politics, and culture.

The birth of *Islam tradisi* is not always meant as compromised-alternative Islam but as a deviant that breaks the originality of Islam. *Islam tradisi* has a role on culturalizing Islam to culture and tradition. In spite of the use of term, methodological differences, point of views, the basic norm and normative values are the cores of creative thinking result and capital of lives of humankind. Existing revolutionary and intellectual movements among Muslims are centered on ratio and put them as a center of change. Therefore, what happens nowadays is a result of long chronological historical feuds which in the next phase filled the empty space where no holy texts or tradition have ever existed before. That new tradition is an extension of old

(stable) tradition and is still meaningful although it faces with modernity. It is why *bid'ah* (creativity) is still needed to balance the old and new ones. Therefore, the old ones will always exist in a form of stable substance which will always continuously move as current identity forms.

Islam Tradisi: Shari'ah Reformation or Implication

There is a rejection to *adat* or customs, especially to *shari'ah* or not *shari'ah* ones. Unlike traditions which are created from *shari'ah*, *adat* cannot be created but originated from wild expressions of a community. In this regard, *shari'ah* is *mā lā yukhālifu uṣūl al-shari'ah* (everything is not against basic principles of *shari'ah*). This statement embodies the meaning (content or substance) and not the legal formal side of *shari'ah*. Legal formal might be something different but with similar content and substance. What Adonis argued in his work, *The Archeology of History of Arab-Islamic Thought*, about religion which teaches theoretical things through imagination and persuasion might contain some truth if we see it from a wider perspective. In this consideration, the term 'theoretical' can be defined as a substance which turns to be principal if it is widely accepted when theoretical things are implemented according to the local imagination and rhetoric which heavily emphasizing local wisdom (Adonis, 2009: 34). People are allowed to convey their own theoretical things with their own imagination or languages. What needs to be considered is if the substance can be inserted into the core of imagination or not, not its imagination or persuasion.

Traditions are always related with fundamental rules or principles in the structure of *al-Shari'ah al-Islāmiyyah* which definitely promote Muslims' benefits for worldly or

hereafter matters. Such thinking is more advanced than previous ones which promote one side only. Islamic thinking toward traditions are really flexible *ghair muṣādamah li al-naṣṣ* (as long as it is not against religious texts). Therefore, a relation between sharī'ah survival and traditions can be seen in the perspective of time, space, and condition. This principle obviously expresses theoretical meaning to imagination and persuasion. Everything but sharī'ah is relative and not absolute, making a feud between ethnic and religion eventually gone.

Everything revolves and follows its current development. The mechanism of sharī'ah laws also follows the vertical movement mechanism of economy, social, and politics. It does not mean laws should be adjusted with the time and space condition. In this sense, a dependency on sharī'ah has an implication a tradition and a culture itself. If it has no implication on anything, it means Islam is almost detached from real life. The new and brutal rejection, without considering substances, is actually caused by few things. Firstly, the new symbolization is considered as not sharī'ah. Secondly, there is no comprehensive understating toward presented symbols. Thirdly, there is philosophical relationship between symbol makers and receivers. Nevertheless, several rejection attempts will eventually die when they can't present imagined (*sharī'ah*) symbol. This is where the relevant side between sharī'ah and tradition is intertwined. Grounding texts to human traditions is a mechanism as well as an objective of Islamic sharī'ah because this mechanism will preserve *sharī'ah*. In other words, traditions should be alive and continue not because of the traditions themselves but because they are the sources of the sustainability of Islamic sharī'ah. The above opinion might be similar to what al-Zarqā said in his work *al-*

Madkhal al-Fiqhī. He argued that traditions or *ādat* can be law determiners if they are institutionalized or held dominantly and still exist (al-Zarqā, 2004: 144-145).

As long as Islam being a comprehensive and global religion which covers all related aspects of life, the only thing worth to be a specific boundary of tradition and traditional is an internalization and implementation of certain aspects from an eternal message in Islam. Majority of cultures are judged not from its internal but external side. It is why the good or bad side of *Yasinan* ritual (reciting Surah Yasin from the Holy Quran in the funeral or death memorial) is not located on the ritual itself but its aspect which exists outside of religious motivation and its *naqliyyah* (knowledge which comes from Al-Quran and Hadith) argumentation. This is where a shift of custom of a Muslim to Muslim *Tradisi* (a Muslim who still held certain local traditions) takes place. In the end, this tradition will gradually merge with Islamic culture.

It is important to be noted that there is a diagonal relationship among Islam, *‘urf*, *taqlīd*, and *ādat* which articulate with each other. However, Islam must be the dominant aspect which gives articulation in this diagonal line. It means that the ability to give articulation is determined by Islam. Appropriate assessment actions to represent Islamic foundation should exist on each line. Such interaction will give rights to traditions and cultures as (visual) ‘replacements’ of Islam. Al-Tamīn argued that *ādat* and *‘urf* cannot represent any kind of laws before there is an articulation (a theoretical explanation) which can support it (Al-Tamīn 2009: 34). Giving an articulation to a tradition means representing it as a part of Islam.

It is why *sharī'ah* as a religion has a formalistic limitation whereas traditions and culture are open and limitless. *Sharī'ah* is an unchanging identity while traditions and cultures are changing ones. In this context, traditions follow *sharī'ah* (a perfect one) although the principle and theoretical matters in *sharī'ah* are not explained in *sharī'ah* terms. When *sharī'ah* is represented, there are only its function and existence. *Sharī'ah* in this matter becomes valid whereas traditions and cultures become a religion which is represented convincingly or assumptive. A relationship among them is a very concrete relationship of representation and reflection. It is why *sharī'ah* inspires numerous important values for traditions and cultures. Simultaneously, traditions and culture are spontaneous forms of reflection. Such traditions have universal characters so they transverse all knowledge but they are still under a same ideological commando. In the end, a universal characteristic and an ideology reinforces the existence as well the sustainability of existing traditions.

Conclusion

Islam Tradisi, *Islam Nusantara*, and Progressive Islam are new terms commonly used these days. Such models of Islam are considered as alternative as well as solutive models for the search of religious identity of modern people. It is because their responsive, contemporary, loose, and elastic nature which allows them to exist in an extremely strange space of Islam itself. However, there are some groups of people who hailed themselves as the bearers of true Islam who attempt to conduct resistances differently. In fact, there is nothing to be argued because of the diverse cultural background, intellectuals, and approaches of several references are actually not against with the ideological

perspective of Islam. The matter of right or wrong, *bid'ah* or not are not judged on what we consider as a 'real' Islam but on the ideological interpretation and its beneficial (*maṣlahat*) implication on society.

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