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INTRODUCTION

Contemporary developments in religious (Islamic) thought within the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) community reveal an interesting phenomenon, especially amongst the young cadres. They have progressive religious ideas in responding to modernity that stem from the traditional knowledge base they possess, but that are also shaped by the new knowledge they have gained from modernity. They are not only concerned with modernity, which they critique and view very carefully, but also with revitalizing tradition. This revitalization of tradition is not about glorifying and sacralizing tradition, but deeply critiquing it, both in terms of action and thought. In fact, even the pillars of the *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamâ'ah* doctrine (belief in the Qur'an, the Prophet's Sunna, and the Muslim community) do not escape criticism. The NU youth's thoughts and ideas are generally more responsive in facing the challenges of modernity when compared to their seniors.

Nevertheless, studying the development of thought within the NU community is no easy task. Although NU is known as a traditional organization, tracking the dynamics of its intellectualism involves many complex elements and variables. This is because although the roots of NU's intellectual tradition are relatively similar, their expression by different

NU thinkers is quite varied. This diversity demands that care be taken so as not to arrive at erroneous conclusions. This is even more important when taking a haphazard approach, such as applying the categories of traditionalism versus modernism. These categories are by now well and truly outdated when it comes to looking at where NU is at currently. In short, the spectrum of NU intellectualism has no single face.

This difficulty is also related to the reality that NU intellectualism is a field often neglected by academic studies. Those researching NU, both foreign and native, have the same tendency to examine NU purely from the aspect of politics and power. Meanwhile, the socio-intellectual aspects of NU remain largely unexplored.[1] This is evident in the number of books and works on NU, from the early years right up to the latest developments, that focus largely on the political rather than the socio-intellectual. Although it is clear that NU developments cannot be separated from national politics in general, this does not mean all NU activities are geared towards politics and power.[2] Very few, if any, serious studies of NU concentrate on tracing the intellectual roots of the NU ulama (religious scholars) and the Islamic discourse that has been developed.

This is of course quite concerning and not at all beneficial for NU. Why? Because it gives the impression that NU, both organizationally and culturally, is a community so preoccupied with political issues throughout its entire history that it has neglected the intellectuality which is in fact the very soul of the movement. This assumption is clearly at odds with the reality that NU — where ulama form the backbone of the organization — has embraced the mission of becoming the bridge between the wealth of classic Islamic intellectualism and the reality of modernity. On a macro level, it also gives the impression that Islamic intellectualism in Indonesia is very poor.

HISTORY OF NU INTELLECTUALISM

The emergence of a new passion within NU intellectualism has a long history and has been influenced by many things. The success of the modernists in developing educational institutes helped motivate NU *kiai* (religious scholars) to reform their education by adopting a system of secular education, while still keeping the old *pesantren* (traditional Islamic boarding school) system. For instance, Tebuireng *pesantren*, established by KH Hasyim Asy'ari (1874–1947), adopted a school system, especially in

studies of the Qur'an, from as early as 1916. The following decade, there were at least two pioneers who introduced educational reformation to this *pesantren*, namely Kiai Muhammad Ilyas (1911–70) and Kiai Wahid Hasyim (1914–53). The former was the nephew of Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari's wife, who completed his studies at HIS (Hollandsch Indlansch School) and led the Madrasah Salafiyah (the Salafi School) in Tebuireng *pesantren*. The latter was the son of KH Hasyim Asy'ari, who after returning from Mecca in 1935, introduced Dutch lessons to the madrasah (formal Islamic school).

Since the 1950s, a number of *santri* (Islamic students studying at *pesantren*) and sons and daughters of *kiai* have gone on to study at tertiary institutes, both in Indonesia and overseas. At the same time, in 1951, the Minister for Religious Affairs KH Wahid Hasyim established the state Islamic college known as Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri (PTAIN), which later became the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) in 1960. Subsequent developments have seen no fewer than fourteen IAIN campuses across the archipelago; and in 1997, faculties that had been part of the IAIN network became part of the State Islamic College (STAIN), which now has thirty-three campuses.[3] Besides this, there are many private Islamic Tertiary Institutions (PTAI) that also help spread developments in Islamic education throughout Indonesia. Their existence plays an important role for the continued mobility of *santri* after they have graduated from *pesantren*. This fast-paced modernization of education means that NU youth are increasingly more educated, attending tertiary institutions, and living in academic environments.

The emergence of a number of religious non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has also greatly influenced the NU youth. NGOs do not only invigorate religious life, but also play a role in creating a progressive religious discourse. Since the 1970s, young NU cadres became active in NGOs working towards the development of village communities. These activities gave NU youth the opportunity to openly participate in the intellectual discourse and have a direct impact on social reality.

Several NGOs influenced the development of NU intellectualism, including P3M (Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat/ The Indonesian Society for Pesantren and Community Development), which was established in 1983, and Lakpesdam NU (Lembaga Kajian dan Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia NU/NU's Institute for Human Resource Studies and Development), which was established in 1985, shortly after NU announced a return to the Khittah of 1926 (a socio-religious rather

than political orientation) in 1984. In the 1990s a number of NGOs emerged, motivated by the NU youth. They included LKiS (Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial/The Institute for Islamic and Social Studies) in Yogyakarta, the Desantara Institute in Jakarta, Ilham in Semarang, eLSAD in Surabaya, Avveroes in Malang, INCReS in Bandung, Bildung in Cirebon, LAPAR in Makassar, and Syarikat in Yogyakarta.

The emergence of this new passion in NU intellectualism cannot be separated from NU's decision to leave the bustling life of practical politics and return to the NU Khittah of 1926. This important decision forced the NU elite and community to step away from the busyness of practical political affairs. Much of their time instead was channelled into responding to issues of education, poverty, injustice, and realignment to the NU framework of thought. The election of Achmad Shiddiq as chairman of the 'Âm Syuriah (central legislative body of NU) and KH Abdurrahman Wahid as head of the Tanfidhiyah PBNU (NU executive body) in Situbondo in 1984 further facilitated critical and progressive religious thought in NU circles.

KH Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership from 1984 brought two important changes. The first one was a repositioning of politics with the decision to return to the Khittah of 1926, which represented a transition from formal politics on the New Order's platform to informal politics without a platform. This repositioning allowed NU to create its own political platform and gave it a bargaining position with the New Order government, though it also made the New Order government continually suspicious of NU. In addition, the reorientation allowed NU to struggle for the development of society, rather than being oriented towards securing political positions. Secondly, Abdurrahman Wahid provided room for the growth of new thought, related to theology, fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), *tasawuf* (mysticism), and the doctrine of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamâ'ah* (belief in the Qur'an, the Prophet's Sunna, and the Muslim community). This theological repositioning was crucial because, in accordance with the Khittah of 1926, NU was returning to being a religious organization (*jam'iyyah diniyah*) concerned with social issues (*ijtima'iyyah*). In this context, NU placed theological belief as the basis of community development through promotion of universal issues such as human rights, democracy, civil society, and gender equality.[4]

Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership stimulated change in NU's religious discourse. Without hesitation, he published articles in several journals, magazines, newspapers, and other media forms on a variety of issues, including criticism of the NU and *pesantren* traditions. Abdurrahman

Wahid's criticism and appreciation of new thought motivated the NU youth to think critically in a way that broke away from the establishment. On this basis, it can be reasoned that under Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership, NU's religious thought appeared more dynamic compared to that of other religious organizations.

Today, the progressive thought of the NU youth has continued to develop, both through NGOs and tertiary institutions. Recently, their thoughts have become increasingly crystallized and marked by their own unique characteristics, which they refer to as Islamic post-traditionalism. However, this transformation within Islamic intellectualism is not well known amongst the public. How intellectual dynamics within the NU community moved from the traditional–conservative to the outbreak of Islamic post-traditionalist thought, the factors that influenced this change, the issues and Islamic discourses that have developed, and the implications and future of this post-traditionalist movement within the context of NU intellectualism, are all topics that need to be elaborated further in an academic manner.

NEGLECT OF SOCIO-INTELLECTUAL STUDIES

Academic elaboration is also important in response to the general conception of NU, which has been stereotyped as a traditional community that is old-fashioned, anti-modernity, and static, amongst other things, but which is in fact leading developments in very progressive new thought in Indonesia.

This misconception is a result of at least three factors. First, although recently I have been paying much greater attention to NU developments by reading academic studies of NU for my honours, Masters, and PhD, from both within Indonesia and overseas, the majority of these studies look at developments in NU's political behaviour instead of its intellectual dynamics.

Secondly, the development of progressive thought in NU is quite startling. This is understandable given that NU, which has always been seen as the guardian of Islamic orthodoxy, the most loyal heir to tradition, and a group which is nearly without intellectual dynamics, has suddenly produced a generation of NU youth who have developed NU's intellectual character as if to separate it from its traditional foundations.

Thirdly, studies of socio-intellectual dynamics in Indonesia are generally neglected. As a result, research on NU intellectualism would make

an important contribution to the study of socio-intellectual developments in Indonesia.

To date, there are very few academic studies of NU compared with studies of modern organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Persatuan Islam (Persis, Islamic Union). This is of course very worrying. In-depth research into NU only really took off at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. It was then that NU's changing role in the second half of the 1980s caught the interest of (Western) scholars.

This led to the publication of a foreign-language book, albeit an edited collection, which specifically discussed NU, titled *Nahdlatul Ulama: Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*. It was edited by Greg Barton and Greg Fealy and published by Monash University, Australia, in 1996. The book was later translated into Indonesian and published by LKiS, Yogyakarta, with the title *Tradisionalisme Radikal: Persinggungan Nahdlatul Ulama-Negara/Radical Traditionalism: NU-State Interaction* (1997). Three years after this initial publication, a second foreign-language book was written in French by Andree Feillard and later published by LKiS under the title *NU vis a vis Negara: Pencarian Bentuk, Isi dan Makna/NU vis a vis the State: A Search for Form, Content and Meaning* (1999).

Native Indonesian scholars produced more works on NU, including Choirul Anam (1985), *Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Nahdlatul Ulama/ Growth and Development of Nahdlatul Ulama*; Kacung Marijan (1992), *Quo Vadis NU: Setelah Kembali ke Khittah 1926/Quo Vadis NU: After the Return to the 1926 Kittah*; Mahrus Irsyam (1984), *Ulama dan Partai Politik, Upaya Mengatasi Krisis/Ulama and Political Parties, An Attempt to Overcome the Crisis*; Bahtiar Effendy (1988), "The Nine Stars and Politics: A Study of Nahdlatul Ulama's Acceptance of Asas Tunggal and Its Withdrawal from Politics", MA thesis at Ohio University; Einar Martahan Sitompul (1989), *NU dan Pancasila: Sejarah dan Peranan NU dalam Penerimaan Pancasila sebagai Satu-Satunya Asas/NU and Pancasila: The History and Role of NU in Accepting Pancasila as the Sole Basis*; A. Gaffar Karim (1995), *Metamorfosis NU dan Politisasi Islam di Indonesia/NU Metamorphosis and Politicisation of Islam in Indonesia*; Ellyasa KH Dharwis, editor (1994), *Gus Dur, NU dan Masyarakat Sipil/Gus Dur, NU and Civil Society*; Ali Haidar (1994), *Nahdlatul Ulama dan Islam: Pendekatan Fiqih dalam Politik/Nahdlatul Ulama and Islam: A Fiqh Approach in Politics*.

Almost all of these books favour a political approach. More recently, Djohan Effendi (2000) wrote a dissertation that took an intellectual

development approach more than a political one, entitled "Progressive Traditionalists: The Emergence of a New Discourse in Indonesia's Nahdlatul Ulama during the Abdurrahman Wahid Era", at Deakin University, Australia.

In 2002, two dissertations that discussed contemporary NU developments were written. The first was Laode Ida (2002), "Gerakan Sosial Kelompok Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Progresif/Nahdlatul Ulama's Social Movement", written for her doctoral degree at the University of Indonesia, and the second was Robin L. Bush (2002), "Islam and Civil Society in Indonesia: The Case of the Nahdlatul Ulama", written for her doctoral degree from the University of Washington. Both dissertations discuss the NU social movement, but with emphasis on different aspects. While Laode Ida emphasized the social movement brought about by the progressive NU community that is spread through a variety of institutions, Robin focused more on the dynamics of the civil society movement within NU circles, and as a result the variable of politics is quite dominant in her analysis. One thing that is very clear is that both dissertations failed to delve into the religious discourse developed by the NU youth, whose references are taken largely from Arabic books. This appreciation is important at the very least to cross-check the sources used. In addition, Robin sees all activities of the NU youth within the context of civil society, although civil society is a political concept and not a religious one. Such a focus means that both dissertations were unable to pay much attention to the dynamics of religious discourse within the NU community. Although Robin mentioned several themes of thought that were developing, it was only very briefly, as the dissertation was in fact a study of politics.

An examination of these previous studies shows that the new current of thought in the NU community, which reflects themes of Islamic post-traditionalism, has not been studied in any depth except in a handful of short articles. On this basis, research that places emphasis on NU's socio-intellectual history, especially in relation to the growth of progressive youth groups, is an area that remains untouched by many academics.

TRADITION, THE TRADITIONAL, TRADITIONALISM, AND POST-TRADITIONALISM

In the Indonesian dictionary, tradition has two meanings: hereditary customs that are still followed by the community; and the assessment

or assumption that the ways that exist are the best or most correct.[5] As such, tradition is a generic term used to refer to everything that has been brought from the past and exists in the present.

In Islam, Sayyed Hossein Nasr explains that tradition refers to God's revelation and its expression throughout history. Nasr states that tradition encompasses three aspects: first, *al-dîn* (the religion) in the widest understanding possible, which incorporates all religious aspects; secondly, *al-sunnah* (the Prophet's example), which was formed and developed based on sacred models until it became a tradition; and thirdly, *silsilah* (genealogy), or the chain that connects all periods, episodes, or steps in life. In short, tradition is interpreted as being the sacred truth, eternal, perennial wisdom in its application in any one place and time.[6]

The term tradition is also often translated as referring to the Hadith,[7] the Sunna, and customs. However, these three terms are unable to completely encapsulate the meaning of tradition in this discussion. This is not to say that tradition is unrelated to these three terms. The Sunna, for instance, is often referred to as a tradition which is alive, and NU, as an organization that holds firmly to this tradition, calls itself a follower of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamâ'ah*.[8]

Muhammed 'Abid al-Jabiri examined different forms of traditions and pointed out the relevance of explaining the term. He argued that tradition has several forms, including: (1) meaningful traditions (*al-turâs al-ma'nawî*), in the form of cultural traditions or traditions of thought or thinking; (2) material traditions (*al-turâs al-mâdî*), such as monuments or objects from the past; (3) cultural traditions, or everything that we possess from our past; (4) universal humanitarian traditions, or everything present amongst us that comes from the pasts of others.[9]

The term "traditional" is an attitude, a way of thinking and acting that holds to hereditary norms and customs.[10] The word is usually used to refer to a person or group of people who still hold firm to tradition. In the context of Indonesian Islam, traditional Islam has the following features. First, it is very much connected to traditional Islamic thought, which can be traced back to the thought of ulama who were experts in fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), the Hadith, *tasawuf* (mysticism), *tafsir* (exegesis) and *tauhid* (the oneness of God), and who lived between the seventh and thirteenth centuries.[11] Adherents of traditional Islam are happier to follow the opinions of the great ulama from the past than to draw their own conclusions based on the Qur'an and the Hadith. Secondly, a large number of them live in villages, and *pesantren* form the basis for their education. Initially, they

tended to be an exclusive group that neglected worldly issues because of their involvement in the world of Sufism and mysticism (*tasawuf*); they also resisted modernization and the way of thinking of urban *santri*, defended their possessions, and bowed down to their *kiai* almost without limit. Thirdly, the more ideological characteristic of those who adhere to traditional Islam is that they are attached to a particular understanding of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamâ'ah*. This understanding does not just differentiate between the Sunnis and non-Sunnis, but also between the traditionalists and the modernists.[12]

Meanwhile, traditionalism is an understanding or teaching based on tradition.[13] Traditionalism therefore represents teachings that are structured in such a way so as to become the living practices within a community. When related to Islam, Islamic traditionalism refers to a specific Islamic understanding or doctrine, both in the form of religious thought and practices that are inherited from one generation to the next.

Post-traditionalism etymologically means passing or going beyond traditionalism. As a term, post-traditionalism is considered uncommon; besides not being in the dictionary, no academics use the term to study Islamic thought. Nevertheless, Anthony Giddens, a sociologist from Cambridge University, used the term post-traditional society to refer to modernity. Consequently, modernity is post-traditional.[14] However, post-traditionalism here is not used in the way Giddens used it, although several aspects are relevant.

The word "post" in this sense can indeed be understood as passing by, going beyond, or even discarding and leaving behind tradition. However, the soul of the post-traditionalist movement and revitalization of tradition does not mean leaving tradition behind. Thus, post-traditionalism contains a sense of both continuity and change[15] — continuity in the sense of using tradition as a basis for transformation (change).

In the context of NU, the term post-traditionalism is used to refer to the NU youth to symbolize their break with tradition. This break does not mean discarding or leaving tradition behind, but using it as the basis of their movement for transformation. It is at this point that the group can be differentiated from other communities. NU youth are characteristically determined to hold to and use tradition as a social model to develop thought and push for change. Nevertheless, this does not mean that they accept tradition blindly, without criticism. Rather, they do not hesitate to criticize their own traditions and those of others. Criticism of their own traditions does not equate to a hatred and dismissal of said traditions, but

instead a revitalization to make tradition more useful. Consequently, their movement and thinking remains within the bounds of tradition.

THE MODERN, MODERNISM, AND NEO-MODERNISM

The term "modern" has several meanings, including a period of time (the modern era from 1500 CE to the present) or the adaptation of the latest methods, ideas, and technology. The term originates from the Latin *modernus*, which is derived from the word *modo* meaning "recently" and "current". Modern civilization is marked by two main features: rationalization (rational thinking) and technicalization (a more technical way of acting).

Modernism is interpreted as a modern view or method, and particularly the tendency to regulate tradition and religious belief so that it is harmonious with modern thought. The Webster dictionary defines modernism as the movement of adapting religion to modern thought, especially to reduce the presence of supernatural elements that are considered traditional.[16] Thus, Islamic modernism can be understood as a movement that emerged during the modern period of Islamic history in which Islamic doctrine was adapted to modern thought and institutions.[17]

Harun Nasution (1919–98), a professor of Islamic thought and philosophy at Syarif Hidayatullah UIN in Jakarta, tends to avoid using the term *modernism*, preferring instead the term *pembaruan*, meaning renewal or reform. The term *modernism*, he believes, has a negative connotation in addition to its positive ones. The negative connotation that Harun Nasution refers to is the Western connotation inherent in the term, which might give the impression that Islamic modernism is a continuation of the modernism that emerged in the West.[18]

In Arabic, modernism is often translated as *tajdîd*, which has the same meaning of renewal or reform. The term (renewal or reform) refers to the purification movement that began before the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, modernism is used to refer to reformation movements since the nineteenth century that were aimed at adapting Islamic doctrine to modern thought. In Indonesia, Islamic modernism began with the renewal of religious thought (theology), institutions, social and educational aspects, and politics.[19]

Neo-modernism then is Fazlur Rahman's typology of thought, created to depict developments in — and the nature of — Islamic intellectualism.

Rahman divided movements in Islamic thought into four categories. First, there was the revivalist movement at the end of the eighteenth century, which was marked by the emergence of the Wahabi movement in Saudi Arabia, the Sanusi movement in North Africa, and the Fulani movement in West Africa. These movements did not make contact with the West. Secondly, there was the classic modernism movement which emerged in the mid-nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, and was highly influenced by Western ideas. This movement expanded what could be subject to *ijtihad* (independent interpretation and reasoning) to encompass matters such as the relationship between divinity and rationality. It also allowed for social reform, including reform in the education sector and concerning the status of women, as well as political reform and democratic forms of governance. Thirdly, there was the neo-revivalist movement, which was based on the classical modernist idea that Islam encompasses all aspects of life, both collective and individual. However, in its attempt to differentiate itself from the West, the movement did not accept the method and spirit of classical modernism, but was also unable to develop its own methodology to express its position. Fourthly, there was the neo-modernist movement that attempted to find a way to achieve progressive synthesis between modernist rationality and *ijtihad* of classical traditions. According to Fazlur Rahman, although there is indeed a spirit of classical modernism, the movement has at least two fundamental weaknesses. First, it does not thoroughly analyse the method which is semi-implicit in addressing the specific issues and the implications of its fundamental principles. Secondly, it is unavoidable that neo-modernism should actually become an agent of westernization. Neo-modernism is thus viewed by Fazlur Rahman as developing a fitting and logical methodology that differentiates itself from classical modernism.[20] According to Fazlur Rahman, although neo-modernism attempts to integrate modernism and traditionalism, in fact it cannot escape the hegemony of modernism, which places traditionalism as a historical ornament and not the spirit of social transformation.

OVERVIEW

This book consists of five chapters. This first chapter consists of an introduction that presents the background and significance of the book, a number of key issues that will be discussed, an elaboration of related

studies, and the book's position amongst socio-intellectual studies in Indonesia.

The second chapter discusses the foundations to the formation of NU intellectualism. This section first presents the initial formation of the tradition of intellectualism in the archipelago, and then moves on to the tradition of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamâ'ah* as the foundation to the formation of NU intellectualism that encompasses the three scientific traditions of fiqh, *tasawuf*, and theology. In addition, NU's socio-intellectual model and NU's response to a number of socio-religious developments are examined.

The third chapter specifically looks at the development of Islamic post-traditionalism within the NU community. It discusses the discourse of post-traditionalist thought within Islamic thought; the emergence of a new current of progressive thought within NU; factors that influence this; and the dimension of Islamic post-traditionalist thought in the NU community.

The fourth chapter contains the real essence of this book, analysing the discourse of post-traditionalist thought in NU and looking at future projections. This chapter more specifically discusses the struggle between liberal and conservative thought in NU; the position of post-traditionalist thought in the development of intellectualism in Indonesia; the religious discourse that is being developed; the implications and future for post-traditionalism; and the direction and tendencies of the future of post-traditionalist thought.

The fifth chapter is a final summation of the key issues discussed.

Notes

1. This tendency is evident in all studies of Islam, including Islam in Indonesia. Many scholars of Islam are more interested in studying the religion from the perspective of politics and power than from the perspective of culture, intellectualism, or doctrine. This gives the less-than-helpful impression that the history of Islam is identical to the history of kings, the rise and fall of dynasties, power struggles amongst political elites, and so on. Meanwhile, the very rich socio-intellectual dynamics of the Muslim community are often left out of historiographies.

2. This includes for instance Mahrus Irsyam, *Ulama dan Politik: Upaya mengatasi Krisis* (Jakarta: Yayasan Perkhidmatan, 1984); Choirul Anam, *Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Nahdlatul Ulama* (Sala: Jatayu, 1985); Kacung Marijan, *Quo Vadis NU setelah Kembali ke Khittah 1926* (Surabaya: Erlangga, 1992); Martin van Bruinessen, *NU: Tradisi Relasi-Relasi Kuasa dan Pencarian Wacana Baru*

(Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1994); Ellyasa KH Dharwis, ed., *Gus Dur, NU dan Masyarakat Sipil* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1994); Ali Haidar, *Nahdlatul Ulama dan Islam: Pendekatan Fiqih dalam Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1994); A. Gaffar Karim, *Metamorfosis: NU dan Politisasi Islam di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1995); Greg Fealy and Greg Barton, eds., *Tradisionalisme Radikal: Persinggungan Nahdlatul Ulama Negara* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1997); Andree Feillard, *NU vis a vis Negara: Pencarian Bentuk, Isi dan Makna* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999); and Marzuki Wahid et al., eds., *Geger di "Republik" NU, Perebutan Wacana, Tafsir Sejarah, dan Perebutan Makna* (Jakarta: KOMPAS-Lakpesdam, 1999).

3. Recently, five IAIN and one STAIN merged to form the State Islamic University (UIN), namely Syarif Hidayatullah IAIN in Jakarta, Sunan Kalijaga IAIN in Yogyakarta, Sunan Gunung Djati IAIN in Bandung, Alauddin IAIN in Makassar, Sultan Syarif Kasim IAIN in Pekanbaru Riau, and Malang STAIN.

4. Syafiq Hasyim and Robin L. Bush, "NU and Discourses: Islam, Gender and Traditional Islamic Society" (unpublished paper presented at the Conference on Islam, Civil Society and Development in Southeast Asia, University of Melbourne, 11–12 July 1998).

5. Compilation Team for the Comprehensive Dictionary of Indonesian Language, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1988), p. 589. An almost identical meaning can be found in Edward N. Teall, A.M., *Webster's New American Dictionary*, vol. 4 (New York: INC., 1965), p. 1059, which explains that tradition has three meanings: (1) the handing down of knowledge, beliefs, and customs from one generation to another; (2) a belief or custom so taught; (3) anything handed down from the past and strongly rooted as to be as inviolable of law.

6. Sayyed Hossein Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1990), p. 13.

7. In John L. Esposito, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 230, tradition is equated with the Hadith.

8. For more see Azyumardi Azra, "Islam Tradisional dan Modernitas di Indonesia", book review in *Studia Islamika* 4, no. 4 (1997): 217–40.

9. Muhammad Abed al-Jabiri, *Post-Tradisionalisme Islam*, translated by Ahmad Baso (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000), pp. 24–25. See also Muhammad Abed al-Jabiri, *Nahnu wa al-Turâs, Qirâ'ât Mu'âshirah fî Turâsinâ al-Falsafî*, 5th ed. (Casablanca: al-Markaz al-Tsaqafi al-Arabi, 1986), pp. 11–19.

10. Compilation Team for the Comprehensive Dictionary of Indonesian Language, *Kamus Besar*, p. 959.

11. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), p. 1.

12. For further information see Fachry Ali and Bahtiar Effendy, *Merambah Jalan*

Baru Islam, Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Orde Baru (Bandung: Mizan, 1990), pp. 48–52.

13. Compilation Team for the Comprehensive Dictionary of Indonesian Language, *Kamus Besar*, p. 959.

14. See Anthony Giddens, *Masyarakat Post-Tradisional*, translated by Ali Noer Zaman (Yogyakarta: Ircisod, 2003).

15. In the NU tradition there is a famous principle which says *al-muhâfadhah 'alâ al-qadîm al-shâlih wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadîd al-ashlah* (preserve old [traditions] that are good, and adopt new [traditions] that are even better). Simply speaking, continuity is preserved in *al-muhâfadhah 'alâ al-qadîm al-shâlih*, while change comes from *al-akhdzu bi al-jadîd al-ashlah*.

16. Edward N. Teall, A.M., *Webster's New American Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 626.

17. Nia Kurnia and Amelia Fauzia, "Gerakan Modernisme", in *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam*, vol. 5, edited by Taufik Abdullah et al. (Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru van Hoeve, 2003), p. 349.

18. See Harun Nasution, *Pembaharuan dalam Islam, Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1992).

19. Nia Kurnia and Amelia Fauzia, "Gerakan Modernisme", p. 350.

20. For more on this see Fazlur Rahman, *Neomodernisme Islam, Metode dan Alternatif*, 2nd ed., edited by Taufik Adnan Amal (Bandung: Mizan, 1989), pp. 17–21. See also Greg Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia, Pemikiran Neo-Modernisme Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib dan Abdurrahman Wahid* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999).