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ISLAM AND MINANGKABAU CUSTOM IN HAMKA'S VIEW: PAUL RICOEUR'S HERMENEUTIC PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract : Islam and Minangkabau Customs in the thought of HAMKA is an attempt to modernizing the understanding in order to discover the essence of values of Islam and Minangkabau at that period of time. Islam and Minangkabau in the thought of HAMKA perceived from Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics requires 1) distancing and appropriation that open the door of the truth of plurality. 2) negotiation and intersubjective truth. Indonesia with the diversity of ethnic, religion and language is an extraordinary treasure. The collision of difference in diversity is inevitable. However, the awareness of the importance of regulating, preserving and maintaining it needs participation of all parties to refrain, appreciate, respect, be honest and maintain and bequeath the tradition of each group so that it may result in harmony in living together.

Abstrak : Islam dan adat Minangkabau menurut Hamka memiliki hubungan dialektika yang saling menguatkan. Keduanya, kendati memiliki watak dan berasal dari sumber yang berbeda, tumbuh dan hidup dalam kultur Minangkabau. Kekuatan kedua entitas ini menjadi fondasi bagi kemajuan masyarakat Minangkabau. Akan tetapi, memang tidak bisa diabaikan bahwa kedua unsur ini memiliki potensi untuk menimbulkan konflik. Dalam konteks ini, menjadi sangat penting untuk menggunakan pendekatan hermenetik yang diperkenalkan oleh Paul Ricoeur. Pendekatan ini memungkinkan kedua unsur ini menjadi kekuatan pendorong kemajuan masyarakat modern.

Key words: Islam and Minangkabau Customs, Hermeneutics, Plurality

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If observed more profoundly, Islam and Minangkabau Custom requires understanding of the body of knowledge about Minangkabau itself. This is very important to direct the above statement about the emptiness of Islamic thought regarding Minangkabau. Like other ethnic groups, Minangkabau is one of the ethnics which have uniqueness. Most of researches put a question of how the concept of matrilineal Minangkabau can be parallel with the concept of patrilineal Islam.

Emerging in the beginning of nineteenth century, Padri Movement was triggered by a spirit to purify the religious life which was mixed with tradition which in its course forced Minangkabau people to revise the definition of their custom from the nature of Minangkabau. This movement wanted to create a new Minangkabau nature and comply with the provision of Islamic law. Taufik Abdullah (Taufik Abdullah, 2003, :3) explains that at that time Minangkabau was in multidimensional intellectual upheaval. There were religious arguments over validity of *tarekat* (mystical order), superstition, heresy, *qunut*, *talqin*, *rukya*t, and so on. The gists of the matters were related to orthodoxy and rationality in religious life. Padri was eventually defeated by Dutch, but in terms of socio-culture it successfully placed the power of Islam on a firm basis in Minangkabau region with a consensus of *Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah*.

Preferring violent way to realize the dream of the group, Padri implanted the wound of history which cut Minangkabau from its previous culture. Hadler (Hadler, Jeffrey, 2010 : 66) argues that the historiography of Central Java is narrative, romanticism, syncretism, development and sustainability. Meanwhile, Minangkabau is a story of bad luck and unsustainability. The understanding of several Tuanku nan Tuo's students like Tuanko nan Renceh met with the spirit of students returning from Mecca, known as the Padri movement, justifying the violent way to purify the tradition-mixed Islamic teaching. Imam Bonjol finally apologized for such violence because he received news that the concept applied in Mecca by Wahabi had not been implemented any more. Eventually, Tuanku Imam Bonjol released his ideology and did improvement (Hadler, Jeffrey, 2010 : 46).

In the history of Minangkabau, Padri movement is not only a religious movement, but also a political government confirming the leadership of Padri, in addition the leadership of custom in Minangkabau. Taufik Abdullah (Taufik Abdullah, dalam A.A. Navis, 1986 : .xi), argues that from the point of view of power and authority, such cultural formulation questions about whose authority should perform more function and whose words are more important.

The process of assimilation between custom and sharia law continuously experiences episodes of conflict and consensus until the present. Regional government elaborates the cultural formulation of *Adat basandi Syara', Syara' basandi Kitabullah* by making Regional Regulations prevailing in West Sumatra, which at the same time adheres to the positive law in the territory of Indonesia. The ministry of Law and Human Rights notes that there are 22 Regional Regulations in West Sumatra in dispute because they are based on Sharia law. They are disputed because they are discriminative, conflicting public interests and higher regulations. There is indirect assumption in West Sumatra that associates *minang-ness* with Islam. Minangkabau is Islam and Islam is Minangkabau.

The desire of Minangkabau people to strengthen their cultural identity as the fortress in preserving self identity to face change of era including globalization and their efforts to realize the concept of ABS-SBK in developing West Sumatra contradicts to the spirit of diversity in the frame of Unity in Diversity. While the tension between Islam and customs has not been resolved yet, Minangkabau people also should encounter the spirit of modernity, namely democracy, appreciation of human rights, acceptance of plurality, and so on.

One of the Minangkabau leading figures who has documented Islam and Minangkabau is HAMKA. HAMKA (1984 : .134), in his book wrote that Minangkabau is Islam. HAMKA argues that the previous Minangkabau culture is *jahiliyah* culture and must be replaced with Islamic culture. If Minangkabau without Islamic culture is not *Minang*, but *kabau* (buffalo). (HAMKA, Panjimas no 335 : 17). HAMKA also juxtaposes with Malay, that if Malay without Islam is not Malay, but has been *layu* (withered). This research is library research. The material object of the research was

Minangkabau Islamic text, work of HAMKA. Meanwhile, the formal object of the research was Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutic model.

THE CONCEPT OF PAUL RICOEUR'S HERMEUNETICS

The word "Hermeneutics" is refer to a verb in Greece *hermeneo* which means to express ones thought in words. Furthermore, it is known as the science or the art of interpreting text. In the literature of philosophy it is stated that Aristotle is the early philosopher who gives much attention to hermeneutics through his work *Peri Hermenias* or *de Interpretation*. Aristotle (Aristoteles, 1941 : .40). stated that spoken word is a symbol of spiritual experience and written word is the symbol of spoken word. The spiritual experience which is symbolized is the same for everybody. *Hermenia* or interpretation pays attention to every meaningful discourse. Meaningful discourse is called *Hermeneia*, which interpret reality that states something about a particular thing. Discourse is a discursive statement which is a form of catching a reality through meaningful expressions. It is not about an option among impressions which come from the thing in itself (Josef Blaicher, 1980.: 232).

Paul Ricoeur was the most significant philosopher in the twentieth century. He was born in Valence - South France, on February 27th, 1913. One of his strengths is his capability in mastering issues in philosophy and mediating various contradictive schools of philosophy. He used hermeneutics to show how contradictive things can run together, by relating one of the perceptions to the context of another perception. Ricoeur appreciated plurality of opinions and questions from others. Meanwhile, he kept respecting genuine philosophical passion to find the unity of reasoning and purity in history (Kaplan, M. David, 2010 : 1-2). Paul Ricoeur designed hermeneutics as interpretation theory in epistemology and more specifically lead to fundamental problem, which is reality hermeneutics "I exist" (subject existence hermeneutics). Paul Ricoeur tried to find the existence of oneself through a text. He always raised a fundamental question which was about how to interpret the existence as human being. He argued that text and the comprehension of text could find the trace of human existence. Probably it is what meant as Anthropology philosophy, because it always questions about the

meaning of human existence. Joko Siswanto (2008: 54) explained that Ricoeur is a very productive writer and the whole of his works related to glorious theme in philosophy which is about “the meaning of life”. His determination in exploring the hermeneutics of self makes many people is able to understand it.

Better self-understanding is revealed in structured sincerity within actions like the aim, motive, means, subject, imagination and desire. Action does not appear accidentally, but it is started from the act of imitating by listening, looking, and reading about something which was happened previously. So that, there is a connection between action and the story. Paul Ricoeur discussed it in mimetic. Mimetic comes from the word of “mimesthai” which means: duplicate, repeat, follow, imitate, copy, and recreate something. According to Ricoeur, creative action is the action of human being. Creative action needs self-understanding through story which is mediated by sign, symbol and text. Self-understanding which enables transparency is founded in interpreting (hermeneutics) (Haryatmoko, 2000 : 28) naturally.

The concept of Paul Ricoeur ‘s hermeneutics can be elaborated as follows:

1. Distanciation through text.

The distanciation through text is text otonomization because of the immanent structure of the text. The distanciation releases messages and intentions of the speaker or author, from the beginning situation while being expressed. The discourse contained in the writing could reach the current world. An interpreter can reach it through implicit and explicit meanings. The distanciation means assisting the preservation of text meaning and avoiding to be vanished by time. The implication is that the text becomes open to further interpretation. Goal set by various kinds of hermeneutics, according to Ricoeur, is struggle against cultural distance, that the interpreter should keep his distance in order to make a good interpretation.

2. Text and Self understanding

An important stage between structural explanation and self understanding is the exposition of matter or the world of text. It is the

stage that creates and changes the readers or interpreters. The new matter of world does not directly, but is revealed through the structures of work or text. The world exposed or suggested by the text will have meaning if it belongs to the readers or interpreters (appropriation or self understanding). Such appropriation signifies the meeting point between the world suggested by the text and the concrete world of readers or interpreters.

3. Analogy of game (creative aspect in distanciation)

Creative distanciation will enrich and purify self understanding. The game is a form of self distanciation colored by serious and formal life. The game may help in opening new possibilities restrained by serious thinking. The game also may open the possibilities of subject to change. The game could promote the development of initiative and creativity. Because of the game, the subject is freed from social norm and daily seriousness (Haryatmoko,. 200 : 31-32).

4. Meaning is in front of the text

The sense of text is not behind the text, but in front of it. It is not something hidden, but something disclosed (Ricoeur, 1976 : 87). Paul Ricoeur wants to struggle for plural and open truth. Ricoeur rejects absolute and closed truth in interpreting the text. Paul Ricoeur emphasizes that meaning is in front the text, which gives readers or interpreters space in order to explore meaning in accordance with the context.

ISLAM AND MINANGKABAU CUSTOM ACCORDING TO HAMKA

HAMKA's view on Islam and Minangkabau Custom is highly representative to be studied because of several reasons. First, HAMKA was born when socio-religious upheaval reached its peak. Such movement was intended to purify the tradition (custom) which was previously considered jahiliyah into Islamic tradition. There is a tickling question here that what jahiliyah custom is and what Islamic custom is. Second, HAMKA wrote a lot about Islam in Minangkabau. Third, people of West Sumatra, whose majority is Minang-

Minangkabau ethnic, currently assume that West Sumatra is Minangkabau and Minangkabau has the identity of “Islam”.

The significance of reading HAMKA’s view at the present is how to understand in the contemporary context what has been frequently emphasized by HAMKA that Minangkabau has an identity of Islam and otherwise, it is not Minang anymore, but only “*kerbau* (buffalo)”, as presented by Rusydi in Panjimas Magazine no: 335 of 1981 as follows:

In Malay Culture Seminar in Kuala Lumpur in 1974, Buya affirmed his conviction that there is no Malay without Islam, there is Islam behind Malay. This is in line with his way of life as an Islamic scholar from Minangkabau and his position as Penghulu Adat (Head of Custom) entitled Datuk Indomo. While joking, he often said “Malay (*Melayu*) without Islam loses *itsme*” and they become “*layu*” (withered), Minangkabau without Islam will lose its Minang, they then become “*kerbau*” (buffalo).

ANALYSIS OF ISLAM AND MINANGKABAU CUSTOM TEXT FROM HAMKA’S WORK ACCORDING TO PAUL RICOEUR’S HERMENEUTICS

1. Objectification through structure

Text of Islam and Minangkabau custom through the work of HAMKA according to Paul Ricoeur’s hermeneutics perceived from objectification through the structure is useful to identify dynamics directed by the text. The discourse that emerges in the text “Islam and Minangkabau Custom” is social criticism of family and security institution and sustainability of Minangkabau people. The custom allows divorce in the family to happen easily. Children will never be father’s responsibility. The text offers necessary changes to such point of view.

The texts of HAMKA are really consistence in criticizing the problems in Minangkabau custom which are discriminative to man and ask for equal treatment for both man and woman in Minangkabau. HAMKA also criticized Minangkabau custom which is regarded as exclusive before other customs , such as Javanese, Batak and Sundanese customs, which cause unfairness that ruin

social relationship and also ruin interpersonal communication in the community. At this stage, HAMKA was really aware of the diversity in social reality, especially the problem related to customs, but to some components which are absent and ignored. The writer sees that HAMKA never mentions about religious problem, as well as the plurality in customs so does in religions. HAMKA never emphasizes the reality of diversity in religious comprehensions which is also related to social order in the society, not only in Islam itself but also related to religious issue which is adopted by other religious groups.

The image of Islam which is put ahead upon custom in this issue is about Islam in the perspective of HAMKA. His religious perspective seems to be insensitive toward different religious comprehensions which implicate to the social order of the society. The insensitivity of HAMKA related to the diversity of religious comprehension can be seen from a case of fatwa which was released by MUI about the celebration of “Christmas together with non-Christian”. This fatwa stated that it was haram (forbidden) for Muslim to attend religious ceremony beside Islam religious ceremony, especially Christmas and the Muslim who attended the ceremony was stated as infidel (Panjimas no 336, 1981: 21). The fatwa raised because of some practices which happened in some places, such as offices and schools where Christmas were celebrated together by people who had different religions. MUI, especially HAMKA, at that time argued that attending and congratulating people who were celebrating a religious holiday beside Islamic religious holiday, had the same meaning with confessing their faith.

Finally, the government issued a form letter which stated about the celebration of religious holidays was in accordance with the consideration of interreligious consultative board on August 25th, 1981. The statement stated that the celebration of religious holidays was basically held and attended by its followers; meanwhile, if the event was not contradictive with the faith of people from different religion they could participate in that event in order to appreciate fellow members of the society in terms of kinship, to maintain good neighborhood and mutual aid. On the one hand, the government wanted to take care of the harmony of interreligious people, but in another hand MUI regarded the way which was promoted by the government was a form of destructing the faith of Muslim people.

Finally, as the increasing tension of the relationship between MUI and the government, pushed HAMKA to resign from his position as the head of MUI.

2.Matter of Text

Islam and Minangkabau Custom in HAMKA's view perceived from Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics also requires never-ending dialogues between text and context. Reading of Islam and Minangkabau Custom by using the hermeneutic approach of Paul Ricoeur certainly requires the reading of the text Islam and Minangkabau Custom in a continuous and never-ending harmonic relation with the context because there is a strong bond between the text and reality of the readers. Giving a wider autonomy to the text, the reading of Paul Ricoeur allows Islam and Minangkabau Custom to be read according to the spirit existing at the present. The spirit unifying various differences and diversity makes it as an investment. All differences including ethnic group, religion, culture, value system could be engaged in a dialogue and shared resulting in an extraordinary treasury of civilization.

3.Distanciation

Islamic and Minangkabau custom in HAMKA's view according to Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics also requires distanciation and appropriation which open the door of the plurality of truth. Paul Ricoeur argues that there is a relation between objectification through structure and self understanding considered as two complementary things. The text has immanent structure which can be explained by structural approach, and text has external reference called matter or world of text, namely reality presented by the text. In order to support the understanding of text, it is necessary to explain text from the point of view of supporting disciplines. A more comprehensive point of view of the Islamic discipline is really useful to identify the success requirements of a interpretation in Ricoeur's view, that is helping in better self understanding. It is necessary for the Islamic thinking and Minangkabau Custom to change the Islamic paradigm which does not only rely on the point of view of the discipline in the tradition of *bayani*, but also should make use of intuition in the model of *irfani* and the finding results of various

sciences from the point of view of *burhani*. This is aimed at the diverse action of Muslim to better direction and appreciating the diversity.

RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY OF ISLAM AND MINANGKABAU CUSTOM OF HAMKA'S WORK FOR THE DIVERSITY IN INDONESIA

Diversity has two sides: *first*, internal, and *second*, external. The internal diversity means that individually human has different origin, skin color, trait and character from other individuals. In reality, human is not exactly the same as others, even the twin. The internal diversity in group or institution appears in the desire to strengthen and give identity to their own groups because the identity serves as the colors and distinctive features of one groups to other groups. The external diversity means another identity, outside of himself and his group, existing with the identity of "I" and "not I", "I" and "you", "we" and "you", other people, other group. Each identity formulates its own philosophy, norms, vision and belief. The understanding of self concept and identity should be accompanied by the awareness of other's concept, vision and belief which has the exactly the same urgency as his principles. This is profoundly emphasized in the social context on the relation of shared life. If such perspective is forgotten, certainly the difference as from its originality will invite conflict and tension. The awareness of the importance of good relation between "self" and "the other" will create dynamics in the relation of shared life without losing their own identity. At this point, the writer considers the importance of Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutic concept, that is being a better self.

In the context of Minangkabau, the internal diversity refers to all components which develop Minangkabau people. Difference always exists in Minangkabau. Minangkabau with its diversity admits *adat salingka nagari* (surrounding *nagari*), an acknowledgment of various differences of customs in each *nagari*. Serving as the identity of Minangkabau, Islam has different several religious beliefs such as PERTI, Muhammadiyah, TharekatNaqshabandiyah, TharekatSyatariyah, and so on. The diversity existing inside of Minangkabau actually does not necessarily invite sharp tension and friction because each realizes that the principle they believe is

different to each other. In the context of internal Minangkabau, the presence of several groups representing Minangkabau people such as LKAAM, Bundo Kanduang, religious scholars from various groups as the author, in the perspective of hermeneutics, should be balanced with the critical thinking of scientists from various disciplines, study groups as the reader that should be regarded in the spirit of developing a better Minangkabau. Different views among various components should serve as a power to fulfill the weaknesses of each group.

Amin Abdullah (1999 : xi) points out that the internal diversity is more difficult and complicated than that of the problems of external diversity because it often falls on inevitable separatism and fragmentation, as the human body has the skin color of black, white, dark brown etc, but they are surely human beings. In such context, it is necessary to have “universal” and “particular” emphasis, between “esoteric” and “exoteric”.

The universal and particular, esoteric and exoteric point of view may guide every individual or group to see which one is the external side and which one is the internal side, which one is particular and which one is universal, so that they can place themselves among the existing differences. The internal and external diversity affirms that as a social being, human can never live along without the presence of other people. Conflict and friction are such inevitable things. Tension which may appear at any time and any where needs agreement, consensus and understanding formulated together without any party dominating in order to guarantee a better, more civilized and dignified life.

This local and specific Minangkabau, in the frame of external diversity is Minangkabau which most of the people live in West Sumatra and it is part of the Republic of Indonesia. Minangkabau has to realize that its existence is about being with others and always try to activate the social life of its society, to keep up with the always changing context. A dynamic Minangkabau will not claim that West Sumatra is identical with Minangkabau.

West Sumatra is part of Unitary States of the Republic of Indonesia, which has various ethnics and not only Minangkabau in it, but there are also other ethnics like Javanese, Dundanese, Chinese, and Batak. There are also various religions (Islam,

Catholics, Christian, Budhism, Hinduism and Confucianism), although Minangkabau ethnic is the majority that live in West Sumatra. So, the local government policies which are related to the public suppose to describe and honor the diversity in it. This is why some critics raise upon some regional regulation which is known as Sharia Law is assumed as discriminative, because it is only consider certain major ethnic in the society. Domination will be a stumbling block which ruins the harmony of life of the society in the West Sumatra.

Minangkabau has to develop an extrovert attitude about how to help others to understand it and vice versa (how Minangkabau tries to understand itself and others). Amir Husein explains that in the history of Islam, it was actually started as minority tradition in the dominion of non muslim. It is believed that Islam will not develop like what happened today, if it is not develop inter- religious dialog in its growth. After Muhammad was appointed as prophet he started to talk openly to his family and then to other people.

Internal and external diversity affirm that as a social creature, human being will never be able to live alone without the presence of another people. Clash and friction are impossible not to happen. Whenever and wherever a tension raise it needs agreement, consensus and understanding which is reconstructed together without anyone dominating it to ensure better, civilized and dignified life.

The awareness of diversity will bring out some attitudes, such as honesty, good manner and tolerance. Honesty is triggered by a belief that nobody is perfect. Good manner reflects simpathy and empathy to people who is different from himself and at last he will be able to refrain himself and develop tolerance.

Muhammad Ali (2003: x), sees pluralism, multiculturalism, tolerance, and coexisten-ce, are principal and universal values. Muhammad Ali finds the correlation of how oneself treats other, does oneself regard other as enemy, as a potential person, as inevitable neighbor or as one self and theologic partner, as oneself and spiritual partner or as oneself and best friend. Muhammad Ali hold a dynamic understanding which appreciate plurality at the same time trying to find the similarity and furthermore to solve the

problem together. There is a balance which is resulted in an attitude which takes sides in brotherhood of mankind as God's creature.

Nowadays, Minangkabau is part of the global order of society. So, inevitably Minangkabau has to realize its position in this world which is to give contribution not only to Minangkabau people itself but also to the people of Indonesia and also to the people of the world. The strengthening of identity *Adat basandi Syara', Syara' basandi Kitabullah* must be interpreted as Minang-ness, Islamic and Indonesian spirit. *Adat Basandi Syara' Syara' basandi Kitabullah* is placed as a uniqueness and peculiarity of Minangkabau, but it still can interact and communicate in national and global language.

CONCLUSION

1. Islam and Minangkabau in HAMKA'S view which is seen from three texts, namely *Tenggelamnyakapal Van der Wijck*(novel), Novel *Merantauke Deli*(novel), and *Islam dan Adat Minangkabau*(book), are the form of HAMKA's criticism to Minangkabau Custom. In HAMKA's view, custom should not be stagnant and frozen. HAMKA's criticism to Minangkabau custom is an effort to harmonize customs with the always changing context.
2. Islam and Minangkabau in HAMKA'S view is a continuous effort to integrate Minangkabau and Islam which has been pioneered previous Islamic thinkers. A more moderate purification is also indicated by HAMKA than that of previous purification efforts conducted by Padri group, Tuankunan Renceh and their colleagues.
3. Islam and Minangkabau in HAMKA'S view is basically a reformation of understanding in order to find the essence of values of Islam and Minangkabau Custom in his era. HAMKA's view is one episode of the series of contacts between Minangkabau Custom and Islam which has lasted for a long time. A criticism to HAMKA's view today is that HAMKA is not critical to the building of Islamic epistemology which may be because HAMKA is an autodidact.
4. Islam and Minangkabau in HAMKA'S view perceived from Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics also requires intersubjective

negotiation and truth. Negotiation process should be continuously developed and may never stop. Each actor should be respected and each party's role should be carefully considered. Every party involved in the discourse should not be allowed to control, repress and dominate other party in determining the meaning of text which is wanted to be discovered together. Therefore, the process of searching the meaning of text never stop. The meaning is temporary and multiinterpretable. Thus, there is no absolute and single truth in interpreting the text because interpretation should always be contextual and do not have to be single.

5. The relevance of Islam and Minangkabau of HAMKA's work perceived from Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics is very importance for Indonesia with its ethnic, religion and language diversity, which is an extraordinary treasure. The collision of differences in diversity is surely inevitable, but the awareness of the importance of regulating, maintaining and conserving them needs participation of all parties to refrain, to mutually appreciate and respect, be honest, and preserve and inherit the tradition of each group so as to bring harmony in living together.

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