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Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora
Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta
Jl. Marsda Adisucipto No.1, Yogyakarta
Telp (0274) 51957; Fax. (0274) 519571
Email: sosiologirefleksif@uin-suka.ac.id dan
sosiologirefleksif@gmail.com

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PENGANTAR REDAKSI

Assalamualaikum wr.wb.

Dinamika permasalahan umat Islam teramat luas dan menarik untuk dikaji, terkait dengan kelembagaan Islam yang masih eksis selama ini. Peran berbagai macam lembaga tersebut nampak dari upaya yang dilakukannya dalam menyelesaikan berbagai macam permasalahan sosial yang muncul saat ini, misalnya adanya permasalahan AIDS, kepemimpinan dalam konteks kekinian, isu kekerasan yang muncul dalam sistem pendidikan dan lainnya. Permasalahan tersebut akan dibahas di beberapa artikel Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif Volume 9 Nomor 2, April 2015.

Achmad Zainal Arifin menulis tentang *Transmitting Charisma: Re-reading Weber through the Traditional Islamic Leader in Modern Java*. Artikel ini mencoba untuk menelaah kembali pandangan seorang tokoh klasik sosiologi, Max Weber, berkenaan dengan teori kepemimpinan beliau, lebih khusus lagi pandangan tentang karisma. Dalam hal ini, Weber berpandangan bahwa proses modernisasi, khususnya proses rasionalisasi yang tidak lagi bisa dibendung pengaruhnya, akan menyebabkan otoritas kharismatik akan berubah, terutama ke arah model legal-rasional. Keyakinan bahwa kualitas kharismatis, yang biasanya direpresentasikan oleh kekuatan supranatural, yang dalam pandangan Weber akan tererosi oleh proses modernisasi, justru semakin terinstitusionalisasi dalam dunia pesantren dan bahkan diyakini bisa ditransmisikan melalui institusi-institusi yang ada.

Henri Puteranto menganalisis tentang Strategi Pengorganisasian Lembaga Kesehatan Nahdlatul Ulama (LKNU) dalam Pengelolaan Program HIV/AIDS. Penulis menjelaskan problematika pengelolaan program HIV/AIDS muncul ketika suatu organisasi sosial keagamaan menjalankan program ini. Organisasi keagamaan dituntut untuk mampu menjalankan program secara efektif. Namun demikian, dalam

implementasinya akan berhadapan dengan “*body of knowledge*” dari program HIV/AIDS. Menurutnya Lembaga Kesehatan Nahdlatul Ulama sebagai organisasi sosial keagamaan mampu menjawab isu-isu sensitif di program HIV/AIDS untuk mengurangi stigma dan diskriminasi, membangun legitimasi organisasi dan mengelola manajemen pengetahuan secara efektif.

Artikel Respon Masyarakat Desa Sitimulyo Terhadap Pengelolaan Tempat Pembuangan Akhir Sampah (TPA) Piyungan Bantul Yogyakarta ditulis oleh Sulistyaningsih. Penulis menjelaskan bahwa persoalan sampah, terutama persoalan sampah rumah tangga merupakan persoalan penting yang harus segera disikapi secara bijak. Selama ini pengelolaan sampah rumah dilakukan dengan *system sanitary landfill* yaitu sampah harus diolah, dipadatkan dan ditimbun setiap hari. Hal ini sesuai dengan Perda No 3 Tahun 2013 tentang Pengelolaan Sampah Rumah Tangga dan Sampah Sejenis Sampah Rumah Tangga. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan sebagai berikut: *Pertama*, Pengelolaan TPA Piyungan yang berlokasi di Desa Sitimulyo sejak tahun 1995 sampai sekarang telah menimbulkan respon yang bervariasi dari masyarakat Desa Sitimulyo. Ada masyarakat yang merespon pro (setuju) terhadap pengelolaan TPA tersebut, namun ada juga yang kontra (tidak setuju) terhadap TPA. Perbedaan respon yang ada disebabkan karena ada masyarakat yang diuntungkan dan dirugikan adanya TPA di Desa Sitimulyo. *Kedua*, Kebijakan pemerintah Desa Sitimulyo terhadap pengelolaan TPA di Desa Sitimulyo lebih mengikuti aspirasi masyarakat.

Suliadi menulis Resistensi Petani Terhadap Pertambangan Pasir Besi di Karangwuni Kulon Progo. Tulisan ini menjelaskan perubahan sikap politik petani dalam menanggapi ekspansi kapitalisme pertambangan tidak lebih sebagai kompromi politik petani dalam merespon ekspansi tersebut. Menurutnya apa yang sesungguhnya hendak ditolak adalah cara-cara yang ditempuh para pemodal/perusahaan dan negara dalam melakukan ekspansi yang bias kapitalis yang hanya menciptakan masyarakat petani menjadi tersingkir terhadap akses sumber daya yang ada.

Nurhadi menulis artikel tentang Identifikasi Rumah Tangga Rawan Bencana Gempa Bumi di Wilayah Kabupaten Bantul-Di Yogyakarta. Faktanya, terdapat perbedaan daya tahan menyebabkan adanya perbedaan dampak bagi setiap rumah tangga yang mengalami bencana. Dampak bencana di daerah rawan bencana Bantul dapat dikategorikan sebagai berikut : (1) orang yang paling kaya menderita

paling sedikit bencana karena kemampuannya mengurangi dampak bencana dengan memperkuat rumahnya dan menggunakan asset yang dimilikinya, (2) penderitaan yang dialami, menjadikan orang miskin mampu mengurangi dampak dari kejadian bencana di masa depan untuk keberlangsungan hidupnya dengan memaksimalkan modal social sehingga meminimalkan biaya untuk membangun rumah dan (3) kelompok bertahan hidup yang paling rentan terhadap peristiwa bencana karena kekayaannya sudah habis untuk biaya rekonstruksi dan ketidakmampuannya mengurangi biaya buruh.

Sri Roviana menguraikan tentang proses Pendidikan Politik Koalisi Perempuan Yogyakarta Wilayah Yogyakarta 2000-2008. Penulis mejelkaskan bahwa perempuan Indonesia termarginalkan dalam proses pengambilan keputusan politik. Berbagai macam organisasi perempuan menyadari pentingnya pendidikan politik bagi perempuan, salah satunya organisasi KPI. Penulis menyimpulkan terhadap program yang dijalankan oleh KPI selama ini menunjukkan bahwa KPI Yogyakarta merupakan embrio dari gerakan sosial baru, akan tetapi pertumbuhan gerakan ini perlu menyingkirkan kelemahan yang muncul di tengah jalan: kesulitan membangun ideologi bersama, representasi politik yang ditunjukkan oleh organisasi elit, tidak adanya konsolidasi yang berbasiskan organisasi, ketergantungan kepada donor dan ketidakmandirian dan pembiayaan sukarela untuk menyelenggarakan pendidikan politik bagi perempuan.

Rahmat Edi Irawan menulis artikel tentang Sikap Penonton dalam Program Televisi Indonesia Saat Ini. Menurutnya saat ini mulai terjadinya pergeseran penonton pasif ke penonton aktif di industri televisi Indonesia. Jika pada masa lalu, banyaknya hambatan, seperti rezim pemerintahan yang represif, tidak adanya pilihan program dan stasiun televisi serta belum adanya regulasi dan regulator menyebabkan lamanya penonton televisi di Indonesia bersikap pasif. Sementara saat ini, pemberdayaan penonton melalui berbagai media dan upaya yang dilakukan KPI menyebabkan kondisinya sudah berubah, penonton mulai aktif bersikap. Hal itu ditunjukkan dengan meningkatkan sikap kritis mereka, dengan banyaknya melakukan pengaduan atas tayangan yang melanggar regulasi baik melalui KPI atau media massa lainnya.

Yani Tri Wijayanti, Asep Suryana, Mien Hidayat, Dan Funny Mustikasari menganalisis tentang Pengaruh Kepuasan Komunikasi terhadap Kinerja Pendidik IPDN Jatinangor. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan Komunikasi organisasi berpengaruh pada efektivitas

organisasi, salah satunya terkait kinerja. Terpenuhinya kebutuhan informasi dan komunikasi di dalam organisasi menimbulkan kepuasan komunikasi yang dapat meningkatkan kinerja dari karyawan, dalam tulisan ini adalah pendidik di IPDN Jatinangor. Ketika interaksi sosial yang meliputi kontak sosial dan komunikasi dalam organisasi berjalan dengan baik, maka hubungan antar anggota organisasi terkait dengan pekerjaan akan berjalan dengan baik, dan kinerja para anggota organisasi dapat meningkat dan tujuan organisasi dapat tercapai.

Sosiologi Kaum Sufi: Sebuah Model Studi Integratif-Interkonektif ditulis oleh Dudung Abdurahman. Penulis menjelaskan Kaum Sufi merupakan realitas sosial yang berbasiskan keagamaan pada komunitas-komunitas tarekat. Tarekat sendiri adalah salah satu bentuk implementasi keislaman yang bercorak esoterik, yang secara sosiologis biasa menampilkan aktivitasnya yang terstruktur dalam kelompok guru dan murid. Hubungan antara keduanya terjalin dalam sistem sosial yang konsisten terhadap moralitas dan spiritualitas masyarakat. Karena itu dinamika sosial Kaum Sufi dalam gerakan-gerakan tarekat itu selalu bercirikan : *pertama*, pengembangan doktrin sufi melalui sistem ritual berfungsi memperkuat solidaritas sosial para penganut tarekat. *Kedua*, peranan Kaum Sufi dalam bentuk hubungan dan partisipasi sosial di tengah kemajemukan masyarakat pada umumnya menampilkan model gerakan sosial yang unik, khususnya sumbangan mereka terhadap pembinaan spiritual dan moralitas publik di tengah-tengah perubahan sosial. *Ketiga*, tipologi gerakan sosial Kaum Sufi pada umumnya bersifat *inklusifme-pragmatis; eksklusifme-fundamentalis; dan fundamentalisme-pragmatis*.

Adib Sofia menulis artikel yang berjudul Hegemoni Kriteria Estetik: Tinjauan Sosiologi Sastra atas *Cerpen Pilihan Kompas* dan *Cerpen Kompas Pilihan*. Hegemoni merupakan konsep yang dikenalkan Gramsci untuk menganalisis bentuk-bentuk praktik politik, budaya dan ideologi. Pendekatan mendasarnya adanya hubungan yang kompleks dan non mekanik antara budaya dan politik. Gramsci mempertanyakan bentuk kebudayaan manakah yang menjadi budaya massa yang diproduksi kontemporer. *Cerpen Kompas Pilihan* (Cerita Pendek Pilihan *Kompas*) dan *Cerpen Pilihan Kompas* (Cerita Pendek Pilihan *Kompas*) merupakan kumpulan cerita pendek terbaik yang dimuat di harian *Kompas*, salah satu penerbit terkemuka. Mereka mempublikasikan secara periodik sejak tahun 1970 dan menjadi salah satu produk dari masyarakat.

Muh. Syamsuddin menjelaskan tentang Pendidikan Damai:

sebagai Upaya Mencegah Budaya Anarkisme Pendidikan. Penulis menegaskan bahwa kekerasan merupakan bentuk hegemonik dalam segala aspek kehidupan politik, ekonomi, sosial, hukum dan budaya. Termasuk dalam pendidikan dilakukan melalui proses dehumanisasi dari substansi dan metode pembelajaran. Metode pengajaran yang berlangsung selama ini dilakukan dengan pendekatan pedagogi atau seorang guru, menjadi figur yang sempurna (mengetahui tentang banyak hal) dan siswa hanyalah obyek. Tindakan ini disebut kekerasan pendidikan. Kekerasan ini dapat merusak kepribadian.

Islam dan Pekerjaan Sosial dianalisis oleh Zulkipli Lessy. Menurut Teologi Islam dan lima pilar Islam memiliki sejarah dan peran penting dalam pengembangan praktik pekerjaan sosial dan masyarakat Muslim. Beberapa efeknya dikaji dengan menggunakan review literatur dan melalui komparasi diantara masyarakat Muslim dan beberapa kelompok agama yang mengikutinya serta menguji teologi Muslim Shi'i dan Muslim Sunni. Konsep utama dari Islam, misalnya : syahadat, sholat, puasa, zakat dan haji seharusnya dijalankan oleh pekerja sosial Muslim dalam praktiknya dalam masyarakat Muslim.

Achmad Maulani menulis tentang Pesantren dan Islam Indonesia: Kajian atas Pembaruan dan Peran Sosial Transformatif. Penulis menegaskan Pesantren dan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dipahami sebagai pelopor utama Islam di Indonesia. Bukan hanya karena kelembagaan tradisionalnya sebagai rujukan dalam Islam, akan tetapi karena pengembangan pendidikan Islam yang menonjol serta pengembangan wacana keislaman. Perkembangannya akhir-akhir ini, kedua lembaga tersebut berkontribusi penting dalam membangun dialog antara nilai islam dan budaya lokal.

Artikel terakhir dalam kajian jurnal ini ditulis oleh Mohamad Jamal Thorik dalam tugas akhirnya yang berjudul Aksi Kolektif dalam Bersepeda: Studi Banding atas Sego Segawe (*Sepeda Kanggo Sekolah Lan Nyambut Gawe*) dan JLFR (*Jogja Last Friday Ride*) di Kota Yogyakarta. Kesimpulan dari penelitian menunjukkan perbedaan antara Sego Segawe dan JLFR pada pola sosialisasi yang dibagi menjadi 5 mekanisme sosialisasi : 1) imitasi: Sego Segawe menggunakan keteladanan Walikota dan Pegawai Balaikota, sedangkan JLFR menggunakan keteladanan komunitas sepeda; 2) instruksi: Sego Segawe menggunakan Surat Edaran (SE) sebagai himbauan bersepeda, namun aspek instruksi tidak terdapat pada JLFR; 3) desiminasi: Sego Segawe kurang memaksimalkan sarana komunikasi, sementara JLFR menggunakan sarana *social media* dengan

intens; 4) motivasi: Sego Segawe menunjukkan dukungan melalui *reward* kepada pelajar sebagai duta sepeda, sedangkan JLFR menggalang dana untuk pesepeda korban kecelakaan; 5) penataran, Sego Segawe mengalami inkonsistensi pada pelaksanaan kampanye secara parsial, sedangkan JLFR melaksanakan kampanye secara rutin.

Demikian gambaran secara umum jurnal yang akan sidang pembaca nikmati edisi ini. Semoga apa yang tertuang dalam kajian ini memberikan sumbangan yang berarti dan menjadi sumber pengetahuan baru. Selamat membaca. *Wallahu a'lam bi shawab.*

Wassalamualaikum wr. wb

Redaksi

TRANSMITTING CHARISMA: Re-reading Weber through the Traditional Islamic Leader in Modern Java

Achmad Zainal Arifin

Dosen Prodi Sosiologi, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora, UIN Sunan Kalijaga
Alamat Email : zenipink@gmail.com

Abstrak

Artikel ini mencoba untuk menelaah kembali pandangan seorang tokoh klasik sosiologi, Max Weber, berkenaan dengan teori kepemimpinan beliau, lebih khusus lagi pandangan tentang karisma. Dalam hal ini, Weber berpandangan bahwa proses modernisasi, khususnya proses rasionalisasi yang tidak lagi bisa dibendung pengaruhnya, akan menyebabkan otoritas kharismatik akan berubah, terutama ke arah model legal-rasional. Melalui penggambaran tentang dinamika otoritas kyai di dunia pesantren, artikel ini akan menunjukkan fenomena yang berbeda dari apa yang diprediksikan oleh Weber, dimana proses rasionalisasi yang terjadi di dunia pesantren justru memperkuat eksistensi kharismatik dari pimpinan pesantren, yaitu sang kyai. Melalui studi kasus yang dilakukan di salah satu pesantren tradisional yang cukup besar di Yogyakarta, artikel ini mendeskripsikan bagaimana berbagai instrumen kemoderenan yang hadir sebagai representasi dari terjadinya proses rasionalisasi di dunia pesantren justru muncul sebagai faktor yang memperkuat posisi kyai sebagai pemimpin yang kharismatik. Keyakinan bahwa kualitas kharismatis, yang biasanya direpresentasikan oleh kekuatan supranatural, yang dalam pandangan Weber akan tererosi oleh proses modernisasi, justru semakin terinstitusionalisasi dalam dunia pesantren dan bahkan diyakini bisa ditransmisikan melalui institusi-institusi yang ada.

Kata Kunci: Karisma, Rasionalisasi, Kyai, dan Pesantren

Abstract

This paper tries to reconsidering the theory of authority, propounded by Max Weber, a pioneer of classical theory of sociology, particularly on his idea of charisma. Weber predicted that modernisation, as represented by the rationalisation process which is unstoppable phenomena for modern world lead the changing process of charismatic authority into other forms of authorities, especially the legal-rational one. By describing the dynamics of Kyai's charismatic authority within the pesantren milieu, the rationalisation process tends to enhance the existence of charismatic authority of kyai. Based on a case study of a famous traditional pesantren in Yogyakarta, this paper elaborates the process of rationalisation describes how all instruments of traditional pesantren, including those that are resulted from the process, have contribution in preserving and maintaining the charismatic authority o kyai. Most members of traditional pesantren even believe that the quality of charisma, which is laid on the foundation of supernatural power, can be transmitted to the next successor through the institutionalisation of practices to gain that power.

Key Words: Charisma, Rationalisation, Kyai, and Pesantren

Introduction

The modernization and rationalization processes within the traditional Muslim communities in Indonesia do not radically change their value systems. The dependence of the members of *pesantren* toward the charismatic figure of *kyai*, for example, is still clearly visible in their everyday life. The popular phrase of "*pejah-gesang nderek kyai*" (lit. following *kyai*, death or alive) is still so firmly embedded in the heart of many traditional Muslims, especially those who live around the *pesantren*. It seems that the concept of *barokah* (blessing) of *kyai* is still considered as an important factor in colouring their everyday life. The cultures of *sowan* (J. visiting) *kyai* at *pesantren* and performing *ziarah* (I. pilgrimage) to some popular shrines of *wali* (A. saints) to obtain their blessing, not only for other-worldly needs, but also for worldly success, are still obvious and become clear signs of the continuity of charismatic leadership of *kyai*. Many social scientists and Islamic scholars even predicted that the role of *kyai* in shaping and directing the development Islam within the traditional Islamic communities will remain stable in the

future.¹ This prediction is based on the fact that even many traditional Islamic communities become more modern nowadays, at least through the implementation of some secular subjects through the madrasah system, their respect and loyalty toward *kyai* remain stable, especially to certain *kyai* who are believed to have a high level of charisma or considered as *waliullah* ("friend" of God).

Besides, the charismatic qualities of *kyai* are believed by most members of *pesantren* can be transmitted to the next successor through several means, such as inheritance and the ritual of *riyadloh* (A. religious exercise). This belief to some extent differs from the common conception among the social scientists about the nature of charismatic quality, particularly the ideas developed by Weber's through his three models of authority: legal-rational, traditional, and charismatic. Therefore, based on the phenomena of the transmission of the charismatic *kyai*, this paper discusses the development of charismatic authority within the sociological perspective, particularly the ideas of Weber on the nature and succession of charismatic authority, and eventually to contribute in developing the concept to understand the charismatic phenomena among the traditional Muslim community in modern Java.

Contextualizing Weber's Concept of Charisma

Max Weber is the one who introduced the use of the word charisma in a broader sense, beyond the theological field as the word used to be debated in his era. Weber derived his concept of charisma based on the work of Rudolf Sohm, the late nineteenth-century German legal theorist, in his work on canon law, *Kirchenrecht*, in which he discussed the organization of the early Christian church.² As pointed out by Haley that Weberian charisma had broadened the use of charisma to explain social change on more general context and no longer restricted to the Christian community.³ However, the current usage of the concept

1 Imron Arifin, *Kepemimpinan kyai : kasus Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng*, Cet. 1. ed. (Malang: Kalimasahada, 1993); Horiko Horikoshi, *Kyai dan Perubahan Sosial [Kyai and Social Changes]* (Jakarta: P3M, 1987); Achmad Junaidi and Abdurrahman Wahid, *Gus Dur, presiden kyai Indonesia : pemikiran nyentrik Abdurrahman Wahid, dari pesantren hingga parlemen jalanan*, Cet. 1. ed. (Surabaya: Diantama, 2010); M. Amin Haedari and Abdullah Hanif, *Masa depan pesantren : dalam tantangan modernitas dan tantangan kompleksitas global*, Cet. 2. ed. (Jakarta: IRD Press, 2006); Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "Why the Pesantren as a Center for Islamic Studies Remains Unique and Stronger in Indonesia?," in *International Seminar at Prince of Songkla University, Pattani* (Prince of Songkla University 1998).

2 Leslie H. Palmier, "Aspects of Indonesia's Social Structure," *Pacific Affairs* 28, no. 2 (1955)..

3 As quoted in *ibid*.

of charisma seems to be far away from what originally formulated by Weber. It is used no longer related to Weber's typology of authority or domination, but also to refer to the success of anyone or anything in obtaining popularity. Many successful artists, football players, politicians, and other careers are also considered as having charisma. Some sociologists, for example, have even suggested the success of some corporations and their products as having charisma.⁴ Therefore, it is worth to revisit the concept of charisma, as formulated by Weber, since the main focus of this research is to explain the phenomena of charismatic *kyai*, a traditional Islamic leader in Indonesia, particularly in the modern Java.

Weber's Charisma and Its Criticism

Discussing Weber's idea of charisma is talking about the structure of authority. The concept of authority in Weber's perspective begins with his definition of domination. For him, domination means, "the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons."⁵In addition, domination might have legitimate as well as illegitimate sources. In this case, he is interested only in the legitimate one or so called authority. There are three basic legitimacies or authorities: traditional, charismatic, and legal.⁶ What he meant by traditional authority is the authority based on a claim by the leader, and a belief that there is virtue in the sanctity of immemorial tradition. This traditional authority mainly exists in the kingdom system. Meanwhile, charismatic authority is based on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary individual figure. Finally, legal authority is based on the belief in the validity of legal statute and functional competence based on rationally created rule.

Within Weber's conception, the term charisma refers to an extraordinary power. In his massive two-volume work, *Economy and Society*, Weber applied the term to

"a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with

4 William H. Swatos, Jr., "The Disenchantment of Charisma: A Weberian Assessment of Revolution in a Rationalized World," *Sociological Analysis* 42, no. 2 (1981): 123..

5 Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, trans. Fischhoff, 2 vols., vol. 1-2 (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968). 121..

6 Ibid..

supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary.”⁷

It is clear that the term charisma used by Weber was not merely concern with the quality of a person, but more importantly it laid on the acknowledgement of his or her follower. He further indicated that

“Its bearer seizes the task for which he is destined and demands that others obey and follow him by virtue of his mission. If those to whom he feels sent do not recognized him, his claim collapse; if they recognize it, he is their master as long as he ‘proves’ himself.”⁸

Therefore, the most important aspect of charismatic authority lies on the relationship between the leaders and their followers or disciples. As long as the leaders are capable to maintain the belief of their disciples, their legitimate authority will run well.

It is not an easy task, however, to keep the belief of the disciples because they usually require a ‘sign’ or proof from their leader, especially to overcome any problems they might have. Besides, since the pure charismatic authority is activated during the social strain and rapid social change, other persons might have a similar claim. This kind of competing claim usually can be resolved only through the power contestation among those claimers. In most cases, this contestation requires magical act or miracle-working. Weber admitted that a charismatic leader “must work miracles if he wants to be a prophet or to perform heroic deeds, if he wants to be a warlord.”⁹ Most importantly, this proof has to be able to bring well-being to the followers in order to maintain its legitimate recognition. Besides, the absence of hierarchy or official power also made this kind of authority merely depend on an individual quality. That is why, according to Weber, “the existence of charismatic authority is specifically unstable.”¹⁰

The instability of charismatic authority led to what Weber called the routinisation of charisma in order to preserve its legitimacy. By emphasizing on the devotion over the individual leader, the model of social relationships is mainly personal; depend on the validity and

7 Ibid., 241..

8 Ibid., 1112-3..

9 Ibid., 1114..

10 Max Weber and S. N. Eisenstadt, *Max Weber on charisma and institution building : selected papers*, Heritage of sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968). 22..

practice of charismatic personal qualities. Therefore, once charismatic authority is declared, it cannot be stable, but tends to be either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both. Weber clearly explains the motives of this transformation:

“...the following are the principle motives underlying this transformation: (a) The ideal and also the material interests of the follower in the continuation and the continual reactivation of the community, (b) the still stronger ideal and also stronger material interests of the members of the administrative staff, the disciples or other followers of the charismatic leader in continuing their relationships.”¹¹

So, the need of continuing the legitimacy of charismatic authority forces the leader to deal with the everyday lives of his or her disciples. It means that a charismatic leader needs to build family relationships model to get a secure social position in his community.

Furthermore, Weber also offers a concept of this authority's transformation based on how the succession of a charismatic leader is done. He mentions six ways that are usually taken by the followers to find their charismatic leader. First, it is very common among followers to search for a new charismatic leader based on the certain criteria of the qualities that will fit him or her for the position of authority. Second, they can also use a revelation manifested in oracles, divine judgments or other techniques of selection. Third, the new charismatic leader can be chosen by designation on the part of the original charismatic leader of his or her successor and this recognition on the part of the followers. Fourth, it is also possible to choose a new charismatic leader based on the designation of the successor by the charismatically qualified administrative staff and his recognition by the community. Fifth, another way to choose a new charismatic leader is based on the conception that charisma is a quality transmitted by heredity or hereditary charisma. Finally, Weber offers ritual from one bearer to another or may be created in a new person as a way to get a new charismatic leader.

In addition, Weber explains that all these types of transformation are, “only the initial stages and so long as the charismatic leader acts in a way which is completely outside everyday social organization, the followers will be live communistically in a community of faith and

11 Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1-2: 246..

enthusiasm."¹² He also realized that the process of routinisation is not free from conflict, but still the process of routinisation helps the charismatic authority to deal with stability. In other word, Weber made a clear distinction between what he called as genuine charisma and transformed or routinised charisma. Since all authorities are derived from charismatic expulsion, various transformations or routinisations, whether they are in form of hereditary, democratic, or charisma of office, are a stable form of domination that enters into a mix with either traditional or rational-legal structures or both.¹³ According to Swatos, "the hereditary charismatic leader, for example, is to be understood as succeeding form and existing in reference to some genuine charismatic leader who preceded him or her, but the two are not to be identified."¹⁴ In sort, there is possibility among personages or events in both traditional and legal-rational system to have charismatic quality, but this is a transformed charisma routinized into an authority structure corresponding to a different type of domination.

Weber's concept of charismatic authority has been largely criticised, especially when it is contrasted with the social reality. Turner, for example, noted that there are some paradoxes within Weber's formulation on charismatic authority. First, there is a convergence between the 'ideal' features of charisma and 'material' interests of social classes and status groups in routinizing the charisma. Second, in the acceptance of charismatic change by the social group, there is a conflict of motive between the leader, who wants to build his authority based on special calling, apart from his magical powers and mass following, but the disciples require the 'empirical' evidence of the claim in term of magic or booty. This conflict, said Turner, creates patron-client relationship, rather than a discipleship relation. Third, Turner suggested that charisma should be understood as a particular interpretation of existing social framework rather than a creation of radically new world-view. This is based on the fact that a charismatic leader may appeal to a tradition, a Golden Age, as a criterion for criticising and changing the present. The last criticism from Turner is that Weber's treatment to of Charisma seems to be based on a denial not an affirmation, of the viability of charisma

12 Ibid., 57..

13 Edward Shils, *Center and periphery : essays in macrosociology*, Selected papers of Edward Shils (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975). 122..

14 Swatos, "The Disenchantment of Charisma: A Weberian Assessment of Revolution in a Rationalized World," 124-25..

as an enduring social force¹⁵

It seems to me that Turner's criticisms are fit with the reality of charismatic authority of *kyai*. Although he eloquently made a description on the authority of *syaiikh* and compared it with the notion of saint in Christianity, the authority of *kyai* is still relevant to be further discussed to show a different model of routinized charisma of Islamic leaders. Moreover, there is no central institutions in Islam that can be considered as a representative body of Islamic communities like in Catholicism. In this case, local cultures might play an important role in shaping the routinisation of charismatic authority of Islamic leader. *Kyai*, although he is commonly considered as an Islamic scholar, similar to those *alim*, *syaiikh*, or *mullah*, the process of becoming a leader and how he derives and maintain his authority might differs from each other.

Charismatic Authority of *Kyai*

In Weber's sociology of religion, it is hard to find a comparable term of *kyai* who derives his authority from both religious doctrines and spiritual attributes like *karamah* or miracle.¹⁶ Weber uses some terms to refer to a religious group's leader, such as prophet, priest, magician, and saint.¹⁷ None of these terms entirely match the term *kyai* in the sense of how they are socially produced. The term priest, for example, is applied to, "the functionaries of regularly organized and permanent enterprise concerned with influencing God, in contrast with individual and occasional efforts of magicians."¹⁸ In this case, the hierarchical office confers legitimate authority upon the priest. Since the existence of the

15 Bryan S. Turner, *Weber and Islam : a critical study*, International library of sociology (London ; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974). 23-28..

16 Islam distinguishes miracle or exceptional powers or events into several terms based on a person who possesses it. The first term is called *mu'jizat*, derived from the word *a'jaza* (to weaken). This extraordinary power is only given to the prophet to weaken those who oppose and reject the prophecy. The second term is *karomah* (honor), which refers to extraordinary powers given by God to *Waliullah* (lit. friend of God or saint) as a reward for their obedience in following the God's path. The third term used in Islam is *ma'unah*, which literally means help. *Ma'unah* is a special power or even given by God to general Muslims (laymen) and it usually considered as a fruit of prayers. The last exceptional powers given by God is called *istidraj*, means to degrade someone. This exceptional power is given by God to someone who has faithless, so he or she will become farther from God. More detail information on these terms, see: Amin Samsul Munir Amin, *Karomah para kiai*, Cet. 1. ed. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren : Distribusi, LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2008).; Shihab M. Quraish Shihab, *Wawasan al-Qur'an: Tafsir Tematik atas Pelbagai Persoalan Umat* (Bandung: Mizan, 2000).; and Ismail M. Sadat Ismail, *The magic of kyai*, Cet. 1. ed. (Jakarta: Mediacita, 2007)..

17 Max Weber, *The sociology of religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963)..

18 *Ibid.*, 28..

office is missing in Islamic traditions, we cannot say that *kyai* has a similar source of authority to the priest. Actually the last term, saint, may have been similar in terms of how they got their authorities. Both saints and *kyai* base their authority on charismatic gifts or *karamah*.

From a historical perspective, however, the notion of saintship in Christianity and Islam is distinct. In Christianity, saintship emerged from the institution of martyrdom which was connected with the oppressed status of some Christian sects within the Roman Empire. The status of saint is the product of a, "successful labelling process, grounded in criteria of heroic virtue and miracle-working and controlled by a powerful, central agency."¹⁹ The most understandable characteristic of this religious status is that the saint is more personal, rather than collective. By contrast, saint within the Islamic tradition is applied to both individual and collective. It is based on the belief among Muslims of the importance of the concept of holy lineage, especially in Shi'ite.²⁰

Interestingly, although the concept of holy lineage in Islam historically seems to be exclusively belong to Shi'ite, the Sunni communities in Indonesia, especially those traditional Muslims, are heavily influenced by this concept in their leadership model. As indicated from the authority of *kyai*, his offspring or descendants have the potential to inherit *karamah* and give *barakah* to other people.²¹ However, in *pesantren* traditions, a charismatic gift is not merely seen as an ascribed status, but it can be achieved, theoretically by everyone but practically it is limited to certain people, especially for those who are descendants of the *kyai*, through the practices of *riyadloh* under the strict guidance of *kyai*.²²

The different characteristics of *kyai* and his *pesantren* networks compare to other Islamic leaders around the world, in my opinion, has placed him into a unique position, especially if we look at the process of becoming a *kyai* and obtaining recognition from the society, that can only be found in Indonesia, particularly across the Java. Leonard Binder, in his

19 Turner, *Weber and Islam : a critical study*: 65..

20 W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973); John L. Esposito, *Islam and politics*, 4th ed., Contemporary issues in the Middle East (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1998)..

21 Said Jamhuri, "Kepemimpinan kharismatik Nahdlatul Ulama : studi kasus Abdurrahman Wahid" (doctoral, Program Pasca Sarjana, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 1999)..

22 Abdur Rozaki, *Menabur kharisma, menuai kuasa : kiprah kiai dan blater sebagai rezim kembar di Madura* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Marwa, 2004)..

article responding Geertz's account on *kyai*, which inferred that *kyai* has no difference with *ulama* in the Middle East and Pakistan, have showed us that there is no parallel, especially in religious ideology, between *kyai* and *alim*, *pesantren* and *madrasah*, and even *santri* with *tullab*.²³ Therefore, it is necessary to look at the theological basis of the authority of *kyai* and their institutionalisation process within the *pesantren* community in order to understand how the charismatic authority of *kyai* is derived and preserved.

Theological Basis of *Kyai's* Charismatic Authority

The tradition of *pesantren*, the everyday life of its members is inseparable from the holy texts. The teachings of Islam, whether they are based on the Qur'an, the Hadith, or the *kitabkuning*, are frequently used to legitimate the *kyai's* authority. In this part, I will explore these three sources to show how the total obedience, as a main character of the relationship between a charismatic leader and his disciples, got its theological bases in the *pesantren* community. Although the *kitabkuning* are commonly commentaries of both the Qur'an and the Hadith, it is important to explore each of these three sources. This cannot be separated from the fact that Muslims recognise the Qur'an as the highest sources of law, followed by the Hadith and then *Ijmak* (consensus among the *ulama*), in which the *kitabkuning* usually become its main references. By understanding each of these sources, at least we will know how traditional Muslims use them to support their certain behaviours, including their total obedience toward the *kyai*.

Regarding the authority of *ulama* or *kyai*, there are several verses in the Qur'an that are repeatedly mentioned and imposed to the heart of *santri* and other members of *pesantren* community. For example, in *surah* or chapter *An-Nisa'* (Women), especially in the 59th verse, God said:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولَى الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ...

"O Believers obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those entrusted with authority from among you..."

In the most popular *tafsir* or the Qur'anic exegesis within *pesantren* world, *Tafsir al-Jalalain* by Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli (d.1459) and Jalal

23 See: Leonard Binder, "Islamic Tradition and Politics: The Kijaji and the Alim," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2, no. 2 (1960): 251-54.

al-Din al-Suyithi (d. 1505), the word “*ulilamr*” or “those entrusted with authority” in this verse refers to *ulama* or *kyai*. It is clear from this verse that the status of *kyai* is right after God and His prophet. There is no doubt among the traditional Muslims that obeying the *kyai* is a must and cannot be denied for any reasons, except when the *kyai* violates the rules of God and His prophets. Moreover, many *mufassir* (those who interpret the Qur’an), such as al-Tabari (d. 922), al-Samarqandi (d. 983), and Ibn-Kathir (d. 1372), showed good attitudes of the *ulama* or *kyai*, so that they can be a role model to follow by referring to what God said in the Qur’an:

اتبعوا من لا يسئلكم اجرا وهم مهتدون

“Follow those who do not ask any reward of you and are on the right way” (Yaasin: 21)

إِنَّمَا يَخْشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ الْعُلَمَاءُ

“The fact is that only those of His servants, who possessed knowledge, fear Allah” (Fathir: 28)

These two verses, according to those *mufassir*, clearly order Muslims to obey and follow the *ulama* based on their obedience in worshipping God and following the traditions of the Prophet.

There are some ways that are usually used to socialize these verses among the *santri*. The most common way to internalise these teachings is through the learning process. Some subjects or courses that help to explain these three verses from the Qur’an are *tafsir* or the Qur’anic exegesis, *akhlaq* or Islamic etiquette, and *fiqh* or Islamic jurisprudence.²⁴ Besides, Friday sermons can also be used as an effective tool to elucidate

24 There are some *kitab* of *tafsir* that currently being taught in the *pesantren* al-Munawwir, such as *Tafsir al-Maraghi*, *TafsirJalalain*, and *TafsirIbnKatsir*. These *tafsir*learnings are basically to study the whole Qur’an, but when they come to discuss this verse, the notion of obeying *ulama* is more apparent than the government, as the word *ulil’amri* is also commonly interpreted as the government. For more information about this issue, see: Bush Robin Bush, *Islam and civil society in Indonesia the case of Nahdlatul Ulama*, (Ann Arbor, MI.: UMI Proquest, 2002)., Hasan M. Nur Hasan, *Ijtihad politik NU : sebuah kajian filosofis mengenai visi sosial dan moral politik NU dalam upaya pemberdayaan “civil society”*, Cet. 1. ed. (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Manhaj bekerjasama dengan Ikatan Keluarga Alumni PMII Cabang Jember, 2010)., and Ridwan Nur Khalik Ridwan, *NU & bangsa, 1914-2010 : pergulatan politik & kekuasaan*, Cet. 1. ed. (Depok, Sleman, Jogjakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media : Didistribusikan oleh Ar-Ruzz Media Group, 2010)..

those verses, especially the first one which can be related directly to political life in Indonesia. Since the authority of the *kyai* has direct justification from the Qur'an, obeying the *kyai*, then, is seen by the *santri* as a part of *ibadah* doing a good deed, in which God will give a reward in the hereafter.

Similar to those three verses in the Qur'an, there are several hadith that are also used to legitimate the authority of the *kyai*, as mentioned below:²⁵

...العلماء ورثة الأنبياء (رواه ابوداود والترمذى وابن ماجه وابن حبان)

Ulama are the inheritors of the Prophets (Narrated by Abu Dawud, Tirmidzi, IbnuMajah, and IbnuHiban)

اقرب الناس من درجة النبوة أهل العلم والجهاد أما أهل العلم فدلوا الناس على ماجاءت به الرسل وأما أهل الجهاد فجاهدوا بأسياهم على ماجاءت به الرسل (رواه أبو نعيم)

The closest people from the degree of prophecy are those who have knowledge and do jihad. Those who have knowledge urge people to do what the prophet wanted, while those who do jihad use their property to do what the prophet wanted (Narrated by Abu Naim).

عن عبدالله بن عمر رضي الله عنه قال : خرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ذات يوم فرأى مجلسين أحدهما يدعون الله ويرغبون إليه والثاني يعلمون الناس فقال : أما هؤلاء فيستلون الله فإن شاء أعطاهم وإن شاء منعهم وأما هؤلاء فيعلمون الناس وإنما بعثت معلما (رواه ابن ماجه)

Abdullah ibnu Umar, may Allah bless him, said: One day Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) left his home and saw two groups of people. One group of them were urging people to worship Allah and

²⁵ Muhammad Abu Bakar, *Hadis Tarbiyah [Hadith on Education]* (Surabaya: al-Ikhlash, 1995). 137-39.

another group were teaching people. Then the prophet said: this people [the first group] are asking to Allah. If Allah wants, He will give it, and if He does not, He will reject it. Meanwhile, this people [the second group] are teaching people and I was only sent as a teacher (Narrated by IbnuMajah).

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إن الله سبحانه وملائكته وأهل سماواته وأرضه حتى النملة في جحرها وحتى الحوت في البحر ليصلون على معلم الناس الخيراً (رواه الترمذى عن أبي أمامة وقال حسن صحيح)

Rasulullah (pbuh) said, Indeed Allah, His Angels, and the inhabitants of the sky and the earth, including the ants in their holes and fishes in the sea, all of them pray for the goodness of those who teach people (Narrated by Tirmidzi, AbiUmamah said this hadith is *hasan* and *shahih* [the highest quality of the hadith]).

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أفضل الناس المؤمن العالم الذى إن احتيج إليه نفع وإن استغنى عنه أغنى نفسه (رواه البيهقى)

Rasulullah or the prophet (pbuh) said, the best people are learned believers who benefit society greatly when they are needed and whose benefit remain when they are not needed by society (Narrated by Baihaqy).

The first hadith is only a part or the most popular phrase of a long one, which is commonly quoted by many *da'i* (preachers) during their speeches to emphasise the special position of *ulama* in Islamic perspective. In its long version, this hadith describes even more significant position of *ulama*, in which the Prophet Muhammad stated that the prophets did not bequeath *dinar* and *dirham* (money), but pass on knowledge. Therefore, anyone who took it, he has taken a big part. In general, all of those hadith elucidate that *kyai* have a special position in the Islamic community as the inheritors of the prophets, the highest position available in dealing with any religious matters.

In addition, those hadith are very popular among the *santri* at *pesantren* because they are mentioned in some elementary books on hadith that are used in the *pesantren*, such as in *al-Arbain al-Nawawiyah* and *al-Riyadh al-Shalihin*.²⁶ Therefore, in the very beginning, *santri* are already introduced to those kinds of hadith. They even have to memorize those hadith as a requirement to take a higher level or to study more complicated books on hadith, such as *Shahih Bukhario* or *Shahih Muslims* that contains more than seven thousand hadith for each books. These two books of hadith have become the main references in many *pesantren*,²⁷ including in four *pesantren* where this research are conducted.

Furthermore, although the hadith is considered as a secondary source within Islamic jurisprudence, in fact, the total numbers of *kitab kuning* that are used in the *pesantren* dealing with the hadith is more than the *tafsir* ones. It is based on the reality that the Qur'an is merely concerned with the general and universal values while the way to apply those values in the daily life is mentioned in detail through the hadith. For example, the Qur'an only orders Muslims to pray five times a day, but how they should pray is explained by the prophet through his hadith. Therefore, we can say that most of the religious activities, especially within *pesantren* community, are ultimately based on the hadith.

Since the *kitab kuning* have a special position among the traditionalist Muslims in Indonesia, it is not surprising that the educational system in *pesantren* has emphasised on studying of them. Besides, according to Mochtar, the function of *kitab kuning* for traditionalist Muslims is not only limited to guide them in carrying out their religious obligations, but also becomes the main reference in responding to any problems in life.²⁸ The importance of the yellow books for traditional Muslims in Indonesia can also be seen from the phenomenon of *bahtsulmasail* (intellectual meeting for discussing certain problems), in which the *kitab kuning* become the main references, if not the only, acceptable to be followed. This can be seen from the products of it, which always put tens of *kitab kuning* as references completed with the quoted pages.²⁹

26 Both books were written by Abu Zakariya Yahya bin Syaraf al-Nawawi or known as Imam an-Nawawi (d.1278 CE). The first book is a collection of forty popular hadith dealing with everyday life of a Muslim. The second one is also a collection of hadith, particularly related to ethics, manners, and conducts.

27 Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995)..

28 Affandi Mochtar, *Kitab kuning & tradisi akademik pesantren*, Cet. 1. ed. (Bekasi: Pustaka Isfahan, 2009)..

29 *BahtsulMasail* in *pesantren* usually becomes a place for senior *santri* as well as

Although the subjects of *kitabkuning* are diverse, ranging from the Qur'anic exegesis, hadith, *fiqh* or Islamic law, to Sufism, the most important field within the *kitabkuning* that has the most significant influence on the authority of *kyai* is on Islamic ethics or so called *akhlaq*. This, of course, does not mean that other areas of *kitabkuning* are not important to be considered. However, since the main aim of learning process in the *pesantren* is to create an individual with a good character (*akhlaq al-karimah*), *akhlaq* becomes the most important subject that is taught at any level of educational process. According to Dhofier³⁰ and Bruinessen,³¹ the most popular *kitabkuning* at the *pesantren* that deals with Islamic ethics is *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, which literally means "the guidance for those who pursue knowledge" written by Imam al-Zarnuji around 13th century. In most *Pesantren*, this book is taught for the less advanced *santri*. It means that *santri* and some other members of *pesantren* community have to learn, and sometimes have to memorise, the doctrines to obey to their *kyai* or *ustadz*.

In this *kitabkuning*, there are more than forty *nadzam* or poems that must be memorised by *santri* during their study. Although the effectiveness of applying the teachings of this *kitabkuning* in daily life has been criticised by many Islamic scholars,³² there are still no variations in interpreting this *kitabkuning* because most *kyai* see it as the best and simplest book dealing with the learning process within *pesantren*. Regarding the source of *kyai*'s authority, this *kitabkuning* clearly suggests to the *santri* that they should totally obey their *kyai* to receive the fruits of knowledge³³

These three textual sources of the authority of the *kyai*: the Qur'an,

kyai to show their ability in mastering certain *kitabkuning*. Regarding this tradition at a national level, see: Zahro Ahmad Zahro, *Tradisi intelektual NU : Lajnah Bahtsul Masa'il*, 1926-1999, Cet. 1. ed. (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004)..

30 Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi pesantren : studi tentang pandangan hidup kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1982)..

31 Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat*..

32 M. B. Rahimsyah, *Biografi & legenda Wali Sanga dan para ulama penerus perjuangannya*, Cet. Peb. 1997. ed. (Surabaya: Indah, 1997); Agus Wahyudi, *Inti ajaran makrifat Islam-Jawa : menggali ajaran Syekh Siti Jenar dan Wali Songo dalam perspektif tasawuf*, Cet. 6. ed. (Kalasan, Sleman, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Dian, 2006); Hanun Asrohah and Rijal Roihan, *Pesantren di Jawa : asal-usul, perkembangan pelebagaan* (Jakarta: Diterbitkan atas kerjasama Proyek Peningkatan Pondok Pesantren Tahun Anggaran 2002, Direktorat Pendidikan Keagamaan dan Pondok Pesantren, Direktorat Jenderal Kelembagaan Agama Islam, Departemen Agama dengan Indonesian Institute of Civil Society, 2002)..

33 Imam al-Zarnuji, *Instruction of the Student: the Method of Learning* (Starlatch, 2003). 13-15..

hadith, and *kitabkuning*, have played a significant role in shaping forms of social relationships among the traditionalist Muslims for centuries. It is not my intention here to argue whether those theological sources are “right” or “wrong,” but my interest is to show how they are influential within the community of the *pesantren*. These theological basis, of course, become standards for legitimating the authority of *kyai*, as well as other learned Muslims, such as *ulama*, *mullah*, *syaikh*, or other similar titles. However, the process of someone can obtain the title *kyai* might differs from those similar titles. This cannot be separated from the fact that Islam came to Java not only represented by one sect or *madzhab*. In fact, the founding fathers of Islam in Java, the *walisongo*, had also been known for their accommodative toward local cultures. Therefore, we cannot simply ignore the nuance of Javanese cultures in the leadership of *kyai* and this contributes to special characteristic of a charismatic figure of *kyai*.

Routinisation of the Charismatic Authority of *Kyai*

Nowadays, it is nearly impossible to find an example of a leader, who holds a pure charismatic authority as formulated by Weber, especially in this modern era. Likewise, the charismatic authority of *kyai* in modern Javais a form of routinized charisma, not a genuine one. Perhaps, the founding fathers of Islam in Java or those *kyai* who built their *pesantren* in practically new areas where Islam is still unknown by the community, can be considered as an example of genuine charismatic leaders. However, they are absolutely not building up a new tradition or institution because of their accommodative model of *dakwah* (preaching), which tend to employ some elements of local cultures, such as *wayang* (puppet show), mosque architect, learning institution of *pesantren*, and so forth. So, the creative and revolutionary features of charismatic authority, to some extent, are not as imagined by Weber, but clearly fit with Turner’s criticisms of the concept as mentioned before.

The Process of Becoming *Kyai*

The Islamic doctrines that implicitly legitimise the authority of *kyai*, whether they are rooted in the Qur’an, the Hadits, or the Kitab Kuning, have been adopted by traditional Muslims in Java and considered them as a social norm in dealing with the *kyai*. For most traditional Muslims, especially those who live and actively engaged within the *pesantren* community, *kyai* is considered as an ideal role model,

not only in religious matters, but also in everyday life.³⁴ This perception is based upon tough requirements that should be faced by someone to receive the title of *kyai* from the members of society.³⁵

According to Sukamto, a candidate for the position of *kyai* usually has to study in several *pesantren*, based on his *kyai*'s recommendation.³⁶ Since there is no time limit for him to study *kitabkuning* at *pesantren*, especially in more traditionalised one, the longer he stays in certain *pesantren* the better he is supposed to be. Also, the total number of *pesantren* has significant influence in measuring the capacity of the candidate in mastering Islamic knowledge. This assumption is based on the fact that certain *pesantren* are known for specific Islamic knowledge, based on the expertise of their *kyai*. Dhofier (1999) called this phenomenon as "wandering" *santri* or those who move from one *pesantren* to another to obtain qualified Islamic knowledge, as well as to search for *barakah* or blessing from the *kyai*.³⁷

Furthermore, under a strict supervision from the *kyai*, the candidate is also tested by conducting several religious practices, known as *riyadhah*, in order to develop his *akhlaq*. There are various kinds of *riyadhah*, such as fasting, *dzikir* or reciting the names of God repeatedly hundreds or thousands times a day, and chanting *shalawatan* or prayers for blessing to the prophet. The most popular kinds of *riyadhah* are in fasting forms, such as *senin-kemis* or fasting every Monday and Thursday; *dawud* or fasting every other day; *dahr* or fasting the whole year, except in some days that are not allowed to fast³⁸; *mutih* or fasting and only using rice in breaking the fast; *ngrowot* or fasting and avoiding rice; and *patigeni* or fasting for forty days with only drinking a glass of water for breaking the fast.

34 Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "Sejarah dan Budaya Pesantren," in *Dinamika Pesantren dan Madrasah*, ed. Ismail and et al. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2002)..

35 The title of *kyai* is not fully an ascribed status but, in many cases, it can be an achieved status. Although the sons of *kyai* have a greater chance to be a *kyai* than the regular *santri*, there are many examples that they do not become a *kyai* because they failed to show a real contribution in developing Islam in community. So, unlike in other religions that have a formal institution to give certain religious titles, there is no single *pesantren* or other Islamic institutions in Indonesia that have an authority to award a title of *kyai* to their graduates.

36 Sukamto, *Kepemimpinan Kyai dalam Pesantren [Kyai's Leadership at Pesantren]* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1999)..

37 Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The pesantren tradition : the role of the Kyai in the maintenance of traditional Islam in Java* (Tempe, Ariz.: Monograph Series Press, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1999)..

38 These special days are: *IdulFitri* (1 *Syawwal* or the tenth month in Islamic calendar), *IdulAdha* (10 *Dzulhijjah* or the twelfth month), and the days of *Tasyrik* (11 to 13 *Dzulhijjah*).

The main goal in conducting these kinds of fasting is to make a candidate of *kyai* accustomed to a simple life, honesty, and having a sense of compassion toward the suffering of poor people. In addition, certain kinds of fasting are also aimed at acquiring the ability to do a spiritual healing or to obtain certain supernatural powers, such as immune from any weapon, walking on the top of water, and so forth. This is considered as an important aspect because, sometimes, *kyai* is also expected to defeat black magic that is performed by *dukun* (shaman). It is also a common phenomenon, especially in the remote areas, where *kyai*, through his *karamah*, is believed to have an ability to cure certain diseases. Although this function is gradually being replaced by the massive numbers of physicians, a belief in the effectiveness of a spiritual healing to cure some diseases remains strong among the traditionalist Muslims in Indonesia.

Interestingly, although most of these *riyadhoh* instructions can be found in some *kitabkuning*, such as *Syamsul Ma'arif, al-Aufaq*, or other simple *Mujarobat* books, there is a belief among the *santri* that they have to obtain permission or *ijazah* from the *kyai* to practice certain *riyadhoh*. There are many stories of those who ignored the importance of the *ijazah* and have tried to practice certain *riyadhoh*, by following those kinds of books, but end up with mental disorder. The *ijazah* to practice a more sophisticated *riyadhoh*, such as combining fasting, *dzikir*, and *shalawatan*, is not given to all *santri*. Only those who have a special character, in the eye of the *kyai*, will be granted this special *ijazah*. Therefore, from the beginning, a candidate of *kyai* is believed to have a good personality because he has been trusted by the *kyai* to practice a special *riyadhoh*.

Nonetheless, the most important task that should be performed by the candidate of *kyai* is to replace some *kyai*'s duties in running their *pesantren*, such as leading a congregational prayer or teaching certain *kitabkuning*. This kind of phenomenon is called *asbadal* (assistant) of the *kyai*. Once a *kyai* appointed a candidate to be his *badal*, people will consider him as a young *kyai*. In this case, a young *kyai* begins to face a real challenge of the larger community and his behaviour becomes a role model for the members of community. Considering the long process that candidates of *kyai* must be taken, most people, especially the traditionalist Muslims, will have no doubt anymore with the attitudes of him. They believe that a young *kyai* has a reputable personality because he was strictly supervised by certain *kyai* that have been trusted and proved their qualities in dealing with various problems. Therefore,

a reputable personality becomes an important aspect in determining *kyai's* authority.

Besides, there is also a belief within traditional Muslim community across the country in the existence of *ilmuladuni*. Literally, the word *ilmuladuni* means knowledge which comes from the Truth Itself. The concept of *ilmuladuni* is based on Sufi's teaching that the source of knowledge is God.³⁹ As a mystical term, *ilmuladuni* means "knowledge possessed by the saint who enters the heart directly from the creative truth itself."⁴⁰ By possessing it, someone is believed to have ability to know something before anyone tell him. There is a popular phrase among the Javanese Muslims to describe this special ability, *weruhsakdurungewinarah* (lit. knowing before anyone told him).

Within the perspective of *santri*, the higher level of *karomah* shows the better personality of the *kyai*. The reason behind this opinion lies upon the fact that *karomah*, as well as *ilmuladuni*, can only be possessed through the purity of the hearts and continuously (*istiqomah*) in practising good deeds. Therefore, those who endowed with *karomah*, such as *ilmuladuni* are believed to have a good personality, as a result of their consistency in doing *tazkiyatunnafs* (cleaning heart from bad attitudes), including their ability to restrain from materialism. There is even a view among the traditional Muslims across the Java that the more simple life (*sederhana*) of the *kyai*, the more respectful he is in front of people. A simple life is also seen as a result of practicing *riyadhoh* for years since he became a *santri*. Nonetheless, this does not mean that *kyai* are forbidden to be rich persons because indeed some of them are considered as rich people; at least it based on the fact that they are able to establish *pesantren* and even provides the needs of their *santri* for free.⁴¹

The fact that *kyai* with his *pesantren* become the economic drivers for communities around *pesantren* is not uncommon in Indonesia. Buresh, for example, have shown how three traditional *pesantren* in Tasikmalaya, Cirebon, and Bogor have succeeded in sustaining the economic

39 Within the perspective of Sufism, *ilmuladuni* is understood as a gifted knowledge directly from God to particular persons because of the purity of their hearts, without a learning process. It is like knowledge of God that was given to the prophets through revelations. For more information on this kind of knowledge, see: al-Ghazali Imam al-Ghazali, *Risalah al-Ladunniyah*, Majmu'ah ar-Risalah (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1988)..

40 J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). 304..

41 Hermawan Sulisty, "Transformasi Kepemimpinan di Pesantren [Leadership Transformation at Pesantren]," *Pesantren* 3, no. 1 (1986)..

development around their *pesantren*.⁴² Regarding the relationship between the economy status of *kyai* and the level of acceptance of the disciples toward his authority, Rozaki has interesting example in his research on charismatic *kyai* in Madura. He concluded that *kyai* who runs businesses, such as *Kelompok Bimbingan Ibadah Haji*, usually shortened to KBIH (Counselling Hajj Group) or has large farms, is more respected and followed than *kyai* who only teaches at the mosque or *langgar*.⁴³ Even the most respectable *kyai* within the perspective of traditional Muslims is those who are rich but they follow a simple life in their everyday life. These economic activities of *kyai* can be seen as something that is not in accordance with the principles of charismatic authority of Weber which requires the leader of charismatic authority to alter such activities.

Another important aspect that is considered as a source of *kyai*'s authority is the issue of the descendants of *Kyai*. Similar to a kingdom system, where the son of the king will automatically become the next king, the son of *kyai* is also believed to replace his father's position as *kyai*. Although the title of *kyai* is not merely ascribed status, some *kyai* have developed a tradition, in which they put their descendants or their immediate relatives in a position of having a greater opportunity to gain a title of young *kyai*.⁴⁴ Very frequently, a *kyai* recruits his *badal*, to help him teaching and running the *pesantren*, limited only to his close relatives, especially his younger brothers, sons, or nephews. In many cases, some *kyai* even take intelligent and smart nephews as his son-in-laws in order to develop their *pesantren*. Therefore, the immediate relatives of the *kyai* often share the *Kyai*'s prestiges and privileges.

In addition, the members of the nuclear family of *kyai* have even a more special prestige in society. The wife of the *kyai* is called *nyai*.⁴⁵ His son also has a special title as *gus*, derived from the word "sibagus" or "the handsome one", while his daughter is called with "ning" in front of her name. By fostering the public image that *gus* inherits the spiritual attributes from his father, the *kyai* has tended to legitimize his sons

42 Scott Allen Buresh, "Pesantren-based development : Islam, education, and economic development in Indonesia" (University of Virginia, 2002)..

43 Rozaki, *Menabur kharisma, menuai kuasa : kiprah kiai dan blater sebagai rezim kembar di Madura*: 97-105..

44 Dhofier, *The pesantren tradition : the role of the Kyai in the maintenance of traditional Islam in Java*..

45 The title of *nyai* is automatically given by society to the wife of *kyai*. However, it is also can be given to those who have a real contribution in teaching Islam, such as teaching Qur'an or other Islamic knowledge for children or elderly women in certain communities, although they are still singles or married to an ordinary man.

as the rightful successors. Perceived as an exceptional person, most *gus* are believed to be able to acquire *ilmu laduni* or an ability to master various branches of Islamic knowledge without studying them. In this case, most *kyai* foster a public opinion that some *kyai* are exceptional persons who possess such special attributes as *karamah* or charismatic gift and become sources of *barakah* for their followers.⁴⁶ Moreover, most *gus* who are the sons of *kyai* who have *karamah*, are also believed to have the *karamah* like their fathers.

Another benefit of gaining the title of *gus* is to distinguish them from other *santri*. As we already know in connection with the phenomena of wandering *santri*, all *gus* who are sent to other well-known *pesantren* will get special attention from the *kyai* so that their knowledge and leadership achievements may surpass those of ordinary *santri*. Also, this special attention cannot be separated from the fact that most *pesantren* in Java have genealogical relationships. As the members of a higher social status, *kyai* have a strong in-group feeling and prefer to support endogamous marriage. Therefore, based on the marriage alliances among the *kyai* in Java, we can say that it is hard for ordinary *santri* to have the opportunity to be *kyai* unless they have an excellent basis of Islamic knowledge or are married to the *kyai*'s daughter.⁴⁷

Within a greater perspective of Islam, especially from the teachings of Shi'ite and some Sufi orders *ortarekat*, the position of the *ahlul bait* (the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad) have a very special position. The descendants of the prophet have special titles to honour them, "*sayyid*" for the man and "*syarifah*" for the women. These titles, including the titles of *gus* and *ning* for the sons and daughters of *kyai*, shows a different position of them compared with other ordinary people since the very beginning. They enjoy some privileges attached to their parents since they born and they receive special educations and training from other *kyai* during their study at other *pesantren*. So, it is no surprise if they then become better equipped in mastering Islamic knowledge. Therefore, they have a greater chance to acquire the leadership position within the *pesantren* communities across the Java. Perhaps, these phenomena are good examples of what Weber said:

46 Dhofier, *The pesantren tradition : the role of the Kyai in the maintenance of traditional Islam in Java*..

47 — — —, "Kinship and Marriage among the Javanese Kyai," *Indonesia*, no. 29 (1980)..

“Men are differently qualified in a religious way...The sacred values that have been most cherished, the ecstatic and visionary capacities of shaman, sorcerers, ascetics, and pneumatics of all sorts, could not be obtained by everyone. The possession of such facilities is a ‘charisma’ which, to be sure, might be awakened in some but not in all.”⁴⁸

Institutionalising the Traditions

Beside the ‘internal’ privileges during the process of becoming *kyai*, there are also some traditions among the disciples of *kyai* which, in my opinion, have contributed to legitimate the authority of *kyai*, especially in creating a total obedience toward a figure of *kyai*. There are at least two popular traditions within the *pesantren* community that have a great influence in shaping the relationship between *kyai* and his followers. These are the practice of *taqlid* (lit. to follow) and searching for *barokah* (blessing). These two traditions still exist and widely practice by the members of *pesantren* community across the Java.

The tradition of *taqlid buta* is basically an embodiment of a popular concept of “*sami’nawaatho’na*,” (lit. we are listening and obeying), which derived from the Hadith. The *taqlid* tradition has become a necessity for the traditional Muslims, especially *for santri* to apply in their everyday life. The application of this concept is clearly seen through the learning processes at *pesantren*. For example, it is considered as an inappropriate for the *santri* to criticize any religious doctrines during their study, as it is implicitly mentioned in *Ta’lim al-Muta’alim*.⁴⁹ Moreover, the existence of this concept is always connected to a verse in the Qur’an that describes the characteristic of Jews or *bani Israel* as people who are always questioning and disputing the orders of God. The phrase that was used by the Jews in responding to the orders of God was “*sami’nawaashaina*,” as mentioned in a popular hadith from *Shahih Muslim*:

Rasulullah (peace be upon him) said, “Will you say *sami’nawaashaina* (we listen but we will not obey) like what *ahl-kitab* (Jews and Christians) mentioned before you? Say, *sami’nawaatha’naghufuran akawailaikalmashir* (we listen and obey and forgive us because we

48 Max Weber, Hans Heinrich Gerth, and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber : essays in sociology*, Routledge classics in sociology (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge, 2009). 287..

49 al-Zarnuji, *Instruction of the Student: the Method of Learning*..

will return to You.”⁵⁰

Therefore, it is very common among the members of *pesantren* to label those who criticize the doctrines that have been established for the centuries, as a Jew. As a consequence, they will be isolated by other *santri* until they change their mind and accept the doctrines.⁵¹ Besides strengthening the authority of the *kyai*, this concept has also potential to obstruct the creativity of *santri* in developing the Islamic knowledge based on a critical thinking process. This can be clearly seen from the absent of a significant development in the learning process, especially at the more traditionalised *pesantren*, except for copying the knowledge of the teachers. Most *santri* are able to memorize and describe the teachings of *kitabkuning* but they lack of an ability to establish a new perspective or produce a new interpretation of it.

A *taqlidbuta* (following whatever the *kyai* said uncritically) becomes a trade mark of *santri* and other traditional Muslims across the country. In the perspective of traditional *ulama*, *taqlid* is considered as an obligatory, especially for those who have no adequate knowledge in Islam.⁵² They even believe that currently there is no single *ulama* who has capability of doing personal *ijtihad* based on the criteria of being *mujtahid* (person who does *ijtihad*), that are mentioned in some *kitabkuning*. However, this does not mean that the door of *ijtihad* is totally closed, as many modernist Muslims' criticisms toward their traditionalist counterparts, but it can only be done in a collective way.⁵³ Furthermore, similar criticism is also sounded recently by *Salafi* Muslims, especially regarding the absolute authority of *kyai*, which they claimed as exaggerated. Some of them even see it as a form of worshipping *kyai*.

However, most traditional Muslims, especially *santri*, seem to ignore this criticism. For them, following *kyai* is the best way to avoid mistake in understanding Islamic teachings. There is a popular Javanese idiom which is commonly used to describe this view, “*pejah-gesang nderek*

50 Bakar, *Hadis Tarbiyah [Hadith on Education]*: 142..

51 However, this kind of association used to be an effective way to change the *santri*'s behavior. But nowadays, it seems to be ineffective and becomes only a joke among the *santri*. This labeling is actually similar with the term “Muhammadiyah,” which is commonly used to label *santri* who use pants when they are praying instead of *sarung* (skirt) with *kopiyah* (skullcap).

52 Munawir Abdul Fattah, *Tradisi orang-orang NU*, Cet. 1. ed. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren : Percetakan dan distribusi, LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2006); Yasmadi, *Modernisasi pesantren : kritikan Nurcholish Madjid terhadap pendidikan Islam tradisional* (Jakarta: Ciputat Pers, 2002)..

53 Zahro, *Tradisi intelektual NU : Lajnah Bahtsul Masa'il, 1926-1999..*

kyai" (lit. following *kyai*, dead or alive).⁵⁴ For some *santri*, especially those who stay at more traditionalised *pesantren*, this idiom becomes a basic principle of their everyday life. Doing whatever *kyai* said to them is a must and seen as an honour, although what he asks to do is a small thing, such as preparing his sandals or doing other household duties. These kinds of activities are considered by most *santri* as a form of *khidmah* (dedication) to the *kyai* in order to get his compliance and blessing. As mentioned in the book of *Ta'limul Muta'alim*, the compliance and blessing of teacher can only be achieved through respecting and obeying what he said.⁵⁵

Another tradition which also has an influential impact on preserving the authority of the *kyai* is searching for his *barokah* or blessing. This tradition, among the members of *pesantren* is of great importance; especially it is seen as a requirement to obtain a useful knowledge that will benefit those who possess it. In this case, *kyai* have successfully fostered the public opinion that *barakah* can be gained only by giving respect to those who are trusted as the channel of God's sanctity or grace. Total obedience, as described clearly in *Ta'limal-Muta'alim*, should be shown with respect and sincerity. Furthermore, along with this concept, traditional Muslims also have a strong belief on the existence of *kuwalat* (J. calamity), which will happen to them if they do not respect their *kyai*. The combination of *barokah* and *kuwalat* has played a dominant role in the educational process at *pesantren*.

The institutionalisation of these traditions within the *pesantren* community, along with the 'internal' privileges of *gus*, have created a relatively stable situation for charismatic authority to be transmitted from generation to generation. In the situation where there are more than one candidates of *kyai*, they usually will be directed to master different knowledge of Islam. However, if this solution is not resolve the problem, there are still other two possibilities to be considered by the members of *pesantren* community. First, the oldest brother or claimer will likely be chosen as a leader. Second, the most knowledgeable among the claimers will lead the community. However it seems that the current situation shows that within more modernised *pesantren* or those who run madrasah or public school system, they are likely to use Islamic

⁵⁴ This common phrase is easily found during the election campaign or mass demonstration. Similar jargon (*pejah-gesang nderek Sultan*) is widely used to support the Sultan of Yogyakarta recently upon a controversial issue of RUUK DIY (draft bill of special region of Yogyakarta).

⁵⁵ al-Zarnuji, *Instruction of the Student: the Method of Learning*: 15..

knowledge as the main criteria to be a leader rather than mainly rely on the seniority aspect. Meanwhile, within the more traditional *pesantren* community, the seniority remains influential, unless the oldest claimer withdraws from the competition to be a leader.

Conclusion: the Future of Charismatic Authority of Kyai

In his explanation on the routinisation process of charismatic authority, Weber noted that there are two important aspects that lead people to a routinization process:

“(a) The ideal and also the material interest of the followers in the continuation and the continual reactivation of the community, (b) the still stronger ideal and also stronger material interests of the members of the administrative staff, the disciples, the party workers, or others in continuing their relationship”.

In the case of *pesantren* community, a strong belief of *santri* that *kyai* is capable to give *barokah* seems to be the main reason for the routinization process. *Barokah* in this sense is not only related to the blessing in this worldly life, but more importantly, it also includes the life in the hereafter. In other world, the meaning of *barokah* of *kyai* can also be expanded to include the notion of salvation in the hereafter. By following the *kyai* properly, as symbolized in the principle I mentioned before, “*pejah gesang nderek kyai,*” someone can join the *kyai* in entering the Paradise. This principle has its justification from the popular story of Ashabul Kahfi (lit. the companions of cave), narrated in the Qur’an Surah 18 from the verse 10 to 26. By fostering *kyai* as a direct successor of the prophet, the elements of charisma, including *barokah* and salvation, are still strongly attached to the next *kyai* when the charismatic leader is passed away. Thus, the quality of charisma becomes an objective and transferrable entity.

Through the process of routinization and depersonification of charisma, the gift of grace is transformed into a quality that is acquirable, attached to an office or to an institutional structure.⁵⁶ However, within the *pesantren* community, the chance to acquire this quality is limited only to the close relatives of the *kyai* through sharing the privileges of the *kyai*, such as the title of *gus* for the son of *kyai*, the concept of *ilmu ladunni* and the importance of *nasab*, as mentioned before. Therefore, the charismatic

⁵⁶ Stephen Sharot, “Hasidism and the Routinization of Charisma,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 19, no. 4 (1980): 327..

authority of *kyai* is basically following the model of hereditary charisma. However, unlike the concept of hereditary charisma, which tends to be less concern with individual quality⁵⁷ the charismatic authority of *kyai* requires a harder training for *gus* compared with other ordinary *santri*. So, a personal quality is still considered as an important factor, along with the hereditary status of the next *kyai*.

Since the title of *kyai* is generally given by the community, there is almost no way for those who do not have a quality to claim themselves as *kyai* without any real contribution to develop the community members. The combination of community recognition with the hereditary status in determining the charismatic authority of *kyai* is a unique because there is no uniformity among the *pesantren*, in term of designing their curriculum or employing a standard method of learning process, the percentage of both aspects may vary from one to another. In some cases, it can be a pure hereditary, without involving the recognition from the community. But in other cases, it can also be a pure recognition of community, in which the members of community directly appoint someone endowed with the quality to be their *kyai*. The first case is likely occurred within a big *pesantren*, where its existence is totally separated from a larger community outside *pesantren*, while the latter is mostly happened to the *pesantren* own by at least two different families or it totally belongs to the community. However, both aspects are very important in ensuring the continuity of the charismatic authority of *kyai*. For the first case, a pure hereditary charisma, recognition from a larger community usually will come soon after the charismatic authority is established.

One interesting phenomenon regarding the implementation of madrasah or public school system within *pesantren*, as it also happened in a *pesantren* where this research is conducted, is the changing value upon the concept of *karomah* or magical powers. The more *karomah* they have, the more respect will be given by the members of *pesantren* community. However, the level of charismatic quality is mainly determined by the concept of *barokah* and the expertise in mastering Islamic knowledge.

This does not mean, however, that *karomah* is disappeared from the *pesantren* world, but many members of *pesantren* community, especially those more modernised *santri*, are not really interested anymore to magical activities due to the advancement of technology. Nowadays, more modernised *santri* in *pesantren* have so many choices to spend their spare times. Most *santrin* nowadays, for example, have their own laptop

57 Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1-2: 254.,

with the internet connection, in which they can find any information and entertainment they want. The eagerness of *santri* to practice *riyadloh* in order to obtain certain magical power is rapidly decreased. As a result, most members of the more modernised *pesantren* community feel no need to ask their leader to prove his ability in performing *karomah*. Most of them are still strongly believe in the *barokah* of *kyai*. However, the *barokah* of the *kyai* nowadays is merely seen in the perspective of a legacy from the previous *kyai* that should be automatically owned by his successor regardless of his ability in performing *karomah*. The most common way to see the charisma of the *kyai* nowadays is changed from the ability to perform *karomah* into the notion of their consistency in performing religious obligations and mastering Islamic knowledge.

Based on this changing value in viewing the charismatic authority of *kyai*, it can be said that *kyai* continue to be considered as a charismatic leader within the community of *pesantren*. As long as the tradition of seeking the *barokah* of *kyai* is still widely practiced by the members of *pesantren* community, it means that the existence of *kyai* as a charismatic leader remains strong, regardless the adaptation model taken by *pesantren* in adjusting with the modernity. The challenge to the existence of charismatic authority is actually comes from outside the *pesantren* community. Some new Islamic groups, especially those who are considered as parts of Salafi movements, are actively campaigned for eliminating the tradition of seeking *barokah* of the *kyai*.⁵⁸ They condemned this practice and labelled it as a form of heresy or even considered as doing *syirik* (associating God with others). Therefore, as long as *kyai* and other members of *pesantren* community are able to fortify themselves from the external influences, there will be no significant change in the charismatic authority of *kyai*.

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⁵⁸ Hartono Ahmad Jaiz and Abduh Zulfidar Akaha, *Bila kyai dipertuhankan : membedah sikap beragama NU*, Cet. 1. ed. (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2001)..

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