

Preface:
Waryono Abdul Ghafur

FROM UIN SUNAN KALIJAGA TO THE WORLD



State Islamic University
Sunan Kalijaga
Yogyakarta

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From Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University to the World

Waryono Abdul Ghafur

(Vice Rector for Student and Cooperation Affairs)

In 2016, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University is stepping to its 65 years old, a quite long period for an education institution in Indonesia, even though it could be a short period of time compared to universities such as in Europe or the United States, which have experienced centuries in managing education. During its half a century period, State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta went through numbers of developmental stages. It was begun with piloting phase (1951-1960), the development of institutional foundation phase (1960-1972), followed by the development of academic foundation (1972-1996) and the stabilization of academic orientation (1996-2001), the phase of Institutional development (2001-2010), followed by internal management reinforcement (2010-2015), as well as the phase toward World Class University (WCU) in the field of Islamic Studies with the status of State University as Legal Entities (in Bahasa Indonesia named PTNBH) for its institutional management. The steps toward WCU has been set up in the Master Plan for the Development of State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta of 2014-2038. In this stage, State Islamic University should not merely play its role in local and national development, but also in the wider context of regional, international and global world by optimizing its potentialities.

During its developmental stages from Islamic Higher Education Institution (Institute) status until its status to become a university, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta had never isolated itself from international society. During its piloting phase, the Institute had initiated many cooperations with various universities in the Middle East, especially Al-Azhar University, Egypt, as the center of Islamic studies. Moreover, the Institute had also awarded a doctorate honoris cause for the rector of Al-Azhar University, Prof. Dr. Mahmud Syaltut.

Similarly, Al-Azhar University awarded a doctorate honoris causa for the President at that time, Soekarno. In the next phase, when Prof. Mukti Ali was appointed as the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (1971-1978), the Institute developed its cooperation with universities in North America such as McGill University, Canada.

Today, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta has initiated numbers of cooperation with top universities in the world, ranged from Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, and Australia. Recently, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta has signed a MoU with Canal Suez University, renewed the cooperation with Al-Azhar University, AinShams University, Egypt, as well as Ez-zitouna University and University of Sousse, Tunisia in the Middle East. Whereas, for European regions, it develops the cooperation with the University of Göttingen, Germany and Radboud University, Nijmegen, the Netherlands.

Considering those wide international networks, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University opens its opportunity to contribute to the global world. Those opportunities were supported by numbers of potentialities owned by the University. To mention some, the University has professional human resources. Many of its lecturers are professors and doctors who earned their degree from prestigious universities abroad as well as from home countries. Furthermore, the University conducted an agreement with international universities for lecturer exchange programs. Many lecturers were invited by universities abroad to teach Islamic studies there. Correspondingly, lecturers from overseas universities were invited to teach or give lecture at the University.

Besides its lecturers' role in the academic field in international level, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University also has internationally recognized practitioners, researchers, and even bureaucrat, for example, those who serve as an ambassador, a commissioner of Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and researchers in international institutions. In addition, the University owned an internationally recognized academic journal, *ai-Jami'ah*, which is indexed by Scopus. This becomes the media to spread out academic thoughts and contribution of the University to the international world.

It particularly in regard to its international network and potentialities that the University becomes the leading Islamic higher education in Indonesia with high interest of students enrollment. During the last 7 years those who register to enroll in the University comprises around 60.000 until 80.000 students, even though the University only selected 3.500 students to be accepted each year. The number of international students is also increasing, both at undergraduate and postgraduate level. By countries, the international students come from Malaysia, Thailand, Russia, the Philippines, Iran, and Libya.

About this Book

The publication of this book, *From UIN Sunan Kalijaga to the World*, (من جامعة سونانكا لي جاكا إلى العالم) has been underlined by the urgency to bring together the valuable thoughts from Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University's academicians in one compilation (although it only compiles a very limited numbers of them) as an effort on how the University should contribute for scientific development in the global world. This book reflects various scientific discourses that should depict the rich and wide coverage of different faculties at the University, ranging from contemporary social problems to the development of science and technology for humanity.

This book contains 13 articles comprises of 7 articles written in English and the other 6 written in Arabic. The first English article was written by Prof. M. Amin Abdullah, a professor of Islamic philosophy and Islamic studies and a Cultural Commission of the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (AIPI), also a former Rector of the University. He writes about new scientific paradigm developed by the University, that is integration and interconnection among religion, science, and culture which then become the core for other articles in this book. For that, the other articles in this book should be comprehended under the framework of those three entities: religion, science, and culture.

Using that framework, the articles in this book can be categorized into 4 clusters. First, Islamic studies, such as Qur'anic Interpretation, Islamic law, Islamic theology, prophetic education, Arabic language and literature. These topics correspond to the core subject of the University, that is in Islamic studies.

Second, social-cultural studies, as seen in the article on the re-comprehension of the charismatic authority concept of Max Weber. Third, humanities, the one discusses radicalism and peace. Fourth, science and technology, for example, the article that is written by Shofwatul 'Uyun, Lina Choridah, and M. Didik R Wahyudi. Those three are lecturers from the Faculty of Science and Technology that develop algorithm formulas to be implemented in Computer-Aided Detection (CADe). The latter is a tool for early detection of breast cancer, which provides high accuracy.

Those fourth clusters were not stood apart from one another in its own scientific root (monodisciplinary). However, they are synergically cooperating and enriching each other (interdisciplinary, multidiscipline, and transdisciplinary) in their approaches. The articles under Islamic tradition discourses also use concepts and theories from social sciences, and vice versa. Furthermore, science and technology developed in the University are not value-free, rather Islam precisely becomes the value basis for science and technology development.

Using integration-interconnection paradigm, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta is not merely trying to develop "an ideal" formula in the connection between Islam and science, rather this paradigm is perfectly compatible in producing moderate, inclusive, and progressive Islamic studies based on Islamic insight in Nusantara. That is an Islamic understanding that embeds peace and wisdom; honors tolerance (*tasamuh*), puts forward harmony (*tawazun*), and has moderate characteristics (*tawasuth*). Those are the ideas from State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta that would be contributed to the world, of which the effort is by publishing this book.

Yogyakarta, December 2016

مقدمة

من سونان كاليجاكا إلى العالم

د. الحاج واريونو عبد الغفور

(وكيل رئيس الجامعة لشؤون الطلاب والتعاون الدولي)

تجاوزت جامعة سونان كاليجاكا الإسلامية الوطنية بيوجاكرتا بخطوات ثابتة ربيعها الخامس والستين في عام ٢٠١٦، وهو عمر طويل نسبيا من الإنجاز الأكاديمي والبحثي وخدمة المجتمع إذا ما نسب إلى الجامعات الإندونيسية، لكنه عمر الزهور إذا ما نسب إلى جامعات دولية تخطى عمر بعضها قرونا.

لقد خبرت الجامعة على طول ذلك العمر مراحل من التطور عديدة. بدأت تلك المراحل بمرحلة التدشين (١٩٥١ - ١٩٦٠)، وتلتها مرحلة وضع القاعدة المؤسسية (١٩٦٠ - ١٩٧٢)، ثم مرحلة وضع الأساس الأكاديمي (١٩٧٢ - ١٩٩٦)، ثم مرحلة تدعيم التوجه الأكاديمي (١٩٩٦ - ٢٠٠١)، ثم مرحلة التنمية المؤسسية (٢٠٠١ - ٢٠١٠)، وتبعتها مرحلة تقوية الإدارة الداخلية (٢٠١٠ - ٢٠١٥)، في سبيل الوصول بالجامعة إلى "جامعة عالمية" في مجال الدراسات الإسلامية خاصة، وفي سبيل الوصول إلى جامعة وطنية ذات استقلالية قانونية في مجال

الإدارة الجامعية. لقد تم التخطيط لهدف الجامعة العالمية في الخطة خطة التنمية الأساسية للجامعة للأعوام ٢٠١٤ - ٢٠٣٨، وذلك من أجل أن يتجاوز إسهام الجامعة المستويات المحلية والوطنية والإقليمية، وصولاً إلى المستوى العالمي عبر توظيف جميع الإمكانيات المتاحة.

إن خيار التوجه نحو العالمية كان ملازماً للجامعة منذ مرحلة التندشين، فالجامعة لم تعزل نفسها يوماً ما عن العالم، وعن إقامة علاقات تعاون مع الجامعات العالمية. فمنذ أن كانت الجامعة مجرد "مؤسسة تعليم عالٍ وطنية للديانة الإسلامية" (وهو الاسم القديم للجامعة)، أقامت علاقات مع الجامعات العربية، وبالأخص جامعة الأزهر المصرية، والتي كانت قبلة لتنمية العلوم الإسلامية آنذاك، ولم تزل. وفي هذا العمر المبكر، منحت الجامعة الدكتوراه الفخرية لشيخ الأزهر الأسبق الإمام الأكبر محمود شلتوت. وفي المقابل، منحت جامعة الأزهر الدكتوراه الفخرية للرئيس الإندونيسي الأسبق سوكارنو. وفي المرحلة التالية، ومع تولي أ.د. معطي علي وزارة الشؤون الدينية الإندونيسية (حيث تخصصت الجامعة إدارياً لها) في الفترة بين ١٩٧١-١٩٧٨، نمت العلاقات الدولية للجامعة مع الجامعات الغربية، وعلى رأسها جامعة ماك-جيل بكندا.

والآن.. تتمتع الجامعة بصلات تعاونية واسعة النطاق مع جامعات من آسيا وأفريقيا وأوروبا وأمريكا وأستراليا. فعلى سبيل المثال، أبرمت الجامعة مؤخراً اتفاقيات للتعاون الجامعي مع كل من جامعات الأزهر وعين شمس وقناة السويس المصرية، كما وقعت اتفاقيات مثيلة مع جامعتي الزيتونة وسوسة التونسييتين. وفي أوروبا، ترتبط الجامعة باتفاقيات مع جامعات عديدة مثل جورج أوجست بألمانيا، وردباود بهولندا.

وتأمل الجامعة من خلال شبكة التعاون الواسعة تلك أن يكون لها إسهاماً في بناء الحضارة الإنسانية العالمية. ويدعم ذلك الأمل إمكانيات

عديدة تمتلكها الجامعة، على رأسها الموارد البشرية المتمثلة أساسا في أعضاء هيئة التدريس المحترفين، والذين يتمتع عدد لا بأس به منهم بدرجة الأستاذية، وكثير بدرجة الدكتوراه من داخل وخارج البلاد. فضلا عن ذلك، تربط الجامعة بجامعات عالمية عديدة اتفاقيات لتبادل أعضاء هيئة التدريس، حيث تم إيفاد العديد منهم للتدريس بالخارج، خاصة في مجال الدراسات الإسلامية. وفي المقابل، تستقبل الجامعة العديد من أعضاء هيئات التدريس بالجامعات العالمية، خاصة في مجالات العلوم الاجتماعية والطبيعية.

وبخلاف الموارد البشرية العاملة في مجال التدريس الجامعي، هناك من أعضاء الهيئة الأكاديمية بالجامعة من تم تكليفه من قبل الدولة بالعمل في المجال العملي، سواء سفراء لإندونيسيا بالخارج، أو باحثين أو شاغلي المناصب التنفيذية داخل البلاد، أو شاغلي مناصب تنفيذية في منظمات دولية مثل منظمة التعاون الإسلامي. وبالإضافة إلى هذا، تمتلك الجامعة منبرا عالميا هو دورية "الجامعة"، وهي الدورية التي تم الاعتراف بها في فهرست سكوبوس الشهير للدوريات العالمية. ومن خلال هذه الدورية تطل الإسهامات التي يقدمها أعضاء الهيئة الأكاديمية بالجامعة على نظرائهم حول العالم.

لقد أضحت الجامعة مقصدا أساسيا للطلاب الراغبين في الالتحاق بمؤسسات التعليم العالي الإسلامية الوطنية في إندونيسيا، وذلك على خلفية الإمكانيات التي تمتلكها الجامعة، بما فيها الشبكة التعاونية الدولية الواسعة. ففي الأعوام السبعة الأخيرة، بلغ عدد المتقدمين للالتحاق بالجامعة نحو سبعين ألف طالب وطالبة، على الرغم من أن طاقة الجامعة الاستيعابية لا تتجاوز ٣٥٠٠ كرسيًا. وفي نفس الوقت، يزداد التحاق الطلاب من خارج إندونيسيا بالجامعة، سواء في مرحلة الليسانس أو

الدراسات العليا، وذلك من بلدان شتى، منها ماليزيا وتايلند وروسيا والفلبين وإيران وليبيا.

ويعتبر حضور كتاب "من سونان كاليجاكا إلى العالم" أحد أشكال إسهامات الجامعة في تنمية المسيرة العلمية الدولية. ويضم هذا الكتاب بين دفتيه أعمالاً لعدد من أعضاء الهيئة الأكاديمية بالجامعة حول عديد من قضايا العلوم الإسلامية والطبيعية، سواء لجهة الخطاب السائد أم المشاكل المعاشة، أو مسيرة التطوير العلمية والتقنية لخدمة الإنسانية. يحتوي هذا الكتاب على ثلاث عشرة مقالة، سيع منها باللغة الإنجليزية، وثلاث باللغة العربية. فالمقالة الأولى، وهي باللغة الإنجليزية، بقلم الأستاذ الدكتور أمين عبد الله، الرئيس الأسبق للجامعة، والداعية إلى نموذج معرفي متكامل ومتداخل بين أبعاد ثلاثة هي الدين والعلم التجريبي والثقافة. وإن باقي المقالات الواردة في هذا الكتاب، إنما تدور في فلك هذا النموذج المعرفي ثلاثي الأبعاد.

هذا، ويمكن تقسم المقالات الواردة بهذا الكتاب إلى مجموعات أربع. فالمجموعة الأولى تضم مقالات حول خطاب العلوم الإسلامية بدءاً من تفسير القرآن، والقانون الإسلامي، والعقيدة الإسلامية، والتربية النبوية، واللغة والآداب العربية. وهذه المجموعة الأولى تمثل القسط الأكبر من جملة المقالات التي يحويها الكتاب، تماشياً مع طبيعة الجامعة "الإسلامية".

وأما المجموعة الثانية، والتي تضم مقالات حول خطاب العلوم الاجتماعية-الثقافية، مثل إعادة قراءة مفهوم القيادة الكاريزمية لماكس فيبر. والمجموعة الثالثة تضم مقالات تنتمي لخطاب القضايا الإنسانية مثل التطرف والسلام. أما المجموعة الرابعة، فتضم مقالات تنتمي لخطاب العلم التجريبي والتقنية مثل المقالة التي صاغها كل من صفوة العيون

ولينا خريفة ومحمد ديدك، حيث قد مدرسو كلية العلوم والتكنولوجيا هؤلاء معادلة خوارزمية جديدة في مجال الاستشعار المبكر عن طريق الكمبيوتر، وذلك من أجل التنبؤ المبكر، وبدقة بالغة، بمرض السرطان، عافانا الله والقراء الكرام.

إن تلك المجموعات الأربع لا ينبغي أن يقرأوا منعزلين عن بعضهم البعض في حدود الحقول المعرفية التي ينتمون أساسا إليها، إنما ينبغي أن تقرأ تلك المقالات جميعها في إطار نموذج معرفي يحض على التأزر والتعاون والتكامل بين الحقول العلمية المختلفة، بأشكاله المختلفة، سواء التعاون متعدد الحقول، أم متداخل الحقول، أم العابر للحقول. فالمقالات الدائرة في فلك خطاب العلوم الإسلامية يستخدم منهاج ومفاهيم العلوم الاجتماعية، والعكس صحيح، وكلاهما يصب في مصلحة تناول القضايا المعاصر الملحة إنسانيا. وكذا المقالات المتمية لحقل العلوم الطبيعية أساسا، لا يتم تنمية الأعمال المؤسسة لها بشكل يعزل القيمة العلمية عن القيمة الدينية والإنسانية. فالدين الإسلامي يعتبر مصدر القيم لكل تلك الأعمال بما فيها الأعمال العلمية الطبيعية والتقنية.

وبفضل النموذج المعرفي الذي تتبناه الجامعة، فإنها لا تطمح فقط إلى إيجاد معادلة مثالية للعلاقة المترابطة بين الإسلام والعلم التجريبي، لكنها تسعى إلى إيجاد وعي إسلامي وسطي وشامل وتقدمي، تماشيا مع الوعي الإسلامي العتيق في الأرخيبيل الإندونيسي؛ حيث الفهم الإسلامي يفيض بالمحبة والسلام والحكمة والتسامح والتوازن والاعتدال. فهذه هي رؤية الجامعة التي تود مشاركتها مع دنيا التعليم العالي حول العالم، والتي تتخذ من هذا الكتاب وسيلة لذلك.

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REREADING WEBER'S CONCEPT OF CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY THROUGH THE CASE OF TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC LEADER IN MODERN JAVA

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Background

The authority of *kyai* within the traditional *pesantren*,¹ as indicated by Zamakhsyari Dhofier, is similar to that of the leader of a small kingdom, in that all the *pesantren*'s policies, including setting up the curricula, receiving or rejecting new *santri* [students of *pesantren*], and even regulating all aspects of the everyday life within the *pesantren*, are in the hands of the *kyai*.² The total obedience of

¹ In this article, *pesantren* refers to a traditional Islamic educational institutions, in which the *kyai* and his *santri* (students) live together in building complexes consists of a mosque as centre of activities, house of the *kyai*, and rooms for the *santri* surrounding the mosque. The *kyai*, in most cases, is considered as a central figure, not only for his *santri*, but also for people live around the *pesantren*. Therefore, it is also common to say that *pesantren* is a community or using the term from Abdurrahman Wahid "a sub-culture" of society, see: M. Dawam Rahardjo, *Pesantren Dan Pembaharuan*, Cet.4. ed. (Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1988).

² Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren : Studi Tentang Pandangan*

santri to their *kyai* has been clearly reflected in the phrase popular among them, “*pejah-gesang nderek kyai*” [Lit. following the *kyai*, die or live]. As most *pesantren* are owned by *kyai*, *santri* also consider a *gus* as the only possible successor to the present *kyai*. These phenomena indicate that the authority of *kyai* can be categorized as a form of traditional authority within Weber’s conception. Under traditional authority, according to Weber, commands and obedience are legitimized on the basis of the sanctity of age-old tradition which governs the authority relationship.³ This differs from, or is even commonly understood as opposite to, legal-rational authority, under which commands and obedience are legitimized on the basis of legal norms, according to which they can be shaped and modified with an ease unknown to traditional authority. This legal-rational authority, as predicted by Weber, has also become a dominant form of authority outside the *pesantren* community.

The authority of *kyai*, as well as the existence of the traditional *pesantren*, has been challenged by the emergence of the *madrasah* system, pioneered by modernist and reformist Muslims in the early of twentieth century. The *madrasah* system, which combines Islamic studies with secular subjects such as mathematics, physics, biology and the social sciences in its curriculum, is aimed at producing Muslim students equipped with the skills necessary to fulfill the requirements of available jobs. Moreover, the decision of the new Indonesian government to continue the Dutch education system has placed *pesantren* in a marginal position. Some *kyai*, initiated by KH. Hasyim Asy’ary, started to adopt the *madrasah* system, in terms of a formalized progression through levels of study, into his *pesantren*, Tebuireng, but without changing the *pesantren*’s curriculum or adopting any secular subjects.⁴ When the leadership of the *madrasah*

Hidup Kyai (Jakarta: LP3ES Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1982); Hermawan Sulistyono, “Transformasi Kepemimpinan Di Pesantren [Leadership Transformation at Pesantren],” *Pesantren* 3, no. 1 (1986).

³ Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, trans., Fischeff, 2 vols., vol. 1-2 (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968).

⁴ Imron Arifin, *Kepemimpinan Kyai : Kasus Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng*, Cet. 1. ed. (Malang: Kalimasahada, 1993); Achmad Z Arifin, “The Authority of Tra-

was taken over by his son, KH. Wahid Hasyim, some secular subjects were included in the curriculum.⁵ Later on, some *pesantren* across Java started to follow the *madrasah* model of Tebuireng because this *pesantren* was known as a centre [*kiblat*] for the development of *pesantren* in the early twentieth century. This status cannot be separated from the figure of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, the founder of the Nahdlatul Ulama⁶ (the biggest Islamic organization in the country) with his special title of *Hadratus Syaikh* (Lit. the grandmaster of the *kyai*).

Besides the *pesantren*'s own initiative to modernize, the Indonesian government also launched several policies to modernize religious institutions, including the *madrasah* and the *pesantren*. The culmination of these policies is contained in the *SKB Tiga Menteri* [Three Ministers Joint Decree] which rules that the curricula of *madrasah* should comprise 70 per cent secular subjects and 30 per cent Islamic subjects.⁷ Although not all *kyai* accepted and implemented this regulation, most *pesantren* implemented the *madrasah* system but determined various percentages for the general subjects to be taught within their own *madrasah*. Some simply followed the instruction

ditional Islamic Leader" (University of Northern Iowa, 2006); Mujamil Qomar, *Pesantren : Dari Transformasi Metodologi Menuju Demokrasi Institusi* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005).

⁵ A. Wahid Zaini, *Dunia Pemikiran Kaum Santri*, Cet. 1. ed. (Yogyakarta: LKPSM NU DIY, 1994).

⁶ Nahdlatul 'Ulamā, shortened to NU, is a religious organization that was established in 1926 by some traditional *kyai* or *ulama* [I. the leaders of *pesantren*, or clerics] as a reaction to the emergence of revivalist and modernist movements which threatened the existence of traditional *ulama* with a variety of religious traditions that the revivalists and modernists viewed as containing elements of TBC, which stands for *Tahayyul* [I. and A. myth], *Bid'ah* [I. and A. heresy], and *Churafat* [I. and A. superstition], see: Robin Bush, "Islam and Civil Society in Indonesia the Case of Nahdlatul Ulama," (Ann Arbor, MI.: UMI Proquest, 2002); Greg Fealy and Greg Barton, *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, (Clayton, Vic.: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University, 1996).

⁷ Mastuhu and Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies., *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren : Suatu Kajian Tentang Unsur Dan Nilai Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren /Mastuhu*, Seri Inis 20 (Jakarta: INIS, 1994); Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam Dalam Kurun Moderen* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986).

of the Joint Decree, but many other *pesantren* decided their own curricula and used ratios of 60:40, 50:50 or 40:60 (Islamic studies: secular subjects) depending on their needs.⁸ For example, *Pesantren* with a long, outstanding reputation for teaching the Qur'an would be likely to apply a '40:60' model, or give even less attention to the secular subjects.

It seems that the 'modernization' of *pesantren*, regardless of whether it is self-motivated or government initiated, has been a source of anxiety in the traditional (NU) Muslim community. There is always a tension between the desire to preserve the characteristics of *pesantren* as centres for transmitting Islamic knowledge and the need to adjust to modernity. The inclusion of secular subjects, even though sponsored by the government, has been equated with 'secularisation' (understood in the popular sense of weakening religion), which most *kyai* believe will affect the value system of *pesantren*.⁹ The implementation of the *madrasah* system within *pesantren*, however, is an obvious example of how *pesantren* engage with modernization.

This modernization process, to some extent, has put the authority of *kyai* into competition with that of the teachers brought in from outside *pesantren* to teach secular subjects, which most *kyai* have no competence to teach. These new figures, whose authority derives from their technical competence in secular subjects and who provide different lenses for viewing the world, can offer *santri* [students] more attractive explanations about the world than those provided from a religious perspective by *kyai*.

The implementation of the *madrasah* system has also resulted in the increasing number of *santri* in *pesantren*, to the extent that it is nearly impossible for *kyai* to maintain personal relationships with them. Consequently, most big *pesantren* also add a new structure, the *pengurus pesantren* [*pesantren* board], to the traditional elements

⁸ Abdul Kholiq et al., *Dinamika Pesantren Dan Madrasah*, Cet. 1. ed. (Semarang & Yogyakarta: Diterbitkan atas kerjasama Fakultas Tarbiyah IAIN Walisongo dengan Pustaka Pelajar, 2002).

Imam Prihardiyoko, «Pendidikan Madrasah Dan Hancurnya Sebuah Otoritas Masyarakat [Madrasah Education and the Destruction of Social Authority]» *Kompas*, 22 September 2001.

of *pesantren*, which, according to Dhofier, consist of *kyai*, *pondok* [boarding facilities], *masjid* [mosque], *santri* [students] and *kitabkuning* [classical texts].¹⁰ The *pesantren* board, a bureaucratic organization, often assumes the functions of a *kyai* in the *pesantren*, although still under the *kyai*'s supervision. Thus board members may lead regular prayers and teach some *kitab kuning*, functions which are considered as the main duties of *kyai* in *pesantren*.

Some board members, mostly chosen from among senior *santri* who have the necessary Islamic knowledge to teach other *santri*, can also be serious competitors for authority with the son of the *kyai*, who is considered as a 'prince,' as is indicated by his special title of 'gus,' derived from the phrase *si bagus* [handsome one]. In the past there would have been no challenge to *gus* for the position of *kyai*. Senior *santri* unrelated to the *kyai*, lacking his *darah biru* (literally, 'blue blood,' meaning 'nobility') actually still have little chance to win the competition, but their implicit challenge may be felt nonetheless.

Modernization in Indonesia has, of course, not only affected the lives of traditionalist Muslims. The general picture of Islam in Indonesia has also been much changed. The appearance of some transnational Islamic movements, such as Hizbut Tahrir,¹¹ Salafi,¹² and Tarbiyah,¹³ has changed the scenario of there being just two mainstream organizations, NU and Muhammadiyah, dominating

¹⁰ Dhofier.

¹¹ Syamsul Arifin, *Ideologi Dan Praksis Gerakan Sosial Kaum Fundamental: Pengalaman Hizb Al-Tahrir Indonesia*, Ed. 1., cet. 1. ed. (Malang: Penerbitan Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 2005); Hizbut Tahrir, *Mengenal Hizbut Tahrir Dan Strategi Dakwah Hizbut Tahrir [Knowing Hizb Al-Tahrir and Its Propagation Strategy]* (Jakarta: HTI Press, 2008).

¹² Noorhaidi Hasan, «Laskar Jihad : Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Ide - tity in Post-New Order Indonesia,» in *Studies on Southeast Asia no 40* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2006); Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni, *Gerakan Salafi Radikal Di Indonesia [Radical Salafi Movement in Indonesia]* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2004).

¹³ Yon Machmudi, "Islamising Indonesia: The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (Pks)" (Australian National University, 2008); Aris Permana, «Ikhwanul Muslimin Inspirasi Gerakan Tarbiyah,» *Hidayatullah*2001.

Indonesian Islamic life. There is also the phenomenon of the resurgence of some local groups, whose spirituality, once expressed through *kebatinan* groups, is now finding other Sufi or Sufi-like forms of expression.¹⁴ Therefore there is a need to reconsider previous categorizations of Islam in Indonesia, particularly in modern Java, as proposed by some scholars.¹⁵ These changes, to some extent, also create a significant challenge for the authority of *kyai*, in contributing to the development of Islam in a wider context.

In the midst of these changes, the status of the charismatic authority of the *kyai* is clearly problematic, and a series of questions arise. Do these changes influence the way *santri* perceive the figure of the *kyai*? Will the *kyai* lose his charismatic authority? How does the routinization of charisma take place in this more modernized and rationalized *pesantren*? More importantly, in the case of charismatic succession, does this type of *pesantren* still evidence hereditary charisma, as most *pesantren* did in the past. These questions will be addressed in this article using material from my fieldwork in *Pesantren al-Munawwir Komplek L*, in Yogyakarta. With more than a hundred universities and colleges in the city, Yogyakarta makes an especially suitable place to study the viability of charismatic authority in religious schools (*pesantren*), especially since secular education is so well developed and prevalent there.

Weber, Charisma, and Rationalization

Observing the meaning of 'charisma' in the modern era is not an easy task because the term is widely used in almost every field, from religion, social sciences, politics and economics, to sports and celebrities. Some sociologists have even suggested that certain

¹⁴ Martin van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell, *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam*, Library of Modern Middle East Studies (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007); Julia D. Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (2001).

¹⁵ See, for examples: Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, Phoenix ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976); Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java : Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies ; No. 45 (Tucson: Published for the Association for Asian Studies by the University of Arizona Press, 1989).

corporations, and their products, have charisma.¹⁶ A similar situation is also evident in modern Java, as has been shown from recent studies on the charisma of some politicians and celebrities.¹⁷ The expanded meaning of the term, which was originally used only in a theological sense, is commonly associated with German Sociologist, Max Weber, when he used the term to describe his concept of authority. Therefore, to provide an understanding of the usage of the term 'charisma' in sociology, I will discuss Weber's notion of charisma and charismatic authority, especially as it relates to the notion of rationalization, and the elaboration and modification of Weber's concept by other scholars. I will also examine the ways in which the increasing importance of rational-legal authority, in comparison with charismatic authority, is related to what Weber called 'the disenchantment of the world.'

Weber's understanding and categorization of forms of authority, undoubtedly, remains dominant today, not only among sociologists, but also for other social scientists in politics, management and psychology. The concept of authority, from Weber's perspective, begins with the idea of domination. For him, domination means "the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons".¹⁸ This implies that the relationship between two or more actors, in which the commands of certain actors are treated as binding by the others, is essential. The orientations of social actions within this relationship are justified

¹⁶ William H. Swatos, Jr., «The Disenchantment of Charisma: A Weberian Assessment of Revolution in a Rationalized World,» *Sociological Analysis* 42, no. 2 (1981).

¹⁷ See for examples: David Diekema, A., "Televangelism and the Mediated Charismatic Relationships," *The Social Science Journal* 28, no. 2 (2002); C. W. Watson, "A Popular Indonesian Preacher: The Significance of Aa Gymnastiar," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11, no. 4 (2005); Julia D. Howell, ""Variasi-Variasi Kesalehan Aktif: Professor Dan Pendakwah Televisi Sebagai Penganjur "Su-fisme" Indonesia"" in *Menyatakan Islam: Kehidupan Keagamaan Dan Politik Di Indonesia (Indonesia Translation of the Author's Chapter "Modulating Active Piety" in Expressing Islam (2008)*, ed. Greg Fealy and Sally White (2010).

¹⁸ Max Weber and S. N. Eisenstadt, *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building : Selected Papers*, Heritage of Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 121.

forms of authority as developed by Weber. Regarding social actions, Weber provides a clear explanation:

Social action, like other forms of action, may be classified in the following four types according to its mode of orientation: (1) in terms of rational orientation to a system of discrete individual ends (*zweck-rational*), that is, through expectations as to the behaviour of objects in the external situation and of other human individuals, making use of these expectations as 'conditions' or 'means' for the successful attainment of the actor's own rationally chosen ends; (2) in terms of rational orientation to an absolute value (*wert-rational*); involving a conscious belief in the absolute value of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behaviour, entirely for its own sake and independently of any prospect of external success; (3) in terms of affectual orientation, especially emotional, determined by the specific affects and states of feeling of the actor; (4) traditionally oriented through the habituation of long practice.¹⁹

These four orientations within Weber's concept of authority make it possible for us to distinguish between norms and authority. 'Norms' refers to rules of conduct towards which actors orient their behavior, while 'authority' relies on a relationship between two or more actors in which the commands of certain actors are treated as binding by others.²⁰ Thus authority is understood as a sphere of legitimate command that is based on these norms.

The relationship between norms and authority can be understood by examining the development of Weber's three forms of authority that began with charismatic authority. This, of course, does not aim to describe a real development of authority within the society, but only to help us to understand and distinguish distinct characteristics of each form of authority. Society has not moved

¹⁹ For more detail account on Weber's concept of social actions, see: Max Weber, Guenther Roth, and Claus Wittich, *Economy and Society : An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); 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).

²⁰ Weber et al.

gradually from charismatic to rational-legal, as indicated by Parsons.²¹ Rather, as Mommsen asserted, "charismatic domination was in no way to be found exclusively at a primitive stage of development, but was generated also in societies classifiable in principle as of the bureaucratic type".²²

The purest form of charismatic authority, according to Weber, was represented by the prophet, in which form it claims the right to break through all existing normative structure. As a consequence, charismatic authority creates a charismatically certified norm, such as the sacred law of the prophet. In regard to the succession issue, Weber pointed out an important process, which he called 'routinization of charisma,' in which charismatic authority becomes encrusted in sacred norms. This process shows that the legitimate basis of the transformed charisma is in affectual orientation.²³ In other words, the charismatic authority is not bounded by norms, because the prophet can destroy old norms and create a new one. All of the prophet's deeds and words are commonly considered by his followers as new sacred norms. These new sacred norms function to limit the authority of the successor to the original charismatic leader or to the prophet. Therefore, in charismatic authority, the leader generates norms.

In the case of 'traditional' authority, the relationship between norm and authority is reversed. The bearers of traditional authority, whether they were kings or other hereditary chiefs, based their authority on the traditional norms, which particularly derived from the norms created by the prophet. The traditional leader claims a legitimate right to the throne by virtue of the traditions which define succession. Therefore, traditional authority rests upon the legitimacy of traditional norms. This implies that the traditional leader is limited by customs in regard to his edicts. A similar relationship is found in

²¹ Weber, 752.

²² Wolfgang J. Mommsen, «Max Weber's Political Sociology and His Philosophy of World History» in *Max Weber*, ed. Dennis Wrong (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), 183.

²³ Martin E. Spencer, «Weber on Legitimate Norms and Authority,» *The British Journal of Sociology* 21, no. 2 (1970).

'rational-legal' authority. In this case, legal norms become a basic legitimization of the authority. The leader of rational-legal authority derives his authority from the legal norms. Similarly to traditional authority, which is bounded by traditional norms, rational-legal authority is bounded by legal norms. But in contrast, rational-legal authority rests upon "a belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority)".²⁴ Furthermore, Weber describes rational-legal authority as a system that relies on people's acceptance on some important factors. First, when people follow the command of a rational-legal leader, it has nothing to do with personal relationships or traditional norms. Instead, it is oriented to the office that a person holds on the basis of competence, training or knowledge. This indicates the impersonal nature of the rational-legal authority. Second, the norms are codified and ideally based on expedience or rational values, which is reflected in the implementation of the most effective means to reach the goal. Third, since it is based on competence, there is no absolute authority, in the sense that there is no power or legitimacy to regulate all aspects of human conduct. The rational-legal authority is limited only to governing a particular subject. The most obvious example in this case is the authority of a religious leader within a rationalized system. When he or she gives a command or instruction to pray properly, people will be likely to follow the command, but if he or she gives an instruction to vote, which is out of his or her range of competence, people will, most likely, ignore it.

The widespread use of rationality in a modern society, as represented by the domination of rational-legal authority over the other forms of authority, marked what Weber called 'rationalization.' This term refers to the process by which modes of precise calculation based on observation and reason increasingly dominate the social world. Thus rationalization can be seen as a habit of thought that replaces tradition, emotion and values as motivators of human

²⁴ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans., Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1964), 328.

behavior. As shown in some of the characteristics of rational-legal authority above, the key concepts of rationalization are closely related to the notion of 'office,' which implies the process of depersonalization that replaces personal relationships, and the dominance of meritocracy, in which most aspects of social life are examined and evaluated on the basis of competence, intelligence, credentials and education. Weber mentions some examples of rationalization in various aspects of human life. In the area of law, for example, the rationalization process is characterized by the transformation of the system that was dominated by the tradition of common law, into a systematized, generalized, and codified set of universally valid legal principles, coupled with professionalism.²⁵ At the level of authority within a system, the rationalization process is characterized by changes from traditional and charismatic authority to rational authority, where legal authority is derived from achieving a leadership position based on a set of legally prescribed steps, such as an election or the acquisition of certain job-specific competences required for the performance of a task.²⁶ In the religious sphere, the gradual 'rationalization of religious life' has led to the displacement of magical procedure by *Wertrational* systematizations of man's relationship to the divine, which basically shows how prophets with their charismatic appeal had undermined priestly powers based on tradition.²⁷

Although Weber saw that the process of rationalization provides great benefits in human welfare, particularly through the emergence of bureaucratic systems that are considered efficient and predictable, he was also fully aware of the negative impact of the rationalization process. Brubakeradequately indicates and elaborates

²⁵ Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies : An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006).

²⁶ Nicholas Gane, *Max Weber and Postmodern Theory : Rationalization Versus Re-Enchantment* (Houndmills [England] ; New York: Palgrave, 2002); William H. Swatos, *Twentieth-Century World Religious Movements in Neo-Weberian Perspective* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1992).

²⁷ Lewis A. Coser, *Masters of Sociological Thought : Ideas in Historical and Social Context*, 2d ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977).

on the negative impact of the process of rationalization as examined in almost all of Weber's works. Brubaker showed that negative impacts of the rationalization process occur in various fields. In the area of administrative systems, for example, rationalization requires the complete elimination of the "official business of love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation".²⁸ Within a bureaucratic administration, individuals experience dehumanization. The more rational a bureaucratic administration becomes, the more the individual is trapped into becoming a "small cog in a ceaselessly moving mechanism which prescribes to him an essentially fixed route of march".²⁹ Last but not least, the rationalization process that has occurred in the field of thought is also creating a negative impact in the development of human civilization. The presence of modern science has led to the 'disenchantment of the world,' which has in turn increasingly driven people away from the values and meaning in their lives.

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 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".

However, it is clear that the term 'charisma' as used by Weber was not merely concerned with the quality of a person, but, more importantly, it rested on acknowledgement by his or her followers. Thus, he further indicated:

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 recognize him, his claim

²⁸ Weber et al., 975.

²⁹ Ibid., 988.

collapses; if they recognize it, he is their master as long as he 'proves' himself.³⁰

Therefore, the most important aspect of charismatic authority lies in the relationship between leaders and their followers or disciples. As long as leaders are capable of maintaining the belief of their disciples, their authority will remain legitimate.

However, according to Weber, it is not an easy task to retain the belief of the disciples, because they usually require a 'sign' or proof from their leader, especially in overcoming any problems they might have. Besides, Weber thinks, since pure charismatic authority is activated during periods of social strain and rapid change, other persons might stake similar claims to authority. This kind of competing claim can usually be resolved only through a contestation of power among the claimants. In most cases, this contestation requires magical acts or miracle working. Weber thus maintained 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".³¹ Most importantly, this proof must be able to bring well-being to his followers in order to maintain recognition of his legitimacy. Further, Weber noted that it was the absence of hierarchy or official power that generally made this kind of authority dependent on qualities of the individual. And that is why, according to Weber, "the existence of charismatic authority is specifically unstable".³²

Weber's recognition of the instability of charismatic authority led him to anticipate what he called the 'routinization of charisma,' which could preserve legitimacy. By emphasising the devotion by followers to an individual leader with charismatic authority, he focuses mainly on its dependence on the validity and practice of charismatic personal qualities. Once charismatic authority is declared, it cannot be stable, but tends to be either traditionalised or rationalized, or both. Weber clearly explains the reasons for such transformations:

...the following are the principle motives underlying this

³⁰ Ibid., 1112-1113.

³¹ Ibid., 1114.

³² Weber and Eisenstadt, 22.

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.³³ (Weber, 1968, p. 246)

So, continuing the legitimacy of charismatic authority relies on preserving the importance of the relationship between the leader and his followers. As long as the followers still believe they are gaining benefits from the status of charismatic authority of their leader, they will be likely to continue the relationship.

In considering the issue of succession, Weber identified six ways of searching for a successor to the charismatic leader. First, it is common among followers to base their search for a new charismatic leader on the criteria of certain qualities that will fit him or her for the position of authority. Second, they can use a revelation, manifested in oracles, divine judgments or other techniques of selection. Third, the new charismatic leader can be chosen through the designation by the original charismatic leader of his or her successor and recognition and acceptance of this on the part of the followers. Fourth, it is possible to choose a new charismatic leader through designation of the successor by the charismatically qualified administrative staff, and the recognition of this choice by the community. Fifth, a new charismatic leader can be chosen based on the idea of hereditary charisma. Finally, Weber suggests ritual as a means of transferring charismatic authority from one bearer to another, or for creating it in a different person.

In addition, Weber explains that all these types of leadership succession are “only in the initial stages, and so long as the charismatic leader acts in a way which is completely outside everyday social organization, that it is possible for his followers to live communistically in a community of faith and enthusiasm.”³⁴ He also realised that the process of routinization is not free from conflict, but it nevertheless

³³ Weber, 246.

³⁴ Weber and Eisenstadt, 57.

helps the charismatic authority to achieve stability. Weber thus made a clear distinction between what he called 'genuine' charisma and 'transformed' or 'routinized' charisma. Since all forms of authority are derived from the revolutionary characteristics of charismatic authority, various transformations or routinizations, whether they are hereditary or democratic in form, or carry the charisma of office, are a stable form of domination that enters into a mix with either traditional or rational-legal structures or both.³⁵ According to Swatos, "the hereditary charismatic leader, for example, is to be understood as succeeding and existing in reference to some genuine charismatic leader who preceded him or her, but the two are not to be identified".³⁶ It is possible for persons and events in both traditional and legal-rational systems to have charismatic quality, but this is a transformed charisma, routinized into an authority structure corresponding to a different type of domination.

Kyai: from 'Medium,' to Cultural Broker, to Presidency

Within Javanese tradition, the word '*kyai*' is commonly used to refer to everything that is considered or believed to have supernatural powers. According to Dhofier, the title '*kyai*' is used for at least three purposes. First, it is given to sacred objects or the heirlooms of *keraton* [palace].³⁷ For example, *Kyai Guntur Madu* is a gamelan used in every Sekaten ceremony, *Kyai Garuda Kencana* is a carriage in Yogyakarta Palace that is used by the Sultan on ritual occasions and *Kyai Slamet* is an albino buffalo in Surakarta Palace. Second, the title '*kyai*' is used as a term of respect for older people, especially in rural areas. Third, the title is given to a learned Muslim who teaches Islam to his community or to someone who leads a *pesantren*. A Muslim in the third category is also known as '*alim*' [expert in Islamic knowledge].

³⁵ Edward Shils, *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology*, Selected Papers of Edward Shils (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

³⁶ Swatos, «The Disenchantment of Charisma: A Weberian Assessment of Revolution in a Rationalized World,» 124-125.

³⁷ Dhofier.

However, the word '*kyai*' is not used for every learned Muslim who teaches Islamic knowledge to the people around him, as is commonly understood in modern Java. More importantly, a person would be given the title because of his supernatural powers or *karāmah*. The history of the *Walisongo*, the founding fathers of Islam in Java, as revealed in many oral traditions, *babad* [quasi stories] or other scholarly books, is often illustrated by stories of *karāmah* exhibited in their journey to spread Islam across the Island of Java. *Sunan Bonang*, for example, was well known with his sacred stick, which could be used to change certain objects into gold.³⁸ *Sunan Kalijaga*, the student of *Sunan Bonang*, was also famous for his ability to read the Qur'an so that the sound of his voice could be heard clearly from a great distance.³⁹ These early missionaries of Islam were elevated to the status of '*wali*,' an Arabic term for 'saint' and assigned the title '*sunan*,' a Javanese epithet akin to 'honourable.' Over the centuries, many stories have been told concerning the lives of these men and their exploits. Among these stories, the most famous concern the *Walisongo*, the 'nine saints' who succeeded in Islamising most areas of Indonesia, especially in Java, between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴⁰

As the successor to the *Walisongo*, the *kyai* is believed to have similar exceptional abilities. Because of these abilities, the *kyai* is commonly perceived as a charismatic leader, not only by his *santri*,

³⁸ M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since C.1300*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1993).

³⁹ This *karomah* is similar to a famous narrative concerning the second caliph, Umar ibn al-Khattab (d. 644), giving a sermon for Friday prayer in Madinah. Suddenly he said, 'Sariyyah, come to the mountain...come to the mountain.' After the prayer, Ali ibn Abu Thalib (d. 661), the third caliph in Islamic history, asked him about what he was saying to Sariyyah. Umar replied that he saw that Sariyyah and his army were surrounded by the enemy and spontaneously said that sentence to him. A month later, when Sariyyah came back victorious from the war, he told the story that he clearly heard Umar order him to go to the mountain, as if Umar was in the battle (see Amin, 2008).

⁴⁰ Wahjoetomo, *Perguruan Tinggi Pesantren: Pendidikan Alternative Masa Depan [Pesantren University: Future Alternative of Education]* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1997); M. C. Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java : A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2006).

but also in the wider context of traditional Muslims in Indonesia. This perception is also based on a common understanding of the establishment of *pesantren* throughout Java. The *Kyai* usually built his *pesantren* in a place where the level of crime was high. This 'tradition' is known as *mbabatalas* [Lit. opening the jungle]. It was very common for the founder of *pesantren* to have to face local rulers, who were supported by criminal leaders. The success of the *kyai* in defeating criminal leaders to some extent attracted people in the area as his pupils. The *kyai* then started to teach Islam and *ilmu kanuragan* [martial arts] through strict *riyādah* [religious exercise].

Another major function of the *kyai*, especially in rural areas, is replacing the position of exalted pre-Islamic religious leaders as the 'medium' between the divine world and the profane. For lay believers, the *kyai* is considered to have sacred knowledge and supernatural powers which channel them to the divine world.⁴¹ This pivotal function is based on a belief that the divine world is inaccessible to common people but has a big influence in their lives. In return for this service, people will give money, agricultural products and other gifts to the *kyai*. In many cases, some will work for the *kyai* as a sign of gratitude and are ready to do any jobs he may order. For many communities, especially in villages, the *kyai* is considered the people's only source of knowledge concerning religious obligations and rules. Thus, the endorsement of *kyai* as successors to the *Walisongo* has placed them in a central position within the structure of society, especially within the peasant communities where most *kyai* build their *pesantren*.

Geertz provides an interesting description of the changing role of *kyai* during the formation of the new Indonesia. He describes the classical role of the *kyai* thus:

... he is a specialist in the communication of Islam to the mass of the peasantry. As an established religious scholar directing his own religious school, he has long occupied the focal

⁴¹ Machasin, «Struggle for Authority: Between Formal Religious Institution and Informal-Local Leaders,» in *Varieties of Religious Authority*, ed. Azyumardi Azra, Kees van Dijk, and Nico J.G. Kaptein (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2010).

position in the social structure of tradition through which the monotheistic, exclusivist Moslem creed has penetrated the tolerant, syncretic-minded countryside.⁴²

This role has been slowly changed following the rise of nationalism, Islamic modernism, and the whole complex of social transformations. Geertz noted that, in his perception, the *kyai* tried to be a cultural broker:

...he is becoming, or attempting to become, a new kind of broker for a different sort of society and a different sort of culture, that of the nationally centered, metropolitan-based, intelligensia-led 'New Indonesia.'⁴³

Geertz, however, was not optimistic about the *kyai's* ability to be cultural brokers between Indonesia and 'modernity'. His pessimistic view of their ability in facing modernization seems to underestimate those *kyai* with progressive and modern thinking. It seems that he has also forgotten the basic principle among the *kyai* in adjusting to innovations: *al-muhafadzah 'ala qadim as-shalih wa al-akhdu bi al-jadid al-ashlah* [preserving good traditions and taking new and better innovations]. Their ability to adjust to rapid social changes has been noted by some scholars.⁴⁴ This can be seen from the role of *kyai* in shaping most aspects of the lives of traditional Muslims in Java, from nurturing nationalism⁴⁵ and strengthening civil society,⁴⁶

⁴² Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1960), 230.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Horiko Horikoshi, *Kyai Dan Perubahan Sosial [Kyai and Social Changes]* (Jakarta: P3M, 1987); Manfred Ziemek, *Pesantren Dalam Perubahan Sosial*, Cet. 1. ed. (Jakarta: Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat, 1986).

⁴⁵ Ali Maschan Moesa, *Nasionalisme Kiai : Konstruksi Sosial Berbasis Agama*, Cet. 1. ed. (Surabaya & Yogyakarta: IAIN Sunan Ampel Press & LKiS, 2007); Achmad Zainal Arifin, "Re-Energising Recognised Sufi Order in Indonesia," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 46, no. 2 (2012).

⁴⁶ Andrée Feillard and Ellyasa K. H. Dharwis, *Gus Dur, Nu, Dan Masyarakat Sipil*, Cet. 3. ed. (Bantul, Yogyakarta: Penerbit & distribusi, LKiS Yogyakarta, 2010); Bush; Florian Pohl, "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflection on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia," *Comparative Education Review* 50, no. 3 (2006).

to shaping the political constellation in the country.⁴⁷ The culmination of their role in the country occurred when KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (*Gus Dur*) was elected as the fourth President in 1999. Although he ran the presidency only for a short period, many people appreciated his policies of bringing the state closer to the people.⁴⁸ This can be seen as a strong indication that the *kyai* has been able to preserve his focal position in influencing the development of Islam in Indonesia.

Though most scholars have shown the *kyai*'s successes, these do not mean that his role in society has been perfectly executed without any challenges. Indeed, some research indicates a decrease in the *kyai*'s role, particularly in politics. For example, Turmudi shows that there is a significant decrease in the *kyai*'s influence in directing people's preference in elections.⁴⁹ The *kyai*'s involvement in politics has created tensions at the grassroots level of traditional Islam across Java. Some *kyai* even prefer to spend their time working in a political party's interests rather than developing their *pesantren*. The primary function of *kyai* in preserving and transmitting the values of traditional Islam in Java is threatened, to some extent, by their involvement in politics.

Other challenges have come from the rise of the printing industry and the use of internet media in society. As observed by Jajat Burhanudin, the printing press enabled 'ulamā (*kyai*) to extend their influence in the wider community, but it also endangered their

⁴⁷ Imam Suprayogo, *Kyai Dan Politik : Membaca Citra Politik Kyai* (Malang: UIN-Malang Press, 2007); Ahmad Suaedy and Hermawan Sulisty, *Kyai & Demokrasi : Sebuah Potret Pandangan Tentang Pluralisme, Toleransi, Persamaan, Negara, Pemilu, Dan Partai Politik* (Jakarta: Diterbitkan oleh Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat (P3M) Jakarta bekerjasama dengan The Asia Foundation, 2000); Martin van Bruinessen, *Nu : Tradisi, Relasi-Relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru*, Cet. 1. ed. (Yogyakarta: Diterbitkan oleh LKiS Yogyakarta bekerjasama dengan Pustaka Pelajar, 1994).

⁴⁸ Greg Barton, *Abdurrahman Wahid : Muslim Democrat, Indonesian President: A View from the Inside* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002); Adi Sastra Rasyidin, Ohio Halawa, and Muchtar Tumin, *Kemahiran Politik Sang Kiai : Catatan 100 Hari Presiden Gus Dur Setelah Menemui 25 Kepala Negara Dan Menghadiri 5 Event Internasional*, Cet. 1. ed. (Jakarta: Nias, 2000).

⁴⁹ Endang Turmudi, *Struggling for the Umma : Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2006).

authority as interpreters of the texts, since many of these classical texts are now printed and translated into the Javanese or Indonesian language.⁵⁰ Because of the ease of accessing these classical texts, including their various translations, the function of *kyai* in reading and translating them, as has been practised for centuries, has become less important. Similarly, the impact of the wide use of the internet can also endanger the authority of *kyai*. People who do not have a proper knowledge of Islam can easily provide religious edicts or advice by creating a blog or other social medium provided through the internet. Though this last phenomenon is relatively new, some research indicates that the internet is capable of eroding the authority of religious leaders (Castells, 1999; Eickelman & Anderson, 2003; Turner, 2011).⁵¹

Reconsidering Weber's Concept of Charisma within Traditional Islamic Leader

There are some problems, however, in applying this concept of charisma in examining the charismatic leadership of *kyai*. Most of Weber's discussion on charismatic authority refers to a genuine charismatic leader, whom he saw as a product of the social strains within the society. He dedicated a large amount of his writing to the routinization process of charisma, especially to examples regarding various forms for overcoming the succession issues, but he did not give sufficient attention to the issue of charismatic authority within a relatively peaceful society. Although he did mention the specific issue of charismatic legitimisation of an existing order, his discussion of it is basically similar to his explanation of the nature of charismatic

⁵⁰ Jajat Burhanudin, «Traditional Islam and Modernity: Some Notes on the Changing Role of the Ulama in Early Twentieth Indonesia,» in *Varieties of Religious Authority*, ed. Azyumardi Azra, Kees van Dijk, and Nico J.G. Kaptein (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2010).

⁵¹ Manuel Castells, *Critical Education in the New Information Age*, Critical Perspectives Series (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999); Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson, *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, 2nd ed., Indiana Series in Middle East Studies (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003); Bryan S. Turner, *Religion and Modern Society: Citizenship, Secularisation and the State* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

authority in times of crisis. In both cases he thinks economic motives are essential. As he explains:

... [they] largely account for the routinization of the charisma: the needs of privileged strata to legitimate their social and economic conditions, that is to transform them from mere resultants of power relationships into acquired rights, and hence to sanctify them.⁵²

His emphasis on economic motives underlying the routinization of charisma is not totally wrong, because some spiritual movements do indeed show a development in this direction.

However, the charismatic authority of the *kyai* in the educational institution examined in this thesis seems to evolve in a different direction. The main sources of the *kyai's* charisma, the *barākah* and *karāmah* [I. *barokah* and *karomah*], are believed to result from a long process of spiritual cultivation called *riyāḍah* [I. *riyadloh*] that requires a simple life and setting aside material things. Some leading *kyai* are even described as persons who are not interested in worldly comforts [*tidak butuh dunia*], and indeed reject them. Moreover, one important and traditionally recognised indicator of the level of a *kyai's* *karāmah* [supernatural power] is his ability to control his desire for worldly things [*hubud dunya*]. The more a *kyai* can release himself from all material needs, the more people perceive him as having a high level of *karāmah*. This, of course, does not mean that working is not important in the life of *kyai*. Indeed, all *kyai* consider work obligatory for every Muslim.

The practice of a simple life among the *kyai* can to some extent be considered similar to that of the Calvinists in Weber's work, in the sense of avoiding luxuries and not spending money for pleasures. While the ascetic life of Calvinism, according to Weber, triggered the rise of capitalism as a result of accumulation of wealth, the simple life among the *kyai* did not show the same direct result. This difference is due to the differing orientations of Calvinism and the traditional Islam of the *kyai*. In Calvinism the notion of 'calling,' in which worldly success becomes a sign of salvation, has effectively

⁵² Weber et al., 1146.

forbidden wastefully using hard-earned money and identified the purchase of luxuries as a sin. Donations to an individual's church or congregation were limited and donations of money to the poor or to charity were generally frowned on as it was seen as furthering beggary. Conversely, within the teachings of the *kyai*, worldly success is not considered parallel to salvation, but it can be used to acquire salvation through charity and giving alms or supporting other religious activities. Therefore the notion of accumulation of money is absent in the doctrine of traditional Islam.

The fact that the notion of the charismatic authority of the *kyai*, including his supernatural power [*karāmah*], remains influential within the *pesantren* community is in opposition to Weber's prediction of the domination of rational-legal authority, particularly with the increase of bureaucracy in society. This prediction has been criticized by some scholar following the revivalism of some millenarian groups, which heavily depend on charismatic leaders with magicor supernatural powers,⁵³ but the *pesantren* differ from these groups, especially concerning the economic interests behind their resurgence. In *pesantren* the notion of using supernatural power for marketing religious spirituality is considered less important, or even to be avoided, in order to preserve the possession of those powers.

The administrative rationalization of charismatic authority, as shown in my case study by the appearance of the *pesantren* board, offers an alternative way of seeing the relationship between rational-legal and traditional authority. In the everyday life of *pesantren*, rational-legal authority can fit and work well within the traditional authority. The *pesantren* board, which is responsible for ensuring the running of most activities in the *pesantren*, also functions, during his absence, as *badal* [representation] of the *kyai* in teaching and leading the prayers. Therefore, in my opinion, it is necessary to reconsider the use of a tripartite categorisation of authority, as proposed by

⁵³ Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion : Secularization, Revival, and Cult Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Bryan R. Wilson and Jamie Cresswell, *New Religious Movements : Challenge and Response* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1999).

Weber, in examining the authority of the traditional Islamic leader, especially in consideration of the possibility of the three forms of authority being combined within a single phenomenon.

Conclusion

Considering all three aspects of the rationalization process in this modernising *pesantren*, it is apparent that they have both challenged and reinforced the charismatic authority of the *kyai*. They have contributed to increasing the number of *santri*, and this increase in itself is seen as evidence of the charismatic authority of the *kyai*. However, by implementing the *madrrasah* system, as well as employing the *pesantren* board, the *kyai* is forced to share his authority with new kinds of teachers who provide an alternative perspective through which the *santri* may interpret their social realities. The way the *kyai* engages with the tension of preserving traditional values while at the same time accommodating modern ones has resulted in a unique amalgam of traditional and legal-rational authority which preserves his charismatic authority. Importantly, the rationalization process does not really change the values system of *pesantren*, although it has in some ways changed the perception of some *santri* of the charisma of their *kyai*. However, the dependence of his disciples on his ability to dispense *barākah* and to perform *karāmah* remains strong, and this means that the *kyai*, with his charismatic authority, will continue to play his significant role in directing the religious life of traditionalist Muslims in modern Java.

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