



Socio-cultural Strategies of Pesantren to Construct Society (A Socio-historical Perspective)

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Abstrak: Paper ini bermaksud untuk menganalisis bagaimana pesantren sebagai basis pendidikan Islam memainkan peranan penting dalam mengkonstruksi masyarakat. Hal ini meniscayakan pengkajian tentang bagaimana keterlibatan pesantren dalam kehidupan sosial. Secara khusus, paper ini menganalisis strategi yang diambil pesantren dalam menghadapi budaya lokal dan penguasa formal. Sudut pandang yang dipakai adalah sosio-historis. Hasilnya, pesantren sebagai lanjutan dari sistem pendidikan Islam walisongo mempunyai sumbangan besar dalam mengembangkan masyarakat Indonesia yang beragam budayanya. Secara sosio-kultural, pesantren berhasil mengakulturasi Islam dengan budaya lokal. Pesantren secara sosio-politik juga memainkan peranan penting dalam membangun masyarakat Indonesia sejak awal kedatangan Islam di Indonesia hingga sekarang. **Kata Kunci:** *pesantren, walisongo, akulturasi, penguasa formal, dan konstruksi sosial.*

Introduction

Pesantren as a system of Islamic education that exist until nowadays, according to Abdurrahman Mas'ud, can be regarded as a continuation of walisongo's pesantrens.¹ Since walisongo² were the first people promoting Islam and pesantren in Indonesia, therefore, to study how far pesantrens contribute in constructing society reveals us to study how walisongo did so. It also reveals us to study their strategies to do so.

Walisongo successfully built pesantrens as the bases to rule people and construct them within pluralistic culture and formal authority. Their success was just because they applied genius strategy to adopt local culture and they were moderately involved within formal authorities. They adapted Islam within local tradition and culture until people accepted Islamic doctrines without any compulsion. They also collaborated with local governments to effectively rule people under regulations affected by Islamic doctrines. Even their relation to some Islamic kingdoms, i.e. Demak and Banten kingdoms, was very closely linked because they themselves were promoters, supporters, and leaders of them.³

Nowadays, however, the involvement of pesantrens in society is questionable. Many scholars regard pesantren as a contra-productive system of education for, specifically, Indonesian society and, generally, global society. For instance, the issue of terrorism in Indonesia that supposes to involve



pesantren's people and the action of Front for Islamic Defense (FPI) in responding social phenomena tends to decrease the high prestige of pesantrens in society. In short, there are many phenomena that merely imply that pesantrens are no longer moderate and adaptive towards local culture and formal authority as their founders, Walisongo, built them.

This assumption, therefore, needs comprehensive study of pesantrens' involvement within social life from the era of walisongo up to now. Such study is important to get proportional understanding of their attitude towards local culture and formal authority. Why from the era of walisongo? Again, as a continuation of walisongo' pesantren, all pesantrens in passages of time up to now should inherit the spirit and philosophy of walisongo's pesantren—though there are some modification in pedagogic methods and strategies to construct society along with the development of culture and civilization.

This paper tries to take part to scientifically solve this problem. It just focuses on the study of pesantrens' strategies to respond local culture and to build relationship with formal authorities. The analyses use socio-historical perspective. In clear statement, this paper tries to analyze the quest about “how do pesantrens designed their strategies to respond local cultures and formal authorities since the early era of the coming of Islam up to now?”

To do so, this paper uses three steps. *Firstly*, it analyzes pesantrens' responses towards local culture. It tries to identify walisongo's strategies to adopt local cultures and to internalize Islam within them. Since walisongo's strategies of acculturation are still used by pesantrens until recent time, therefore, it focuses on identifying walisongo's strategies. *Secondly*, it analyzes pesantrens' attitude towards formal authority. It tries to figure out pesantrens' relations with formal authorities since the era of walisongo until recent time. It includes an elaboration on their understanding on the term “*jihad*.” It also elaborates pesantren's contribution to build Indonesia's nationality and development. After all, *thirdly*, it elaborates discourses concerning on possibility to continue strategies of pesantrens to adopt local culture and to build any relation with formal authorities from the era of walisongo to the recent time.

The Interrelation between Pesantren and Local Culture

To study cultural strategies of pesantren toward local cultures implies studying profile of walisongo and their pesantrens. According to Abdurrahman Mas'ud, walisongo had moderate attitude toward local culture. They adopted local wisdoms and cultures and acculturated them within Islamic values. Even Sultan Fatah, one of members of walisongo who was the first king of Demak Kingdom, issued a policy to preserve local cultures. Therefore, walisongo lived peacefully with natives along with their diversity of socio cultural backgrounds, i.e. customs, traditions, cultures, and religions.⁴



Principally, Muslims under leadership of walisongo respected local cultures, which already existed in society, and acculturated them with Islamic doctrines.

Therefore, it is a good idea to elaborate socio-cultural attitude of walisongo in some details. We can see that they adopted local architectures for the architecture of mosques and the minaret, transformed philosophy of shadow play with Islamic doctrines, and adopted previous system of education for pesantren.

Architecture of Mosques

The architecture of the mosque tends to be regarded as an adoption and acculturation of Hindu Shrine, Buddhist monastery, and temples of both Hinduism and Buddhism. For example, triple roof of mosque can be regarded as an adoption from either Hindu Shrine or Buddhist temple. From the perspective of Hinduism, triple roof of a Hindu Shrine is a sign that the shrine is either build by lay people and for them or by a nobleman but for them.⁵ Walisongo adopted it as architecture of mosques. Differently, they functioned them for all people without any exception considering social classes. This reveals that walisongo tried to promote an Islamic spirit of humanity and equity.

Another example, Buddhist temples have three floors which represent soul's journey through three stadium of life, i.e. life strata below human, human, and God.⁶ As well, the mosques mostly consist of triple roofs. This architecture can be parallel with an Islamic concept of three strata of life, i.e. human (*nasf*), angels (*malakt*), and God (*jabbJrf*). It can also be understood as a destiny of human life, i.e. their life before coming to the world, their life in the world, and their resurrection after death. Such phenomena imply that walisongo respected local culture.

Another example, a dome of mosque (*mustaka*) can be similar with a dome of temple (*stupa*) of Buddhism. While a *stupa* is a sign of Nirvana in Buddhism, a *mustaka* is just a sign of Muslim concentration to God. Again, this reveals that walisongo appreciated local cultures.

One more example, the "*minaret*," a place that originally used for calling people for prayer, can be identified as an adoption from Hinduism.⁷ For instance, the "*minaret*" of the mosque *al- aqshJ* in Kudus, according to Abdurrahman Mas'ud, originally was a place used by Hindus to call people for prayer. As many people surrounding it converted to Islam, Sunan Kudus functioned it as a place to call people for (*Islamic*) prayer.⁸ Then, almost all of mosques in Indonesia have "*minarets*"— though their function has already changed just as either places for microphones or accessories.

Those phenomena make us easily understand why Muslims did not destroy Buddhist and Hindu temples even though they lately became the majority of people in Java. This attitude continues up to nowadays. There are many evidences of this idea. Nowadays, we can see the original minaret in Kudus, Borobudur Temple, Prambanan Temple, Gedong Songo Temples, and other cites. Another example, as Abdurrahman Mas'ud explains, "*Sunan Kudus prohibition of slaughtering cow to respect Hindu*



doctrine still goes on until nowadays. None in Kudus enjoys beef so far; despite the fact, the local Muslims know that it is permitted (halal).⁹

Philosophy of Shadow Play

Walisongo did not only respect Hindu and Buddhist cultures, but also their doctrines. This notion can be seen through shadow play (*wayang*) they adopted it as a way to promote and internalize Islamic values. They successfully reformulated philosophy of *wayang*, which previously schemed by theology of Hindu-Buddhist, with Islamic principles.

The most popular example is that walisongo transformed the meaning of the term "*Jimat Kalimah Shada*" that actually means "*jimat kali maha usada*" as the greatest weapon of everyone, especially soldiers. Walisongo transformed such term within Islamic perspective as the phrase "*azimah kalimat syahadat*" meaning the power of *tawhéd* assertion (*kalimah syahadah*), i.e. there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is messenger of Allah.¹⁰ In Islamic perspective, this assertion is essential doctrine of Islam implying Muslims' acceptance to follow Islamic doctrines. In this sense, such assertion is a key success for Muslims to get happy life in the world and life after death.

The other example is that walisongo promoted four figures well known as *punakawan* who always accompany *pendawa*, the great kings, as new figures in *wayang*. Walisongo introduced and internalized some Islamic values to people through those four figures of *punakawan*, i.e. *Semar, Nala Gareng, Petruk, and Bagong* as representation of personality.

Sudarto elaborates the meaning of those names, which he claims as derivation from Arabic words. *Semar* is derivation from *ismar* meaning to have both strong physic and character. It represents one who is wise and has a firm stand. *Nala Gareng* is derivation from *nġla qarġn* meaning to get many friends. It represents one who has a good and effective relation to people so that s/he has many friends. *Petruk* was probably derivation from *fatruk ma siwġ Allah* meaning to regard Allah as the Only Great One whereas others are nothing. It represents one who is not egoist. S/he places God duties manifested as social duties as his/her priority. *Bagong* was derivation from *bagħġ* meaning reject and fight to every bad thing and crime. It represents one who vulgarly and seriously reject and fight bad things in society and those within him/herself.¹¹

Based on those four representative personalities of *punakawan*, the best Muslims, therefore, are those who have those qualities of personality. Each Muslim must try to have strong personality, keep close and proportional relation with God, develop friendship and cooperative attitude to all people, give much concern on religious and social duties, fight their own destructive pre-disposition and crimes in society, and not oppress people over their limited capacity.



The Educational System of Pesantren

The term pesantren itself is rooted from *santri* or *cantrik* meaning students who live in either area of Hindu shrine (*Pura*), Buddhist monastery (*Vihara*), or temple. In other words, *cantrik* means followers of monks and nuns of either Hinduism or Buddhism. They might be princes, children of royal families, or even children of lay people. They did not only study religious doctrines, but also other subjects, i.e. sociology, economy, and politics. Many of them even strengthened in art, magic, and physical exercise.

Walisongo had adopted such system for their system of education. This can be proved through similarity between such previous system of education and walisongo's system of education. For instance, besides as religious leaders, walisongo were formal advisors and juries of Demak Kingdom. Students of walisongo consisted of princes, children of royal families and noblemen, and children of lay people. Walisongo did not only teach religious doctrines but also social sciences and art. They taught those subjects theoretically and practically. The difference between walisongo's system and previous one is just that walisongo promoted Islamic perspective in the subject of social sciences, art, and cultural studies.

The Relation between Pesantrens and formal Authorities

According to Abdurrahman Mas'ud, pesantren mostly belong to Sunni School (*ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'a*), which politically is moderate.¹² This school is cooperative with formal authority. Since walisongo were proponents of Sunni school and Muslim leaders including the leaders of pesantrens and social organizations, such as *Muhammadiyah* and *Nahdlatul Ulama*, inherit walisongo's tradition, therefore, they must be proponents of Sunni School and so must be their pesantrens.¹³ In addition, since Muslim leaders promote cooperative attitude towards formal authority as they inherit it from walisongo, therefore, their pesantrens merely promote cooperative attitude towards legal government.

Furthermore, pesantren curriculum indicates their moderate and cooperative attitude towards formal authorities. It does not only consist of faith, ethics, and law,¹⁴ but also other disciplines, i.e. art, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and politics. In some cases, those disciplines do not explicitly include the curriculum. Rather, many *Kiais* (pesantren leaders) integrate them within the course of Islamic studies. By doing so, pesantrens make their students have sense to modern sciences and social problems of humanity. Such a way gives students a large of benefits when they are involved in society.¹⁵

However, it is important to be noted that, especially in teaching on politics, *Kiais* mostly use some ideas of Muslim intellectuals or politicians who are moderate. Such choice is relevant to the pesantren basic courses of Islamic studies, which tend to promote moderate thoughts. For instance, the most



favorite book concerning on politics in pesantren, *'Idhah al-Nasyi'ah*, simply builds moderate, optimist, and patriotic attitudes in proportional way. Principally, the curriculum of pesantren makes students be wise and moderate people in society. Therefore, there is no pesantren tends to produce terrorists or support terrorism.

Pesantren's Relation with Indonesian Government

Before Indonesian independence, pesantrens are the bases of Indonesian people in forming their nation. They were bases of Indonesian battles to colonialists. In this sense, pesantrens did not only come to respond colonial system of education and culture, but they also came to respond colonial force. Pesantren leaders, *Kiais*, who were also religious, social, and political leaders, took command to *santri* and people to take revolt to colonialists. Therefore, many Indonesian heroes were pesantren leaders or their communities. This reveals that pesantrens have big role for the independence of Indonesia.

On the contrary, after the era of colonialism, pesantren leaders have good relation with legal government of Indonesia and take part in its development. Pesantrens take a great role as both moral force and partner of the government. For instance, many pesantren leaders are members of the house of representative of Indonesia. Many pesantren's graduates take part as employees of Indonesian government.

In this case, terminological and operational meaning of the term "*jihad*" between in the era of colonization and in the era of Indonesian independence is quite different. *Jihad* in the era of colonization mostly means fight for national freedom from colonial governments, whereas, in the era of independence, it merely means an extra effort to build Muslim personality and to develop society. Again, in this sense, *jihad* is not only an action of weapon but also all extra efforts to do something without tiredness to build personality and all sectors of life, i.e. spirituality, society, politics, and economy.¹⁶ In this way, the proportional understanding of the term *jihad* supports Muslims to take part in realizing welfare and peace for Indonesian people, all people, and all creatures (*rahmah li al-Jam'ah*).

Pesantren's Contribution to Build Nationality and Development of Indonesia

Pesantrens, which are regarded as the basic institution of Indonesian Muslim education, give constructive role for developing people of Indonesia. At least, this notion is supported by some surface phenomena. Almost all of Indonesian leaders who took revolt to colonialists and founded the independent government of Indonesia were graduates and leaders of pesantrens. They worked together with all Indonesian people along with their cultural identities to achieve Indonesia's independence.¹⁷

All of Indonesian people worked together to take revolt to colonialists. One of the greatest phenomena is their commitment to build a unity nation of Indonesia in the conference of the council for Indonesia independence (BPUPKI and PPKI). There was no superiority because of majority, ethnicity,



tradition, culture, and religions. For instance, as majority members of the council of BPUPKI and PPKI, Muslims leaders saw their cooperative attitude to all elements of nation. For them, the important point is to gain Indonesian independence not to promote their primordial identity.¹⁸

Such attitudes are the same as the attitudes of pesantrens towards Indonesian government. Pesantrens really have a great contribution for Indonesia development. The evidence of this argument is that almost all of recently Indonesian Muslim scholars are graduates of pesantrens. Even almost all of local religious leaders are graduates of pesantrens. In this sense, pesantrens effectively produce social leaders who rule social organization, political parties, and formal leaders. Alternatively, at least, they have good relationship with formal authority. Those phenomena reveal that pesantrens have moderate attitude and constructive contribution for social life.

Discourses on Acculturation and Cooperation

Pesantrens as system of education and social institution has special characteristics in contributing for Indonesian development. In this case, a special contribution of pesantrens is their moderate attitude towards local culture and their cooperative attitude towards formal government. This attitude can be clearly seen from their strategy to adopt local cultures and to take part in social development. From socio-cultural point of view, pesantren communities understand that the most important for them is to internalize Islamic doctrines within certain cultures than just to either reject or destroy them. From socio-political point of view, pesantren communities as part of society always keeps moderate and cooperative attitudes to legal government as their part way to construct society. Such attitude has been done since the era of walisongo up to now. This means that pesantren, as a continuation system of education and social construction of walisongo, takes part in constructing society within Islamic values. It is a good idea to elaborate discourse concerning on adoption to local culture and cooperative attitude towards formal authority.

Pesantrens' Acculturation as Peaceful Model of Social Construction

Historically, walisongo successfully built pesantrens as places for people to study Islamic doctrines and social sciences. It was unavoidable that people surrounding pesantrens were not Muslims. Therefore, to keep relations with them, walisongo applied a genius strategy by adopting local customs, traditions, and cultures. However, they did not only accelerate Islam to them, but they internalized Islamic values within them. In other words, they acculturated Islam within local cultures—not either integrated or made syncretism between both. This method brought walisongo get their success in promoting Islam to Indonesian people, especially Javanese people.



The most debatable problem is that whether such system of acculturation has to be continually applied or it is only relevant for Muslims when they were minority such as in the early era of walisongo and, consequently, it is no longer relevant for them when they are majority. Essentialist and practical Muslims understand this problem differently. For essentialists, the essence of Islamic teaching is to build good Muslims. Therefore, any system of culture, which can be internalized by Islamic doctrines, can be used as a way to construct Muslim society. On the contrary, practical Muslims promote to keep the essence of Islamic doctrines and the traditions of the prophet simultaneously.

In this case, the crucial problem for both of them is that whether Muslims are permitted or not to adopt any local culture, which is not done by the prophet. In the case of Indonesia, the answer of this problem can be identified by the different responses among religious organizations. For instance, there is different response between *Muhammadiyah* and *Nahdhatul Ulama (NU)*. *Muhammadiyah*, as Deliar Noer described, strictly rejects local culture, while *NU* is very welcome for it.¹⁹ However, recent *Muhammadiyah* starts to adopt local culture and even many of them are proponents of essentialist Muslims. On the contrary, many recent *nahdhiyyin* are practical Muslims or literalist Muslims. Principally, people of those organizations generally accept local culture but their intensity of reception is little bit different. While *Muhammadiyah* is more selective in adopting local culture, *NU* is more permissive to local culture along with its possibility to be framed and filled by Islamic doctrines. Since both social organizations, the two biggest Muslim organizations, apply acculturation, we can generalize that Indonesian Muslims accept to continue a way of acculturation as it was done by walisongo.

Then, how is about pesantren? This question gets its answer through arguments above. Since Muslims mostly accept the acculturation, therefore, it can be concluded that pesantrens promote acculturation and apply it as a way to construct Muslim society.

Pesantren's Involvement for The National Development of Indonesia

Dealing with the relation between Islam and nation, Muslim scholars, according to Munawir Sjadzali, can be divided into three groups, idealists, secularists, and essentialists. The first group well known as idealist Muslims consists of Muslim scholars, i.e. Sheikh Hasan al-Banna, Seyyed Qutb, Sheikh Muhammad Rashid Ridha, and Maulana al-Maududi, who argue that Islam is not only a rule of relationship between humans and God, but also a rule of all aspects of human life, including nationality. The second group well known as secularist Muslims consists of Muslim scholars, i.e. Kemal Pasha, Ali Abd Raziq and Thaha Husain, who promote Islam as the only rule of spirituality, nothing concerned with nationality. The third group well known as essentialist Muslims consists of Muslim scholars, i.e. Husain Haikal, who promote a thesis asserting that there is no nationality concept in Islam, but there is a system of values ruling nationality and citizenship. In other words, Islam is an alternative perspective to develop society, i.e. politic and economic demands, rather than as being itself the impulse behind these demands.²⁰



In my opinion, Indonesian Muslims mostly belong to the essentialists. Idealists and secularists are not popular even though many actually do exist. Anatomically, people of *Jam'iyah al-Khairiyah* in the past (1907) and Islamic Defense for Islam (FPI) can be regarded as idealists. Soekarno and Moh Yamin may represent Secularists. Leaders and People of NU and Muhammadiyah may represent essentialists. In this sense, since people of NU and Muhammadiyah are the majority Muslims of Indonesia, therefore, we can conclude that the majority of Indonesian Muslims are essentialists. In turn, since almost all of pesantrens belong to those two Muslim organizations, therefore, pesantrens' communities mostly belong to essentialists.

From this point of view, it is easy to be understood that pesantren have moderate attitude towards formal authority. Pesantren community always supports legal government's programs for society. They take actively part in the national development of Indonesia.

Concluding Remark

Pesantren as a basic institution of Islamic system of education and social construction has big contribution to rule and construct society. Pesantren communities successfully adopt local culture and incorporate with formal authority. Such ways can be regarded as the great contribution of pesantrens in the development of Indonesia. Such contribution can be proved socio-historically.

Since the coming era of Islam in Indonesia up to now pesantrens' communities always play their important role in adopting local culture and involving within formal authorities. Such phenomena can be regarded as a continuation of walisongo's attitude towards local culture and formal authorities.

Socio-culturally, for instance, the architecture of mosque, a new theology of shadow play, and educational system of pesantren can be the best representation of acculturation between Islam and local culture. Socio-politically, while, on the one hand, they took revolt to colonialist, on the other hand, they worked together with all Indonesian people to gain independence for Indonesian. Moreover, they are actively involved in the development and improvement of Indonesia in the independent era of Indonesian. Those socio cultural strategies are simply continuation of the strategies applied by walisongo.

In this sense, pesantrens give proportional contribution for Indonesian independence and development since the early era of coming of Islam in Indonesia up to now. The greatest contribution of pesantrens to Indonesia is that they always play their important role to construct and develop society.



Endnote

¹ Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *The Religion of Pesantren*. Presented in international conference on Religious Harmony: Problem, Practice, and Education in Yogyakarta - Semarang on September 27th – October 3rd, 2004, handled by International Association for History of Religion, pp. 3-5.

² Walisongo is council of religious and government leaders for Demak Kingdom. Walisongo consist of nine saints that are really religious, social, and political leaders. The members are debatable. The most acceptable argument is that they are Sunan Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Bonang, Suna Kalijaga, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Giri, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Muria, and Sunan Gunung Jati. See, Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Pesantren dan Walisongo: Sebuah Interaksi dalam Dunia Pendidikan* in (edited by Darori) *Islam dan Kebudayaan Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2002), pp. 233-240.

³ Their success induces Indonesian Muslims, especially pesantren leaders, in ruling society from the past up to now. However, pesantrens have different attitudes between towards colonial government and local or national government. Pesantrens frontally took revolt to the colonial government. Differently, in the era of Demak Kingdom to Mataram Kingdom and after Indonesian Independence, pesantrens incorporate with national government. In the colonial era, pesantrens took part in rebelling colonial government. Principally, pesantrens always keep their idea and attitudes to defend motherland and religion and they regard it as duty of Islam.

⁴ Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *The Religion*, pp. 4-9.

⁵ There are three possibilities of *pura*'s roof which each indicate who build and for whom it is built. Firstly, pure with triple roof is built by lay people and for them. It can also be build by King, princess, or nobles, but it for lay people. Secondly, pure with seven roofs was built by king or princess and it is for princess and nobles. Pure with eleven roofs is built by the great King and it is for his family.

⁶ Three floors for Buddhism have specific meaning. The basement is a sign of strata of life that its level is below human. The second is a sign of human life. The third is a sign of life of gods. In addition, a dome of temple is a symbol of nirvana.

⁷ From the Middle Eastern perspective, "*minaret*" that, etymologically, means a place of fire can be understood as an adoption from Zoroastrian. While Zoroastrians used it as a place of fire as a symbol of God and they used it as the direction of their prayer, Muslims adopted such architecture just as a place to call people for prayer (*adzan*).

⁸ Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *The Religion*, pp. 3-5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁰ Sudarto, *Interelasi Nilai Jawa dalam Pewayangan* in (edited by Darori Amin) *Islam dan Kebudayaan Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2002), p. 173.

¹¹ Sudarto, *Ibid.*, pp. 179-183.

¹² Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *The Religion*, pp. 2-3. Abdurrahman Mas'ud explain that Sunni School or *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamaah* can be defined as the majority of the Muslims who accepted the authority of the prophet's sunna and the authority of whole first generation of Muslims. In this case, Sunni School was characterized by the tendency of people to use the Qur'an and the sunna of the prophet as primary sources for solving any ideological debate and for guiding their way of life rather than using logic to win the authority of sunna. Sunni has its specific character, i.e. keeping harmony life among people. This is differentiated it from other schools. For instance, the Mu'tazilite promoting rationality and the Khawarij strictly keeping the Qur'an with its literal meaning had done blood shedding. Sunni School was also identified by the tendency of people to use the power of the majority, *jama'a*, to stay away from disintegration of the people, *umma*. In the last respect, the Sunnis validated both the Umayyad and Abbasid leadership, without claiming their rulers as Sunni Muslims.



¹³ In Indonesia, Sunni School may be represented many social-religious organizations, i.e. Awakening Muslim Intellectuals (*Nahdhatul Ulama / NU*) and Muhammadiyah. To categorize NU and Muhammadiyah as such is just because of their basic principles in social movement. Even though Muhammadiyah does not claim as Sunni School as clearly as NU does, their social principles initiate to be similar with ideas of social responses of Sunni School. For instance, the most favorite phrase of NU “*al-muhajjadhah al-jadid al-shalih wa al-ahdu al-jadid al-ashli*” meaning to adopt the formerly good traditions and take the recently best traditions based on rationality of their benefits for society. Other example, Muhammadiyah promotes that Muslims shall use their critical analyses within spirit of openness to all traditions, therefore, they have predisposition to accept any goodness and righteousness of others. Principally, both NU and Muhammadiyah inspire their acceptance and tolerance to ideas of others along with their coherences to support Islamic values. In other words, Muslims can accept any idea and culture as far as they can be framed and internalized within Islamic values. See, Abdul Munir Mulkhan, *Paradigma Intelektual Muslim* (Yogyakarta: SIPRESS, 1993), pp. 147 and 151.

¹⁴ There are steps in studying Islam as the core curriculum of pesantrens. Karel A. Sternbrink briefly and clearly described general curriculum of pesantren. Having finished studying Arabic grammar, students start to study religious doctrines. The first and the most important are Islamic law (*fiqh*), theology (*tawhid* or *ushluddin*), and Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsir al-Qur’an*). After finishing those three subjects, they start to study extra curriculum, such as sufism, *hadith*, astronomy (*hisab* or *falak*) especially to create calendar and to define time for prayer, and geography especially in defining the direction of prayer (*qiblah*) and exploring history of Islam. These specializations depend on specializations *Kiais* have and students do interest. Karel A. Sternbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974), pp. 8-20.

¹⁵ Especially in politics, students (*santri*), then, may broaden their horizon on politics by taking course concerning on it in universities or by autodidact studying during their life in pesantrens or after their graduation. This is why many *santri* master in politics and become politicians.

¹⁶ Amirul Hadi categorizes *Jihad* into two categories, *jihad fi sabil Allah* and *jihad fi Allah*. Firstly, *jihad fi sabil Allah* means true effort to perform the path of God, including scarifying wealth and soul. One of the forms of this jihad is action that maybe killing someone in physical confrontation. The proper example is a fight, which is claimed as a fight in the path of God, such as the fight for freedom of a nation. Secondly, *jihad fi Allah* means an effort to deepen spiritual aspects so that one has a close relationship with God. One tries to purify negative aspects in his/her heart as well as to fill it with good aspects of personality. The ultimate goal for him/her is to have a close relationship with God because s/he is the image of God. See. Amirul Hadi, *Aceh War, 1873-1912: Some Notes in the Dynamics of Islamic Civilization* (Yogyakarta: Titian Ilahi Press, 1997), pp. 253-256.

¹⁷ In this sense, they promoted global theology, which regards various religions as ways directing to the same God but different understanding and experience. Such theology, as John Hick the promoter of this concept explains, reveals that God is one but has many names. See, John Hick, *God Has Many Names* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1982), pp. 24-28.

¹⁸ For further reading, see Prof. H.A.M. Effendy, SH., *Falsafah Negara Pancasila: Sejarah Fungsi dan Pelestariannya* (Semarang: Duat Grafika, 1993), pp. 17-30; See also H. Endang Saifuddin Anshari, M.A., *Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945: Sebuah Konsensus Nasional tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia (1945-1949)* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1997), pp. 27-44; See also, Ahmad Sukardja, *Piagam Madinah dan Undang Undang Dasar 1945* (Jakarta: UIP, 1995), pp. 90-98. Those three intellectuals elaborate that to be Indonesia, many Indonesian leaders were merely concerned with promoting nationality of Indonesia than their primordial identities, i.e. religions, cultures, traditions, and ethnics. Even they state that Islamic doctrines give spirit to nationality of Indonesia.

¹⁹ Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), pp. 88-91 and 241-260.



²⁰ H. Munawir Sjadzali, M.A., *Islam dan Tata Negara: Ajaran, Sejarah, dan Pemikiran* (Jakarta: UIP, 1993), pp. 1-3. See also, Al-Maududi, *al-Islam* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr), p. 1; and Bassan Tibi, *Islam and Nationalism in An Anthology of Islamic Studies* (Montreal: McGill Indonesia IAIN Development Project, 1992), pp. 64-68.

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