

**Diversity, Religiosity, and Multiculturalism in Indonesia:  
Lessons Learned from Pesantrens in Yogyakarta**

**Ferry Muhammadsyah Siregar  
Interreligious Studies (IRS) The UGM Graduate School  
Universitas Gadjah Mada  
Email: ferrymys@ugm.ac.id**

**Abstract**

*This paper explores the source of inspiration and community practices through the study of theology and tafsir of diversity in pesantren of Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta. This choice of the two pesantrens is based on the assumption that NU and Muhammadiyah pesantrens are the representation of social, cultural, and religious communities in Yogyakarta. Religious tradition of NU and Muhammadiyah represent the mainstream of Islamic tradition whose strong roots in Yogyakarta. It also aims at identifying opportunities and potential for spiritual and material dimensions owned by the pesantren communities. This paper finds that the formation of religious and multicultural perspective of pesantrens in Yogyakarta has been gradually, systematically and continuously formed through Islamic text and multicultural practices.*

**Keywords:** *Diversity, religiosity, multiculturalism, Indonesia, and pesantren*

**Introduction**

In the heart of south central Java is a province and capital city with a tremendous multicultural and multi-religious history. This is Yogyakarta and known simply among the locals as Jogja. It is also a prominent university city, a center of Javanese art, and a bastion of modernity among a people with a deeply-held sense of tradition. It is also unique in one important political way; it is the one remaining sultanate in Indonesia while the other provinces in the country have since turned to western-style democratic processes. As a university city, it also harnesses the energy of its many youth. Its university draws among the best and brightest from around the country and large numbers of students could be seen moving about the city at all hours of the day. The university itself was a remarkable combination of original architecture and modern facilities. In Yogyakarta, there are hundreds of universities and other educational institutions including pesantrens and other religious educational institutions.

In its *Oases of tolerance in multicultural Yogyakarta*, The Jakarta Post (Sunday of June 15 2014, 10:01 AM) tries to describe that there were a series of hard-line Muslim attacks and a campaign of intimidation directed at Christians and minority Muslims over the last few months

in Yogyakarta have threatened harmony and its reputation as a city of tolerance. Further, it states:

“Nevertheless, there is a host of Buddhists, Christians and Hindus who are living next to Muslims in Yogyakarta without incident holding religious services and working together as neighbors. The Siok Lim, better known as Linda, is a Christian and a Chinese-Indonesian who lives in the predominantly Javanese Muslim village of Karangtengah in Sleman regency. The 45-year-old mother of two has few difficulties mingling with her neighbors. Every morning, she shops at the small food stall near her house. She is also a member of her residential complex’s monthly housewives meeting (*arisan*), where she serves as co-treasurer. “If we want to receive good things from others we also have to show goodness to others,” Linda said. “It’s our individual character that will make us acceptable or unacceptable to our neighborhood. It has nothing to do with our religions, ethnicity or race.” The area where Linda lives is also known as the home of a host of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and to several churches. Gamelan and Namburan villages in Panembahan subdistrict are two other examples where interfaith tolerance is upheld and practiced in people’s daily lives. “When Muslims perform their prayers, we, the Catholics, keep an eye on their houses,” said Namburan resident Desirius Soeharto. “Differences in religion here are not a problem.” When Christmas comes, local Catholics also invite their Muslim neighbors to their parties, Desirius added. Meanwhile, in Beji subdistrict in Gunungkidul, an enclave of Hindus lives side by side with other residents of different faiths. In nearby Girikarto live some 500 Buddhists with their own temples. These communities provide a more accurate portrayal of Yogyakarta than the media reports, which are dominated by the actions and rhetoric of hard-line Muslims, would indicate. “Intolerant groups are actually in the extreme minority here,” Abdul Muhaimin of the Yogyakarta Interfaith Brotherhood Forum (FPUB) said. Muhaimin said Muslims are supposed to bring goodness into their surroundings not violence. “We end our prayers with greetings while facing to the right and then to the left. This means that we have to bring in goodness to the surrounding milieu,” Muhaimin once told a congregation. Meanwhile, Rev. Yosep Suyatno Hadiatmojo, a Catholic priest, from Turi in Sleman, also coordinates programs where Muslims and Christians take care of things such as security for each other during their respective holy days. Together with other residents, Suyatno also re-greened thousands of hectares on the slopes of Mount Merapi that were damaged by the volcano’s recent violent eruptions. “I often receive seedlings from a *pesantren* in Bantul,” Suyanto said. Sometimes, as Suyanto shows us, the landscape can be changed by planting a single flower” (<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/06/15/oases-tolerance-multicultural-yogyakarta.html>).

In the history of Islam in Indonesia, According to Martin van Bruinessen, the *pesantren* (or *pondok*, *surau*, *dayah*, as it is called elsewhere) is not the only institution of Muslim religious education, and the tradition it embodies is only one out of several tendencies within Indonesian Islam. Modernist, reformist and fundamentalist currents emerged partly in opposition to it, and to some extent developed into rigid traditions themselves. One of Indonesia's great traditions is embodied in the Javanese *pesantren*. The main goal of these institutions is the transmission of

traditional Islam as laid down in scripture, i.e., classical texts of the various Islamic disciplines, together with commentaries, glosses and super-commentaries on these basic texts written over the ages. These works, including the works of *tafsir* are collectively known in Indonesia as *kitab kuning*, "yellow books", a name that they owe to the tinted paper on which the first Middle Eastern editions that reached Indonesia were printed (Bruinessen in Marschall, 1994: 121-145).

*Pesantrens* continue to grow and many Indonesian parents support their children to go and study in *pesantren*. According to the *Statistik Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan Tahun Pelajaran* published by the Department of Religious Affairs in 2007-2008, it showed that the total number of the students in *pesantrens* reached about 3,818,469. The number of *santri* (male students) is about 2,063,954 (54,1%) and the number of *santriwati* (female students) is about 1,754,515 (45,9%). Additionally, data from the department of Religious Affairs in 2003 show a quickly growing number of *pesantrens* and the students' acceptances.

In 1977, there were 4,195 *pesantrens* with 677,384 students. Eight years later, In 1985, this number added to 6,239 *pesantrens* with 1,084,801 students. Twelve years later, in 1997, it was reported that there are 9,388 *pesantrens* with 1,770,768 students. Six years later, in 2003, the number reached 14,647 *pesantrens*. M. Amin Haedari, the Director of *diniyyah* Schools and *Pesantrens* of General Directorate for Islamic Education of the Department of Religious Affairs of Republic of Indonesia stated that the number of *pesantrens* will continue to grow over the years. In 1980, its number is about 4,176 *pesantrens* and it became 14,000 *pesantrens* in 2007 (Haedari, 2008: 1-2).

In the latest Statistical Analysis for Islamic Education of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs (2011-2012), the number of *pesantrens* across Indonesia is about 27,230 *pesantrens*. The number of students is about 3,759,198 students. It consists of 1,886,748 *santris* or male students (50.19%) and 1,872,450 of *santriwatis* or female students (49.81%) (<http://pendis.kemenag.go.id/file/dokumen/pontrenanalisis.pdf> retrieved on July 1, 2014).

*Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) is a religious institution that has been never finished to be studied and researched. Until the present, many researchers made *pesantren* as their object of study, but there are always many aspects that have not been revealed yet. This shows that *pesantren* has rich social world that can be explored from various aspects of study and research. Among the studies and researches on *pesantren* are by Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1980), Hiroko Horikoshi (1987), Endang Turmudi (2004), Khoiruddin (2005), and Ahmad Patoni (2007).

A number of elements constitute the pesantren system. One and the most important is the *kyai* who is normally regarded as the major factor instrumental to the founding of the pesantren. Another element of the pesantren comprises the *santri* who are the students learning under the *kyai*. Yet another element is the *pondok* which, in this context, refers to a dormitory system provided by the *kyai* for the accommodation of the *santri* who may share a room in a group of five to ten individuals. Indonesian pesantren comprises a complex of housing which includes the houses of the *kyai* and his family, some *pondok* and teaching buildings, including a mosque. Pesantrens which are not only distinctly Islamic but are also indigenous Indonesian institutions are considered reservoirs of cultural values and norms and public and private morality (Dhofier, 1982: 18; Hashiem, 2011: 96).

The position of pesantren for the *santri* (student) is very important because they live and learn within it and their education is also controlled by the proctors or the *kyai* who lead the pesantren. There are at least three main reasons why a pesantren should have a *pondok* (dormitory).

*First*, the good name and the Islamic knowledge of the *kyai* have drawn the attention of many students from far places. In order for the students to be able to learn the lessons regularly, smoothly, and well, they must stay in *kyai*'s place (*pondok*).

*Second*, almost all pesantren are located in villages where there is not sufficient housing available to accommodate the students. In as such, a dormitory (*pondok*) is necessary as a place to live for the students.

*Third*, a relationship develops between the *kyai* and students in which the students think of their *kyai* as their own parents and the *kyai* thinks of the students as if they are his own children. This then makes him feel obligated to educate the students (Yatim et al, 1999: 98). An Islamic boarding school is basically a school with dormitories for students. Since the students live on campus, it is easier for the *kyai* to educate and teach all types of science curriculum in accordance with the stipulation.

*Fourth*, living together in all day and night for receiving purely Islamic education and living as Muslim.

The teaching-learning process in pesantren refers to the principles of education such as follow:

- (1) The principle that teaches that all of life processes on earth will return to the God. In this context, any action is closely related to religious law and in the interest hereafter,
- (2) Voluntary and service. In this context the *kyais* do devotion to each other in order to serve and worship God,
- (3) Wisdom. In this context, it is behaving patient, humble, obedient to the laws of religion and bring the benefit and good of mutual interest,
- (4) Simplicity. In this context, it is to be reasonable and reflective thinking, balanced and not arrogant,
- (5) Collectivity, where a sense of community over individualism highlighted so that the flavor is greatly reduced, resulting in 'the interests of the rights of others in daily life, but in duty should prioritized their obligations before others,
- (6) Organize joint activities, where the students are guided by their *ustadz*s to conduct regulated activities together,
- (7) Guided freedom, that all beings could not get out of divine law's line, but still have a separate tendency according to the nature,
- (8) Independently, in this context, since the beginning students are trained to live independently, from doing cooking, washing clothes, and so on just to learn to live independently,
- (9) Pesantren is the place to seek knowledge and to serve,
- (10) To practice the teachings of religion, in the context of each activity, *Pesantren's* community should always be based on the guidelines of religious law,
- (11) Without a diploma, in this context the emphasis is not on the formality of diplomas received, but recognition by the public of the religious knowledge are preferred,
- (12) The blessing of the *kyai*, that all students must obtain approval deeds of their *kyai* to gain serious benefits (Dhofier, 1982: 62-63).

### **Pesantren Krapyak**

Krapyak is a *santri* village located in the boundary of Yogyakarta city in the north and of Bantul regency in the South, precisely in Panggungharjo village, Sewon district, Bantul regency, Yogyakarta. Prior to establishing the *Pesantren* in *Krapyak*, the region was only a small village inhabited by *Muslim abangan* as the majority. After *Pesantren* run its activities, Islamic messages will make residents of this village to be a religious community. Some students, who

studied at Islamic State University Sunan Kalijaga or Gajah Mada University, chose to live here and studied religion at Pesantren Al-Munawwir in the morning or in the late afternoon.

It is located at the center of Krapyak village has become a center of various social, economic, political and religious activities. Pesantren Al-Munawwir was founded by KH. Moenawwir on November 15, 1910. After the founder K.H. Moenawwir passed away, Pesantren Krapyak developed rapidly, especially when it was led by KH. Ali Maksum. In K.H. Ali Maksum's leadership, Pesantren Krapyak hosted the 28<sup>th</sup> congress of NU. In the congress, NU successfully formulated the fundamental idea of the points on the de-politicization of NU, namely back to decision in 1926 where *NU* was an organization as decided at a congress in Situbondo. Hosting the important *NU* Congress shows a great influence and existence of Pesantren Krapyak in KH. Ali Maksum's leadership among other NU Pesantrens. Currently it is led by KH. Zainal Abidin Munawwir, a son of KH. M. Munawwir who pioneered the pesantren. After 100 years involving in religious teaching, now Pesantren Al-Munawwir has been growing rapidly. Various new buildings have been built continuously. While in the center of the pesantren, there is a magnificent mosque which became the center of pesantren's and surrounding community's activities.

### **Madrasah Muallimin Muhammadiyah**

Madrasah Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta was established by KH Ahmad Dahlan in 1918 named "Qismul Arqa" in Kampung Kauman Yogyakarta (Alfian, 1989). Throughout its history, *Madrasah al-Qismu al-Arqa* changed its name for several times. Chronologically, the name changed from the *Madrasah al-Qismu al-Arqa* to *Hogere Muhammadiyah School*, to *Kweekschool Islam* and then to *Kweekschool Muhammadiyah*. *Kweekschool* name came to KH Ahmad Dahlan's mind after he visited Catholic *Kweekschool* Muntilan. In the beginning, this school was located in Kauman, then moved to Ketanggungan Wirobrajan (Now Letjend. S. Parman street no.68).

Madrasah Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta is an educational institution in middle school level which has the ability and capability to produce main scholars, leaders, and educators who support to achieve the goal of Muhammadiyah, i.e. the real Islamic society (<http://muallimin.sch.id/index.php/visi-mission>).

Its mission is to organize and develop:

- (1) Islamic education functions to build students' competence and excellence in basic sciences of Islam, science, technology, art and culture.
- (2) Arabic and English education as a communication tool to explore religion and science.
- (3) Leadership education to create students' competence and excellence in behavior and personality.
- (4) Teacher education to build students' competence and excellence in education.
- (5) Skill education which results students' competence and excellence in entrepreneurship.
- (6) Education of Muhammadiyah cadres to build students' competence and excellence in organization and struggle of Muhammadiyah.

### **Pesantren: The Keeper of Islamic Tradition and Culture**

Pesantren has long been rooted in Indonesian society due to its spiritual function. Pesantren is representative of Indonesian culture as well as cultural Islam. Hence, pesantren and its students are obliged culturally to protect Indonesian cultures. The issue of 'cultural' preservation is highly relevant for the pesantren world. Preservation of local culture is the trade mark of pesantren, and santri community has long been known as the avant garde in maintaining the culture. This fact could be traced back from the era of *Wali Songo*. In this regards, the cultural task of pesantren could be perceived as the expression of 'civilized Islam'. The idea of cultural preservation is also reflected from the intellectual tradition in pesantren.

In Java, especially Yogyakarta, education held by some pesantrens are aiming at the establishment of life orientation as 'Javanese Muslim' whose main task is to reconstruct peaceful social relation and create harmonious relation with God and nature. With regard to culture preservation, the tradition of pesantren has adapted Javanese traits. We call it 'modelling'. The power of 'modelling' relies on its harmony with Javanese values which is characterized by maternalistic and hierarchical relation; those values have a deep root within Javanese society and culture" (Mas'ud, 2004: 10-11; Purwadi and Siregar, 2008).

In pesantren, *kyai* has traditionally had a great concern on social aspect. Santri community is representation of that social aspect. Traditionally, pesantren management has a preference on social approach and made it as the priority relating to students' problem and needs.

This fact reminds us to Durkheim theory on the basic function of religion as a means of social cohesiveness.

Pesantren also plays an important role in maintaining social cohesiveness by allowing students from various social class and ethnic groups. This social function is highly needed for the future of Indonesia. However, this function should be supported by empowering communal life. In the other words, pesantren as an educational institution could be functioning to strengthen the brotherhood; pesantren emphasizes feeling of togetherness (Turner, 2003: 92).

Social role played by pesantren will be in line with the future of Indonesian society due to various reasons, those are:

(1) The character of pesantren contains of social fragmentation, capitalization and spirituality erosion,

(2) Social cohesion is responsibility of religion. Therefore, *kyai* and their *pesantren* could take a role to build it,

(3) Pesantren as religious institution provides social service. Therefore, *pesantren* could be a good place for those who have problem socially, psychologically as well as physically. Pesantren is an institution aiming at various goals; in addition to its traditional role as an Islamic social institution, it also provides traditional medicines and offers a consultation for daily life problem.

Social service provided by pesantren shows the willing of *kyai* to protect their status, tradition and characteristics. The actors of social programs run by pesantren are *kyai* and santri. They do it for the purpose of strengthening Islamic value within society. Social program and activities are varied among pesantren. We could observe that their effort depends on the context and capability of pesantren. Pesantrens have done various efforts to solve social problem. Pesantren in Java, for instance, offered a grant for poor students living around pesantren. Other pesantrens have decided social program as the main topic of their education. A great numbers of alumni have created such kind of community for the pesantrens. Though religious motives are the main reason to establish pesantren, but it is understood in a very broad way. Therefore, cultivating of trees is also perceived as part of religious activities (Wirosardjono, 1987: 112-113).

Tradition and change are two different and sometimes contradictory concepts. It represents two tensions of discourse. Traditional discourse tends to maintain authentic values of



Islam; while change assumes that there is always elasticity and adaptability in culture, including religion. Snouck Hurgronje, Dutch Islamologist stated that situation of traditional Islam that seems very static, is in fact changing in a very fundamental way. Though, the change occurs gradually, slightly, and concentrated on mind, far away and non Islamic. Though they happen just in front our eye, but they are invisible for those who do not scrutinize it carefully (Geertz, 1963: 16).

### **Understanding Pesantrens through *Kitab Kuning***

Pesantren is an educational and cultural institution in Indonesia. In pesantren, students are educated and taught various aspects of Arabic and Islam such as Arabic syntax and morphology (*nahw-ṣarf*), Islamic law (*fiqh*), the system of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl fiqh*), the prophetic sayings (*hadīth*), Quranic exegesis (*tafsīr*), Islamic theology (*tawhīd*), Sufism/mysticism (*tasawwuf*), various texts on the history of Islam (*tarīkh*), rhetoric (*balāgha*) including knowledge of *adab* (literature or 'arudh, poetry) (Dhofier, 1982: 60; Ziemek, 1986: 163). Pesantren as educational institution has the main special characteristic. It is because the pesantren has the scientific tradition that is different from that of other educational institutions in the country (Wahid, 2001: 157).

One of its characteristics that differs it from other educational institutions is the teaching of yellow book (*kitab kuning*), Islamic classic books written in Arabic by Arabian and/or Indonesian Moslem scholars. In traditional pesantrens, the books used as references are often referred as yellow books or *kitab kuning* because the classical books were generally written in Arabic by Muslim scholars on yellow papers as their masterpieces (Wahid, 1984: 54). In addition, the yellow books also contain history of the prophets, *waliyullah* (saint), pious men, and poetry. Besides, there are *tarekat* (sufi order), *wind* (passage of the Quran), *salawatan* (short prayers for prophet Muhammad) and *syi'iran* (poetry) in Javanese language to *santri* (students). *Pesantren's* works is all work (written and oral) taught and developed in *pesantren*,. Their characteristics can be seen that those are:

- (1) Taught in *pesantren*
- (2) Rooted in the Quran, *hadith*, and other religious subjects in Islam
- (3) Published after the 1800s

(4) Sometimes using a mixture (Arabic and Javanese), and the writing feature used Arabic letters and equipped with punctuation (*pegon*) (Basuki, 1988: 29-31). Besides, an existing Arabic translation in Javanese can also be used as the feature. Among those literary works having the characteristics are *syi'ir*, sufism, *wind*, *qasidah*, *manakib* and so on.

Teaching in pesantren is dependent on the teacher's level of mastery of Arabic and the subjects involved. For instance, if a teacher had a good mastery of Arabic, his method was for him to read in Arabic and then translate into *bahasa*. Methods used included lectures, reading, memorization, *mudhakara* (recalling of a lesson). The open book procedures were most common in the teaching learning process in the pesantren. This procedure was one in which students sat in a semi-circle face-to-face with their teacher whose lessons they followed carefully through their books. After listening to the teacher's explanation of concepts, elaboration of difficult words, phrases and passages, the students committed the lesson to their memories and then copied the text studied. The teacher normally did not entertain questions in order not to punctuate his lessons. It was rather his teaching assistants who were normally his senior students, who answered questions raised by the students (Hashiem *et.al*, 2011: 97; Slamdiem and Parker, 1989: 1-9). The students were expected to complete a textbook from the beginning to the end before moving to another textbook which would be studied through the same process.

In the Pesantrens, the teaching methods of yellow books materials are classified into four as follow:

(1) Sorogan. It is used to teach the materials contained in yellow books. In practice, the students read the books one after another and then when a mistake took place the teacher corrects it.

(2) *Bandongan* or *weton*. It is used by the *kyai* or the teacher to explain the meaning of the yellow book to the students by reading the books. In practice, the students only take a note of what is explained by the *kyai* or the teacher.

(3) Lecturing. In practice, the materials are orally delivered by a teacher (*ustadz*) to the students. They are occasionally involved in a question-answer session.

(4) Discussion. It is usually used in extracurricular or scientific activities to understand the yellow books, for example *Fath al-Qarib* and *al-Akhyār* (Widodo, 2002: 5-6).

Every student was expected to own a textbook for a particular subject and bring it with him to every lesson. The student is also expected to jot down some notes while the teacher's

explanation lasted. Such notes as taken by the students is known as *d'abit* and written at the periphery of the textbook being studied. The notes normally covered explanation of words, errors contained in the book, the cross references and any other remarks given by the guru or the *kyai*. The notes taken also fulfill the role of a chain of transmission from one generation to another. (Buang, 2007: 321-342; Hashiem *et.al*, 2011: 97).

Yellow books (*kitab kuning*) as the curriculum of pesantrens are put in special position. Since the presence of the books becomes the main element that differs *pesantrens* and other Islamic education institutions, the distribution of the books in the *pesantrens* in Java and Madura, the kinds of the books and the teaching system of the books have some similarities in the form of *sorogan* and *bandongan*. The similarities result in the homogeneity of living view, the culture and the religious practices in the *pesantrens* (Dhofier, 1982: 51).

In general, the yellow books taught in the Pesantrens may be classified into eight fields of study such as *nahw* and *şarf*, *fiqh*, *uşul fiqh*, *tasawuf* and ethics, *tafsir*, *hadith*, *tauhid*, *tarikh* and *balāgha*. There are short text of the books and also long one in many volumes. The books may be classified into three levels namely elementary, intermediate and advanced level. Additionally, based on the writers (*muşannif*) of the books before or after 19<sup>th</sup> century, the books are classified into two kinds. Those are:

*First, al-kutub al-qadīma* (classical books). All of the books were written by Muslim scholars (*ulama*) before 19<sup>th</sup> century. Their main characteristics are:

(1) The language used in the introduction is classic, consisting of lyrical literature (*nadzam*) or lyrical prose (*nathar*).

(2) They use punctuation marks such as coma, dot, exclamation, question mark and so on.

(3) They do not use paragraph staging. Instead, they use description levels that are often written using the words *kitāb*, *bāb*, *fasl*, *raf*, *tanbīh* and *tatimma*.

(4) The content of the books is in the form of duplication of the scientific works of prior Islamic scholars. The source books are required as *matn* that is developed into resume (*mukhtaşar* or *khulāşā*), *sharh*, *taqrīrāt*, *ta'liqāt* and so on.

(5) The authors of the classical books distributed in the pesantrens must affiliate to *sunni* school of thought in particular and to four Islamic schools of thought. Meanwhile, the classical books whose authors not affiliated to the *sunni* school of thought are limitedly owned by certain *kyais* and only used for comparative study.

*Second, al-kutub al-‘aşriyya* (modern or contemporary books). The books represent scientific products after 19<sup>th</sup> century. Their characteristics are:

- (1) The language of the books are rejuvenated or using popular language and enriched with scientific idioms from non-religious subject. Generally, the writing uses free prose.
- (2) The writing technique uses punctuation marks that help understand the texts.
- (3) The systematic and analysis approaches are influenced by general science in their era.
- (4) The content of the books represent the results of literary works that refer to many books and there is not any correlation with certain Islamic school of thought (Team BPS PPTI, 1992: 17).

In the context of *kitab kuning* as the product of Arab classical thought, there is the trilogy model of *bayānī*, *burhānī*, and *‘irfānī* by M. ‘Abid Al-Jabiri (1991; 2003). There are three epistemological aspects of Arab thought in the classical period. ‘Abid Al-Jabiri called them the aspect of indication or explication (*bayānī*), the aspect of illumination or gnosticism (*‘irfānī*), and the aspect of demonstration or inferential evidence (*burhānī*). The epistemological aspect of demonstration (*bayānī*) based on inferential evidence, having its origins in Greek thought, especially Aristotle. Historically, the *burhānī* is the earliest within Arab thought. It became dominant in the so-called indigenous sciences: philology, jurisprudence and legal sciences (*fiqh*), Qur'anic sciences, and dialectical theology (*kalām*). The *‘irfani* is based upon what is termed "inner revelation and insight" as an epistemological aspect. These practices could be seen in Sufism and Shi'i thought. The *‘irfānī* as epistemological aspect is also based upon the dichotomy of the obvious or manifest (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric or latent (*baḥīn*).

In traditional pesantrens like pesantren Krapyak and Tebu Ireng, the books taught include eleven areas of study, which are: the Quran, *tafsir*, *hadith*, Arabic, *tauhid/aqidah*, *akhlak*, *tasawuf* and *mantiq*. The yellow books are used by their levels. The elementary level uses elementary books that are relatively easy to understand, for example *‘Aqidat al-‘Awām* (tauhid), *Safīnat al-Najā* (fiqh), *Waṣāyā al-Abnā* (akhlak) and *Hidāyat al-ṣahibayn* (tajwid). The intermediate level uses the books such as *Matn Taqrīb*, *Fath al-Qarīb* and *ta’līm al-Muta’allim* (akhlak), *‘Imriḥi and Nahw al-Wad’ih* (nahw), *al-Amtsilat al-Taṣrīfiyya*, *Matn al-Binā* and *Kaylānī* (ṣaraf) and *Tuhfat al-Aḥfāl*, *Hidāyat al-Mustafīd*, *Mursyid al-Wildān* and *Shifā’ al-Rahmān* (tajwid).

The advance level uses the books such as *Tafsīr Jalālayn* (tafsir), *Mukhtār al-Hadīth*, *al-Arbaīn Nawawī*, *Bulūgh al-Maram* and *Jawāhir al-Bukhāri* (hadith), *Minhāj al-Mughīth* (*musthalah al-hadith*), *Tuhfat al-Murīd*, *al-Huṣun al-Hamīdiyya*, *‘Aqīdat Islāmiyya* and *Kifāyat al-‘Awwām* (*tauhid*), *Kifāyat al-Akhyār* and *Fath al-Mu‘īn* (*fiqh*), *Waraqat al-Sulam* (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, *Mutammima*, *‘Imriḡi*, *Shabrāwi* and *al-‘Ilal* (*nahwu and sharaf*) and *Minhāj al-‘ābidin* and *Irsyād al-‘Ibād* (*tasawuf/akhlak*). The most interesting thing is that in the Pesantren, the book *al-Munawwara* is used in *mantiq* lesson (formal logic), containing Aristotle logic and others (Mastuhu, 1994: 173).

In traditional pesantren, it is hard to be predicted when the study of yellow books is finished for the students because the books contains so many materials. For example, the thin book *Mutammimah* (nahw) is taught to first and second level in the pesantren (KTMA Tebuireng, 2001-2002; Widodo, 2002: 4). The activities of study of yellow books in the traditonal pesantren like pesantren Krapyak are related to the ideology of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The ideology of the NU relates to the tradition maintaining that the materials of *‘aqida, shari‘a* and other sciences relate to literatures of classical Muslim scholars, especially those of Syafi‘I madzhab (Islamic school of thought). Therefore, the yellow books taught in the school represent the effort to continue the classical Islamic tradition linked to the prophet Muhammad PBUH.

The traditional pesantren has madhabi scientific structure that the variation in the understanding of the Qur’an and hadith is developed in the corridor of the madzhab. The term *madhabi* means that the reasoning pattern is tied by certain scholars in certain madzhab. The traditional pesantren like Pesantren Krapyak develops madhabi textual reasoning pattern. Traditional pesantrens tends to consider the authority as the framework of understanding and referential authority for understanding the Qur’an and hadith. Even, Quranic referencing or hadith quotation is not explicitly mentioned in the books of syarh taught in the traditional pesantren (Al-Malibari, 1940: 23).

The traditional pesantren seems to follow the tradition of the middle age and uses a little reference to classic era in its yellow books (Bruinessen, 1995: 30). The traditional pesantren is dominated by the *bayānī-‘irfānī*. It is rooted from scientific tradition of al-Ghazali like Ihya ‘ulumuddin and others that get more appreciation in the pesantrens. It becomes dominant factor of the *bayānī-‘irfānī* in pesantren. Such this pesantren has metaphysical dimension and spiritual-religious dimension for its students (Anderson, 1996: 128).

This pattern of reasoning enables to maintain perpetuation of the charismatic leadership of religious leaders (*kyai*). Adaptive with the modernization, the pesantrens experience can shift and change. The establishment of a value system in the pesantren is formed by *fiqh* and *sufi* tradition (Wahid, 2001: 19). Of course, the methodological implication is the domination of the religious deductive-dogmatic reasoning model and not factual inductive-rational reasoning (Mastuhu, 1994: 69).

The books used in the Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah only include nine areas of study such as the Quran, hadith, *tafsir* science, *hadith* science, Arabic, *aqida*, *akhlak*, *fiqh* and *usul fiqh*. The yellow books used are among others: *Tafsir Qurtūbī*, *Tafsir ibn Kathīr*, *Tafsir Jalālayn*, *Musnad Ahmad*, *Muṣannaf 'ibn al-Razzāq*, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* written by al-Haithami and *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* written by Ibn Kathir (Depag RI, 2000: 306). In Arabic curriculum, the yellow books used are among others: *al-Jurumiyya* and *al-Mutammima*. The Quran and hadith are used only as muthala'ah (Madrasah Muallimin Muhammadiyah, 1986: 5; Widodo, 2002: 3). Thus, it may be said that the scope of Islamic scientific study, especially the yellow books, in pesantren Krapyak and Tebuireng is broader than that of the Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah and Salafi Pesantren.

The Islamic sciences taught to the students in the Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah represent the transfer of the content of the books. The taught materials are compiled in the form of *muqarrar* that is easier and more practically to learn for the students and it could be predicted that they would finish it in certain time in the certain academic calendar. Theologically, the teaching of the Islamic sciences is based on Muhammadiyah's doctrine *al-Rujū' ilā al-Qur'ān wa al-Hadīth al-Maqbula* as its jargon. Additionally, the doctrine in the Muqarrar al-'Aqīda tends to eradicate heresies (*bid'a*), khurafat and takhayyul. Thus, it is no wonder that the selection of the books is based on the spirit to create religiously strong cadres and preachers in 'aqīda and able to complete the mission of the Muhammadiyah in its missionary effort of *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*.

The Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah tends to consider the authority as confirmative reference in giving meanings and understanding the Qur'an and hadith. The Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah develops non-madhabi textual reasoning pattern. The Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah tends to consider the authority as confirmative reference in giving meanings and understanding the Quran and hadith. The books taught in the Mu'allimin Pesantren seem to follow the tradition of modern and classic time. The scientific structure in the Mu'allimin is dominated by the *bayānī-irfānī*.

The main missions of the Muhammadiyah are to implement Islamic purification, back to the Qur'an, hadiths, and *tajdid*. It represents the mission and the vision of the Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah. Therefore, the epistemological implication of the purification determination is that the scientific structure of the Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah tends to be the *bayānī*. The firmness of the prescription of the normative text results in the pattern of *istidlālī* or *istinbāḥī* (*burhānī*). Such rationality will not position the ratio in independent or autonomous position in its relation to revealed texts (*naqlī*). The sciences of revealed texts are called 'ulūm naqliyya and the human rational sciences are called *ulūm 'aqliyya*. It is because the ratio is positioned as the companion of the revelation in which the understanding of the revealed text (*naqlī*) is not distorted by experiences and interpretations. The ratio serves only as methodological instruments to reasoning the text.

### **Religious and Cultural Diversity in Pesantrens: Role and Contribution.**

Indonesia consists of many different races, languages and cultures. Although there are differences they unified into single Indonesia. When looking at religion, it is practiced differently from one place to the other places. The differences show the richness of Indonesia. In the context of multiculturalism, Indonesians could interact with people with different cultures. Besides, pesantrens have played an important role not only in developing the ability of its citizens and equipping them with particular knowledge needed for their future but also in maintaining cultural and religious diversity. In addition, pesantren also function to transfer knowledge, cultural and religious values from one generation to the next Indonesian generation. Pesantrens are institutions where student from different cultural and religious backgrounds meet and interact with each other.

Pesantren considerably contributed in building a multi-cultural awareness and beliefs. Basically awareness of multi-cultural and multi in pesantrens can be seen in three ways.

*First*, sociologically. Pesantren as a social community made up of students with various ethnic backgrounds, ethnicity, languages, and dialects. It suggests that the social reality of pesantren is also very pluralistic.

Pesantren Krapyak dan Muallimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, for example, accommodate thousands of students from various regions in the country. They come from Java, Borneo, Papua, Nusa Tenggara, even from abroad. However. All of them could live in harmony.

With the pesantren system, it is able to nurture multi-cultural awareness for the students not only in the theoretical aspect, but it directly transforms into the realm of praxis. Room that measures just a few square meters, sometimes it accommodates up to tens of students from various regions in Indonesia. It could be in one room consisting of a few students who come from three areas. However, they could coexist in daily life and in harmony. They do helping each other and respect each other. Although different regions, dialects and languages, they still build cohesiveness. Here, the primordial spirit can be replaced by a bond of brotherhood and egalitarianism.

*Second*, Historically. Pesantrens has provided an example of how a good dialogue with could be held with different language, ethnicity, and religious beliefs. Walisongo in his da'wah they tried to find a common point of Hindu-Buddhist culture with Islam. They also did acculturation with other cultures.

*Third*, paradigmatically. Pesantrens have principles of tolerance and openness. Pesantren also teach his students to be more open and tolerant of differences. In teaching of fiqh or Islamic jurisprudence, for example, pesantrens provide an understanding of various schools of thought (madzhab) for the students. There are madhab Syafi'i, Hanafi, Hanbali, and Maliki, each of which was founded by Imam Syafi'ie (767-820), Imam Abu Hanifa (699-767), Imam Ibn Hanbal (781-855), and Imam Malik (714-800).

Lily Zakiyah Munir of Center for Pesantren and Democracy Studies (CePDeS) gave more clear responds of santris on religious bases for diversity, religiosity and multiculturalism (*The Jakarta Post*, 5 September 2003). She wrote:

“When asked about religious justification on their openness to outsiders, including non-Muslims, some *santris* immediately referred to the Prophet Muhammad’s saying that whoever believes in God and in the hereafter, s/he has to respect her/his guest. This prophetic saying (*hadith*) is a strong religious basis for *santris* to be confident in respecting their non-Muslim guests. There is no limitation in this *hadith* as to whom the respect should be addressed in terms of religion, for example to Muslim guests only. The limitation applies in terms of time, which is three days. To a visitor of more than three days, the host is not obligated to give a special treatment. Another *santri* refers to the teaching on brotherhood that is prevalent among members or followers of *Nahdlatul Ulama* or NU (Resurgence of Ulemas), the so-called largest Muslim organization in Indonesia. The teaching advocates three levels of brotherhood that need to be uplifted in pursuing peaceful coexistence of all humankind. First, is brotherhood among Muslims (*ukhuwwah Islamiyah*); second, is brotherhood among people of the same nation (*ukhuwwah wathoniyah*), and third, brotherhood among all human beings (*ukhuwwah*



*basyariyah*) regardless of their race, ethnicity, religion and nationality. One unique characteristic of moderate *pesantrens* which has enabled them to produce tolerant and pluralistic people is their balance in teaching Islamic legal aspects (*Fikih*) and the spirituality (*Sufism*). This approach can be traced back to derive from the nine saints (*wali songo*) who spread Islam on the island of Java peacefully. This spirituality dimension is what probably missing in radical *pesantrens*, who prefer to stand in a binary position: right/wrong, halal/haram, me/the other, heaven/hell, etc. As a result, they produce people with an exclusionary stance who see the world as black and white and who lack the beauty and inner meaning of the religion: peace, tolerance, respect, love and care for others, and other esoteric and humanitarian traits (<http://folk.uio.no/leirvik/OsloCoalition/NurturingTolerance-JktPost.htm>).”

The teachings of Islam are based essentially on two fundamental sources, the Quran and the *Sunnah*. For Muslims, the Qur’an is the revelation of God, the central fact of the Islamic religious experience. It is the very word of God and the presence of the numinous in history (space and time). Quranic revelation is not that of the transcendent God, but rather of his Divine will, which man is to follow: “This is a declaration for mankind, a guidance and admonition for the God-fearing” (QS.3:138) (Esposito, 2001: 3-5). The Quran for Muslims represents unquestionably the very word of God. It is taken for granted by the conservative ‘*Ulama* (Muslim Doctors of Law and Sacred Literature) just as well as by the most radical modernists (Baljon, 1968: 1).

There are two important things that need to be paid attention to when seeking to understand the Quran. The first is, the Quran does not speak solely to the Moslems. It also speaks to the Christians, The Jews and other people. The Quran says “O the believer,” O The unbeliever,” and others. It shows that the Quran speaks to all people and not only to a certain group of people. The second is Quran talks about multiculturalism. Sometime the Lord God says to Muhammad and some other time God speaks to people in general. In *Al-Fatihah*, The Lord God speaks to all people. The Quran says “Wa ma arsalnaaka illa rahmatan lil alamin.” The word “*rahmah*” not only means blessing but also brotherhood as it comes from the word *al-rahim* (womb). As the human all come from the same womb, Mother Eve’s womb, human must foster good relation with others (*silat al-rahim*). The words *lil alamiin* not only means universe but also *Al Basyar*, human beings.

In his *The role of indonesian islamic schools (pesantren) in managing Cultural and religious diversity among young generation*, Arif Jamhari wrote:

“The role of pesantren in nurturing cultural and religious diversity can be seen from two things. The first one is seen from the teaching of Islam taught in pesantren and the second one is seen from attitudes of pesantren community. In term of teaching of Islam, pesantren teaches its students with the concept of brotherhood. The teaching on brotherhood applied in pesantren is the teaching that is prevalent among members or followers of Nahdhatul Ulama or NU (Resurgence of Ulemas). The teaching advocates three levels of brotherhood that need to be uplifted in pursuing peaceful coexistence of all humankind. First, is brotherhood among Muslims (ukhuwah islamiyah); second, is brotherhood among people of the same nation (ukhuwah wathoniyah); and third, brotherhood among all human beings (ukhuwah basyariah) regardless of their race, ethnicity, religion and nationality. This teaching is actually taken from the teaching of Islam as derived from Qur’an (*O mankind! We have created you from a male and female, and made you into nations and tribes that you may know one another. Verily, the most honourable of you with Allah is that (believer) who is pious. Verily, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Aware (Qs. Al-Hujurat: 13)*). This verse is not just aimed at brotherhood between Muslims, but rather to all humankind. This teaching is given to pesantren students who are around 16-20 years of age. With this teaching, the students are equipped with theological basis to live and interact with people from different religion and culture. Another aspect of Islamic teaching delivered in pesantren is the balance in teaching Islamic legal aspects (fikih) and the spirituality (Sufism). This approach can be traced back to derive from the nine saints (walisongo) who spread Islam on the island of Java peacefully. This spiritual dimension of teaching is taught in pesantren so as to avoid standing in a binary position: right/wrong, halal/haram, me/the other, heaven/hell, etc. as a result, this teaching will produce a tolerant and pluralistic people who can express the beauty and inner meaning of the religion: peace, tolerance, respect, love and care for others, and other esoteric and humanitarian traits. The role of pesantren in nurturing religious diversity can be seen from the fact that most leaders of pesantren has practiced tolerant value toward other people from different religion. Some of them actively engage in interfaith dialog activities involving other religious leaders. Even, their pesantren is provided as a venue for the dialogue and live in activity for interfaith events. The tolerant attitudes of the leader toward other religious leaders obviously will become a good example to follow for their students. Moreover, facilitated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Religious Affairs those pesantren are usually involved to host multi-faith delegations from overseas and allow their students to participate interfaith dialogue held in the pesantren. The dialogue between the delegation and the santri was warm, open and sometimes filled with bursts of laughter. The santri enjoyed not only stories about far away life especially among its teenagers, but also the opportunity to practice their English. In addition, graduates of pesantren also play important role in nurturing religious and cultural diversity in Indonesia. Most of NGO’s which are concerned with interfaith dialog are supported by graduates of pesantren. These graduates involve in the interfaith dialogue due to the fact that they have learned the importance of tolerance among other religious believers since the time they study in their pesantren. Nurturing cultural diversity and multiculturalism is not a new thing among pesantren in fact it has been applied since its establishment of pesantren. Despite their similar religious backgrounds, students who study in most Indonesian pesantren come from different cultural backgrounds. In this respect, pesantren can function as a melting pot for its students. To promote multiculturalism and cultural diversity pesantren usually hold cultural

events involving students from different ethnicities. As a result, students of the pesantren get used to respect people from different cultural backgrounds since the beginning of their life before living in their society” (Jamhari, 2012: 5-9).

### **Concluding Remarks**

Multicultural activities has become the character of the pesantren in which santris come from various cultural backgrounds. They live, stay and study in the pesantrens. Pesantrens have the roots of multiculturalism. Pesantrens maintain the plurality of Indonesia which manifested in multicultural programs and activities. Therefore, pesantrens have to be open mind of the recent changes in the world. The formation of religious and multicultural perspective of pesantrens in has been gradually, systematically and continuously formed through Islamic text and multicultural practices in pesantrens. Dealing with multiculturalism and religious diversity, pesantrens need to develop their capacity to face different religions and cultures.

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