Tasawwuf (Sufism) as The Basis for Internalizing Humanist Character of Indonesian Muslims (Case Study of Pesantren in Yogyakarta and Madura)

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Abstract

Violence in Islam could be caused by many factors. However, the main problem of the violent occurrence is a lack of humanity. This research shows that tasawwuf (sufism) arguably has profoundly contributed to the making of Indonesian Islam which is humanist and inclusive. This research seeks to examine the role of tasawwuf in shaping the humanist character of santri (students of pesantren), in two pesantrens (Islamic boarding school) in Indonesia, which are Pondok Pesantren Krapyak, Yogyakarta, and Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah, Madura. The first object is a representation of pesantren in heterogeneous area in which various ethnic groups, religious and cultural communities live, the latter is a representation of pesantren in homogeneous region where Islam is much more dominant and consists of one ethnic group, speak the same language, and share similar culture. This research focuses on the impacts of tasawwuf teaching in the process of the internalization of santris’ humanist character in these two particular pesantren. The method of this research is an observation and in-depth interview with phenomenological approach. The result shows that the two pesantrens utilize al-Ghazali’s tasawwuf literature as the main reference for the teaching process, and it was proven to be a huge part in internalizing humanist character for santris in general. There are two great values that can be learned from the tasawwuf teachings in shaping this humanist character. First, the perception of God. Tasawwuf perceives God as the Mighty and Merciful entity. This perception is originated from the concept of raja’ (hope), tawbah (repentance), and rahmah (mercy). The second is the perception of human beings. Humans are understood as dynamic entities. The concept of su’ al-khatimah (bad end
to life) and husn al-khatimah (good end to life) plays a vital role in leading santris’ notion in opposing any form of violence.

Keywords: Tasawwuf, Humanist, Pesantren, Internalization.

A. Introduction

"Religion must spread kindess and bring peace"; "There is no religion that opposes humanity", and "terrorist has no religion", are some phrases that often appear as a defense against the existence of religion-inspired violence. These statements seem too apologetic, rather than facing the ugly truth. To begin with, the accusation made against religion in fact, has a role in afflicting any religion internally and externally that could possibly trigger conflict and violence between religions. Many researches found that religion is one of the many factors that contributed to the emergence of violence. Example can be seen in Muhammad Thohir’s discovery about the phenomenon of violence perpetrated by education practitioners on their students based on the teachings of religion they believe in (Thohir, 2015).

If we look at its form and type, religion-inspired violence is vary. Ranging between the most common phenomenon such as justifying physical punishment done by parents in the name of disciplinary when it comes to religious practices, to the most horrifying action such as mass shooting done by fanatics in the name of their religion. We can all agree that most of these violence in the name of religion disciplinary have taken place in domestic places, just like the aforementioned example, where children and wives become the victims, and it also happen in public spaces considered ‘full of sin’ which killed countless people.

There are explanations for violent actions in the name of religion and many factors contribute to it. The five driving factors associated with agressive behavior, according to Syamsul Bakri as quoted by M. Toyyib (Toyyib, 2018) are: First, socio-political factors. Phenomenon of religious violence is accurately seen as socio-political phenomenon rather than religious phenomenon. As we all know that this type of phenomenon is misguided by the Westerns as they called it Islamic radicalism, while it should be seen as the root of
the problem from the perspective of socio-political context within the framework of historicity of society. Second, religious sentiment factors. There is no denying that one of the violent movement is motivated by religious sentiment that includes religious solidarity for Muslim brothers and sisters who were oppressed by certain opposition. Third, cultural factors. This factor also has significantly contributed to the emergence of violence. It is not uncommon that people try to get rid of certain cultural values that don’t exactly align with their beliefs. In Indonesia, for example, cultural factors is perceived as an antithesis to the Western secular culture. Secularism in Indonesia has always been associated with capitalism, liberalism, atheism, and even an anti-religious notion. Western secularism is considered an anti-religious notion because it encourages religion to be separated from governance in terms of policy making. The application of religious values in society must be equal, without favoring particular religious values and such, especially when it comes to policy and decision making because secularism viewed religion as a privatization of individuals that no one should get involved in. This is why extremist groups that use violence in the name of religion try to separate themselves from cultural values that were so divorced from their own. Through religious organization, several faith-based groups tried to eliminate secular culture radically. Fourth, ideological factors which resulted an anti-western sentiment. They believe that Westernism is an ideology that would be a threat to Islamic law application. Hence, they think that Western symbols must be destroyed for the sake of Islamic law. And view the ideology of fundamentalism as an anti-westernism ideology. Duty to punish offenders of Islam, by far, the most significant variable in the whole study. Ideology (support for Islamist government) was also of significant significance, while social quality and identity crisis were at marginally significant best. (Groppi, 2017). Fifth, policy factors. The governments’ inability to respond to Muslims’ growing frustration and anger in Islamic countries due to the ideological, military and economic domination of more developed countries.

Apart from ideological issue in terms of social, cultural, political, and economic matters that could lead to the aforementioned
type of violence, according to Fahruddin Faiz, one's willingness and awareness to commit to their religion, including those who would justify violence, are related to religious maturity, which means one’s capacity of internalization (to understand) and externalization (to express their belief according to socio-cultural conditions) that could be traced through believer’s psychological and historical background (Faiz, 2014).

The occurrence of violence is usually a psychological process that involves many elements such as: suggestion, imitation, and emotional pressure. Gustave le Bon, a sociologist of the Behavior of the Crowd, stated that Man, *like animals, has a natural tendency to imitation*. *Should a horse in a stable take to biting his manger the other horses in the stable will imitate him.* Le Bon believe that those who commit violence are not driven by rational choices, autonomous existence of *emotional* states and their relative *control* over it, nor conscious actions (reflexive behavior) (Abdurrahman, 2003).

This fact indicates that the roots of violence are essentially in the psychological state of an individual, especially to the extent to which they required to be able to control their emotions, think rationally, and protect their principle from external influences. In the context of religious commitment, it is safe to say that believer's psychological maturity will affect their religious maturity. As a result, peaceful religious interpretation will be achieved easily and destructive expressions like faith-inspired violence could be prevented immediately.

These are the components of religious maturity according to G.W. Allport: a) there is differentiation; b) motivation for dynamic religious life; c) implementation of consistent and productive religious teachings; d) a comprehensive view of life; e) integral life views; and 6) spirit of search and devotion to God (Indirawati, 2006).

Maturity characteristics in religion are linked to *tasawwuf* (Sufism). Tasawwuf offers teachings that emphasize aspects related to psychology. As quoted by Audah Mannan from A. Rivay Siregar, Based on a study of Sufism from various sects, there are five characteristics of Sufism: *First*, all Sufism sects have an eternal obsession with peace and happiness. Sufism functions as a controller
of various forces that destroy the balance of power and vibration of the soul in order to free it from external influences. Second, Sufism is a kind of direct knowledge gained through intuition responses which looking for the absolute truth by breaking the barrier between Sufi and the dimension. With the opening of its ‘curtain’, the Sufi would see through the realm. Third, Sufism is a way to improve moral quality (soul purification/tazkiyatun nufus) through a series of thorough and continuous training. Fourth, merging oneself with the attributes of God or unifying oneself with Him in a single reality. Fifth, the disclosure of experience used always contains a double interpretation, but what it meant by interpretation is usually the interpretation of what one feels and experiences, while the literal term is called sathohat (feeling of being overflowing) (Mannan, 2018).

Tasawwuf and religious maturity have two common grounds: a perspective of God and themselves as a human. Religious maturity can be distinguished by the extent to which believers know the nature of God and themselves, that could lead them to express their beliefs with an interfaith understanding. Likewise, the teachings of tasawwuf are filled with doctrines on how to be a decent human being whether it is in front of the Almighty or the people around them in general. From this point later, this research’s aim is to take a deeper look at the influence of tasawwuf in forming humanist character, in which people are able to treat each other with dignity. The author is proposing that the civilized humanism and tolerance among Indonesian Muslims is influenced by the spreading of tasawwuf values done by pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) practitioners throughout Indonesia. To prove this hypothesis, the author took a sample of two different pesantren as the objects of this research, namely Pondok Pesantren Krapyak in Yogyakarta and Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah in Madura, where both object represented the total opposite socio-cultural background, in which Yogyakarta is a heterogeneous area and Madura is a homogeneous one.
B. Literature review

Tasawwuf is oriented towards the management of the heart and the psychology of Muslims in order to enable them to express their religiousness in a wise manner and towards the dissemination of peaceful values. In this section, the author will present the debates of Islamic studies scholars in seeing the problem of violence in Islam and the important role of tasawwuf in countering violent interpretation among Muslims.

Jürgen Wasim Frembgen with his long research in Pakistan concluded that Sufism, soft core of Islam, represented a particular creative and liberal facet characterized by tolerance, humanism and the accommodation of differences "(Frembgen, 2008). Meanwhile Paul L. Heck emphasized that Tasawwuf is an important aspect in Islamic teachings where he is able to create Muslim morals that are in accordance with the current international order (Heck, 2006). Ahmad Najib Burhani added that the concept of moderate Islam offered by Nahdlatul Ulama (Indonesia's largest Islamic organization) affiliated with Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia was oriented towards moderation in the theological field, and not political moderation (Burhani, 2012). Julia D. Howel reaffirms that tasawwuf is a tradition that becomes the identity of Indonesian Muslims in opposition to the spirit of salafi Muslims who are connoted as Muslim circles that are close to radicalism (Howel, 2010).

In a place of dissent, Mark Woodword and friends see that tasawwuf does not always spread peace as salafi is not merely a group that is identical with radicalism. Using case study research in West Africa and Southeast Asia they concluded that acts of violence had no significant correlation with the theological problem (Wookward, 2013). This research was supported by research conducted by Abd. Muin M. and his friends. After he studied ten Islamic boarding schools spread across Indonesia. They found that half of the pesantren had the potential to be radical where the rest did not (Muin M, 2007).

The purpose of this research is to strengthen the theory that stated tasawwuf (Sufism) has an important role in internalizing the maturity of the religious community of Indonesian Islam, which is
reflected in its humanist character that consequently prevent the occurrence of religious-motivated violence.

C. Method

The research will be focused on finding answer to the role of tasawwuf in shaping the humanist character of Indonesian society gained through the dissemination of its teachings in pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) in Indonesia. To find the answer, this study conducted an in-depth study of the two pesantren that were the object of this research, namely the Pondok Pesantren Krapyak and Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah. Therefore, here the author uses qualitative research with a phenomenological approach that emphasizes on the quality of the meaning of the data found in the field.

The location of this study is Pondok Pesantren Krapyak, which is located in Yogjakarta and Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah located in rural island, Madura. The method of this research is carried out in three ways: participatory observation in which the researcher is actively involved in the two pesantren, in-depth interviews with representative parties and documentation of data that is suitable with the purpose of this study. The data is then analyzed critically with inductive-deductive analysis using concepts and theories related to the theme.

D. Findings and Discussions

Relations between Tasawwuf and Pesantren in Indonesia

The two pesantren are Islamic institutions which are affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama in terms of religious perspectives. Therefore, tasawwuf is an important component in the process of Islamic teaching in the two pesantrens. Talking about the great attention of the two pesantren and tasawwuf cannot be separated from the history of the arrival and spread of Islam in Indonesia. This is because pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) are an integral part of a long term process of introducing and developing Islam in Indonesia.
The process of Islamization proposed by Hasan Muarif Ambary through several phases: first, the phase of the presence of Muslim traders in the 1-4 century H / 7-10 AD. Since the beginning of the first century Hijri Arab merchant ships have begun to sail to the Southeast Asia region. However, this does not prove the Islam conversion of native Indonesians. Albeit, there was a claim that the conversion process is through marriage between the merchants and local residents, and possibly attracted them into converting to Islam for marriage (Ambary, 1998). Western scholars mostly argue that the trade route is the earliest path for the arrival of Islam in the archipelago. The traders then settled to form a community in the region they visited. Muslim Nucleus was created which then played a role in spreading Islam. Furthermore, they argued that some of the traders were married with local residents, including local noble families, allowing them or their descendants to finally achieve political power that could be used for spreading Islam widely.

The theory of economic motives in Islamization was also suggested by Antony Reid who stated that Islamization greatly increased when the Archipelago was in the trading period in the XV to XVII century. When Islamic kingdoms were involved in free international trade, Islam was associated with the inhabitants of the Archipelago with nationality so that it attracted them to convert to Islam. Therefore, there was mass Islamization (Reid, 2011). If this theory is accepted, it is safe to say that the economic and political motives are very essential for the arrival and spread of Islam in the archipelago. Van Leur believed that the two motives had an effect on the process of Islamization in the archipelago because in order to gain support and more power to increase trade activities in their territory, the chose to accept Islam. With this strategy, they got support from Muslim traders who controlled economic resources and in return, they gave the merchants protection and even trade concessions. With the conversion of these traders, the archipelago's native rulers were able to participate more extensively and profitably in international trade covering the region from the Red Sea to the China Sea. The support from Muslim traders provided legitimacy and strengthened
notable leaders power to compensate and outsource Majapahit's resource and network (Azra, 2005).

Economic theory and marriage are not fully supported by Western scholars. The evidence can be seen in Johns’s statement that it is hardly possible for Muslim traders to also act as missionaries, due to the fact that there was not much local Muslim residents and the absence of evidence supporting the theory. Not forget to mention that marriage theory between the merchants and nobles was also rejected by Schrieke. He refused the concept that the growing Muslim population in Indonesoa is a result of the rulers conversion into Islam. There is considerable debate about what conclusions can be drawn about the conversion of Indonesian people, but there is a statement that suggested that the reason for the extraordinary spread and expansion of Islam are the result of Christians threat which encouraged most population of the Archipelago to convert to Islam. According to John, there was a kind of struggle between Islam and Christianity to get new followers in Nusantara (Azra, 2005). Schrieke's opinion can be broken by considering the initial arrival of Western nations into the archipelago. It is known that the Western (Portuguese) nation first began to invade the Archipelago in 1511 (Sewang, 2010). Their arrival was followed by Spain, the Netherlands and England. The arrival of the West is motivated by three things called 3G (glory, gold and gospel). The motive for spreading religion (gospel/zending) which follows the economic motives of the colonists caused the spread of Christianity in several regions of the archipelago. In stark contrast, the initial fight was actually occurred in the 15th century, not in the 12th or 13th century where Islam has already spreaded widely and hold its powerful role in shaping society.

Additionally, the most widely acceptable suggestion regarding to the conversion of the population of the archipelago into Islam is the ability of Islamic missionaries in spreading Islam by using relatable strategies that alligned with local belief and wisdom as well as cultural upbringing. This continous strategy did not necessarily imply changes in local religious beliefs or practices immediately, but rather endorsed Tasawwuf approaches in their daily activities. Early Islamic missionaries were wanderers who hold strong Sufi
characteristics, with charismatic authority and mystical power. Some of these Sufi teachers were married to daughter of noble family, therefore their descendants were born noble while at the same time, blessed with graceful and religious charisma (Azra, 2005).

Second, the phase of the establishment of the Islamic empire in the 13-16 century. Archaeological evidence shows that the discovery of the tomb of Malik al-Shaleh (696 H / 1297 M) located in Samudera sub-district, North Aceh shows that there was an Islamic kingdom in the 13th century. Strengthened by local traditional historiography, Hikayat Raja Pasai and Malay History shows that the first ruler of the Samudera kingdom was Malik al-Shaleh (Ambary, 1998). In Java region, the kingdom of Demak was established as the first Islamic kingdom on this island which succeeded in defeating Majapahit's power. The awliya’ (the helpers) played an important role in the spread of Islam in Java with the help of the kingdom of Demak and other kingdoms such as Pajang and Mataram, and Gowa, Banjarmasin, Hitu, Ternate, Tidore and Lombok, which were located outside Java (Sewang, 2010). On the side note, the kingdom of Gowa-Tallo (South Sulawesi) known for its three Malay missionaries namely Abdul Makmur Khatib Tunggal (Dato ri Bandang), Khatib Sulaiman (Datori, Timang), and Khatib Bungsu (Dato ri Tiro) to South Sulawesi (Muradi, 1999).

Third, the phase of institutionalizing Islam. After the establishment of Islamic kingdoms which began with Samudra Pasai kingdom to the eastern part of the archipelago, Islamic missioners gained important positions in the structure of the royal bureaucracy. The mosque as a center for da’wah began to stand up, the educational process of future ulama’ (Islamic scholars), and the process of converting the king and his family to Islam, as well as any other social approach which were a part of the institutionalization of Islam in the archipelago at the time period. The process of Islamization according to Azyumardi Azra was marked by the defeat of Majapahit Kingdom in the 14th and 15th centuries. At that time, Islam was only spread around port cities, and it was later that Islam truly spread other coastal areas and villages. This spread was facilitated by traders and scholars who were also tarekat teachers and their loyal students.
Thus, they got a lot of support from local authorities and even local governments, and they were all positively contributed to Islam expansion. Islamic values at that point were heavily influenced by the aspects of sufism and mysticism, they gained its place in the society because the local community were still influenced by asceticism, Hindu-Buddhism and local syncretism. However, it does not mean that the aspects of shari'ah law were completely ignored. For example, the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi was carried out by three Islamic missionaries that were known for their respective methods. As in traditional historiography, it is known that there were three preachers from Minangkabau who spread Islam in South Sulawesi. The three preachers were Abdul Makmur Khatib Tunggal, better known as the Dato ri Bandang. In spreading da'wah, he emphasized the implementation of Islamic law as the subject of his teachings. The second is Sulaiman Khatib Sulung, who was later known as Dato Patimang. In the history of Islam in South Sulawesi, he played an important role in Luwu. His teachings about monotheism then became his specialty. He connected the old myth called sureLagaligo as his teaching approach. The third is Abdul Jawab Khatib Bungsu, later known as Dato ri Tiro that was known for his Tasawwuf approach (Sewang, 2011).

In Islamic history, tasawuf refers to the behavior of Prophet Muhammad SAW and his sahabah (closest friends). There are several verses in which Sufism is regarded to as a way of life, and Allah is near to man (QS Al-Baqarah / 2: 86) and that Allah is closer than jugular vein (QS Qaf / 50: 16). Since it was evolved, various concepts of tasawuf teaching according to many Sufis, that includes al-khauf and al-raja' that were introduced by Al-Hasan al-Basri (642-728 AD), mahabbah by Rab'i'ah al-Adawiyah (714-801 AD), Hulul by Al-Hallaj, al-Ittihad by Yazid al-Bustami (814-875 AD) and Ma'rifah by Abu Hamid al-Gazali (w.1111 AD). In the 5th century H / 13 M, the devotional exercise and activities of the Sufi then begun to spread that eventually led to the development of Tarekat. It is characterized by the name of the initiator or sufi figures born in that century who were always associated with his genealogy. Each tarekat has its own shaikh, kaifiyat dhikr and ritual ceremonies. Sheikh or mursyid would
teach his students in a dormitory where spiritual practice called suluk/ribath are usually held (Mulyati, 2004). Qadiriyyah was first developed by Shaykh Abdul Qadir in Central Asia, in Tibrisan, where he was born, then it was expanded to Baghdad, Iraq, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, India, and China. Rifa'iyah was also first initiated in Morocco and Algeria. Followed by Suhrawardiyyah in North Africa, Central Africa, Sudan and Nigeria. The tarekat then began to grow rapidly through students who were appointed as khalifah, to endorse it to Islamic countries, as a result, tarekat brances were spreading out throughout the world (Mulyati, 2004).

In the early conversions, tarekat has a great role in uplifting Muslims’ life, not only in terms of religion, but also in terms of other aspects of life. After Baghdad's defeat, the responsibility of uniting Muslims and spreading Islamic values were held by the Sufis. When the Usmaniyyah dynasty first established, the role of tarekat (Bahtesyi) was very important for its politics and military development. As in North Africa, the Sanusiyyah tarekat also played a great role in Algeria and Tunisia, while in Sudanese Syadziliyah played a major role in the spread of Islam (Mulyati, 2004). In Indonesia particularly, the development of tarekat can not be separated from the process of Islam in this region. Islam that first introduced in Indonesia was originally an Islamic Tasawwuf, the evidence was provided by historians. Marrison suggested that when explaining the inclusion of Islam in Indonesia, the people involved in the process of islamitiazion in Nusantara came from South India, Mu'tabar (malabat) performed by muballigh titled fakir. The title fakir was given to a Sufi who abandoned the world and chose to only life and focus on devoting their life to God. Marrison’s theory then appear the following theory as an attempt to answer the question on whether Islam that first spread in Indonesia was related to Tasawwuf.

Hill's theory claimed that in the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai which was compiled in the 14th century was stated that Islamic mysticism came to archipelago. This data is supported by Malay History whose source is also from the Hikayat of the Kings of Pasai. Bech's theory states that in Malay History the text is explained about Sultan
Malaka’s fond of Sufism. One time an ulama, called Maulana Abu Iskak, came to give a gift to the sultan in the form of a book entitled Durrul Mandhum. Not forget to mention that The Sultan repeatedly sent envoys to meet the Sultan of Aceh to consult about Sufism. Raffles's theory mentions the last event in Malay History was the attack of the Sultan of Malacca who then fled to Johor. In terms of the time of occurrence of Malay History written in 1536 and can only be read in the 16th century as evidence that this text was previously an oral story. So it is safe to conclude that Sufism has been developed and written into a text in the 16th century. Johns theory argues that 16th-century manuscripts examined by Sufism-oriented Orientalists can be objects for the study of Islamic intellectual history and the development of Sufism in Indonesia (Sangidu, 2008).

From the theories that mention the role of Sufis in Islamic broadcasting in Indonesia, according to Azyumardi Azra succeeded in making a correlation between political events and waves of conversion to Islam. Although political events - in this case the Abbasid Caliphate - indirectly reflected the mass growth of Muslim societies, one cannot ignore the role of these Sufis, because they affected the journey of Muslim societies in other parts of Islamic countries. This theory also drew a correlation between conversion, establishment, and development of Islamic institutions in which, according to Bulliet, eventually formed and shaped the characteristics of a particular society into an Islamic society. The most important institutions are madrasas, tarekat, futuwwah (youth associations), trade and crafts association. All these institutions were not noticeable until the 11th century (Azra, 2004).

The first Sufis who taught tasawuf and tarekat in Indonesia were Hamzah Fansuri (w. 1590), Syamsuddin as-Samatrani (w. 1630), Nuruddin ar-Raniri (w. 1658), Abd. Rauf as-Singkeli (1615-1693) and Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassar (1626-1699). These sufis made a great contribution in the rise and development of Islam in Indonesia. Apart of these figures, there were scholars who also helped promote and spread Islam using an accommodative method in their preaching, for example the wali songo (nine helpers) who spread...
Islam in Javanese land, Rajo Bagindo in Northern Kalimantan and Sulu Islands, and Sheikh Ahmad in Negeri Sembilan.

**Brief Profile of the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah**

The founder of this pesantren was K.H. M. Syarqawi, he was from Kudus, a city in Central Java. He married to a woman after he studied in Makkah al-Mukarramah named Nyai Hj. Khadijah (his first wife), and the widow of Kyai Gemma, a merchant from Prenduan, Sumenep city. In 1875 M (1293 AH), he settled in Prenduan and taught Qur'an and religion using classical arabic kitab to the public in general, that consequently led people to learn more from him. Later he married his second wife, a woman from Guluk-guluk named Mariah. From this marriage, Podok Pesantren Annuqayah development was getting started (Booklet, 2010).

In 1887 AD, K.H. M. Syarqawi founded a *surau* where he educated his santri. With K.H. M. Bukhari (first son), he stayed in Guluk-guluk area near Prenduan, because Prenduan village was no longer conducive for his teaching. Sadly, in 1910 AD K.H. Syarqawi passed away. 23 years after Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah first founded. After he died, the position then replaced by his first son, K.H.M. Bukhari (first son), K.H. Moh. Idris, K.H. Imam Karay who married the daughter of Kyai Syarqawi, Ny. Zubaidah.

In 1923 AD, five years after K.H. Ilyas returned to Guluk-Guluk, K.H. Abdullah Sajjad founded an autonomous pesantren in the the pesantren environment around 100 m from the original residence, now known as Latee residence. He taught religious sciences and Arabic grammar. In 1916 the pesantren of Tebu Ireng Jombang established a Salafiyah Madrasah with curriculum that taught non religious sciences while other pesantrens were still taboo on those sciences. In 1930 AD, the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah opened an Annuqayah Madrasa, inspired by Tebuireng pesentren which was initiated by K.H. Ilyas and K.H. Khazin Ilyas. With a curriculum of 30% non religious and 70% of religious teachings while the non-religious studies were still limited. Since the 80s, the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah established foundations and college and sought to expand the land area and continue the construction of buildings
and improvements to other facilities to this day. To enclose the legal entry of Annuqayah Foundation *Ds.Um.07.01-02/P.A, Wm.06.03/PP.03.2/115/SKP/1999. Lokasi Dusun Guluk-Guluk Tengah, Desa Guluk-Guluk, Kec. Guluk-Guluk, Kab. Sumenep, Jawa Timur*. Now the Leadership at Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah is under the Masyayikh Council in which, KH Ahmad Basyir AS (as chairman, has passed away and replaced by his son), KH. A. Warits Ilyas (as a member, has passed away and replaced by his son) KHA Muqsith Idris (member), KH. A. Basith AS (as member, he passed away and replaced by his son), KH Abbasi Ali (member).

At the beginning of the establishment the pesantren was limited to teaching al-quran and religious sciences which were taught to the community nearby with a system of *sorogan* and *wetonan*. As an educational institution that was growing rapidly, the education system of this pesantren has updated the curriculum with the establishment of Madrasas / schools in classical form. The types of formal education are held in the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah ranging from kindergartens to universities, both those under the auspices of the Ministry of Religion or under the Ministry of Education and Culture. There is also non-formal activities, such as teaching using the classic books of Islamic teachings (*kitab kuning*), and another religious activities such as prayer in *jama’ah* (prayer for congregation), recitating Qur’an *etc*.

Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah is a federal pesantren consisting a lot of pesantren residences led by their own kyai with autonomous regulations, such as Lubangsa residence as the largest area, Latee residence, Lubangsa Selatan residence, Lubangsa Utara residence, etc. All these residences are under the command of Masyayikh Council. The total number of the residents is 5,829 santri, consisting of 4,546 santri who live in dormitories and 1,283 who don’t live in dormitories but study in Annuqayah Schools and college.

**Brief Profile of the Pondok Pesantren Krapyak**

*Krapyak* is the name of a village (dusun) in the area of Bantul city, south side of the south square (*alun-alun kidul*) of the city of Yogyakarta. The term Pondok Pesantren Krapyak is often intended to
refer to pesantrens in that area which are quite numerous. However, at present the complexes are under two major foundations, namely the pesantren of Al-Munawwir and the pesantren of Ali Maksum.

KH. Muhammad Munawwir bin Abdullah Rosyad was the first founder of the Pondok Pesantren Krapyak on November 15, 1911 AD. At the first time this pesantren was named by Pondok Pesantren Krapyak, because it was located in the village of Krapyak. And in 1976 the name of the pesantren was added by "Al-Munawwir". This name addition aims to commemorate its founder, KH. M. Munawwir. And the Qur'an as a distinctive feature of education in this pesantren at its inception. (As’ad, 2011).

The Pondok Pesantren Krapyak is associated with the greatness of the name KH. Munawwir who is known for his simplicity and high enthusiasm in seeking knowledge. His abilities include rare, because in addition to hafizh (memorized Al-Qur'an 30 juz), he also mastered *Qira'ah Sab'ah* (seven patterns of reading the Qur'an) and obtained the trusted *muttawatir sanad* (genealogy) reaching the Prophet Muhammad SAW (Ema Marhumah, 2011). This ability is the basis that at the beginning of the establishment of pesantren of Al-Munawwir was a special deepening of the Qur'an. Only in subsequent developments, besides the Al-Quran, were also reviewed the Islamic classic books (*kitab kuning*) which were taught both with classical systems, *sorogan*, and *bandongan*.

At present, the leadership of pesantren of Al-Munawwir is led by the third generation. Meanwhile, the periodization of the leadership of Al-Munawwir Islamic Boarding School can be explained as follows: Period of KH. Munawwir (1911 - 1942 AD); period of KH. Abdullah Affandi Munawwir and KH. Abdul Qodir Munauwwir, KH. Ali Maksum (1942 - 1989 AD); and period of KH. Zaenal Abidin Munawwir, KH. A. Warson Munawwir, KH. Najib A. Qodir (1989 - present).

It is worth noting that since this third period the pesantren of Ali Maksum has established his own foundation. Meanwhile, the pesantren of Al-Munawwir is still running with the caregivers as mentioned above. The name of the pesantren of Ali Maksum is based on the name KH. Ali Maksum. KH. Ali Maksum is the son in law of
KH. Munawwir, who together with other sons was handed over as caregivers after the death of KH. Munawwir. Meanwhile, after KH. Ali Maksum, his son, KH. Attabik Ali, founded his own foundation of pesantren under the name of Ali Maksum, while the pesantren of Al-Munawwir still exists and is continued by the sons of KH. Munawwir. Precisely, in 1990 the pesantren of Ali Maksum was established.

**Socio-Cultural Background of the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah and Krapyak**

The Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah is located in Guluk-Guluk Sumenep, the eastern side of the island of Madura. Established in 1887 AD, Madura is an island located in East Java. The inhabitants are usually referred to as the Madurese tribe. Madurese are classified as homogeneous communities with only the Madurese inhabited by Islam as their religion, more specifically the Madurese are Sunni adherents who are affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama with the Kyai (leader of pesantren) as a religious reference center. Meanwhile, Madurese people are people who have unique civilizational complexity. His social life is famous for his tenacious characteristics and perseverance in struggling, clinging to traditions and social norms, and adhering to the teachings of Islam (Afandi, 2006). The Madurese community is also known to be obedient to some respected figures: bhabbu-bhuppa’, ghuru, rato (fathers, teachers / kyai and government). Even on certain issues such adherence can sometimes exclude scientific aspects, rationality and religious arguments (Rahmat, 2014). As well as being well-known as a religious Muslim, the Madurese are also known as tribes with hard and rude characters. One of the most famous traditions is the carok tradition.

Unlike Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah that located on homogeneous land with Sunni Islam with Nahdlatul Ulama style as the center of its religion, Pondok Pesantren Krapyak was born and

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1 The meaning of carok itself is used as a restoration of self-esteem (dignity) when trampled by others, which is related to property, throne, land, and women. The point is for honor. In the phrase Madura Lebbi Begus Pote Tollang Pote Mata atembang. (It’s better to die, than to live with shame). Besides that, Carok himself always found support from his social environment (Wiyata, 2002).
grew in the midst of a diverse society, namely Yogyakarta. This area is very thick with religious nuances that are quite high compared to other regions in Indonesia. It can be referred to as a miniature Indonesia because it contains a mini version of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity). Many tribes live there, language and culture also follow the average population of comers. All religions also exist in this land. In a more specific context, there are two of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, namely Muhammadiyyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Both have strong influence to each follower.

The Living Tasawwuf in Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah and Krapyak

In one of his articles, KH. MA. Sahal Mahfudh provides a metaphorical illustration of the reciprocal relationship between Nahdlatul Ulama and pesantren. In the illustration it is said that NU can be seen as a large pesantren. Whereas pesantren are miniatures of Nahdlatul Ulama. Furthermore, the former *Rais Am* (general leader) of PBNU gave the name of the pesantren communities with the term fiqh community (Mahfudh, 2000). Therefore, it is normal that the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah and Krapyak together carry the spirit of the spread of the teachings of Islam in the frame of Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah carried by the Nahdlatul Ulama. In the field of *aqidah* (theology), both of them developed the theology of Ash'ariyah, in the field of *fiqh* (Islamic law), both of which carried the syafi'i madzhab. while in the field of tasawwuf (Sufism), both are oriented towards tasawwuf al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdady.

The *fiqh* (Islamic law) developed by the two pesantren is still under traditional form where the authority of understanding religion is still centralized by Islamic classical books (*kitab kuning*) which are the reference for learning. The books such as *safinah al-najah, sullam al-taufiq, fath al-qarib, minajaj al-qawim, faht al-muin, kifayah al-akhyar* were the main sources in teaching fiqh to the santris. In this case, the books of fiqh are affiliated to the Syafii madzhab. In the context of pattern of pesantren understanding towards *fiqh* proposed by Rijal Mumazziq Z, the two pesantren fall into the category of pesantren with textual-formalistic mindset, in which fiqh texts from classical scholars who are referred to as fiqh learning are considered
normative teachings. The consequence of this mindset is the necessity to follow the teachings written in the books of fiqh which became main references (Mumazziq Z, 2015).

However, the data in the field showed that the two pesantren did not develop fiqh comprehensively, in the sense that not all material in fiqh teachings were studied. One of the manager of the pesantren of Ali Maksum Krapyak revealed that fiqh was taught as a provision for santri in carrying out the teachings of Islam, especially in terms of ubudiyyah (formal rituals) and relations with another human being (Pratama, personal communication, February 1, 2019). The same thing was conveyed by the head of the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah Lubangsa which stated that the fiqh material presented was oriented to the individual's goodness, so studies related to jinayat (Islamic law related with criminal things) were not a priority in the pesantren (Drajat, personal communication, February 12, 2019). This was justified by one of the Annuqayah female santri who mentioned that she had never received any jinayah material from fiqh teachings, on the contrary the material she got was about ubudiyyah and female fiqh. This material continues to be repeatedly conveyed (Kurniawati, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

Furthermore, if we look at the curriculum developed by the two pesantren, it will appear that the two pesantren have the same priority orientation: the formation of the character of the santri to be a person who behaves correctly and well. This can be seen from the efforts of the teachings taught by the Kyai who always use the tasawwuf as the main ingredient of their teaching. As happened in the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah where the teaching which was intended for all santri always used the tasawwuf books, such as Nashaikh al-'ibad, Irsyad al-'ibad, Kifayah al-Atqiya', and even specifically for female santri in the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah Lubangsa, the Kyai give teachings from ihya 'ulumiddin (book of al-Ghazali) every morning (Kurniawati, personal communication, February 12, 2019). Likewise happened in the Pondok Pesantren Krapyak, teachings involving all santri oriented towards morality through the books of morality (akhlak) and tasawwuf (Pratama, personal communication, February 1, 2019).
The orientation of internalization of the values of tasawwuf is also seen from the figure of the Kyai who becomes the role model in the two pesantren. The narratives about the morality of the Kyai, the personality of the Kyai, how the attitude of the Kyai to the santri, the parents of the santri and the general public are more discussed than the side of how the kyai pray, or how is the kyai fasting or hajj which are the domains of *fiqh* study. On many occasions the messages conveyed to his santris were more about how to become santri that could be accepted by the community where he was (Rizqyana, personal communication, 1 February, 2019). This fact strengthens Syahrul Adam's opinion which stated that the relationship between Kyai and Pesantren is very close to the problem of the *tarekat* in tasawwuf. Education carried out in pesantren takes the pattern of education in the tarekat. This means that the kyai becomes a central figure who is considered able to give blessings with his *karomah*, so that he becomes the authority that becomes the reference for learning. His words and behavior must be a model and should not be denied or blamed. Therefore, obedience to kyai is considered more important than learning itself (A'dam, 2016).

Thus, even though the reasoning of *fiqh* used in both pesantren is formal-textual in nature, but tasawwuf framed it so that the face of *fiqh* displayed is fiqh with the soul of tasawwuf. This pattern was introduced by al-Ghazali where he combined *fiqh* and tasawwuf. Al-Ghazali himself was a classical Muslim scholar who lived during a time of feud between Islamic law scholars and tasawwuf scholars. Through his book *Ihya 'Ulum al-din*, al-Ghazali seeks to integrate tasawwuf with fiqh into an inseparable entity.

Furthermore, talking about the problem of tasawwuf is inseparable from the question of understanding about the substance of God and human being. In an expression that is popular among pesantren communities it is mentioned that whoever knows himself, he knows his God. Therefore, here will be spelled out a little about how God and humans in relation to tasawwuf are understood by the inhabitants of the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah and Krapyak.
Santri’s Perception about God

The divine narratives that developed in pesantrens were strongly influenced by the doctrine of the Ash'ariyyah theology which became the grip of the pesantren which was affiliated with the Nahdlatul ulama. This can be seen from the Islamic classic books that is used in the pesantrens taught such as the book *Aqidatul Awam* and *Bad'ul amal* (Dawam Rahardjo, 1974). *Aqidah* (Islamic faith) is considered the most basic element in the construction of understanding Islam. Therefore, the books about aqidah are taught as early as possible to the younger generation of Indonesian Muslims.

The Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah and Krapyak used the book *aqidatul awam* as a Islamic faith (*aqidah*) doctrine to the santris at the junior secondary level. Related to the understanding of Devinity, the book contains the basic principles of a Muslim faith in Allah and the His prophets in the form of introduction of the attributes of Allah and His messengers. In this case, Allah has 20 certainly traits (*sifat wajib*), 20 impossible traits (*sifat mustahil*), and one possible trait (*sifat jaiz*). While the messengers have four compulsory traits, four impossible traits, and one possible trait. The accumulation of these traits became known as the *fifty aqaid*. The following are these traits:

**Table 1. Allah’s Traits.**

| No. | Certainly traits | Meanings         | Impossible traits | Meanings       |
|-----|------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1.  | وجود             | Exist            | عدم              | absence        |
| 2.  | قدم              | one-time         | حدوث              | new            |
| 3.  | بقاء             | eternal          | فناء              | mortal         |
| 4.  | مخالفته للحوادث | difference with others | مماثلته للحوادث | same with others |
| 5.  | قيامه بنفسه       | independence     | قيامه بغيره       | dependence     |
| 6.  | وحدانية          | oneness          | تعدد              | numbered        |
| 7.  | قدرة             | to power         | عجز              | to be weak     |
| 8.  | ارادة             | to will          | كراهة             | to be forced   |
| 9.  | علم              | to know          | جهل              | to be ignorant |
| No. | Certainly traits | Meanings | Impossible traits | Meanings |
|-----|------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|
| 1.  | صدق             | to be honest | كذب              | to lie   |
| 2.  | امانة           | to be trustworthy | خيانة          | to be untrustworthy |
| 3.  | تبليغ         | to convey     | كتمان            | to hide  |
| 4.  | فطانة         | to be clever  | بلادة             | to be stupid |
|     | Possible Trait | فعل كل ممكن أو تركه |             | doing possible thing or not doing it |

**Table 2. Traits of the Messengers.**

This 50 *Aqaid*, besides being memorized, must also be understood by means of *naqli* and *aqli* reasoning. *Naqli* is a normative argument through the texts of the Qur'an and hadith, while *aqli* is an argument based on rationality. If you look at the reality, the 50 *aqaid* doctrine has become an understanding that lives in the majority of Indonesian Muslim communities. This is evidenced by the recitation of 50 *aqaid* before prayer in mosques in Indonesia. In fact, the reading does not only use Arabic language, but has been translated into the
respective regional languages, such as Javanese and Madura, as found by Masfiah about the *aqaid* 50 textbook in Javanese (Masfiah, 2017).

The introduction of santri to Allah through these traits ushered into a positive connotation of God. No one of those traits shows God as an angry God: God who will everyone who oppose him be eliminated on the face of the earth. It appears that perception arises is an extraordinary God, who has full authority over everything he knows all, hear everything, see everything, and no entity are same with Him. This perception of the power of God is reflected in the understanding of santri towards life. Diyanto, one of the students of Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah, admitted that he was not worried about drinking from a pesantren water well (which is not healthy on medical view) because he believed that only Allah could overcome illness (Diyanto, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

This narrative of God's full power is accompanied by narratives about other perceptions of God, God is full of love and mercy. In the tasawwuf narratives which taught in these two pesantren, Allah described as God who is all loving even for someone who is most sinful people on earth. So, there are two concept arise from this perception: repentance (*taubah*) and hope (*raja’*). The *raja’* is understood to as an optimism, there is no word too late to get the blessing (*ridla*) of Allah. As long as someone is still breathing, it is not up to par, so he still has the same opportunity to get the blessing of Allah. This optimism is based on the concept of repentance which is always open till the the end of life. These two concepts became the basis for the santri to see the reality of life, especially related to people who were considered sinners and entitled to be judged. As expressed by Fairuzzabadi, one of teacher in the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah, about the example of tasawwuf doctrine which is always be remembered from teaching in the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah: the story of the prostitute's adventures which eventually enters heaven only when he gives his assistance to the dog who is headed for thirst. For him, this one story is enough to show that Allah is good God (Fairuzzabadi, personal communication, February 12, 2019).
Santri’s Perception about Human Being

In addition to divine narratives, pesantrens are also very thick with humanitarian narratives. Aside from the fiqh mu’amalah teachings that govern how to interact with other human beings in the right way, pesantren also teach their santri how to interact with other humans in a good way. Doing everything in the best way is the ultimate goal of tasawwuf which was developed in these two pesantren. It can be seen from how big the pesantren's efforts are in shaping the character of the santri in becoming a generation of Muslims who are able to show a good image of Islam.

This cannot be separated from the existence of a great idea in the narrative of tasawwuf pesantren that humans are very dynamic creatures. This human dynamism is framed in the great notion that whether a person belongs to the fortunate group and enters heaven or the wretched class and goes to hell is how he was before his death. A person who during his life is full of sins can be a dweller of heaven if the end of his life is in good condition (*husn al-khatimah*) and a person who is full of worship can die in a bad condition so that he will become a resident of hell (*su 'al- khatimah*). The concept of *husn al-khatimah* and *su 'al-khatimah* creates a tawadhu' attitude and humbleness because no one could guarantee that worshipers would become residents of heaven and sin actors would become residents of hell. Fairuzzabadi mentioned one tasawwuf teaching about how Muslims should see other humans, that is when a Muslim sees a younger person, he sees that his shorter age makes him have fewer sins. Whereas when he sees an older person, he considers it to be more rewarding because he lives longer than himself (Fairuzzabadi, personal communication, 12 February, 2019).

*Tawadlu*’ and humility are very visible from the figure of Kyai as a role model of santri. As told by Na'im, one of the managers of the Pondok Pesantren Krapyak. He mentioned that the kyai of the Pondok Pesantren Krapyak were always able to advise their santri in using non-offensive language. Advice carried out in the context of education and reminding, not for judging (Na'im, personal communication, February 1, 2019). The same thing was conveyed by Nurul Alfiah Kurniawati who stated that the Annuqayah kyai’s always gave extraordinary examples of humility. Respect for parents
of students who come from various backgrounds with varying levels of religious understanding is still done in the same way (Kurniawati, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

The doctrines through tasawwuf teaching and direct examples from the kyai made the students of the two pesantren become people who are able to see differences as part of beauty and consider all human beings as human beings. Masyhuri Drajat, chairman of the Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah Lubangsa stated that he would welcome anyone who would like to visit Annuqayah, even though they are someone considered as astray person, such as Shiites and Ahmadis (Drajat, personal communication, February 12, 2019). Even in the Dipenogoro Complex, Pondok Pesantren Krapyak, one of the administrators is someone who has a salafi religious understanding.

E. Conclusion

Formalistic-textual religious narratives are still an important part of the Annuqayah and Krapyak pesantren in understanding religious texts, especially in the studies of *fiqh* (Islamic law). It's just that, tasawwuf which is the orientation of the two pesantren makes these narratives more substantial, that religion is present to make its followers become good servants before their Lord and become good brothers to all humans.
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