



FEMALE ULAMA: MEDIATING RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY IN A LIMITED 'ISLAMIC' PUBLIC SPHERE IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA

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Abstract

Religious authority and the viable role played by female *ulama* in a limited Islamic public sphere have always been a matter of concern. Unlike previous studies focused much on gender sensitive, this research will analyze crucial position of Islamic public sphere in which female santri of *Ma'had 'Ali As'adiyah* South Sulawesi can build and transform their authority. The research argues the decrease level of female authority is due to their lack of involvement in limited Islamic public sphere within and outside *pesantren*. Drawing on female santris' daily activities, particular attention will be given to how female As'adiyah achieve, harness, build and transform religious authority through mosque and classroom environment. This reveals that authority of female ulama has not exclusively to do with the mastering of classical Islamic knowledge, but also with the maximizing the use of a limited 'religious' public sphere which is represented in *halaqah* of mosque, preaching stage, and the production of hybrid knowledge within classroom environment.

Keywords: *Mediating, Female Ulama, Religious Authority, Limited public sphere*

Abstrak

Otoritas agama dan peran yang dimainkan oleh ulama perempuan dalam ruang publik Islam terbatas selalu menjadi masalah. Tidak seperti penelitian sebelumnya yang banyak berfokus pada sensitif gender, penelitian ini akan menganalisis posisi penting dari ruang publik Islam di mana santri perempuan Ma'had 'Ali As'adiyah Sulawesi Selatan dapat membangun dan mengubah otoritas mereka. Penelitian ini berpendapat penurunan tingkat otoritas perempuan adalah karena kurangnya keterlibatan mereka dalam ruang publik Islam yang terbatas di dalam dan di luar pesantren. Menggambar pada kegiatan sehari-hari santri perempuan, perhatian khusus akan diberikan pada bagaimana perempuan As'adiyah mencapai, memanfaatkan, membangun dan mengubah otoritas agama melalui lingkungan masjid dan ruang kelas. Ini mengungkapkan bahwa otoritas ulama perempuan tidak hanya berkaitan dengan penguasaan pengetahuan Islam klasik, tetapi juga dengan memaksimalkan penggunaan ruang publik 'agama' terbatas yang diwakili dalam halaqah masjid, tahap dakwah, dan produksi pengetahuan hybrid dalam lingkungan kelas.

Kata Kunci: *Mediasi, Ulama Perempuan, Otoritas Agama, Ruang publik terbatas*

Introduction

The position of women is relatively marginal both in socio-political life and religious texts. However, current phenomena reflect quite

different descriptions. Women in various parts of the world have emerged as actors of speaker for Islam (*dai*), teachers, academia, and *ulama* (religious scholars). While men monopolize Islamic



leadership in the period of Islamic history, the numbers of women appearing as religious leaders have increased in almost all parts of the world since the last thirty years (Bano and Kalmbach).¹ In the global context, several examples can represent changes in a pejorative term addressed to subsidiary role of women. The political role of women has shown significant examples as a leader such as Margaret Thatcher (UK), Benazir Buttho (Pakistan), Corazon Aquino (Philippines), Kolinda Grabar Kitarovic (Croatia), Halimah Yacob (Singapore) and Megawati (Indonesia). In contrast, women's roles as an authoritative person to interpret religion have not been much exposed. In the case of Indonesia, male scholars still dominate religious authorities, especially in the *pesantren*. This paper argues that being an *ulama* (a muslim scholar) in the *pesantren* is not only limited to the mastery of classical Islamic knowledge such as *fiqh*, *hadith*, *qur'anic interpretation*, and *Arabic language* but also how to use a limited Islamic public sphere as the stage of religious authority.

In Indonesia, women have the experience of establishing and working in socio-religious roles, including as religious leaders, speaker of religious texts, *muballigah* (Islamic preachers) and lecturers. Although there have been many Islamic boarding schools spread throughout the province, the numbers of female *ulama* do not increase significantly, except to name some of them such as Zakiyah Drajat and Huzaimah T. Yanggo. This is particularly alarming how this crucial issue related to the reproduction of female *ulama* has to be taken into account. In line with the empowerment of women at all levels, socio-religious roles of women become essential especially related to government policy towards the reproduction of female *ulama*. First, the release of government policy on the recognition of Ma'had Ali's

¹This include specifically in the Middle East, North-East-West and South Africa, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, East Asia, Europe, and North America. See, Masooda Bano dan Hilary Kalmbach, 'Women, Leadership and Mosque', dalam Margot Bardan dan Valentine Moghadam, *Women and Gender: The Middle East and Islamic World*, Volume 11 (Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2012).

educations through Ministry of Religious Affairs Regulation Number 71/2015 is progressive. Second, a number of workshops, seminars, and international conferences are conducted to strengthen and buttress the role of women in public space. Therefore, the International Conference of Female *Ulama* conducted in April 25, 2017 in Cirebon West Java demonstrated an essential development of female *ulama* in contemporary Indonesian. The conference was participated by approximately 1270 from diverse background of educated women, *ulama*, lecturers and researchers. One of some particular attentions addressed in this conference was the need for reinvention and revitalization of Islamic tradition within the *pesantren*.

There are only few studies that examine the actors of religious authorities in the *pesantren* especially using mediation frame especially among female scholars. In general, studies under religious mediatization approaches commonly show how tv-newspapers and new media influence religion, politics and culture. For example, the birth of new authority has resulted from information technology through the internet (Herring, 2005)², and the threat of media has an impact to traditional authority structures of religion and the state (Nabil Echchaibi 2011; Nawawi and Khamis 2012; Baavur, 2007; and Mahdawi, 2007).³ Unlike the previous studies focus much on the influence of modern and new social media toward authority, the present study will enrich literatures of contemporary studies on female *ulama* agency

²D. Herring, 'Virtual as Contextual: A Net News Theology', in I. Dawson and D. Cowan (editor), *Religion and Cyberspace*, (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 149-165.

³Nabil Echchaibi, 'From Audio Tapes to Video Blogs: The Delocalisation of Authority in Islam' in *Nations and Nationalism*, 17:1 (2011), h. 25-44; Muhammed El-Nawawy dan Sahar Khamis, 'Divergent Identities in the Virtual Islamic Public Sphere: A Case Study of the English Discussion Forum Islamonline,' dalam *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*, 5:1 (2012); Liora Hindelman Baavur, 'Promises and Perils of Weblogistan: Online Personal Journals and the Islamic Republic of Iran,' in *MERLA: The Middle East Review of International Affairs*, (June 2007); Pardis Mahdawi, 'Meeting, Mating and Cheating Online in Iran,' *ISIM Review*, 19 (2007).



based pesantren in mediating religious authorities by using religious public spaces.

The establishment of ma'had alis within pesantren all over Indonesia aims at responding to continuity of and change of the *pesantren* tradition. After the release of regulation number 71/2015 by Mora, the ma'had alis transform to a formal Islamic higher education from informal education which emphasize on the field of classical Islamic knowledge by using '*Kitab Kuning*'.⁴ Learning processes through formal and informal education likely allow them to maintain its tradition and to continue changes. This learning tradition of *kitab kunings*, which are taught through formal class and informal *halaqah*, can create an academic horizon within the *pesantren*. The female santri can build up their knowledge, good deeds, ustadz-santri relations, and networks. Therefore, academic tradition has long become an inseparable nature of the *pesantren* in which female *santri* can pursue and build their excellence. Apart from this academic tradition, there are some others including sophistic and *qur'anic* memorizing tradition.

Another reason for the establishment of Mahad Aly is to provide graduates who are experts in the field of Islamic studies, female *santri* included. Ma'had Ali As'adiyah is expected to deal with the shortage of female *ulama* in cotemporary Indonesia. In the context of Buginese society, scarcity of female *ulama* is no exception. Since its establishment, only few of female *ulama* are noted. Unlike female *santri* have increased significantly, female *ulama* remain rare throughout the year. Therefore, this ma'had opens a great opportunity for *female* santri to achieve one of these selected goals.

The present article explores religious authority within the context of Ma'had Ali As'adiyah in Sengkang-South Sulawesi. This article focuses on female *ulamas* who studied at Ma'had Ali by

⁴This '*kitab kuning*' may refers to color of the kitab pages used as a reference to classical Islamic knowledge in pesantren such as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *hadith* (*prophetic tradition*), *tafsir* (Qur'anic interpretation) and *sirah* (historical life of Muhammad).

emphasizing on two research questions. *First*, how did female *ulama* obtain, create and transform religious authority?. *Second*, how did female *ulama* use a limited Islamic public sphere related to the formation of religious authority?. This research was conducted due to the fact that Ma'had Ali As'adiyah is one of the oldest formal educations in Eastern part of Indonesia which has long been existed since in 1928. The structure of this article will be divided into three parts. First, this article will describe about the related literature of the female *ulama* in the *pesantren* context. Second, this paper will explore on how religious authority is formed and transformed by female *ulama*. Third, this paper will analyze how they treat a limited Islamic public sphere as a crucial part of religious authority formation.

Review of Related Literatures

A number of studies on female *ulama*, *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), and Islamic education institutions are quite positive. Although such studies have not attracted many social scientists to conduct research, some studies contribute a significant works. The study about female agency, tradition and culture can be varied from one to another such as tradition and local culture's influence on the role of the Nyai (Eka Srimulyani)⁵, sifting role of nyai from domestic to public (Isti Roidah)⁶, support to women through social Islamic organizations (Lelly Qodariah)⁷, power relations with gender-based labor division (Sofiah Hermanson),⁸ the nexus of scholars to

⁵Eka Srimulyani, 'Nyai dan Umi dalam Tradisi Pesantren di Jawa dan di Aceh: Achieved and Derivated Power,' in *Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya*, Volume 11, Nomor 1, 2009.

⁶Isti Roidah, 'Pergeseran Peran Nyai dalam Pondok Pesantren Nurul Ummah Kota Gede Ypgyakarta,' in *Skrpsi*, Yogyakarta, 2014.

⁷Lelly Qodariah, 'Aisiyah Organization and Social Change for Women,' in *Journal of Education and Practice*, Volume 7, Number 24, 2016.

⁸Sofiah Hermanson, 'Gendered Work and Power Relation in Indonesian NGOs: a Qualitative Study from Two Organizations in Java,'



political power (Martin van Bruinessen)⁹, ethic-morality in media penetration and audience resistance (Arshad Ali, et al)¹⁰, religion and power transformation of Javanese women (Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi),¹¹ Fatayat NU's role in strengthening civil society and politics (Monika Arnez)¹², mosque, Islamic organization and democratization room of the religious authorities (Jeanette S. Jouli and Schirin Amir Moazami)¹³, association of women autonomy with religious affiliations and agencies (Victor Agadjanian and Scott T. Yakibu)¹⁴. In contrast to previous academic studies, this paper will explore how female *santri* has acted to obtain, create and transform religious authorities by maximizing the use of limited religious public spaces.

Theoretical Framework

1. Religious Mediation and Mediation

Religious conduct and representatives seem more massive in the last decade in Indonesia, especially after the emergence of reformation or after the fall of the New Order (1998). Religion symbols and representation can be easily seen in public spaces. The emergence of multi-faces of religion is due to media representation toward religion, including tv, news media, entertainment, and new media such as the internet and social

media. In line with an improvement in public sphere, more people can participate and play role in many religious events which are eventually to support religious revival and to fade secularization idea in particular. Peter Berger (1999), even as a supporter of secularization theory, affirms that the world is increasingly religious as before the world represented as angry religious as it was, even in some places are more religious.¹⁵

While this study does not specifically examine media representation toward religious authority in the social context of Buginess pesantren in South Sulawesi, this paper will explore mechanism where female actors of the pesantren As'adiyah Sengkang-South Sulawesi play an active role in the making and transforming of religious authority. By using Meyrowitz's perspective on the metaphorical function of the media¹⁶, the present study will pay a particular attention in which female actors of the *pesantren* play three functions: channels-vessel, language and environment. Pesantrens have long played a crucial role in education and religious community as an integral element of civil society. The As'adiyah is no exception as its contributions to the development of Islamic education in Indonesia have been existed since 1928 and served as one of the most important centers of Islamic studies in of Southeast Asia in the 20th century.

2. Metaphorical role of media

This study uses media logic framework initiated by Meyrowitz (1986), then developed by Stig Hjarvard. There are three metaphorical roles of media that function as channels, language, and environment. *First*, as a channel, media becomes

⁹Marin van Bruinessen, 'Indonesia's Ulama and Politics: Caught Between Legitimizing the Status Quo and Searching for Alternatives,' in *Prisma: the Indonesian Indicator*, No. 49, 1990.

¹⁰Arshad Ali, et al. 'Socio-Ethical Impact of Turkish Drama on Educated Females of Gujranwala-Pakistan,' in *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2015.

¹¹Kurniawan Hastuti Dewi, 'Javanese Women and Islam: Identity Formation since The Twentieth Century,' in *Southeast Asian Studies*, Volume 1, Number 1, 2012.

¹²Monika Arnez, 'Empowering Women Trought Islam: Fatayat NU Between Tradition and Change,' in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Volume 21, Number 1, 2010.

¹³Jeanette S. Jouli dan Schirin Amir Moazami, 'Knowledge, Empowerment, and Religious Authority Among Pious Muslim Women in France and Germany,' in *The Muslim World*, Volume 96, 2006.

¹⁴Victor Agadjanian dan Scott T. Yakibu, 'Religious Belonging, Religious Agency, and Women Autonomy in Mozambique,' in *Journal Science Study Religion*, Volume 54, Number 3, 2015. See also, Victor Agadjanian, 'Women's Religious Authority in a Sub-Saharan Setting: Dialectics of Empowerment and Dependency,' Volume 29, Number 6, 2015.

¹⁵Stig Hjarvard, "Mediatization and the Changing Authority of Religion," in *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol. 38 (1): 6-17, 2016.

¹⁶Joshua Meyrowiz, *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behavior* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). See also, S. Hjarvard, 'Three Forms of Mediatized Religion: Changing the Public Face of Religion', in S. Hjarvard dan M. Lovheim (eds) *Mediatized and Religion: Nordic Perspective*, Goteborg: Nordicom, 2012.



an important source of information and experience related to religious issues. In this context, the media institutionalizes religious texts which in many ways media uses religious institutions, religious elements and even 'civil religions' that are combined with new ways. For example, religion is usually described in journalism works through a framework of secular society, entertainment and popular culture. In this case, the media prepares the "banal religion" background in society. Banal religion can be understood as a virtual element of religious teachings that have been mixed with cultural and traditional innovations.¹⁷ It could be that 'banal religion' here can be called '*bid'ab* innovative'.

Second, media as a language refers to the production of religious messages, but also formation of religion in different ways through popular culture such as TV's reality shows, religious cinematography and film and religious tourism. However, popular culture is considered vulnerable to lead people more individual and consumerist in religion. This role allows people to express religious feelings and ideas in various ways that religious institutions usually do not have.¹⁸ This role allows them to create, messages values and *ummah-ulama* networks by adapting religious expressions.¹⁹

Third, the role of media as an environment enable it contributes to generate and change social relations in communities. The position of media is essential for the wider communities that make a mechanism for social transitions to national level from local, prepare moral guidelines, emotional therapy, and entertainment in crisis situations. To be more specific, media

takes over social roles and religious institutions such as church, but in the context of secular discourse. Meanwhile, media promotes a new form of '*worship*' through celebrity and fun culture.²⁰ Not only does environment create interaction and communication among people, but also provide a broad space where these encompass and entail economic, religious and political matters.²¹

3. Religious Authority

Religious authority is a key concept in religious studies because it raises big questions about who has the right to interpret religious texts and apply them to people's lives. In the context of Muslim societies, the influence of religious leaders, their views and teachings spread even beyond religious boundaries, and the impact on economic, social and political activities became important to know. This study borrows Max Weber's typology of authority which is divided into three categories, namely legal authority (traditional rational authority), traditional authority, and charismatic authority. This typology makes it easier for researchers to the extent that the Bugis Islamic boarding school actors describe the typology of the authority they have.

First, traditional authority, namely the authority that has validity based on the sanctity of a particular tradition that is maintained and passed down from generation to generation. This authority is a tradition based on customs that has long been practiced and continues to live the traditions of the people. Traditional authority is usually justified by religious traditions. For example, the existence of the Bugis-Makassar king in the early 14th century became a figure obeyed because it gained legitimacy as a saint (Tau Manurung) or a saint (Tau Rilangi) who came from the sky. The personification can also be found in medieval European kings and the

¹⁷Stig Hjarvard, 'Three Forms of Mediatized Religion: Changing the Public Face of Religion,' dalam *Mediatization and Religion*, (University of Copenhagen, 2012), h. 26-27; see also, Stig Hjarvard, 'Mediatization and Changing Authority of Religion,' in *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol. 38:1, 2016, p. 10-17

¹⁸Stig Hjarvard, 'Three Forms of Mediatized Religion', p. 27.

¹⁹Stig Hjarvard, 'Mediatization and Changing Authority of Religion,' p. 12.

²⁰Stig Hjarvard, 'Three Forms of Mediatized Religion', p. 27;.

²¹Stig Hjarvard, 'Mediatization and Changing Authority of Religion,' p. 13.



Japanese emperors who were installed as God's representatives on earth. In the world of pesantren, ulama / kiyai authority is one of them derived from a value system that has become a culture and tradition. The uniqueness of the sub culture that is owned by the pesantren world greatly enables the *ulama* or *kiyai* and teachers (ustads) to get their traditional authority. In the broader context, non-formal leaders such as kings, queens, chiefs, and religious leaders also obtain traditional authority.

Second, charismatic authority is a typology of authority based on the recognition of followers in the privilege, quality and superiority of a leader. The term charisma is described sociologically by Weber, namely as an acknowledgment by followers of a leader who will be privileged. In addition, charismatic authorities are found in leaders who have a vision and mission that can inspire people. Charismatic authorities are found in a leader whose mission and vision inspires others. This is based on the extraordinary characteristics felt by individuals. Weber saw a charismatic leader as the leader of a new social movement that had supernatural powers, like a prophet. Riesebrodt argues that Weber also considers the charisma authority to play a strong role if it is inseparable in the traditional authority system.

Eply's elaboration of the charismatic framework of Schweitzer's authority is useful in mapping the relationship between scholars and charismatic leaders on four criteria. First, supernatural. The source of the ulama's faithfulness is recognized by the people as his followers, but his position is not above God. People can feel obedience to follow scholars because of their special abilities and extensive knowledge of Islam. Second, natural. There is a communal bound between ulama and the ummah, but how it is built becomes an interesting question. A special study is needed to assess and assess the special abilities and magnetic capacities of a cleric. People follow ulema and religious leaders for several reasons, namely ecstasy, euphoria, resentment, and political passion. People's trust in

ulama arises because of the natural abilities possessed by religious leaders or other factors. Third, mission and message. For scholars, the mission comes from religious doctrines namely al-Qura'n and Hadith. The duty of religious leaders and people to worship in accordance with the teachings of the Qur'an in the social life. However, the methods and methods of implementing the mission are subject to debate. Fourth, revolution. The revolution referred to here is not in the context of tensions and religious rebellion, although traces of historical change have been found from the transformation of Hinduism, Buddhism to Islam. In a more current context, revolution refers to the existence of a minority of scholars who carry the idea of 'Islamic state', so the revolution is not in the context of religion, but politics.

Third, the legal authority (Legal-Rational Authority). This authority model is the granting of authority or authority originating from law or regulation. This authority model tends to prioritize political and economic bureaucracy. This kind of leadership model is usually applied in modern countries or in cities, legal entities are either private or unionized. However, it does not rule out the possibility of the bureaucratic structure being led by someone who has charismatics so that the results or achievements are quite different and flexible.

Legal authority is reinforced by formalistic beliefs about the content of law (law) or natural law (rationality). Obedience is not given to certain individual leaders either traditional or charismatic, but a uniform set of principles. According to Weber, the best example of legal-rational authority is political or economic bureaucracy. This form of authority is often found in modern countries, city governments, private and public companies, and various voluntary associations. Actually, Weber stated that "the development of the modern state is indeed synonymous with modern traditions and bureaucratic organizations as well as the development of modern capitalism are



synonymous with increasing bureaucratization of economic enterprises.

a. Legitimation

Legitimacy comes from the Latin "lex" which means law. The word 'legitimacy' can be regarded as identical with word legality and legal. So, legitimacy is closely related to community verification of a leader or religious figure as the holder of authority. To understanding the meaning of legitimacy, Eickelmen and Piscatori in Hilary Kalmbach define it as follow:

'Holders of authority are seen as legitimate leaders of their communities, and these communities recognize this legitimacy by choosing to comply with their demands. While one can be coerced into complying with the demands of an individual in a position of power, an authoritative relationship involves followers recognizing the leader as legitimate.

The religious elite as holder of authority is seen as a legitimate leader for the community. This community recognizes this legitimacy by choosing to obey demands and policies of the religious elite. In addition, a person can be forced to obey someone who has a power position. Legitimacy is a concept related to attitudes, justifications and public recognition of the authority of a leader. Society accepts and recognizes moral rights of leaders to implement political decisions that bind the public or not. If community accepts moral rights of leaders to make decisions binding on the community, the autonomy of the religious elite is categorized as legitimate.

Ramlan Subakti explained that legitimacy was based on the principle of recognition and public support for the government. This legitimacy is grouped into five types. First, traditional enables the community to give recognition and support to government leader because this leader is descendant of "noble person" leaders who are believed to lead the community. Second, Ideological legitimacy is characterized by supports given by the community to government leaders because these leaders are considered as interpreters of ideology. This ideology meant here is not only doctrinal like communism,

but also pragmatic ones such as liberalism and Pancasila's ideology. *Third*, personal quality is legitimacy which enables the community to recognize and supports the government because the leader has a quality of personal charismatic and appearance and brilliant achievements in certain fields. *Fourth*, procedural is a type of legitimacy in which the community gives recognition and support to the government because their leader gets authority based on the procedures stipulated in the legislation. *Fifth*, instrumental is a mode of legitimacy which the community gives a recognition and support to the government because the leader promises material welfare (instrumental) to the community. Apparently, the case of Kanjeng Taat Pribadi was an example of instrumental legitimacy of everyday social context. From this point, to gain a functional legitimacy, a religious leader has to obtain at least five objects of legitimacy support originated from Muslim communities as followers, religious doctrines, social religious institutions such as NU-Muh, religious elite, and policies.

Genealogy and Knowledge Transmission

Religious authority in the context of Muslim societies is often related to how genealogies and Islamic knowledge are obtained from authoritative *ulama*. Therefore, personal networks and institution of learning has played a key role in the production of authority and leadership in the contemporary era and era of Islamic history until today. To be more specific, the transmission of knowledge personally (*person to person*) marks the importance of chain of transmission. Methods of knowledge can be transmitted through oral traditions, knowledge of *ulama* and practices or mysticism from Sufi teachers. At a high level, the transmission of knowledge is often accompanied by a *syabadab*, a kind of recognition to test Islamic knowledge or fulfill special roles as *alim*, *mufti*, *qadi* and even *sufi syeikh*. In the context of the legitimacy of authority, mastering of a qualified knowledge of Islam is not enough, but it must be acknowledged



by others that he is deserved to that position. This is significantly to support the necessity role of *ijazah* and chain of knowledge as a form of legitimacy. The location of learning institution has also played a vital role for long time ago of the formation of good behavior and attitudes. Mosque and *madrasah* are institutional platforms where religious elites demonstrate, transmit knowledge and build authority. At the international level, mosques and learning institutions such as al-Azhar University in Egypt, Ibn Saud University in Mecca, and several other places are the places where authoritative *ulama* spread out their knowledge and become source of Islamic authority for their students. Similarly, some mosques in Sengkang-South Sulawesi have such roles of knowledge transmission: Ummul Qura Mosque (Sengkang), Jami' Mosque (MT's As'adiyah), al-Ikhlash' Mosque (Madrasah Aliyah), and Nur al-Ilmi Mosque (Ma'had Ali Sengkang) are the places where religious authority is created. So, mosques are not only as buildings of physical spaces, but also institutions that bring significant religious power and authority to *santris*.

Religious authority in Muslim societies has to do with Islamic knowledge in which the holy Qur'an and Hadith are its main source. Knowledge in Islam can be divided into two categories: theoretical that can be obtained through learning process and practical that can only be obtained through practical knowledge through the Sufis. In line with the development of Muslim scholarship, *ulama* developed some methods of transmission and assessment to understand and interpret the main source of Islam suited to situation and social practice of religion which in the end was united in the Islamic school of jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Mastering the religious texts and methods and applying one or two schools requires several years of study under the guidance of a great *ulama*. The respect to some forms of knowledge has significantly changed in the modern period, although the tradition of knowledge remains important. This condition is characterized by Kramer and Schmidtke as a legitimizing strategy that is the emergence of a tendency among scholars,

sufis and the general public to refer to normative and authoritative traditions to justify their thinking. The reformist argument in the early 20th century emphasized that contemporary interpretations of Islam must be based on the holy Qur'an dan Hadith. The history of the past remains important and fundamental not only for the discourse of legitimacy of religious practices by contemporary *ulama*, but also for new scholars in the religious field. Meanwhile, science in the context of Sufism such as '*ma'rifa*' has the same basic meaning as knowledge. Sufis as an actors of this knowledge model, under the guidance of a *syekh* (leader) or *mursyid* (sufi teacher) have practiced continuous spirituality to help their disciples gain knowledge about Islam in general and how to approach to God in particular. Sufi spiritual knowledge in general is considered to be less supported by the text (al-Qur'an and Hadith), because its more concentration on knowledge and experience is internal, individual and invisible (invisible). On the other hand, it must be remembered that *sufi* practices also originate from the Qur'an and Hadith. Another key concept in sufi tradition is *barakah* (blessing), which is often associated with a teacher or *mursyid* (sufi master) either alive or after death. Blessings can be transmitted through descent, and substitute caliph (next successor).

DISCUSSION AND EXPLANATION

1. Mediated religious authority

In the context of research, this study borrows Max Weber's typology of authority which is divided into three categories; legal or rational, traditional and charismatic. Using this typology is very essential in seeing how the practice of mediation by female *satri* Ma'had Ali Sengkang in obtaining, building and anforming religious authorities. All three typologies by Weber can be found in the way *santrivati* form their authority. Genealogy aspects both blood and knowledge networks can still be traced. For example, a *santri* who has a family link to the *kiyai* will get some privileges but only limited for things that is not going to disregarding other *santris*.



First, traditional authority is a power with a validity based on the sanctity of a particular tradition that is maintained and passed down from generation to generation. This based on customs practiced and continued to live the traditions of the people. This authority is usually justified by religious traditions. For example, the existence of the Bugis-Makassar king in the early 14th century became a figure obeyed because it gained legitimacy as a saint (*Tau Manurung*) or (*Tau Rilang*). Such personification can also be found in medieval European kings and the Japanese emperors who were installed as God's representatives on earth. In *pesantren*, ulama/kiyai gain authority from a value system that has become a culture and tradition. The uniqueness of the sub culture of *pesantren* owned by the pesantren greatly enables the ulema/kiyai and ustads to get their traditional authority. In the broader context, non-formal leaders such as kings, queens, chiefs, and religious leaders also obtain a traditional authority.

Traditional authority among santris does not seemingly escape from this typology. There is an agreed value upon by a particular community. For example, kissing hands to the teacher or *tabarruk* (taking blessings) to ustadz, learning *halaqah* (study circle), recitations and studying of classical books (*kitab kuning*), building scientific networks with *pesantren's* teachers are living traditions of how santri not only subject to tradition, but also at the same time to keep and create the tradition. *Ulama* and other teachers get traditional legitimacy or authority that is accepted as taken for granted. The relationship between female santri and ustadz and kiyais in Ma'ad 'Ali As'adiyah appears to be in contrast. While ustadz communicate without burdens and are more fluid, female santri seem relatively stiff and seem to maintain a positive image as female *santri*. In this regard, some people claim that such interaction within pesantren reflects of subordination to female *santri*. At first glance, the claim seems true. However, there is something missing from that claim that such tradition of kissing hand is a part of learning mechanism for *santrivati* to get blessings from *ustadz*. The

mechanism is designed in order to foster character and *ahlakul karimah*, patience, and sincerity. The term '*tabarruk*' is a diction that dominates the lives of santri in general. The polite and respectful attitude of the female *santri* as seen in the daily life cycle in Ma'ad Ali As'adiyah, demonstrate a manifestation of getting blessings from the *ustadz*.

The tradition is actually formed not only by religious teachers, but also by the *santri* community in particular. Loyalty to the tradition will always be a common goal. It is not easy to make changes and innovations especially if these innovations can threaten the existing of *pesantren* traditions. Although the female santri in Ma'had 'Ali Senggang are loyal supporters of the *pesantren* tradition, this does not mean they do not accept changes and do not innovate. The lives of female *santri* in general are no different from that of female students in other schools. It's just that *pesantren* santri apply and maintain the sub-cultures which differ from others. For example, the tradition of kissing hand and *halaqah* is a form of the uniqueness of *santri's* live. It is true that the spread of modern products gave new color to the lives of female santri. In contrast to female *satri* at senior high school of *madrasah*, college students have a high degree of autonomy. They are relatively free to use mobile phones (hand phones), which are considered as having a negative influence on the *santri's* live. This can be regarded as changes that were previously prohibited by the *ustadz* in the *santri's* environment. Nevertheless, there are changes accepted in certain contexts which are considered not to endanger the sustainability of traditions. As long as the change can still be controlled in a positive direction, innovation can be accepted. Basically, innovation and change are not anti-thesis of culture.

Traditional authority for female *santri* can be traced in familial genealogy and knowledge networks. The influence of these two aspects can be seen in Islamic preaching activities and teaching of religion in public schools and *madrasah*. The big name of As'adiyah has been inherited from the founder of *Anregurutta* H.M. As'ad and became a



source of authority and legitimacy. The Bugis muslim communities, in general Bone, Soppeng and Wajo, have received santri and alumni from the As'adiyah both as lecturers and teachers. In the line of family and network kinship, intellectual chain of *ulama* became a source of traditional authority as defined by Weber. This model of authority seems to be inherent in As'adiyah santri and therefore the Bugis community provides a special position for the As'adiyah *santris*. This can be seen via interviews with one of Ma'had's santriwati 'Ali Sengkang, as follows:

'I am a santri of Ma'had' Ali As'adiyah who often gets preferential treatment from muslim communities in this area, namely Belawa district. Belawa is known for its commitment to religious community. Belawa is known as the storehouse of *ulama* of Bugis. Many of the great *ulamas* in the Bugis, especially in South Sulawesi were born from this region. For example, *Anregurutta* H.M. Yunus Maratan, H. Abdullah Maratan, H. Abdul Malik, H. Abdurrahman Musa, and Rafi' Yunus Maratan and the like. As a santri of ma'had 'ali, I got benefits and facilities while carrying out my duties as an Islamic preacher in Belawa sub-district'

In the *pesantren* tradition, in many aspects between *ustadz-santri* (teacher-pupil), their relationship did not appear to be equal. The *santri* community is still taken for granted. For Weber, traditional authority is considered as a space of inequality that is deliberately maintained for the sake of the permanence of authority. For most socio-political organizations, Weber's claim can find justification. Most social political organizations use a soft dictatorship to build power. For instance, certain political parties are owned by certain groups who inherit authority from generation to generation. Some *pesantren* also do not escape the same practices. In general, *pesantren* in Java and Madura were developed as kiyai's property or at least owned by certain families, such as in Tebu Ireng *pesantren* in East Java, Al-Hikmah in Jakarta, and Gontor Modern *pesantren* in East Java. But in *pesantren*, traditional authority is not always associated with emerging and supported by values connected with

religious texts. Teacher-student relations such as *tawadhu*, mutual respect such as *tabarruk* and the mechanism of searching for knowledge can be justified within Islamic teachings. Thus, it is rather difficult to justify Weber's suspicion that traditional authorities were deliberately created to perpetuate authority in the hands of certain *ulamas*. Therefore, traditional authority gained by female santri in Ma'had 'Ali As'adiyah indebted to the value of religious texts which strengthened it through family kinship lines and networks of the *ulamas*.

Second, charismatic authority is a typology that relies on the recognition of followers toward the privilege, quality and superiority of a leader. The term charisma is described sociologically by Weber as a follower's acknowledgment of the privilege of a leader which is found in the vision and mission of leaders who can inspire people. This is based on the extraordinary characteristics felt by individuals. For Weber, a charismatic leader is a leader of a new social movement who has supernatural powers such as a prophet. Riesebrodt argues that Weber also considers the charismatic authority to play a strong role if it is inseparable in the traditional authority system. In the *pesantren* tradition, this charisma can be born and formed through the quality of knowledge, superiority of noble character and certain privileges, usually related to Sufism and supernatural things. In such authority, the *ulamas* and teachers in the ma'had 'ali As'adiyah built many of initial foundations of the charismatic aspect.

Building the quality of religious knowledge based especially on *kitab kuning* has generally been passed through by female students, especially those who held the title of *ulama*, such as *Anregurutta* Hj. Aminah and H. Nurung, Hj. Siti Rabiyyah, and Kartini, and some others. *Anregurutta* profile of Nurung whose religious knowledge lineage even reached the first founder, *Anregurutta* H.M. As'ad. She was the first student from among women at the beginning of the As'adiyah. She has devoted her entire of life teaching in *pesantren* As'adiyah. Although she did not teach at ma'had ali due to age and health consideration, almost all *As'adiyah* female



students had ever studied with her. *Anregurutta* Nurung represents a prolific female *ulama* who produced works in As'adiyah pesantren. Among her several works include *qosidah* arabiyah poetry, khulashah qawaid al-lughah arabiyah accompanied by Bugis language translations, and Bugis religious songs. While still studying, she studied directly from *Anregurutta* H.M. As'ad and several of his teachers namely *Anregurutta* Yunus Maratan, H. Daud Ismail, H. Abduh Pabbaja, H. Hamzah Manguluang, H. Hamzah Badawi, H. Abdullah Maratan, and some others. She is quite complete, besides taking an informal education on *halaqah* circle's studies, she also completed her education through a formal pathway starting from *madrasah ibtida'iyah* (basic education), *madrasah tsanawiyah* (junior high school), *madrasah aliyah* (senior high school) and university level.

Another figure of female *ulama* in As'adiyah pesantren is *Anregurutta* Aminah Adnan. Unlike Hj. Nurung, Aminah Adnan did not have time to study directly from *Anregurutta* H.M. As'ad. However, almost all prominent *ulamas* of As'adiyah, the early students of H.M. As'ad, were her teachers. She studied *kitab kuning* through *halaqah* learning circle, or *mangaji tudang* (Bugis term for *halaqah* in which *mangaji* means studying and *tudang* means sitting). The process of *halaqah* is carried out in several mosques that involved a large number of *santris* sitting half circle in front of the *keiyai* or *ustadz*. At the beginning of its establishment, *halaqah* As'adiyah took place at Jami Mosque of Sengkang. However, along with an increase number of *santri* increased significantly in the 1980s, *halaqah* moved to Masjid Raya Wajo, Ummul Qura. *Anregurutta* Hj. Adnan was listed as one of the first pioneer of female *santris* of ma'had 'ali As'adiyah. She was at the same generation with *Anregurutta* Abunawas Bintang, H. Ilyas Salewe, H. M. Ali Pawellangi, H. Muhammad Hasan, and so on. The names of As'adiyah *ulamas* are the fourth generation after *Anregurutta* Daud

Ismail,²² She combines formal and informal education as well as education taken by *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung. Her role in religious organization was recorded as one of *ulama* members (MUI) of Wajo Regency. She was also involved in the education process in ma'had 'ali As'adiyah as a permanent lecturer by holding a course of *Jawahir al-Balagah*. In addition, she also gave a *halaqah* at the Jami Mosque of Sengkang. Both *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung and Hj. Adnan showed that charismatic authority would emerge in line with the capabilities and capacity in religious knowledge. Such capitals are obtained from *Kitab Kuning* tradition through both formal and non-formal levels where charismatic authorities can flourish.

In addition to mastery of religious knowledge (*tafaqquh fi al-din*), the source of charisma for *santri* is superiority of noble characters (*akhlak karimah*). The noble character of *santrivati* is an obligation. This moral capital is always the main goal of every level of education in As'adiyah. It is difficult to imagine a *pesantren* without nurturing noble characters. The *pesantren* tradition seeks to build three intelligences at the same time. The combination of intellectual, emotional and spiritual intelligence can be found within every *santri* activities. The live cycle of *santris* will reinforces this combination. This can be exemplified when the female *santri* are waking up early at 4.00 o'clock in the morning, and some even earlier around 3.30 o'clock. Some worship activities in earlier morning such as *tabajud* prayers, reading the holy Qur'an, and memorizing some verses of *Alfhyah* on Nahwu subjects. These are usually done individually. After that, students will usually conduct *subh* morning prayers in congregation then continue to doing *halaqah* study about *Kitab Kuning*. After the *halaqah* studies, they return to the rooms to prepare formal lessons in class. In the course of time, they carry out several activities that can build their noble characters will represent healthy and neat live styles, sincere to help, supporting each other of the female

²² *Anregurutta* H. Yunus Maratan, H. Ambo Dalle, H. Abdul Malik, H. Yusuf Surur, H. Abdul Muin Yusuf. and H. Hamzah Badawi and H. Hamzah Manguluang.



santris. Therefore, not only As'adiyah provides *santris* with religious knowledge, but also fosters noble characters from early ages.

Accumulation of competencies formed through formal classroom learning is a proposed goal of ma'had 'ali of As'adiyah. In this context, not only does female *santris* gain knowledge of Islam but also acquire psychomotor skills and the process of forming attitudes and morality (affective). Almost all *pesantren* activities lead to the formation of *akhlak karimah*. For example, memorizing of the holy Qur'an cultures have not only be understood as a method of gaining knowledge, but also can function as space and special environment for honesty, obedience, discipline and patience. For the case of Ma'had 'Ali As'adiyah, several adjustment occur drastically to tailor to some changes. The level of independence of female santri at the beginning of ma'had 'ali was relatively low. Almost all daily lives of female *santri* experience changes over the years starting from ways of learning, media used by religious teachers, fulfillment of daily needs, relations of *santri-ustadz*, and ways of communicating with the female santri. In the era of *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung and Hj Adnan, the *santri-ustadz* relations are not as relaxed now. Many things have to be considered to communicate with the *kiyai* in the *pesantren* at early time. The female *santri* should usually only to communicate an important things in front of *kiyai* and *ustadz*. These attitudes probably are designed to generate attitudes of *tawadhu* (low profile), *ta'dzim* to *ustadz* (respectful). This was explained by *Anregurutta* Adnan as follows:

In the past, when we studied, I still remembered at that time, as students we were very afraid of *ustadz* or teachers. For example, we would like to ask permission not to be present in class to get permission from *Anregurutta*. In addition, as *santris*, we usually avoided meeting face-to-face or live with *anregurutta*. There is a sense of reluctance and respect that emerge from within. If we are told to memorize verses al-Fiyah ibn Malik, then we are very obedient and try to memorize them for fear because the teachers will ask why the female *santri* cannot memorize the holy Qur'an. So, nurturing character or

akhlak karimah is planted in every learning process within the *pesantren*. In fact, *Anregurutta* emphasizes strongly on the formation of these noble qualities.

Eply's elaboration on the charismatic framework by Schweitzer's authority is useful in mapping the relationship between scholars and charismatic leaders based on four criteria. *First*, supernatural is the source of the *ulama's* faithfulness recognized by the people as their followers. But, position of *ulamas* is not above God. People can feel obedience to follow *ulamas* because of their special abilities and extensive knowledge of Islam. *Second*, natural is a communal bound between *ulama* and *ummah* (communities), but how it is built becomes a compelling question. A special study is needed to assess both special abilities and magnetic capacities of *ulamas*. People follow *ulamas* as a religious leader for several reasons: ecstasy, euphoria, resentment, and political passion. People's trust in *ulamas* arises because of the natural abilities of religious leaders or other factors. *Third*, mission and message in which comes from religious doctrines of al-Qura'n and Hadith. The roles of religious leaders and people are to worship in accordance with the teachings of both main Islamic sources. However, methods of implementing the missions are subject to debate. *Fourth*, revolution is understood not in the context of tensions and religious rebellion, although it is found that historical changes happened from the transformation of Hinduism, Buddhism to Islam. In the current context, revolution refers to the existence of a minority of scholars who carry the idea of 'Islamic state', so the revolution is not in the context of religion, but in politics.

Third, legal authority is a model granting of authority which is originated from law or regulation. This authority tends to prioritize political and economic bureaucracy which is usually applied in modern countries or cities. However, it does not rule out the possibility of the bureaucratic structure being led by someone who has charismatic so that the achievements are quite different and flexible. In the context of tradition in Ma'had 'Ali As'adiyah,



model of legal authority is only applied to formal organizational structure relations. Actually, without this model, the relationship between students and the *pesantren* community, especially the *kiyai* will not run well. A respectful culture of women has been formed long before they studied at the *pesantren*. It can be concluded that sometimes it is difficult to distinguish partially the authority model in *ulamas*. It seems that there are three authorities in one *ulama* at the same time and person such as traditional, charismatic and legal authorities. These three of authorities can be exemplified in *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung and Hj. Adnan.

2. Legitimacy

Religious elite as a holder of authority is seen as a legitimate leader for muslim community. This community recognizes their legitimacy by choosing to obey demands and policies by religious elite. A person can be forced to follow demands of someone who has power. Therefore, authoritative relationships always involve followers or ummah who recognize legitimacy of someone as a leader. So, the concept of legitimacy relates to attitudes, justifications and public recognition of authority of a leader. Society recognizes moral right of a leader to make and implement political decisions that bind public. If public recognizes moral rights of a leader to make decisions on society, autonomy of religious elites will be categorized as legitimate. Therefore, in the context of tradition of Ma'ad ad Ali As'adiyah, legitimacy of *ulamas* are closely related to the extent to which muslim societies widely recognize quality, ability and moral competencies of *ulamas* in the making of decisions. In this case, the decision of *ulamas* can be associated with production of *fatwas* (religious decision released regarding on certain issues), islamic preaching, lecturing *balaqah* of study circle, and even making of political decision on strategic issues. The ideal picture of female *ulamas* in As'adiyah seems not fully available, even though *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung, Hj Adnan, Hj. Rabiah and Kartini demonstrated an ideal figure of female *ulamas* in Buginese society.

Referred to the five types of legitimacy addressed by Ramlan Surbakti; traditional, ideological, personal qualities, procedural and instrumental, *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung, Hj. Adnan, Hj. Rabiah and Kartini have fulfill three typologies of legitimacy. *First*, this traditional legitimacy can be seen at the four female *ulamas* which have a kinship line with As'adiyah *ulamas*. Genealogy and family lines up to familial chain of *kiyai* are still important elements in the *pesantren* tradition. There is a socio-anthropological explanation that can illustrate the necessity of such chain. This line of familial kinship seeks certainty of blood relations with *kiyai* to get an authenticity of religious legitimacy and knowledge that has been inherited. *Second*, on an ideological legitimacy, they are considered as female *ulamas* who on certain side can interpret the primary texts of Qur'an and Hadith and the works of other *ulamas* through *kitab kuning*. With the knowledge competencies of these *kitab kuning*s, ideological legitimacy as an interpreter of certain schools can be owned. *Third*, legitimacy of personal quality of these *ulamas* can be seen from their qualities that at a certain level meet some criteria of to be called *ulama*. The first two female *ulamas* were alumni of the early period *balaqah* As'adiyah which the senior *kiyai* were the teaching teams. While the last two graduated from South Sulawesi *ulama* cadre of education and training (*Pendidikan Kader Ulama*). In this context, the quality of charisma is not always related to the mastery of Arabic knowledge and *Kitab Kuning*, but it also has much an association with the charisma of spirituality and morality. In the reference to characteristic to be called *ulama* in As'adiyah pesantren, one must have an accumulation of three competencies at once: mastery of religious knowledge (*tafaqquh fi al-din*), mastery of Arabic language or an ability to directly study *Kitab Kuning*, and having *akblaq karimah* (good deeds and characters). Ideally, they have to equip them with five criteria to get functional legitimacy.



3. **Knowledge: Network from the Haramyn to the West**

In line with the development of knowledge, ulama and muslim scholars developed methods of transmission, assessment, analysis, application of the main texts of Qur'an and Hadith to socio-religious context which converged by the schools of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). Mastering these methods and practicing one or more of schools of thought requires long years of study under the guidance of a number of *ulamas*. To get the legitimacy of muslim societies as 'ulama', it takes time and a process that is not short. The process of becoming an *ulama* in pesantren tradition is commonplace. For example, *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung dedicated herself as a female *ulama* figure who succeeded in gaining religious authority among As'adiyah's female *santris*. Something similar is reflected in *Anregurutta* Hj. Adnan, which took no less than 25 years to get the qualifications of female *ulama*, starting from *madrasah ibtidaiah* (basic education) *tsanawiyah* (junior high school), aliyah (senior high school) and higher education, *ma'had 'ali* (higher institution of Islamic studies) to postgraduate education.

Female *ulamas* in the Sengkang As'adiyah pesantren can be traced to three lines; early, transitional and contemporary of knowledge networks. This categorization is based on direct connection with the main student *Anregurutta* H.M. As'ad. For the initial period of network, the main teacher was associated with H.M. As'ad, then significantly contribute to early generation students, such as *Anregurutta* H. Daud Ismail (the first successor of H. M. As'ad), H.M. Yunus Maratan (second leader of As'adiyah). The transition period have begun from H.M. Yunus Maratan until at H. Abdul Malik. While the latest period was marked by the leadership of H. Abdul Rahman Musa until now led by H. M. Sagen. Two scholars of the As'adiyah pesantren; Hj. Nurung and Hj. Adnan were early students who gained a tradition of knowledge from the early period. While the other two names; Hj. Rabiah and Kartini are products of female ulama cadre from the transition period. This period is

called the transition period because the next student no longer studied directly with the main founder of As'adiyah *pesantren*. The reproduction of female ulama in the contemporary period has not been widely mentioned because As'adiyah students are generally still in the process of seeking legitimacy, transmission of knowledge and behavior.

The genealogy of the female *ulama* in As'adiyah pesantren can be traced to the beginning of the 20th century. In the 1920s, several recitations took place which in turn made Sengkang aa destination for religious studies. It is no exaggeration to say that As'adiyah is one of the centers of 20th century Islamic studies, especially in Eastern Indonesia. Some scholars of the early 20th century carried out *halaqah* such as H. Makkatu (Tosora, 1920), H. Maratang (Belawa, 1920), H. Abdul Aziz Gobe (Sengkang, 1910), H. Ambo Emme (Sengkang, 1910 -1920), H. Abdul Rahman (Belawa, 1926). Since the arrival of *Anregurutta* H.M. As'ad from Mecca in 1928, Sengkang turned into one of the centers of exclusion of 20th century Islamic education in Southeast Asia. He had a connection chain to two great *ulamas* in Mecca: Sheikh Muhammad Said al-Yamani and Sheikh Umar Hamdani. These two scholars connected H.M. As'ad with several main *kejiwai* of Java and Lombok, For example, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari (Jombang), Tuan Guru H. Zainuddin (Nahdlatul Wathan-Sumbawa), K.H. Ali Maksum (Remabang-Central Java), K.H. Zaini Mun'im (Probolinggo), K.H. Anwar Musaddad (Garut-West Java). In the context of the legitimacy of authority, having a knowledge of qualified Islam is not enough, but must be witnessed and acknowledged by others someone has mastered the knowledge. Here shows the importance of networks of knowledge among *ulamas* to get legitimacy.

Ma'had 'Ali As'adiyah developed a significant development of knowledge networks especially in the contemporary period. In this period, knowledge lineage does not only reach the tradition of Sunni based in Mecca and Egypt, but also its network to Western traditions. This western traditions of



knowledge in As'adiyah is under the guidance of *Anregurutta* Rafi Yunus Maratan. He relatively influence the dynamics and knowledge transmission process in ma'had 'ali. It cannot be denied that due to his higher education background which he completed his master and doctoral program in American continent (McGill University of Montreal Canada with a specialization in Islamic theology in 1976 and his doctoral education was the specificity of Ulum Al-Qur'an in the 1994 at Ann Arbor Michigan of the United States), this indicates that ma'had 'ali students are expected to become *ulama* who can later integrate the traditions of East and West. So, the transmission of knowledge personally marks the importance of chain of transmission.

4. Behavior: Akhlaq Karimah and Spirituality

Excellent character in the frame of *akhlaq karimah* becomes one of the essential characters of an *ulama*. The *akhlaq karimah* is a deciding factor to be called as an *ulama* besides mastering of religious knowledge and having Arabic language competency are high. Almost all *pesantren* traditions place noble character as an element that is not negotiable. In the tradition of As'adiyah *pesantren*, *ulamas* are identical with the height levels of *akhlaq karimah*. At every opportunity in *balaqab* in the mosque, most of the teaching contents in *Kitab Kuning* leads to the formation of morality. It can be mentioned that some of these books are *Irsbad al-Ibad*, *Riyad al-Shalihin*, *Bulugh al-Marom*, *Syarb al-Hikam*, *Fath al-Mu'in*, *Tafsir al-Jalalayn*, and some others. Almost all their explanations are directed to *akhlaq karimah* formation. More specifically to female *santri*, the emphasis on morality for them is quite strict. This is because women should take care of all their behaviors related to how to dress and communicate properly. Although many people consider that some of *Kitab Kunings* taught in *pesantren* have gender bias contents, having of *akhlaq karimah* by female *santris* is a compulsory condition that cannot be negotiated by a prospective *ulamas*.

Both *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung and Hj. Adanan assert that noble character is an absolute and mandatory requirement for prospective *ulama*. If the

elements of *pesantren* initiated by Dhofier are examined, these five elements will be directly related to how to build noble morality of the *santris*. Element of mosque, for example, represents how female *santri* should always have a connection to mosque as *baitullah* (house of God). Indeed, the 24 hours of *santri* lives should not be far from the access of mosque which is a crucial symbol to female *santri* activities. In addition, element of *balaqab* study circle of *Kitab Kuning* clearly illustrates that behaviors of female *santri* must be based on and refer to the teaching of *Kitab Kuning*. In an interview with *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung when responding to question toward *akhlaq karimah*. She explained that one of the essential characters have to possessed by female *santri* is honesty and avoidance of lying. Next, dormitory element provides an indication that this behavior must be practiced in a community where female *santri* live together. It can be said female *santri*, *kiyai*, mosque, *balaqab* of *kitab kuning*, and dormitories are elements of *pesantren* where female *santri* can explore and practice values within these elements and build moral virtue as a future candidate of *ulama*. Therefore, many ways that female *santri* may do to build these excellences such as emotional relationships with the *kiyai* through *silaturrahim* (visitation), being a housemaid at part time, *tabarruk* or getting blessing through kissing hands, and practicing of spirituality through *dzikirs* (remembrance of God).

The identity of an *ulama* is often associated with spiritual practices even though it is not revealed outwardly in front of the *santri*. Apart from *akhlaq karimah*, sufi practices and spiritual life among the *ulamas* is not something new. *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung has long been practicing sufi world through certain *dhikirs*. Despite living in sufi practices, she remained busy with teaching and sharing knowledge within *pesantren*. Although sufi practices are important, such kind of practices under the guidance of *murayid's* teacher are not popular in As'adiyah *pesantren*. This may be influenced by the attitude of *Anregurutta* H.M. As'ad who did not explicitly teach sufi practices to his *santris*.



Nevertheless, it can be seen from his students that he was pledged in Sanusiyah tradition in Medina. Basically, sufis lives cannot be ignored by a prospective *ulama*, including female santri of ma'had 'ali. Although some argued that spiritual knowledge is considered to be less supported by Qur'an and Hadith, it must be remembered that sufi practices also originate from Qur'an and Hadith. Just take an example, getting blessed is a key concept in sufi tradition which is often criticized. The concept of *tabarruk* is often associated within the relationship between *ustadz* and their female *santris*. Often this sufi practice is considered to be out of authentic religious practice.

Although there are reformist arguments affirming that contemporary interpretations of Islam must be based on original sources of texts, sufi practices still exist in the *pesantren* community. It is not surprising that many traditional practices of *pesantren* which are considered to be a source of *tabarruk* for santri. For instance, attending annual haul of *Anregurutta* H.M. As'ad, Yasinan and al-Waqiah's tradition, reading the book of Al-Barzanji, kissing hands, and so on could become a significant mechanism of getting blessing.

4. *Religion Public Space: Revitalization of Mosques and Social Environment 'Class'*

Public space as defined by Habermas is a social reality that provides space for all elements of society to exchange information and knowledge related to issues that are of public concern towards the creation of a common goal. In public spaces, every element of society is free to express opinions and free from censorship and domination. The use of Habermas' definition to see the extent to which female *ulama* in As'adiyah utilize limited religious public spaces to obtain, build and transform religious authorities.

1. Mosque: Credencial and Skill Strengthening

Mosque, as a space and place that mark religious activities, have long been an important arena for the transmission of Islamic knowledge and

the formation of excellent behavior of *akhlak karimah*. The mosque provides a space where the religious elite; *ulama*, and *ustadz* can demonstrate knowledge and build authority before ordinary people, followers or *santris* do. A number of mosques have a very significant role in the production of *ulamas* such as Cairo's al-Azhar University mosque in Egypt, Ibn Saud University's mosque in Mecca. At the local level, especially at the location of this research, Grand Mosque of Ummul Qura (Ma'had Ali-Sengkang), Jami mosque (MT's Putri-Sengkang), Masjid al-Ikhlas (MT's Putra-Sengkang), and Nur al-Ilmi mosque (Ma 'had Ali-Sengkang) are places where religious authority is mediated. So, mosque is not just a physical building, but a place that enables them to build religious authority. The development of mosque as a place for *halaqah* has marked an increase section in public attention towards Islamic education, more specifically the response to scarcity of female *ulamas*.

Although As'adiyah *pesantren* has developed several *halaqah* study circle over five locations, level of engagement of female *ulama* who teach in *halaqah* session is still limited. There are only three locations where female *ulamas* have an opportunity to teach: *halaqah* of Ma'had 'Ali and Jami' mosque which was addressed to madrasah tsanawiyah putri (MT's 1-2) and Hall mosque for madrasah aliyah students and formal diniyah education (MA-PDF). In this limited space. Since the 1980s, an idea has emerged to give a chance to senior *ulamas* to perform *halaqah* study circles at Mosque of Ummul Qura (Sengkang). However, female *ulamas* were not included in that program. This reasoning made sense since women have a monthly period that can prevent them from teaching at *halaqah* in mosque. Besides the reason for effectiveness, barriers of this patriarchal culture cannot be ignored. There is still an impression among Buginess that women as a second class who is created to manage a domestic tasks at home.

Structure of *halaqah* study circle can be seen in Mosque of Ummul Qura (Segkang) in the following examples. Kitab *Al-Mubazzab* is taught by *Anregurutta* H. Syaib Nawang, *Tafsir al-Jalabyn* by H.



Muhyiddin Tahir, *Riyad al-Shalihin* by H. Idman Salewe, *Bulug al-Mar'am* by H. Nurdin Maratang, *Sabih al-Bukhari* by H. Riyadi Hamdah, *Syarb al-Hikam* by H. Suyuti Gaffar, *Tamwir al-Qulub* by Muhammad Sagena, *Mauidzah al-Muminin* by Yusuf Razak, *Sunan Abi Dawud* by Muhyiddin Thahir, and *Fath al-Mu'in* by H. Nurdin Maratan.

The structure of the *halaqah* study circle at the Mosque of Nurul 'Ilmi (Ma'had Ali As'adiyah) as follows. The book of *al-Mubazzab* was taught by H. Syuaib Nawang, *Syarb Al-Hikam* by H. Syuaib Nawang, *Tafsir al-Jalabyn* by H. Muhammad Sagena, and H. Idman Salewe, *Mauidzah al-Mu'minin* by Idris Malik, *Riyad al-Shalihin* by Idman Salewe, *Tafsir Munir* by H. Muhyiddin Thahir, *Tamwir al-Qulub* by Muhammad Sagena, *Irsbad al-'Ibad* by H. Syuaib Nawang, *Fath al-Mu'in* by Nurdin Maratan, *Shahih al-Bukhari* by Hasmuliadi. From all teacher boards at the *halaqah*, none of female *ulamas* were involved in the process learning of *halaqah*. There is a big question mark that should be answered. Therefore, there are two reasons for that. *First*, there are limited number of female *ulama* in As'adiyah pesantren who can deliver *halaqah* of *kitab kuning* at the Jami 'Mosque (Sengkang). *Second*, mobility and high access by female *ulama* to utilize limited public sphere remain lower.

The mosque, besides being a place to build credibility and authority, can also function as a place for enriching religious skills. Preaching skills for female *ulama* are crucial. The ability to preaching becomes a supplement to become an authoritative position, even though it is not always automatic. For Ma'had 'Ali As'adiyah alumni, these religious skills are quite effective to distribute information and religious knowledge. For example, As'adiyah pesantren facilitates female *santris* to take a role in creating their skills through the tabligh program in Ramadhan which is arranged every year. Female *santris* have an opportunity to train themselves to deliver religious preaching during Ramadhan across districts and provinces. Only few female *santris* are ready to preach outside South Sulawesi such as in Central Sulawesi, Gorontalo, East Kalimantan,

North Kalimantan, Jambi, Riau, Papua, West Papua, and so on. Even though the opportunity has been widely open, the number of students who take part is not significant. Only a small proportion of female *santris* take advantage from this moment of Ramadhan. It seems that there are cultural and lack self-esteem among female *santris* which make this space of Ramadhan not utilized as well as possible. It can be concluded that the absence of female *ulamas* in a broad public arena is due to the existence of a pejorative view of women's abilities, weak self-confidence among women themselves, and in some cases female *ulamas* are not given a broad space to show their existence.

2. Revitalizing the classroom environment: Hybrid Knowledge Production

Kamaruddin Amin once expressed his optimism for the ma'had 'ali institution as an institution that received official recognition from the government around 2017.²³ He emphasized that *santris* in general have to take these three traditions into consideration. *First*, Sunni tradition represented by al-Azhar Cairo and several universities in Mecca and Medina. *Secondly*, Islamic tradition of Shia in Iran. *Third*, scientific traditions of the West such as Harvard University (America), McGill University (Canada), Cambridge and Oxford University (England). According to him, *santris* have to incorporate of these traditions by doing studies and research on religious studies, including Islamic studies as these traditions are actually far more developed in Western universities than that of in the Islamic world. For example, studies on Hadith can be found at Leiden University-Netherlands and Bonn University-Germany. Therefore, formal class ma'had 'ali As'adiyah should ideally be able to open up insights and broad opportunities for the students to create their credential and excellencies. There have been initiations in that direction, although the challenges still seem to be quite heavy. Islamic studies program at ma'had 'ali As'adiyah should

²³The directors of an Islamic religious education ministry at the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.



immediately take an initiative to move forward. For example, using foreign-language references in English, Arabic and Persian in the learning process may potentially lead to reproduction of female *ulamas*.

There are some *kitab*s taught in ma'had 'ali class including *al-Qawaid al-Asasiyah*, *al-Itqan*, *Ushul Fiqh*, *Ushul Hadith*, *Sirah al-Nabawi* (Ibn Kathir), *Ushul Tafsir*, *al-Tafsir al-Tablili*, *Tafsir al-Munir*, *Dirasah Kutub al-Tafsir*, *Tafsir wa al-Mufasssirun*, *al-'Arudh* (Ghani), *Hadis al-Abkam*, *Bulug al-Maram wa Syarhuhu*, *Qishas al-Qur'an*, *Mababis li Ulum al-Quran*, *Jawahir al-Balagah*, *Qawaid al-Tafsir*, *Tafsir al-Maudhuni*, *Hadis al-Maudhuni*, *Taubid*, *Aqidah al-Mu'min*, *Thariq Babs al-Tafsir*, *Tasawuf*, *Tamwir al-Qulub*, *Qiraah Sab'ah*, *Ilmu Mantiq*, *Nushus al-'Adabiyah*, *Qawaid al-Fiqhiyah* (G.Syuaib Nawang) and many others.

In general, learning process in ma'had 'ali As'adiyah is still conventional. Although some of teaching teams used discussion method, this learning style still seemed quite traditional. There are no recent innovations regarding *kitab kuning*, except discussion and question and answer methods during the teaching. Actually, many things can be done by female *santris* including doing transcripts and transferring languages from Bugis to Indonesian, Arabic and English. Transcripts of recordings from *halaqah* study circle at the center of may result in a number of commentary 'aliq (commentary) and *syarh* (explanations) of *kitab kuning* which are taught in the mosques. This can be a formal task for female *santris* to build hybrid knowledge among students. Ma'had 'ali in this case needs a qualified teaching experience with a hybrid learning experience so that spirit of the production of new knowledge can be passed on to the students. There are still many things need to be addressed, including providing a great opportunity for female education to participate in ma'had 'ali. Of many teaching staff in Ma'had 'Ali As'adiyah, there are only three female *ulamas* with *ulama* qualifications such as Anregurutta Hj. Adnan, Hj. Lamming, and Kartini Lahabe.

Since its early establishment of As'adiyah, *Anregurutta* H.M. As'ad has applied the tradition of

hybrid knowledge by combining curriculums of al-Falah-Meccah, where he graduated there, curriculum of Dar al-'Ulum and Al-Azhar Cairo-Egypt. His colleges were Sayyid Abdullah Dahlan Garut (Medina) and Sayyid Ahmad Afifi (Egypt) who helped him in the beginning years of As'adiyah. In addition to these curriculums, he also added some subjects such as Morals, *Faraid* Sciences, 'Arudh and some general sciences such as Geography, Biology, Natural Sciences, and Handasah. From this point, it can be stated that *Anregurutta* H.M. As'ad is very open and moderate in accepting changes. He has a far-reaching vision by including additional subjects both general and religious. Therefore, As'adiyah Sengkang has a positive precedent regarding with the tradition of hybrid knowledge since it was practiced directly by his founder.

Conclusion

Mediating religious authorities as practiced by As'adiyah's female *ulama* can be grouped into three categories: traditional, charismatic and legal, referred to Max Weber's polarization. More specifically, the process towards authoritative scholars is developed through three stages: process of legitimacy, knowledge and behaviors (*akhlak karimah*). In the process of legitimacy, female *santris* could be categorized as traditional, ideological and charismatic. These three forms of legitimacy can be found on one figure, *Anregurutta* Hj. Nurung and Hj. Adnan. In terms of knowledge, female students try to build knowledge networks through the intellectual chain and networks of *keiyas* or *guruttas*. While in terms of behavioral characters, excellence in morality through daily live cycle is one of priorities for female *santris*. Every moment of activity becomes a space where noble behavior can be formed. Therefore, the practice of kissing hands, being a household of the *ustadz*, building honesty and discipline are part of getting blessings (*tabarruk*) in As'adiyah tradition. In addition, spiritual enrichment through Yasinan, reading al-Barzanji, intensification of *dhikr* (remembrance of God),



doing prayers and other practices of *sunnah* worship are important supplements in the shaping of noble moral behavior among female *santris*. A mosque as a public religious space provides a broad space for the female *santris* to build credibility and social-religious skills. Female *santris* appearance as *ulama* in the wider context are not only because they mastery classical Islamic science (*fiqh, hadith, tafsir, and Arabic language*), but also related to the use of limited Islamic public space such as mosque and moment of *Ramadhan*. Islamic public space serves as the stage of religious authority, where prospective female *ulamas* cadres can build charismatic legitimacy. In addition to mosques, classrooms is a space where exchange mechanism of information, ideas and knowledge among female *santris* can take place. Classrooms have been no innovations to produce transformative knowledge, except implementing *halaqah* learning schedules and formal learning. In fact, the institutional space of ma'had 'ali As'adiyah has potentially to produce hybrid Islamic knowledge. With the skills of Arabic language, female *santris* along with teachers board can combine Sunni, Shi'a and Western scientific traditions through reference accessed which open the emergence of transformative new knowledge. Although it has been widely opened, revitalization of the use of the public sphere of religion among female *santris* still encounter a personal and cultural barriers. *First*, attitude of self-underestimated female *ulamas* cadres is one of obstacles that causes mosque and class not be creatively utilized. *Second*, there are still cultural constraints with the emergence of 'stereotypical' views on women as second-class citizens and are considered as figures who cannot compete with male *santris*.

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