

The Configuration of Surau, Pesantren and Madrasah in West Sumatra (In Historical Perspective)

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Abstract

I begin this article with admiration for the success of Surau in Minangkabau in maintaining itself as a traditional educational institution in the era of modernisation. Surau as an educational institution in Minangkabau remains an integral part of the collective memory of the Minang people as a whole. As an old heritage, Surau initially functioned as a place for traditional ceremonies, then developed into a place of worship and gathering of young people to learn various knowledge and skills. In addition to being an educational institution, it is also a social institution. On the other hand, the existence of pesantren and madrasah in Java is also growing in Sumatra, especially West Sumatra. Judging from the history of the emergence of pesantren and madrasah in Indonesia, pesantren appeared earlier than madrasah. However, in Minang, Surau is clearly the oldest educational institution. Therefore, the purpose of writing this article is to reveal how the existence of Surau and Islamic boarding schools as well as Madrasah as one of the Islamic Education development institutions continues to grow in the midst of Education Modernisation.

The method in this writing uses a qualitative methodology with a historical approach method by collecting data through literature studies. In the data found

the word Surau spread out in Indonesia and Malaysia, Surau is thought to have existed before Islam came to West Sumatra.

The findings of the author after Indonesia's independence, the implementation of Pesantren and Madrasah Education in West Sumatra became more widespread after the Revolutionary period continued to increase and was encouraged by the government as a Formal Education institution.

Keywords: *Surau, Pesantren, Madrasah, Islamic Education*

INTRODUCTION

One of the great traditions in Indonesia is the tradition of teaching Islam such as Pesantren in Java, Surau in West Sumatra and Meunasah in Aceh or the Malay Peninsula. We generally know that Islam in Minangkabau has its own characteristics from other regions in Indonesia with its local wisdom. Minangkabau people highly uphold the values of customs and culture as stated in the "marapalam charter", "Adat Basandi Sarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah" (Diradjo, 2018). This is Minangkabau world was then inhabited by the ancestors of the Minangkabau people who descended from Mount Merapi. The Minangkabau people then also occupied new areas outside the Minangkabau realm called rantau. (Diradjo, 2018)

The Minangkabau realm at the same time was also a combination of small worlds called nagari. Nagari is an independent political society considered a neighbour of rantau. Rantau then exerts a continuous influence on the Minangkabau realm. Rantau's influence is acceptable to the extent that it is compatible with Minangkabau's own natural potential. If the requirements are not met, it will cause social disharmony and make the Minangkabau nature deviant. The Minangkabau nature's acceptance of Islam created a new harmony symbolised by the three kings concept: raja adat, raja ibadat, and raja alam. (Abdullah, 1972) The desire to live and practice adat purely and consequently becomes a guideline in social life in the Minang land. There is a mission conveyed by religion in line with the customs prevailing in the Minang Land so that the relevance of religious education with customs cannot be separated in Minangkabau social life as a message in the *Tambo Alam Minangkabau* literary work. (Diradjo, 2018)

The Malay-Indonesian term for Surau, and sometimes shortened to *suro*, is a word that is widely distributed in Southeast Asia. Since antiquity, the term seems to have been in widespread use in Minangkabau. Linguistically, the word Surau means "place" or "place of worship". (Azra, 2003) Thus, a Surau is a small building originally built for the worship

of ancient ancestors. For this reason, the earliest Surau were usually erected on the highest ground or at least higher than other buildings. It is also very likely that Surau are closely related to village culture, as most Surau are found in rural areas, although in later development they can also be found in cities or towns in the aforementioned areas. (Beckmann, 2012)

According to the Minangkabau traditional pattern, a Surau belongs to a kaum or *indu* (extended family group). A kaum is part of a tribe, or the equivalent of a *clan*. These *indu* dwellings can also be found in other regions, such as in East Toraja where they are called *lobo*. In Islamicised areas, this type of building can be found in Aceh as *Meunasah*, in Java as *Langgar*, and in Minangkabau as *Surau*. (W.Fogg, 2020) In the Tradition of Minangkabau system, The *Surau* was established by a certain clan as a complementary building to the rumah *gadang* (traditional/large house), where the *saparuik* family (from one stomach or descendant) resides. It is usually built on matrilineal land. (Soekanto, 1999) Land *ulayat* (communally used land) provided by *the nagari*, or *waqaf* land given by villagers. (Gazalba, 1975)

The structure of Surau in Minangkabau after the arrival of Islam can generally be divided into two categories, namely Surau *gadang* (large) and Surau *ketek* (small). Surau *gadang* is a Surau that can accommodate 80 to 100 students, or more. A Dutch official who visited Minangkabau divided Surau into three categories: *small Surau*, which can accommodate up to 20 students, *medium Surau*, 80 students, and *large Surau* with between 100 and 1000 students. (Azra, 2003) The small Surau is more or less the same as a family Surau or larger, which is commonly known as a “Surau mengaji” or a Surau where people learn to read the Qur'an and perform prayers. This category of Surau is more or less the same as a langgar or musala. (Suryani I., 2023) This type of Surau usually only has one teacher who is usually also the Surau imam. In contrast, medium and large Surau are deliberately established for religious education in the broadest sense. In other words, medium and large Surau are not simply houses of worship as Surau mengaji do, but more importantly centre of religious education where the broader teachings of Islam in its various aspects are taught to students. (Azra, 2003)

There were large Surau for educational purposes established by tarekat leaders (shaykhs) such as Surau *ulakan*. We do not have much information about the characteristics of Surau *ulakan*, in its early days, but it is certain that it was a very important. Tarekat

centre able to attract many disciples from other parts of Minangkabau. (Zuhairansyah Arifin, 2022) Former students of Surau *ulakan* then built *their* own *Surau* in many parts of Minangkabau on the model of Surau *ulakan*, which was the prototype Surau of *tarekat*. This can be seen in the characteristics of Surau, especially in the Minangkabau Highlands (*Darek*), which are also the location of *tarekat*, especially the *Syattariyah Tarekat*. (Beckmann, 2012) Perhaps for this reason, some researchers, such as Mahmud Yunus, who is *affirmed* by Azyumardi that Syaikh Burhanuddin of Surau *ulakan* was the first to lay the foundation of the nature and characteristics of Surau as a religious educational institution that acculturated with Minangkabau culture. (Azra, 2003)

The method used in this research is the historical method. Qualitatively descriptive, this research reveals the study of traditional educational institutions in West Sumatra from the Colonial era to the Old Order in the Indigenous Minangkabau region of West Sumatra. The Historical Method is a set of procedures or tools used by historians in conducting research and compiling the following writing. (Kuntowijoyo, 2003)

In the first stage, researchers conducted data collection (*heuristics*) by searching for authentic and original credible sources both digitally and visiting local libraries. To obtain quality information, the second stage of the researcher *verifies* with internal criticism and external criticism of sources that have been sorted based on several categorisation. Then the third stage is *data interpretation*, the author can obtain interrelated meanings regarding the development of Surau in West Sumatra. And the final stage of this History of Education research is that the author conducts the last stage, namely *Historiography*. The researcher writes chronologically to convey the findings of the resilience history of the Surau Education Institution to become *ibrah* in a way objective for the next generation. Methodology of this research follows the Gadjah Mada University History expert Kuntowijoyo. (Kuntowijoyo, 2003)

Some book publications on Traditional Educational Institutions in Indonesia focus more on one educational institution such as Azyumardi Azra on Surau (Azra, 2003), then Zamakhsari Dhofier (Dhofier, 2015) and Van Bruinnesen (Bruinnesen, 2015) about Pesantren, especially the Kitab Kuning tradition. For this reason, the author tries to configure the historical data of Surau and Pesantren as traditional educational institutions that continue to exist today.

In this paper, there are many secondary sources of Islamic education experts both from the West and Indonesian Islamic scholars. The sources of writing are so important to see the development of Surau and how it is configured with Pesantren. This writing was made in the long run up to the new order when the stigma of the State sought to negatively stigmatise Islamic education. However, it is a challenge to the resilience of a Traditional educational institution in the midst of modernity.

The novelty or significance in this study is the study of traditional educational institutions configured with modern educational institutions. Surau is a traditional educational institution of the Minangkabau people that grew since the transition period between Hinduism and Islam and became a distinctive heritage of West Sumatra. However, in later developments in West Sumatra, the spread of pesantren was quite dominant along with other modern Islamic educational institutions such as Madrasah. This is expected to attract the attention of readers who more often see Surau as a characteristic of West Sumatra, but also need to see the development of other Islamic educational institutions in the Minang Land.

Although the initial subject of this research is the resilience of Surau in the face of Modernity. However, the researcher here also found out how the configuration of the widespread distribution of Madrasah and Pesantren in West Sumatra as a Traditional Education Institution amidst the rise and fall of Surau in Minangkabau Land as a reflection of Contemporary Indonesian Education. (Pohl, 2006)

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Dynamics of Islamic Education Institution

Since the era of the National Movement, West Sumatra has produced many National figures as a young movement respected by the colonialists, such as Haji Agus Salim and Muhammad Hatta. This marks the intellectualism of the Minangkabau tradition heritage that is worthy of being considered as local wisdom that is worthy of being considered (Beckmann, 2012). The national revolution erupted on 17 August 1945 in the form of the proclamation of independence. With this, the Indonesian people achieved the independence they had longed for. The proclamation broke the shackles of colonialism and created a new life in various fields, especially in the field of Islamic education, it was felt necessary to change

the education system in accordance with the new atmosphere (W.Fogg, 2020). Islamic education began to get a very important position in the National education system. In addition, religious education in schools also received a regular, thorough and attentive place. *Madrasahs and pesantren* also received attention (Pohl, 2006).

For this reason, a Department of Religious Affairs was established on 3 December 1946 to take care of education and *madrasahs* and Islamic boarding schools. Islamic education was gradually renewed. The term *pesantren*, which used to only study religion in mosques and in West Sumatra in *Surau*, rejected modernity during the colonial period (Heni Yuliana Wati., 2022). In the context of the history of traditional education in Indonesia we may be more familiar with the term *Pesantren* than the word *Surau* as a typical educational institution, at least it has only been popularized and used by a number of educational institutions in West Sumatra in recent decades (Azra, 2003). The phenomenon of *pesantrens* that developed in the islands of Java did not greatly affect the growth and development of this kind of Islamic educational institution in Minangkabau, known until the modernisation of *pesantrens* in the early days of the old order. However, the difference between *Surau* and *Pesantren* is mainly only in relation to the position of "Shaikh" or *Kyai* in *Surau* and "Kyai" in *pesantren* in Java. The socio-cultural and religious environment of Minangkabau is also quite influential on the processes and dynamics that occur in the community. The position of the *shaikh* as the main figure in a *surau* will affect the existence of the *surau* itself (Ropi, 2002).

The educational institution has then begun to adapt to the demands of modern times, although the learning pattern is the same but there are changes in the curriculum. Significantly, the pattern of education regeneration in *Surau* is considered successful in giving rise to many national figures and scholars such as Syafruddin Prawinegara, Muhammad Hatta, Buya Hamka are some of the figures who according to the Minang people have a history of receiving education from *Surau* (Sunanto, 2010).

In December 1946, a joint decree was issued by two ministers, namely the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Education and Teaching, which stipulated that religious education began in grade IV SR (school of people or *sekolah rakyat*) until grade IV. At that time, the security situation in Indonesia was not yet stable, so the decree was not implemented properly. Many regions outside Java still provided religious education from Grade 1 (Hasbullah, 1995). The government formed a *Majelis Pertimbangan Pengajaran Agama Islam* in 1947, lead by Ki Hajar Dewantara from the Ministry of Education and Culture and Prof Drs Abdullah Sigit from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Its task was to help regulate the implementation and teaching materials of religious instruction given in public schools (Hasbullah, 1995).

Openness to something new and quite advanced thinking, Wahid Hasyim proposed a change in the curriculum at the boarding school by including secular science. This aims to make the santri not only master religious knowledge, but also master modern Western sciences. The existence of religious education as a component of education and teaching is stated in Article 4 of the 1950 Constitution, that studying in religious schools that have received recognition from the Minister of Religion is considered to have fulfilled the requirements (Sunanto, 2010).

In 1950, when Indonesian sovereignty had been restored for the whole of Indonesia, the plan for religious education for the whole of Indonesia was further refined with the formation of a joint committee led by Prof. Mahmud Yunus from the Ministry of Religion. (Hasbullah, 1995) The result of the committee was a Joint Decree issued in January 1951, Number: 1432/Kab. Dated 21 January 1951 (Education), Number K 1/652 dated 21 January 1951 (Religion), the contents of which were:

1. Religious education begins in Grade IV of the Folk School.
2. In areas where religious communities are strong, religious education begins in Grade 1. Provided that general knowledge is not diminished compared to other schools where religious education begins in Grade 4.

3. In junior or senior high schools, religious education is provided for two hours a week.
4. Religious education is given to at least 10 students in a class and has the permission of the parents or guardians.
5. Appointment of religious teachers, religious education fees, and religious education materials are covered by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. (Arif, 2008)

To improve *madrassah*, Wahid Hasyim sought subsidies for private madrassas from elementary to senior levels. The amount of subsidy given was one compared to non-Islamic schools. In addition, he also issued Minister of Religious Affairs, which made general studies compulsory in madrasas. (Hasbullah, 1995)

In 1951, there was a historical incident in the world of Islamic education, namely when president Soekarno established the establishment of UGM (University of Gadjah Mada) which is intended for the Nationalists, then at that time also PTAIN (Islamic Religious College) Yogyakarta which is intended for Muslims. And eventually became IAIN (Arif, 2008). A few years later on 26 December 1951 PTAIN grew to 14 IAIN, one IAIN in each province and accommodating approximately 30,000 students. The further development of IAIN was highly dependent on PGA, because most PGA graduates entered IAIN. To improve the curriculum, a committee was formed led by KH Imam Zarkasyi of Pindok Gontor Ponorogo. The curriculum was approved by the Minister of Religious Affairs in 1952 (Ropi, 2002).

Development of *Madrasahs*

Madrasahs as educational institutions were formally recognised by the state in 1950. *Undang-Undang* Number 4 of 1950 is on the basics of Education and Teaching in schools states that studying in a religious school that has been recognised by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, is considered to implement the obligation to study. To be recognised by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, madrasah must offer religious studies as a core subject for at least six hours a week

on a regular basis in addition to general subjects. With these requirements, a registration of eligible madrasahs was held (Beckmann, 2012).

There are three levels of education in the madrasah system. *Firstly*, *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (MI) with 6 years of education. *Second*, the First *Tsanawiyah* Madrasah for 4 years. *Third*, the Upper *Tsanawiyah* Madrasah for 4 years. These levels are in accordance with Mahmud Yunus' idea as Head of the Islamic Section of the Provincial Religious Office (Arif, 2008). The curriculum consists of one-third religious studies and the rest general studies. The formulation of such a curriculum aims to respond to the public opinion that madrasahs don't teach enough religion and to answer the unfavourable impression attached to madrasahs, namely that madrasah general studies will not reach the same level when compared to public schools. Previously, the Office of Religious Affairs became the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which was then in charge of the birth of *Madrasah* Education for Religious Teachers (PGA), School for Teachers of Religious Judges (SGHA), Academy for Religious Sciences (ADIA) which later became the State Islamic Religious College (PTAIN) (Feisal, 1995).

During the time of H. M. Arifin Tam, the head of the "Jabatan Pendidikan Agama" was a body that was an extension of the education section of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The provisions of the PGA and SGHA were changed. The 5-year PGA was changed to 6 years, consisting of a four years First PGA and a 2-year Upper PGA (Antara News, 2012). The short-term PGA and SGHA were abolished. In place of the SGHA, PHIN (State Islamic Judge Education) was established with a 3 years study time and was intended for graduates of the first PGA. In 1954, there were 13.849 *madrasahs* registered throughout Indonesia, with 1057 *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* with 1.927.777 students, 776 *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* with 87.932 students, and 16 *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (Aliyah) with 1,881 students (Antara News, 2012).

The ease with which Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia took the western curriculum is a sign that the old order era of Indonesian Islam began to be

open to the various demands of the times. The role of the government has also encouraged traditional educational institutions in Indonesia, which during the colonial period were not recognised, indicating that there is synergy between the centre and the regions in the management of Islamic education in a more advanced direction (Feisal, 1995).

Surau Configuration and the Development of Pesantren in Minangkabau

In the context of the history of traditional education in Indonesia we may be more familiar with the term Pesantren than the word *Surau* as a typical educational institution, at least it has only been popularized and used by a number of educational institutions in West Sumatra in recent decades. Looking at the history of Islamic boarding schools is the basis for the formation of religious nationalism since ancient times (Rahman, 2022). According to Azyumardi Azra, the phenomenon of *pesantrens* that developed in the islands of Java did not greatly affect the growth and development of this kind of Islamic educational institution in Minangkabau, known until the modernisation of pesantrens in the early days of the old order (Azra, 2003). The modernisation was when Wahid Hasyim proposed a change in the curriculum at the boarding school by including secular science. This aims to make santri not only master religious knowledge but also master modern sciences (Ropi, 2002).

However, the difference between *Surau* and *Pesantren* is mainly only in relation to the position of the "shaikh" or *kiai* of *Surau* and the "*kiai*" in pesantren in Java. The Minangkabau socio-cultural and religious environment is also quite influential in the processes and dynamics that occur in society. The position of the shaikh as the main figure in a *Surau* will affect the existence of the *Surau* itself (Bruinessen, 2015). To understand how the existence of *Surau* in Minangkabau we should also separate between *Surau* and *madrasah* which is an Islamic educational institution that appeared later in Indonesia, and *Surau* in the transition period in the colonial era and independence then we will discuss in the next description (Diradjo, 2018).

The economic development of the post-independence period also opened up new job opportunities and contributed to the decline in the prestige of *Surau*. *Surau*, as it is known, does not teach general knowledge and specialised skills that have economic value in the modern economic system. Economic development and modernisation resulted in a process of "*secularisation*" of the young Islamic educational institutions. Most became public schools with a predominantly public curriculum. Meanwhile, the modernised *Surau* of the traditional *ulama* tried to stay afloat, albeit in decline day by day.

The existence of *Surau* then competes with *pondok pesantren* and *madrasah*, although it cannot yet be categorised as *pondok pesantren* in true sense (Bruinessen, 2015). According to the recapitulation list of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs in 1982, there were 57 *Pondok Pesantren* in West Sumatra with a total of 10.380 *Santri*. And most of the Islamic boarding schools were *Madrasahs* owned by Islamic organisations, including *Muhammadiyah* (Hamka, 1974). Looking at the complexity of the problems of *Surau* educational institutions must also understand the flow of conflict between the young and the old. As can be seen, the young *ulama* as a symbol of Islamic renewal openly criticised the practices of the old *ulama* who occupied *Surau*. And this paper tries to explain this traditional educational institution in the era of modernisation.

CONCLUSION

The challenges of educational reform and modernisation faced by *Surau* in West Sumatra are *Surau* in West Sumatra coincides with the difficulties faced by Islamic educational institutions around the world. Muslim educational institutions around the world. Since the advent of colonial rule in many Muslim countries, the indigenous education system has either collapsed or has been undermined.

Muslim countries, indigenous education systems have collapsed or been marginalised. The complex legacy of indigenous educational reforms, colonial rule, post-colonial nationalism and socialism, and more recent expressions of Islamic revivalism further complicate efforts to reform indigenous education. Islamic

awakening further complicate education reform efforts. The rise of Islamic educational institutions in countries such as Pakistan and Iran, as well as the growth of Islamic as well as the growth of Muslim schools in Western countries, have been viewed with concerns as a move towards exclusivism and intolerance. Intellectual endeavours to modernise Islamic education and to create a model of Islamic education have been viewed with equal suspicion. Regardless of the configuration of Surau and Pesantren, Surau has its own existence with many Surau alumni who have become role models of the past Indonesian Nation. And the next generation must take care of the thoughts of their alumni who continue to maintain the Islamic values of Nationality and Modernity.

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