Chapter IV

Systems of Religious Higher Education in Java
A Study on Pesantren

Introduction

In the previous three chapters, attempts were made to seek a common ground in the Islamic rites and beliefs of two non-Arab Muslim communities – South India and Southeast Asia, specifically Kerala and Java. The first chapter traced the common threads in the development and evolution of Islamic scholarship and formation of the Muslim society in both the regions, and rightly found it in the Hadrami Arabs, Shafi'i school of law, Ash'arite theology, and Shari'a-oriented Tasawwuf and Sufi orders. The second and third chapters looked into how did this seemingly similar intellectual past influenced in the transformations these two Muslim societies underwent since the onset of the 20th century, when the strong waves of modernity, colonization as well as decolonization, and western science and technology swept the entire world, changing the ways and modes of human life. These two chapters tried to canvass the Islamic discourses and observances in Java and Kerala by depicting the theological viewpoints and working nature of various influential Muslim groups. It identified that the entire Islamic discourses in both the societies are being held mainly on two platforms – revivalist traditionalism and fundamentalist modernism – and there are particular organizations representing these two platforms. The NU and Muhammadiyyah are the two major organizational representatives of these two platforms respectively in Java, whereas Samastha (along with many of its fractions), and Mujahids (along with its fractional and Jamath variants) represent them in Kerala. Now, as the main part of this research, the next two chapters will try to explore the system of Islamic higher education in both the places, followed by a third chapter that will compare systems at both the places. Here, the sphere of Islamic higher education has been taken up to help explain the similarities and differences of the two Islamic societies outside the Arab Islamic world.

One will really wonder seeing the variety and diversity of systems and facilities adopted by Muslim societies for religious education. Muslims in Java and Kerala are also not
different. To explain the characteristics and features of each and every system is a daunting task, and it will need volumes of works. Here, we limit ourselves to the exploration of two typically traditional Islamic systems of higher learning existent in both Kerala and Java. In Java, and generally in Southeast Asia, this system is called *Pesantren* education, while in Kerala an almost similar system is called *Pallidarss* or mosque-college. Whereas the traditionalist Nahdlatul ‘Ulamais the chief promoters of the *Pesantren* system of education, the Sunnis, mainly represented by the traditionalist Samastha, are the promoters of *Pallidarss* in Kerala. The tradition of both the *Pesantren* and *Pallidarss* derive from the ‘Hadrami-Ash’ari-Shai‘i-Sufi’ background explained above. The discussion of each system will be followed by a brief look into the various transformations and new experiments these traditional systems are undergoing in the present time.

**Pesantren**

*Pesantren* is the Indonesian form of traditional Islamic educational institution, a still vibrant system of education through which the transfer of Islamic knowledge is being occurred for centuries. Any student of Islam and knowledge transmission in Indonesia should know three words – *Pesantren*, *Kiai* and *Santri*. *Pesantren* education played the pivotal role in the formation of the pattern of Islamic belief and culture in the archipelago, while the ‘*Kiai*’, the local name for ‘*Ulama*’, and their students, called *Santri*, kept the *Pesantren*’s role alive in spreading and maintaining Islam in general. The *Pesantren* education system institutionalized the pattern of socialization process and the transmission of values, norms, and religious symbols in the entire region.

Although the *Pesantren* is the oldest system of learning and education, and it was the only educational institution available in Indonesia before the Dutch introduced the modern educational system, its existence as an educational institution in the present day Indonesia faces stiff competition from modern secular and other educational institutions. However, it stays and survives in large numbers, thanks to timely modifications and transformations adopted by the *Pesantren* community individually as well as collectively.
There are amazing volumes of studies and researches about Pesantren. A number of scholars have shown considerable interest to study about this traditional learning system from various points of views, and have produced extensive literature. In most of studies, the researchers have used ‘anthropological and sociological approaches, collecting data mainly through participant observation and interviews. (Van den Berg, Hurgronje, Geertz 1960, Hodgson 1974, Pranowo 1991, Woodward 1989, Horikoshi 1976, Professor Johns 1975, Luckens-Bull 1995, Anderson 1990, Denny 1995, Jones 1991, Steenbrink 1974, Van Bruinessen 1995, Hefner, Dhofier 1982, Azra, Achmad, Abdullah 1987, Mansoomur). Most of the works pointed towards the strong influence of Pesantren in molding the social, cultural, political, and religious life of Javanese villagers. Two Dutch scholars - colonial officer L.W.C. van den Berg and contemporary academic Martin van Bruinessen - have to be specially mentioned for their in-depth studies into the curriculum and syllabi of the Pesantren education, one in the 19th century and other in the 20th.

Works by Zamakhsyari Dhofier remain a good introduction to the study of these schools as he has written with precise understanding. He is the one who did a completely focused study on the Kiai and Pesantren, or what he calls ‘the Pesantren tradition’. He spoke on the pattern of traditional Islamic education and of the Kiai -Santri relationships. He explained about the network of relationships between Kiai in a wider geographical area, and their dependence on close family relations. He gave us a clearer picture of Pesantren, going far ahead of others who, more or less, focused on the simplicity of the buildings within Pesantren complexes, the austerity of the Santri way of life and the Santri’s absolute obedience to their Kiai. Dhofier criticized many of his predecessors for attempting simply to depict the negative aspects of the system without mentioning its actual strength. He talks of Radan Achmad Dhahadiningrat, the Bupati of Senang from 1901 to 1917, who wrote a book on his early years in a Pesantren revealing more about the inconveniences of the Pesantren life. ‘Reading this work’, Dhofier wrote, ‘one will come to the conclusion that the Pesantren is not more than a traditional religious educational institution where rural Muslim students are taught Arabic texts without understanding their meanings’.
Mansurnoor (1990) studied about the Kiai of Madura as agents of change, while Pranowo's study shed light on the Kiai ('Ulama) as religious elites, and Usman (1991) highlights the role of Kiai and Pesantren in developing the Islamic tradition. Endang Turmudi (1995) has focused in his study on the role and power of Kiai, based on his study of these influential people of Pesantren in Jombang. My study is not differentiating the Kiai and Pesantren along with their Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese variations, as all the studies prove that there all exist same cultural patterns.

Lukens-Bull has, in many of his studies, focused on the new trends and processes of modernization and Globalization seen in the Pesantren tradition. He shows that the Pesantren people are carving out a new kind of identity rejecting both an Ataturkian blind embracing and a Khomenian blind rejection of all that is Western and modern. (Lukens-Bull R. A., 2000). He made extensive ethnographic research in three Pesantren: Tebu Ireng in Jombang, An-Nur II in the Kabupaten (I: Regency) of Malang, and Al-Hikam in the city of Malang, among other studies. (Luckens-Bull, 2005). He tried to depict how the traditional Pesantrens are trying to adjust with globalization by shaping curriculum and trying to mold future generations, 'a society that is fully modern, fully globalized, fully Indonesian, and fully Islamic'. They reinvent both modernity and tradition in such a way that one cannot exist without the other. One can see, like in Pesantren Tebuireng of Jombang, 'offering an education that is competitive in a modernizing and globalizing society while maintaining a solid religious base in many of the 1,800 Pesantren found in East Java and the other 2,200 found elsewhere in Indonesia' (Lukens-Bull R. A., 2000).

2. Origin and Development

There is not an exact mention of period for the initial development of the Pesantren system. Scholars assume that the ingredients of the contemporary Pesantren system started since the development of Islam in the archipelago. Because, (1) Muslims always take care of giving Islamic education as it was compulsory for the proper development of the community, and (2) the Pesantren system is part of the indigenous education system that was already popular in the Hindu-Buddhist traditions. However, Pesantren's
transformation into an institutionalized form happened since the 16th century onwards. During this period, we see the Javanese Pesantren gradually replacing the highly respected princely courts as alternate centers of authority. Some of the major Pesantrens in existence today was founded in 18th and 19th centuries.

Pesantren was the only formal educational institution found in Java and in the entire Indonesia prior to 20th century (Abdullah 1987, Denny 1995, Lukens-Bull 2000). All from religious leaders, court poets, and members of the ruling class to business people got education at Pesantren. (Anderson 1990). The court poets of both the Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts were educated in Pesantren (Florida 1995), as were some members of the ruling class (Pemberton 1994, Adas 1979). The formal secular education system started functioning as an alternative option for education only when the Dutch colonial schools were started in late 18th century. Later the Nationalists, and, after the Independence, the Republic of Indonesia promoted an educational system focused on science, mathematics, and other secular subjects (Anderson, 1990). However, the Pesantren education still, in its modified and adjusted forms, caters to the educational need of a notable number of students.

3. Origin of the Term

Pesantren means the place of learning for the Islamic faithful (Santris). It derives from the word Santri with the prefix pe and suffix an, literally meaning ‘the place of Santri’. According to Professor Johns, the word Santri, now used to refer the Pesantren student, derived from the Tamil word ‘santiri’, meaning religious teacher. According to a supporting view, the term Pesantren is rooted from ‘Santri’ or ‘cantrik’ meaning students who live in either area of Hindu shrine (Pura), Buddhist monastery (Vihara), or temple. In other words, cantrik means followers of monks and nuns of either Hinduism or

86 The Javanese commonly add a prefix pe and suffix an to denote the place where a subject resides. So, pesantren is a place where the santri reside.
Buddhism (Purwokerto, 2006). The local term mesantren is synonymous with nyantri meaning ‘to go to,’ or ‘to learn in’ Pesantren whose purpose is to become Santri.

Traditionally Pesantren is called pondok (literally bamboo hut). This term probably derives from the word for dormitories where the students lived, since in the past these were mostly built from bamboo, or it perhaps derives from the Arabic term Funduq (hotel or dormitory). On the Malay Peninsula and Cambodia, the term Pondok is popular than Pesantren for the traditional religious education system. The term pondok and Pesantren is commonly used to refer to the same thing. The term pondok Pesantren is also often used.

4. Role of Pesantren In Political History

Pesantren has played and has been playing a bigger role in the political history of Indonesia. Its strong influence in protest movements in rural Java at the end of the 19th century is documented. In the Second Javanese War (1826–1830), the Acehnese War (1873–1903), and the Battle of Surabaya (1946) during the Indonesian Revolution, scholars led their Santris into armed conflict against enemies they believed threatened the Muslim community (Federspiel H. , Pesantren). It is easy for the Pesantren Kiai to get their Santri responding to their calls for political and other interventions, thanks to the intense and deep involvement of learners with their scholar, which produced strong loyalties and respect. In school and after departing, scholars could rely on their learners to answer a summons for aid. It is demonstrated that the ideology of the Pesantren, conceptually, socially, and politically combated colonialism in Java. Nevertheless, according to Dhofer, the ‘Pesantren only become involved in politics in pursuit of their principal interest; to defend and spread Islam among the Javanese community’.

5. Elements of Pesantren

In the Pesantren system, there are various characteristic elements. The first is the Kiai, the chief factor that establishes and underpins the Pesantren system. Kiai is the indigenous name for Islamic religious scholars and leaders, who are mainly related to the Pesantren tradition. They have a strategic and central position in their society, mainly in
the rural setting. A *Pesantren* is usually run by a *Kiai* assisted by a number of his senior *Santri* or other family members. Many schools do not survive the founder, but others continue several generations, with sons and sons-in-law succeeding to control and ownership. The *Pesantren* is an important part of the *Kiai's* life. By teaching there, he expands his preaching and influence. *Kiai* through their *Pesantren* institutions and religious practice such as Friday sermons, transmit Islamic ideals symbols and practices to their students and to other members.

Second is the *Santri*, the students who seeks Islamic knowledge from the *Kiai*. They are the human resources, which support the existence of the *Pesantren* and maintain *Kiai* influence in society.

The third is the *pondok*, a simple form of dormitory system with limited facilities provided by the *Kiai* to accommodate his students. 'The *pondok* usually consists of shared rooms capable of occupying five to ten *Santri*. Most of the average *Pesantren* will have a 'complex of housing, which includes the houses of the *Kiai* and his family, some *pondok*, and teaching buildings, including a mosque' (Turmudi, 1996). Dhofier (1982) has set the minimum or basic elements of a *Pesantren* as the *pondok* (dormitories), the mosque, the study of classical Islamic *kitab* (texts), the *Santri* (students), and the *kyai* (leader).

6. Rural Setting

*Pesantren* is historically connected with rural nature. Still it is a phenomenon of rural areas, where *Kiai* and interacted with local communities, provided education, gave advice to villagers, and legitimized local ceremonies. Some scholars were regarded as 'blessed' and consulted for cures and supernatural assistance during their lives and by cults at their tombs. Villagers supported such schools with food and assistance; in some places the poor tax, alms, and pious endowments were also given. ‘Though *Pesantren* has a rural setting, it is now found in both urban and rural areas and attract students from both the backgrounds. Although many *Pesantren* students are from lower socio-economic levels, *Pesantren* still attract middle and upper class students’. (Lukens-Bull, 2004) However,
many Pesantren currently located in urban areas still keep a rural colour in its setting. And, in many cases, the prolonged existence of a Pesantren in an area transforms the locality itself into an urban setting as people settle around it and cause emergence of trade and commerce in large scale.

7. Fathers of Pesantren tradition

As mentioned above, the Pesantren education system is an age-old system developed through centuries incorporating various cultural and historical elements. A general analysis is that the Pesantren is the tradition and legacy of Walisongo. Abdurahman Mas’ud speaks of Pesantren’s insistence of keeping the legacy of Walisongo, who had moderate attitude toward local culture, and adopted local wisdoms and cultures and acculturated them within Islamic values. They adopted local architectures for the architecture of mosques and the minaret, transformed philosophy of shadow play (Wayang) with Islamic doctrines, and adopted previous system of education for Pesantren. (Mas’ud, 2004)

However, one can see a kind of well-constructed renewed intellectual legacy behind almost all traditional type of Pesantrens established since last 100-150 years. In his Ph.D work submitted at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1997, on ‘the Pesantren architects and their socio-religious teachings (1850-1950)’, Abdu Rachman H has studied about the ‘roots of Islamic teaching, the Santri Muslims of Indonesia together with the intellectual masters of the Pesantren tradition, and the Pesantren strategists during the 19th and 20th centuries. Elaborating on the intellectual biographies, historical background, socio-religious roles and the religious principles of four key Arabia-educated Ulama s of the time, namely Nawawial-Bantani(d. 1897), Mahfuz al-Tirmisi (d. 1919), Khalil Bangkalan (d. 1924), Hashim Ashari (d. 1947), and Asnawi Kudus (d. 1959), he tries to intellectually link the entire Pesantrens in Java. He says that the supremacy of these ‘Ulama’, who were Sufi, Ash'ari, and Sh'afii Fiqh oriented, is demonstrated by the fact that their students became the leaders of the Pesantren community all over Java.
8. Types of Pesantren

*Pesantren* exist for children and youth of all ages and at all stages of education – primary, secondary, and tertiary. An average 20-25% of Indonesian children get their primary and secondary education through *Pesantren*. Generally, *Pesantren* can be classified into three types: Salafiyah or the traditional one that focuses on the study of classical Islamic texts; Khalafiyah or the modern one where formal education is an essential part of the curriculum; and the combined ones where equal importance are given for traditional and formal systems of education.

According to the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the *Pesantren* in Indonesia is classified into four types, A, B, C and D. The Type-A retains the most traditional characteristics where the students (*Santri*) stay in a boarding house (pondok) around the kiyai’s house; there is no set curriculum and thus the kyai holds full authority over the teaching-learning process including the type and depth of the offered subject matter.

Type-B *Pesantren* includes those, which, besides offering the traditional instructions in classical texts, have *Madrasa* (modern religious schools) where both religion and secular subjects are taught. The *Madrasa* has a curriculum of its own or adopts the curriculum set by the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Type-C is a *Pesantren* which, along with providing religious education of a type-B model with both traditional instruction and *Madrasa* system, has also an ordinary public school administered by the Ministry of Education and Culture such as a Primary (SD) and Secondary (SMP and SMA). Thus, a type-C *Pesantren* is a type-B plus public school.

Finally, a type-D *Pesantren* is that which provides only boarding accommodation to students. These students go to either *Madrasa* or public schools somewhere outside this boarding complex. No formal instruction is given in this type of *Pesantren*. The function of the kyai is only as a counselor and spiritual guide to create a religious atmosphere at the complex.
Many Pesantren has now transformed into ‘sekolah Madrasa’, modern religious school under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. These are either Madrasa diniyah (which gives religious subjects) or public Madrasa where both secular and religious subjects are given. Each type of Madrasa consists of three levels, the primary (six years), junior secondary (three years), and senior secondary (three years). The three levels of Madrasa diniyah are called Awaliyah, Wustha and ‘Ulya, whereas the three levels of public Madrasa are called Ibtidaiyah, Tsanawiyah and ‘Aliyah. The proportion for the secular and religious subjects in public Madrasa varies from one Madrasa to another but the Ministry of Religious Affairs sets a standard of 70 per cent secular and 30 per cent religious subjects. Any private Madrasa wishing to follow the Ministry's accreditation should prove that it has fully adopted this standard. The students of a standard Madrasa are entitled to sit for the national examination and those who pass this examination receive the state issued certificate. This leads to an easier way to continue their education within the educational system and finally to attend an IAIN (The State Institute of Islamic Studies).

The names of ‘Pesantren’ and ‘Madrasa’ along with the system of education they are taking up are confusing due to its variety. While the modernists, mostly those belong to Muhammadiyyah, tend to adopt the name of Madrasa, the traditionalists maintain the name Pesantren. In most of the cases both the camps follow modified forms of government system, in their bid for their graduates to get admissions to the state Islamic universities. However, the traditionalists, especially the kia belonging to NU, try to continue the traditional form of teaching classical texts (Kitab Kuning) to a certain extent through maintaining the Pesantren system along with schooling.

This system is not without its dividends. The Madrasa system, despite playing an important role in the transmission of religious knowledge both in the urban and rural areas, it can stand only as a complementary to and not as a substitute for Pesantren. People do not expect too much from the Madrasa other than gaining a basic knowledge of religion, and the Pesantren is still considered as the real place for acquiring advanced knowledge of religion especially when the student intends to ‘know religious rules’. Thus, although Madrasa is important, its depth and intellectual level are considered inferior to the Pesantren. Even among the IAIN graduates, those who have prior
**Pesantren** education have more potential depth in their religious knowledge and understanding compared to those who do not. Institutionally too, *Madrasa* are also said to be the offspring of *Pesantren*. In the next section I wish to concentrate my discussion on the role of *Pesantren* in the transmission of religious traditions.

### 9. Pondok Pesantren Kempek Cirbon and Some Other Pesantrens

In order to have a practical experience and understanding of the *Pesantren* system, the researcher stayed in a rural *Pesantren* for close to a week, in addition to full day visits to two other urban *Pesantrens* during the fieldwork in 2009. Pondok *Pesantren* Kempek Cirbon (Al-Ma'ahad al-'Dini Al-Islami Al-Kemfeky al-Shirbuni) is located in the village Kempek, near Palimanan, Cirebon, 4-5 hours away on bus from Jakarta. It was established by Kia Aqeel Siroj some 50 years ago. Aqeel Siroj was a *Santri* from a poor background but married to the daughter of his *Kiai* who ran the mother *Pesantren* of this Kempek *Pesantren*. He died after the successful life of a revered *Kiai* in the village, and was inherited by four sons. Third son Mustafa Aqeel Siroj, who looks after and manages the day to day affairs of the *Pesantren*, was my host for one week. His elder Saeed Aqeel Siroj, a key leader of NU and a famous scholar of present day Indonesia, led me to that *Pesantren*. The eldest one, Muhammad Aqeel Siroj, works as the spiritual leader and key figure of the *Pesantren*. The youngest son and two grandchildren of the founder help in the *Pesantren* management as they work as teachers in the *Pesantren* and in the government-approved *Madrasa* located in the nearby plot.

Entering the village, passing through the big welcome gate covering the road that turns inside from the Jakarta-Cirebon highway, one can feel and smell the exact atmosphere of a *Pesantren* in rural setting. Interestingly, the *Kiai* family would be the elite and most

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87 The actual plan was to visit Jombang in East Java which is famous for its repository of big and small pesantrens numbering hundreds. A recognized center of the *Pesantren* world, East Java produced many prominent leaders of the Indonesian Islamic community, both traditionalists and modernists. Approximately, 1,800 of the more than 4,000 *Pesantren* in Indonesia are found in East Java (Dhofier et al., 1982, ii). Three most well-known Pesantrens - Tebu Ireng in Jombang, Pesantren in Gontur and Lirboyo in Kediri - were on the list. However, the plan was later changed when a senior Kiai at NU offered a week-long stay facilitating participant observation at a key Pesantren located in a serene village 4-5 hours away from Jakarta.
rich in the village, and the houses of Kiai Mustafa Aqeel and his brothers are the best ones in the village having an imposing presence amid the entire small houses there. They also hold a huge area of agricultural land in their name where harvesting of rice was underway during the visit. In the traditional Pesantren system, Santri not only learns the subjects but they also do all the works at the Pesantren from cultivating the agricultural lands of the Kiai to helping out his family in all the household chores like cleaning, cooking and buying essentials.

Pesantren Kempek has both male and female Santris numbering around 150 in total. The wife of Kiai Mustafa Aqeel is an Ustada, well-educated religiously and of course from a reputed Kiai family, and she is in charge of the girls section. There are more than ten male and female Kiais working as teachers in the Pesantren, and all of them are graduates of same Pesantren. Students hail from far and nearby villages, mostly sons or daughters of poor and middle class people. The dormitories or pondoks constructed for the students to stay at are scattered in the village, amid houses and small shops of other inhabitants in the locality, but in convenient proximity. There are two buildings for boys to stay and one for women and a separate building has been built to accommodate classrooms, in addition to three buildings founded to accommodate the government-approved school in a campus separated from that of Pesantren by compound walls. Other than the main jami mosque in the village, which is used by the Pesantren students only on Friday, the Pesantren has two Masjid s. The one in the main area is a new one but in a typically indigenous architecture.

The Pesantren’s working day starts early in the morning. The Muhammed ‘Aqeel and Mustafa ‘Aqeel lead the pre-dawn special spiritual gathering of students in which both Kiai and Santri engage in chanting of special litanies inherited by senior Kiais through ijaza from their ancestors or their Kiai s. In this way each Kiai builds the spiritual relation with their Santris, a bond that keeps the Santri highly indebted and committed to the Kiai throughout his life. After the Morning Prayer starts the first lesson of the day. Generally, Santri comes to the special lecture halls at the houses of Kiais for these classes. I participated in the morning classes held by Mustafa Aqeel for his senior students. He was teaching them Tafseer Jalalain. The halqah system was used, in which
students sat in a semicircle before the seated scholar, who called on them in turn for recitation. One of the students would read the Arabic sentences of the Text and the Kiai would render its meaning in a traditional Javanese dialect, the deliberate use of which is, as I was told later, part of the Pesantren tradition.

The Pesantren Kempek strictly belongs to the Nahdatul 'Ulama fold and it keeps the tradition of 20th century Pesantren fathers mentioned above. While Kiai Saeed Aqeel is a senior leader of NU, Kiai Mustafa Aqeel heads the Dawa Team (Lambagan Dakwa) of NU. He plays the role of key religious leader well. He always keeps himself busy going from village to village delivering speeches and leading rituals like Salamten. The research followed him to two programs. As it was the time of observing the Isra & Miraj of Prophet Muhammad (s)88, both the programs were gathering of male and female scholars in the region to discuss the religious background and accreditation of Isra & Miraj celebrations. Mustafa Aqeel has an internet connected and well-designed separate building used as a multi-purpose majlis where the Kiai would organize all kind of religious gatherings from scholarly discussions to religious communal rituals and consultations for common people in their religious matter. Thus he keeps the tradition of a Pesantren Kiai as a community leader in the locality. In the syllabus and curriculum also, Pesantren Kempek follows the typical traditional system as it teaches the Kitab Kuning, the classic yellow Kitabs, though with slight modifications. A detailed Syllabus followed at this Pesantren will be given at the end of this chapter.

The students pay for their food and other stationary items. For the food, they sometimes prepare themselves or co-ordinate with small canteen-type hotels available in the Pesantren proximity. Traditionally students did not pay for their education or lodging but worked for the kyai in exchange for their expenses. Through this work, they gained some skills that they could put to use after they returned home. However, due to incorporation

88 Throughout Southeast Asia the Isra&Mi’raj of the Prophet which occurred on Rajab 27 is observed in a high profile celebration with various activities ranging from public gathering, fasting on the day, keeping awake through the night praying, holding communal gatherings for reciting maulids and other panegyrics of Prophet and distributing sweets. The celebrations start before the exact day of remembrance and often continue even after that day. I could participate in many such gatherings both in Singapore and in Indonesia.
of general subjects in the education system, the students get fewer hours in the day for religious study, and it has now become more common for students, or their parents, to pay directly for their expenses.

The other two Pesantren visited by the researcher was Pesantren Siddiquiya and Pesantren Hamidiyah. Located on the outskirts of Jakarta, both the Pesantrens represent modernity and change in the traditional system. The proportion of religious subjects at both the Pesantrens is 30% and the students undergo regular schooling as the Pesantrens themselves run government schools. The pondok Pesantren work as hostels for the students where they learn the Islamic morals and etiquettes and learn a depleted religious syllabus in the classes held at the evening or early morning. These are Pesantrens that reflect the effects of pressure from society and governments to adopt different teaching techniques and to include non-religious subjects. They are trying to ‘make an Islamic modernity, to shape a set of attitudes about authority, time, society, politics, economics, and religion’. The traditionalists used to criticize these modernist Pesantrens alleging that they are creating ‘religious boarding houses and dormitories, devoid of critical components of mysticism, classical texts, and character development’.

The life in Pesantren teaches the Santri many things besides religious education, general education, and job-oriented training. They learn to live simple and modest as the ascetic life style in the Pesantren creates in them an ability to face anything from prosperity to poverty in future life. The Santri sleep on the floor in a room packed with many students, eat meager meals, share his personal properties with others, and join with others in a family-like bond that makes everyone at the help and service of each other in all kind of needs. They get training in budget use of their monthly allowances that make them fiscally responsible adults. The Pesantren life teaches the Santri how to be self sufficient in the life and how to take care of one’s own basic needs like cooking, washing, ironing, and housekeeping. The Pesantren puts strict discipline for students in order to make them morally perfect and behaviorally crystal. It is compulsory for them to attend all the communal prayers, and it is strictly prohibited for them to sneak out of the compound, watch movies, and to do anything deemed to be against Pesantren values. Serious
offenders or violators of the rules may face various kinds of punishments from beatings to shaving-off of heads and sending them home to bring their parents.

10. Instructional Methods

Pesantren employs typically traditional methods of teaching. There occurs individual as well as collective learning. However, under the traditional system no systematic timetable or calendar is followed as in the modern Madrasas and other institutions. The sorogan (individualised instruction) and the bandungan (collective learning) are the two terms known in Pesantren in terms of teaching methods. 'In both the forms, the Santri sits around the kyai who reads, translates and explains his lessons, which are repeated or followed by his students'. In the traditional form, there is no prescribed syllabus or period system. There can be classes at any time at the houses of the Kiai or in the mosque or in the prescribed class rooms. There is a traditionally followed series of classical texts dealing with different Islamic branches of knowledge, and the students of Pesantren are bound to follow that series. Instead of clear cut year-wise syllabus and portions the traditional norm is to learn kitab or group of kitab one after another. For the classes in the traditional system, students will go to the teacher, signifying that ‘the knowledge will not come to you but you should go to it seeking’. It is the teacher who takes all the initiatives to teach a newly joined fresh student until he learns the primaries, grammar and be able to read and comprehend the Arabic language. Once the student reach that standard the style of the instruction would change. Here the student would read the text and the teacher would render the meaning and all needed explanations. With the advance of modern studies and introduction to a number of new researches and applications in instructional methods, many Pesantren have adopted suitable changes in the methods of their teachings.

There is no any strictly prescribed ‘years-of-study’ or course duration in the Pesantren education. Almost all the Santri join Pesantren after having some kind of preliminary studies at their village primaries, called differently from penganjian to Madrasa. There they spend some 2-5 years. In a traditional Pesantren, students pursue an education of 8-12 years. Students in earlier times remained at a Pesantren until they felt they had learned
enough and then returned to society. Committed students, often sons of scholars (gus), moved among schools whose scholars had reputations for special knowledge. A good number traveled to Makkah to study there under noted scholars as the culmination of their education. Today, students usually stay at a particular school for the full education, but sometimes additional training is obtained elsewhere in Southeast Asia, but more often in South Asia or in the Middle East. Al-Azhar University in Egypt and Darul Mustafa and other higher learning centers in Yemen are the two major centres where students from traditional Pesantren go pursuing higher learning in order to become noted Islamic scholars back home. The trend to go to Makkah for higher studies is on a minimum low among this traditional Santri. However, those belonging to Muhammadiyya utilize the opportunities for Islamic higher studies with scholarship at various Saudi universities. Most of the Pesantren Kiais the researcher met during the fieldwork had spent some years of learning either in Yemen or Egypt. And the researcher also met a senior student of Shiekh Umar Hafeedh, a noted scholar and in Yemen, as he was on vacation at the Siddeeqiya Pesantren founded by his father on the outskirt of Jakarta. Another senior student the researcher met at the Pondok Pesantren Kempek Cirebon was preparing for his trip to Yemen to stay there for a two-year higher Islamic learning.

11. Curriculum and Syllabus

Curriculum and Syllabus are the key components of any educational system, and a discussion about it would answer the main questions of this study; what is the make-up of an Islamic scholar? What the ‘Ulama are studying in years they spend in the Islamic higher learning centers? What they learn and what are the branches of knowledge they are getting expertise in? What are the texts they are reading? What all kind of dealings, reactions, responses, activities, visions, etc., can be expected from an Islamic scholar, especially from those who are trained in the traditional system of learning?

Learning was traditionally based on the “old books” (kitāb kuning) of prominent scholars from the Muslim Middle Period (ca. 1250–1850), usually from the Shāfi‘ī school of legal scholarship. Study always included Arabic grammar (nahw) and conjugation or morphology (Sarf), Qurānic recitation (qirā ah, or tajweed), Qurānic exegesis (tafsīr),
theology (Kalam or 'Aqidah), jurisprudence (fiqh), ethics (akhlāq), logic (mantiq), history (tārīkh) and mysticism (tasawwuf). Malay and other local languages were used as the base language of the schools, making them accessible to the local population, which has always made the system popular.

11.1. Bruinessen’s work on Pesantren Curriculum

S Martin van Bruinessen has done a remarkable effort to shed light on the texts being studied in the Pesantren milieu. His research comes exactly a century after the Dutch official L.W.C. van den Berg pioneered a study of the Javanese (and Madurese) Pesantren curriculum in 1886. On the basis of his interviews with Kiai s, Van den Berg compiled a list of 55 major textbooks studied in the Pesantren of the time. He also noted down ‘some general information and short summaries of the more important ones’, and, according to Bruinessen, most of these books are still being reprinted and used in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. Bruinessen’s collection contains around 900 different titles, most of which are used as textbooks.

First he bought all available Islamic books in Arabic script printed in Southeast Asia from the toko kitab (bookshops specializing in this type of religious literature). These texts used in Pesantren are traditionally called Kitab Kuning, meaning yellow books, for these are printed in orange-tinted (‘kuning’) papers, well-connected with the Pesantren tradition, and this paper is more ‘classical’ in the users’ minds. Through a detailed study on his collections, Bruinessen found that of all the texts, around 500 were written or translated by Southeast Asian ‘Ulama. Many of these Indonesian ‘Ulamawrote in Arabic: almost 100 titles, or around 10%, are Arabic works by Southeast Asians (or Arabs resident in the region). Those in Indonesian languages were, of course, all written by Southeast Asians (including some of Arab descent). If translations are counted separately, the approximate numbers of kitab in the various languages are as follows:

89. Locally printed books are sociologically significant besides being the most convenient and cheap. Arabic books printed in Egypt and Lebanon are also available, but there is a big price difference.

154
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Approximate number of <em>kitab</em></th>
<th>Percentage of total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javanese</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundanese</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madurese</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acehnese</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If categorized on the subject lines,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fiqh</em></td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aqida, usul al-din</em></td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional Arabic grammar (<em>nahw, Sarf, balagha</em>)</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hadith</em> collections</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tasawwuf, Tariqa</em></td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>akhlaq</em></td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collections of prayers and invocations, Islamic magic (<em>du’A, wird, mujarrabat</em>)</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>texts in praise of the prophets and saints (<em>qisas al-anbiya’, Mawlid, manaqib, etc.</em>)</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, there was only rare study of the *Qurān* and the traditions directly a century ago, but it was studied in the ‘processed’ form of scholastic works on jurisprudence and doctrine. Van den Berg collection shows that only one *Tafsir*, the Jalalayn, was studied in the *Pesantren*, and no *Hadith* collections at all. Bruinessen’s collection shows more than ten different *Qurānic* commentaries (in Arabic, Malay, Javanese and Indonesian) being used in *Pesantren* and almost all of them teach *Hadith* a separate subject. *Fiqh*, the
Islamic science par excellence, shows no remarkable changes other than the introduction to the curriculum of usul al-Fiqh (the foundations or bases of Fiqh), which allows a more flexible and dynamic view of Fiqh.

According to him the characteristics of Kitab Kuning are;

1. ‘Most of the classical Arabic kitab studied in the Pesantren are commentaries (sharh, Ind./jav: syarah), or glosses (hashiya, hasyiyah) upon commentaries on older original texts (matn, matan). The printed editions of these classical works usually have the text that is commented or glossed upon printed in the margin, so that both may be studied together. This has perhaps been the reason of occasional confusions between related texts. The name Taqrib, for instance, is used both for this short and simple Fiqh text itself and for the Fath al-qarib, a more substantial commentary on it. If one asks for the Mahalli, a popular advanced Fiqh work, one is given the voluminous super-commentary on it by Qalyubi and 'Umayra, that has Mahalli's Kanz al-raghibin in a modest position in the margin, etc.

2. Many of the basic texts are manzum, i.e. written in rhymed verse (nazm, nadham), to facilitate memorization. Perhaps the longest manzum text is the Alfiyya, a text on Arabic grammar, so called because it consists of thousand (alf) bayt. Many generations of Santri have, patiently chanting, committed this entire work to memory, along with a whole range of other texts.

3. The most common format of the classical kitab for Pesantren use is not bound. The quires (koras) lie loose in the jacket, so that the Santri may take out any single page that he happens to be studying. Many users of classical kitab are strongly attached to it, and some publishers even print kitab on orange-tinted (‘kuning’) paper, because this too is more ‘classical’ in the users’ minds.

4. No great shifts in the popularity of classical authors during the past century. Virtually all kitabs mentioned by Van Den Berg are still available in Indonesia, in recent reprints. But there are some relatively new commentaries on these works done by some eminent scholars of the recent past. One of the most influential of them is Ahmad b. Zayni Dahlan, the Shafi'i mufti of Makkah in late 19th century, he is represented by seven works in the collection, and his younger contemporary Sayyid
Bakri b. Muhammad Shatta' al-Dimyati, author of *I'Anat al-talibin*, is represented by four. The most ubiquitous presence, however, is that of the Indonesian author Muhammad b. 'Umar Nawawi al-Jawi al-Bantani (Nawawi Banten), who has twenty-two titles in the collection, all of them in Arabic. Eleven of them occur in the list of most frequently used *kitab*. Nawawi wrote on virtually every aspect of Islamic learning. Most of his works are comments on well-known texts, explaining them in simple terms. He is perhaps best regarded as a popularizer of, rather than a contributor to, learned discourse.

Another commentator comparable to Nawawi Banten in scope and popularity is the earlier Egyptian author Ibrahim al-Bajuri, who was shaykh al-islam of Cairo, (d. 1277/1861), several of whose works were already widely used in van den Berg’s time. The collection contains six of works of his hand, on *Fiqh*, doctrine and logic. Besides Nawawi, several other Southeast Asian authors have acquired lasting places in the *Pesantren* or *Madrasa* curriculum like Da‘ud b. 'Abdallah al-Patani (d. ca. 1845), Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari, 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani and Sayyid Usman ('Uthman b. 'Abdallah b. 'Aqil b. Yahya al-‘Alawi). K.H. Ihsan b. Muhammad Dahlan of Jampes, Kediri wrote (in Arabic) a much admired commentary on Ghazali’s Minhaj al-‘abidin, titled *Siraj al-talibin*).

In Indonesian *Pesantrens*, translated texts from Arabic to Javanese are also used for teaching. Recently there are *Kitab Kuning* in Madurese and Sundanese as well covering almost all branches of learning.

11. 1. A. The instrumental sciences

The instrumental sciences, *Ilmu alat*, are the various branches of traditional Arabic grammar: *nahw* (syntax), *Surf* (inflection or morphology), *balagha* (rhetoric), etc. There are different texts on these subjects. Traditionally, the student starts with the basics of *Surf*, memorizing the first tables of verbal and nominal inflection. The simplest work of this category is the Bina (Al-bina’ wa‘l-asas, by a certain Mulla al-Danqari); having mastered this, the student would turn to the Izzi (Al-tasrif li‘l-‘izzi, by 'Izzaddin Ibrahim
al-Zanjani) or to the Maqsud (Al-maqṣūd fīʾl-Sarf, an anonymous work often attributed to Imam Abu Hanifa). On successful completion of this stage, the student would start the first works on nahw before going on to more difficult Sarf works. Al-ʾAwamil al-miʿārīʿa, by ʿAbd al-Qahir b. ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jurjani, (d. 471 AH) is one of the simplest, and most widely popular works of this kind.

After this, the student was likely to proceed to the Jurumiyah (Al-muqaddima al-ajūrmiyya, by Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad b. Daʿūd al-Sanhaji b. Ajurrum, d. 723 AH). Amīsilatut Tasrīfiyyah (Al-amthilat al-tasrīfyya liʾl-madaris al-salafiyya, consisting of inflection tables), by the Javanese author Muhammad Maʿṣūm b. ʿAli of Jombang, is another introductory work became quite popular recently in Javanese Pesantren. In the next stage, instead of, or together with, the Maqsud, one studies Ḥall al-maʿqud min naẓm al-maqṣūd, the sharḥ written by the Egyptian Muhammad ʿUllaysh (d. 1881). An extensive commentary on the Izzi, named Kailanī after its author, ʿAli b. Hisham al-Kaylānī, generally follows in the next stage. This is now the most frequently used work on Sarf.

In Nahw, after the Jurumiyah, the student learn the Imrithī (a manzūm version of the Jurumiyah), followed by Mutammīmah and/or (directly) the Alfiyah of Ibnu Malik, usually together with a commentary. Qatr al-Nadaʿ wa ball al-sadaʿ, by Ibn Hisham

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90 'Awamil is a list of situations determining the case endings of nouns and the vowel following the final consonant of verbs

91 Bruinessen, who has also studied about madrasa curriculum in Kurdistan, says that this introductory curriculum Arabic grammar was accepted in regions wide apart; and the same texts were studied, in this order, in traditional madrasa in Kurdistan. We will see resemblance while noting down the curriculum of traditional higher education in Kerala.

92 Mutammīmah is a more elaborate commentary of Jurumiyah by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ruʿaynī al-Hattab. Ḥarrīthī, or Al-durra al-bahiyya, is named after its author Shārāf b. Yāḥya al-Aṃṣārī al-Iṣṭīrī. Aṣyamawī, a commentary on the Jurumiyah by a certain ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAshmawī, is one another frequently encountered in this genre.

93 The commentary called Ibnu Aqīl is the most popular of Alfiyah commentaries and it has long been in common use. It is named after its author ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahman al-ʿAqīl. There are many other commentaries on Alfiyah, but are less popular. However, a late 19th century commentary on it by Shafīʿi mufti of Makkah, Ahmad b. Zayni Dahlan, is quite popular in Indonesia and is commonly called Dahlan Alfiyah
Qawā'id al-ī'rab of the same author is mainly used in a versified (manzum) Javanese translation (by Yusuf bin Abdul Qadir Barnawi). Bruinessen further observes the recent trend in many Pesantren circles to replace these classical works to more modern teaching methods. Qawā'id al-lughah al-'Arabiyya, a series of textbooks by the Egyptian author Hafni Bak Nasif et al. (Gobée 1921), was introduced in the more modern Madrasa of Sumatera Thawalib in West Sumatra in the 1930s, along with other modern Egyptian textbooks and books by local 'Ulama who had studied in Egypt. Now Madrasas and the state schools for religion teachers (PGA) are also using these textbooks. Al-nahw al-wadih fi qawā'id al-lughat al-'Arabiyya, written by two Arab authors, 'Ali Jarim and Mustafa Amin, is the other modern grammar textbook fast replacing the old ones.

In the final major branch of Arabic grammar, rhetoric (balagha, with its subdivisions of bayan, ma‘ani, and badi‘), two classical kitab dominate the curriculum; Jauharul Maknun and Uqudul Juman. The latter (Al-murshidi ‘Ala ‘uqud al-juman fi ‘Ilm al-ma‘ani wa al-bayan) is a manzum text on rhetoric by Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti, based on Siraj al-Din al-Sakkaki’s ‘Ilm al-ma‘ani wa al-bayan. Abu al-Qasim al-Samarqandi’s Al-risala al-samarqandiyya, with its various commentaries, is the only other balagha text widely available. Al-balagha al-wadiha by the authors of Nahwul Wadih is the modern Blagha text replacing the classical ones. Ibn al-Hajib’s Kafiya, and Burhan al-Din Abu Fath Nasir al-Din’s Al-misbah are some other texts in this category, but less popular.

Tajwid, the science of learning proper articulation and intonation of Qur’anic Arabic, has been counted as an auxiliary ‘science’ that comes among the very first subjects to be studied (basically, tajwid comes under the Qur’anic sciences). The Tuhfat al-atfal (Gift

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94 Buinessen’s note for this: Van den Berg and Drewes give Ibn Hisham’s full name as (Abu) ‘Abdallah (Muhammad) b. Yusuf b. Hisham, but the title page of Indonesian editions of his work call him Jamal al-Din b. Hisham al-Ansari. Shihab al-Din Ahmad al-Fakihi’s Mujid al-nida’ and Ahmad al-Sija’i’s hashiya on it, with further glosses by Shams al-Din al-Anbabi, are the available commentaries on this work in Indonesia.

95 Al-jawahir al-maknuna fi al-ma‘ani wa al-bayan wa al-badi‘ is written by ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Akhdari (b. 920/1514). The same title often refers to a sharh on this work by Ahmad al-Damanhuri (1101-1177/1689-1763, see GAL II, 371) and further glosses by Makhluf al-Minyawi, widely available in Indonesia (also called Makhluf).
for children) by Sulayman Junzuri and the anonymous *Hidayat al-sibyan* (Guidance for little boys) are the short elementary texts on this subject.

*Mantiq*, Aristotelian logic is yet another auxiliary science in the curriculum and *Sullamul Munawraq fi `Ilm al-mantiq* by al-Akhmdari (the author of *Al-jawhar al-maknun*) is the widely used textbook in this category. Ahmad al-Damanhuri’s commentary on this, *Idah al-mubaham min ma ’Ani al-sullam*, is also popular in Indonesia. In the margin of *Sullam*’s printed edition there is another sharh on it by al-Akhmdari himself. The latter sharh is also available together with the glosses written by Ibrahim al-Bajuri. One can see two other, untitled, commentaries on *Sullam*, written by Hasan Darwish al-Quwaysini (c. 1210/1795) and the Azhar scholar Ahmad b. ’Abd al-Fattah al-Mullawi (d. 1181/1767), with glosses by M. b. ’Ali al-Sabban. There is also a manzum Javanese translation by Bisri Mustofa. Another fundamental manual of logic, *Isaghuji*, by Athir al-Din Mufaddal al-Abhari (d. 663/1264) is also widely available.

**11. 1. B. Jurisprudence (Fiqh) and its principles**

‘Works on *Fiqh* form the real substance of the *Pesantren* education’. The introductory texts used in *Pesantren* are *Sullam al-tawfiq* by ‘Abdallah b. Husayn b. Tahir Ba’alawi (d. 1272/1855), and *Safinat al-naja* by Salim b ’Abdallah b Samir, a Hadrami scholar resident in Batavia (Jakarta) in the mid-19th century. *Mirqat su’ud al-tasdiq* by Nawawi Banten and *Is’Ad al-rafiq* by his colleague in Makkah, M. Sa’id Ba-Basil, are the two widely used commentaries on *Sullam*. Nawawi Banten has also an Arabic commentary on *Safinat al-naja*, called *Kashifat al-saja*. Pesantren community uses many indigenous adaptations of these texts in the primary stages to get the first knowledge of Shafii *Fiqh*. In the bigger stages other classical texts mentioned below are used.

Interestingly, Ibn Hajar’s *Tuhfat al-muhtaj*, a seminal 16th century work in Shafii *Fiqh* mentioned by van den Berg has ceased to exist as a learning text in Indonesia during Bruinessen’s research, ‘and an Indonesian edition of this text does not even exist’. However, leading (traditional) ‘*Ulama* use this as an ultimate work of reference for

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96 this work is not a translation of Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, as had often been assumed (Bruinessen)
difficult issues. For everyday use, they prefer more easily accessible works like \textit{Fath al-wahhab}\textsuperscript{97} and \textit{l'Anat al-taliban}. The latter is the 'most recent of the great traditional \textit{Fiqh} works', and is often found 'the most adequate to contemporary concerns'. Some \textit{Pesantrens}, mostly those under the modernist influence, are now using some texts outside the Shafi'i classics like Ibn Rushd's \textit{Bidayat al-mujtahid}, the multi-volume \textit{Fiqh al-sunna} by the modern Egyptian author Sayyid Sabiq.

Bruinessen has given the details of major works of traditional Shafi'i \textit{Fiqh} being used in Indonesian \textit{Pesantren} milieu in the form of four genealogical trees, descending from Rafi'i's \textit{Muharrar}, Abu Shuja' al-Isfahani's \textit{Taqrib} (or \textit{Mukhtasar}), Malibari's \textit{Qurrat al-`Ayn}, and 'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-Karim Ba-Fadl's \textit{Al-muqaddima al-hadramiyya} respectively. The \textit{Muharrar} family has the greatest prestige.

\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Fath al-wahhab} is considered by Indonesians as a more systematic shafi legal texts than any other ones
Muharrar
(Rafi‘i, d. 623/1226)

Minhaj al-talibin
(Nawawi, d. 676/1277-8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kanz al-raghibin</th>
<th>Manhaj al-tullab</th>
<th>Tuhfat al-muhtaj</th>
<th>Mughni‘l-muhtaj</th>
<th>Nihayat al-muhtaj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Mahalli, d. 864/1460)</td>
<td>(Ansari, d. 926/1520)</td>
<td>973/1565-977/1569-70</td>
<td>977/1569-70</td>
<td>1004/1595-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[sharh] Fath al-[hashiya]</th>
<th>[hashiya]</th>
<th>[hashiya]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Qalyubi &amp; wahhab) (Shirwani)</td>
<td>(Shabramalisi)</td>
<td>(Maghribi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Umayra)</td>
<td>(Ansari)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d. 1087/1676</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[hashiya]</th>
<th>[hashiya]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Bujayrimi, d. 1221/1806)</td>
<td>(Jamal, d. 1204/1789-90)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Indonesian ‘Ulama consider commentaries on Abu Zakariya’ Yahya al-Nawawi’s *Minhaj al-talibin* by Ibn Hajar al-Haytami and Shams al-Din al-Ramli as the most authoritative. They prefer Ibn Hajar in cases of differences between these authorities\(^98\), and for important fatwas. ‘In everyday practice, however, Tuhfa is not all that often consulted, and it is very hard even to find a copy in the shops’. The printed version of *Tuhfa* is available in the margin of the ten-volume commentary by ‘Abd al-Hamid Shirwani, a teacher at Makkah in the mid-nineteenth century. Ramli’s *Nihayat al-muhtaj* is found in an eight-volume edition with the glosses by ‘Ali Shabramalisi and Ahmad al-Maghribi al-Rashidi in the margin. *Mughni l-muhtaj* by Khatib Sharbini is also used besides Ramli and Ibn Hajar. Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli’s commentary (commonly known as ‘the’ Mahalli) is one of the universally available work of this family. This is printed along with extensive glosses of Qalyubi and ‘Umayra. Fath al-wahhab, a commentary by Zakariya’ Ansari on his own Manhaj al-tullab, which is a summary of the Minhaj, is another one.

The *Taqrib* family is the most popular in Indonesia. It derives from the highly popular *Fiqh* works *Taqrib* (*Al-ghaya wa l-taqrib*, also known as Mukhtasar) by Abu Shuja’ al-Isfahani) and its commentary *Fath al-qarib* (by Ibn Qasim al-Ghazzi). Almost all *Pesantren* include one of these texts in their syllabus. Translations of these two in various Indonesian languages are also available. *Kifayat al-akhyar*, by Taqi al-Din Dimashqi, ranks second only to the *Fath al-qarib* among the commentaries. *Iqna’* by Khatib Sharbini is a more difficult text in the family. It is printed along with *Taqirir*, a commentary by a certain ‘Awwad. ‘Bajuri’s glosses, much used a century ago, appear to have lost their attraction nowadays’.

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\(^98\) These preferences are not the same among all Shafi’i Muslims; among the Kurds, for instance, Sharbini’s *Mughni l-muhtaj* is the ultimate work of reference, besides the Minhaj itself (Bruinessen)
The third family revolves around *Fath al-Mu’in*, written by 16th century Makkah-and-Cairo-educated Kerala scholar Sheikh Zainuddin Al-Malaibari, a student of Ibn Hajar. This is a commentary on, or a reworking of *Qurrat al-‘Ayn*, a precise text by the same author. This has long been popular in Indonesia. Nihayat al-zayn, a 19th century commentary on the basic work *Qurrat al-‘Ayn* by the famous Indonesian scholar Nawawi Banten, has got more popularity in Indonesia these days. Two other luminaries in 19th century Makkah wrote extensive glosses on the *Fath al-mu’in*. The first is *‘Anal talibin* by Sayyid Bakri b. Muhammad Shatta’ al-Dimyati. It is a four-volume work, ‘that incorporates the author’s notes on many subjects, as well as a number of fatwa by the contemporary Shafi’i mufti Ahmad b. Zayni Dahlan’. Two-volume *Tarshih al-mustafidin* by ‘Alwi al-Saqqaf is the second one.

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99 This comprehensive Shafii legal text, written in Ponnani, Kerala, has a global acceptance and it is widely taught at almost all Shafi’I learning centres. According to Bruinessen, *Fath al-mu’in* is the most popular textbook in Kurdistan, and the extensive commentary on it, *I‘anat al-talibin*, is the most often used work of reference in the Kurdish madrasa.
In the 19th century list of Van den Berg, there is mention of a fourth family of Fiqh work derived from the 9th/15th century elementary text *Al-muqaddima al-hadramiyya* by ʿAbdallah b. ʿAbd al-Karim Ba-Fadl, known in Java as Bapadal. Great scholar Ibn Hajar al-Haytami has a commentary on it, namely * Minhaj al-qawim,* on which Sulayman al-Kurdi, Shafiʿi mufti of Medina in the late 18th century, wrote extensive glosses, *Al-hawashiʿl-madantiyya.* Ibn Hajar’s Minhaj is used all over Java. Great East Javanese ‘alim Mahfudz bin Abdullah of Termas (d. 1338/1919-20) has written a Sharh in Arabic on Muqaddimah, while another one is written by a Saʿid b. M. Baʾshin in the name of *Bushraʾl-karim bi-sharh masaʾil al-taʾlim ʿAla muqaddimah al-hadramiyya.* This Fiqh family ‘differs from the first three families in that they only deal with Fiqh al-ʿubudiyya, the prescriptions concerning worship like ritual cleanliness, prayer, zakat, the fast and the hajj, and not with muʿamalat (transactions), family and inheritance law, penal law, etc., which make up some 60% of the other texts’.
Other jurisprudential texts used in the Pesantren milieu, mainly for reference purposes, include *Tahrir tanqih li’l-lubab fi fiqh al-Imam al-Shafi’i* by Zakariya’ al-Ansari. This, based on al-Mahamili’s (d. 415/1024) *Lubab al-Fiqh*, is printed together with *Tuhfat al-tullab*, a commentary on *Tahrir* by Ansari himself. Abdallah al-Sharqawi (d. 1127/1812) has written further glosses on this *Tuhfa*, namely *Hashiya ‘Ala sharh al-tahrir*, which is also widely available in Indonesia (colloquially known as *Syarqawi ala Tahrir*). *Al-riyad al-badi’ fi usul al-din wa hadfuru’ al-shari’A* by certain Muhammad Hasballah is text known Indonesia but unknown elsewhere in the Shafi’i milieu. Nawawi Banten, who has a sharh on this, *Al-thamar al-yani’A*, is said to have introduced this text that deals with selected points of doctrine and religious obligations.

‘Sullam al-munajat is another work by Nawawi Banten, a commentary on the guide for worship *Safinat al-salah* by ʿAbdallah b. ʿUmar al-Hadrami. *Uqudul Lujain* (‘Uqud al-lujjayn fi huquq al-zawjayn) is another work by Nawawi Banten, on the rights and especially duties of the married woman. The *Sittin* (Al-masa’il al-sittin) by Abu al-ʿAbbas Ahmad al-Misri (d. 818/1415), a short text dealing with basic doctrine and the five pillars, was very popular in 19th-century Java, but not even recognized now. *Al-muhadhdhab* is a work of Shafi’i *Fiqh* by Ibrahim b. ʿAli al-Shirazi al-Firuzabadi (d. 476/1083). *Bughyat al-mustarshidin* is a collection of fatwa by 19th/20th century

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<td>Al-muqaddima al-hadramiyya</td>
<td>(ʿAbdallah Ba-Fadl, 10th/16th century)</td>
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<td>Sharh ʿala Ba-fadl (Mahfuz al-Tarmasi, d.1338/1919-20)</td>
<td>Minhaj al-qawim (Ibn Hajar al-Haytami, d.973/1565-6) Bushraʾl-karim (Saʿid b. M. Baʾshin)</td>
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<td>Al-hawashi-l-madaniyya (Sulayman al-Kurdi, d.1194/1780)</td>
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<th>Other texts</th>
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<td><em>Tahrir tanqih li’l-lubab fi fiqh al-Imam al-Shafiʾi</em></td>
<td>Zakariya’ al-Ansari (d. 415/1024)</td>
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<td><em>Tuhfat al-tullab</em></td>
<td>Ansari himself</td>
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In order to make the Fiqh study easy and away from the classical language, two new texts have appeared in simple Arabic. They are Al-mabadi al-fiqhiyya ‘Ala Madhhab al-Imam al-Shafi’i (4 tiny volumes) by 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbar and Al-fiqh al-wadih by the Minangkabau scholar Mahmud Yunus.

As far as usul al-Fiqh or the principles of jurisprudence is concerned, it is understood that it was not part of the ordinary Pesantren curriculum before 20th century, but eminent scholars had tried to comprehend this subject. Indonesia witnessed wide use of Usul al-Fiqh texts in the early 20th century, when there was reference to texts like Risala of Shafi’i, Al-ashbah wa al-naza’ir by Suyuti and Bidayat al-mujtahid of Ibn Rushd during theological and jurisprudential discourses between the modernists and traditionalists. Now, usul Fiqh is compulsory subject in the middle and higher levels of Pesantren education. Minangkabau author Abdul Hamid Hakim has written a series of three simple textbooks on usul al-Fiqh - Mabadi Awwaliyya, Al-sullam and Al-bayan - for elementary use in Madrasa.

Al-warraqat fi usul al-Fiqh by Imam al-haramayn 'Abd al-Malik al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) along with its various commentaries, is the major introductory work on the subject. The collection available in Indonesia contains five different commentaries including Sharafaddin Yahya al-Imriti’s Tashil al-turuqat and Al-nafahat ‘Ala sharh al-warraqat by the Minangkabau reformist Ahmad Khatib. Jam’ al-Jawami’ by Taj al-dīn 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Subki, is one of the major texts on the science of law. This text is printed along with the sharh by Jalaladdin al-Mahalli, glosses by Bannani and further glosses (taqrir) by 'Abd al-Rahman Sharbini. Indonesian 'Ulama also use a summarized version of Jam’ al-jawami’, called Lubb al-usul, written by Zakariya’ al-Ansari. The compendium Al-ashbah wa al-naza’ir fi al-furu’ by Jalaladdin Suyuti and Al-luma’ fi usul al-fiqh by Ibrahim b. 'Ali al-Shirazi al-Firuzabadi are other major reference works in this genre. Many learned Kiais use Ibn Rushd’s Bidayat al-mujjahid, which compares opinions of various Madhhab, as a work of reference.
11. C. Doctrine (tawhid, 'aqida, usul al-din)

This branch of knowledge is given much less importance in Pesantren compared to Fiqh, probably because of a general concept in Pesantren circles that too much interest in and discourses on matters of doctrine can only lead to unbelief. All the 'aqida texts that exist in the curriculum are 'straightforward expositions of Ash'ari doctrine on the subject matter. Abu 'Abdallah M. b. Yusuf al-Sanusi’s (d. 895/1490) Umm al-barahin (also called Al-durra) is the basic text in this category. His own substantial commentary, which is commonly called Sanusi(yah) is the most popular and widely used one in teaching. This text is printed in the margin of Ibrahim al-Bajuri’s (d. 1277/1861) highly popular hashiya, which is, by extension, also known as Sanusi[yah]. ‘Other frequently used commentaries are the hashiya on the Sanusi by Muhammad al-Dasuqi (d.1230/1815), and a more substantial text by 'Abdallah al-Sharqawi (d. 1127/1812), which is itself a hashiya on an 11th century commentary by a Muhammad b. Mansur al-Hudhudi. The Pesantren community used to mention all these texts by the names of their authors’. M b M al-Faddali’s (d. 1236/1821) Kifayat al-'Awamm, a work partially based on the Sanusi, is highly popular in Indonesia, and is printed along with a commentary on it by his pupil Ibrahim Bajuri, Tahqiq al-maqam ‘Ala kifayat al-'Awamm. Nawawi Banten has glossed on this text in his widely read Tijan al-durari.

The introductory text used in doctrine is 'Aqidat al-'Awamm', a 'simple, versified text' by 19th century scholar Ahmad al-Marzuqi al-Maliki al-Makki. Santris memorize this text long before they even begin to understand Arabic. Nawawi Banten has a well-known commentary on it, titled Nur al-zalam. Another highly popular doctrinal text is Ibrahim al-Laqani’s (d. 1041/1631) concise versified text Jawharat al-tawhid. Pesantren students used to memorize its entire matan while studying its various commentaries, including Ibrahim al-Bajuri’s Tuhfat al-murid. Some modern works like Jawahir al-kalamiyya fi idah al-'Aqida al-islamiyya by Syrian Tahir b. Salih al-Jaza’iri (d 1919), Al-husun al-hamidiyya li al-muhafaza ‘Ala al-'Aqida id al-islamiyya by modernist and rationalist Husayn b. M. al-Jasr Efendi al-Tarabulusi (d. 1909), and Aqidatul Islamiyah100 by one

100 This is a modern question-and-answer catechism for pupils of the lowest grades of madrasah,
Basri b. H. Marghubi have also been introduced to the Pesantren world through the Egyptian-influenced scholars. ‘It is remarkable that Nasafi’s work and Taftazani’s commentary seem to be unknown in Indonesia, though it was among the first works to be translated into Malay’.

11. 1. D. Qur’anic exegesis (Tafsir)

As we explained above the texts in Tafsir genre were used less as teaching materials and more as references. The ubiquitous Tafsir al-Jalalayn is the only text used earlier for teaching. Baydawi’s Tafsir was used by some highly exceptional Kiai s. However, in the 20th century, more Tafsirs became part of the curriculum, and the Pesantren milieu started using large number of exegesis for reference. Still, one can see the range of Tafsirs taught is very narrow. Along with teaching Tafsir Jalalayn, the Tarjuman al-mustafid, a Malay translation of it by ‘Abd al-Ra’uf of Singkel of the Jalalayn, with some interposed material from other Tafsir, is used in the Malay-speaking part of the Archipelago. Nawawi Banten has written a Tafsir namely Al-Tafsir al-munir li ma’Alim al-tanzil, but this had ‘not yet come into use because of the general conservatism of the Pesantren curriculum’.

Classical Tafsirs by Tabari, Ibn Kathir and Razi are also used for reference in Pesantrens, while Pesantren with modernist tendencies use modern Tafsirs like Tafsir al-manar by Muhammad ‘Abduh and Rashid Rida, Tafsir al-Maraghi by Ahmad Mustafa al-Maraghi, Fi dhilal al Qur’an by Sayyid Qutab and Tafhim al Qur’an by Abul A’la Maududi. There are many Tafsirs and translations with annotations written by Indonesian and Malaysian authors, including an extensive 30-volume Javanese Tafsir, Al-iklil fi ma’Ani al-tanzil, by Misbah b. Zayn al-Mustafa.

Of the works on the principles of Tafsir, only two classics are listed, both by Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti: Itmam al-diraya li qurra’ al-nuqaya and Al-itqan fi ‘ulum al-Qur’an.
11. 1. E. Hadith

The Hadith as a subject in the form of classical collections and its methodology is relatively a new subject in the Pesantren milieu\(^1\). The 19th century records of Van den Berg mention not even a single Hadith text. The six canonical collections or other popular compilations were not part of the curriculum a century ago. The only exception was the use of collections in the form of ‘Forty Hadith’. The Arba’in of Abu Zakariya’ Yahya al-Nawawi is used in many Pesantren ‘for the less advanced Santri, and they are also popular as non-curricular religious literature, in Arabic as well as in Indonesian translation’. Selected portions from standard collections of Bukhari and Muslim are now widely used in many Pesantren. Two popular selections from Bukhari are Al-tajrid al-sarih by Shihabaddin Ahmad al-Sharji al-Zabidi (d. 893/1488) and Jawahir al-Bukhari by Mustafa M. ‘Imara. However, Bulugh al-maram min adillat al-ahkm, compiled by Ibn Hajar al-’Asqalani (d. 852/1449) and Riyad al-salihin min kalam sayyid al-mursalin, a larger collection Yahya b. Sharafaddin al-Nawawi are the most popular and ubiquitous Hadith texts used in Pesantren. Subul al-salam by Muhammad b. Isma’il al-Kahlani (d. 1182/1769) is a commentary on the first. The second is the most popular collection of Hadith worldwide. There are many Indonesian collections and commentaries. Tanqih al-qawl al-hathith fi sharh lubab al-Hadith is a commentary written by Nawawi Banten on on Suyuti’s collection Lubab al-Hadith. Mukhtar al-aHadith, a selection compiled by the modern Egyptian author Ahmad al-Hashimi Bak, is taught in some Pesantrens

The study of Usulul Hadith and the critical study of Hadith is yet almost unknown in the Pesantren environment of Indonesia. However, one can see many ‘Ulama having profound expertise in Hadith and its branches of knowledge like ‘Ilmu dirayat al-Hadith and Jarah ta’dil. Modernists, have more such critical studies in their curriculum due to their ‘greater interest in the critical study of Hadith literature. One of the texts used in Pesantren for Usul al-Hadith is an untitled short versified text by Taha b. Muhammad al-Fattuh al-Bayquni (d. after 1080/1669) known as Baiquniyah. There are many

\(^1\) The santri study many Hadith during his learning of various subjects. And ‘no work of fiqh is thinkable without Hadith supporting its argument - but these were, as it were, already processed, selected and quoted according to the needs of the author’
commentaries on it, including the most popular one by ‘Atiya al-Ajhuri (d. 1190/1776). ‘This is the work one usually gets when asking for ‘the’ Baiquniyah’. Taqrirat al-saniyya by Hasan Muhammad al-Mashshat, who taught in Makkah’s Masjid al-haram in the nineteen thirties and forties, is another popular commentary on it.

11. 1. F. Morality and mysticism or Akhlaq and Tasawwuf

One cannot draw an exact borderline between the subjects of akhlaq and Tasawwuf as taught in the Pesantren. Texts that belong to the wahdat al-wujud Sufism and metaphysics are not part of the syllabus now, though earlier scholars of Indonesia like Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar were its propounders. However, one can see classical texts of the genre like ‘Abd al-Karim al-Jili’s Al-insan al-kami and Ibn Arabi’s Al-futuhat al-makkiyya at the reading desks of some small elites.

Almost all the Pesantren Santri start their moral learning with Burhan al-Islam al-Zarnuji’s highly celebrated Ta’lim al-Muta‘allim li tariq al-ta’Alum, a small treatise on the proper obedient attitude of the student towards his teacher. This work is considered as the very pillar of Pesantren education. Wasaya al-aba’ li’l-ibna’ by the Egyptian author ‘shaykh ‘Ulama al-Iskandariyya’ Muhammad Shakir is another short text on moral values. Now Pesantren and Madrasa have included a compulsory reading of one ‘Umar b. Ahmad Barja’s two-volume set moral texts called Al-akhlaq li’l-banat and Al-akhlaq l’il-banin. Bruinessen has included three other texts in this category. The first one is Irshad al-‘ubbad ila sabil al-rashad by Zayn al-Din b ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Malibari (the grandfather of the author of Fath al-mu’in)104. The second one is Nasa’ih al-‘ubbad, Nawawi Banten’s sharah on Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalani’s Al-nabahat ‘Ala isti‘dad. One of the introductory moral texts for Santris, this work It focuses on the rules for personal

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102 this was part of curriculum of in several West Javanese Pesantren half a century ago

103 There are some strong criticism against this text, especially in reformist circles, saying that this inculcates a passive and uncritical attitude in the Santri.

104 Various printed editions of the Arabic text exist, and there is a recent Javanese translation by Misbah b. Zayn al-Mustafa
conduct. *Imam* Nawawi’s *Al-adhkar al-muntakhab min kalam sayyid al-abrar* containing prescriptions for worship and pious conduct, is the third one.

Generally, *Imam* Ghazali has replaced the more adventurous mystics to dominate the titles of *Tasawwuf* texts as his *Ihya ulumu al-din*, *Bidayat al-hidaya* and *Minhaj al-`abiding* are part of the *Pesantren* syllabus. Nawawi Banten has an Arabic commentary on the *Bidaya*, entitled *Maraqi’l-`ubudiyya*, while *Ihsan b. Muhammad Dahlan* of Jampes, Kediri (d. 1952) has written a two-volume commentary on *Minhaj*, titled *Siraj al-talibin*.

*Hikam*, Ibn `Ata’illah al-Iskandari celebrated collection of Sufi aphorisms, is well-known in *Pesantren* circles along with numerous translations and commentaries, including a four-volume commentary by the Acehnese K.H. Muhibbuddin Waly.

The *Pesantren* community treats *Hidayat al-adhkiya’ ila tariq al-awliya*, the didactic versified text on practical mysticism by *Zayn al-Din al-Malibari* (written in 914/1508-9) with high respect. Mentioned in the *Serat Centini*, this popular text is used in Indonesia along with several commentaries on it like the *Kifayat al-atqiya’ wa minhaj al-asfiya* by *Sayyid Bakri b M Shatta’ al-Dimyati*, *Salalim al-fudala* by prolific Javanese scholar *Nawawi Banten*. The latter one is generally printed in Indonesia in the margin of *Sayyid Bakri’s Kifaya*. ‘There are also Javanese translations and commentaries by *Saleh Darat* (Minhaj al-atqiya’) and by ‘Abd al-Jalil Hamid al-Qandali (Tuhfat al-asfiya’), as well as an interlineary Madurese translation (by ‘Abd al-Majid Tamim of Pamekasan’).

Interestingly, among the *Tasawwuf* titles popular in Indonesian *Pesantren* milieu we find two works by the pious Hadrami author and mystic ‘Abdallah b. ‘Alwi al-Haddad (d. 1132/1720), who composed the popular *Ratibul Haddad* and wrote around ten books, mostly on Sufi piety. ‘His *Al-risala al-mu ‘Awana wa’l-muzahara wa’l-muwazara* has for some time been one of the standard texts on proper behaviour and devotional attitude used in Javanese *Pesantren*. The other work is *Al-nasa’ih al-diniyya wa’l-wasaya’ al-imaniyya*. 
11. 1. G. Sira/Tariq-History of Islam /Prophet’s Biography

The history has not been a regular subject taught at Pesantren. Rather than making it a teaching subject, works on Islamic history and Prophet’s biography were used as reference books. Moreover, other than classical history texts, people depended on popular devotional texts on the Prophet and saints to earn knowledge and awareness of the history of Islam. *Nur al-yaqin* by Egyptian Muhammad Khudri Bak and the abbreviated *Khulasat nur al-yaqin*, prepared by ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Jabbar, the Makkahn author of many Madrasa textbooks, are almost the only serious works of sira (biography of the Prophet) used in the Pesantren’. Entered into the typical Madrasa syllabus first, this kind of texts has now become part of the curriculum in many Pesantren. Two other historical works by the same Muhammad Khudri Bak - *Itmam al-wafa’ fi sirat al-khulafa’,* a history of four Caliphs, and *Ta’rikh al-tashri’ al-islami*, an extensive history of the development of Islamic - are also familiar in Pesantren.

11. 2. Syllabus of Pondok Pesantren Kempek Cirebon

This traditional Pesantren I stayed at for participant observation offers an eight-year course in which they teach the old Kitab Kuning incorporating needed modifications in some subjects. The syllabus includes many latest modem texts preferring simplicity and easy learning for the small Santri, contrary to the old system of training them in the difficult ones to make them better competent scholars. These texts are written by various indigenous scholars of the last century, who have kept their traditionalist perspectives intact while dealing with concerned subjects. It is aimed at easy understanding, but without going to the content-wise changes. Interestingly, other than mentioning the ascending numbers of the classes, they use the names of certain major texts to denote the ascending standards, except the primary one which is called in its Arabic term *Tamhidiyah*.

In the *Tamhidiyah* stage, i.e. in the first year of joining, the Santri studies four subjects. In doctrinal studies (Tauhid/Aqida) he learns the simple, versified introductory text ‘Agidat al-‘Awamm’, by 19th century scholar Ahmad al-Marzuqi al-Maliki al-Makki. First, they memorize the verses and learn the meaning of the words and sentence without
knowing the basics of Arabic language. In Shafi'i Fiqh, they learn Umar ‘Abd al-Jabbar’s Al-mabadi al-fiqhiyya 'Ala Madhhab al-Imam al-Shafi‘i, an easy text in 4 tiny volumes written in non-classical language. In Hadith, they study a small collection called Mahfudhat, and it is compulsory to memorize all the Hadith in this text. The student starts his study of instrumental sciences with a small morphological text of Sarf called Al-tasrif li ’l-‘izz, by ’Izzaddin Ibrahim al-Zanjani.

In the second stage or ‘Awamid stage, the Santri has 6 subjects to learn. In Fiqh, he learns Safinat al-najat by Salim b ‘Abdallah b Samir, a 19th century Hadrami scholar lived in Jakarta. In Moral Science or Akhlaq, the first volume of Umar b. Ahmad Barja’s three-volume set Al-akhlq li ’l-banin is taught (Al-akhlq li ’l-banat for the same author is taught for female Santri), whereas the Santri learns Raudhat al-‘awam in Tauhid/ ’Aqida and Hidayat al-Swibyan in Tajweed. The other two subjects are instrumental sciences of Nahv and Sarf for which two texts each are in the syllabus - Nadhmu Matnu al-bina and Qawa'id al-I’lat in Sarf, Matnul Ajrumiya and Sullam al-Swibyan in Nahv.

In the third stage of Al-Ajurumiyah, there are six texts in six subjects. Al-Ajurumiyah in Nahv, Al-kilani in Sarf, Riyadh al-Badi’a in Fiqh, Al-Arba’in li-Nawawi in Hadith, Khulasatu Nuru al-Ya’qeen in Tariq and Tijan al-Darari in Tauhid/ ‘Aqida.

In the fourth stage of ‘Imrithi, there are again six texts in six subjects. Imrithi, the versified version of Ajurumiyah, in Nahv, Nazm al-Maqsud in Sarf, Fath al-Qarib in Fiqh, the second volume of Khulasatu Nuru al-Ya’qeen in Tariq, Jawahir al-Bukhari by Mustafa M. ‘Imara (the text is known after the name of author), a popular selection from Bukhari, in Hadith, and Fath al-Majeed in Tauhid/ ’Aqida.

In the fifth stage of Mutammimah, seven texts are taught in seven subjects. Ibrahim al-Laqani’s versified text Jawharat al-tawhid in Tauhid/’Aqida, Faraiz in al-Mawarid (Fiqh of inheritance), the second part of Fath al-Qarib in Fiqh, Muqtar al-Hadith in Hadith, Kawakib al-Duriyyah or Mutammimah, more elaborate commentary of Ajurumiyah by Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Ru’ayni al-Hattab, in Nahv,
the second volume of *Khulasatu Nuru al-Yaqeen* in *Tariq*, and *Mabadi Awwaliyya* by Minangkabau author Abdul Hamid Hakim in *usul al-fiqh*.

In the sixth stage of *Alfiyahh Uola*, three texts are taught in three subjects - *Alfiyahh* in *Nahv*, *Fath al-Mu'in* in *Fiqh* and *Al-Waraqat* in *Usul al-Fiqh*.

In the Seventh stage of *Alfiyahh Thaniya*, two texts are taught - *Alfiyahh* in *Nahv*, and *Fath al-Mu'in* in *Fiqh*.

In the final year of passing out, the *Santri* learns two texts in two subjects – *Jalalain* in *Tafsir* and *Ihya 'ulum al-Din* in *Tasawwuf*. The students of this stage work as teachers for the lower class students as well. In fact, the course is designed with much importance for instrumental sciences, and then for shafi'i *Fiqh*. The general idea behind the traditional education system is that if the student becomes expert in instrumental sciences and learns the prescribed texts thoroughly with needed introductions to other classical texts he would be at ease to refer and grasp any classical texts written in diverse branches of Islamic knowledge.

Detailed conversations with senior students, teachers and the authority showed that graduates of this and similar *Pesantren* have multiple options for the future. Some limited members vie for religious higher education abroad and try for options available in Yemen, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, and even in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. Islamic courses abroad enhance the public approval of the scholar's *kiaship* back home. Another team vies for admissions in state Islamic universities around Indonesia and Malaysia. These government-funded universities give *Pesantren* graduates immense opportunity to be part of mainstream education and transform themselves either government officials or Muslim intellectuals. Some of them join different teaching training courses and for courses in Islamic universities designed to train teachers, to be part of the government schools (*Madrasas* with secular education mentioned above) as teachers and administrators. A more focused team, devoted to be scholars of Islam or typical *Kiai* in its traditional sense go to specialized higher learning *Pesantren* like Lirboyo in Kediri or to certain *Kiais*, who are specialists in certain branches of Islamic knowledge to get more education in
classical texts. The rest straightly enter the job market and work as *Imams* in the mosques, teachers in *Pesantren* or do jobs unrelated to what they studied.

**New Trends in *Pesantren* Education**

Serious further studies are needed to map a clear picture of all new trends being taking place in the *Pesantren* world. Almost all of the *Pesantren* are undergoing modifications, changes, transformations in tune with and demand of the fast changing world around. Discussing the future of *Pesantren* tradition, leading Indonesian scholar Taufik Abdullah wrote in 1987, 'the future of the *Pesantren* will be determined by its ability to maintain its identity as an 'Ulamadominated educational system while at the same time clarifying its role as a complementary feature of national education' (Taufik, 1987).

Clifford Geertz, pessimistic on the future of *Pesantren* and its Kiai s, has spoken about it nearly 40 years ago. He called for the creation of a school at once as religiously satisfying to the villager as the *Pesantren*, and as instrumentally functional to the growth of the “new Indonesia” as the state-run secular schools. This, he reasoned, is the only way for the Kiai to become a man once more competent to stand guard ‘over the crucial junctures of synapses of relationship which connect the local system with the larger whole’.

“Failing this the kijaji’s (Kiai) days as a dominant force in pious Javanese villages are numbered, and the role of Islam in shaping the direction of political evolution in Indonesia is likely to be marginal at best”. (Geertz, 1960)

Many contemporary *Pesantrens* are now doing exactly what both Geertz and Abdullah prescribed. They are simultaneously engaging in both traditional *Pesantren* education and national education. Many *Pesantrens* were expanded to include training from elementary grades to the university level with a mixed curriculum. Other *Pesantrens* converted to sekolah or *Madrasa* within the national education system, mostly under the religious education ministry. Some others offered specialized training in agriculture, crafts, and business alongside traditional religious subjects. The *Pesantren* Gontor and *Pesantren* Tebu Ireng are two major examples in the case of transformations and modifications. These two are generally known to represent the major theological divide of Indonesian
Islam - the *Muhammadiyah*\(^{105}\) and *Nahdlatul ‘Ulama* - respectively. Both these *Pesantrens* are very old and worked as the powerhouses behind the religious reawakening Indonesia witnessed early last century. Hasyim Asyari, the founder of Nahdlatul ‘Ulama(NU), and several of his descendants, founded Tebu Ireng. It has been a centre of religious and political power in Indonesia for long, thanks to the presence there of Asyari’s famous descendents, including Abdurrahman Wahid, who died in 2010 after heading NU and becoming the President of Indonesia\(^{106}\). It is a complex of family *Pesantren* that includes separate *Pesantren* for male and female students, whose total number comes to several thousands. Almost all the *Santri* attend the government curriculum schools in Tebu Ireng, as the *Pesantren* now gives a slight emphasis to government curricula over traditional *Pesantren* education. *Pesantren* Al-Hikam in Malang, studied by Lukens-Bull for his research, represents another kind of experiment in *Pesantren* education. Setup in 1995, this is designed as a hostel for college students, helping them engage in traditional *Pesantren* education and mysticism while pursuing their college degrees. All of the students who were studying there during the time of Lukens-Bull’s visit were also attending college in Malang\(^{107}\).

Many *Pesantrens*, which started as pure seminars like that of American Christian colleges and Divinity institutes, are now finding growing demand for a broader, secular,

\(^{105}\) The Modern Pesantren Gontor is known to be the ideological base of the modernist and salafi-oriented *Muhammadiyah*, and most of the known leaders of *Muhammadiyah* are said to be the products of this prestigious institution. However, one man, a great teacher and author of books on Arabic-English Grammar, whom I met at the Pesantren Siddiqiyah in Jakarta, told me that such a notion is wrong. A product of Gontor, this teacher told me he supports NU and there are many NU traditionalists among graduates and even among the teachers of Gontor. However, the difference is, as he said, that the Gontor never followed the actual *Kitab Kuning* system, but adopted subjects and texts that are more modern and approached the teaching of Arabic language and all in its modernist sense. Rather than producing traditional *Kiais*, Gontor tried to mould scholars and intellectuals well versed in modern Arabic, knowledgeable of English and other modern subjects.

\(^{106}\) Tebu Ireng’s national range of influence is further reflected in the profile of its inmates as this Pesantren draws students from almost all parts of Indonesia. Also, the grave of its founder, in the heart of the Pesantren, is an important pilgrimage site that attracts several thousand visitors each month. A number of scholars have written about Tebu Ireng like Dhofier 1980, Arifin 1993 and Lukens-Bull 2000.

\(^{107}\) Interestingly, the chief Kiai of this Pesantren, Hasyim Muzadi, who was the head of NU East Java during Bull’s visit, had become the President (Raees ‘Aam) of NU during the fieldwork of this researcher.
and scientific education, in addition to religious instruction, and they are undergoing needed changes to cope with this demand. Many of the Pesantren have reset their aims and objectives, as they now want to ‘train Santri to work in their chosen profession, and, through that profession, realize the founding goals of the institution, namely, to spread the ideals of the faith and thereby transform society’. Those who are failing to combine both religious and secular education in one way or other facing the threat of being relegated to the sidelines. A general understanding is that ‘most of the Pesantren in Java have succeeded in creating a hybrid system of education, combining religious instruction and scientific and technical training. This hybrid system is a reflection of a different Islamic model of interacting with modernity than that which is encountered many other places in the Islamic world’ (Lukens-Bull R. A., 2000). Besides the government curricula, many Kiais even offer extra courses (like English, computer and job skills training, such as chauffeuring, automobile repair, sewing, small business management, and welding) at their Pesantren.

The government’s initiative to establish a number of Islamic universities, at both government and private level, brought in the biggest change in the system of religious higher education in Indonesia. The deep-rooted and multi-faceted impacts and influence of these state Islamic universities are to be studied well. There are three types of Islamic universities. The first one is called Institut Agama Islam Negeri (lAIN) – State Institute for Islamic Studies – that offer special courses in Islamic studies like Shari’a, Dawa, Usuluddin, Literature including Arabic language and Islamic History. The second type is known as Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) – State Islamic University, which specializes in Islamic studies and general subjects on a same footing. It consists of faculties of Social Science, Arts, Psychology, IT, economics, in addition to the faculties of Islamic studies mentioned in the first type. The third type is Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri (STAIN) – State Islamic Collage, which is a kind of Islamic universities under the government that are specializing in Islamic studies, but it works not under separate departments (kulliyya) but faculties (aqsam) like qism tarbiya, Shari’a, dawa. Many private players, including NU and Muhammediyyah, are also running many universities of this type privately. There are around 500 such institutions across Indonesia at present.