THE PESANTREN’S MODEL OF RESISTANCE AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Social change is an integral phenomenon in every society. The dynamics of social change present a phenomenon of a society or a part of society that is eroded by change; some are immersed in the flow of change, some exercise resistance measures, and some are even able to contribute to the dynamics of social change by conducting transformation. Pesantren, as one of the oldest Islamic educational institution, demonstrates efforts of defense and transformation as a form of adaptation towards social change. The history of education in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role and contribution of pesantren. In its development, Indonesian education which adopted modernization of western education shifted pesantren to become an additional alternative educational institution, rather than primary institution it used to be. However, the most recent development shows a return of pesantren’s presence and contribution as a significant alternative for education system in Indonesia. This cannot be separated from the fact that the pesantren has applied a model of adaptation. The purpose of this research is to analyze diversity of adaptive models in three pesantrens in Java. With methods of observation and in-depth interviews in three pesantrens which are Cidahu in Pandeglang, Banten; Langitan in Tuban, East Java; and Darul Ulum in Jombang, East Java, this research confirms that adaptive models of pesantren have created diversity in pesantren models. However, through this diversity it is still evident that the pesantren is a model of typical Indonesian education.

Keywords: social change, transformation, pesantren model

Introduction

Pondok pesantren, which pesantren basically stands for, is the oldest institution of Islamic education as well as a cultural product of Indonesia. The existence of pesantren in Indonesia was begun when Islam has entered the country by adopting its religious education system which it has actually been developed prior to arrival of Islam. As a previously established educational institution for a long period of time in the country, pondok pesantren is acknowledged to have played a great role along with the nation’s history.

As a cultural product, pesantren continuously responds in a dynamic way to social changes within society. Matter of fact, what has changed occasionally in
society has required *pesantren* to merge down these demands and to adjust *pesantren*’s mainframe of education to the modern education. Initially, the society expected *pesantren*’s graduates to be individuals who understand and master Islam and have high morals. But then, society looks further to the graduates of *pesantren* to have extended skills and additional ability to adjust with modern educational system due to these social changes. *Pesantren* graduates are currently expected to be individuals who acquire formal education and master religion and have high morals. Some of *pesantren* responded to that expectation by providing formal education from kindergarten to college level. Undeniably, these occurred changes in *pesantren* were acceptable by society because it has increased the mobility of *pesantren* graduates and brought them to step forward to other way out of religious lives. With the change of *pesantren*, furthermore, the institution is able to be sustainable and even to increase the quality of the *santris*—local name of *pesantren* students—and its facilities. However on the other hand, the presence of formal education decreases the graduates’ mastery of religious studies and their clerical qualities. That is the reason why most *pesantren* still maintain their tradition by way of not providing formal education.

The presence of *pesantren* in society was initially an agent of change. Not only did it become an institution of religious education, *pondok pesantren* also did serve as an agent of change for congregation and society. *Pesantren*’s position as agent of change is exceptionally solid with its five pillars which are the *kyai* as a role model and central figure of the people, the mosque as a place of worship and center of Islamic studies, the boarding school as a place to live, the *santri* coming from all over to respond to the demands of time.

Along with social changes, *pesantren* is linked to both *traditional* terms and *modern* terms. There are traditional *pesantren* or *salafi* and modern *pesantren*. Frankly, traditional *pesantren* is a *pesantren* whose form has remained the same since the emergence of the Islamic education system in Indonesia, with its characteristic of simplicity and modesty. The reason why traditional *pesantren* to be known as *salafi pesantren* is because *pesantren* still maintains teaching method of classical holy books written by the *Salafiyah* clerics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries C.E. Meanwhile, modern *pesantren* is basically traditional *pesantren* extension in order to respond society’s desire that the *santri* admitted to *pesantren* are not just children who are designated to become clergyman of Islam or *da’is*, but also those who desire to pursue higher education in schools or universities and will then be able to take an active part in many fields.

This research seeks to find the length that traditional *pesantren* takes to defend itself or maintain existence amidst social changes that attach great importance to achievement and prestige among society. Usually, achievement is shown in the attainment of an academic degree and position in the government or a company, while prestige is determined by the possession of a certain amount of wealth in order for someone to be considered accomplished. The research questions are how the traditional *pesantren* maintains its existence in the ever changing society from traditional to modern; factors that support its
position; and efforts pondok pesantren has done to sustain its existence, especially in Cidahu, Banten; Langitan, East Java; and Darul Ulum in Jombang.

The purpose of this research is to obtain a complete picture of traditional pesantren that still exists until now and is even showing signs of extraordinary development and achievement although most of pesantrens are moving toward a way of becoming what is called a modern pesantren. Although the research was done in a number of pesantrens from different categories, the writing of this manuscript is limited to the defense model of pesantren that are categorized as pesantren salafiyah which maintains its teaching source from the classical holy books or the Yellow Book (kitab kuning). Pesantren salafiyah represents pesantrens established by the clergy of Nahdatul Ulama. Other than this type of pesantren, there are pesantren affiliated with other organizations like Muhammadiyah, Persis or modern pesantren that began to develop and succeeded in the 1990’s, but the latter model of pesantren is not discussed in this research.

Methodology

This manuscript was written using the qualitative descriptive approach. Data collection was conducted through observation, in-depth interviews and document studies. Other than these methods, Dhofier’s intellectual and social genealogy are also used. The acquired data is then analyzed based on grounded research, as used by Schlegel, in which every analysis of the research has to be based on existing data, and not based on ideas that are set before. Therefore, the acquired result may change at any time in accordance to the incoming data. Noeng Muhadjir mentions that sociologists are seeking to find theories based on empirical data and not building them from logical deduction. That is what is called as grounded theory, and the research model is called grounded research.

Discussion

1. Pondok Pesantren

Pesantren or pondok pesantren (PP) is a traditional facility of education where the santri or students live together and learn under the mentorship of teachers commonly known as kyais. The students reside in a compound which consists of a mosque for prayers, rooms for study and other religious activities. The compound is usually surrounded by walls to ensure that the santris adhere to the existing regulations. Pondok pesantren are two terms that refer to one definition. According to its original definition, pesantren is a place of learning for santris meanwhile a pondok is a simple house or habitation made of bamboo. The word pondok is derived from the Arabic word funduq which means dormitory or hotel.

Pondok pesantren started with the presence of a kyai in one area and santris who came to learn religion from him. As the number of santris increased by the day, an initiative arose to build a pondok or dormitory next to the kyai’s house.
Initially, the kyai had no plans to build a pondok. What was most important for him was teaching religion so that the santris could understand it well. At the time, the Kyais did not concern themselves with the places inhabited by the santris which were commonly very small and simple. They resided in huts or small houses that they built on their own surrounding the kyai’s house. The more santris came, the more huts were built. To this day, many santri residences like this can still be found in pesantrens in Banten. In the course of time, the santris popularized their pondok pesantren so that they became well known everywhere.

The basic elements of the pesantren are the kyai, the santris, a mosque, the pondoks and classical holy books. The Kyai, the first element of the pesantren, is a clergyman or ulama who leads the pondokpesantren. The term Kyai does not come from Arabic but from Javanese. Embedded in the word Kyai is the meaning of being honored, sacred and preeminent. Other than being given to a wise and respected man of advanced age in Java, the title Kyai is also given to sacred artifacts that are considered holy and preeminent such as the keris and spears. However, the most common definition in Indonesian for the word of kyai is people who have established and lead a pesantren and who has become honored Muslims that have devoted their lives to Allah and spread as well as deepened the teachings and views of Islam through education.

Kyai is the central figure in the life of a pesantren as well as the leader of the school. In this position, the value of the pesantren is very much depended on the kyai’s own personality as a paragon and holder of wisdom in the values of pesantren. The role of the Kyai is very significant in the handling of faith (iman), guidance of good deeds (amaliyah), spreading and transferring knowledge, development of disposition (akhlaq), education in charity and leadership as well as solving the problems faced by the santris and society. In terms of conception on the kyai’s part, it is more in the formation of mindset, attitude, soul and a specific kind of orientation used to become a leader that suits the personality of the kyai.

The Kyai’s role determines the success of the pesantren that he fosters. The Kyai is a key element in the pesantren. Hence, respect and obedience towards him is one of the first values instilled in the santris. The Kyai and santris will continue to interact in the pesantren so that all the students’ activities can be overseen and shaped by the kyai. The Kyai is a person that can understand the greatness of Allah and the secrets of nature. That is why the santris and society believe and obey him in order to attain blessing.

Santri, which is the second element of pesantren, is a term for the students who seek to deepen their religion by studying in a pesantren. Usually, they live in the provided huts or dormitories, and they are called santri mukim. However, those who do not live in the dormitory are called santri kalong. Santri mukims come from far places away from the pesantren while santri kalongs come from the surrounding community and return to their homes after Koran readings.

In the pesantren, the santri commonly take care of their own daily needs and every one of them receives the same facilities. They are obliged to obey rules set in the pesantren, and violations will be punished accordingly. The Santris’
obedience to kyai is a requirement to enable them to become good students. The Santris have to receive the kyai’s grace by following his directions and serving his interests. Service or khidmat to the kyai has to be considered as an honorary task which is a measure of obedience. By doing the santris will receive his grace that is known as barokah, which is one thing that every santri seeks in a pesantren aside from knowledge of the religion. The Santris consider their kyai as a father while kyai regards his santris as Allah’s bequest that always need to be protected. The reciprocity incurs a sense of kinship and love for each other which makes it easy for the kyai to guide and supervise the santris. Everything that the santris face is directly overseen by the kyai and thus he can provide assistance in finding solutions to a problem or giving guidance in a quick and correct manner.

The Mosque, the third element of the pesantren, is an inseparable element and is considered as the most suitable place to teach the santris, especially for the practice of the five times of prayers, Friday sermons and prayers, as well as the teaching of the classical Islamic holy books. The mosque’s position as a center of teaching in the pesantren’s tradition is a manifestation of universalism in the traditional Islamic education system. The sustainability of the Islamic education system, which has been centered in the mosque since the Quba’ mosque was built near Medina at the time of Prophet Muhammad saw, still radiates in the system of pesantren. Since the time of the prophet, the mosque has been the center of Islamic education.

The Pesantren in Java has kept the tradition of teaching in the mosques even up to now when the Muslim congregation has been affected by modern living, but devoted kyais still teach their santris in the mosques. A kyai who is establishing a pesantren will definitely build a mosque near to his home Subsequently, he will teach the santris in the mosque, and thus mosques are a significant element of the pesantren.

The Pondok, the fourth element of the pesantren, is a boarding school in the traditional Islamic education where the santris live under the mentorship of a Kyai. At present, a pondok or dormitory is a place provided for the activities of the santris. A Pondok usually provides the facilities for all the activities. The distance between the pondok and other facilities are commonly set in close proximity. This is done in order to ease communication between the kyai and santris as well as among the santris. A simple pondok usually only consists of large common rooms. There are also pondoks which have been specially designed with a corridor with a row of doors on both sides. These doors lead to small rooms with narrow doors so that the santris need to bow down upon entering, and the windows in the rooms are small and barred. The furniture inside the rooms is very simple. On the floor just in front of the small window is a pandanus mat and a low bamboo or wooden table on which holy books placed. Nowadays, the pondok pesantren is continuously developing and more facilities an infrastructure have been added from time to time.

In the history of its growth, the pondok pesantren, which initially was only for male santri. is now available for female santri. With this development, there are
male and female pondoks. Large pesantrens are able to accommodate both male and female santri, by separating the male and female pondoks.

At present, nearly all pondok pesantrens have dormitories which vary in accordance with the capacity of each of the pesantren. There are three reasons why the pesantren needs to provide a dormitory for the santri. Firstly, santris from faraway places come to the pesantren to receive knowledge a kyai with an extensive knowledge about Islam. They need to live there in the kyai’s residence for an extensive period of time. Secondly, nearly all pesantrens are located in villages where lodging to accommodate the santris are insufficient which causes a great demand for dormitories for the santris. Thirdly, a complete model of education requires full day learning, and only by staying at the kyai’s residence are the santris able to undergo their learning activities and be under the kyai’s supervision for 24 hours.

Classical holy books as the fifth element of pesantren are generally religious books in the Arabic language using the Arabic alphabet produced by the ulamas and other Muslim thinkers in the twelfth and thirteen century especially the ones coming from the Middle East. The Yellow Book has its own special format and the pages are “yellowish”. With the growth of the pesantren, the teaching of the classical holy books or the Yellow Book were used in the effort to to carry out the main purpose of the pesantren which is to educate potential ulamas who are devoted to the traditional tenets of Islam. Therefore, the classical Islamic holy books have become an integral and inseparable part of the value and understanding of pesantren. The books taught in pesantren are categorized into eight groups which are: (1) Nahwu (syntax) and Sharaf (morphology), (2) Fiqih (law), (3) Ushul Fiqh (jurisprudence) (4) Hadits, (5) Tafsir, (6) Tauhid (theology), (7) Tasawuf and Ethics, and (8) other branches such as Tarikh (history) and Balaghah (rhetorics).

The classical Islamic holy books are the kyai’s literature and guidebooks in the pesantren and are inseparable from the kyai. The Classical Islamic holy books are modifications of the values of Islamic teaching while the kyais a personification of these values. The teachings contained in the Yellow Book are still considered as legitimate and relevant guidance of life. Legitimate here means that the teachings are believed to have their source in the Koran and the hadits of The Prophet; and relevant means that the teachings are still suitable and useful in the current time. Therefore, the teachings of the classical Islamic holy books are of primary importance in producing graduates who master the knowledge of Islam and some among them are even expected to become kyais.

The teaching method in the pesantren uses that of sorogan and wetonan. Those two methods are the specific features of teaching in the pesantren as well as the oldest primary methods in the teaching of the classical holy books. These methods have prevailed up to now and are conserved in traditional pondok pesantrens. In the sorogan method, the santris face the kyai one by one bringing the book that he is studying. The kyai reads or listens to santri reading the holy book which uses “arab gundul” or bare Arabic sentence by sentence, and then he translates them into Javanese. After that, the kyai presents his explanation. The
santri’s task is to listen and jot down brief notes under or next to the Arabic text as a proof that the part has been studied. In the sorogan method, the kyai and santri interact to make the teaching and education more meaningful. This teaching and learning method demands patience, diligence, obedience and discipline from the santris.

There are currently two types of pesantrens, the traditional and the modern pesantren. The existence of these two types of pesantren can be seen as a response towards the development that has occurred over time and changes in society that demand a general school education in the pesantren. The traditional pesantren provides pure Islamic education sourced from the classical holy books (the Yellow Book). Meanwhile, the modern pesantren is a traditional pesantren which has been transformed with the adoption of formal school or madrasah education and even provides tertiary education.

Generally, the life patterns which have become characteristic of the pesantrens are spirits of devotion, modesty, independence, ukhuwwah islamiyah or Islamic brotherhood and responsible freedom. The spirit of devotion is the desire to worship without being motivated by the wish to obtain a certain profit. This kind of spirit is evident in the people living in pondok pesantren, the kyai and the santris. From here on a harmonic atmosphere is created between a well-respected kyai and the santris that obey him. This atmosphere is induced by respect and love for each other. Since learning is considered as a form of worship, according to Wolfgang Karcher, this brings about three results which are (1) the santris staying for long periods of time is not considered a problem, (2) a diploma or certificate as a proof of completion of studies is not considered important, and (3) the emergence of a “restu kyai” culture or the state of receiving the kyai’s approval and blessings which still is held until today.

The life in the pesantren is enclosed in an unostentatious and modest atmosphere. Modest here does not mean passive, impoverished, acceptance of ill fate (nrimo), nor poor, but in it contains elements of strength of heart, resolution and control of the self in facing the many challenges in life. Therefore, it is expected that the santris will be able to face any kind of situation with an open mind, courage, and a dynamic and persistent spirit. This is a starting point for the growth of mental strength and character; both of which are the requirements of success in the struggles of all walks of life. One of the initial principals of the pesantren as an institution of Islamic education is not place its sustainability and growth on the help and of others. Moreover, when seen from the point of its growth, many pesantrens were pioneered by a kyai with the support of the santris and the surrounding community. Therefore, independence is the main foundation in establishing a pesantren.

The atmosphere in a pesantren is filled with the spirit of a very tight brotherhood, so they go through thick and thin together. There no longer are barriers that separate them even though santris have different social status, economy and other factors while they are living in pondok pesantren or and even when they return to their homes. The spirit of ukhuwwah Islamiyyah acts as an
adhesive that strengthens the relationship among the santri both when they are inside or outside the pesantren walls.

The Santris are given the freedom to select their way of life when they enter the society. They are free to choose their future as long as it is still in line with the educational values that they received in pesantren. Seen from the perspective of the pesantren itself, they are already accustomed to being free from foreign interference and influence from outside. That is why pesantrens are usually private institutions.

2. Pondok Pesantren Cidahu

Pondok Pesantren Cidahu is located in Cadasari Sub-District, Pandeglang Regency in Banten and is led by KH Muhtadi Dimyati and KH Murtadlo, the sons of KH Abuya Dimyati who founded the pesantren in 1965. Pesantren Cidahu up to today has remained simple and maintains its traditional method as a pesantren salafi. Initially, Abuya Dimyati founded the pesantren to educate his sons and daughters while teaching other santris. For Abuya, KH Dimyati’s nickname, educating his own sons and daughters was his main responsibility; after that he can teach other santris. According to Abuya, the family is a mandate from Allah that needs to be guarded and taught in order for them to become useful for the life on earth and the hereafter or fiddin waddunya wal akhirah.

The intelligence and piousness of KH Dimyati, founder of Cidahu pesantren who was born from the couple H. Amin and Hj. Ruqayah, was evident from his childhood. He was born in 1925 in Pandeglang Regency, and was an ulama who taught the knowledge of sharia and tasawuf with the tarekat or order of Naqsabandiyyah Qodiriyyah. In the society he was known as anulama with tawadhu’ or humility, istiqamah or correct act, zuhud or asceticism and ikhlas or devotion. He even was a qari or a fluent Koran reader. His routine was to conduct Koran readings every day for more than 40 years. During the tarawih prayer, or prayers done during the month of Ramadhan, he made it a point not to have his sahir breakfast unless he had fully finished reading the Koran during his prayer.

Abuya Dimyati’s life journey was filled with his studies from one pesantren to the other such as Pesantren Cadasari in Pandeglang Regency, and then a pesantren in Plamunan and Pleret in Cirebon. Abuya learned from a number of elder ulamas in Java. Among them are Abuya Abdul Chalim, Abuya Muqri Abdul Chamid, Mama Achmad Bakri (Pesantren Sempur), Mbah Dalhar (Pesantren Watucongol), Mbah Nawawi (Jejeran Jogja), Mbah Khozin (Pesantren Bendo Pare), Mbah Baidlowi (Pesantren Lasem), Mbah Rukyat (Kaliwungu) and kyias from other pesantrens. This clearly demonstrates his efforts to acquire knowledge of the religion which he calls as “mengaji.”

KH Dimyati’s renowned message is: “Do not leave Koran reading even though the distance is very far or a terrible war is going on out there.” Another phrase is “Although the world collapses 1000 times, studies in the majlis or congregation will continue.” According to him, the Koran reading is a form of a devotee’s gratitude to Allah for the blessing of a perfect intellect. The Koran
reading is also aimed at discarding stupidity and the darkness of the mind or *li izzaalah al-jahlī*. This is because a cluttered mind is a calamity and “darkness” or *zhulumat*. Koran reading is tough when compared to being a *wali* or saint. It is relatively easy to attain glory and reverence, compared to maintaining consistency and continuity in Koran reading which is a struggle that requires years of work. Aside from that, he maintained that “virtue is impossible to attain without obedience to *sharia*.” Consequently, a man’s degree of virtue in the face of Allah is measured against his obedience in running the commands of Allah and his abstinence of what is forbidden.

Founder of Pesantren Cidahu, KH Dimyati, died on Friday Pahing, October 3, 2003 or Sya’ban 7, 1424 Hijri calendar at around 3 AM. After that, caretaking of the pesantren was continued by his two sons, KH Muhtadi Dimyati and KH Murtadlo Dimyati. The first son of KH Dimyati, KH Muhtadi Dimyati, was a nationalist *ulama* who was committed to Pancasila. This is not uncommon as he learned this sense of nationalism directly from Abuya Dimyati himself, who was known to be the patriotic *ulama* of Banten. According to KH Dimyati, Indonesia was formed with great contributions from a number of *ulamas* who were very persistent in casting out the Dutch colonist. Not only that, the *ulamas’* contributions are an inseparable part of the early formation of the nation. Because of that, KH Muhtadi opposed the steps taken by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). KH Muhtadi stated that Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia’s aspiration to remove Pancasila from the nation’s constitution is a form of rebellion against the country. He released a written statement dated August 21, 2013 that was delivered to NU Online’s editorial office and PBNU Jakarta on Tuesday, September 3, 2013.

At the start of its establishment, a pesantren is always linked to its founding *ulama* who usually practices a type of *tarekat* or tenet; Pesantren Cidahu was founded in the same way. The founder of Cidahu practiced the *tarekat* of Naqshabandiyah Qadariyah and Saziliyah. KH Muhtadi also leads majlis zikir congregational chants which are followed daily by his people. Both Kyai Murtadlo and Kyai Muhtadi always conduct *istighatha* or mass meetings attended by a congregation of a great number of people from the surrounding community, as well as people from faraway places such as Bogor, Bekasi and Jakarta. KH Murtadlo is the second son who made serious efforts to record his father’s struggles in his writing “Manakib Abuya Dimyati.” His effort was of great significance for those seeking to refer to the struggle of Abuya Dimyati who was a phenomenal figure in Banten and Indonesia. This is because of Abuya’s humility which had prevented the recording of his lifetime endeavors of teaching and learning.

The *Santris* of Cidahu come from different corners of Indonesia. They come from areas of West Java, Central Java, East Java, Sumatera, Kalimantan and even Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. These santris have generally studied in other pesantrens in their hometown, and they came to Cidahu to deepen their knowledge of certain classical holy books. Abuya Dimyati’s greatness and charisma as well as the teaching method used in Cidahu, which still maintains the old tradition of pesantren, has become the appeal which attracts *santris* to learn and deepen their
knowledge of Islam. According to KH Murtadlo Dimyati, the second son of Abuya Dimyati, the number of santris in Pesantren Cidahu is approximately 300 people.

The Mosque in Cidahu is a massive construction built in a modern architecture style. It has become one of the concrete symbols of modernity. In the development of the Cidahu pesantren, the mosque was more frequently used for jama’at or Friday prayers for the community due to its distant position from the pondoks or male and female santris’ dormitories. The santris’ Koran reading activities were more frequently held in a hall located closer to the dormitory and the kyai’s residence. This kind of function of the mosque demonstrates he inclusivism of Pondok Pesantren Cidahu in its surrounding community.

The Pondok or santri dormitory in Cidahu is known as kobong which is a very simple structure of a bamboo house on stilts with a thatched roof made of dried sago palm leaves. The space in the structure is divided into several rooms to the right and left of a corridor. Simple and narrow rooms are used to store the santris’ belongings such as clothing, books, and supplies such as rice and other food. They do their own cooking. The bathing and washing facilities are also very simple. Despite its simplicity, the pesantren has attracted many people from other areas to learn and visit. KH Mulyadi and KH Murtadlo Dimyati have their own santris and dormitories which are located close to each other. Most of the santris study Koran with one of the Kyai. However, some of the santris study with both of the Kyais depending on the holy book that they are learning.
The **holy books** studied are classical Islamic holy books with the *kyai* or *ustadz* who usually apply the systems of *sorogan*, *wetonan* and *bandongan*. The classical Islamic holy books taught in the *pesantren* can be categorized into eight groups which are (1) *Nahwu* (syntax) and *Sharaf* (morphology), (2) *Fiqih* (law), (3) *UshulFiqih* (jurisprudence) (4) *Hadits*, (5) *Tafsir*, (6) *Tauhid* (theology), (7) *Tasawuf* and Ethics, (8) other branches such as *Tarikh* (history) and *Balaghah* (rhetorics). There is no curriculum to discuss the books in the system. However, the order of studies of these books starts from thin books and continues to the thicker ones. According to KH Muhtadi, the *santris* are free to choose the book they would like to learn because when a person comes to Cidahu, he comes to extend his knowledge on a particular holy book. KH Muhtadi is pleased when a *santri* already knows the order of holy books he wishes to study with the *kyai* using the *sorogan* method. *Bandungan/bandongan/wetonan* was established by KH Muhtadi by distributing teaching hours among himself and his other brothers. The *kyais* commit themselves to the schedule that they have agreed on.

The traditional teaching methods used in Cidahu which are *sorogan* and *wetonan/bandongan* have placed Cidahu in the category of traditional *pesantren* or *pesantren salafi*. Koran studies do not take place in classrooms and do not use a curriculum. A new *santri* who who is not yet living in the *pesantren*, starts by studying the thin books and progress to thicker books up to the thicker stones that are harder to study. There are no general subjects in this *pesantren* and the language used to interpret the books is Javanese which is called *ngalogat*. There are no attendance regulations and records in the Koran studies, and in fact the *santris* are not forced to attend activities of Pondok Pesantren Cidahu. However, the *sorogan* method, in which *santris* approach the *kyai* to ask for a lesson, becomes an effective method in creating intensive interaction between the *kyai* and his *santris*. This is where *kyai* can delve into the personality and seriousness of each *santri* in studying the Koran. The *bandungan/wetonan* method are the general lectures given by the *kyai* that explicate the meaning of many holy books. The *Santris* listen and take notes from the explanation of each holy book. Furthermore, other methods actually exist such as mentoring or *halaqoh* which is usually guided by senior *santris*, or *musyawarah* that is a kind of seminar and other types of methods.

**Social** Aspects: Pesantren Cidahu is not only an exclusive place of learning for its *santris*, but it is also an inclusive part of the surrounding community’s lives. The fame of Abuya Dimyati and Pesantren Cidahu has even set a reputation for Banten, which is known as the city of the *kyais*. Cidahu and its leaders’ charisma have attracted many people from various backgrounds and different corners of the country to visit the *pesantren* which preserves its tradition for not only as a place for someone to become *santri* but also as the society’s consultant for many aspects of their lives. Kyai Cidahu is even frequently visited by national and regional politicians in their efforts to get a certain political party to win an election or to gain a position. The *kyai’s* wisdom and maturity makes him the the *pesantren* a neutral place that does not take sides on any candidate. Since the establishment of the pesantren, KH Abuya Dimyati has proven his neutrality by not receiving
donations from people desiring to obtain political support. He does not act as a political broker but he maintains his role as a cultural broker. Thus, this function has been passed on to his sons so that the kyai and Pesantren Cidahu are able to withstand the current wave of globalization.

3. Pondok Pesantren Langitan

Pondok Pesantren Langitan is located in Widang Village, Widang Sub-District in Tuban Regency, East Java. The pesantren that was founded by KH Muhammad Nur in 1852 is one of the oldest pesantrens in Indonesia. The pesantren has not only been able to withstand the wave of globalization in Indonesia but is also able to give tangible contributions in the historical journey of the nation up to today. The name Pondok Pesantren Langitan is greatly renowned because it has given birth to among others, KH Kholil Bangkalan and KH Hasyim Asyari the founders of Nahdatul Ulama and also Syamsul Arifin.

The name “Langitan” is often linked to the word langit which is a place above or where “God” is located. However, the name was originally derived from the word plangitan, which is an abbreviation of the Javanese words plang that means name sign, and wetan that means east. The name plangitan was eventually pronounced langitan and is now currently more popularly known as Pesantren Langitan.

The pesantren started from the Koran studies conducted by KH Muhammad Nur for his family and neighbors in a small mosque in the hamlet of Mandungan at Widang Village. It was subsequently visited by other people who wanted to follow his Koran readings, and the pondok pesantren was established in what is now a seven hectare area. The kyai’s charisma and depth of knowledge has attracted many people to come and study in Pondok Pesantren Langitan.

Just like the other pesantrens’ traditions, KH Muhammad Nur passed down Pesantren Langitan to his sons and sons-in-law KH Ahmad Soleh, KH Muhammad Khozin, KH Abdul Hadi, KH Ahmad Marzuki and now to KH Abdulloh Faqih. The Pesantren’s tradition which was initiated by the family is passed on to a son or the eldest son. If a kyai does not have a son, he passes the pesantren on to his son-in-law or brother. In this case, KH Muhammad Khozin is the son-in-law of KH Ahmad Soleh as he did not have any son. KH Ahmad Marzuki was also the son-in-law of KH Muhammad Khozin. KH Ahmad Marzuki is the brother of KH Abdul Hadi, and later, the heritage was passed on to his nephew KH Abdulloh Faqih.

At a glance, the physical structure of Pondok Pesantren Langitan, or the buildings in the complex seem to be modern. However, after further examination of the curriculum taught there, according to Dhofier’s categorization, Langitan is a traditional pesantren due to its adherence to the primary classic teaching method of sorogan and bandungan/wetonan. This pondok pesantren has not adopted the madrasah diniyah system or public school system. The term madrasah that the school uses only functions to give santris stratification in their education, but in
In fact, this stratification is set by Langitan and does not follow the public school system standards.

The Santris who come to this pesantren have at least undergone primary education in a public school or a religious school. Hence, the first level of education here starts from tsanawiyah or middle school level of public school which is completed in three years, and continues to aliyah level or high school which lasts another three years. After six years, a series of exams are taken to graduate. However, after the graduation, the santris stay in the pesantren for at least another year of teaching service. Yet again, this stratification is only meant to simplify the understanding of the educational system of Pondok Pesantren Langitan because it is not based on the learning levels of the public school system, but is set by the pesantren itself. A person graduating from a madrasah aliyah outside of Langitan who enters the pondok pesantren, might be placed at Langitan’s tsanawiyah level if the entrance test results show that he should be placed in that level in the education at Langitan. There are even college students wanting to study the Koran but their entry test results only allow them to be placed at aliyah or even tsanawiyah level. Consequently, age and experience of schooling outside the pesantren are not prerequisites to become a santri in Langitan. The prerequisite is the test made by the leaders of the pesantren. There are santris who undergo the tahfidz program to memorize Koran in Langitan. The time to complete this program depends on how focused the santris are in fulfilling their targets.

However, among the many different study programs, the six year program at tsanawiyah and aliyah level is the most common course of study taken by the santris. The six years of study has to be extended with one more year for the service program. Those that have graduated from the aliyah level are required to serve by becoming mentors in the education system of Langitan. Thus, the mentors are senior santris who have undergone six years of education, and usually stay for one more year in order to finish their service to the pesantren or follow tahfidz program. The waiting period is used to design the mentoring program for other young santris.

Hard work and creativity is necessary in designing the programs which provide added guidance for the young santris. We were curious to find out how creativity could emerge when the santris are not free to see the diversity of the world. It seems that the many trainings and invited speakers coming in from outside the pesantren have become an inspiration for the design of activity programs. The Santris follow through a planned schedule, and outside of that, they attend the many activities designed by the mentors or senior santris. Their break time is during the transitional period when waiting for the jamaat prayer or prayers said together with a congregation. Most of the santris said that they like living in Langitan. Some of them miss their families, and especially miss watching television and using cell-phones, because these two items are forbidden at the pesantren.

The mosque in Pondok Pesantren Langitan is the most beautiful and magnificent building in the complex. It is used for Koran readings and the primary studies due to its location in the same area of the pesantren and is close to dormitories and the kyai’s home. Activities of male and female santris are
The pondok is a modern two story building. Each floor consists of dozens of rooms occupied by a number of students. They store their belongings such as clothing, books and groceries in their rooms. They do their own cooking, and there are many bath and wash rooms of standard building quality. There is also a common kitchen for cooking done by a team consisting of members of the kyai’s family or some other team from outside which is appointed to do the cooking. The santris are allowed to cook outside of the menu provided. However, it should be simple food that is easy to cook. The female santris’ quarters are not as good as the other buildings that we find in the complex of Langitan. The buildings are very simple and look like blocks of tenements with every house occupies by six up to twelve students.

The Yellow Book is the main source of teaching in Langitan. Although it uses the term madrasah or Islamic school for its levels, the term is not used like the common usage of the term madrasah which refers to the curriculum provided by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The curriculum in Pesantren Langitan is independent and unique to the school. Due to Langitan’s consistency, it is widely known that the
graduates from this pondok pesantren have a deep understanding of the Yellow Book. Adherence and consistency are the appeal that attracts people in expanding their knowledge of the religion in a genealogical manner which is by referring to the traditional reference that have been used since the twelfth and thirteenth century namely the Yellow Book or ulama salafi classical books.

The teaching methods of sorogan and bandongan/wetonan are the methods maintained which have become the characteristic of Pondok Pesantren Langitan as a traditional pesantren. Even so, aside from sorogan and bandongan/wetonan, other methods used are musyawarah (a type of seminar), halaqoh and others. Langitan often invites national figures who graduated from Langitan to give presentations regarding a certain book. Moreover, the santri are given extra activities such as training in journalism and writing. However, the teaching portion for the Yellow Book takes up the main portion and uses the preserved classic methods.

Social Aspects. The people see Pondok Pesantren Langitan as a place which produces graduates who then continue on to become public figures. The Pesantren as an educational institution also functions as a place where the people receive consultation for many aspects of their lives. That is also the case in Pesantren Langitan where the kyai is often visited by national and regional political figures who wish to win certain political position or want their party to win. Although several prominent figures of Langitan show their alignment with a certain political party and even become the driving force of an Islamic party, the kyais in Langitan make the effort to engage the people involved in practical politics to return to khittah or way of the kyai in Langitan. This tug of war between the side that supports the involvement in practical politics and the side that seeks to maintain the function of Langitan as a cultural broker is an interesting phenomenon that demonstrates its own dynamics.

4. Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum Rejoso

The challenge of modernization of education is responded to progressively by Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum (PPDU) in Rejoso Village, Paterongan District in Jombang. The term modern has been applied to show its progressive steps and commitment to modernization which not only is carried out physically but also encompasses the curriculum and teaching system that adopts a modern education system. This pondok pesantren carries out various models of education starting from madrasah diniyah (religious school), MAN Rejoso (Public Islamic High School) and MTsN Rejoso (Public Islamic Junior High School) in 1989; public school, SMA Darul Ulum 1 and 2 (High School) in 1987; as well as vocational school and academy such as STM Darul Ulum in 1992, computer college in 1988, and Darul Ulum Nursing Academy in 1991. The various models represent the pesantren’s efforts to fulfill the society’s needs of pesantren graduates able to make contributions in many fields. The presence of these schools is not only to have alternative institutions of education for the people of Rejoso Sub-District. The public schools’ are of good quality, especially SMA Unggulan Darul Ulum 2 (a
leading High School) that has reached a national quality and continues to strive for international quality. The santris study in the public school system or the madrasah system. Formal school varies starting from primary school to college level.

Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum (PPDU), Jombang

Looking back, PPDU was initially built by KH Tamim Irsyad in 1885. The pondok started from KH Tamim Irsyad’s arrival from Bangkalan, Madura to Rejoso Village as commanded by his teacher KH Kholil Bangkalan. The villagers of Rejoso were formerly known to behave in abominable ways and to justify their misconduct. This condition was a challenge for KH Tamim Irsyad to conduct amar ma’ruf nahi munkar or the religion’s command of good conduct given by his teacher. He was helped by Kyai Djuraimi who changed his name to Kyai Kholil. In this pesantren, KH Tamim Irsyad taught the Koran and fiqih while KH Kholil taught tauhid and tasawuf. Eventually, KH Kholil married to the daughter of KH Tamim, Nyai Fatimah. At the time, there were 200 santris coming from Jombang, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Madura and several people from Central Java. For the pesantren’s development, KH Kholil sent three of his cadres, KH Romly Tamim, KH Dahlan Kholil, and KH Ma’sum Kholil, to study in Mecca in 1930. This was an effort of the early founders to strengthen the pesantren’s presence both through marriage and the intensive training of cadres. The effort passed on from one generation to the other has produced many leaders, and is continued in the progressive tradition of Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum Jombang.

Currently, the pondok pesantren that has been standing for almost two centuries is developing into a modern pondok pesantren. Rows of buildings that stand firm in a 42.5 hectare expanse of land is ample proof of the long journey from
a simple pesantren into a modern educational institution, Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum. The area is more suitably called a pesantren complex because it comprises the complex life of public society, the santris, schools, pondok or dormitories and the various economic institutions that support the sustainability of the multiple community. Furthermore, the five pillars of the pondok pesantren which are kyai, the santris, the Yellow Book, the mosque and pondok will be elaborated to show the transformation of Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum Jombang.

The Kyai is the central figure and his charisma has become the main spiritual factor of the pesantren. However, there is not only one kyai in Darul Ulum. The pesantren is managed by four boards which are the Board of the Kyais, the Board of Teachers, the Daily Board and the Board of Finance. Under it is the Education Division and Physical Facility Division, and institutional divisions of Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum Educational Institution, Darul Ulum University Institution and Thareqat Qodiriyah Wan Naqsabandiyah Institution. This distributed management which characterizes modern educational institution has been adopted by Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum (PPDU), Jombang. Problems of inheritance are often faced by pesantrens. Inheritance often becomes problematic due to the many offspring of its kyai, or conversely, a lack of male heirs. However, in PPDU, agreements between the children and in-laws along with their dynamics has given rise a kind of division of roles and tasks which has became the capital for the economy that supports PPDU. The division is set in such a way and is passed on to the next generation by developing a system of deliberation and respect for the settled agreement. Tarekat exists in the pesantren. The kyai’s charm is built upon the practice of tarekat that he conducts daily. One of the leaders of PPDU, KH Syaikh Romli Tamim is a mursyid or head of order of Thariqoh Qodariyah Wa Naqsabandiyah in Rejoso, Jombang. The message of Syaikh Romli for the santri of suluk, or keeping Allah close to the heart, is that “students of thariqoh should conduct tafakkur or contemplation at all times.” What Syaikh Romli means is that santris should stay in a conscious state and always conduct dzikir or chants by contemplation to curb their desires. According to Syaikh Romli, whether a person’s religious practice is good or bad could be caused by the aspect of tafakkur. Furthermore, in conducting suluk, a person cannot leave sharia. Because of that, “Sharia cannot be replaced by hakikat or truth.” The truth of hakikat cannot replace sharia because the two are inseparable. Syaikh Romli emphasized that “The zahir or exterior surface of faith is sharia while the soul of faith is hakikat.” However, the phenomenon of Sufism of Syaikh Romli cannot be dichotomized by the progress that the pesantren has achieved in the academic and non-academic fields. But then, it gives way to the birth of a synthesis between the spiritual and the material, between knowledge of the hereafter and the world.

The Santris of Pesantren Darul Ulum Jombang come from almost every corner of Indonesia. As time progresses, the santris coming to study here has multiplied and are becoming more and more varied. This is caused by the quality of the diverse education models offered by the pesantren which has been
consistently demonstrated through the santri’s achievements. The santri do not only undergo general education but also receive one model of integrated character education. Teachers and ustadz do not just transfer knowledge but also become role models in their academic and daily attitude. Islam as a teaching does not just provide learning like other general Islamic schools that are often deficient in meaning and role models. Islam as a way of life is actually taught and exemplified by the teachers. As a result, there is dichotomy between outstanding students and students with Islamic character. Both are synthesized into the character of PPDU students. Globalization is not considered to be a scary or threatening scourge, but it is an opportunity to form self-identity.

There are several mosques in the pesantren complex. The mosques have historical value and are still firmly standing today. The Mosque is the main Koran reading and learning center for the santris; other than being the place for jemaat prayer both for santris and the surrounding community. There is almost no rigid limit between the santri living area and the surrounding community. The lives of the santris are not exclusive, but unified in the society’s lives. This is one of the forms of the pesantren’s presence which contributes to the economy of the surrounding community. The Pesantren and the society became one unit in the complex of PPDU. The mosque is the factor that unifies their different activities. There are no barriers which differentiates between santri and non-santri.

The Pondok or dormitories are the living quarters of the santris after they finish their activities at school. In the dormitory, santri live their lives outside of their academic life. With the boarding system, the learning activities at school are not interrupted. The Dormitory does not just function as a place for living, but also as a place for the santris to forge themselves. The Santris are mentored by young kyais in conducting religious activities. Unlike traditional pesantren that develops independence of the santris and accustoms them to provide their own food and clothing by cooking or washing, PPDU facilitates these needs by providing caretakers in the dormitories who offer food catering and laundry services. Catering is usually managed by the wife of a kyai who is called Nyai while the laundry services is provided for by the surrounding community. This has been done taking into consideration the santri’s busy schedule which is filled with numerous tasks given at school and the remaining time spent in the dormitory to delve deeper into their religion. Due to that, the pondok is not akin to dormitories in the general sense because this pondok is the place where the teachings of Islam, especially the ones from classical holy books, are delivered. This pondok is also where santris from different schools and science concentrations meet to deepen their understanding of Islam.

The classical books taught form the PPDU’s unique characteristic of being a pondok pesantren which has transformed from the traditional to the modern pesantren. Modernization was done by adopting a state of the art modern education system. However, it does not just stop there. PPDU Jombang added traditional education of pesantren which refers to the teaching of classical Islamic books in order for the students to acquire a combination of modern and Islamic teaching
system. The two systems that were formerly dichotomized and mutually denied each other are now combined into an integrated curriculum. Therefore, in the categorization of Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, PPDU and several other similar pondok pesantren are called combined or integrated pondok pesantren. Meanwhile, PPDU’s new optimismin showing its modern identity is demonstrated in the institution’s name of Pondok Pesantren Modern Darul Ulum Jombang.

The teaching method of the pesantren was initially used in the activities of traditional pesantren. The method used is mainly sorogan in which the santri reads the Yellow Book in front of his teacher. As for weton or bendongan, the kyai reads the holy books and santri take notes in their own book. These two methods are also maintained in this pesantren. The practice is done as extracurricular activities in the pondok or dormitory in order to deepen the understanding gained from the kyai. The method taught in formal schools is definitely already far removed from the traditional method. PPDU Jombang even guarantees its academic quality using ISO. This is clearly a systematic effort of PPDU Jombang to become an international institution of education. Globalization that has given birth to the western framework of standard models is used as an opportunity for PPDU to standardize itself in order to improve its quality. The results were promising and it even became a form of contribution of the pondok pesantren to the development of our national education.

The picture of pesantren being inclusive towards its community shows the acceptance of pondok pesantren in the society. The Pondok pesantren’s presence has even contributed to the economy both directly and indirectly. PPDU has become the phenomenon of Islam’s synthesis with modernity which has been formerly dichotomized as clashing with each other. PPDU is proven to be able to synthesize harmoniously and results in an achievement. PPDU is still a part of society in many aspects of life. The Kyai are often visited by national and regional political figures in their effort to win certain party or position. Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum has also set itself as an institution that is based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Aside from the primary principal of sunnah waljamaah with the four mazhab or tenets, which are madzhab of Maliki, syafi’i, Hambali and Hanafi. They are aimed to form genuine Muslim cadres who actively live the teachings of Islam and are committed to their religion and use science to enforce their religion and country in order provide a means of channeling the love of Allah swt to humankind. Rasulullah saw said, “Whoever gains knowledge yet not their direction, Allah swt will further them away from peace.”

The adjustments done by the pesantren other than supporting its sustenance also let the santris gain benefit. This is seen in the stratification system and a clearer curriculum compared to the classical system. This model is then applied in many pesantren as a response to the social changes; more pesantrens have established madrasah or public schools in their complex. In this way, the pesantren may still function as pesantren in its genuine meaning which is as a place for education and teaching of the santris who desires deeper knowledge of Islam. Meanwhile, some
santri also study as madrasah students and become santri mukim in the pesantren. As madrasah students, they receive the recognition of the Ministry of Religious Affairs or the Ministry of National Education, and they not only gain access to further education but also to the workforce.

Closing

Social change and modernization is inevitable. This research has found forms of adaptation in three pesantrens as traditional models of education that are unique to Indonesia. Some have preserved their original form like Pondok Pesantren Cidahu, Pandeglang in Banten. Its sustainability is a form of adaptation that Cidahu succeeded in maintaining so that its presence has still prevailed up to now. Its presence shows a traditional model of education that is similar to its original form, and we can still find the traditional model, as well as other categories of model in other pondok pesantren. Pondok Pesantren Langitan is a traditional model. When observed from its teaching system and source of teachings which still maintain the usage of the Yellow Book. However, Langitan seems to have adopted modernization in its physical structure which shows the greatness of modern buildings. The modernization in Langitan is also done by adding activities in the pesantren which taught computer science and journalism. However, they only serve as additional subjects because the primary curriculum is still the teaching of 5 the classical holy books. Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum in Jombang (PPDU) is one of the example models of transformation which demonstrate courage of the pesantren in embracing modernization and globalization in the name of this institution of Islamic education. Islam and modernization are no longer dichotomized, but they are being synthesized in an intelligent way. However, the accommodation and adaptation conducted in PPDU in general does not sacrifice the essence and basic principal of the pesantren's existence. They still emphasize the values of simplicity, devotion, independence and self-control.

There is also a strong tendency of the pesantren to consolidate the institutional organization especially in terms of the aspects of leadership and management. Traditionally, leadership is handled by one or two kyai who are usually founders of the school. However, the organization’s development is mainly due to the diversification of education which also includes schools and general institutions. Thus, the single leadership of a kyai is no longer deemed sufficient. Finally, many pesantren have developed an institutional foundation. This fact is a significant factor which enables sustainability of the pesantren in the face of the changes and challenges of the time. Therefore, the pesantren not only performs its traditional function of teaching Islam, maintaining Islamic traditions and producing ulamas but also provides general education and prepare a generation that is able to take various walks of life.
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