Chapter 2: Kiai and the Pesantren

This chapter is mainly descriptive. In it I will describe the nature of pesantren life, and briefly trace the history of three pesantren in Jombang. The pesantren has been the main institution through which a large number of Islamic society in Jombang have been educated. The significance of the pesantren lies not only in the fact that they have implanted a system of Islamic values which has created at least the appearance of a more religious society in Jombang, but also that the kiai who lead the pesantren are often involved in politics. The kiai thus represent a means through which Muslim society can pursue its political interests. Some pesantren kiai are political leaders with a national reputation. The fact that the fragmentation of the Islamic society in Jombang is related to the presence of so many kiai running pesantren, each having his own independence, authority and power in relation to the others (this matter will be discussed in Chapter IV), shows that the role of the pesantren in shaping the society is evident.

The description of the pesantren in this chapter shows how they have directly contributed to the development of Muslim society in Jombang. All of these pesantren are modernised, and their kiai are heavily involved in politics. The Pesantren Tebuireng, which is located in the district of Diwek in southern Jombang is led by Hajj Yusuf Hasyim, a national Islamic figure and politician. The two other pesantren are the Pesantren Darul Ulum and the Pesantren Bahrul Ulum. The Pesantren Darul Ulum is centred in the village of Rejoso in the district of Peterongan, which is situated in the eastern part of Jombang, while the Pesantren Bahrul Ulum is located in a region to the north of Jombang, though still administratively in the district of Jombang city. The Pesantren Darul Ulum has been used as the centre of one order of Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah and is led by Kiai As’ad Umar, a member of parliament at the provincial level. The Pesantren Bahrul Ulum was formerly led by Kiai Wahab Chasbullah, a national politician and a co-founder of the largest Islamic organisation in Indonesia, NU.

The necessity to describe these pesantren became apparent from a survey that I conducted in four nearby villages. As the people's attachment to the kiai is great, the influence of the pesantren on the society I was surveying was evident. Hence, the change in the attitude of the Islamic society in Jombang in regard to politics or leadership in general, which I will discuss in the following chapters, is related to the change in the pesantren world.

2.1 Concept and Variation of Kiaiship

It is a common practice (throughout the Islamic world) for a well known ‘ulama to run a religious educational institution. In Saudi Arabia, as well as in Iran, the madrasa (lit. school) constitutes such an institution. In Indonesia, this institution is traditionally called a pesantren. The pesantren is a system of learning in which
the students, called santri, gain Islamic knowledge from a single kiai, who usually has some specialist knowledge which he teaches. Before describing the pesantren, I need first to present the concept of kiaiship in general, since the main focus of this thesis is on the kiai. The pesantren need to be discussed because they represent an influential Islamic institution in regard to Muslim social development and also because they are important institutions through which the kiai exercise their power. Not all kiai operate pesantren, however, so those who do are more influential.

In various regions of Indonesia the use of the term kiai differs from that of `ulama. Horikoshi (1976) and Mansurnoor (1990) distinguish the kiai from `ulama in terms of their role and influence in society. `Ulama is a more general term that refers to a knowledgable Muslim. The `ulama as a group “had clearly defined functions and social roles as the literate guardian of the tradition which was held to be the very ground of individuals’ and whole societies’ primordial identities” (Gilsenen, 1973). In other words, “the most significant function of the `ulama has been their orthodox and traditional roles as upholders of the faith itself, by teaching religious doctrines, and ensuring orthodox religious practices among Muslim followers” (Horikoshi, 1976:232). The term `ulama is widely used in the Islamic world. In Indonesia, some local terms are nonetheless applied to denote various levels of `ulamaship. The term kiai, on the other hand, is used only in certain regions like Central and East Java. But it is common practice that at the national level the kiai is also used to refer to a higher `ulama.

In Jombang such variation in usage does not exist as explicitly as in Madura (cf. Mansoornur, 1990). An `ulama from the highest to the lowest level are called kiai. So the term kiai in Jombang does not necessarily refer to those running pesantren; it can also be applied to the guru ngaji (religious instruction teacher) or to the imam (leader) of a mosque who has more Islamic knowledge than other citizens. Moreover, the hierarchy of the `ulamaship in Jombang is different from that, say, in Madura. It is not attached to any formal structure but is located more in social recognition, with the result that it is fairly difficult to recognise the level of an individual's kiaiship. Only those kiai running pesantren are easily recognised. They are recognised as higher kiai.

The pattern of hierarchical `ulamaship in general is sustained and institutionalised by the fact that `ulamaship, especially kiaiship, is ascriptive in nature. This pattern is more prominent in Madura, since at the highest level, that is that of kiai, the `ulamaship is inherited geneologically. However, although the basis underpinning one's `ulamaship is in fact geneological, it is the recognition of the society which determines it. An educated or erudite Muslim who would like to run a pesantren but does not come from a kiai family will have a problem obtaining the recognition of society, though it is not unusual for many prominent kiai not to come from a kiai family. So, the problem of ascription of kiaiship
might need to be distinguished at various levels. At the higher level, kiaiship in Jombang is mostly inherited, especially among those who run a pesantren. The inherited pattern of kiaiship seems to be due to the larger role and wider responsibility of this kiai level and also to the extensive background in Islamic knowledge required. Most well known Javanese kiai in the past, for example, have studied in Mecca for a couple of years before they reached their kiaiship. In addition, as a kiaiship is almost always provided with the centre of learning represented by the pesantren, which is built with the kiai’s own money, it requires considerable capital.

Compared to that in Madura, the ‘ulamaship in Java, including West Java, seems to be more open, in the sense that it is established in a more achievement oriented pattern. Although some well known kiai in these areas come from a kiai family, the ‘ulamaship is not inherent in the existing social structure. The promotion of a kiai in these areas is based on social recognition. As long as a candidate is equipped with higher Islamic knowledge, social members will easily recognise him as an ‘ulama. So, a santri who does not have kin relations of kiaiship, also can obtain kiaiship. It is not rare to find that a well-educated santri is married to a daughter of a kiai just to continue the latter’s leadership of his pesantren when it is thought that there is no member of his family to succeed him. In addition, it can happen that a santri married to a daughter of a wealthy farmer is asked to establish a pesantren. Another difference between ‘ulamaship in Madura and Java is evidenced by the fact that in the latter the existing structures of ‘ulamaship are in no sense hierarchical. An imam (a person who leads a mosque) for example, is not always higher than an ustadh (lit. teacher). Moreover, a member of MUI (Indonesian Ulama Council) at the regency level is not automatically paid higher respect than an ustadh in a village if the latter is more knowledgable of the content of Islam than the former.

Of the various levels of ‘ulamaship in Java, only a higher ‘ulama, that is a kiai, has a supra-village influence. An ustadh usually has limited local influence, not only because his Islamic knowledge is not as great as a kiai but also because he does not have a pesantren as a training centre. A pesantren is an important institution attached to one’s kiaiship\(^1\). It is through pesantren that a kiai builds a pattern of patronage which relates him to his santri, and to the society outside his own village or town. This pattern of patronage can easily be established, since most, if not all, pesantren are privately owned by the kiai. This can tie the parents of the santri to the kiai because the former psychologically feel indebted as their children's education in the pesantren is free. Furthermore, the wider influence and supra-village pattern of leadership of the kiai enables him access

\(^1\) As I mentioned, not all kiai run pesantren. But a great kiai usually operates a pesantren. Kiai Syamsuri Badawi, one of Jombang’s most respected kiai, has no pesantren. He used to teach at the Pesantren Tebuireng. Now he is a member of national parliament.
to private and government agencies. The *kiai* sometimes play a brokerage role in transmitting the government messages of development to the society, and the society can more easily accept any government’s program when they are presented by the *kiai*.

The *kiai* in Jombang can be categorised into *pesantren kiai*, *tarekat kiai*, *political kiai* and *stage kiai* (*kiai panggung*) according to their special activities in regard to Islamic development. Nevertheless, a *kiai* in practice can be subsumed under more than one category. Kiai Khoerul Anwar, for example, is a famous *stage kiai*. But he is also a *tarekat kiai*, since involvement in the *tarekat* (sufi orders) is also a major concern of his. In addition, he is a *political kiai*, since he has represented NU in the local parliament. From these four categories, we can divide the *kiaisship* into two broader categories in terms of their followers. The first is the *kiai* who have larger followings and a wider influence than the second category. The influence of the former is spread throughout regions other than Jombang because some of their followers come from other cities or even other provinces. This first category comprises the *pesantren kiai* and the *tarekat kiai*.

The *pesantren kiai* focuses his attention on teaching at his *pesantren*, improving society through education. The relationship between the *santri* and the *kiai* in the *pesantren* has resulted in the family of the *santri* indirectly following their *kiai*. As the parents send their children to this *kiai*, they indirectly acknowledge that the *kiai* is the right person to follow and an appropriate teacher to develop knowledge of Islam. The *santri* are another source of support for the *pesantren kiai*. The *santri* are not only important for the existence of the *pesantren* but could also be the source that guarantees its very future. In addition, the *santri* are the source of the network that relates one *pesantren* to another. Those who finish their studies in the same *pesantren* and become *kiai* establish a network which connects them to their former *kiai* (their teacher) or his successor who continues the leadership of the *pesantren*.

The *tarekat kiai* focus their activities on building the *batin* (inner world) of Muslim society. As the *tarekat* is a formal institution, the followers of the *tarekat kiai* are formal members of the *tarekat*. The number of these followers could be higher than that of the *pesantren kiai*, since through its branches in various cities in Indonesia members of the *tarekat* would automatically be followers of the *tarekat kiai*. It so happens that the *murshid* (spiritual teacher) of two large *tarekat* movements, that is the *Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah* coordinated by the *Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh Indonesia* and another *Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah* order coordinated by the *Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah*, live in Jombang. It should be stressed, however, that what I have

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2 In Madura, for example, where people’s submission to *kiai* is greater, the government, through a *kiai*, has succeeded in sending “spontaneous transmigrants” from Madura, whereas without his involvement such a program was faced with difficulty (see Mansurnoor, 1990).
mentioned here concerns the *tarekat kiai* who are *murshid*. Other *tarekat kiai*, such as the *khalifa* (*murshid* assistants), have fewer followers, since their authority in leading *tarekat* rituals is limited to a certain region. Followers from other regions might not know them. In accordance with the influence of the *murshid* himself, we should consider the extent of his influence in relation to his formal leadership. There exists a variation in the degree of a *murshid*'s influence among those followers directly led by the *murshid*, such as those who live in the same city as the *murshid* or in neighbouring cities, and those who live far away from the *murshid*. So, the network laid down by the *tarekat kiai* is formal in the sense that communication between them is channeled through a formal network (*tarekat* organisation).

The second category of *kiai* consists of the *stage kiai* and the *political kiai*. The *stage kiai* are preachers. They spread and develop Islam through *da’wa* (preaching) activities. The followers of the *stage kiai* may spread throughout the regency. A *stage kiai* can also have followers from other regencies. Such a case, however, is very rare, since only a very popular *stage kiai* is usually invited to give a sermon in another regency. Most of the *stage kiai* are very local, in the sense of being known by Muslims in their own regency only. The *political kiai* is a more mixed category. It refers to those *kiai* whose concern is to develop NU politically. The development of NU has for a long time been administered by this category of *kiai*, who do not have followers as other types of *kiai* do.

As there are a great number of *pesantren* in Jombang, there are more *pesantren kiai* than other types of *kiai*. According to the report of the Jombang regency office, there are around 46 *pesantren* in Jombang. As a *pesantren* is not always managed by a single *kiai*, the number of *pesantren kiai* would exceed the number of *pesantren* which they manage. It is, however, hard to count other types of *kiai*. The *tarekat kiai* usually occupy a rather formal position in the institutional structure of the *tarekat* itself. They constitute the *khalifa*, whose duty is to assist the *murshid* in performing the religious rituals of the *tarekat*. The number of *tarekat kiai* in Jombang is less than the *pesantren kiai*. On the other hand, the number of *stage kiai* could be less than *tarekat kiai*. There might be many *stage kiai* in Jombang, since the duty of *da’wa* is the obligation of all Muslim, not only *kiai*. But there are only a few *stage kiai* who become popular at the level of the regency.

### 2.2 The Pesantren Tradition

A *pesantren* is usually run by a *kiai* assisted by a number of his senior *santri* or other family members. The *pesantren* is an important part of the *kiai*'s life, since it is a medium through which he expands his preaching and influence through teaching. In the *pesantren* system, there are several interconnected elements. The first is the *kiai*, the main factor through whom the *pesantren* system is established. He is the person who underpins the system. Secondly, there are the
santri, that is the students who learn Islamic knowledge from the kiai. This element is also of great importance, since without the santri the kiai would be like a king without subjects. The santri are human resources, who not only support the existence of the pesantren but also sustain kiai influence in society. It is nonetheless common that some kiai have neither santri nor pesantren. The third element is the pondok, a dormitory system provided by the kiai to accommodate his students. Pondok is usually a simple form of accommodation and has fewer facilities than halls or colleges in Western universities. While a college or hall provides a student with a room, the pondok usually consists of shared rooms, each of which may be occupied by five to ten santri. The pesantren, therefore, comprises a complex of housing, which includes the houses of the kiai and his family, some pondok, and teaching buildings, including a mosque.

As discussed by Dhofier (1982), the pesantren usually uses a traditional system of learning. There are various techniques of teaching, but the most commonly used are bandongan and sorogan. Bandongan is a kind of religious instruction conducted by either the kiai or his senior santri. It is like a lecture attended by a large number of santri. In a big pesantren, such as the Pesantren Tebuireng, attendance at bandongan can vary from about 5 to 200 santri (Dhofier, 1982). Santri attendance does not depend on either their level of knowledge or their age. The system in this sense is just to provide the santri with regular daily learning, in which the kiai or senior santri read certain works written (in Arabic) by previous ‘ulama, translating it into local languages, and giving some explanation about it.

In a pesantren there should be some bandongan sessions which teach kitab at various levels, from the lowest to the highest. Such sessions reflect the standard of teaching in any single pesantren. As each session just discusses one section of the kitab, learning the entire kitab will take a couple of weeks or even months. The bandongan system differs from the sorogan system. If in the bandongan, santri knowledge of grammar and Arabic language is assumed, the sessions are held for those who have already attained a basic understanding of the Arabic language and the Qur'an. In contrast, sorogan is provided either for beginner santri or those who want to have more explanation of the problems discussed in the kitab. The sorogan session is usually attended by only two to five santri, and is provided

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3 The term pondok and pesantren are commonly used to refer to the same thing. The term pondok pesantren is also often used. The term pondok is derived from the Arabic, funduq, which means a dormitory; whereas the term pesantren, according to Dhofier (1982:18), stems from the word santri, student. 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.

4 Kitab means book. But in the pesantren tradition, kitab refers to the traditional writings of ‘ulama in Arabic which are different in style and format from a modern book. Learning kitab in a pesantren is different from studying, say, a sociology textbook in a university. Learning kitab means learning a single kitab. In a bandongan, the kiai read only part of a section of a single kitab, translate it into Indonesian and give necessary explanation. In one session, the kiai may read only a half to one page. Usually no question is posed during the session.
by any senior santri who has knowledge and ability in certain subjects. This system aims to give special training to santri to assist them to develop certain knowledge and skills.

The pesantren in Indonesia has become a centre of learning and da’wa. It has played an important role in Indonesia because it is the oldest system of learning and education. Before the modern education system was introduced by the Dutch, the pesantren was the only educational institution available in Indonesia. It should be noted of course that the pesantren in Indonesia still plays its role as an education centre, but it has also to compete with modern secular educational institutions.

Socially, the pesantren has played an important role in the spread of Islam in Indonesia. It has become a means of formal socialisation through which Islamic belief, norms and values are transmitted and inculcated through teaching. It also constitutes a medium for developing Islamic precepts and maintaining orthodoxy. The pesantren is but one example of the scholarly tradition and the traditional schools of Islam in Indonesia today. But it should be noted that the pesantren maintains the oldest scholarly tradition that has ever existed in Indonesia and other Malay regions.

Madrasa is another system of Islamic learning. It literally means school. However, the madrasa system in Indonesia is rather different from that in other Islamic countries. It also differs from the pesantren system. The student of a madrasa needs to pass in one grade to ascend to a higher grade in the same way as in a public school. The students at madrasa usually learn Islamic subjects, but the modernised madrasa system provides the student with a variety of material on Islam and secular subjects which should be mastered within a certain number of years. The pesantren system, on the other hand, specialises in Islamic teaching and has no time limitation. Due to its wider coverage of the subjects under study, the madrasa system does not produce or push the student to become an ‘ulama in the way the pesantren does. It is recognised that the contemporary madrasa system is a product of efforts to modernise the traditional system of learning and teaching. However, it should also be realised that the present madrasa system is not designed to produce ‘ulama. It is a medium to provide Muslims with basic Islamic teaching, which can be formally established at every district level. Also at a tertiary level, the madrasa system, like IAIN (State Institutes of Islamic Studies), cannot produce knowledgable ‘ulama. Those students who want to get a higher educational attainment in Islam must go to the pesantren.

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5 Generally, Muslims in Indonesia prefer to send their children to public school. Although many pesantren are provided with a modern schooling system, the government shooling system is better. However, devout Muslims, especially in East Java, prefer to send their children to the modern pesantren since the children still receive Islamic knowledge in addition to secular knowledge.

6 To have a detail description about madrasa, see Steenbrink’s (1974) Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah.
In the pesantren and madrasa training system “though ritual accuracy and rote learning may be important, understanding and scholarship are never incidental; they are the most valued goal to be attained” (Fisher, 1980:33). The practical importance of this is that the pesantren and madrasa system of the Islamic world are “not merely a place of preparation for a ritual leader” (Fisher, 1980:33), but also a place that provides the umma (Muslim society) with more general leadership. Since the pesantren develops Islamic scriptural thoughts, it should be seen as a means of production of religious scholars, who may develop Islam or withstand all outside negative effects. However, as evidenced throughout Indonesian history, the pesantren has not only created village religious elites, who guard the Islamic tradition and its orthodox theology, but also national political elites who aggregate and articulate Muslim interests in their pursuit of an ideal world by accommodating or making reality compatible with the ideals of Islam.

Despite their similarities, there are some differences between the pesantren system in Indonesia and the madrasa system in other Islamic countries, especially Iran. The madrasa system in Iran has really been the source of Islamic strength. It has become a source of authority which competed with the authority of the royal court. The madrasa system in Iran could thus be considered a kind of legislature and judiciary (Fisher, 1980:33). The pesantren system, on the other hand, does not have such strong authority and position. It is just a medium by which Islamic learning is developed and Islamic belief and norms are maintained. Moreover, the pesantren does not show itself in a fashionable manner as a center for the development of Islamic thought in Indonesia in the way the madrasa in Iran does7. Nevertheless, we should not ignore the fact that the kiai as individuals often have some concerns in regard to the problems of Muslim society in general; and a few of them have expressed their thoughts on Islam by writing books or papers.

Another aspect of pesantren life which needs to be mentioned is the practice of tarekat (sufi orders). It should be noted that only a few pesantren formally practice the tarekat. As its character is to emphasise the exercise of batin, the tarekat movement in the pesantren has become part of their objective to maintain Islam. Of the four large pesantren in Jombang, only kiai of the Pesantren Darul Ulum formally practice the tarekat. As I will discuss in the next chapter, tarekat is a practice of approaching Allah by performing a certain ritual, and reciting certain werd (formulae, mostly derived from the Qur’an). It is different from tasawwuf (sufism) which is taught in almost all pesantren.

7 Among kiai in Indonesia in general, there is a common view which suggests that the gate of ijtihad (lit. independent reasoning) is closed. This view resulted in the fact that the pesantren did not develop and offer new thoughts on Islam in its various aspects.
2.3 Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)

I would like here to give a brief description of NU as a socio-religious organisation through which most kiai in Jombang are organised. NU stands for Nahdlatul Ulama (lit. the awakening of the ‘ulama). This Islamic organisation was established in 1926 by the kiai of the pesantren, and was led nationally at that time by Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari from Jombang. The NU national leadership has since been held by kiai from Jombang on several occasions. As the relationship between the kiai and their society has always been extremely close, the society's affiliation with NU is taken for granted. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of Jombang's population are members of or affiliated with NU. Only a few are members of other Islamic organisations, such as Muhammadiyah.

NU was a socio-religious organisation when it was formed in 1926. Its aim was to develop and maintain the Islamic orthodoxy held by most Indonesian ‘ulama. The orthodoxy was the ahl al-sunna wa’l-jama’a. Muslims who follow this orthodoxy are called sunni. The sunni, as mentioned by the hadith, are those who practise what was practised by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. The ahl al-sunna wa’l-jama’a is hence a sect within Islam which, according to NU’s kiai, bases its understanding on the four madhhab (schools of law). In their Islamic practices, the followers of the ahl al-sunna wa’l-jama’a continually refer to Syafi’i, Hanafi, Maliki or Hambali (the founders of the madhhab). However, the religious practices of NU are mostly derived from Syafi’i. The practices I mention here are related to those things subsumed under the domain of fiqh (lit. Islamic juresprudence). In the domain of theology, NU refers for its practice and beliefs to Abu'l-Hasan Al-Ash‘ari and Abu Manshur Al-Maturidi. In addition, NU refers to the basics or guidelines laid down by Abu'l-Qasim Al-Junaid in its practice of sufism (Dhofier, 1990:149).

Although the aim of NU was to develop the existing orthodoxy, its formation was also related to the development of modern Islam in Indonesia. Islam in Indonesia which had been exposed to Dutch colonialism for a long time was affected by the development of Islam in Saudi Arabia at the beginning of the 20th century. The emergence of the Wahhabis movement inspired some Muslims in Indonesia to form a similar movement to lift Muslims out of their backwardness. As the Wahhabis movement was based on the purification of Islam, its influence on Indonesian Islam was marked by the emergence of an Islamic reformation movement. One of the movements which became involved in the Islamic reformation was Muhammadiyah, a religious movement whose

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8 A saying of the Prophet Muhammad suggests that his umma will be divided into 73 groups. All would go to hell except one, that is the ahl al-sunna wa’l-jama’a. This saying is interpreted differently by various Muslim groups.

9 They are different from what are commonly called modernist Muslims, who have, to a large extent, freed themselves from any attachment to the madhhab. I will discuss this matter in more detail when I discuss the relationship between NU and Muhammadiyah in Chapter VIII.
objective was to revive the spirit of Islam by returning to the Qur'an and the hadith in all its practices and thoughts of Islam.

Muhammadiyah was established in 1912 and seemed to have a similar concern to Wahhabis thought in regard to Muslim stagnation. They considered that Muslims were preoccupied with such things as superstition and conducting heretical practices. Such presumptions were regarded as sources contributing to stagnation. In the view of Muhammadiyah, however, Islam was essentially dynamic, and that was why it should always be stimulated in order to provoke development. The efforts of this movement confronted or even undermined the existing religious orthodoxy, which was more accommodating to the local practice of Islam. The basic principle underlying this orthodoxy was to nurture the existing understandings and practices which had for a long time been performed by Muslims, unless they were un-Islamic. The emergence of Muhammadiyah was hence considered as a menace to the religious authority of the ‘ulama, the guardians of the orthodoxy. The formation of NU was, among other things, a response to the purification efforts set in motion by Muhammadiyah. Thus, while Muhammadiyah encouraged independent reasoning (ijtihad)\(^\text{10}\) as one of the steps in developing Islamic thoughts, NU’s kiai persisted in their reference to the four madhhab, whose authority on Islam was reinforced and remodelled. This led to inevitable conflict between Muslims affiliated with NU and those affiliated with Muhammadiyah. Such conflict was endemic, especially in Java, during the 1950s and the 1960s\(^\text{11}\).

Since NU was an embodiment of the ‘ulama’s response toward the purification efforts set in motion by Muhammadiyah, it was in essence a socio-religious organisation in which the ‘ulama played an important role. In its organisational structure, NU has two institutions, the suriyah (similar to a legislative body) and the tanfidhiyah (the executive). The ‘ulama constitute the suriyah which controls the organisation. On the other hand, the tanfidhiyah, which is responsible for the policy launched by the suriyah, can be composed of non-‘ulama. In other words, the function of the leadership of the tanfidhiyah is to implement what is formulated by the ‘ulama of the suriyah. It should be noted, however, that although NU gives a chance for the non-‘ulama to become members of the tanfidhiyah, in most cases the chairman of the tanfidhiyah is always a younger ‘ulama, especially at the national level. Since NU is an Islamic organisation concerned with preserving the existing orthodoxy, most of its members and supporters come from rural areas.

\(^{10}\) NU kiai basically are not anti-ijtihad. What is shared by them is the notion that to be a mujtahid (a person does an ijtihad) certain prerequisites are needed, since to understand the Qur’an requires specialised knowledge. The Qur’an cannot be understood literally. Because it is hard to find a well equipped ‘ulama to conduct an ijtihad, NU’s ‘ulama share the same opinion as earlier ‘ulama that the ‘gate of ijtihad’ has been closed.

\(^{11}\) I will discuss this conflict at length in a later chapter.
2.4 Modernisation of the Pesantren

During the 1960s, I often heard a common humiliating phrase directed towards groups of young educated Muslims who spent their time learning in the pesantren. The phrase, santri budug, sounded humiliating even to those educated religiously, but such an insult was an expression of the reality surrounding santri life at that time. Santri budug in Sundanese referred to the unhealthy situation surrounding life in the pesantren which made the santri vulnerable to certain diseases. This referred to the life of the pesantren in the past in Java, which was mostly very humble in comparison to that of modern students studying in a more secular university. The santri in the pesantren did not think about worldly matters, such as health, since such matters were deemed unimportant in comparison to their Islamic study with their kiai.

The santri were usually housed in a dormitory of the pesantren. Until the 1960s, most of the pesantren in Java did not have electricity, being located in villages. The humbleness of the pesantren life was also expressed by the life style of its santri. There were some santri, for example, who came to the pesantren without sufficient money. Their families could not actually afford their education in the pesantren. Their attendance was determined by their eagerness to obtain Islamic knowledge. To support their living costs during their studies in the pesantren these santri worked on the kiai’s land (cf. Fox and Dirjosanjoto, 1989) or were employed by the kiai and his family as a khaddam (servant).

Although humbleness dominated the life of traditional pesantren, the education of the santri has not been simple. The lessons taught ranged from basic Arabic and its grammar to Islamic law, sufism, Qur’anic exegesis and theology, which needed much time to understand. In minor pesantren, the kiai would be the single teacher offering such lessons, but in a larger pesantren, such as the Pesantren Attahdhib in the southern part of Jombang, the kiai was assisted by some senior santri. Although the pesantren tradition does not acknowledge payments in regard to teaching activity, the senior santri recruited by their kiai do their best in such teaching. These senior santri also conduct tutorials, which are separate from formal lessons, or offer private tutorials for those who want expertise in a certain field. They therefore have particular students.

12 Most kiai came from rich families, so their pesantren were built with their own money. The kiai did not and do not receive any payment from the santri. On the contrary, the kiai could help santri to afford their education in the pesantren by employing them. The youngest poor santri were usually asked to help the kiai family by performing duties such as cooking or attending to the kiai’s guests. In so doing, the santri not only obtained knowledge from the kiai but also economic benefit. This pattern of the relationship has laid the foundation for a long lasting client-patron pattern which marks the kiai relationship with his santri. The attachment of a former santri to his kiai did not cease even after the former santri returned to his own village, which in many cases was far from the kiai’s. A feeling of ‘hutang budi’ (morally indebted) would be a reminder which pushed the former santri to get in touch with his former kiai.
This is a picture of salaf (traditional) pesantren. I need to emphasise here that in such a pesantren only Islamic knowledge is taught. Apart from the fact that they changed their system of teaching by classifying it hierarchically so that the santri had to follow certain lessons at certain levels from the lower to the higher, the subjects taught in salaf pesantren are the same. They focus on teaching Islamic subjects. A good example of this is the Pesantren Attahdhib in southern Jombang. Here, the santri learn the subjects enthusiastically. I stress this enthusiasm since in the development of the pesantren it is becoming quite rare and is found among fewer and fewer santri.

Modern pesantren are different from traditional ones in many respects. The difference lies especially in their system of education. Not only are secular subjects taught in modern pesantren, due to the adoption of a modern system of education, but the aim of education itself also seems to have changed slightly. This change in the pattern of schooling among traditional santri seems to be widespread. It is easy to find examples of pesantren everywhere with this dualistic system. Only a few pesantren still persist in running their traditional system of learning. By traditional I mean those pesantren where only Islamic subjects are taught.

In Jombang almost all large pesantren have a semi-secular system of learning in addition to their traditional system. The Pesantren Tebuireng and the Pesantren Darul Ulum seem to be good examples of how traditional Islamic schooling has changed. Besides the pengajian system (religious instruction or teaching), where the santri learn Islamic topics, most of which are the works of traditional scholars such as Shafi‘i or Ghazali, these pesantren provide modern schooling, ‘Aliyah and SMA. Such schooling is held during the day, while the pengajian is conducted at night.

This tendency has implications not only in terms of the objective of the pesantren as the centre of Islamic learning but also in terms of the motivation of the students coming to the pesantren. The idea of nyantri or mesantren, that is learning at the pesantren, has changed. People used to come to the pesantren to be educated in Islamic subjects. They did not consider whether or not their knowledge would be competitive in the job market. Their principal aim was to obtain the

13 This pesantren is managed by a very sufiastic kiai, who stresses the building of the akhlaq (lit. ethics or conduct). This tendency is sustained by the fact that this kiai is a prominent leader of the tarekat-like movement called wahidiyah. This pesantren is attended by 400 santri who come from various regions of Indonesia. The classical system has been introduced into its teaching system without changing the subjects studied. This pesantren is commonly called the pesantren karya (lit. means working) due to the fact that a significant number of its santri work in order to afford their living costs during their study. Some of the poor santri work on the kiai’s land, and some of them work outside the pesantren during the day. I was told that the kiai supports around 40 santri who help him with various work.

14 ‘Aliyah is a madasah at the level of high school. The ‘aliyah provides students with Islamic subjects which range from 50% to 75%, while the SMA is a secular high school. However, as this school is owned by the pesantren, it also provides Islamic subjects which range from 10% to 15%. 
knowledge needed to uphold Islam. Such a motivation is rarely found among contemporary santri. Parents send their children to the pesantren for more pragmatic considerations. Students study at the pesantren because of the wishes of their parents, who hope their children can obtain some Islamic knowledge in addition to secular knowledge, their main objective. The parents prefer their children to be well versed in more secular disciplines, rather than to be knowledgable in Islam. At the same time, they hope the children will be socialised in Islamic norms and values\footnote{The trend throughout Indonesia is to send children to public schools, even if the pesantren offer secular courses. However, in Jombang the number of students attending pesantren schools exceeded those at public schools at the beginning of the 1990s (interview with Adil Amrullah, 12 October 1992).} so that they are not too secularised.

This tendency is related to the general process of modernisation occurring in Indonesia. The introduction of modern values into Muslim life has brought about changes in regard to the importance of Islamic knowledge itself. In present day Jombang, people generally give more respect to those who graduate from a secular university and have expertise in a secular field rather than those who graduate from the pesantren, even those who become kiai. This situation has both affected the change in motivation of parents towards sending their children to the pesantren and influenced the internal condition of the pesantren itself. But what is more important in regard to the internal change of the pesantren is the change in motivation of the kiai's own family towards obtaining Islamic knowledge. Few sons of kiai now follow their father's foot steps in terms of their education. Instead, sons go to secular university, mastering secular knowledge. It is not uncommon for the kiai of a pesantren to cry because none of his sons will follow his foot steps in developing Islam through teaching in the pesantren. This situation has, in effect, made it difficult to maintain the continuity of leadership in some modern pesantren. Such a situation does not necessarily mean that there is a shortage of leaders. The possible stock for kiaiship is sufficient. There are a number of kiai candidates in any pesantren who are ready to assume its leadership. The problem is that very often the candidates do not come from the kiai's family. In addition, they are not educated in the pesantren, but in a more modern Islamic institution. I mean by this that the candidates have graduated from an Islamic tertiary education like an IAIN. Such graduates are commonly deemed to have insufficient knowledge of Islam. These different sources of Islamic knowledge also undermine the general kiai leadership.

2.5 The Main Pesantren Observed

2.5.1. The Pesantren Darul Ulum

The Pesantren Darul Ulum is located in the eastern part of Jombang. It is around three kilometres from the centre of the city of Jombang. This pesantren is classified as modern. It has around 3,600 santri living in its dormitories. The
Pesantren Darul Ulum runs a modern school system from primary school to university. It has a rather large university, that is the Universitas Darul Ulum, one of the three tertiary educational institutions available in Jombang. In addition to its modern system of education, it also runs its traditional system. The santri in this pesantren go to school or university during the day and attend the pengajian (religious teaching) in the evening.

The Pesantren Darul Ulum was established in 1885. This is the formal date acknowledged by the kiai currently leading this pesantren. The pesantren was established by a young kiai, Tamim, who came from Madura island. Since Tamim started teaching Islam (pengajian) among his neighbours soon after he arrived in Rejoso village, the exact date of the establishment of his pesantren could be earlier than the formal date. His kindness and knowledge of Islam had already made him a public figure in his society.

Following Tamim was Muhammad Djuremi, a young Muslim who came from Demak, the northern region of Central Java. Muhammad Djuremi, who by that time had followed his father to live in Pare (around 30 kilometres from Jombang), was interested in Tamim's activities because Tamim was widely known as an expert on Islam and on ilmu kanuragan (lit. supernatural power). Muhammad Djuremi became Tamim's close santri and helped him to teach other junior santri in Tamim's pesantren. Kiai Tamim, as people called him a few years later, married Muhammad Djuremi to his daughter. Muhammad Djuremi later changed his name to Muhammad Kholil after he returned from the hajj. According to Sukamto (1992) the number of santri studying in Kiai Tamim's pesantren after Muhammad Djuremi involved himself in its teaching was around 200. Kiai Kholil, as people called Muhammad Djuremi later, succeeded Kiai Tamim as leader of the Pesantren Darul Ulum after the latter died in 1930.

In contrast to his father-in-law, Kiai Kholil involved himself in tarekat activities. He took bai’a (lit. allegiance) and followed the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah order (tarekat). He was then regarded as one link in the chain of the murshidship of the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah order (see discussion on this sufi order in Chapter III). His formal leadership of the pesantren lasted for about seven years. After his death, the leadership of the Pesantren Darul Ulum was assumed by (Muhammad) Romly Tamim, one of the four children of Kiai Tamim. Two years later, Kiai Kholil's son (Kiai Dahlan Kholil) returned from Mecca, and helped Romly Tamim in managing the Pesantren Darul Ulum.

The period during which Kiai Romly Tamim and Kiai Dahlan Kholil led the Pesantren Darul Ulum was a period of development. Both of these kiai, assisted by Kiai Ma'shum Kholil, contributed significantly to this development. The three kiai introduced madrasah ibtidaiyah (Islamic primary school) and mu'allimin (teacher school) in 1952 and 1958. The mu'allimin is similar to a high school. It then changed to SMP (junior high school) and SMA (senior high school) in 1964.
The formation of these schools aimed to introduce a new system of learning in the pesantren. It can be suggested that the leadership of these three kiai created a favourable situation for the development of the pesantren they were managing. All three kiai spent some of their time in Mecca studying Islam. The impression they gained from the pattern of teaching in the Darul Ulum Addiniyyah in Mecca, an Islamic school in which they took Islamic studies, inspired them to make a breakthrough in regard to the system of education in their own pesantren. Kiai Dahlan Kholil, who spent around thirteen years studying in this Islamic school, proposed naming the pesantren they led Darul Ulum (literally, the house of knowledge).

In 1958, the Pesantren Darul Ulum was shocked by the death of Kiai Dahlan Kholil on the 16th of March, followed by that of Kiai Romly a month later. The same held true when Kiai Ma’shumm Kholil died in 1961. The Pesantren Darul Ulum lost its three well educated kiai within three years. The new leadership under Kiai Musta’in Romly, who succeeded his father, Kiai Romly Tamim, was successful in continuing the development of the pesantren. Kiai Musta’in, assisted by other kiai from his family, not only introduced a more modern system of education in his pesantren but was also successful in establishing a modern higher educational institution. Impressed by what he saw in Germany, Kiai Musta’in was keen to create modern Muslim intellectuals through the pesantren he led. He established the Universitas Darul Ulum in 1965. Like his predecessor, Kiai Musta’in was also deeply involved in the tarekat movement.

After Kiai Musta’in died in 1984, the leadership of the pesantren passed to Kiai As’ad Umar. In contrast to the kiai in larger pesantren in Jombang, the kiai in the Pesantren Darul Ulum try to introduce tarekat practice to the santri. Although the santri are not obliged to perform tarekat practices or to become members, the introduction of the tarekat has become a part of their pesantren programs. In the Universitas Darul Ulum, tarekat is also introduced to the students, the majority of whom are santri of the Pesantren Darul Ulum. This introduction is quite limited, since it is confined to providing students with a brief knowledge of tarekat and how it is practised.

2.5.1.1. Schools of the Pesantren

Almost one in every fifty members of the devout Islamic community in Jombang attended a pesantren in Jombang. Nevertheless, those studying in the Pesantren Darul Ulum come mostly from other regions, either Java or the outer islands. Some students come from big cities such as Surabaya or Jakarta. Although this pattern of enrolment might be different from that of the 1950s or 1960s, it indicates that the santri of the current pesantren derive from various segments of society. The pesantren in this sense does not interest only those with a strong Islamic background but also those with a fairly secular background. This situation
further indicates that Muslim society, in general, still trusts the *pesantren* as a good medium for educating their children and building them morally.

The *Pesantren Darul Ulum* provides students with both traditional and modern systems of education. The traditional system of teachings (*pengajian*) is held in the evening. Its aim is to learn traditional works on Islam by previous Islamic scholars. The work of these scholars varies from *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), theology, and sufism to Arabic grammar. During the day, the *santri* attend the formal school at the *pesantren*. In this *pesantren*, the *santri* are not allowed to study only in the traditional system. They are obliged to attend the school as well. On the other hand, *santri* whose main purpose is to attend formal school are strongly recommended also to attend the session of *pengajian*. The number of *santri* living in this *pesantren* is around 3,600. They live in 29 dormitories with 202 rooms (see Sukamto, 1992). The total number of *santri* attending the school and the university managed by the *Pesantren Darul Ulum*, however, would be greater than the number staying in this *pesantren*. This is so not only because the institutions are attended by local people who do not need to stay in the *pesantren*, but also because many older students, especially at the university, prefer to live outside the *pesantren* environment (see Table 2.1).

### Table 2.1. The Number of Santri Attending Schools within the Pesantren Darul Ulum, 1990–1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Negeri</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Madrasah Tsanawiyah Negeri</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Madrasah ‘Aliyah Negeri</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. SMP Darul Ulum I</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. SMP Darul Ulum II</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. SMA Darul Ulum I</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. SMA Darul Ulum II</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>3618</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Sukamto, 1992).

#### 2.5.2. The Pesantren Tebuireng

The centre of this *pesantren* is located in Cukir village in the district of Diwek, in the southern part of Jombang. It is around seven kilometres from Jombang city. The *pesantren* was founded in 1899 by Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari, the co-founder of NU. It is one of the four largest and most modern *pesantren* in Jombang. It has had a classical system since 1916 when its founder introduced two levels of classes in which the *santri* were prepared to take five years *madrasa*. In the *Pesantren Tebuireng* there are now some modern educational programs, providing either Islamic or more secular studies. The *pesantren* also includes a tertiary educational institution, the *Institut KeIslaman Hasyim Asy’ari* (Hasyim Asy’ari Institute for Islamic Studies).
The *pesantren* began when young Hasyim Asy’ari erected a ten square metre building to teach Islam in a hamlet of Tebuireng. He started his teaching with only eight *santri*. This was a very difficult task since the surrounding community was only nominal Muslims. The religious services held by Hasyim Asy’ari were uncomfortable challenge to them. His determination to revitalise Islam, however, resulted in a great success. According to Dhofier (1982) this *pesantren* only needed ten years to establish its reputation. The number of *santri* increased to about 200 by 1910. Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari was then acknowledged as a great Muslim scholar (Hadhro Al-Syeikh) not only because he had successfully developed his *pesantren*, but also because of his knowledge of Islam. His intellectual genealogy included a number of well known Muslim scholars and many great *kiai* in Jombang, such as Kiai Wahab Chasbullah of the *Pesantren Bahrul Ulum* and Kiai Romly Tamim of the *Pesantren Darul Ulum*. Other *kiai* in other areas also learned Islam from Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari.

Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari initially learned Islam from his father and other local *kiai*. He also learned from Kiai Kholil of Bangkalan (Madura), an ‘*ulama* well known throughout Java and Madura in the 19th century. He also spent nine years in Mecca learning Islam from a great Islamic scholar, Syeikh Mahfuz Al-Tarmisi. His studies with this scholar also introduced him to a *tarekat*. According to some sources (see Arifin, 1993:72), in addition to the Islamic instruction which Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari received from Syeikh Mahfuz Al-Tarmisi, he also received *ijaza irshad* which enabled him to perform the practice of the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah order. Nevertheless he never passed on this *ijaza irshad* to another *kiai*, with the result that he did not have followers as other *murshid* do. Moreover, he did not allow his *pesantren* to be used as a place for *tarekat* activities. 16

Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari was not alone in managing his *pesantren*. He was assisted by other *kiai* close to him, such as Kiai Alwy or Kiai Ma’shum. Kiai Ma’shum was the first *kiai* to introduce the classical system in *Pesantren Tebuireng*. Secular subjects such as mathematics, geography or Dutch language were taught from 1919. Another *kiai* who was extremely helpful in managing and modernising his *pesantren* was his son, Kiai Wahid Hasyim. Kiai Wahid Hasyim recommended that the *Pesantren Tebuireng* introduce a tutorial system, as a substitute for the traditional teaching system of *bandongan*. Although not all Kiai Wahid Hasyim's recommendations were accepted by Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari, *madrasah nizomiyah* was then established in his *pesantren* in 1934. This offered secular subjects, which accounted for about seventy percent of the teaching program (Dhofier, 1982:106).

16 It is important to note that individual *santri* of Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari, however, did practise a *tarekat*. Kiai Adlan, for example, was one of Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari’s *santri* who later became a *murshid* of the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah order coordinated by Jam ’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu ‘tabaroh An-Nahdliyah.
After Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari died on the 27th of July 1947, his older son, Kiai Wahid Hasyim, succeeded him in leading the Pesantren Tebuireng. The promotion of Kiai Wahid was agreed to by Bani Hasyim (the Hasyim Family), not only because he had a good reputation but also because he was a knowledgable younger kiai. He was a very active kiai, involving himself in the political arena before and after Indonesia gained independence from the Dutch. When Kiai Wahid Hasyim was appointed as the Minister of Religion from 1949 to 1952, he paid much greater attention to national politics than to his pesantren. The Bani Hasyim therefore appointed Kiai Karim Hasyim to lead the Pesantren Tebuireng, as a substitute for his brother, Kiai Wahid Hasyim.

Kiai Karim Hasyim led the Pesantren Tebuireng for only about one year. He was then succeeded by his brother-in-law, Kiai Baidlowi. Kiai Baidlowi was a very knowledgable ‘ulama and the oldest kiai of the Bani Hasyim teaching at the Pesantren Tebuireng at that time. As Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari had allowed kiai outside his family to lead his pesantren if there was no appropriate member of the family to occupy such a position, the promotion of Kiai Baidlowi presented no problem. It was decided to replace Kiai Karim Hasyim because the Bani Hasyim did not agree with his politics, which leaned towards the Islamic political party of Masjumi. As NU had left Masjumi and transformed itself into another Islamic political party in 1952, the proper political affiliation of the leader of the Pesantren Tebuireng, in the view of Bani Hasyim, was with the NU political party.

The Kiai Baidlowi leadership of the pesantren did not last long. After one year, he was replaced by Kiai Kholik Hasyim, another son of Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari, in 1952. This substitution was based on the right of inheritance to the leadership of the pesantren. Despite the unwritten rule suggested by Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari, which allowed a kiai outside his descendants to lead his pesantren, the promotion of Kiai Baidlowi seemed to be regarded as deviating from tradition, according to which the leadership of a pesantren usually passed from the former leader to his son. There was no conflict in regard to this decision about the succession. Kiai Baidlowi was not ambitious and was content to let Kiai Kholik Hasyim lead the pesantren. Kiai Kholik Hasyim then ran his pesantren for about thirteen years (1952–1965). He was then succeeded by his brother, Hajj Yusuf Hasyim. Hajj Yusuf Hasyim, despite his busy activities in politics, has led Pesantren Tebuireng since that time. To allow more practical management, the Pesantren Tebuireng is now run by his sons.

2.5.2.1. Modern Schooling System
The Pesantren Tebuireng has played a large role in moulding the unity of Muslim society especially in Jombang. Together with Kiai Wahab Chasbullah of the Pesantren Bahrul Ulum, Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari initiated the formation of an Islamic movement in 1926. This idea received great support from other kiai in Java. His involvement in this organisation (NU) involved him in politics at the national
level. He was then appointed to the presidential position in the first Islamic political party in Indonesia, Masjumi. He was followed by his son, Kiai Wahid Hasyim, who was appointed as the Minister of Religious Affairs during the Soekarno government. The current leader of this pesantren, Hajj Yusuf Hasyim, another son of Kiai Hasyim Asy’ari, has also been involved in national political activities.

There are some differences in terms of the policy laid down by each top leader of the Pesantren Tebuireng. The essence is nonetheless the same. The pesantren has developed into a more modern institution. However, this does not mean that it has abandoned its former traditional system entirely. Although its schooling system operates a modern system of teaching, it still has pengajian activities which are held in the evenings. All schooling is carried out in the morning and afternoon; and as in other modern pesantren, attending formal school is compulsory for all santri. The santri are also strongly recommended to attend pengajian.

The Pesantren Tebuireng now encompasses various levels of learning. The schooling system which was started during the leadership of Kiai Karim Hasyim has been further developed. It not only has the pesantren modern schools which provide both religious and secular subjects but also schools which provide only secular subjects. The development of this modern system of schooling seems to have changed the main objective of the pesantren. Most of the modern pesantren in Jombang have decreased their traditional Islamic teaching sessions. In other words, the objective of the pesantren now is not to produce the ‘ulama (many people doubt that the pesantren graduates have sufficient Islamic knowledge to become ‘ulama), but to provide pupils (the santri) with general knowledge. Nevertheless, the foundation for an ideal type of pesantren, that is the pesantren which creates the modern ‘ulama or intellectual ‘ulama, has been laid down by some kiai. To this end, the Pesantren Tebuireng provides ten kinds of teaching activities:

1. Teaching Kitab Kuning (older Islamic books)
2. Madrasah (preparatory level)
3. Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic school at the level of secondary school)
4. Madrasah ‘Aliyah (Islamic school at the level of high school)
5. SMP (secondary school)
6. SMA (high school)
7. Madrasah Al-Huffaz (Islamic school to memorise Qur’an)
8. Jam’iyah
9. The Islamic Institute of Hasyim Asy’ari
10. Arabic Language

Jam’iyah is a session in which the santri are given practical knowledge about organisation. The santri learn how to establish an organisation, etc. (see Dhofer, 1982:120).
The santri attending the Pesantren Tebuireng come from various backgrounds. Most of them come from cities other than Jombang. As in other modern pesantren, the santri do not only come from rural areas but also from urban areas, like Jakarta or Surabaya. The santri live in dormitories provided by the pesantren. According to the data provided by the pesantren, there are around 1,526 santri living in the Pesantren Tebuireng in 138 rooms among 15 dormitories. As in other pesantren, the number of santri attending the schools of the Pesantren Tebuireng would be greater than those staying at it, since there are some local santri from Jombang who come to school daily from their homes.

2.5.3. The Pesantren Bahrul Ulum

The Pesantren Bahrul Ulum is another of the four largest and most modern pesantren in Jombang. It is the oldest pesantren, since it was established in 1825 by Kiai ‘Abdussalam, also known as Kiai Shoichah. It was initially called Pesantren Nyelawe (a Javanese term for selawe, literally 25) or Telu (literally three) because the pesantren had around 25 santri with three buildings. According to an information book written at this pesantren, Kiai Shoichah had royal blood. He was a descendant of the King of Mojopahit, Brawijaya VI. People called this pesantren, Tambak Beras after Kiai Chasbullah assumed leadership. Kiai Chasbullah was a rich man who often stored huge amounts of rice in his storehouse. The village and his pesantren were thus known as Tambak Beras (lit. rice-barn). The name Bahrul Ulum was given in 1967 by Kiai Wahab Chasbullah, who led this pesantren from 1926 to 1971.

At the early stage of the development of his pesantren, Kiai Shoichah was assisted by two santri. These santri were ‘Usman and Sa’id who were later married to his daughters. ‘Usman married Layyinah, while Sa’id married Fatimah. After they assumed kiaiship, Kiai ‘Usman then married his daughter, Winih, to his student, Asy’ari (the father of Kiai Hasyim, the founder of the Pesantren Tebuireng). But, the continuation of the Pesantren Nyelawe was passed on through Kiai Sa’id. Kiai Sa’id had four children, one of which was Chasbullah. Chasbullah then became a famous kiai, and was regarded as the founder of the Pesantren Tambak Beras.
Table 2.2. The Number of Santri with their Place of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Tulungagung (EJ)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>15. Surabaya/Gresik (EJ)</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pacitan (EJ)</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>16. Malang, East Java</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Madiun (EJ)</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>17. Pasuruan (EJ)</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Lamongan (EJ)</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>18. Bojonegoro (EJ)</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Jember (EJ)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>20. Probolinggo (CJ)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Pati (EJ)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22. Brebes (CJ)</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Tuban (EJ)</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>23. Magelang (CJ)</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Pengurus Pondok Pesantren Bahrul Ulum, 1994:37)

The increase in number of Kiai Shoichah's santri forced Kiai ‘Usman and Kiai Sa’id, his sons-in-law, to assist him either in managing the pesantren or teaching the santri. Both of these younger kiai were advised to establish other pesantren nearby. Since the pesantren of Kiai ‘Usman and of Kiai Sa’id were part of the Pesantren Nyelawe, some of the santri of Kiai Shoichah either lived in these pesantren or learned Islam from these kiai. After Kiai Shoichah died, the management of the Pesantren Nyelawe was centred on the pesantren of Kiai Sa’id and Kiai ‘Usman. Kiai Sai’id was assisted by his son, Kiai Chasbullah, in managing and developing his pesantren. Kiai Chasbullah then united the two pesantren after his father and Kiai ‘Usman died.

The most well known kiai of this pesantren was Kiai Wahab Chasbullah. He continued the leadership of the pesantren after his father, Kiai Chasbullah, died. He introduced a classical system while his father still led the pesantren. He established a three year madrasa in 1915, one year after he returned from Mecca; and in 1932 he provided the madrasa with a five year learning system. What made Kiai Wahab Chasbullah well known was his involvement in national politics, representing the NU. He was deemed to be a co-founder of NU. After Kiai Wahab Chasbullah died in 1971, the pesantren came under the leadership of Kiai ‘Abdul Fatah. Kiai Najib Wahab continued to lead the pesantren after Kiai ‘Abdul Fatah died in 1977. Since 1987 the leadership of the pesantren has been held by a Dewan Majlis (a joint leadership council) which relies on modern management practices with several kiai as advisers.

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18 For more detail of Kiai Wahab Chasbullah, see Greg Fealy (forthcoming) “Wahab Hasbullah, Traditionalism and the Political Development of Nahdlatul Ulama”. In Barton, Greg and Greg Fealy eds [Forthcoming] Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia. Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
Like other modern *pesantren*, the *Pesantren Bahrul Ulum* has always been attended by *santri* of various backgrounds. It had around 2,503 *santri* in 1994. According to the data collected by this *pesantren*, around 90 percent of the *santri* come from places other than Jombang. The *pesantren* runs both a modern and a traditional system of schooling. The modern schooling is funded by the *pesantren* with little support from the government. In 1984, the *pesantren* established a tertiary educational institution.