

Chapter 1: Introduction

This is a study of Pesantren¹ Daarut Tauhid in Bandung, Java, focusing on its role in the reinforcement of Islamic morality in a contemporary community of Muslims. As a pesantren, Daarut Tauhid is part of the pesantren tradition in Java and thus shares similar features with other pesantren. Yet as a newly emergent institution, it bears novel characteristics that reflect the influence of both local tradition and contemporary modern civilisation.

In a wider perspective, the rise of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid can be understood as part of the worldwide phenomena of Islamic resurgence. In this case, Daarut Tauhid demonstrates the dynamics of Islam and the flexibility these demand. Hence I argue that in undergoing resurgence, Islam accommodates both local and global cultures without necessarily losing its definition.²

In a more specific context, Pesantren Daarut Tauhid is part of the pesantren tradition in Indonesia.³ The relationship of Daarut Tauhid to the pesantren tradition at large is just like its relationship to Islamic resurgence; it shows the dynamics and the subsequent flexibility of the pesantren tradition. Thus, I argue that Daarut Tauhid has enriched the diversity of the pesantren tradition.⁴ The most fundamental contribution Daarut Tauhid makes is its efficacy in the reinforcement of Islamic morality among urban Muslims.⁵

1.1 The Study in Perspective

Professor Clifford Geertz concludes, in his latest work, *After the Fact* (1995:165), that “what is happening both in those places [Sefrou in Morocco and Pare in Indonesia] and elsewhere to “Islam” [original quote]...is losing definition and gaining energy.” This suggests that Islam, in Indonesia and elsewhere, is now in revival but, to achieve this, it has to lose its definition. This judgment of Geertz’s is based on his observation that

secularism, commodification, corruption, selfishness, immorality, rootlessness, general estrangement from the sources of value, all the ills attributed to the modern form of life as it has taken shape in the West (and especially, everyone’s hard case, in the United States), loom, or seem to, as imminent threats, and the risk of havoc looks at least as real as the promise of ease (1995:142-143).

My question, in response to this Geertzian conclusion, is which definition of Islam does Geertz observe Islam to be losing? Geertz seems to uphold his narrow cultural definition of Islam which has been much criticised from as early as his first masterpiece, *The Religion of Java* (1960). That is his narrow definition of Islam which excludes so many Islamic features from Islam. Marshall Hodgson, the most fundamental critic of Geertz’s view in this regard, criticises Geertz for

“labelling much of the Muslim religious life in Java ‘Hindu’...[and for identifying] a long series of phenomena, virtually universal to Islam and sometimes found even in the Qur’an itself, as un-Islamic” (1974:551n). The narrowness of Geertz’s definition of Islam was put clearly by Nakamura who shows how Geertz reduces Islam. According to Nakamura (1984:72), what Geertz conceives of as the core values of Javanese tradition, i.e. *sabar*, *iklas*, and *slamet*, are all Islamic in origin and are understood by Javanese people as they are in their original Islamic meanings.⁶ Regarding these values as un-Islamic thus means reducing Islam.

Moreover, since those values are rooted in the Qur’an, they are also, in fact, commonly applied among modernist Muslims. Hence, Geertz’s definition of Islam is, to me, even narrower than that which is perceived by the modernist line of Islamic thought. Therefore, I see the weakness of this Geertzian definition to be more than what Hodgson and Nakamura accuse him of as having the modernist bias. It is, instead, a categorical bias. By this I mean that Geertz, in categorising Javanese Muslims into his trichotomy, *santri-abangan-priyayi*,⁷ excludes some traditions from Islam in order to include them in the less or non-Islamic traditions of *abangan* and *priyayi*. As Nakamura (1984:72) has shown, the *abangan* core ritual, *slametan*, and the *priyayi* core values, as mentioned above, are Islamic in origin. And Hodgson (1974:551n) considers that Geertz’s comprehensive data in *The Religion of Java* demonstrate the complete triumph of Islam in Java, so that very little from the Hindu past has survived even in inner Java.

It is however misleading to assume that the Hindu past and local beliefs have completely disappeared from Java. Surely, animism, deism, and overall spirit beliefs do still persist in Java. Geertz would have been right if he had elaborated these kinds of local beliefs when discussing the Javanese outlook (Koentjaraningrat 1963:191). But with the coming of Islam to Java those beliefs have mixed considerably, influencing each other. While Hodgson finds these local beliefs have been Islamised, Geertz, on the contrary, finds Islam has been localised. Geertz thus argues that Muslim religious life in Java looks more Javanese than Middle-Eastern (1976:367–368). And now, after four decades, Geertz goes further to argue that not only has Islam been Javanised but it has lost its definition, so much so that he puts the intactness of Islam in doubt by way of putting the term between quotes (1995:165).

As a matter of fact, Islam as a world religion has been and will always be in dialogue with both local and global cultures. In the light of this assumption, what is happening to Islam may not be seen as a Geertzian loss of definition but can be better understood as the inherent flexibility of Islam, a necessary feature for its cultural dialogue.⁸ This is in accordance with the Muslims’ belief that Islam is a universal religion. Universality requires a great deal of flexibility in regard to local cultures. While Geertz, in observing Balinese religion, was quite

right in viewing this kind of religious flexibility as the dynamics of religion (1979), he failed to see the vigorous development of Islam today, in Java and elsewhere, as an example of this dynamism.

The dynamics of Islam has been recognised throughout the world particularly by its inclination for resurgence.⁹ By this resurgence, following Muzaffar (1987:2), I mean any attempt to reinforce Islamic morality entirely in its personal and social practices. This resurgence is not necessarily political in nature.¹⁰ It can be and often is a flexible and capable creativity of the Muslim community to adopt and adapt both global modernity, with its inherent technology, and local cultures.

Pesantren Daarut Tauhid, with which this study deals, may be a good example of a Muslim community of this kind. It flexibly adopts and adapts the current inclination of world civilisation. At the same time, it genuinely incorporates local cultures. It has thus successfully avoided any conflict between the two realms and in so doing, it has not departed from Islam.¹¹

1.2 The Pesantren Tradition

Zamakhsyari Dhofier, with his *The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java* (1980), was the first to provide a comprehensive study of the pesantren tradition in Java and Madura. The translation and publication of Dhofier's study in Indonesian has made wide-spread the understanding of the pesantren world (Zulkifli 1994:3). Before this little was known among scholars about the pesantren institutions, which are "the lynch pins of Islamization" in South East Asia (Johns 1975:40).

Notwithstanding the fact that studies of the pesantren can be traced back to the second half of the nineteenth century when Brumund studied the educational system in Java in 1857, these studies were viewed to be partial. Dhofier (1980a: 1-3) thus evaluates that

scholars such as van den Berg, Hurgronje and Geertz...have only partially understood features of pesantren life. Their descriptions of pesantren life have only touched upon the simplicity of the buildings within pesantren complexes, the austerity of the *santri* way of life, the *santri* absolute obedience to their *kyai* and, in some instances, on the preliminary teaching of some Arabic texts. Even Raden Achmad Djajadiningrat...revealed more about the inconvenience of pesantren life than of the real strength of pesantren tradition.

In the poverty of this academic record, the origins of the pesantren institutions in Java have been a matter of controversy. Dhofier (1984:20) speculates that the pesantren tradition originated from simple gatherings for learning Islam, which

began to emerge in the fifteenth century. This seems too early to van Bruinessen (1992:76–77), who believes that the earliest pesantren to be Pesantren Tegalsari, in East Java, which was established in 1742. To van Bruinessen, what existed before this century were only Islamic gatherings in mosques, holy graves, and palaces, which could not yet be called pesantren (ibid). An earlier speculative date has been put forward by the Department of Religious Affairs, which suggests that Pesantren Jan Tampes II, in Pamekasan, Madura, established in 1062, is the oldest pesantren ever founded (Mastuhu 1994:19). This is of course questionable, as Mastuhu notes, for there had to be a Pesantren Jan Tampes I, which must be older than Pesantren Jan Tampes II.

The difference between van Bruinessen and Dhofier lies in how they regard those earliest gatherings for learning Islam. Whereas the former regards them as not yet proper pesantren, the latter sees them as the embryo of pesantren institutions. Thus, to Dhofier, those gatherings, referred to as the *pengajian*,¹² were a necessary part of the pesantren tradition (1980a:27–29). Dhofier's view explains why Abdurrahman Wahid (1984:7), the leader of Nahdhatul Ulama,¹³ claims that the pesantren tradition began to emerge as early as the coming of Islam to Indonesia in the thirteenth century. Wahid's claim is confirmed by Abubakar Atjeh (1957:43), who regards Shaikh Mawlana Malik Ibrahim, one of *Wali Sanga* (the nine saints) who is believed to be one of the bringers of Islam to Java (Fox 1991, Geertz 1976:39), as the founder of the first pesantren. Hence, unlike van Bruinessen, Atjeh seems to be certain that the term 'pesantren' had existed as early as the thirteenth century.¹⁴

In fact, these views can be combined despite their apparent contradiction. We may imagine from these views that the pesantren tradition was much simpler in its early development than it is today. This simplicity of the earliest form of pesantren is suggested, for example, by Nurcholis Madjid and Zulkifli (1994:3). Madjid (1988:104) speculates that the pesantren tradition, as an educational institution, originated from spots where followers of Sufi orders stopped and performed some rituals.¹⁵ As Islamic instructions were taught at those spots, these "stations" ended up being centres for learning Islam, which Dhofier might refer to as *pengajian*.

My present study of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid may help to clarify these speculations about the origins of the pesantren tradition. As we shall see, Daarut Tauhid grew out of a small group of *pengajian*. While it was officially founded as a pesantren in 1990, in its pioneering form of *pengajian* it began three years earlier in 1987. The process through which Daarut Tauhid has progressed may reflect the natural process of the outgrowth of the pesantren tradition in its earliest existence. That is, the pesantren tradition might have begun as a simple locus for learning Islam and, as time passed, it grew further to be known as pesantren.¹⁶

Much has been written regarding variety and complexity in the pesantren tradition through time (Dhofier 1980a:46; Mastuhu 1994; Tebba 1985:269; Zulkifli 1994:3-4). Dhofier (1980a:46) recognises two general types of pesantren: *salafi* and *khalafi*. The former preserves “the teaching of classical texts as essential education...without the introduction of secular subjects.” The latter either introduces secular subjects or incorporates secular schools in addition to the study of classical texts. Mastuhu (1994:19) discusses some of the specialisation by which pesantren are distinguished. For example, Pesantren Blok Agung, at Banyuwangi, East Java, is known for its specialisation in studying Al-Ghazali’s *tasawuf*; Pesantren Tebuireng, East Java, is known as a pesantren for Hadith and Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence); and Pesantren Guluk-guluk, on Madura, is known as a pesantren for *dakwah bil hal* (practical proselytization). In short, each pesantren has come to have its own “trademark” in spite of its coverage of all branches of Islamic studies.¹⁷

In Bandung, one can find many pesantren well-known for their own specialisation. Pesantren Babussalam in Dago, Northern Bandung, is well-known as a pesantren al-Qur’an, specialising on the study of *tafsir* (commentary). Pesantren Al-Falah in Cicalengka, Eastern Bandung, is also famous as a pesantren Al-Qur’an, but specialising on *qiroat*, that is, various styles of reciting Qur’an including ethics and melody.¹⁸ Pesantren Al-Jawamy in Cileunyi, Eastern Bandung, while is known as an all-inclusive pesantren, is still better known for its monopoly of mastering *ilmu falaq*, the Islamic astronomy which is used particularly to determine the lunar calendar of Islam (*hijriyya*) and the prayer (*shalat*) timetable. Pesantren Daarut Tauhid, with which we are dealing, is well-known as the *Bengkel Akhlaq* (the Workshop for Morality).

There are many other pesantren in Bandung, such as Pesantren Sukamiskin in Ujungberung, Pesantren Daarul Arqom in Pacet, Pesantren Al-Basyariyah in Cibaduyut, Pesantren At-Taqwa in Cimindi, Cimahi, Pesantren Cijerah and so on. The pesantren tradition in Bandung is as prominently well-rooted as in other parts of West Java. This partly explains why Glicken (1987:240) states that “West Java, as a whole, is the most strongly Islamic province on the island of Java and, indeed, one of the strongest Islamic areas in Indonesia.” However, should one refer to Dhofier’s map of pesantren centres in Java (1980a:x^a, 1982:3), one will be left with the impression that there would be no pesantren at all in Bandung, since there, on the map, is no mark of any pesantren in Bandung. However, Dhofier acknowledged (1980a:5) that he confined his study of the pesantren tradition to Central and East Java, thus excluding West Java, whose capital city is Bandung.¹⁹

This work attempts to provide a first step in filling this gap. Based on fieldwork carried out between December 1994 and February 1995 on Pesantren Daarut Tauhid in Bandung, it attempts to provide a brief ethnographic report on this

pesantren, focusing on its role as a moral force among Muslims in Bandung. While this study confirms some points of previous studies, it attempts to expand on some points of previous works on Islam, in general, and on the pesantren tradition, in particular.

1.3 Daarut Tauhid: A Pesantren Milieu

Pesantren Daarut Tauhid is located in Gegerkalong, the northern part of the city of Bandung. Gegerkalong is only about four kilometres away from the *alun-alun* (square, the heart of Bandung city) and just about two kilometres from *pendopo gubernur* (the offices of the provincial governor). It is in the same *kelurahan* (suburb) with IKIP Bandung (*Institut Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan Bandung*, Bandung Public Institute for Educational Studies) and is in neighbourhood to such national universities as ITB (*Institut Teknologi Bandung*, Bandung Institute of Technology), Unpad (*Universitas Padjadjaran*, Padjadjaran University),²⁰ and Unisba (*Universitas Islam Bandung*, Bandung University of Islamic Studies).

Known as the Pesantren *Bengkel Akhlaq*, Daarut Tauhid is a pesantren both because it formally declares itself as a pesantren and because it meets the basic criteria of a pesantren. It meets the minimum elements of a pesantren, monumentally set forth by Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1982:49–59). Those basic elements are the *pondok* (dormitories), the mosque, the study of classical Islamic *kitab* (texts), the *santri* (students), and the *kyai* (leader).

The element *pondok* of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid takes the form of permanent buildings divided into rooms each variably inhabited by five to ten santri. These may be owned by the pesantren or be privately owned and in the vicinity of the pesantren. There is, so far, only one Daarut Tauhid owned *pondok* which has six bedrooms. This dormitory is now inhabited by female santri. Other dormitories, that are occupied by male santri, are not owned by the pesantren. They are, instead, houses rented and thus paid for by Daarut Tauhid whilst the inhabitant santri share the payment. This rental phenomenon is not so startling for at least three reasons. First, as shall be elaborated in chapter three, most santri are school or university students who come from a distance and thus are used to living in rented rooms. When intending to study in Daarut Tauhid, they simply move in and rent a room already booked by Daarut Tauhid. This is supported by the second reason, that is, the urban location of Daarut Tauhid. As noted by Dhofier (1980a:47), the rental tradition is a common phenomenon among the students of Islamic study-centres in cities such as Mecca and Madina. The third reason is the fact that Daarut Tauhid is still in its early development. It just built its big mosque in 1992, female dormitory and mini-market in 1993, mini-bank and mini-restaurant in early 1994, and a study building in late 1994. So it is simply a matter of time and priority, while the building of other facilities has been given priority over the building of more dormitories.

What is startling is the fact that the *kyai*'s house itself is still a rented one. It is in a sense part of the *pondok* because part of the house is inhabited by some santri. Unlike the rest of the *pondok*, however, this house is not paid for by the pesantren but by the *kyai* himself. As a matter of fact, the *kyai* had had his own house, certainly bought by his own money, yet it was given as the site for the new mosque as his sincere *waqf* (donation for religious use).

The capacity of all *pondok* together, apart from the mosque and the study spaces, is enough for no more than about a hundred santri. There are two reasons for this limited *pondok* facilities. First, Daarut Tauhid was officially founded only in 1990; this, together with the present rental conditions, reflects the early stage of the development of this pesantren. Second, at least up until now, most of the followers did not stay in the pesantren but attended the pesantren's activities without necessarily staying in the pesantren complex.²¹



Photograph 1 Daarut Tauhid mosque as the centre of activities. Pedicab, car, and the busy street in front of the mosque suggest the urban location of the mosque

The *pondok* involves the separation of the sexes as is common to all pesantren in Indonesia. Male santri have their own *pondok* as do female santri. So also do they have their own “office” and managing authorities. As in other pesantren (Dhofier 1980a:48), these two sex-based “realms” are well-separated by the *kyai*'s house. The female *pondok* is far better off than the male *pondok* in terms of both the physical construction of the building and its supporting facilities. Bathrooms

for females, for example, are built-in at their *pondok* unlike those for males. Among the reasons given for this privilege for female santri is the assumption that women are viewed weaker than men, and the *kyai*'s effort to observe Islamic law such that unnecessary, and perhaps dangerous, intercourse between Muslims of different sexes is to be avoided. One of the ways of keeping women separated from men is to provide women with special, often inevitably better, facilities.

The *masjid* (mosque) serves as the second element of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid. It was built in 1992 on the land that was formerly the private property of the *kyai* and thus has replaced his former house.²² It is a two storey building with the capacity for about 1000 praying or 2000 sitting Muslims. Located at the centre of the pesantren area, it is, indeed, the centre of pesantren activities.

The third element for the pesantren, the study of classical texts (*kitab-kitab klasik*), is also identifiable in Pesantren Daarut Tauhid. The *kyai*, when delivering his weekly *pengajian* (public sermon) on Thursdays, refers to and explores the meaning of a certain *kitab klasik*, concerned with the Islamic guidance of morality. Daarut Tauhid has, as well, a scheduled program for the study of Islamic classical texts. This is done on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays evening.

An unusual feature here is the presence of outsider *kyai* other than the Daarut Tauhid's *kyai*. While other pesantren are self-sufficient with their own *kyai* or *ustadz* (young teacher), Daarut Tauhid invites *kyai* from other pesantren to teach there. For example, at Monday sessions, Daarut Tauhid invites K. H. Drs. Jalaluddin Asy-Syatibi, the *kyai* of Pesantren Miftahul Khoir, Dago. At Tuesday sessions, it invites K. H. Irfan Qusyairi, the *kyai* of Pesantren At-Taqwa, Cimindi. They are, in a sense, *kyai tamu* (guest instructors) with a different background of knowledge and different orientations to the various religious schools of thought (*madzhab*). There is thus direct encounter between different *madzhab*, which has produced endless contention in Indonesia, since each *mazhab* has its own advocates.²³ According to one of the officials at the pesantren, this tradition is being developed to create a friendly sphere of intercourse between varying lines of Islamic thoughts, in the spirit of *shilaturrahmi* (bonds of friendship). Daarut Tauhid itself is therefore known for promoting a new orientation; *madzhab shilaturrahmi*, with the spirit of conflict avoidance.

The fourth element of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid are the *santri*. As already noted, the great majority of Daarut Tauhid's followers do not stay in the complex of the pesantren but come there at certain times for certain activities such as to listen to a public talk, to attend an intensive study of *kitab klasik*, or to carry out short-term workshops.²⁴

The final element, the *kyai*, bears many distinctive features that enrich the pesantren tradition. He is a very young *kyai* who, unlike other *kyai*, did not

experience pesantren education in a conventional way. If anything, he just visited *kyai* in various pesantren. As Dhofier (1980a) and Pranowo (1991a) record, normally it has been one of the pesantren traditions that a person spend several years in a number of pesantren before he qualifies to be a *kyai*. There are many other distinctive features about this *kyai* of Daarut Tauhid, which are discussed in the two chapters to follow.

1.4 The Organisation of the Work

This work is organised into six chapters including introduction and conclusion. Chapter One, the introduction, provides the necessary background for the study. It attempts first to put the study in the wider perspective of studying Islam, discussing some views on the development of Islam. It then discusses the pesantren tradition of which Daarut Tauhid is a part and to which it contributes. Finally, it presents a portrait of Daarut Tauhid as a pesantren milieu in order to provide a preliminary sketch.

Chapter Two examines the process of the emergence of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid. Events that served as initial stages in the founding and which were very crucial to the birth of the pesantren are analysed here. However, prior to this section, I take up the life of the leader since his childhood as this is necessary background because those events were inseparably linked to the development of his beliefs and therefore his actions. The chapter ends with an account of the process of the official foundation of the pesantren and notes the principal purposes of the foundation. I argue here that the process through which Daarut Tauhid emerged may provide an example of the origins of the pesantren tradition in Java. While archival records on the earliest form of pesantren are poor, it seems likely that it grew out of the *pengajian* tradition in mosques, houses, and other places.

Chapter Three provides a deeper examination of the pesantren's leader, Aa Gym, and an analytical description of his followers, in order to understand the pattern of relationships between the leader, his followers, and the pesantren itself. Here, the personal qualities and popularity of Aa Gym as a *kyai* are discussed. The spiritual power of Aa Gym, as an important element of his leadership, is discussed here as well. Then follows a discussion on the followers: firstly, their numbers, diversity, and identity, and, secondly, their reasons for joining the pesantren.

I describe in Chapter Four the practice of Islam at Pesantren Daarut Tauhid. It is important to understand how members practise Islam, a practice that is in accord with the cultural demands of global and local cultures. This chapter shows that Islam is creatively practised by Muslims at Daarut Tauhid. This creativity manifests itself in the way they combine eschatological and worldly orientations to life.

Chapter Five deals with the very core of Daarut Tauhid's existence, that is, its representation as the *Bengkel Akhlaq* (Workshop for Morality). This chapter

includes, first, what is meant by moral decadence. Then, it discusses the concept of *qolbun salim* (sound heart) which is believed by people at Daarut Tauhid to be the solution to moral decadence. Next, this chapter describes the core ritual of the pesantren, that is, what is called *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* (Comforting Religious Advice). The indispensability and efficacy of this ritual in comforting the followers are depicted in this chapter. Finally, this chapter considers the ritual weeping that is prominent at Daarut Tauhid. The analysis is focused on the nature and structure and then on the meaning and function of this tradition of ritual weeping.

Finally, Chapter Six provides the concluding remarks of the work and some reflections on the pesantren tradition and Islam at large.

ENDNOTES

¹ Pesantren are generally known as Islamic training centres for advanced studies and, more specifically, as traditional Islamic educational institutions in Java (Dhofier 1980a:viii). However, as my present study will show, its use here means a religious and socio-cultural institution, which thus embraces more functions than mere education.

² Thus Tebba (1985:268) assumes that the extraordinary survival of the pesantren tradition over centuries is a result of its ability to respond to every new reality of community development in Indonesia.

³ The pesantren tradition has cultural features that are not found in other parts of the Muslim world save in Indonesia (Tebba 1985:269).

⁴ In consequence, this also denies the assumption that the pesantren tradition is in a state of decay, due to the changing preference of Muslims today to choose secular educational institutions.

⁵ Nearly all pesantren are located in rural areas of Indonesia. The pesantren's moral force is thus more felt in these areas than in urban areas.

⁶ In fact, as Nakamura has pointed out (1984:72), the terms *sabar*, *iklas*, and *slamet* can be easily found in the Qur'an. The term *iklas*, for example, is even the title of Chapter 112 of the Qur'an. This term appears frequently in other chapters such as 2:139, 4:146, and 10:23.

⁷ It is widely known that Geertz (1960) introduced *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi* as three variants of various Muslim traditions in Java. The *abangan* variant, dominant in the villages, is conceived to hold spirit beliefs and to practise curing, sorcery, and magic, with the *slametan* ritual feast as its core (1976:5). [The *abangan* people are even considered by Alice Dewey (1962:33), Geertz's fellow researcher, as non-Muslims.] The *santri* variant, predominant at markets, is marked by "a careful and regular execution of the basic rituals of Islam...[and] a whole complex of social, charitable, and political Islamic organisations." The *priyayi* variant stresses Hindu aspects and is related to the bureaucratic element (1976:6). This Geertzian categorisation has drawn much criticism. Bachtiar (1985), Hodgson (1974), Koentjaraningrat (1963, 1984), Muchtarom (1988), Nakamura (1984), Pranowo (1991), Suparlan (1976), and Woodward (1989) are among the fundamental critics. Yet, Geertz's fame, particularly as an anthropologist, is said to owe much to the flood of criticisms addressed to him. Like Marx, Geertz's popularity began only after massive criticism of his work (Jamhari 1994:14)

⁸ See Kurshid Ahmad (1983:226) for an example of the flexibility of Islam.

⁹ For the study of Islamic resurgence in the past two decades, see *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, edited by J. L. Esposito (1983).

¹⁰ I am aware that Islamic resurgence seems most generally to be political. Dessouki (1982:4) thus sees it as the increasing prominence and politicization of Islamic ideologies and symbols.

¹¹ On a seminar on this pesantren on 12 October 1995, Professor J. J. Fox judged that none of Daarut Tauhid's features departs from Islam.

¹² This kind of traditional education is known in most of the Muslim world as mosque education (Dhofier 1980a:51, 53, 57). Among the Sundanese people of West Java, it is more commonly known as *ngaji*, omitting the prefix *pe* and the suffix *an* from the Indonesian *pengajian*. See Glicken (1987:241, 244) for this tradition of *ngaji* among the Sundanese people.

¹³ Nahdhatul Ulama (NU, lit. the Rise of the Religious Scholars) is a conservative Islamic organisation in Indonesia. This socio-religious organisation originated from the pesantren, in that it was found both at pesantren and by pesantren figures, among whom K.H. Hasyim Asy'ary from Pesantren Tebuireng (Dhofier 1980a:141;1982:97,101n). Many pesantren are thus affiliated with NU and the pesantren tradition is most often associated with this organisation (Tebba 1985:276–277).

¹⁴ There is another speculation proposed by I. J. Brugman and K. Meys. Considering the general features of pesantren, they speculate that pesantren-like institutions had existed long before the coming of Islam to Indonesia. [This speculation is followed by Geertz (1976:231).] Institutions of the kind still exist to date in Hindu India and Buddhist Burma and Thailand (cf. Tebba 1985:269). Since these pesantren-like institutions, if did exist at all, were not Islamic by nature and by function, I do not regard them as part of the pesantren tradition.

¹⁵ In the Middle East, such places are known as *zawiyah* or *khanaqah*. Beginning as “stations” for Sufi followers, these institutions became centres for learning Islam throughout the Middle East.

¹⁶ Tebuireng, a major pesantren studied by Dhofier (1980a), began with a very small *pengajian* group of eight students and Pesantren Ploso, another major pesantren in Kediri, started from a *pengajian* with just five students (Dhofier 1980a:29). Whereas Tebuireng took ten years and Ploso fifty years to become popular as major pesantren (Dhofier, *ibid*), Daarut Tauhid took only about three years to attract about two thousand followers (*Tempo* 3 April 1993). This might be a reason for the significance of my present study.

¹⁷ This knowledge specialisation of the pesantren tradition has created the *santri* tradition of knowledge-seeking by wandering from one pesantren to another, in order to master to the fullest several branches of Islamic knowledge (Dhofier 1982:24; Bailey 1986:197; Pranowo 1991b:41).

¹⁸ The existence of these two pesantren which concentrate on teaching the Qur'an may revise Dhofier's suggestion that teaching the Qur'an is not the purpose of pesantren system (1980a:59).

¹⁹ Therefore, with the exception of Dhofier's data on *ilmu ladunni* from Garut (1980a:95–96) and on marriage intersections among the *kyai* families that cover Cirebon (1980a:88), Dhofier almost completely neglected West Java. He did not refer to, and thus did not list in his bibliography, Horikoshi's important research on the pesantren tradition in Garut, West Java (1976). This might be due to the unavailability of this work in the library at the time he was writing his thesis.

²⁰ ITB and Unpad are two of the nine universities of excellence in Indonesia (Raillon 1985:23). This is mainly why Bandung is known as a student city, just like Yogyakarta and Jakarta (Rosyad 1995:2).

²¹ This is made possible by the new trend in knowledge transmission practised in Daarut Tauhid, as shall be described later on. This certainly minimises the demand for the provision of *pondok*.

²² There are interesting features concerning the funding of the construction of the mosque to be discussed later.

²³ *Mazhab* is school of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). In fact, there were many *mazhab* developed by Muslim *ulama* in accordance with their differing understanding on Qur'an and Hadith. However, to date, only four *mazhab* survive. These are called after their founders: the Hanafi, the Shafi'i, the Maliki, and the Hanbali. They prevail in different parts of Muslim world. The Shafi'i, for example, prevails in Egypt, South Arabia, Syria, East Africa, and Indonesia. Despite this prevailing Shafi'ite school in Indonesia, the modern groups prefer the Hanafi and the Hanbali. This has been the main cause for the modernist-traditionalist dispute in Indonesia.

²⁴ Detailed discussion of the followers, in terms of their numbers, variety, identity, and reasons for joining, will appear in Chapter Three.