

Kyai and Pesantren in the Islamic Historiography of Indonesia

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ABSTRACT: *Diversity in the writing of history is not just about the topic but also about the object of study or research in the historical writing. Spanning the history of the Muslim community in Indonesia was started since the vast stretches of the Islamization process and economic and political power were formed to the resistance movement against the occupation of Western nations with a peak of Indonesia's independence declaration. Therefore, in the historiography of the Islamic community in Indonesia is very improbable that the historians with all their limitations are able to describe or reconstruct the whole history of Muslims from the beginning until now. Nevertheless, the works of the writing on the history of Islam in Indonesia have been widely written, both by Indonesian and foreign writers. One important thing about the history of Islam in Indonesia is analyzing the roles and position of "pesantren" (Islamic boarding schools), "kyai" (Islamic religious scholars), and "santri" (Islamic students in boarding school). Therefore, if we discuss about resistance movement against the Western penetration in Indonesian history, there are many events related to the resistance movement of the Islamic society.*

KEY WORDS: *The roles of kyai, pesantren, santri, Indonesian historiography, Islamic society, and diversity in history.*

INTRODUCTION

Interested in history was not only happening among academics, but also came from other professions. The whole of Indonesian historiography, then, enlivened also along with the development of the theory and methodology of science. Another thing that also enlivened the writing of the history of Indonesia was the emergence of some interests that require historical legitimacy. This development is interesting because the writing of history to be diversities.

Diversity in the writing of history is not just about the topic but also about the object of study or research the history of writing. This

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phenomenon, then, gave birth to a lawsuit against the National History of Indonesia, one of the Muslims who questioned the position and roles of the Islamic society in the historiography of Indonesia in the context of the National History of Indonesia.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MUSLIMS IN INDONESIA

At least until the middle of 15th century, Muslims had not only expanded to the whole Indonesian archipelago, but socially had been the agent of change in the history. At that time, even though Islam had not reached to the setback completely, they had built what it was called as “trading of diasporas”, especially in the territory of coastal area. With the support of merchant class, the process of Islamization took place greatly and almost became the dominant historical landscape in Indonesia at that time.

According to A.E. Priyono (1991:26), although the track of Islamic history could be identified since the 11th century,¹ however, the development of Islamization seemed to begin in the late of the 13th century and especially in the 14th and 15th century when the center of the greatest natives power, Majapahit’s empire, was being in the decline. Islamic religion had been being in the rapid progress at that time. The rapid development of Islamic religion was due to the attractiveness of that new religion. The attractiveness of this new religion was on the idea of similarity, it was a very interesting idea for the merchant classes which was increasing, and not possessed within the concept of Hindu social stratification. Thus, Islam provided the “blue print” for economic-political organization which, then, opened the way for the march of new structural change process from the system of patrimonial agriculture toward, what was called by J.C. Van Leur (1960:122-123), as “politic-capitalism”.² This *politico-economic* blue print which caused many classes of native traders believed on Islamic religion to participate within international Muslim traders’ community (Dobbin, 1980:247-261).

Lately, the international Muslim traders community in Indonesia had been developed since the late of the 14th century, it was since Malaka

¹According A.E. Priyono (1991), it was since found the graveyard of a woman Moslem named Fatimah binti Maimun in Leran, East Java, Indonesia that numbered year of 1082 AD (Anno Domini).

²J.C. Van Leur (1960:122-123) distinguished the form of capitalism which was increasing in Asia because of the influences of Islamization with the commercial-capitalism which was increasing in the West in the 16th century and became the basis of industrial-capitalism nowadays. For the need of historical research about transition from pro-colonial era to colonial era in Asia, this distinguishing clearly was very important.

developed into an *entreport-state* or the state of cross-seas trading supplier. Moslem merchants in the coastal area of the north Java beach such as in Gresik, Giri, Tuban, Jepara, Demak, and Jayakarta arranged trading relationship with the international trading center such as in Mediterania, Siam, and even Japan. This development showed that the process of Islamization had resulted the integration of the middle class of Muslim merchant with the center of international Muslim trading; therefore, it gave basic material for the emerging of new political institutions which was signed by the establishing of Demak maritime state as the first Islamic kingdom in Java in the beginning of the 16th century.³ This proved that, at that time, Islam appeared as the integrative element which was able to unite the power of economy, politic, and religion in a state.

Along the first middle of the 16th century, Demak Islamic kingdom attempted to consolidate its authority through various conquests both military and economy to the area along north Java coastal area.⁴ After that, there appeared the power of other Islamic politics among them such as Islamic kingdom of Banten and Islamic kingdom of Cirebon which was located in the district of Western Java.

The goal of Demak Sultanate was to integrate between religions, economy, and politic that gained many challenges both from outside and inside. These challenges came along with the emerging of new power; it was Western penetration which was signed by occupying the Malaka by Portuguese as the result of “mercantilism politic” expansion which was developing in Europe to the whole of the world. The expansion of Europe’s mercantilism, which was supported by the military power, had wished off Asian international context toward mercantilism capitalist all at once tarnished, what was called by Anthony Reid (1988), as the era of Asian trading, which then entered the new era i.e. it was colonialism era (Wallerstein, 1974).

³There are several opinions according to this matter. M.C. Ricklefs (1986) and Kuntowijoyo (1991), for example, mentioned that the establishing of Demak kingdom happened in the late of 15th century. However, H.J. de Graaf and Th.G. Pigeaud (1985) stated that in the late ten years of that century, Demak was still governed by infidel (*kafir*), he was the king subjected by *Maharaja* (King of the kings) Majapahit. They thought that Demak, then, became Islamic kingdom after the Chinese Islamic merchants developed the economy of *entreport* city the beginning of 16th century. In fact, Raden Fatah, the first king of Demak, was the descent of China.

⁴Respectively, Demak Islamic kingdom conquered Tuban (1527), Madiun (1529), Surabaya and Pasuruan (1530), Penanggungan (1543), Malang (1545), and Kediri (1550). In the west district, Demak supported the establishing of Banten and Cirebon Islamic kingdoms. See, for example, M.C. Ricklefs (1986:xi-xii).

In the regional context, which is got “historical transition”, Demak appeared and developed in short time and just existed for approximately a half of century, shorter than the three centuries Majapahit’s hegemony. According to A.R.T. Kemasang, the happening of great transition in Asian, Islamic kingdom of Demak international trading system caused by Western penetration was not only losing the base of its maritime trading, but also losing the base of material for its legitimating claim whether politically or ideologically. Thus, in the other word, based on the statements explained above, the integrative power of Islam was failed in playing its role in its history. The ruin of Demak, internally, was caused by the growing back of the local ideology and, externally, was caused by the Western capitalism expansion (Kemasang, 1985:57-80).

After the happening of Western capitalism expansion which was later substituting the social order, culture, and tore down the supremacy of Islamic policy, then appeared the reaction of Indonesian Moslem society, indicated by the resistance movement of *Santri* (Moslem) society came from *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) world with *Kyai* (Ulema) as a “causal mechanism” in several historical events lied from Western to Eastern of Indonesia (Binder, 1960).

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ISLAM IN INDONESIA

If we see the description above, therefore, it will be seen the spread of Indonesian Moslem society’s history lied along widely since the process of Islamization later built the economical and political supremacy until the resistance movement against the Western colonialism with the Indonesian proclamation of independence as its top. The power of economy was indicated by the establishment of international trading bases such as Malaka, Banten, Jakarta, Cirebon, Tuban, Makasar, and many more. The power of politic was indicated by the establishment of the Islamic kingdoms in Indonesia such as Islamic kingdom in Aceh, Demak, Cirebon, Banten, Goa, Makassar, and Tidore (Ricklefs, 1986).

The resistance movements against the Western penetration were indicated by the *Santri* (Moslem) society resistance movement. According to Clifford Geertz (1960), the resistance movement of *Santri* society happened in several area such as war of Java led by Pangeran Diponegoro, Kyai Madja, and Sentot Alibasyah in 1825-1830; war of *Paderi* in West Sumatera led by Tuanku Imam Bonjol in 1821-1828; war of Aceh led by Teuku Umar in 1873-1903; and wars in West Java, exactly in Banten in the year of 1834, 1836, and 1842, then risen again in 1880 and 1888 led Kyai Haji Wasid, also the resistance movement in Singaparna led by Kyai Haji Zaenal Mustofa

in 1942 (Kartodirdjo, 1984; and Suryanegara, 1995:130-131). Therefore, based on historiography of Indonesian Islamic society, it is impossible that the historians with their lack of ability can dissect or reconstruct the whole history of Islamic follower from the beginning until now. Despite of that, there are so many written works about Islamic history in Indonesia that have been made, whether written by the Indonesian writers or the foreigner writers.

Among the works about Islamic history in Indonesia, for instance, was the work written by Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, or known as HAMKA (1977), entitled *Sejarah Umat Islam* (history of Islamic society), 4 volumes. He wrote the Indonesian Islamic history as a part of Islamic history itself. In writing aspect, HAMKA was more interested in periods than the state. Besides that, he was more emphasizing in the heroes and sultans role in dissecting the appearance and disappearance a sultanate in the archipelago of Nusantara. According to H.A. Muin Umar (1988:185), HAMKA as a clergy and historian was giving valuable information about the sources he used such as *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay history) by Tun Sri Lanang; *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai* (tale of Pasai kings) by Syaikh Nuruddin ar-Raniry; *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (the precious gift) by Raja Ali Haji; *Sejarah Cirebon* (history of Cirebon), *Babad Giyanti* (tale of Giyanti); etc.

Beside the *Sejarah Umat Islam*, the written works about the history of Indonesian Islam was also existed in *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* (Indonesian national history), volume III.⁵ The book was edited by Uka Tjandrasasmita,⁶ who approached the Indonesian Islamic history as a part of Indonesian national history; and he was different with HAMKA who emphasized the historical studies in individual factor. So, Uka Tjandrasasmita was more emphasizing that the history was a process in a society caused by the transition of elements in the society (cited in Ali, 1985:13-16).

In writing the Indonesian Islamic history, as quoted in *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, Volume III, Uka Tjandrasasmita used sources such as books, articles, manuscripts, state stories, and foreigner used releases (Umar, 1988:185). Finally, the writing of Indonesian Islamic history was written by the researcher team – includes the historian such as Prof. Dr.

⁵Indonesian national history consists of 6 volumes which then are being revised and added to 7 volumes. The writing about Indonesian Muslim history is contained in volume III, but the writing related to Islam of Indonesia contained in the book was not satisfied, especially for Muslim realm.

⁶Uka Tjandrasasmita was an archaeologist with his skill concerning on Islamic archaeology. In 1990s to 2000s, he was a Professor at the Pakuan University at Bogor, West Java, Indonesia.

Taufik Abdullah – made by MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or Indonesian Ulema Board) in 1990s entitled *Sejarah Umat Islam Indonesia* (history of Indonesian Islamic society). Although the three works above do not fulfill the hope of the Indonesian Islamic history writing totally, but they had put the basic form of the historiography of Indonesian Islamic history to be discussed more comprehensively.

In discussing the Indonesian Islamic historiography, we can use the framework from Franz Rosental (1968). According to him (1968:8), *firstly*, the theme was based on the local historical writing, such as *Hikayat Banjar* (tale of Banjar), *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai* (tale of Pasai kings), *Babad Tanah Jawi* (story of Java's island), *Carita Parahiyangan* (story of Parahiyangan), *Hikayat Kutai* (tale of Kutai), etc. *Secondly*, the theme was based on Islamic history written works generally, and this model could be seen by the works such as the written work created by Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah or HAMKA on *Sejarah Umat Islam* (history of Islamic society) in four volumes. *Thirdly*, the theme was based on the military written works such as civil war created by T. Ibrahim Alfian who wrote on *Perang di Jalan Allah: Aceh, 1873-1912* (war in God road: Aceh, 1873-1912). *Fourthly*, the theme was based on biographical written works such as the written by Sulasman on *K.H. Ahmad Sanusi: Berjuang dari Pesantren ke Parlemen* (Kyai Haji Ahmad Sanusi: His struggle from Islamic boarding school to parliament). Finally, *fifthly*, the theme was based on historical novel such as the work of Muhammad Daud entitled *Hikayat Putra Baren* (tale of Baren's son).

Beside Franz Rosental's model, the historical writing step could also be made based on its period as stated by Muin Umar (1988:187) as following: (1) Historiography of Islam in the period of the entering of Islam to Indonesia until 16th century; (2) Historiography of Islam in the period of the resistance to the colonialism, especially in the period of the Western political penetration which raised the reactions such as in Aceh, Banten, Mataram, Banjar, Goa and other places in Indonesia; (3) Historiography of Islam in the period of the beginning of 20th century such as written by Deliar Noer about *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia, 1900-1942* or Islamic Modern Movement in Indonesia; and (4) Historiography of Islam in the contemporary period such as written by B. J. Boland, *the Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*.

Islam in Indonesia is an interesting phenomenon to be written continually; and also the writing of the history of Islam in Indonesia, generally, has become an interesting subject for the historians or any other experts who have been interested in that problem based on each perspective. There are plenty written works about the Indonesian Islamic history, for instance,

the written works created by D.A. Rinke, *De Heiligen van Java I: De Makam van Sjech Abdoelmoehji* (1910); J.P. Moquete, *Mohammedansche Inscriptie van de Java* (1921); J. Noorduyn, *De Islamisering van Makasar* (1956); R.L. Mellema, *Een Interpretatie van de Islam* (1958); Taufik Abdullah, *Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau* (1961); J.J. Ras, *Hikajat Bandjar: A Study in Malay Historiography* (1968); H.A. Mukti Ali, *An Introduction to the Government of Acheh's Sultanate* (1970); and so on (cited in Ali, 1985).

Variations of theory, methodology, philosophical view, or the establishment of the science – especially social disciplines as a support discipline in approaching Indonesian Islamic history – have made a variation in historiography of Islam in Indonesia. It is not too different with Indonesian national history; historiography of Islam has space to be studied and written in many perspectives. An example of the untouchable Indonesian Islamic history's side in historiography is a world of *pesantren*, *kyai*, and *santri* (Rahardjo, 1973 and 1986; and Dhofier, 1982). Whereas, if we opened up the history of the resistance movement against Western penetration there were so many events which were actually the resistance movements of *santri* society.

THE KYAI AND PESANTREN IN INDONESIAN ISLAMIC HISTORIOGRAPHY

One of the “great traditions” in Indonesia was the teaching of Islamic religion which appeared in *pesantren* or Islamic boarding school.⁷ The primary reason of the *pesantren* appearance was making the transmission of traditional Islam,⁸ as told in classical book or *kitab kuning* (Bruinessen, 1995:17). *Pesantren's* tradition, as a framework of traditional educational system, had made the experts interested to write it such as J.F.B. Brumund (1857); Van den Berg (1910); C. Snouck Hurgronje (1924); Sartono Kartodirdjo (1966 and 1973); Anthony H. John (1972); Clifford Geertz (1968); M. Dawam Rahardjo (1973 and 1986); Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1982); Karel A. Steenbrink (1986); Mastuhu (1994); and Muhammad

⁷*Pesantren* is a traditional institution of Islamic education to study, comprehend, literate, inspire, and conduct Islamic precept by emphasizing, the importance of religion morality as directive of daily behavior. See, for example, Mastuhu (1994).

⁸Again according to Mastuhu (1994:55), the definition of “traditional” within this limitation shows that this institution has lived since hundred years ago (300-400 years) and has become a deep part of the life system most of Indonesian Muslims who are the majority of Indonesian nation, which experienced the changes from time to time appropriate with the life of human kind; not “traditional matters” without experiencing the adaptation.

Iskandar (2001). They were aware about the strong influence of *pesantren* in creating and maintaining the social, cultural, political, and religious life.

As long as the colonial time, *pesantren* was a “grass root people educational institution” united with the people life. In the time of Indonesian revolution, *pesantren*, which was led by *kyai*⁹ or *ajengan*,¹⁰ was one of the guerilla centers in war against Netherland to take over the independence. In *Pesantren*, there was also created *Hisbullah* which later became an embryo of Indonesian national military (Boland, 1985:14-27).

According to P.A.A. (Pangeran Aria Achmad) Djajadiningrat who has ever occupied as a Major of Serang, Banten, in 1901-1906 and the member of *Raad van Indie* or Regional Representative Body in the time of Dutch colonialism since 1929, the life at *pesantren* was full of regularity, loyalty, and fidelity (as cited in Iskandar, 2001:105-106). *Pesantren* is a self community where *kyai*, *santri*, and the holder live in a neighborhood. They are big family under a control of a *kyai*. In *pesantren*, *santri* has two parents and two kinds of brother.¹¹

Basically, *pesantren* is a boarding house in which the students live and study together under a guidance from the *kyai* or *ajengan*. The *pondok* (boardinghouse) is a special trait of *pesantren*. The reasons why *pesantren* gives boarding house for the *santri* are: (1) the famous and the knowledge of a *kyai*, it was interesting for the *santri* from far regions to get the knowledge so that *santri* must stay and settle in the *pesantren*;¹² and (2)

⁹*Kyai* is the calling for the Islamic preachers who are smart and intelligent, in the term of religion or a calling for *pesantren* leaders. There are a group of society who are expert in the law of religion and possesses intelligent skill within reading the minds of people surrounding. On the basic of that skill, *Kyai* is able to place them as the charismatic local leader, who is obeyed by the society surrounding him. See, for further information about *kyai*, Zamakhsari Dhofier (1982); Hiroko Horikoshi (1987); and Muhammad Iskandar (2000:11).

¹⁰In West Java district such as in Banten, Bogor, Sukabumi, and other Priangan regions, there were calling for the elite of Islamic religion as “*Ajengan*”. Generally, someone who gained the title of *Ajengan* is similar with the *kyai* in Central and East Java as the leaders of *pesantren* who are charismatic in their territories. In fact, for a famous *ajengan* usually, that title is bunched with the name of his territory, for instance in Sukabumi district, Haji Ahmad Sanoesi as a famous *ajengan* in Bogor and Priangan region was well known by the calling as *Ajengan Gunung Puyuh*. See, for example, Muhammad Iskandar (2000:11).

¹¹At *pesantren*, *santri* possesses two parents, they are their sibling parents and *kyai* who takes care of them; he (*santri*) also possesses two kinds of brother, they are sibling brother and brother of school (fellow). See, for example, Mastuhu (1994:57).

¹²*Santri* who study at the *pesantren* consists of two kinds: (1) *Santri mukim*, they are *santri* who comes from far place from the *pesantren* and stays in the group of *pesantren*; and (2) *Santri kalong*, they are *santri* who don't live and stay at the *pesantren*. Usually, they come from the place surrounding of *pesantren*.

there is a take and give relationship between *santri* and *kyai*, where the *santri* considers the *kyai* as their father, and the *kyai* considers the *santri* as a deposit from God who needs to be protected, therefore, *kyai* has a responsibility to give a place to live for the *santri*. Thus, in *santri* life there will grow a dedication to the *kyai*, therefore *kyai* has a source of power for the *pesantren* interests. The relationship between *kyai* and *santri* in the time of Indonesian revolution (1945-1950) had made easy for mass mobilization as a power of revolution.

The very important element on a *pesantren* is *kyai*. The term of *kyai* and *ulama* was introduced by Clifford Geertz in the year of 1960s. Since then, there were so many researchers who wrote about *kyai* dan *ulama* in Indonesia, for example Leonard Binder (1960); Deliar Noer (1980); Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1982); Karel A. Steenbrink (1986); Hiroko Harikoshi (1987); Elly Touwen Bouwsma (1988); Huub de Jonge (1989); and Muhammad Iskandar (2001).

In West Java region, especially in Priangan and Sukabumi for example, there is the other name to call a *kyai*, it is *ajengan*. Generally, someone who get *ajengan* degree is a charismatic *kyai* in his state. A famous *ajengan* commonly connected where the *ajengan* himself come from, for example K.H. (*Kyai Haji*) Abdurahim known as *Ajengan Cantayan*; K.H. Ahmad Sanoesi known as *Ajengan Gunung Puyuh*; and K.H. Hasan Basri known as *Ajengan Cicurug* (Iskandar, 2001:17-18). The image of a *kyai* in Sukabumi area came from a Netherland secret police's report about K.H. Ahmad Sanoesi. Based on his report, K.H. Ahmad Sanoesi was more famous as *Ajengan Gunung Puyuh* and was the most famous and influenced as *kyai* in West Priangan region. The sum of *santri* and his sympathizer was thousands. His house was never stopped to be visited by the guests who came to ask questions about problems, especially the questions about religion (Iskandar, 2001:107-110). Gobe, *adviseur voor Inlandse zaken* (adviser for indigenious people matters) praised him as a *kyai* with high intelligence. Approbation also came from Pijper, the successor of Gobe, and he described that the clergy like K.H. Ahmad Sanoesi will not decrease his influence just because imprisoned by the government. He seemed light shining wherever he was (cited in Dhofier, 1982; and Mastuhu, 1994).

According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1982) and Mastuhu (1994), the factor which made *kyai* as a social leader of people is very strong and well honored, because *kyai* is a teacher. In *pesantren* neighborhood there appeared a paradigm that was forgetting the relationship with the teacher claimed as a big mistake and also losing teacher bless. Then, if *santri* forgot the relation with the teacher, therefore, the knowledge of the *santri* would

not be useful.¹³

The aspects which make *kyai* influences to the people life is the institution of *pesantren* itself, in which there has just stayed thousands of *santri* who come from many areas. *Santri* in practically was not only a student of a *kyai*, but also as a campaigner who supported the *kyai* and the *pesantren* where they stayed and gained knowledge. Whereas for the people around the *pesantren*, *santri* had role as a mediator between people with the *kyai* (Iskandar, 2000:19). Beside teaching *santri*, the *kyai* also held a “temporal” studying for common people which was held in or out the *pesantren* neighborhood or even far from *pesantren*. The temporal studying had double function, as a media of religious illumination and as a media in maintaining the good relationship between *kyai* and the people surrounding (Iskandar, 2001:113).

About the relationship between *kyai* and people of around the *pesantren* was described by a police in his report that people attention to the *kyai* who had a place in their heart; they also seemed to have close relationship. Wherever the *kyai* stayed as well as moved or out cast, they would try to visit him as long as possible. As an example was K.H. (*Kyai Haji*) Ahmad Sanoesi, although he was out casted to Batavia *Centrum* in the year of 1927, his *santri* and followers were always loyal maintaining the relationship with him. According to the report of Dutch secret police, as long as K.H. Ahmad Sanoesi was imprisoned, more than ten thousands visitors had visited him there. Accordingly, the paragon manner in leadership made a magnet power which was used by the *kyai* in controlling mass to face the colonial power, especially in the time of Indonesian revolution (1945-1950).

Kyai is an important element of the *pesantren*. The establishment of a *pesantren* depended on the ability of its *kyai* itself. According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1982:61), the life of *pesantren* was depended on the ability of that *pesantren* to have a high ability in substituting or the successor of *kyai*. There are two probabilities of the *pesantren* viability after being left by the founder *kyai*: (1) the big and famous *pesantren* then

¹³See, for example, Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1982:79); Muhammad Iskandar (2000:22); and Muhammad Iskandar (2001:107). In the tradition of *pesantren*, a *kyai* doesn't have a status and popularity because of the personality of him. The status and popularity can only be reached if there is any ratification on his knowledge through a series of knowledge (certain knowledge web) which approved through the *sanad*. Hence, the *sanad* itself is usually written tidily and justified by *kyai* – a popular *kyai* in his grade. That *Sanad* all at once as a confession of the relationship between teacher and his students, according with what is written inside. *Kyai* who doesn't have a chain-link of knowledge like it will not be acknowledged or will not be popular, especially in *pesantren* or *tarekat* (mysticism organization).

will ruin and disappear; and (2) the *pesantren* will grow bigger and more famous, because there is prepared a successor to keep tracking the struggle of the founder.

There are several efforts done by the *kyai* as a leader of *pesantren* in preserving the tradition of the *pesantren*; they are establishing the *pesantren* network through strong partnership solidarity between them. The way done by *kyai* is establishing a tradition that a close relative¹⁴ would become a candidate of leader successor of the *pesantren*. Hence, the *kyai* always put attention in his kin education to get the successor. If a *kyai* has kin more than one, the older son will be prepared to become a leader of the *pesantren* after he passed away, whereas the other sons and daughters are trained to establish the new *pesantren* or can be as a successor of their parent in law who most of them are the leader of the *pesantren* (Dhofier, 1982:62).

For *kyai* or *ulama* who have obstacle in doing the regeneration, to keep his authority as a order and tradition taker, they establish a endogamous marital network between *kyai*'s family or marry his daughter with his clever student (*santri*), especially if that *santri* is son or relative of a *kyai*; therefore, he is potentially to become a successor himself. The existing of inter *kyai*'s family marriage is not only making an authority of the *kyai*'s family maintained, but also their precept (Iskandar, 2001:89-90). Through this way, the relationship between *kyais* is maintained in a strong relative relationship. The more famous a *kyai*, the wider the relationship with the other *kyais* (Dhofier, 1982:62). The *pesantren* network, which is tied in relative relationship or knowledge transmission, is very helpful in revolution happened in Sukabumi, West Java, Indonesia.

The very important thing for the *pesantren* course in Indonesian history was released by a Dutch colonial government rule as *Ordonansi Guru* (Teacher Act) in 1930s which gave a responsibility to a *kyai* to got a teaching license. *Kyai* must explain the lesson which was taught to his students and his followers in line with the government rule. Teaching activities of the *kyai* were always be supervised by the Dutch colonial government by placing a secret police. The suspicion of the colonial government to the *pesantren* was just because there was a signal arrived to the government that in *pesantren*, there was always teaching a material which taught and raised of anti-Netherland feeling, especially in a *pesantren* which became

¹⁴It is the meaning that the closest relative is the highborn or child of *kyai*. If there is not any highborn of *kyai* so other relative, they are older brother, younger brother, or nephew of *kyai* who are considered to be able to succeed the position of *kyai* after his passed away.

a center of a *tarekat* (misticism organization) activity. This discussion was described by P.A. (*Pangeran Aria*) Achmad Djajadiningrat (1936) that in the *pesantren* where he studied, there was always raised an anti-Netherland feeling by the *kyai*; therefore, the *santri* commonly hated Dutch people and hated the people who worked together for the Netherland interests. Nationalism around the *pesantren* had born a rebellion led by the *kyai* like rebellion in Sukamanah, Tasikmalaya in 1940s.

The growing of nationalism awareness in *pesantren* was in line with the feeling of brotherhood and equality among the *santri*. According to Rakhmatullah Ading Affandi (1982), among *santri* there was no difference in social status or parental status; therefore, the relationship among the *santri* was just like with their brother without level.

The *pesantren* rebellions against the Dutch colonial were even becoming a center of *tarekat* activity. This *pesantren* always taught *tarekat* rituals such as *dzikir*, *wirid*, *ratib*, and many more related to pray to *Allah SWT* (God in Islam). *Pesantren* people who did *tarekat* rituals believing strongly in the ability of supernatural power likes invulnerability, agility, and everysupernatural skill taken from the *tarekat* rituals (Bruinessen, 1995:337).

Amulets, agility training, latent energy, and other skill in the normal situation were just only unimportant aspects in the *tarekat*, but in unsecured situation and in war or rebellion situation, these aspects became very important. In many rebellion cases, which involved *tarekat* activity, it was not suspringly that the *tarekat* members became the volunteers in rebellion, but the rebels who enrolled in *tarekat* activity were getting the supernatural skill. In several cases related to war and rebellion, there were people who came to famous *kyai*'s place to get supernatural skill and to be accepted as his *santris* or students.

In the time of Indonesian revolution, there was the same phenomenon. There were youth who were ready to involve in war with Netherland by practicing as martial art and latent energy. In Sukabumi, West Java, for example, K.H. Ahmad Sanoesi was very famous as a teacher of agility and additional martial art, it is meaning that his students supernaturally mastering martial art skill they didn't learn (Hanifah, 1972:186; Iskandar, 1993:71-86; and Bruinessen, 1995:339). Most of the Sukabumi youth asked for promised by him. In the other *pesantrens*, implementation of *wirids* and *hijibs* (like *hijib akbar* and *hijib rifa'i*) was taught to the *santri*, and also the agility skill was given to the *santri* to become a martial art supply. When heading the battle, these rituals were used fully by the *santri* or even common people. They were also asking bless from *kyai* to have salvation

in the battle. When the battle happened, there were *kyais* showering and blessing them who were ready to go to the battle by the holy water. After being showered with the holy water, they were given drinks and *isims* or *wafak* (kind of amulets) which they believed having a mystical power on it. The conviction of the power of prays, *wirid*, *isim*, and the other amulets were self power in battle, especially for them who came from the *pesantren*.

CONCLUSION

There are many interesting phenomena on the journey of the Indonesian Islamic society history. Multiple theories or methodologies, also the existing of local wisdom, make the historiography of Indonesian Islamic society becomes colorful. The variation in historiography of Indonesian Islam shows the space side in historiography of Indonesian Islam itself and it can be filled with the other written work and also as reflection material to do the reposition and redefinition of Indonesian historiography.

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Kyai and its Santri in the Pesantren
(Source: www.google.com, 30/9/2012)

One important thing about the history of Islam in Indonesia is analyzing the roles and position of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), *kyai* (Islamic religious scholars), and *santri* (Islamic students in boarding school).