

Articulation of the Archipelago's Islamic Educational Thought

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Abstract:

The difference between the intellectual tradition of the *pesantren* and other forms of education is the existence of the *sanad*. From the perspective of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jauzy, *sanad* can be said to go beyond the ecological linearity of Islamic knowledge which is commonly called '*ilm jally*'. Not only that, Imam Syafi'i once said that if knowledge is not memorized by the *sanad* in the book then the Zindiq people will preach in the pulpit. The famous saying of Imam Abdullah bin Mubarak says, *sanad* is part of religion, without *sanad* surely people will say whatever they want. Even advanced *sanad* (*ittishal al-sanad*) is one of the conditions for the validity of a hadith as described in the *musthalahul hadith* book. For this reason, hadith expert scholars (*al-muhadditsin*) pay great attention to *sanad* in their disciplines. Most of these *muhadditsin* write special books about *sanad*. In its development, not only about the study of hadith, all scientific enthusiasts, book history, and scientific genealogy through teachers and students are written in a book known as *tsabat*. In the context of scientific knowledge, it can then be traced to the products of his thought. For this reason, the author wants to provide a re-description, how true the thinking of native Indonesian (archipelagic) scholars is in the context of building an existing national attitude.

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Introduction

Within the 19-20th centuries, Indonesia was under Dutch colonization. During that time, the world of Islamic boarding schools had generated an intellectual figures who participated in carrying out social movements or social force which became the most important part of the emergence of social and religious movements which still exist today. That figure, known as KH. Mohammad Kholil Bangkalan, who later became more popular with the name Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan.¹

As material for strengthening this study, while studying, Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan did not rely on the material wealth belonging to her parents. He prefers a simple down to earth type of life. Even in some academic records, he prefers a simple and poor life. Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan once received wages from climbing a coconut tree to make ends meet at the Islamic boarding school.²

However, KH. Abdurahman Wahid (GusDur), called Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan a scholar who succeeded in combining the two tendencies of *fiqh* and *tarekat* within him, in a balance way that did not belittle the position of *fiqh*. The two must be balanced and complement each other, said Said Aqil Siradj in an introduction entitled Uncovering the Traces of Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan.³

Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan is a Muslim intellectual who was born on Sunday Pahing 11 *Jumadil Akhir* 1235 H/March 14th, 1820 M in Bangkalan, Madura.⁴ He is popularly known as Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan, because of his wisdom and virtuousness, and because of his success in nurturing generations of Muslims in the lands of Java and Madura. Even to this day, Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan remains a phenomenal professor of Islamic boarding school education.⁵ However, there is not yet sufficient academic data to reveal how Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan's educational thinking and style was developed. This is where we conducted this research strategically.

The second, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, he is a *pesantren kiai* who is considered to be one of the intellectual cadres of KH. M. Kholil Bangkalan. He has extraordinary authority in the world of intellectual struggles. He was one of the scholars who was productive in producing scientific writings and at the same time gave birth to cadres of scholars.

¹Fuad Amin Imron, *Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan Determined the Establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama* (Surabaya: Khalista and Pena Insani, 2012), and in Saifur Rahman, *Biography and Karamah KH. Mohammad Kholil Bangkalan; Letter to the Black Dog* (Jakarta: Pustaka Cinganjurs, 2001), 6.

²Fakhrillah Aschal, *Risalatul Al Lathaifu; Fimanaqibi Syaikhil Masyayikh Syaikhina Muhammad Kholil Bin Abdul Latif Al-Bangkalani*, (Bangkalan: PP. Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan, 1433 H/ 2012 AD). And see Saifur Rahman, *Biography and Karamah KH. Mohammad Kholil Bangkalan*

³Said Aqil Siradj, *Revealing the Traces of Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan in the Establishment Process of NU*, (Surabaya: Khalista and Pena Insani, 2012), viii.

⁴Saifur Rahman, *Biography and Karamah KH. Mohammad Kholil Bangkalan*, 6.

⁵Foreword by Said Aqil Siradj, *Revealing the Traces of Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan*, viii. In Fuad Amin Imron, *Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan determined the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama*.

Third, KHR. As'ad Syamsul Arifin, a *kiai* who came from eastern Java was declared a national hero in 2016 by the 6th president of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, as a *pesantren kiai*, KHR. As'ad is also recognized as a freedom fighter, the greatest work we can see so far today is Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School Sukorejo Situbondo. Thanks to his thoughts, many jurists were born from Islamic boarding schools under the leadership of *kiai* As'ad. This is a great work that must be appreciated and seen honestly, that the work done by *Kiai* As'ad which gave birth to a tradition of intellectual struggle that was quite progressive and took root in society.

Apart from the three figures above, there is also KH. Zainul Mun'im, the *kiai* who is well-known as the caretaker of the Nurul Jadid Islamic Boarding School that is very interesting figure when it is studied and observed academically, because he has also produced scientific papers as well as created masterpieces in the form of *pesantren* education which has progressed until now. *Kiai* Mun'im really deserves the nickname as an educational figure from the archipelago.

Adjacent to KH. Zainul Mun'im is KH. M. Hasan Genggong who is a great *kiai* from Probolinggo, he is a fighter, educator, protector and protector of the community, his struggle in building and developing education to this day has produced many cadres of scholars, intellectuals, traders, politicians, farmers and various other professions who has returned to society.

Syaikhona Mohammad Kholil Bangkalan, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, and KHR. As'ad Syamsul Arifin, KH. Zainul Mun'im and KH. M. Hasan Genggong is an Indonesian scholar who gave birth to creative thinking through writing and action. Until now, we can still study his work in the context of the development of Islamic education in the archipelago. re-engagement between nationalism ⁶and Islamism ⁷in Indonesia has made studies related to the relationship between religion and the state an interesting subject to discuss. This interest can be assessed from various aspects; first, the social narrative in which religious movement groups breathe Islam as if they

⁶Nationalism is a sense of love for the motherland accompanied by a shared concern for increasing the dignity and worth of people's lives, namely social justice for all Indonesian people. According to John Hutchinson, nationalism is more a cultural phenomenon than a political phenomenon because it is rooted in ethnicity and promodern culture. Even if nationalism is transformed into a political movement, it is superficial because nationalism political movements are ultimately based on cultural motivation, especially when there is a crisis of cultural identity. From this point of view, the political movement of nationalism is a means of regaining ethnic self-respect as the basis for building a nation based on cultural similarities. The national spirit will flow a sense of social solidarity, the spirit of self-sacrifice and can foster a spirit of patriotism. A sense of social solidarity will strengthen the national spirit of a nation. For details, read John Hutchinson, *Nations as Zones of Conflict*. (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2005), 34.

⁷Islamism, a new term in 1970 in France, 1980 in the US, became an alternative "Islamic fundamentalism" has a different meaning, and continues to be debated by Muslim and Western scientists. A conference discusses the term Islamism: does this one label explain the phenomenon of diverse thoughts and movements? James Piscatori defines Islamists as "Muslims who are committed to public action to advance an Islamic agenda." Donald Emmerson revised it, Islamism is a commitment to, and the content of that agenda. Graham Fuller defines it as "political Islam, espoused by those who believe that Islam has a proposition for how politics and society should be managed in the contemporary Muslim world and want to manifest it in various ways." Muslim and Western scholars argue over the term Islamism; does Islamism cover all Islamic movements, and is not always oriented towards power politics, or is it only with regard to political Islamic movements. Egyptian scholar Hassan Hanafi who is famous for *al-Yasar al-Islami* (Left Islam) and *al-Istighrab science* (Occidentalism), argues that Islamism has a negative connotation because it is associated with terrorism, violence, backwardness, fanaticism, oppression and so on. Hassan Hanafi tends to use the term 'political Islam' which is more neutral, and agrees with Donald Emmerson's opinion that calls for contextualization, not stigmatization or apologetic rejection, of Islam and Muslims. According to Emmerson, contextualization is like arguing "among more than one trillion Muslims in the world, radicals are a small minority. For details, read Richard Martin and Abbas Barzegar, eds. *Islamism: Contested Perspectives on Political Islam* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

are rediscovering Islamic populism in the field of culture that had been hidden. Second, political narratives that position religion as a campaign strategy and the foundation of society. Third, the tendency of globalism which begins to enter the evolution of tendencies and the destruction of civilized attitudes.⁸ It is in this social movement space that educational institutions make a significant contribution to building a system of intellectual power relations between nationalism and national reason that was formed in Indonesia. In fact, Robert W. Hefner wrote how social movements, Islamic Education, and the politics of multiculturalism in Indonesia have a very significant relationship in building society.⁹

Methods

The method used in this research is a qualitative approach design. A qualitative approach is very suitable for this study, especially with regard to extracting meaning/understanding of very complex human experience. This approach emphasizes efforts to manage meaningfulness philosophically and theoretically as well as efforts to achieve the objectivity of the meanings and values contained in the object of research. The qualitative approach used is an attempt to find meaning/understanding of the mindset of *madrasa* administrators in Jember.

The qualitative approach used is to experience the phenomenology and interpretation. Phenomenology was inspired by Edmund Husserl's thought with the term intentionality or conscious action. The main goal of Phenomenology is the meaning of various experiences, events, statuses owned by participants. Because Phenomenology is an activity to interpret the personal world by way of interpretation.

Through a phenomenological and interpretation approach, this study took informants or participants who were *pesantren* caretakers and *ustadz* boards who were involved in the decision-making and learning process in developing critical Islamic education in the two *pesantren*'s environment. Furthermore, the informants in this study were *caretakers* and their families who were categorized as those responsible for organizing education in Islamic boarding schools and religious teachers using a purposive random sampling approach.

Discussion

a. Genealogy of Indonesian Ulama Thought

Most of the Indonesian agree that the existence of Islam in the archipelago cannot be separated from the role of the *wali songo*.¹⁰ Moreover, it is also undeniable that Islamic boarding schools were built and born as a form of cultural manifestation desired by the nine guardians. Abdurrahman Mas'ud said that the *wali songo da'wah* approach was carried out through a process of institutionalizing knowledge, or later known as *pesantren*. Although he also believes that the existence of *pesantren* in accordance with the academic

⁸Samuel Huntington, *Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, nd), 21.

⁹Robert Hefner, *Islamic Schools, Social Movements, and Democracy in Indonesia* in *Making Modern Muslims* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 67.

¹⁰Thomas Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, trans. by Nawawi Rambe (Jakarta, 1979), 43.

instrumentation that is often used by anthropologists cannot be found in the walisongo era and period. The existence of new *pesantren* was seen after the 18th and 19th centuries.¹¹

He also agreed with what was expressed by Azyumardi Azra which is the intellectuals of the *pesantren* had a *scientific journey* to Mecca and Medina, as centers of Islamic scientific knowledge in that era. On a different side, he also mentioned that there are several main *pesantren* intellectual figures, whose religious works and attitudes are held as the essential foundation of the journey of *pesantren* in Indonesia; first, KH. Nawawi al-Bantani. Second, Mahfuz at Tirmisi. Third, KH. Khalil Bangalore. Fourth, KH. Holy Asnawi. Fifth, KH. Hasyim Ash'ari.¹² Apart from these figures, the presentations and studies conducted by Azyumardi Azra and Abdurrahman Mas'ud to draw the attention of *pesantren* intellectuals away from the institutional discourse of *pesantren* were followed by many scholars of *pesantren* thought. Mastuki Hs, et al, seemed to want to make an encyclopedia related to the style of thought produced by the founders and caretakers of Islamic boarding schools in Java and several other regions in Indonesia.¹³

After this tracing process, the intellectual treasures of the *pesantren* can no longer be personified to certain figures, and are claimed to operate on a single knowledge hierarchy. Nevertheless, from various researches, the views of the KH. Hasyim Asy'ari as contained in the *qanun al Asasi Nahdlatul Ulama* are the most important part to outline how the products of thought exist within the *pesantren* environment. For example, the teachings of Asy'ari *Fiqh* theology are¹⁴ based on four madzhab priests and their followers, while in the field of Sufism, Imams Junaid al Baghdadi and Al Ghazali, as well as several other scientific aspects which were directly scripted by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. Even though these teachings were firmly held by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, *kiai* from Islamic boarding school do not consider him as a cult as their main role model. This means that the views of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari is placed as a substantive value in organizing, running and developing Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia.¹⁵

In fact, when it is looked from the perspective within the dynamics occurred after the KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, his students often have different opinions in determining the legal position of a case. For example, there are differences in *fikihiyah* and political attitudes that can be seen in KH. Wahab Hasbullah and KH. Bisri Syansuri. Even so, later students, such as KH. Wahid Hasyim, Syaifuddin Zuhri, and other intellectuals in providing the best view of the social conditions faced. This shows that whatever the character values that are built and held by the *pesantren* community, in substance, there are some value bases, which cannot be seen physically but it is visible and seen from a simple point of view. So, there is a phenomenological depth on how is the dialectic that is built in the *pesantren* environment to continuously maintain the basic values that have been set by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari as a cult within the *pesantren* environment.

¹¹Adurrahman Mas'ud, *Islamic Boarding School Intellectual; Religious and Tradition Events* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004), 24.

¹²Ibid, Mas'ud, 26.

¹³Ibid, Mas'ud, 27.

¹⁴Read: Abu Musa Al-Asy'ari and Al-Maturidi

¹⁵Mastuki, *Islamic Boarding School Intellectualism* (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2006), 22.

Oman Fathurrahman constructs this archipelago's ulama' network into several types and provides features of how that knowledge is transmitted. First, there is a clear *sanad* in understanding Islam (lines and *sanad*). Second, the formation of patterns or characteristics that are firmly held by the trustees through existing models of da'wah approaches and transmission of knowledge. Third, *tajdid*, al Islah (reconciliation) and neo-Sufism.¹⁶ With regard to *tajdid*, this style is perhaps very rarely found in the perspective of *kiai* in the *pesantren* environment. On the other hand, the way of Islah (reconciling) Islamic knowledge with existing cultural entities is indeed more visible and has become a characteristic that is maintained in the *pesantren* environment to this day. Concretely, as also expressed by Oman Fathurrahman, the success of the ulama (ashab al Jawiyah) is that they are able to reconcile how sharia and Sufism are in daily life.¹⁷

Said Aqil Siradj also stated this, that the style of *pesantren* thought is not unlike a process of reconciliation of two contradictory things. The *kiai* of the salaf were able to bring together many conflicting sides. He gave an example, how KH. Hasyim Asy'ari was able to mediate a long debate about nationalism and Islamism. KH. Wahab Chasbullah and KH. Bisri Syansuri can balance *fiqh* thinking and religious political diplomacy in a democratic country. He also added how the thinkers who are followed in the *pesantren* and Nahdlatul Ulama circles are actually reconcilers of two different views; Abu Musa al Asy'ari and al Maturidi, for example, are reconcilers of rational thinking used by mu'tazilah and those who are too subject to textual meanings such as *murji'ah* and *khawarij*.¹⁸

In addition to the narrative built on the above-mentioned side of thought, Mursyid stated that there are four features that are maintained by *pesantren* in order to maintain academic and scientific identity.¹⁹ First, *taqlid* (following, obeying, and obeying) what the *kiai* conveys. According to Mursyid, the totality of following the speech expressed by the *kiai* is not only on the religious side, but also on the behavior and mindset that is symbolically formed. He also stated that the existence of *taqlid* could maintain the existence of Islamic boarding schools to this day. Second, exemplary (modeling/uswah), for the students the behavior of the *kyai* is a source of its own episteme to be assessed. Thus, the *kiai* also have almost the same way of behaving; they strengthen morality and simplicity to understand worldly life.

Third, cultural recontextualization. The *kiai* have their own episteme reason to interpret the yellow book according to the context. In fact, the classic books that are deliberately taught are interpreted based on the conditions of the times that are developing today. Fourth, reason usefulness. That is, the intellectual tradition of the *pesantren* is not concerned

¹⁶Oman Fathurrahman, "Ulama Network": Renewal and Reconciliation in Islamic Intellectual Traditions in the Malay-Indonesian World. *Islamic Studies* 11, no. 2 (2004).

¹⁷Ibid, Oman Fathurrahman, "Ulama Network":

¹⁸Mursyid, *Tolerance Education Design in Islamic Boarding Schools; between Rational Choices and Islamic Character Cultivation* (Probolinggo: UNUJA Press, 2017), 44.

¹⁹This view is actually also expressed by many Islamic boarding school scholars regarding how the main foundations of Islamic boarding schools can survive until the modernization process is carried out in Indonesia. Abdurrahman Wahid, Dawab Rahardjo, and In'am Sulaiman are examples of researchers who state that *pesantren* survive because they maintain their existing ethical identity not to be influenced by modernity developments and new approaches campaigned by modern thinkers. See Rudi Al-Hana, "Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School Survival: A Study of the Langitan Tuban Islamic Boarding School" (Dissertation-UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2017), 34

with recognition and in-depth knowledge. Islamic boarding school *kiai* are aware that the students will become a reference for the community regarding religious issues in their environment. Therefore, the provision of religious life becomes more important than other skills.²⁰In simpler language perhaps, in the intellectual tradition of the *pasantren*, the tradition is to become a *kiai* as a role model, the same as a role-interpreter in theological understanding, *fiqh*, *tasawuf*, and other scientific disciplines. The emphasis of the *pasantren kiai* is not on the substance of narrative understanding on the side of the book, but on how this understanding can be carried out in society at large.

b. Multiculturalism in the Thoughts of the Archipelago' Ulama

Multicultural ulama' of the archipelago can be termed with the word nationalism which is the acceptance of Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state which is a middle stance taken to maintain Indonesian unity, while at the same time maintaining the continuity of religion. NU and Muhammadiyah as organizations that are at the forefront of defending Indonesian nationalism are not interested in formalizing Islamic law in national and state life as is the enactment of Islamic law in the public sphere, state administration and state administration, including private family law such as marriage, inheritance and banking. NU itself before the independence period through the 11th congress in 1936 in Banjarmasin confirmed that Indonesia was already an Islamic state because the majority of its people were Muslims and there was no prohibition against running it even though it was led by the Dutch Protestant Kingdom.²¹The relationship between religion and the state by NU scholars is considered to be in an accommodative relationship by maintaining Indonesian nationalism without distinguishing between religion, ethnicity and class. Politics as a source of radicalism, as stated by Angel Rabasa, was muted by NU *kiais* with a fatwa on the acceptance of Pancasila as the basis of the state.

The battle of ideas between nationalism and religion always leads to 2 (two) main problems, namely the relationship between Muslims versus non-Muslims and God's law versus human law. The foundation that must be built is the awareness that Islam is a religion of humanity. Theological categories for changing understanding consist of the relationship between Islam and non-Islam, God's law in religions, Islam *rahmatan lil 'ālamīn*, and the paradigm of jihad and war.²²

In terms of the study of multiculturalism, the author would like to describe the figure of 'ulama' who has strong open-mindedness, such as Syaikhona Mohammad Kholil Bangkalan, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari Jombang, KH. Zaini Mun'im, KH. Moh. Hasan Genggong

²⁰Mursyid, Tolerance Education Design in Islamic Boarding Schools; between Rational Choices and Islamic Character Cultivation, 31.

²¹Jimmy Oentoro, *Indonesia is One, Indonesia is Different, Indonesia Can* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010), 167.

²²Religious Guidance Material in Cipinang 2010-2011 in the journal Muh. Hamdan, Development of Religious Nationalism as a Strategy for Handling the Potential of Transnational Islamic Radicalism, ADDIN Journal, Vol. 10, No. 1, February 2016

and KHR . As'ad Syamsul Arifin ²³, a *kiai* who came from eastern Java, was designated as a national hero as a *kiai* of Islamic boarding schools²⁴

The meaning of *kiai* based on the views of the researchers above proves that the word *kiai* is not a simple word to be translated into other languages. Although factually, some Javanese people understand the dialect of the word *kiai* without needing to explain the theory. The reason is because the role of the *Kiai* can still be felt in society and changes according to the times. That is, the *Kiai* plays his role based on the needs of the general public. The *kiai* changes form from managing a boarding school to becoming a politician. *Kiai* can change their role from a preacher (da'i) to become an intellectual figure who builds a hegemony of power.

Based on Ali Machsani Moesa's shift in the role of the *Kiai* in society, it is divided into several role models; First, spiritual *kiai*, advocacy *kiai*, adaptive political *kiai*, critical partner political *kiai*.²⁵ Second, *Kiai pesantren*, *Kiai tarekat*, political *Kiai*, stage *Kiai*.²⁶ Third, organic intellectual *kiai*, traditional intellectual *kiai*, simultaneous intellectual *kiai*.²⁷ Ali Machsani Moesa himself divides the three models of *Kiai* into three; Fundamentalist *Kiai*, moderate *Kiai*, pragmatic *Kiai*. Fundamentalist *kiai* are a group of *kiai* who still have ideals about the establishment of an Islamic state. Nationalism based on Pancasila is not final. If one day the formalization of Islamic law can be carried out, then the Islamic state (dar al-Islam) must be implemented. Moderate *kiai* are *kiai* who are of the opinion that religion and the state have a symbiotic attitude, the current concept of a nation-state is the most suitable. Third, *Kiai* is pragmatic. They are *Kiai* who have fundamentalist ideals and adhere

²³As'ad bin Syamsul Arifin bin Ruham bin Nuri (Ihsan) bin Nuruddin bin Zubair Tsani bin Zubair Awwal bin Abdul Alim bin Hamzah bin Zainal Abidin bin Khatib bin Musa bin Qosim (Sunan Drajat) bin Rahmat (Sunan Ampel) bin and continuing up to Prophet Muhammad SAW.

²⁴Muhammad Idris Jauhari argues that *kiai* or *pesantren* leaders are not only leaders, central figures and top managers in their respective *pesantren*, but also become a moral farce for the students and residents of the entire *pesantren*, where between the students and the *kiai* create an inner relationship (not just emotional) who are sincere and strong, even when they have returned to society. A condition that should exist in any educational condition, but is very rarely found, if not it would be said not to exist in other educational systems. Muhammad Idris Jauhari, Islamic boarding school education system (Sumenep, Al-Amin Printing, 2002), 25. The word *kiai* can mean: a designation for alim ulama. The team for the preparation of the Language Development Dictionary, Big Indonesian Dictionary (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1995), 199.

²⁵This typology is quoted from Imam Suprayogo's dissertation entitled "Political *Kiai*, Advocative *Kiai*, and Spiritual *Kiai*". In his explanation, a spiritual *kiai* is a *kiai* who only manages and teaches at Islamic boarding schools and concentrates on worship. An advocacy *kiai* is a *kiai* who actively teaches at Islamic boarding schools but he is still very concerned about community empowerment. Adaptive political *kiai*; namely *kiai* who care about political organization and power and are close to the government. Critical partner political *kiai* are *kiai* who care about political organizations, but they are critical of the government. (See : Ali Machsani Moesa, *Kiai Nationalism* (Jogjakarta; LkiS, 2007), 64-65)

²⁶The second typology is based on a dissertation written by Turmudi which divides *kiai* into four types. Islamic boarding school *kiai* are *kiai* who focus on teaching at Islamic boarding schools. A tarekat *kiai* is a *kiai* whose activities are focused on developing the intelligence of the heart. Political *kiai* are those who are concerned with the development of the NU organization and are involved in practical politics. Stage *kiai* are those whose focus is devoted as a da'i (muballigh). (Ibid, 65-66)

²⁷This typology is based on A. Gramsci's theory of forming hegemonic forces in society. This research was conducted by Warsono. As a result, he divided the *kiai* into three types. In general, these *kiai* are under the authority and carry out their functions according to the idea of national development. Second, traditional intellectual *kiai*, namely those who have autonomy and are not influenced by the dominant group. Traditional *kiai* are usually closer to the community and raise awareness based on their own knowledge base. Third, simultaneous intellectual *kiai*. They are *kiai* who keep their distance from power and generally concentrate on teaching at the *pesantren* and carrying out social transformation. (Ibid, 67-68)

to Islamic universalism, but they also realize that Indonesia's condition does not allow it to change as an Islamic state. Therefore, they have more to follow the mainstream views of the NU *Kiai Kiai*.²⁸

Studies on this type of *Kiai* will continue to develop. This is because the problems faced by the community and the need for a Kyai's response will also continue to increase. *Kiai*, from a scientific point of view, are indeed not only focused on their expertise in religion, but also social life in general. Andree Feillard said that, in the last few years after the collapse of the old order, the relationship between *Kiai*, santri and society was no longer paternalistic. Their relationship turned into a functional relationship, where the *Kiai* played the role of the ruler of the structure who carried out the functions of the head of adat, community leaders and even government leaders. 29The long review above, regarding the terminology, typology of the role of the *Kiai*, and the relationship between the *Kiai* and the community. It can be concluded that the *Kiai* is not a dead identity that has no influence in framing a construction of individual thought or behavior in society. *Kiai* is a figure who can be used as an opinion leader in assessing and analyzing a problem and important issue faced by anyone. Specifically, in this case, the role of the *kiai* will be explored in terms of scientific traditions and their response to the problems faced by modern Islamic education.

Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that that the articulation in the form of a genealogy of thought of the Indonesian ulama as a study of multiculturalism is first, in terms of their scientific *sanad* the Indonesian ulama have a *sanad* of continuity between the ulama' one and another, so that seen from the scientific *sanad* this shows that the articulation of the thinking of the Indonesian ulama' is very accountable. Second, judging from their thinking about multiculturalism, it can be concluded that the thinking of Indonesian ulama has an open attitude and high enthusiasm in their patriotic attitude. The Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), even the ideas of the Indonesian Ulamas had a big hand in the formulation of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

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²⁸Ibid., 281-295

²⁹Andree Fillard, Nu Vis a Vis Negara (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1995) 38.

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