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KYAI AS AL-QUDWAH AL-KHASANAH: THE ROLE OF KYAI IN SHAPING RELIGIOUS CULTURE IN ISLAMIC EDUCATION INSTITUTION

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Abstrak

Keywords:

Kiai, Santri,
socialization, and
Religious culture

Studi ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan peran Kiai dalam membangun kultur keberagamaan santri. Bagaimana pola sosialisasi yang ada di dalam lembaga pendidikan berbasis pesantren, sehingga mampu membentuk kultur keberagamaan para santri, inilah yang menjadi fokus persoalan dari studi ini. Madrasah Qudsiyah, salah satu lembaga pendidikan Islam berbasis pesantren di Kabupaten Kudus, Jawa Tengah menjadi obyek kajian studi ini. Dengan pendekatan kualitatif, di mana data dikumpulkan melalui *participant observation* dan *in-depth interview*, kemudian dianalisis menggunakan bingkai teoritis sosiologi pengetahuan Peter L. Berger dan Thomas Luckman, hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa Kiai (termasuk di dalamnya para *ustad*) memiliki peran sentral dalam membentuk karakter dan kultur keberagamaan santri. Kiai, selain menjadi seorang pendidik, juga sekaligus berperan sebagai pembimbing, *uswah hasanah*, dan pengayom para santri. Dari peran inilah kemudian Kiai menjadi semacam *role model* bagi santri dalam hal spiritual, moral, intelektual, dan kehidupan sosial santri. Dari proses sosialisasi sehari-hari antara Kiai dan santri yang berlangsung dalam jangka waktu cukup lama di dalam pesantren, pada akhirnya menjadi habitus yang turut membentuk pola pikir, karakter, dan kultur keberagamaan para santri.

Abstract

This study aims to describe the role of kyai in creating the religious culture of the santri. How the socialization patterns that exist in an educational institution especially pesantren (Islamic boarding school) can shape the religious culture of the santri, is the main concern of this study. Madrasah Qudsiyyah, one of the Islamic education institutions based on pesantren in Kudus Regency, Central Java, is the object of this study. With a qualitative approach, the data were collected through participant observation and in-depth interviews. They were then analyzed using the theoretical framework of the sociology of knowledge of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman. The results of this study revealed that kyai (including ustadz) has a central role in shaping the character and religious culture of the santri. Kyai, apart from being an educator, also acts as a guide, uswah hasanah, and guide of the santri. With this role, kyai becomes a kind of role model for santri in terms of the spiritual, moral, intellectual, and social life. From a long time daily interaction process between kyai and santri in the pesantren, finally it becomes habitus in shaping the mindset, character, and religious culture of the santri.

Introduction

Religion has a great power that can influence and lead its followers. How and what kind of influence is, will greatly depend on the individual and from where he gains religious knowledge. Every religion is believed by its followers as a guide and at the same time a reference in solving various problems of human life. However, in the practice of everyday life, as a social being, each individual cannot be separated from the social, political, economic, and cultural settings that surround him. Even to some extent, this condition also affects the religious expression of the individual in the public sphere.

Since the last few decades, Indonesia has been facing the phenomena of increasing trends in hate speech, intolerance,¹ radicalism, and extremism in the name of religion.² Those actions, according to religious

¹ Alamsyah M. Dja'far dan Faidah Mahardika, *Meredam Kebencian: Satu Dekade Pemantauan Siar Kebencian Keagamaan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Wahid Foundation, 2020).

² SETARA Institute, *Kondisi Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan di Indonesia Tahun*

communities, are believed against the universal vision of religion. But the phenomena always develops,³ and even tends to show an increasing trend along with the increasing digital culture,⁴ especially among the millennial generation.⁵ Culture, except being support for increased work productivity, also affects the religious culture of society.⁶ The process of seeking religious knowledge was previously carried out face-to-face. For instance, in Islam, it is usually made through Kiai (an honorific title for Muslim clergy) or Ustad (religious teacher) through religious education institutions such as pesantren or Madrasah. Now, it tends to be self-learning through online media.⁷ Such a condition would make religious knowledge to be more symbolic-formalistic and⁸ also inclined to lead to disinformation of acquired religious knowledge.⁹

Learning religion through online media is not wrong. Yet, any information obtained is necessary to be verified rigidly by comparing it with *2015* (Jakarta, 2016), <https://setara-institute.org/kebebasan-beragamaberkeyakinan-di-indonesia-2015/infografis-kbb-2015-2/>.

³ Nur Kafid, "Agama di Tengah Konflik Sosial: Tinjauan Sosiologis atas Potensi Konflik Keberagaman Agama di Masyarakat," *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat* 12, no. 1 (2015): 1–13, <http://ejournal.iainsurakarta.ac.id/index.php/al-araf/article/view/1180>.

⁴ Paul James and Manfred B Steger, "A Genealogy of 'Globalization': The Career of a Concept," *Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group* 11, no. 4 (2014): 417–434.

⁵ Ahmad Fuad Fanani, "Fenomena Radikalisme di Kalangan Kaum Muda," *Jurnal Maarif: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial* 8, no. 1 (2013): 4–13.

⁶ Rosninawati Hussin, Sofia Hayati Yusoff, and Siti Nubailah Mohd Yusof, "Islamic Representation in Television Advertising and Its Impact on Modern Malay Muslim Women," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 211, no. September (2015): 890–895.

⁷ Martin Slama, "Practising Islam through Social Media in Indonesia," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46, no. 134 (2018): 1–4.

⁸ Nadirshah Hosen, "Online Fatwa in Indonesia: From Fatwa Shopping to Googling a Kiai," in *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, ed. Greg Fealy and Sally White (Singapore: ISEAS dan Yusof Ishak Institute, 2008), 159–173.

⁹ Arif Zamhari, "Disinformation and Radicalization in the Online Media," in *Media and Intercultural Dialog in Prague* (The Czech Republic: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Czech Republic and The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia, 2017).

authoritative sources. For example, in Islam, it should refer to the Qur'an, Hadith, as well as *Kitab Kuning* (classical Islamic text) of previous ulama. But, the individual is supposed to have sufficient ability to understand it because the messages contained in it are usually still global and many symbolic languages.¹⁰

In other words, for individuals who do not have sufficient ability to understand *Kitab Kuning* individually, they need assistance from authoritative sources. In Indonesia, one of the social institutions that has proven to have a major role in preserving Islamic teachings is Madrasah, ¹¹ especially in spreading Islamic teachings that are unique to Indonesia.¹² In general, those who become teachers at Madrasah, especially in Java, are Kyai.¹³ Kyai, except having a role in the process of transferring knowledge in Madrasah, are also guides of the people of the surrounding area.¹⁴ Not a few of the Madrasah are also integrated into or as part of the Pesantren.

Kyai, is not a title for one's academic achievement but is a gift from the people to someone who has a qualified understanding of religion, or a guardian of a pesantren. The existence of a *kyai* in a pesantren is essential.

¹⁰ Moh. Muhtador Nawaf, "Eksistensi Majas dalam Al-Quran sebagai Khazanah Keilmuan Islam," *Al-Araf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat* 14, no. 2 (2017): 239–252.

¹¹ Tia Anwar Bachtiar Mulyanto, Didin Saefuddin, Adian Husaini, "Modernisasi Madrasah Awal Abad XIX: Studi Analisis Madrasah Mambaul Ulum Surakarta 1905-1945," *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 8, no. 2 (2019): 369–396.

¹² Sunhaji, "Between Social Humanism and Social Mobilization: The Dual Role of Madrasah in the Landscape of Indonesian Islamic Education," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 11, no. 1 (2017): 125–144.

¹³ Istilah ini pada dasarnya biasa digunakan oleh masyarakat di wilayah Jawa Tengah dan Jawa Timur, sementara di Jawa Barat biasa disebut Ajengan, di Aceh disebut Tengku, di Sumatera Utara disebut Syaikh, di Kalimantan Timur dan Kalimantan Tengah disebut Tuan Guru, atau sebutan lainnya yang sejenis di berbagai daerah lain. Tetapi mereka itu pada umumnya diakui sebagai ulama. Lebih detil lihat; Neni Rosita, "Kepemimpinan Kharismatik Kiai di Pondok Pesantren Ali Maksum Krpyak Yogyakarta," *Sangkep: Jurnal kajian sosial Keagamaan* 1, no. 2 (2018): 166–183.

¹⁴ Nur Kafid, "From Personal to Social Transformation: A Phenomenological Study on the Life of 'Kyai Kampung,'" *Komunitas: International Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture* 6, no. 3 (2014): 336–344.

Usually, the kiai becomes the pioneer, founder, manager, and caretaker of the pesantren. Therefore, the *kiai* plays a central role in shaping the character of the students.¹⁵ In learning activities, the kiai plays a role not only in transmitting knowledge but also in acting and being completely religious to the students. Such a role of the *kyai* is called as Al-Qudwah Al-Khasanah, a person who always provides guidance and education of morals as the main support. The *kyai* have always been role models for the ummah, community role models, guardians of national morals, and pillars of teachers in maintaining Islamic ukhuwah.¹⁶ For this reason, the kiai is an important variable that determines the religious behavior of the santri (pesantren's students).

Also, in the pesantren, the santri not only learn about matters related to religion but also other things such as social, economic life, self-development, and intellectual capacity. So that the learning model in pesantren is richer compared to other educational institutions in general.¹⁷ Moreover, if the pesantren also manages Madrasah. Apart from following the pesantren curriculum, the santri also learn by following the curriculum at the Madrasah.

Qudsiyyah, is one of the Islamic education institutions based on Islamic boarding schools in Kudus, Central Java. This institution, founded by KHR Asnawi more than a century ago, still exists and is undergoing rapid development. This pesantren has male and female santri, from the levels of Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah (Islamic Elementary school) to Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic senior high school) with an integrated management system. Here, the santri are not only equipped with knowledge and skills

¹⁵ Mohammad Masrur, "Figur Kyai dan Pendidikan Karakter di Pondok Pesantren," *Tarbiyah: Jurnal Ilmiah* 1, no. 2 (2017): 272–282.

¹⁶ Ihsan, "Islamic Nationalism based on Islamic Boarding Schools: Study of Madrasah and Islamic Boarding Schools in the North Coast Region of Central Java," *JARDCS* 12, no. 7 (2020), 7.

¹⁷ Kasan Bisri, "Model Keberagamaan Santri Urban Semarang," *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu–Ilmu Ushuluddin* 7, no. 1 (2019), 72–96.

in the religious field, but also in the social-community field. The goal is to prepare the santri to become a generation that is not only qualified in intellectual terms, but is also independent and¹⁸ has Indonesian character.

Apart from being obliged to learn by following the Madrasah education curriculum, the santri at the Pesantren Qudsiyyah must also learn from *Kyai* with various backgrounds, characters, and scientific specifications.¹⁹ So, since the beginning, they have been introduced to various styles of thinking and characters. Such a learning process, to some extent, also influences the religious style of the *santri*.²⁰

So, the focus of this study is how the religious culture of the santri in the Pesantren Qudsiyyah developed and what the role of the *Kyai* is in building the religious culture of the santri. Apart from being one of the old Pesantren in Central Java, for more than a century, Qudsiyyah has also developed a Madrasah model of education. Besides, the *Kyai* and their teaching staff have diverse skill, scientific, and cultural backgrounds.

In order to obtain comprehensive information to answer the above questions, a qualitative approach is used in this study. Through this approach, the role of the *kyai* in building the religious culture of the santri at the Pesantren Qudsiyyah can be clearly explained. Various information related to the focus of the study was collected through the participants' observation method and in-depth interviews with students and *kyai*. While various documentation and publications related to the Pesantren Qudsiyyah would be complementary information. The authors then put the data in the theoretical frame of the sociology of knowledge of Peter

¹⁸ Mia Kurniati. dkk, "Peran Kepemimpinan Kiai dalam Mendidik dan Membentuk Karakter Santri yang Siap Mengabdikan kepada Masyarakat," *Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Hadist* 2, no. 2 (2019), 193.

¹⁹ Mohammad Masrur, "Figur Kiai dan Pendidikan Karakter di Pondok Pesantren, Pendidikan," *Tarbawiyah: Jurnal Ilmiah* 1, no. 2 (2017), 272.

²⁰ Kasan Bisri, "Model Keberagamaan Santri Urban Semarang," *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 7, no. 1 (2019), 77.

L. Berger and Thomas Luckman,²¹ in order to understand the various practices of the life experiences of the *kyai* in developing the religious culture of the santri in the Pesantren Qudsiyyah. The life practice of the *kyai* is objectified by the santri as a reality which is then used as a reference (internalization) and a model in the daily practice of the *santri* (externalization).

Kyai at the Pesantren Qudsiyyah

In general, the *kyai* in the structure of Javanese society places a very important position, not only in religious life, but also in social, political, cultural, and economic matters of society.²² The importance of this *kyai*'s role, among others, is caused by the functional linkages in the form of complementary roles and resource providers and normative linkages i.e. the role in terms of understanding religious doctrine and other matters from outside the community that will indirectly influence community acceptance and behavior.²³ Therefore, the *kyai* becomes a very respected figure, a role model,²⁴ and at the same time a support²⁵ for *santri* in particular, and society in general.

In the Pesantren Qudsiyyah, the main role of the *kyai* is teaching like teachers in general in the learning process. Based on the historical investigation, the *kyai* has played a role as a driving force in the mental-spiritual formation of the *santri*. The *kyai* become the center of controlling

²¹ Peter L. Berger dan Thomas Luckmann, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan: Risalah tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan*, Cetakan ke. (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2013), 176-234.

²² Nur Kafid, "From Personal to Social Transformation: A Phenomenological Study on the Life of 'Kyai Kampung'"

²³ Sayfa Auliya Achidsti, "Eksistensi Kiai dalam Masyarakat," *Ibda': Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam* 12, no. 2 (2014): 152.

²⁴ Mia Kurniati (dkk), "Peran Kepemimpinan Kiai dalam mendidik dan Membentuk Karakter Santri yang Siap Mengabdikan kepada Masyarakat," *al Bayan: Jurnal Ilmu al-Quran dan Hadits* 2, no. 2 (2019).

²⁵ Jaja Suteja, "Peran Kiai dalam Pembinaan Mental Spiritual Santri Remaja di Pondok Pesantren Kota Cirebon," *Orasi* 5, no. 1 (2015): 7.

the source of knowledge for the santri. So that the existence of kyai has a great influence and is very effective in the process of developing the religious behavior of the santri.

The effectiveness of the kyai's role in the process of shaping the religious behavior of the santri in the Pesantren Qudsiyyah is due to several roles and functions of the kyai such as, *first*, the role of a guide. Equipped with excellence, the kyai has a charisma that is reflected through his knowledge, behavior, personality, structural, and cultural position. For this reason, the kyai becomes admired figures and role models for the santri. The kyai, for the santri, is considered a figure closer to Allah SWT so that he can be an intermediary who calms the feeling of the santri. For this reason, the advice of the kyai is something that the santri always look for. The kyai is intensely involved in conducting supervision, as part of a form of learning for the santri. A simple form of learning can be seen, among others, from the process of coaching, guiding, and mentoring students who are facing problems so that they can solve these problems appropriately and wisely. Besides, this process is also aimed at building creativity, loyalty, and high dedication in matters of worship and *muamalah* (man-to-man transaction).

Secondly, as *uswah khasanah* (a good role model), that is the consistency between speech and action, both inside and outside the pesantren. One of the central kyai, who is also the *nadhir Qudsiyyah*, is KH. Sya'roni Ahmadi whose words and behavior are always used as a role model, not only by the santri but also for other young kyai in the pesantren.²⁶ During teaching, he always comes on time, even earlier before the santri. This, apart from giving real examples of how to teach disciplinary attitudes, is also a form of respect for *ilm* (science). The santri eventually become disciplined in the learning process.²⁷

²⁶ An interview with KH. Nor Halim Ma'ruf, Al-Mudirul 'Am Qudsiyyah on 9 November, 2020.

²⁷ An interview with Fakhruddin, Headmaster of MA Qudsiyyah on 10
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Thirdly, as a gate to knowledge. In this context, the kyai in Qudsiyyah has produced many works that become references to religious knowledge. The founder of the Pesantren Qudsiyyah, K.H.R. Asnawi himself is a figure who has several famous works, and until now he has become a reference in Islamic education. To mention some of them like *Fashalatan*, *Tauhid Jawan*, *Mu'takad Seket* and advice poems like *Shalawat Asnawiyah*, which have been considered as national sholawat. This writing tradition also continued to his santri, such as K.H. Yahya Arif, the author of the book that is used as a guide (module) in the learning process of *nabwu*, *lughah*, *mahfudbat*, *fiqh*, *ushul fiqh*, *falak*, *faraidh*, and others. K.H. M. Sya'rani Ahmadi also issued several books, including *Al-Faraid Al-Saniyah* which discussed the doctrine of Ahlusunnah wal Jama'ah, *Faidl al-Asany* that discusses *Qira'ah Al-Sab'iyah*, *Al-Tashrib al-Yasir fi 'ilmi al-Tafsir* on the interpretation of the Quran starting from the reading, pronunciation, sanad, and meaning, *Tarjamah Tashil al-Turuqat* that discusses the science of manthiq, *Tarjamah Al-Asbriyyah* that discusses the science of *ushul fiqh*, and *Qira'ah al-Asbriyyah* that is very helpful to the santri in studying *kitab kuning*.

The scientific specifications possessed by the kyai results in various products created by the santri. Kyai Sya'rani Ahmadi, with his specialty in the fields of *Tafsir*, *Qiroah*, and the *Aswaja Doctrine*, has had a significant influence on santri in solving several scientific problems in this field. Kyai Ahmad Asnawi, with expertise in the field of *Tauhid*, all learning is directed so that the santri have a strong monotheistic spirit. While Kyai Nor Hamid who mastered the science of jurisprudence and school comparison introduces santri to the various different schools of thought so that it becomes the embryo of moderate attitude among the santri.²⁸

November, 2020.

²⁸ An interview with Ali yahya, Curriculum section of MA Qudsiyyah on 10 November, 2020

Fourthly, as a guide. The figure of the kyai who “nurture” the santri is manifested in the learning process. What was practiced by Kyai Nor Halim can be an example. In the teaching-learning process, he always shows a full smile and treats the santri like his own children.²⁹ These attitudes and behaviors are intended so that the santri have a sense of closeness to their kyai and finally the knowledge given will easily infiltrate the souls of the santri. If there are santri who make mistakes or violate the rules of the pesantren, then the punishment given is not in the form of physical punishment but rather things that can inspire and open the hearts of the santri, such as reading the Surah Yasin, *salawat* (salutation upon prophet Muhamamd), *istighfar* (seeking for forgiveness) and the like.³⁰

Religious Practices of the Santri of Qudsiyyah

Santri is defined as students who learn in the pesantren.³¹ According to Clifford Geertz’ identification,³² the age of the santri studying at the pesantren ranges from twelve to twenty-five years old. Although Geertz also found some santri who are six years old, thirty-five, and elderly. While Zamakhsyari Dhofir³³ categorized santri into some types, depending on the tradition of the pesantren itself such as *santri mukim*, those who live in the pesantren and usually after a long stay such santri will have the opportunity to serve the kyai such as teaching at the pesantren, and *santri kalong* that is the santri who do not live in the pesantren, or only in the

²⁹ An interview with Fakhruddin, Headmaster of MA Qudsiyyah on 10 November, 2020.

³⁰ An interview with KH. Fathur Rahman, Head of Al-Mudirul Khas Qudsiyyah on 10 November, 2020.

³¹ Hasbi Indra, *Pesantren dan Transformasi Sosial “Studi atas Pemikiran KH. Abdullah Syafe’i dalam bidang Pendidikan Islam”*. (Jakarta: Penamadani, 2005), 34.

³² Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyai dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2005), 243.

³³ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982).

pesantren during the learning process and will return to their homes after the learning process is finished.

The relationship between santri and kyai in the pesantren is very close. The interaction process between the two occurs continuously with high intensity. Because both of them live in one environment. So that the life practice of the kyai can easily become a reference for the santri. Also, the existence of the santri is often regarded as a form a miniature of the personality of the kyai. Because, kyai in a pesantren are not only considered as teachers (educators) but also parents who become role model for the life of santri. So that the life practice of the kyai will be imitated (as a form of objectification and internalization) by the santri in their daily life practices (externalization), especially related to religious matters. What was practiced by the kyai, which was then imitated and practiced by the santri at the Pesantren Qudisiyyah was a form of knowledge reproduction.³⁴

Then the religious practices of the students are developing. A process of a relationship with something they believe in.³⁵ Religion, along with its various existing symbols, sets a strong mood and motivation for them to believe, pervades and lasts a long time in human beings, wrapping it with a kind of emanation of factuality, so that the mood and motivation seem to be realistic,³⁶ both in the context of faith and morals.³⁷ So that religious values manifest in the practice of daily life with various aspects.³⁸

The life practices carried out by the kyai in the Pesantren Qudsiyyah above later turned out to be a form of religious development practice for the santri of Qudsiyyah. Whether it is performed through the learning

³⁴ Peter L. Berger dan Thomas Luckmann, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan: Risalah tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan*.

³⁵ Zakiyah Daradjat, *Ilmu Jiwa Agama* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 2005), 10.

³⁶ Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyai dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2005), 243

³⁷ Muslim A. Kadir, *Ilmu Islam Terapan* (Yogyakarta: Aneka Ilmu, 2001), 122.

³⁸ Ihsan, *Guru Ngaji Wong Kudus: Produktifitas Keilmuan dan Keberagamaan Ulama Kudus* (Semarang: Need's Press, 2012), 59.

process at Madrasah, classical learning (cognitive), and learning in the community (affective and psychomotor).³⁹ All these processes are framed in an integrated manner in the learning process, with an interconnection pattern between one character and another. If there are problems that are arising or are faced by the santri during the learning process, they can communicate directly to the teacher or their supervisor so that the learning process becomes effective and productive.⁴⁰ This productivity is no longer seen only as a product of behavior attached to the santri but includes all things that are directly or indirectly related to the knowledge, attitudes, and skills of the santri, both in the pesantren environment and in the community.

Such patterns have been implemented in the Pesantren Qudsiyyah. This model has been going on for a long time, even since the establishment of this pesantren during the Dutch colonial. So, the religious culture practiced in this pesantren is very unique and is inherent within the santri. Some of these religious cultures can be seen in several ways, *first*, nationalism. The culture of nationalism is part of the religious practice of Qudsiyyah santri. The reason is, the idea of nationalism is part of the learning process of the santri. This was especially evident from the *Shalawat Asnaniyah* which was very popular among Qudsiyyah santri. The lyrics created by K.H.R. Asnawi, the founder of the Qudsiyyah, was always chanted by the santri every day, before the start of teaching and learning activities. Apart from containing national values, such as its lyrics that says: “safe, safe, safe, safe, Indonesia, safe”, this verse is also believed to be a form of prayer for the security and glory of the Indonesian nation. This is where the seeds of love for the country are planted and become positive energy for the santri.

³⁹ An interview with *Ustad* Isbah Kholili, Caretaker of Pesantren Qudsiyyah for women on 8 November, 2020.

⁴⁰ An interview with *Ustad* Isbah Kholili, Caretaker of Pesantren Qudsiyyah for women on 8 November, 2020.

In addition, it is through this practice that the santri are taught to be open and sensitive to the cultural values around them. With poetry, the santri will not think rigidly but are more flexible in finding solutions to various problems. Become a person who is tough and full of self-confidence. So that it has a positive impact on the ability of santri to adapt and tolerate their diverse environment. Given, in this pesantren the backgrounds of the students are from various ethnic groups. Besides, nationalism is also practiced through flag ceremonies, August 17 celebrations, santri day, and the like.

Secondly, anti-fanatical. In this regard, Qudsiyyah can follow the dynamics of the times. Madrasah Qudsiyyah is always open to various dynamics of change. Being open does not mean being free to change without guidelines, but by applying filters to any changes that occur. The filters that are used are often referred to as mizan Al-Syar'i, with the aim of opening and avoiding stagnation in the framework; "Preserving the good of old traditions and taking new values which are better". Qudsiyyah is well known as a religious-based school/Madrasah, but in its development also opened a natural science program. The developed curriculum also emphasizes critical and creative thinking, where students are directed to be human beings who are open-minded and not fanatical.

Thirdly, writing tradition. This tradition has been rooted since Qudsiyyah was founded and has become part of the tradition from generation to generation. This can be seen from some of the santri's works, in the form of books, weekly newsletters such as el-fajr, quarterly newsletters such as el-wijhah, and the annual el-Qudsy magazine. As part of the effort to preserve this writing tradition, Qudsiyyah always motivates the santri to write, by providing journalistic training and scientific lectures.

Fourthly, scientific traditions. From the beginning, Qudsiyyah always teaches students to be critical, responsive to phenomena, and able to provide solutions. This is where the scientific tradition was formed, the

habit of responding to a problem, oriented to providing solutions with liable methods. An example of scientific traditions that are practiced includes the *bahtsu al-Masaa'il forum* organized by the Qudsiyyah Student Association. This activity was attended by representatives of santri who were qualified in mastering the *kitab kuning*, by examining various factual issues that exist in society. This forum is an arena to sharpen students' skills in mastering and understanding Islamic classical texts as a foothold in addressing and overcoming problems in social life.

Conclusion

The life practices of the kyai in the pesantren and the community clearly have a big influence in determining the religious practice of the santri in the Pesantren Qudsiyyah. The role of the kyai, which is not only as an educator but also as a parent who always guides and teaches the santri to act through various practices of daily life, is an effective model in forming the santri's religious culture. The kyai becomes role models for the santri to behave, including in terms of mastery of knowledge. Finally, all these practices become a unique religious culture. The religious culture that becomes the character of the santri and institutions is reflected in four practices; spiritual, moral, intellectual, and professional. Spiritual is a form of vertical relationship behavior. A moral is a form of description of moral behavior based on human values. All of which are framed in the practice of nationalism, anti-fanaticism, while maintaining the professional tradition through writing and scientific discussion.

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