
INTERRELATION KIAI AUTHORITIES, CURRICULUM AND LEARNING CULTURE IN PESANTREN INDONESIA

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Abstract

In the education system of *Pesantren salaf* (traditional Islamic boarding school), *Kiai* is the highest authority in determining the direction and policies of a *pesantren*. The figure of *Kiai* in *Pesantren*, has the authority to determine the direction, the purpose of education, curriculum \ learning materials in *Pesantren*. *Kiai* has authority in determining the books of certain scholars. Some books are specifically used in *Pesantren* to guide students in implementing the learning process in *Pesantren*. Those books are selected by *Kiai* to guide students in implementing the learning process in this *Pesantren*. This writing seeks to discuss mutual and interrelated relations among *kiai's* authorities, curriculum and norms of students in learning. This paper will discuss how *Kiai* with authority to select and specify the books on the provisions of the students in learning. While such rules directly strengthen and perpetuate the leadership of *Kiai* in *Pesantren*.

Keywords: *kiai*, authority; learning culture; leadership; *pesantren*

Abstrak

Dalam sistem pendidikan *Pesantren salaf*, *Kiai* adalah otoritas tertinggi dalam menentukan arah kebijakan *pesantren*. Sosok *Kiai* di *Pesantren*, memiliki wewenang untuk menentukan arah, tujuan pendidikan, kurikulum\materi pembelajaran di *Pesantren*. *Kiai* memiliki otoritas dalam menentukan kitab-kitab para Ulama tertentu. Beberapa kitab secara khusus digunakan di *Pesantren* untuk membimbing siswa dalam melaksanakan proses pembelajaran di *Pesantren*. kitab tersebut dipilih oleh *Kiai* untuk membimbing siswa dalam melaksanakan proses pembelajaran di *Pesantren* ini. Tulisan ini berusaha untuk membahas hubungan timbal balik dan saling terkait antara otoritas *kiai*, kurikulum dan norma-norma siswa dalam pembelajaran. Tulisan ini akan membahas bagaimana *Kiai* dengan wewenangnya memilih dan menentukan kitab-kitab belajar siswa. Sementara aturan tersebut langsung memperkuat dan melanggengkan kepemimpinan *Kiai* di *Pesantren*.

Kata kunci: *kiai*, otoritas; budaya belajar; kepemimpinan; *pesantren*

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Introduction

Pesantren is a traditional educational institution that was built and developed coincidentally with the arrival of Islam to Indonesia. (Luthfi: 2014). Thus, Pesantren is as the oldest educational institution and indigenous in Indonesian community. (Manfred Ziemik, 1986:100). (Kuntowijoyo, 1990: 57) (Hatim Gazali & Abd. Malik 2009). As the oldest Islamic educational institution, Pesantren is considered by some experts as a continuation of the educational system during the pre-Islamic Hindu-Buddhist. (Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakariya, 2010: 46). There are some similarities between Pesantren with the previous educational system such as the location which is usually located in the countryside, founded and led by *Ulama* (religious figures), patterns and learning materials that lead to asceticism, simplicity, and self-reliance.

In the education system of traditional (salaf) Pesantren, Kiai is the highest authority in determining the direction and policies of a Pesantren. The figure of Kiai in *Pesantren* has the authority to determine the direction, the purpose of education, and curriculum/learning materials in Pesantren. *Kiai* has authorities to decide on using books from certain scholars.

Kiai, as leader of *Pesantren*, uses books of scholars from *Madhab Syafiiyah*, as the books for the material study ranging in the studies of Islamic sciences, ¹ (Saidna Zulfiqar Bin Tahir 2015: 210). M. Harja Efendi, 2017:137) such as Qur'an, Hadith, *Aqaid* (trust and faith), *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *Tasawwuf* (Islamic mysticism) and Arabic. The selection and determining of books to study in *Pesantren* entirely become the *Kiai's* authority as supreme leader of *Pesantren*.

Educational curriculum of *Pesantren* consists of books that provide in-depth knowledge and understanding in the fields of

Aqaid, *Fiqh*, *Tasawwuf*, Arabic science, *Tajwid* (rules governing pronunciation of Quran recitation), *Balagha*, *Tafsir* and *Hadith* Sciences. (Charlene Tan, 2014:14).

Some books are specifically used in Pesantren to guide students in implementing the learning process in Pesantren. The books are written by prominent clerics like *Ihya'Ulumuddin* written by Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Ghazali, and *Ta'limul-Mutallim* written by Burhanuddin al-Zarnuji. These two books are widely used in many pesantren, and those are selected by Kiai, as the leader of Pesantren, to guide students in implementing the learning process in Pesantren.

This paper seeks to discuss the relationship of mutual influence between the *Kiai's* authorities, curriculum and the norms of students in learning. In this study will be seen how the *kiai*, with his authority, selects and determines the books which are on the provisions of the students in learning. While such rules directly strengthen and perpetuate the leadership of *Kiai* in Pesantren.

Islamic Education in Pesantren

Since its inception, Pesantren has been assessed as successful in producing educators, teachers, and disseminators of Islam. That success is inseparable from the educational system which is applied and inherited down from generation to generation. One aspect of the educational system of *Pesantren* is the goal of education schools that provide directions convening education and learning in Pesantren.

In general, the purpose of education in pesantren can not be found in the written standard formula. Almost all Islamic boarding schools especially the traditional ones - do not formulate their educational goals in writing form. However, it does not mean that Pesantren exists without having educational goals, because

it is impossible that Pesantren can stand and survive for hundred years and succeed in bearing the propagator of Islam, without a goal to which become the direction of their educational process. In line with the above, Mastuhu states that there has never been encountered the formulation the clear and standard educational goals of pesantren, which is applied for all pesantren. As a result, some authors formulate the goals of education for Pesantren merely based on assumptions the result of interviews. (Mastuhu, 1994:59).

Meanwhile, Sukamto explained that the purpose of education of pesantren is religious purposes, according to kiai who is as the founder of the Pesantren. Kiai explained that the purpose of education of pesantren with sentences related to religions, which is to guide and educate a person to have Islamic knowledge of Islam and virtuous character toward Allah, parents, and teachers. (Sukamto 1999: 40) Muhammad Thoriqussu'ud, Juli 2012; 228)

The formulation of a more comprehensive goal of Pesantren, explained by M. Dian Nafi 'et al., consists of three things. (M. Dian, 2007:163), First: forming a personality that has been exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. And clerics agreed that the nobility of the character has the highest rating above knowledge and expertise, being manifested in piety that is based on a deep knowledge towards the teachings of Islam. The indications of Pesantren graduates are translated into the educational process in Pesantren through the forging the way of life, daily values and principles of life in Pesantren. (A. G, Muhaimin, 1999: 6)

Second, strengthening the *santri* (students') competence is through the four levels of interest; i.e., the original purpose (*wasâil*), the interrelated goals (*ahdâf*), the main objectives (*maqasid*) and the final destination (*ghayah*). *Wasâil* is mastery of subjects in pesantren in either cognitive, affective and psychomotor. The subjects in

Pesantren cover Quran, *Tafsir*, *Hadith*, *'Aqidah*, *Fiqh*, *Akhlaq*, Arabic, and *Tarikh*. *Ahdâf* is giving subjects at each level of education (*Ula*, *Al Wusta*, *'Ulya*) by the purposes and needs of *Santri* in their daily lives in either as individuals, as members of the community, as well as a leader in the community. *Maqasid* is the main goal of Pesantren which is to create the Muslims who have deep understanding of religion (*tafaqquh fi al-din*). (Mulyani Mudis Taruna, 2012:110). While *ghayah* is the ultimate goal of achieving Allah's willingness (*ridhallah*).

Third, the spread of knowledge through commanding good and forbidding evil (*Amr al-ma'rûf wa al-nahy al-munkâr*) by creating preachers and participation in community empowerment. Abdurrahman Wahid explained that the traditional education system has weaknesses, namely: first, the education process is not planned in detail and rational. Although there are limited planning it does not show any relationship between the various education systems to be developed. Likewise, traditional education still provides many teachings outside the formal curriculum, supplementary teaching which is always changing every year. Thus, there is no mechanism which is said to remain, but it is introducing a leveling system in the teaching and study. (Abdurrahman Wahid, 2001:73-74)

Second, the absence of having to make the curriculum in the composition that can be ingested and afford controlled by learners. The teaching method, used to read and translate word by word in a sentence, cannot provide the possibility of using other methods required by learners. The issue of whether the learner can understand the discussion being read in a particular book, never become primary concern. The most important one is that the book should be read, translated and reviewed by the ability and willingness of kiai. In other words, the evaluation of learning outcomes does not get a place in his education system.

Third, the absence of a philosophy of education in the educational process in traditional schools. The guidelines are used as a basis to teach the establishment of Shari'ah law in everyday life, by absolutely ignoring the value of education. Therefore, there has not been found the significant and satisfying changes, due to the absence of a strong foundation in the form of educational philosophy.

However, it does not mean that the traditional education system does not have any strengths. In this regard, traditional education in Pesantren is taken as having been able to form an equal attitude of life. Besides that, traditional education can also maintain its characteristics as a subculture in society. (Andik Wahyun Muqoyyidin, 2014;121)

Meanwhile, in the process of education, hardly found a traditional *pesantren* which makes use of learning media, which is known in modern education, (Jeffrey A. Ritchey & Nurhaya Muchtar, 2014:422) Even if it is used, they only use very simple learning media such as stationery used by students to record any information from *kiai*. While *kiai* only uses the book to be taught to his students.

The Curriculum of Islamic Education in Pesantren

In the implementation of the curriculum in *pesantren salaf*, the terms of the curriculum are different from the curriculum used in the normal educational institutions. The curriculum in pesantren is called *manhaj* which can be interpreted as a direction of specific learning. The *manhaj*at Pesantren *salaf* is not in the form of elaboration of the syllabus, but in the form of books, *funun* taught to the students. In the learning process, Pesantren uses *manhaj* in the form of certain types of books in a particular branch of science. These books should be studied completely before studying higher books

and more difficult to understand. Thus, the accomplishment of learning program is not measured in time and not based on the mastery of certain syllabi (topics of discussion), but it is based on the completion of students in studying the book that has been set. The standard competence for graduates of the pesantren is the ability to master (understanding, appreciating, practicing, and teaching) the contents of certain books that have been set. (Departemen Agama RI, 2003: 31).

The standard competence is reflected in the acquisition of books gradually and sequentially from mild to severe, from easy to more difficult books, from thin books to books in volumes. The books used are usually *Kitab Kuning* (yellow book) for they are printed on yellow paper. (Martin van Bruinessen, 1994:121). (Yanwar Pribadi, 2013: 3). (Herdis Herdiansyah1, 2016: 3)

The teaching of these books is in level, and the topics taught are frequently repetitive. The leveling is intended to deepen and widen the understanding of the books so that the students' mastery of the content / materials are becoming increasingly unwavering. This is one feature of implementing the learning at pesantren.

The main characteristic of the traditional lecture is giving the way of teaching that is emphasized in the understanding every word (*harfiyah*) on a certain book (text). The teaching is also intended to complete reading and reviewing a book, then continued to study another book. The textbooks have huge numbers. However, the books which are commonly possessed by many *kiai* and taught in Pesantren in Indonesia are the books of the work of *madzhab Shafi'i* (Shâfi'iyah) scholars (Andi Zuchairiny, 2013: 277).

At the end of the 20th century, 900 titles of yellow books are available at *Pesantren* in Java and Madura. The titles are breakdown of 20%

about *fiqh*, 17 % *ushul al-din* in Arabic (Science of *al-Nahw*, *Sharf*, *Balaghah*), 12% of Hadith 8% of *tasawwuf*, 7% of *Akhlaq*, 6% of guidance for prayer and *wird*, *mujarrabat* of 5% and the works of praise to the Prophet Muhammad (*qisas al-Anbiya* ', *Mawlid* , *ma-Naqib*) 6%. (Martin van Bruinessen, 1999:231)

Learning materials provided in Pesantren is how to understand the teachings of Islam contained in the Quran and al-Hadith. From these two sources of Islamic teachings results in various disciplines of *naqli* sciences, as described above. Those scientific disciplines are explored by scholars of *Shafiiyah* into the books of essays that are commonly used in Pesantren. (Ronald Lukens-Bull, 2010:10).

The study toward *Fiqh* Science is generally used books such as *Bughîyat al-Mustarshidîn*, *Bidâyat al-Mujtahid Safinât al-Najâh*, *al-Taqrîb*, *Fath al-Qarîb*, *Fath al-Mu'în*, *Fath al Wahhâb*, *Kifâyat al-Akhyâr*, *Minhâj al-Qawîm*. (Hasan Madmarn: 2001). The books in - [the *Fiqh* science are the commentary (*Sharh*) from other books or records (*hâsiyah*) or summary (*Mukhtasar*) from any other book in the same tradition. The most popular book is *al-Taqrîb* which is better-known *asmukhtasar* written by Abû Sujâ' Al Isfahânî and its *syarah* namely *Fath-al-Qarîb* written by Ibn-Qâsim al-Ghâzâlî. Almost all pesantren use these books and then followed by *Fath al-Muin*, *Minhâj al-Qawîm* and so forth. (Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, p.229)

Fish science gets the largest portion in Pesantren. The magnitude of the portion of *fiqh* is because of its expertise in the field of science that deals with the power. The knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence is a ladder up the most directly toward the higher political and social status. Thus, many people have a great interest in exploring the science of *fiqh* that it becomes the dominance. (Hasyim Muzadi, 1999: 7)

In the discipline of Tawheed ('Aqidah) science - the science that contains the basics of the conviction of a Muslim-known and used books such as *asaqidat al-'A-Wam*, *Sullam al-Tawfiq*, *Matn al-Sanusi* and *Tijani. Aqidat al 'Awam* is a short book that is in the form of poetic and catered for beginner students. The author of the book is Ahmad al-Marzûqî al-Maliki al-Makki. Meanwhile, there are still other books related to '*Aqâid* science that are studied in Pesantren such as *Jauhar al-Tawhid* written by Ibrahim al-Laqâni and its *syarah* *Tuhfah al-Murid*, *Fath al-Majid* was written by Nawawi al-Bantenî, *Jawahir al-Kamiyah* written by Tahir ibn Salih al Jazairi.

The attention of Pesantren to the science is smaller than the *Fiqh* science, although the science is called as *usûl* (subject/basic knowledge), while *Fiqh* is the science of *furu'* (branches). The less popularity of this study is due to its absence of relation to power (social and political), as owned by the science of *Fiqh*. Also, this study is also called theology, which opens the door for philosophical thinking which tends to be speculative and diving tendency of less interest among pesantren to do a deep study.

In the field of *Tasawwuf* science that addresses and studies the mysticism Islamic books are *Bidayat al-Hidayat*, *Ihya' 'Ulûm al-Din*, *Al Hikam*, *Minhaj al-'Abidin* and others. The popular Sufism books in pesantren are the work of Al-Ghazali such as *Bidayah al-Hidayah*, *Minhaj al-'Abidin*, *Arba'in fi Usul-al-Din*, *Ihya' Ulum al-Din*. Also, there are other books such as *Cut al-Qulub* written by Sidi al-Shaykh Abu Talib al-Makki, *Risâlat al-Qushairiyah* written by Shaykh Abû Qasim al Qushairi that is elaborated by Syaikh al Islam Zakariya al-Ansari, *Al-Ghunyah* written by Sayyid al-Shaykh 'Abdu al Qadir al Jailani and *Al-Futuhat Ilahiyyah* written by Syaikh al-Islam Zakâriya al-Ansâri.

In the study of Arabic science, there are some books which study Arabic grammar and

morphology (*Nahwu, sharf And Balagha*) which are known as a tool science (*ilmu alat*) in Pesantren. (Faiqoh, 2012: 219-227) In the science of Nahwu, the books used for beginner are *al-'Awâmil* written by 'Abd al-Qahir ibn' Abd al-Rahman al Jurjûnî, *al muqadimaat al-Jurûmiyah* written by Abu 'Abdallah ibn Dawud ibn al-Sanhâjî-Ajjurum. For Intermediate level, the books used are *al-Durât al-Bahiyah*, *'Imriti Syarf* written by Yahya ibn al-Ansari al-Imritî, *al-Mutammimah* written by Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Ru'yânî al Hattâbî. Furthermore, for high level, the books used are *Alfiyah Ibn Malik* with its comment known as *Ibn 'Aqil* written by Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-'Aqil. In *Sarf* science, the books used are *al-Bina 'wa al-Asas*, *Tashrif al-Izz*, *Amthilât al-Tasrifah*. In the field of *Balaghah* science, the books used are *al-Jawahir al Maknûnah fi al-Ma'ani wa al-Bayan wa al-Badi'* written by Abd al-Rahman al-Akhdâri And the book of *al-Murshid' ala 'Uqud al-Juman fi' Ilmi al-Ma'ani wa al-Bayan* written by Jalaluddin al-Suyuti. (Martin van Bruinessen, 1999:228-229)

In the Science of Tajweed, the books used are *Hidayat al-Mustafid* And *Tuhfat al-Atfal*. While in *Balaghah* science, the book used is *al-Balagha Samarqandi* and *Jau-har al-Maknun*. In the field of *hadith* science, the books used are *Hadith al-Arbain al-Nawawiyah*, *Sahih Bukhari*, *Sahih Muslim*, *Riyad al-Salihin*, *Tanqîh al-Qaul*. While in the the field of *Tafsir* science, the books used are *al-Jalâlâini*, *al Munir*, *Tafsir Ibn Kathir*, *Jami'al Bayan*.

For more details, the educational curriculum of Pesantren, According to the version of the Directorate General of Islamic Institutional of Religious Affairs is as follows: (Departemen Agama RI, 2003: 32)

Table 1. Educational Curriculum of Pesantren

No.	Level	Field	Books
1	Elementary / basic	Science	al-Jawahr al-Kalamiyyah dan Umm al-Barohim
		Tauhid	Safinahal-Sholah
		Fiqh	Safinat al-Naja', Sullam al-Taufiq dan Sullam al-Munajat
		Akhlak	al-Washaya al-Abna' Al-akhlaqli al-Banin/Banat
2	First intermediate	Nahwu	Nahw al-Wadih dan al-Ajrumiyyah
		Sarraf	al-Amtsilah al-Tashrifiyyah
		Tajwid	Tuhfah al-Athfal, Hidayah al-Mustafid
		Tauhid	Mursyid al-wildan dan Syifa' al-Rahman
		Fiqh	Aqidat al-Awwam dan Al Dina al-Islami
		Akhlak Nahwu	Fath al-Qarib (Taqrîb) Minhaj al-Qawim Safinat al-Sholah
3	Advanced	Tarikh	Ta'lim wa Al-Muta'allim Mutammimah, Nazham 'Imrithi, al-Makudi dan Al-'Asymawi
		Tafsir dan Ilmu Tafsir	Nazaham al-Maksud al-Kailani
		Hadith dan Mushthalah al-Hadith	Nur al-Yaqin
		Tauhid	Tafsir al-Qur'an al Jalalain, Al-Maraghi dan Al-Tibya fi 'Ulumu al-Qur'an
		Fiqh	Mabahith fi al-'Ulum al-Qur'an
		Nahwu/Sarraf	Manahil al-'Irfan al-Arbain al-Nawawi Mukhtar al-Ahadith Bulugh al-Maram
		Akhlak	Jawahir al-Bukhari al-Jami' al-Shaghir Minhah al-Mughith
		Tarikh	al-Baiquniyyah
		Balaghah	Tuhfah al-Murid
			al-Husun al-Hamidiyah al-Aqidat al-Islamiyah
4	Higher level	Fiqh	Kifayat al-Awwam al-Waraqat Al-Sullam, al-Bayan dan al-Luma'
		Nahwu/Sarraf	Alfiyah ibnu Malik Qawa'id al-Lughah al-Arabiyyah
		Akhlak	Syarh Ibnu Aqil al-Syabrawi a-F'lal
		Tarikh	F'lal Al-Sharf
		Balaghah	Minhaj al-Abidin dan Irsyad al-'ibad
			Ismam al-Wafaq
			al-Jauhar al-Maknun
		Tauhid	Fath al-Majid
		Tafsir Ilmu Tafsir	Tafsir Qur'an al-Azhim (Ibnu Katsir)
		Hadith dan	Fi dhilal al-Qur'an
			Riyad al-Shalihin

No.	Level	Field	Books
		Science	
		Ilmu Hadith	Aa-Lu'lu' wa al-Marjan Shahih al-Bukhari Shahih al-Muslim Tajrid al-Shalih
		Fiqh	Fath al-Wahhab al-Iqna' al-Muhadzab al-Mahalli al-Fiqh 'ala al-Madzahib al-Arba'ah Bidayat al-Mujtahid
		Usul al Fiqh	Latha'ifa al-Iyarah Ushul al-Fiqh Jam'u al-Jawami' al-Asybat wa al-Nadhair Nawahib al-Saniyah
		Akhlaq	Ihya' Ulum al-Din Risalat al-Mu'awwanah Bidyat al-Hidayah
		Bahasa Arab	Jami'ial-Durus al-Arabiyah
		Mantiq	Sullam al-Munauraq
		Balaghah	Uqud al-Juman Al-Balaghah al-Wadiah
		Tarikh	Tarikh al-Tasyri'
		Mushthalah al	Alfiyah al-Suyuthi

Those books are generally used in a standard recitation by many Pesantren. In addition to those mentioned above, there are many books that are used for the deepening and expansion of knowledge of Islamic teachings. Those books are as follows: 1) In the field of *Tafsir* and *Tafsir Ma'ani Al-Qur'an*, *Al-Basith*, *al-Bahal al-Muhith*, *Jami'al-Ahkam al-Quran*, *Ahkam al-Qur'an*, *Mafatih al-Ghaib*, *Lubab al-Nuqul fi Asbabi Nuzul al-Qur'an* *al-Burhan fi'Ulum al-Qur'an* 2) In the Science of Hadith / Hadith; *Al Muwatta'*, *Sunan al-Turmudzi*, *Sunan Abu Dawud*, *Sunan al-Nasa'i*, *Sunan Ibn Majah*, *al-Musnad*, *al-Targheeb wa al-Tahrib*, *Nail al-Atuhar*, *subul al-Salam*, 3) In the field of *fiqh*; *al-Sharh al-Kabir*, *al-Umm*, *al-Risalah al-Muhalli*, *Fiqh al-Sunnah*, *Min Taujih al-Islam*, *Al-Fatawa al-Mughni li Ibn Qudaamah*, *al-Islam Aqidah wa Sharia*, *Zaad al -Maad*, *Matn al-Bina wa al-Asas*.

Kiai's leadership / authorities in Pesantren

In carrying out its duties and functions, the leader is associated with the basic authority or the foundation of legitimacy. According to Max Weber, there are three basic / sources of authority of a leader. First, the type of traditional authority. It is the authority of a leader that is based on the principles of very strong tradition and very personal relationships within the community. This system tends to be conservative and avoiding change. Second is the authority of a leader that is based on the belief in the validity of the orders given by the abstract and impersonal rules agreed upon. Third is the authority of a leader that is based on certain quality lying in his own personality, which is placed separately and treated as a person who has the power of supernatural, superhuman, or at least, he has quality of specific natural power. (Bryn S. Turner, 1982:37)

In Islamic terminology, according to A. Ezzati, leadership has characteristics as follows: 1) leaders must be in accordance with the teachings of *Tawheed* 2) *Allah* is the leader of the Muslims, 4) Allah's leadership is bestowed to the Muslims and the Prophet as a trust by adhering to the principle of *Amr al-Ma'ruf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*, 4) leadership is as a social responsibility and leader *iswaliyat al-ummah*. 5) There is no hierarchy and military order in the Islamic leadership. (Ezzati, 1990:34).

The religious leadership above is as the leadership which continues to the present day. The religious scholars (Kiai), with their high science and charisma, hold the legitimate religious leadership in the midst of Islamic society. (Mukhammad Shokheh, 2011:160) *Kiai's* leadership is directly accepted and gain legitimacy in society. (Inayah Rohmaniyah & Mark Woodward," 2012:120)

Public recognition toward their leadership is not only based on their expertise in the sciences of Islam but also their charisma arising from the science, the grandeur of their character and personality and the origin of their generation. Although Kiai is just a non-formal leader, he has certain superiority in moral and Islamic Knowledge. (Yanwar Pribadi, 2013: 5) With that superiority, he is taken into account by the authorities.

Imron Arifin asserts that there are several factors which result in such incredible view of the *kiai* as a leader. *First*, the existence of the belief in pantheistic animism in the Java community since the days of Hinduism and Buddhism, which gives high honor even sanctifying Shiva priests, Buddhist monks, masters, teachers and Ressi who are considered to have mystical abilities and charismatic. This position was subsequently taken by the *wali songo* (nine saints) in the 15th century. Thus, the tribute to the ulama (scholars) is a continuation of the Java community's tribute to Hindu priests.

Second, there is the concept of *waliyyât al-Imam*, i.e. leadership is to replace the prophetic leadership in maintaining religion and organizing society's life. This concept is a concrete realization of the leadership style of the Prophet Muhammad which is used as the main criterion by all Islamic leaders

Third, the influence of Sufi teachings on the pattern of *kiai's* leadership. In the Sufi teachings, there is confidence that a leader is believed to have transcendental qualities and to have exemplary to be taken as good example. As a leader, *kiai* is a spiritual leader who teaches and practices the teachings of Sufism to draw closer to Allah and to obtain the transcendental supernatural powers.

Kiai generally holds that pesantren is likened to a small kingdom which is as the

absolute source of power and authority in surrounding the Pesantren. In Pesantren, no one can resist the decision of *Kiai*. On the other hand, the students believe that the *Kiais* a person who believes fully to themselves either in the matters of Islam religion and in the field of power and management of Pesantren. (Kasful Anwar US, 2010:226) The *Kiai*, who have great Pesantren, have successfully expanded their influence and as a result they are accepted as the national elite. (Marmiati Mawardi, 2013: 134) Many of them who manage to become ministers, parliamentarians, ambassadors and other government officials. (Jakaria Ma'zumi 2012: 37) Similarly, they have managed to make their students to become *kiai* in their own regions. They will set up and lead medium and small Pesantren which culturally and intellectually still depends on the *Kiai* who had become their teacher. (Zamakhsyari Dhofir, 1994, 56)

The above process creates an interdependent relationship between *Kiai* with big Pesantren and *Kiai* with medium or small Pesantren; that relationship is that the great Pesantren depends on small and medium Pesantren in the supply of students, while the small and medium Pesantren rely on the big Pesantren in preparing young *kiai* and religious teachers who later teach in that Pesantren.

The success of a *Kiai* is generally determined by the charisma of the *Kiai* themselves. That charisma causes or determines the reciprocation of Pesantren they lead. *Kiai's* charisma grows out through their science and personal, it as well as the structure of the traditional teaching, (Suswanta, 2014: 15), based on the transmission of knowledge from one generation to another by using the individual guidance system (*ijâzah* system). *Ijâzah* system is a blessing, permission, and trust of *kiai* given to his students to teach a book on a particular branch of science in the science of religion he has taught to. This system results that the students will be intellectually

dependent to their *kiai* and they make *kiai* as their lifelong mentor.

On the other hand, the pattern of such charismatic leadership can become a weak point for Pesantren in preserving its continuity and efforts to avoid the destruction (survival). The loyalty to a *kiai* is difficult to translate as loyalty to the institution. The death of *Kiai* as the leader of Pesantren is often becoming the cause of Pesantren pullback as long as that Pesantren is not capable of bringing forth *Kiai* who has higher ability or at least commensurate with the previous *Kiai*.

Kiai's charisma contains dynamic elements that cause relatively easy to make changes, if desired by the leader of that *Pesantren*. With such quite flexible charisma, Pesantren can defend itself from future possible attacks and threats.

Kiai's leadership is frequently delegated to a senior teacher. However, in Pesantren that has known the system of organization, the role of the cottage headman is replaced by management structure of Pesantren with job division to take care of daily activities of Pesantren. (Hatim Gazali & Abd., 2009: 300)

Nevertheless, there are some Pesantren that still uses cottage headman as the chief of management board. However, though in Pesantren has the board of management to regulate and manage the activity of Pesantren, the highest power is still in the hand of *kiai*. In other words, the decisions that are taken from the result of meeting and discussion among management board, must have the approval from *kiai*. So, *kiai* acts as the owner and sole ruler in Pesantren. (Bambang Budiwiranto, 2009: 267) This position is equal to the feudal nobility which is commonly called as *Kanjeng* in Javanese culture.

In implementing his leadership, *kiai* often uses *badal* (substitute) to teach students. The

badal are usually was taken from relatives. In the early period of his career, a *kiai*, before his own son can become *badal*, usually provides education to his younger siblings, nephews or other close relatives with the hope that they can help him to develop Pesantren he builds.

The succession of leadership in Pesantren usually occurs when the *Kiai* died. His successor is the son of the *Kiai* who is called *Gusin* Javanese society. During his life, the *Kiai* always directs and guides his sons (*Gus*) and prepare them so that they can continue the leadership of Pesantren in the future. If a *kiai* does do not have any son, then one of his sons-in-law is directed to be his successor. Thus, a *kiai* provides special education to his sons (*gus-gus*) to ensure continuity of the leadership in his Pesantren. (Muhammad Latif Fauzi, 2012:135-136)

By strengthening the community assessment (*public image*) that *Gus* can inherit the spiritual and intellectual abilities attached to his father, *Kiai* tends to give legitimacy to his sons as his legitimate successor. This is very important because *Pesantren* the institution associated with the interests of society, but in tradition and history, Pesantren is established, developed, and nurtured by *kiai*.

Authorities, Curriculum and Learning

Culture in Pesantren

In the leadership of Pesantren, *Kiai* is believed to be the highest authority and within him is seen as a man of absolute power. (Hanun Asrohah, 2011:72). With that power, *kiai* can determine the direction, goals, and curriculum of Pesantren. (Ronald Lukens-Bull, 2005:48)

In the traditional education system of Pesantren, *Kiai* is the central figure who has full authority to determine the policies for the development and survival of a Pesantren. The life of Pesantren also relies much on *Kiai's*

expertise and depth of knowledge, charisma, authority and skill concerning to management. (Jajat Burhanudin, 2014:32). That's why *kiai* is one important element and most dominant in the life of a Pesantren. Even, at a given moment, he is as the only master of the Pesantren. (Asfa Widiyanto, 2014: 271-307). The figure of *Kiai* in Pesantren is due to his excellence in the field of science and personality, *Kiai* is also as a source of funding of finance (budgeting) for the management of the Pesantren he leads.

Another factor that supports the status of *kiai* is a doctrine that considers *kiai* as the chosen figure who inherits the knowledge of the prophets (*al-'ulama'warathat al-Anbiya'*), so it appears assumptions and myths that *Kiai* is directly able to master certain knowledges of God without going through the learning process.

With such as high power, *Kiai* has authority in determining the direction and the goal of education in Pesantren as well as curriculum and learning materials in Pesantren. (Thomas, R. Murray. 1988, 89) *Kiai* has authorities to determine the books and the works of certain scholars. *Kiai*, as the owner and the leader of Pesantren, uses books of scholars who have ideology of *ahlu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamah*.

Some of the books in the curriculum of Pesantren contain teachings that require the students to honor and glorify their teachers. Such teachings generate norms to govern students in the implementation of the learning process in Pesantren. Those norms give legitimacy to the *Kiai's* leadership authority.

In *Ayyuhal Awlad*, al-Ghazali said that the students have to *tawadhu* nature and to the knowledge and their teacher, as an intermediary for the acceptance of that science. Imam al-Ghazali said that a student should not brag with his knowledge and not oppose his teacher. However, he should give up and entirely surrender himself to his teachers and confidently

believe in all their advice, as a sick and stupid man trusts in his skilled and experienced doctor. A student should subject to his teacher, expect Allah's reward and glory by subjecting to his teacher. (al-Ghazali, tt: 57-58).

Also, in *Ihya'ulumuddin* al Ghazali stated that students must obey and respect their *kiai*: "A pious is willing to practice what he has learned, so he is called as a great man in all the dominion of the heavens. Meanwhile, al Zarnuji stated that there are many rules and guidelines for the student,; the requirement to respect the teachers in the studying, should not argue against what is described and explained by teachers, pupils must be earnest in their studies, the contentment of teachers in the study is a must if a student wants his gained knowledge to become helpful and useful.

The view of the two *ulama* above very strongly appears within Pesantren. *Kiai* as the teachers (scholars) is highly respected and regarded as a very noble profession. The position of teachers gets a place of honor, too popular, and become a role model to the students, and every teacher's words are heard and obeyed. Obedience to teachers is believed to get the benefit to students, and on the contrary, the wrath of teachers will cause misery for students. These values are becoming the character for the students and form the foundation for students in conducting the learning process in Pesantren, and it is believed to determine the success of students in their learning activities in Pesantren. (Mastuhu, *Dinamika*, 36). The belief is called as *barakah* (the blessings) that is interpreted as the willingness of *Kiai* as a reason of beachhead for the students in looking for knowledge. (Karel Steenbrink, 2015: 4).

The robust homage of students to *kiai* is strengthened by the statement of Ali ibn Abi Talib, that is very famous in the world of Pesantren, stating that "I am willing to be a slave for my teachers who taught me even though just

a letter. It is up to him whether I would be sold, freed or remained a slave". (Burhanuddin Al Zarnuji). This is by the conditioning principles of Ivan Pavlov, who makes repetition and regular exercise as requisite in learning process. (Thomas J. Shuell, 2001:154)

The intended condition is the creation of students' learning attitudes and behaviors accompanied by respecting to teachers (scholars) that should be highlighted by the students when they study at Pesantren. The attitude of students in paying high homage to the *kiai* becomes a behavior that is automatically and permanently located in their learning activities.

The learning behavior is showed when students follow the lecture of the yellow books held at Pesantren with *Bandongan* method, as follows:

The learning process by using *wetonan/bandongan* can be described as follows: *kiai* reads, translates and explains are yellow book (*Kitab gundul*). The pupils, with holding the same *Kitab gundul* do *pendhabithan* (putting vowel words and lexical translation) directly under the intended word to get better understanding of the text. The position of the students in learning by using this method is encircling and surrounding the *Kiai* or *ustad* (religious teacher) as to form *halaqah* (circle). In the translation, *Kiai* or *ustad* can use various languages that become the primary language of his students, for example: from Arabic language being translated into Javanese, Sundanese, or Indonesian. (Departemen Agama RI, 2004:4).

The conditioning of values and students' behavior in giving high homage to *Kiai* is very strongly conducted at Pesantren. The strengthening of the belief and students' behavior to salute *kiai* is done by reinforcing the image and perception of *santri* toward *Kiai* at pesantren within various forms, as follows: *First*:

Kiai is a religious leader who has the lineage to the Prophet Muhammad, through *Wali Songo* (nine saints). (Ronald Lukens-Bull, 2008:3). By attaching as the descendant of the Prophet puts *kiai* in a high degree among Muslims. *Second*, *kiai* is believed to be as scholars (*ulama*) and as the inheritors of the prophets, as mentioned in the Qur'an. The explanation is described by Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1994; 520)

"*Kiai*, as a transmitter of the Islamic teachings, areas the chain of continuity of Islamic teaching on the earth. In this role, *Kiai* are believed to have religious authority, that with it, they are deemed to have an excess of religious knowledge and are often seen as people who understand the greatness of Allah and the secrets of nature. They are considered to have the ability and in a very high position and are greatly admired by the local community and their students. In some cases, they show the specificity in the form of clothing which become the symbol of their high science, namely white *kopyah* (cap) and view. (Zamakhsyari Dhofir: 1994: 520)

Third, the depiction that *kiai* has supernatural/magic abilities that can be an intermediary for the students to receive the luck and the glory of Allah.

In this case, *Kia* is believed to have such these abilities. The depiction of *kiai*, as the one who has those superiorities, gives an overview of how *Kiai* has incredible greatness among his students, namely on the one hand *Kiai* is recognized as the man who is pious and has deep Islamic knowledge, and on the other hand, *kiai* is believed to have a supernatural ability. The actual impact felt by the students through their lives is the belief that the *kiai* has magical powers that *kiai* can drive away the evil spirits, expel Jins, treat the sick, and give his magical power to his students. (Sukamto, *Kepemimpinan*, 1999:27)

The depiction of *Kiai* as depicted above is a positive reinforcement that is often performed by a *kiai* or senior students inside and outside the learning process. In the process of learning is conducted as an explanation for the above chapters in the book that discusses the obligations of students to respect and glorify *Kiai* (*Ihya' ulumuddin* dan *Ta'lim al Mutaalim*). While outside of learning, it is conducted in non-formal moments (hidden curriculum), which is when talking-formally with a group of students. At that moment, it happened "guidance" from the senior students to junior students.

In the context of enforcing the values, believes and students' behavior to salute *Kiai*, it is also performed negative enforcement of conviction that when students do not respect and give honor to *kiai*, those students will not receive useful knowledge and they will not receive *barakah* (blessings) that according to Abdurrahman Wahid defines that *barakah* is the willingness of *kiai* as a reason of beach heading for the students in looking for knowledge.

On the other hand, the leadership of *kiai* is also reinforced by the conviction that the students' respect and honor to the *kiai* must also be followed with respect to his children, wives and even to *kiai's* relatives. They occupy a high position (directly below the *kiai*) in the leadership of the Pesantren

The values, conviction and students' behavior in honoring and glorifying *kiai* at Pesantren become the culture of Pesantren that is defined by Schein as "the collective sum of beliefs, values, meanings, and Assumptions that are shared by social group and that help to shape the ways in the which they respond to each other and to Reviews their external environment "

Thus, it can be affirmed that the Pesantren culture that puts *kiai* as a figure to be respected, honored and obeyed is a unity that cannot be

separated between beliefs and values taught in Pesantren with the behavior of students producing several basic assumptions. Such assumptions are communicated and shared by the majority of member of Pesantren in various forms, namely: shared feelings, shared doings, saying shared, and shared things (grasping objects with the same light).

The culture of Pesantren that puts *kiai* as a figure to be respected, honored and obeyed in totality that directly strengthens and perpetuate the leadership authority of *kiai* in Pesantren, because *Kiai*, in students' is the supreme leader and teacher, who taught science to students

Conclusion

Kiai as the holder of the highest authority has absolute powers which can be as the way to determine the direction, goals, and curriculum of Pesantren. *Kiai* determines the policies for the continuity of Pesantren. Thus, *Kiai* is one important element and most dominant for the life of Pesantren.

Kiai, with his power, has the authority to determine the use of the books of certain scholars. Some books in the curriculum of Pesantren contain the teachings that require students to respect and glorify their teachers. Those values animate the students and become their fundamental basis in looking for knowledge at Pesantren and it is believed to determine the students' success in conducting the learning activities at Pesantren.

The fervent of values and beliefs which are based on the conviction above, generates a learning culture in Pesantren namely students in learning is accompanied by the attitude of respecting and glorifying *kiai*.

The leadership of *Kiai* is also reinforced by the conviction that the students' honor and obedience toward their *kiai* should be followed

with the respect and honor to his children, wives even to his relatives. They occupy high position (directly under kiai) in the leadership of Pesantren.

The culture of giving high respect and total surrender of students to their kiai is directly empowering Kiai's leadership authority in Pesantren and that can perpetuate kiai's power and can legitimate that Kiai is the owner of Pesantren.

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