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THE TUAN GURU TRADITION OF NAHDLATUL WATHAN IN PESANTREN

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ABSTRACT

Pesantren (Islamic Boarding Schools) is a religious educational institution that has long history in Indonesia. Pesantren has an important role in producing religious figures, including kyai (an expert of Islamic teachings) or tuan guru (grand teacher). However, this role began to fade as many secular educational institutions emerged due to modernization and globalization, and at the same time pesantren began to change a lot to adapt to this new system. This study aims to explore the role of the Ma'had Dar Al-Qur'an wa Al-Hadith Nahdlatul Wathan (MDQH NW) Islamic boarding school in maintaining the tuan guru (grand teacher) tradition, and the strategies used to maintain this tradition. This study used a qualitative method with data collected through techniques of participatory observation, in-depth interviews and documentation. The results indicate that the MDQH NW has a significant contribution in maintaining the tuan guru tradition. This is demonstrated by the pattern of education and all institutional activities oriented to the pesantren culture with the study of the al-Mu'tabarrah book with the halaqah system. The strategies include strengthening traditional education, strengthening socio-religious relations, and strengthening Islamic da'wah. Continuity is also seen in the social relations built with the masyayikh (internal quality assurance) at Madrasah Shaulatiyah Makkah. Changes also occurred at the MDQH NW in Pancor regarding the duration of studies, especially for the talibat (female students) who previously took 3 years then extended to 4 years, which is the same duration as the tullab (male students). However, the MDQH NW Islamic Boarding School in Anjani still maintains the rule that has become the legacy of its founders, namely three years for the talibat and four the tullab.

Keywords: Tuan Guru; Tradition; Nahdlatul Wathan; Pesantren

INTRODUCTION

Pesantren is the oldest and indigenous Indonesian Islamic educational institution having produced *ulemas* (Islamic scholars) and leaders contributing to the Indonesia's independence. As the oldest Islamic educational institution, *pesantren* is at the forefront of providing education and instruction, as well as developing and spreading Islamic knowledge [*tafaqquh fi al-din*] (Hamdi, 2017; Nasir, 2010: 80). In addition, *pesantren* also serve as the fortress of defense for the *ummah*, a da'wah center, and a center for the intellectual development of the Islamic community (Encyclopedia of Islam, 1994:99). Thus, the existence of *pesantren* is believed to provide the best solution with regard to improving the intellectual life of the nation.

As an educational institution, according to Dhofier, *pesantren* has at least five main elements, namely, *pondok* (boarding school), mosque, instruction of classical books (locally known as *kitab kuning* or yellow books), *santri* (students), and *kyai* (an expert in Islam who leads the *pesantren*) (Dhofier, 1984: 44-45; Hamdi, 2018). In *pesantren* community, the *kyai* or *tuan guru* (the term used in Lombok which literally means 'grand teacher') is a figure who has a strategic role because in addition to being a teacher, he is also the leader of a *pesantren* who teaches *kitab gundul* (books written in Arabic without vowel marks) or also known as *kitab kuning* [yellow books]) (Dhofier, 1984: 55). Jamaluddin reported that *tuan guru* has a great influence and a strategic social status among the people of Lombok, and it is not limited to the *pesantren* community but also applies in society in general (Jamaluddin, 2019: 123; Smith & Hamdi, 2014). The great influence of *tuan guru* in the Sasak community is because they are considered to have high religious knowledge (*alim saleh*), and they have also performed the pilgrimage to Mecca as the fifth pillar of Islam. Therefore, the title of *tuan guru* in the Sasak community cannot be separated from the concept of "Haji" as a form of implementation of the fifth pillar of Islam. The Islamic tradition will be well maintained through the *tuan guru* tradition which originated from the *pesantren* tradition (See Hamdi, 2019).

This work aims at exploring these three research questions. First, what is the contribution of Ma'had Dār al-Qur'an Wa al-Hadith (MDQH) in maintaining the *tuan guru* tradition? Second, what are the strategies used by Ma'had Dār al-Qur'an Wa al-Hadith's (MDQH) to increase its contribution in maintaining the *tuan guru* tradition? And third, how is the continuity and change in the MDQH NW in maintaining the *tuan guru* tradition? The MDQH NW as a non-formal and non-degree educational institution provides a different perspective compared to other educational institutions, both general education

and *pesantren* in general. However, the MDQH NW in its educational activities cannot be separated from the definition of education in general as stated by Carter V. Good that education is “*a social process by which people are subjected to the influence of a selected and controlled environment (especially that of the school) so they may attain social competence and optimum individual development.*” In the Islamic world, education is called *tarbiyah*, which is a process of transforming knowledge from educators (*rabbani*) to students so that they have attitude and enthusiasm in understanding and realizing their lives, so that piety, character, and noble personality are formed (Mujib and Mudzakkir, 2006:13).

According to TGH [*Tuan Guru Haji*] Anas Hasyri that a *tuan guru* must be able to read the ‘yellow’ book and have a noble character like a scholar because he is the heir of prophets (*warasatul anbiya*). As heirs of Prophets, ulemas (Islamic scholars) must also be able to show the attitude and behavior possessed by the prophets such as being honest (*siddiq*), trustworthy (*amanah*), spreading da’wah (*tabligh*), being intelligent (*fathanah*) (Fahrurrozi, 2015:102). In light of the above discussion, it can be said that a *tuan guru* is an ulema that serves as a role model for the community, has charisma and provides religious instruction to the community through *Majlis Ta’lim*, *pesantren*, and has met certain criteria and requirements. The criteria for someone to be recognized as a *tuan guru* include: (1) having a high or broad understanding of religious knowledge, (2) having charisma and being a descendant of a *tuan guru*, (3) the leader of a boarding school or *majlis ta’lim*, (4) has Arabic language skills and reads the ‘yellow’ books (books written in Arabic without vowel marks), (5) has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and (6) has received recognition or acceptance from the community (social recognition).

This article is based on case study research. The approach used was the ethnographic approach as one of the strategies in qualitative research in which we examined a cultural group in a natural environment over a long period of time in collecting main data, observation data, and interview data (Sugiyono, 2017). In addition, we also used a historical approach, namely a study of sources of information about the past. Data collection techniques used are participatory observation, interviews, documentation, and triangulation. The data analysis was carried out using data reduction, data display, verification and conclusion drawing.

ISLAM AND ACCULTURATION IN LOMBOK

Religious life in West Nusa Tenggara Province, on Lombok Island in particular, is colored by Sasak traditions or culture which is based on spiritual

and religious values (Hamdi, 2019; 2015). It is not regarded as Sasak culture if it is not in line with tradition and religion. Culture is a contextual practice of religion, and it developed to preserve religion. Culture has become one of the elements of the character of the Sasak people in their customs. Sasak and Islam or more specifically the Sasak people and Islamic values are two things that are difficult to separate. They are like two sides of a coin, one and the other are interrelated and complement each other. One of the facts that is used as evidence in this respect is that oral folklore and the Sasak sagas reveal a lot about Islamic values and are used as a means of instilling them. An example of the oral folklore is the myth of *pamali* (*pemali*) which is implicitly used to instill the values of Islamic education; stories from the Sasak area that contain religious (Islamic) values are, among others, the story “Wali Nyatok, Sinfu *Tuan guru*, and Haji Ali Batu”; and the sagas that contain strong Islamic teachings are, among others, *shari’a* as the allegory of the body, *tariqa* as the allegory of the heart, *haqiqa* as the allegory of life (Fakihuddin, 2018: 2)

Lombok Island is inhabited not only by the Sasak tribe who are almost entirely Muslim, but also by other ethnic groups such as Balinese who are Hindu and Buddhist, Bugis, Javanese, Malay and Sumbawa. Thus, the Sasak culture is also heavily influenced by the culture of other communities. Regarding its close connection with Javanese culture, it can be traced from the contents of the Babad Lombok, which contains information about the relationship between Lombok Island and Giri (Gresik). Similarly, the connection with the Malay and Balinese culture can be traced to the presence of *lontar* written in Javanese-Balinese language, Sasak-Balinese language, and Kelayu language.

The infiltration of Islamic norms towards the Sasak community can illustrate the state of religiosity in Lombok where Islam has become the majority religion of the people in West Nusa Tenggara Province, especially on Lombok Island. This is an indication that religious leaders, *Tuan guru*, are quite successful in acculturation to present a moderate face of Islam. Local Islam basically reflects a creative form of Islam which is constructed through a dialectical process. In this process there is mutual support, give and take, through continuous interaction without ignoring the inclusion of local elements. Sasak Islam is not only a transferral from the Middle East, but at the same time also a creative combination with local culture. The two religious patterns of the *Wetu Telu* and *Islam Waktu Lima* communities can still coexist, and even complement each other as seen in a number of rituals.

To date, tolerance between people of different religions on Lombok Island continues to be maintained. Tolerance between religious communities should be the responsibility of the government and society to continue to maintain

and develop it. According to historical records, with regard to Hindus and Muslims in Lombok, tolerance has been built since hundreds of years ago. The tradition of *perang topat* (*topat* war) in Lingsar involving Hindus and Muslims is clear evidence of the establishment of harmony between these two peoples despite different beliefs. Every year on the seventh full moon according to the Sasak calendar and the sixth full moon according to the Balinese calendar or around December, there is a *perang topat* (*topat* war) accompanied by a Hindu *pujawali* ceremony at Lingsar Temple. Although it may sound frightening as there is the word “war”, it is not a conventional war that is meant to cause casualties, both in terms of property and life. This war is a war of peace, the weapons used in that war are not live bullets, revolvers or missiles or other types of lethal weapons. The weapon used is only a small *ketupat* (rice cake) with a weight approximately the same as a rambutan fruit. So, when the enemy is hit, not a scream of pain is heard but screams and shouts of joy.

TUAN GURU AND THE TRADITION OF *TUAN GURU* IN LOMBOK

Terminologically, *tuan guru* in the Lombok Sasak community is an honorary title for someone who has a high and honorable social status, a role model for the community, and a leader in enforcing *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (promotion of virtue and prevention of vice). As stated by Asnawi (2006: 23; Hamdi, 2017) as follows:

“*Tuan guru* in the perspective of the Islamic community on Lombok Island is a religious title given by the community to someone who has scientific competence in the field of religion, and the naming of this title grew out of the community in general that the figure called ‘*Tuan guru*’ has a *pesantren* and community-based followers, and has also performed the *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca).”

For the Sasak people of Lombok, as Fahrurrozi (2015:68) reported, a *tuan guru* is considered a superior person who has everything it takes to be a leader, so whatever he says is what his congregation will do. This is simply because it is not easy to be a superior person as it requires comprehensive processes and requirements. This is in line with Jamaluddin’s opinion which stated that a person who is entitled to the title of *tuan guru* at least meets the requirements such as having adequate religious knowledge, having studied with prominent scholars in the Middle East (*haramain*), having community recognition, and having *karomah* [God’s blessings]. Jamaluddin, 2019:150).

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the heir of prophets (*warasatul anbiya*). As heirs of Prophets, ulemas (Islamic scholars) must also be able to show the attitude and behavior possessed by the prophets such as being honest (*siddiq*), trustworthy (*amanah*), spreading da'wah (*tabligh*), being intelligent (*fathanah*) (Fahrurrozi, 2015:102)

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As a central figure, a *tuan guru* is not only responsible for advocating for the Muslim community, but as quoted by Suprpto (Suprpto, 2017:11) he also has the ability to build harmony between religious communities. "Mechanism of conflict prevention and peacebuilding will be sustainable when people are willing to establish two engagements: bonding engagement within a group and bridging engagement between diverse groups". In the context of conflict resolution, the role of the *tuan guru* as a religious figure is stronger than the role of traditional leaders (Suprpto, 2013:311). The authority and character of the *tuan guru* when compared to traditional leaders is much more capable of creating mass obedience, because a *tuan guru*'s advice is far more effective and able to reach a wide audience.

MDQH NW'S CONTRIBUTION IN MAINTAINING THE TUAN GURU TRADITION

To find out how far the contribution of the MDQH NW in maintaining the *Tuan Guru* tradition, let us first describe a general picture starting from the philosophy and history of the establishment of the MDQH NW as the object of research. Furthermore, the institutional activities which are the main research variables will be described as the basis for analyzing and assessing the contribution to the maintenance the *tuan guru* tradition. The institutional activities ranging from input, process, and output as well as outcomes will be described in order to obtain a detailed picture related to the MDQH NW's contribution to the maintenance of the *tuan guru* tradition. It is also important to describe the role of *mutakharrijin/mutakharrijat* (MDQH NW's alumni) as heirs to the *tuan guru* tradition.

The philosophy of the MDQH NW can be found in a poem and at the same time becomes the marching song of the MDQH NW composed by its founder, *Almagfurullahu Mawlana al-Shaykh TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid*. This philosophy provides an understanding of what the MDQH NW is, what it is founded on, and what its objectives are. The MDQH NW is an inseparable part of Nahdlatul Wathan's long history of education which was born out of the maturity of the thinking of the Mawlana and the maturity of experience in establishing various madrasas at various levels. With the ability to do *ijtihad* [independent reasoning by an expert in Islamic law] in the world of education, the MDQH NW is a methodological-pedagogic educational formulation that was specifically established to study the books inherited from his teachers in Mecca Al Mukarramah. At the beginning of its establishment in 1965, the number of *tullab* [students] was quite a lot, i.e. between one hundred to two hundred who were none other than Mawlana Shaykh's chosen students. The maturity of the *tullabs* is shaped in such a way at the MDQH NW so that they can be expected to become leaders or *tuan guru* in the midst of society.

There is no madrasa that Mawlana Shaykh was so fond of other than Ma'had. "*Ma'had taoqne tumpah kesyukuranku*" [Ma'had makes my heart spill over with gratitude], said Mawlana Shaykh. He praised it with respect and his *tullab/talibat* [male and female students] were declared as his children. "I only have two daughters, you will be my sons," he said. In fact, he once said of his admiration for Ma'had graduates, "*seandene araq MDQH NW banat laeq ie genku bait*" (if there was a female [student] who graduated from Ma'had, I would take her or marry her).

The MDQH NW certainly did not emerge in a vacuum, but it was present in the midst of the people who were in need of it, namely the need for an understanding of religious sciences as spiritual provisions like plants that expect rain to fall from the sky. On that basis, Almagfurullahu Mawlana Syaykh's strong intention to found the MDQH NW could be realized. His internal thought and movement included efforts to preserve the introduction, appreciation, teachings and practices within the Nahdlatul Wathan environment. The teachings and practices referred to are the *aqidah ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah, ala madhab al-Imam al-Shafi'I radiyallohu anhu*. The affirmation of the importance of preserving *aqida* is as quoted by Jamaluddin (2017:28) in his will that was recited on the 17th Anniversary of NW before the students of the MDQH NW in Pancor on March 1, 1970 which coincided with the 24th Dzulhijjah 1389 H, namely:

*Aduh sayang!
Azas NW jangan diubah
Sepanjang masa sepanjang sanah
Sunnah jama'ah dalam 'Aqidah
Madzhab Syafi'i dalam Syari'ah*

*[Oh dear!
Don't change the NW principle
All the time all the time
Sunnah of the congregation in 'Aqidah
Shafi'i school in Shari'a]*

The MDQH NW as an institution for *tafaqquh fi al-din* [religious studies] is increasingly convincing for those hoping to obtain religious knowledge in the life of the nation and state. By firmly maintaining the traditional pattern of education (*salafiyah*) through special learning to study the books of al-Mu'tabarrah (the yellow books) with the *halaqah* system which is a *pesantren* tradition, Alumni or *mutakharrijin* of the MDQH NW are cadres of *tuan guru* who are always faithful in giving their service to the community, religion, homeland, and nation.

Another variable that can describe the contribution of the MDQH NW to the maintenance of the Gurun-guru tradition is the activities of the *Mutakharrijin and Mutakharrijat* [male and female alumni]. Essentially, the task carried out by the alumni is very heavy. One of the main tasks after completing their studies at the MDQH NW is to always be at the forefront of taking a role in upholding the religion of Allah Almighty (*Li i'lai kalimatillah, wa izzil islam wa al-muslimin*).

The alumni's capacity to serve the community can be seen from the intellectual, functional, and kinship perspectives. The MDQH NW alumni as stated by Fahrurrozi can play a role in four forms of leadership, namely first, they may emerge as community leaders; second, as intellectual leaders; third, as spiritual leaders; finally, as administrative leaders (2019:58).

One of the important indicators in assessing the contribution of the MDQH NW (*Pesantren*) in passing down the *tuan guru* tradition is by looking at the alumni's activities which is playing an active role in social activities. In this context Tuan Guru Haji Ishaq Abdul Gani (interview 3 May 2020) said:

"The presence of the MDQH NW alumni in the midst of society is like stars that emit light in the darkness of night. That is, if viewed from the scientific aspect of the alumni, they can work as tutors in providing advocacy related to Islamic issues to the community. In carrying out social activities, the alumni

should always take part and never miss out. Therefore, these alumni should play not only double, but also multiple roles”.

The presence of *Pesantren* that are managed directly by the MDQH NW alumni can illustrate the fulfillment of the six criteria for the *tuan guru* which also reflect the contribution of the MDQH NW in maintaining the *tuan guru* tradition. Of the 692 *Pesantren* in West Nusa Tenggara, 30.6 percent or 212 them are managed by the MDQH NW alumni or *mutakharrijin*. This is a fairly high number of alumni from an Islamic university-level educational institution in the pursuit of da’wah where the *tuan guru* is a central figure in Islamic culture. So, it is quite reasonable to say that the MDQH NW has a significant contribution to the maintenance of the *tuan guru* tradition. In addition, with 127,799 students and 7,865 teachers involved in the learning process at the *Pesantren* which is managed by the *mutakharrijin*, there is no doubt about the significant contribution of the MDQH NW in maintaining Islamic culture and traditions in the midst of society in West Nusa Tenggara.

MDQH NW STRATEGIES IN MAINTAINING THE *TUAN GURU* TRADITION

In general, strategy can be interpreted as a careful plan of activities to achieve specific goals. In other words, strategy is the outline of the direction in action to achieve the planned goals. The MDQH NW has several strategies in carrying out instructional activities to achieve educational goals, i.e. first, strengthening traditional education (*salafiyah*); second, building socio-religious relations; and third, strengthening Islamic da’wah.

Regarding the strategy of strengthening traditional education (*salafiyah*), the MDQH NW --as one of the *pesantren*-based religious education institutions, in carrying out activities as a place to maintain Islamic traditions-- always refers to the learning activities of *salaf pesantren* which has become its benchmark. The strategic steps of the MDQH NW in carrying out learning activities are the tradition of entrustment and admission of students, the tradition of learning the yellow books (books written in Arabic with no vowel marks), and the tradition of *halaqah* instruction.

The NW MDQH tradition does not use the words *mahasiswa* and *mahasiswi* (Indonesian word for male and female college students respectively) and but uses the words *tullab* and *talibat*. New *tullab/talibat* are admitted with a simple and flexible recruitment system, meaning that the MDQH NW does not recruit *tullab* and *talibat* with a strict administrative system as required by other government or private higher education institutions. Anyone who has graduated from the Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic Senior High School) and wants

to study at the MDQH NW cannot be turned down and there is no limit to the number of quotas for *tullab/talibat* candidates to enroll. Because in principle, *tullab/talibat* who study at the MDQH NW are likened to those who come to seek knowledge (reciting the Qur'an), so it should not be limited or even turned down. This has become a tradition since the time of Almagfurullahu Mawlana Shaykh and is unique for MDQH NW because it does not apply to educational institutions elsewhere. As for the tradition of entrusting students to the MDQH NW, Haji Syarwani (interviewed on 22 March 2020) said that, in fact, the oath and allegiance taken by *tullab* and *talibat* contain complex meanings. This means that the pledge of allegiance in addition to its meaning is a pledge of loyalty to be obedient to Allah and His Messenger, which is also a pledge of loyalty to carry out the mandate in the Nahḍatul Waṭan's struggle. In other words, the pledge, oath, and allegiance are sacred bonds between teacher and students. Therefore, the meaning of the pledge, oath, and allegiance has a moral responsibility in this world to eternal life in the hereafter.

Furthermore, the tradition of studying the yellow books has become a culture or *pesantren* in general, as is the case with the MDQH NW. For the MDQH NW, learning based on *pesantren* culture has become its inherent identity. One of the *pesantren* traditions that cannot be abandoned, let alone abolished, is studying the yellow books. Should the yellow books be omitted from *pesantren* education, it is no different from madrasas or colleges with a dormitory system (Satria, 2019:7). Studying the yellow book is actually a characteristic of learning that has become a *pesantren* benchmark and its implementation uses the *halaqah* system as the *adab* (Islamic etiquette) of the people who recite the Qur'an which is the legacy of the *al-sabikun al-awwalun* or '*salaf al-shalih*' scholars. The tradition of studying the yellow books is a tradition that has been maintained since the early generations where the subjects come from the books of the *salaf al-shalih* scholars, be it books of Fiqh, Tawhid, Sufism, and Science such as *Nahwu*, *Sharef*, *Balaghah*, and *Qawaid al-Lughah*. The yellow book instruction at the MDQH NW is carried out from level I to level IV regularly. At the initial level, all the *thullab* and *thalibat* are only *mustami*' or listeners, meaning that the *mashaykh* [educated Muslim scholars] never ask *thullab* and *thalibat* to read the yellow books because they are still in the beginner stage. It was only after level II that the representatives of the *thullab* and *thalibat* will be required to read the books. In other words, the tradition of studying the yellow books is a *pesantren* tradition that has been practiced since the early generations and has been maintained to this day. Studying the yellow book is a must for *thullab* and *thalibat* MDQH NW. The yellow book instruction is carried out not only during formal teaching and learning

activities, but also during extra-curricular activities where they continue to discuss classical books.

Finally, the *halaqah* learning tradition which is learning activity done by sitting cross-legged around the *mashaykh* (instructor/scholar). The *halaqah* instruction aims to maintain the traditions of the *salaf al-salih* scholars and preserve the sunnah of the Prophet as reported by Tuan guru Haji Yusron Azzahidi, one of the MDQH NW *mashaykhs* in Anjani (interviewed on 21 March 2020):

“Instruction with the *halaqah* system which is traditional in the *ma’had* (*pesantren*) is a symbol of obedience in reviving the sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). In addition, we can also draw an *i’tibar* or lesson on the attitude of the angel Gabriel when asking the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) about three main issues related to matters of Faith, Islam, and Ihsan. Therefore, all activities that have become a tradition in the *ma’had* (*pesantren*) are the legacy of the previous teachers that must be guarded and maintained.”

This is in line with the explanation of Tuan guru Haji Lalu Anas Hasyri, one of the MDQH *mashaykhs* (interviewed on 26 March 2020) who reported that the learning process that took place at MDQH NW is much different from that in other educational institutions in general. For example, in the case of classroom division, the number of *tullab* and *talibat* reaches 200 to 300 respectively in one classroom where the learning process takes place with students sitting cross-legged on the floor. This is certainly far from the principle of effectiveness when referring to standards of teaching and learning activities. In other words, in the division of classrooms at MDQH NW, the number of *tullab* and *talibat* in one classroom is never considered ineffective even though there are hundreds of students in one group.

Regarding the strategy of building socio-religious relations, the MDQH NW as an educational institution always fosters good relations which is a necessity within the framework of carrying out the duties and institutional functions. The social relations that are built are at least reflected in two aspects, namely within its internal institution and with external institutions. Internal relations occur in the internal environment of the institution such as the relations between the *tullab/talibat* and the *mashaykh* as educators. While external relations occur between the institution and the community or related stakeholders. The relations that are built at MDQH NW are between teachers and students as well as between the MDQH NW and *madrassa shaulatiyah*.

In Zanuji's view, one of the absolute requirements that must be met for someone who seeks knowledge is to build good relations with the teacher. Maintaining good relations with teachers as exemplified by Almagfurullahu Mawlana Shaykh can be done by maintaining the continuity of the knowledge transmission of his teachers while studying in Mecca al-Mukarromah. Maintaining the integrity and continuity of genealogies of science is an indicator in assessing the level of originality of one's knowledge. The genealogical approach is also used to view and trace the history of science from the past through scientific studies (books and their authors) as well as the scientific concept of the *kyai* or *Tuan guru* which is one of the characteristics of *pesantren* scholarship. Knowing scientific genealogy means knowing the origin of a science, including the type, where it is obtained, who the teacher is, and how it is obtained.

Shaulatiyah is an educational institution in the form of a madrasa founded by Shaykh Rahmatulloh al-Kiyanawi al-Hindi in the 1800s AD or 1290 AH. The establishment of this madrasa was initiated by the mufti of Shafi'i Madhhab, namely Shaykh Zaini Dahlan and passed down from generation to generation to his family (Fahrurrozi, 2019). This can be seen from the madrasa heads (*mudir*) who have managed the madrasa al-Shaulatiyah and been successively appointed from his descendants. Currently, the *mudir* is the fifth generation of Shaykh Rahmatulloh descendants. According to historical records, the Shaulatiyah madrasa was never led by anyone outside of Shaykh Rahmatulloh lineage. However, despite the absence of intervention and management of other people, the Shaulatiyah madrasa is still relatively well-established. Almagfurullahu Mawlana Shaykh is one of the natives of Sasak who had studied at the al-Shaulatiyah Madrasah in Mecca al-Mukarromah. He took the trip with by his parent, a Mukminah teacher known as Datok Madjid, during the pilgrimage season to live in Makkah as it was his intention to settle down there to study for several years in the Holy City. There is no doubt that it was not only Mawlana Shaykh who came to Mecca from Lombok Island to study, but there were also many other students over the years such as Tuan guru Haji Umar Kelayu, Tuan guru Haji Muhammad Saleh Hambali Bengkel from West Lombok, Tuan guru Haji Muhammad Rais Sekarbela from Mataram, etc. There was a traditional close relationship between Mawlana Shaykh and Madrasah al-Shaulatiyah Makkah al-Mukarromah.

As for the tradition of strengthening Islamic da'wah, the MDQH NW as an educational institution that produces cadres of *tuan guru*, it certainly cannot be separated from da'wah activities which are the implementation of scientific values acquired during studies and will be applied in the community. Theoretically, the concept of da'wah that is built is based on the Qur'an and al-

Sunnah and on a practical level always synchronizes the learning material with the situation and conditions of the people. As the *tullab/talibat* of the MDQH NW will someday return to the community, they should prepare themselves by building professionalism through intra and extra-curricular activities.

In addition to the strategies described above, in order for the MDQH NW to remain in the world of education, other strategies are also needed. To find these strategies, a SWOT analysis is used, which is a situational analysis tool that examines the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (Rangkuti, 2008:19). Based on the results of the SWOT analysis and the litmus test, it was found that there were four strategic keywords needed by the MDQH NW in maintaining the *tuan guru* tradition, namely CSRR (collaboration, synchronization, role, and relationship).

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE MDQH NW IN MAINTAINING *TUAN GURU* TRADITION

The MDQH NW which was founded in 1965 or 56 years ago does not rule out the possibility that there has been a change in the midst of efforts to maintain its basic values that have been instilled by its founder. Changes and continuity of the MDQH NW institutionally can be viewed from several aspects, namely educational patterns, scientific traditions, *da'wah* patterns, and *mutakharrijin* assignments outside the region.

Mawlana Shaykh TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid succeeded in designing an instructional model at the MDQH NW by preparing graduates who will be able to bring about socio-religious change in society. The education patterns applied by the MDQH NW have always been aimed at maintaining a classical system that is identical to the medieval education patterns. It is apparent that to date the MDQH NW still adheres to a 100 percent religious education system with references to old books (*turas*), the *tullab/talibat* and the *mashaykh* interacting in a regular fashion of Qur'anic recitation sitting cross-legged on the floor in a large number. This is commonly known as the traditional education pattern (*salafiyah*). The pattern of education (*salafiyah*), according to Maimun, is typical *pesantren* education that adheres to the old or previous system, which can be traced to three generations of *salaf al-saleh*, namely, the generation of Companions, *tabi' al-tabi'in*, not *salafiyah* in the context of belief. (Maimun, 2017: 216).

The *pesantren* scientific tradition is an academic tradition rooted in classical Islamic education which has a long history of finding forms of education (Shiddiq, 2015). The MDQH NW obviously has a scientific tradition with a *pesantren* character, namely providing studies of Islamic sciences from the

Mu'tabarah (standard) books. As an educational institution under the auspices of the Nahdlatul Wathan organization, it focuses mainly on studies of books with the ideology of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. The *pesantren* scientific tradition is still oriented toward internal conditions (inward looking) and does not pay attention to external developments (outward looking). This is evident from the books used as references and learning methodologies which in general still do not have a detailed curriculum. A curriculum is a number of subjects that are prepared based on a systematic, planned and coordinated design within the framework of achieving the expected educational goals. Most Islamic boarding schools still use conventional references to classical books (yellow books) such as *Tafsir*, *Hadith*, *Fiqh*, *Kalam*, *Tasawwuf*, *Tarikh*, *Usul Fiqh*, *Nahwu*, and *Sharaf*, hereinafter referred to as "*al-kutub al-mu'tabarah*." (Faahrurrozi, 2017:243). The curriculum used by MDQH NW is still the same as the one used at the beginning of its foundation.

CONCLUSION

This study concluded that the MDQH NW makes a significant contribution to the maintenance of the *tuan guru* tradition. It is evident in the way it maintains the traditional pattern of education (*salafiyah*) through institutional activities that almost all lead to strengthening the *tuan guru* tradition. The curriculum, teaching-learning process, and *pesantren*-based scientific tradition that focuses on studies of the *Mu'tabarah* books which contain religious sciences and are a representation of the scholarship of its founder, Almagfurullahu Mawlana Shaykh TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid with his *madrasah al-Shaulatiyah Makkah al-Mukarromah*. Teaching and learning activities are carried out traditionally where students wear white *sarongs*, white *koko* long-sleeve shirts, and white caps (all white attire), practicing the *halaqah* system (sitting cross-legged on the floor).

The scientific tradition of MDQH NW has a *pesantren* character based on the *i'tikad* of *Ahl-Sunnah Wa al-Jamaah* Islam in accordance with Imam al-Shafi'i *madhhab* (school of thought). The role of the MDQH NW's *mutakharrijin/mutakharrijat* (alumni) as religious leaders, community leaders, and *pesantren* leaders can be seen from the number of *Pesantren* led by approximately 30.06% of the existing 692 *Pesantrens*. Therefore, the MDQH NW is considered the Indonesian miniature *Madrasah al-Shaulatiyah Makkah al-Mukarromah* which serves as the fortress of defense of *Ahl-Sunnah Wa al-Jamaah* Islam in accordance with Imam al-Shafi'i *madhhab* (school of thought) and the *mutakharrijin/mutakharrijat* (alumni) deserve to be regarded as the heirs of the *tuan guru* tradition.

The MDQH NW's strategies to maintain the *tuan guru* tradition based on ethnographic data can be describes as follows: strategies for strengthening traditional education (*salafiyah*), strategies for strengthening socio-religious relations, and strategies for strengthening da'wah Islamiyah. Through the SWOT analysis, the strategy formulation includes: strategies aimed at increasing collaboration with relevant stakeholders; strategies to synchronize the MDQH NW's programs based on community needs; and strategies to build a harmonious relationship between the MDQH NW and the community. Thus, the MDQH NW's strategies to maintain the *tuan guru* tradition involve strengthening *salafiyah* education, strengthening socio-religious relations, and strengthening Islamic da'wah in the framework of collaboration, synchronization, and relations abbreviated as CSR and based on the principles of belief, sincerity, and *istiqomah* (consistency). Based on the strategies discussed above, this study concludes that the *tuan guru* tradition will be preserved as long as the strengths of the "three dimensions" can be maintained.

The continuity and change in the MDQH NW regarding the maintenance of the *tuan guru* tradition can be viewed from the aspects of education, scientific tradition, and Islamic da'wah. From these three aspects, continuity occurs in the substantive and technical elements, especially those that become the traditions and legacy of its founder, Almagfurullahu Mawlana Shaykh *Tuan guru* Kyai Hajji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid.

The theoretical implementation demonstrated by this research is that the MDQH NW has contributed quite significantly to the maintenance of the *tuan guru* tradition which proves that education is a process of developing one's skills in the form of attitude and behavior that apply in society as stated by Carter V. Good. The MDQH NW is able to produce alumni who can meet the criteria for future *tuan guru* who are competent in reading the yellow books, having noble character of an ulema because they are the heirs of prophets (*warasatul anbiya'*). As heirs of prophets, Islamic scholars (ulemas) must also be able to demonstrate the attitude and behavior of the prophets such as being honest (*siddiq*) and trustworthy (*amanah*), doing da'wah (*tabligh*), being intelligent (*fathanah*). Despite its tendency to maintain the traditional patterns of education (continuity theory), the MDQH NW's existence has remained unchallenged to this day as it keeps promoting the culture of the Islamic community which is rooted in and grows out of the struggle of the *tuan guru* in line with the MDQH NW's goals and objectives established by Mawlana Al-Shaykh TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid

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