



NGAJHI KA LANGGHÂR: The Educational Nursery of Moderation of Islam in Madura

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ABSTRACT

The existence of *langghâr* in Madura has been the most important cultural heritage of Muslim society after pesantren. This research aims to explore and analyse that the *langghâr* in Madura has not been only functioned as both a place to pray together and learn holy Qur'an among Muslim children, but also can be functioned as a field of shaping deep Islamic character. The practice of *ngajhi ka langghâr* in Desa Gapura Timur and Desa Lembung Timur, *langghâr* has been used as an object in this research, has not been only functioned in learning a holy Qur'an, but also –this is the most crucial– as a field to study some Islamic jurisprudences and basic literature of sufism. By using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of field and habitus, this research found an important thesis that *ngajhi ka langghâr* can be declared as the most primordialistic sub-culture, outside of pesantren, that contributes to creating an educational nursery of moderation of Islam in Madura.

ABSTRAK

Keberadaan *langghâr* di Madura telah menjadi warisan budaya terpenting masyarakat muslim setelah pesantren. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggali dan menganalisis bahwa *langghâr* di Madura tidak hanya difungsikan sebagai tempat salat berjemaah dan belajar Al-Qur'an di kalangan anak-anak muslim, tetapi juga dapat difungsikan sebagai medan pembentukan karakter Islam yang mendalam. Praktik *ngajhi ka langghâr* di Desa Gapura Timur dan Desa Lembung Timur, *langghâr* yang dijadikan objek dalam penelitian ini, tidak hanya difungsikan dalam pembelajaran Al-Qur'an, tetapi juga –inilah yang paling krusial– sebagai bidang studi beberapa fikih Islam dan literatur dasar tasawuf. Dengan menggunakan teori lapangan dan habitus Pierre Bourdieu, penelitian ini menemukan tesis penting bahwa *ngajhi ka langghâr* dapat dinyatakan sebagai sub-budaya paling primordialistik, di luar pesantren, yang berkontribusi dalam menciptakan pembibitan pendidikan moderasi Islam di Madura.

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Introduction

The pesantren has long existed as a locus of traditional Islamic scientific transmission in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia.¹ However, pesantren are not the only primordial ones. In some regions in Indonesia, the education system of Muslim children actually started in surau (Minangkabau)² or langgar (Madura),³ not in Islamic boarding schools. Pesantren is an advanced institution after understanding about the basics of religion has been thoroughly studied in surau or langgar.⁴

Historically, the existence of the langgar itself is as old as the pesantren. If the pesantren is derived from the word *shastri* or *cantrik*, the Sanskrit word is used to refer to the students of the holy scriptures in padepokan led by a Hindu-Buddhist priest, then the langgar has a kinship with the term *sanggar* which means a place of worship which is located in almost every square of ancient Javanese houses.⁵ Not surprisingly, Torkil Saxebøl said that langgar had similarities with Hindu buildings in India, because genealogically the langgar was the result of acculturation of pre-Islamic Hindu-Buddhist relics on the archipelago.⁶ Even though having similar functions, *sanggar* is more private than the hermitage where the *cantiks* recite the scriptures. This is parallel with the condition of langgar which is indeed smaller than the pesantren. It is no coincidence that the cosmography of langgar-pesantren (Islam) is very linear with the *sanggar-padepokan* (Hindu-Buddhist) which together function as private-public institutions for the formation of the religious character of children from generation to generation.

¹ Taufik Abdullah, "The Pesantren in Historical Perspective," in Taufik Abdullah and Sharon Siddique (eds.), *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988)

² Azyumardi Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dalam Transisi dan Modern* (Jakarta: Logos, 2003), pp. 46-7.

³ Nor Hasan, "Kobung: Bangunan Tradisional Pewaris Nilai Masyarakat Madura Tempo Dulu," *Karsa: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, vol. XIII, no. 4 (2008): 72-73, <http://dx.doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v13i1.134>.

⁴ Ach. Khatib, "Kontestasi Langgar dan Pesantren: Studi atas Pranata Keagamaan Lokal di Sumenep, Madura," *Anil Islam: Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Ilmu Keislaman*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2016): 37.

⁵ The term of surau, langgar, and sanggar actually refer to the same object, which is the place that was originally used for worship practices. Later the use of musala was more popular and accepted as a vocabulary that seemed more 'Islamic' than surau, langgar, and sanggar, because it was absorbed directly from Arabic. Long before the arrival of Islam, the sanggar already existed as a place of worship on a small scale, namely within the scope of the family. When Islam spread rapidly, Walisongo did not necessarily change the cosmography of a sanggar or langgar to a musala to make it more Islamic. Walisongo retained its original vocabulary as an acculturative preaching strategy towards the remnants of the culture of the Kapitayan and Hindu-Buddhist communities. Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo: Buku Pertama yang Mengungkap Walisongo sebagai Fakta Sejarah* (Depok: Pustaka Iman, 2014), pp. 382-3.

⁶ Torkil Saxebøl, *The Madurese Ulama as Patrons: A Case Study of Power Relations in Indonesia Community* (Dissertation, University of Oslo, 2002), pp. 72-3.



Regarding the existence of langgar, Elly Touwen-Bousma noted that quantitatively the existence of langgar in Madura far exceeds the number of mosques. In the 19th century, rarely was found a large mosque in western Madura (Bangkalan and Sampang).⁷ At that time, there was only one plural mosque in the center of the city. That differed greatly from the number of existing violations. Around 1893, there were more than 50,000 langgar throughout Madura.⁸ This number refers to langgar owned personally by certain people as well as those where children learn to read the Qur'an. Those numbers must have experienced a significant change when compared to current conditions. The number of langgar may not be too much reduced, but the growth of the mosque is clearly more rapid than 120 years ago. In each village, there are at least four mosques with a size larger than 10x15 meters. In Bangkalan there are 53 mosques, Sampang reaches 110 mosques, Pamekasan 109 mosques, while in Sumen there are a number of mosques and musalas/parlors where village children reach 1,643.⁹

Until now, langgar can be easily found in Madura. In general, langgar stands on the west side of almost every Madurese house of the *tanéyan lanjhang* type.¹⁰ We can recognize two types of langgar in Madura: private langgar and public langgar which are provided for village children to learn the Qur'an. The first type of langgar is usually only used as a place of prayer for family members or for guests who happen to want to ride prayers. The function that is wider than just a prayer room is a langgar belonging to the village kiai which is used as a place for village children to learn the Qur'an.

From the architectural and spatial aspects, the last langgar was basically the same as the private langgar in the western side of every Madura community. This type of langgar was generally built on the western side of the village kiai's house. The only difference is the larger

⁷ As is quoted by Yanwar Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdhatul Ulama and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture," *AlJami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 51, no.1 (2013): 6, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.511.1-32>.

⁸ Kuntowijoyo, "Agama Islam dan Politik: Gerakan-gerakan Sarekat Islam Lokal di Madura, 1913-1920," in Huub de Jonge, *Agama, Kebudayaan, dan Ekonomi: Studi-studi Interdisipliner tentang Masyarakat Madura* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1989), p. 43.

⁹ The data excludes personal *mushallâ/langgar*. The data was obtained from www.simas.kemenag.go.id and www.dream.co.id/sim/jawa-timur/.

¹⁰ *Tanéyan lanjhang* is a designation for the model/type of traditional Madurese house building that has an elongated courtyard with a line of houses facing the south. The westernmost house is usually occupied by those who are the most elderly in the family and are followed by younger siblings or decendants in a row to the east. When all land is used, a new house will be built on the south side of the yard facing north until the entire yard is surrounded by houses lined up facing each other. At the western end of this *tanéyan lanjhang*, there is usually a family prayer room. Jeckhi Heng and Aji Bayu Kusuma, "Konsepsi Langgar sebagai Ruang Sakral pada Tanean Lanjang," *Jurnal Arsitektur Komposisi*, vol. 10, no. 4 (2013): 218, <https://doi.org/10.24002/jars.v10i4.1167>.



size and the position of sociological importance. Aside from being a place for children to learn the Qur'an, this langgar is also used as a place of prayer for the community around the distance in terms of closer to the langgar than the mosque.¹¹ In fact, this is also very important, some langgar are not only limited as a place to study the Qur'an, but also include other Islamic scientific disciplines.

The owner and leader of the public langgar is called *kèyaè langghâr*, *kè ajhi*, *ma' kaè*, and *ghuru ngajhi*.¹² Iik Arifin Mansurnoor called it as *kèyaè kèni'* (small kiai) or small scholars (*the minor ulama*). The position of the small kiai is as important as the big kiai (the boarding school, or kiai pesantren) for the surrounding community. In every celebration or salvation event, kiai langgar are always appointed as leaders. Not only guiding children to learn the Qur'an, the kiai langgar is also often asked for consideration and advice by the community in various ways. Although according to Mansurnoor the network of kiai langgar is not as extensive and as strong as the kiai pesantren, kiai langgar still has strong charisma as an example as well as a "moral police" for the Madurese community.¹³

As the modernization of Islamic educational institutions continues to advance, the position of the langgar as the only place for children to learn to recite the Qur'an is now beginning to be secondary even though in some places the langgar still functions well. Moh. Wardi said that the emergence of more modern education systems such as the Qur'an Education Park (TPA) for preschool children in Madura in the last two decades has triggered a decline in community interest in the education system of langgar. In fact, the existence of a landfill in the next village is far more attractive to students than traditional langgar.¹⁴ Of course these findings cannot be generalized to all as in Madura. Other factors such as the development of information

¹¹ Saxebøl, *The Madurese Ulama*, p. 73.

¹²The different terms that actually have the same meaning. The difference is caused by the variety of dialects in several areas of Madura. The call *ma' kaèh* (by adding the letter "h" to the end of the word in accordance with the Pamekasan accent; the phonology of the Sumenep people does not sound "h" at the end of the letter) is popular in Pamekasan, while in Sumenep it is usually called *kè ajhi*. *Ma' kaè* means the same as *pak kaè*; the term *ma'* is an abbreviation of *mama'* the first term used to refer to *eppa'* (father/sir). Both *ma' kaè* or *kè ajhi*, both represent *kèyaè kampung* (village kiai) and *kèyaè langghâr* (kiai langgar). Ibid.

¹³ Iik Arifin Mansurnoor, *Islam in An Indonesian World: Ulama of Madura* (Yogyakarta: UGM Press, 1990), pp. 72-3.

¹⁴ Moh. Wardi, "Pilihan Belajar Al-Qur'an di Madura: Konversi dari Langgar ke Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an," *Kabilah: Journal of Social Community*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June, 2016): 96.



technology also deserve serious consideration. However, M. Endy Saputro reported that village clerics still have strong socio-religious magnets until now.¹⁵

A little annotation needs to be added here. Conversion of the interest of some people from langgar to TPA, even though Moh. Wardi because it is considered to be able to threaten the existence of langgar which has formed the character of the Qur'ânî for hundreds of years, will not bring extreme social change and have a negative impact on society as long as the main mission to provide the teachings of the Qur'an to children is maintained. Many TPAs in Madura actually function at the same time as madrasas that combine the learning curriculum of the Qur'an and other Islamic scientific disciplines similar to the function of the langgar that was sampled in this study, because often the TPA and the madrasa are premised (two Islamic education institutions are relatively new compared to langgar) was also founded and led by a kiai who used to be a kiai langgar. For this reason, this research will still focus on the existence of langgar as a "field" for the formation of the Islamic character of Madurese people which took place early on.

In general, there are not many current socio-anthropological studies on Madura that discuss langgar in terms of its role as the field of shaping the Islamic character of the Madurese community. Yanwar Pribadi and Mansurnoor, for example, although well describing the distinctive role of the symbolic power between the kiai langgar and the kiai pesantren in their relations with the local government, they paid less attention to the deeper role of the kiai langgar in shaping the Islamic character of the Madurese community. They, especially in Pribadi, merely mentioned schematically that the Islamic community of Madura was a copy-paste of NU-style Sunni Islam which was pursued by the kiai.¹⁶ However, there is an important question that is yet answered in Pribadi's research which are the starting point of this writing: why does the transmission not fall on fundamentalism and radicalism considering the religious spirit of the Madurese people is always portrayed as being deeply rooted?

This research seeks to answer this question by first explaining how the kiai, especially the kiai langgar, succeeded in transmitting and instilling religious spirit in the Madurese community without falling into extremism. Implicitly, although it does not correlate in any way

¹⁵ M. Endy Saputro, "Muslim Localizing Democracy: A Non-Pesantren Village in Madura as Preliminary Study," *IJIMS: Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2011): 299, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v1i2.297-316>.

¹⁶ Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura," 5-6.



with the Islamic character building of the Madurese, Nor Hasan's findings illustrate that *kobhung* -another term of the popular langgar in Sampang and Pamekasan- plays an important role in instilling the moral values of the Madurese community, is quite important as an initial clue in this research. By using the theory of habitus and the field of Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), this study tries to examine the important role of langgar as a field for the formation of Islamic habitus of Madurese which is classified as moderate, although racially is often considered zealot.

Two Langgars as the Field

The samples of this study were Langgar Al-Ikhlas in Desa Gapura Timur and Langgar Al-Manar in Desa Lembung Timur. The two villages are both in Sumenep assuming the base of the first langgar represents the eastern part and the second langgar represents the western region. On the other hand, both Langgar Al-Ikhlas and Langgar Al-Manar are not only field to learn the Qur'an, but also to recite the Islamic jurisprudence and ethics. Generally, langgar in Madura only teaches reciting the Qur'an, while studying jurisprudence and ethics is yielded in the pesantren. These langgar have existed for at least two generations and in the next generation leadership has experienced a decrease in the number of students and sequentially impact on the various material being taught. However, their dedication so far in combining the teachings of the Qur'an and other religious materials makes these langgar are unique. This research approach uses ethnographic types by combining the methods of participant observation, interviews, and literature analysis.

The two langgars were first placed as fields in the sense of Bourdieuan. Langgar as a field for the complex process of Islamic transmission by involving the elements of the kiai langgar, children, and society within the horizon of moderate Islamic habitus, is the framework of this entire study.

Pierre Bourdieu uses the term *habitus*¹⁷ in the context of systems and structural dispositions that work within the particularity of social classes. He called *habitus* as: "Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as *structuring structures*...". In a simpler sense, *habitus* is a flexible and enduring system of disposition (thoughts, perceptions, attitudes, emotions, etc.) that is capable of giving birth to certain

¹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 53.



actions (practice).¹⁸ Therefore, habitus will continue to exist even though in reality it can move, exchange places, and shift along with changes in the structure's disposition system.

The habitus disposition is closely related to the concept of capital. Bourdieu mentions capital, social, cultural, and symbolic capital as factors that strengthen habitus in addition to another key concept, namely the field. Bourdieu makes a scheme (habitus x capital) + field = practice.¹⁹ Field itself refers to the locus where the dispositions of social structure (including moral law) apply and take place objectively. In short, social behavior (practice) arises after negotiations that are in harmony between habitus and field in one's subjectivity.

Bourdieu, as explained by Winchester²⁰, believe that all human actions are encouraged and motivated by a desire for intersubjective accumulation of status, prestige, and power. Therefore Bourdieu does not believe if someone develops morality solely because of absolute obedience to the moral concept. For Bourdieu, one's morality is merely a tool or capital to gain recognition, power, and distinction in social relations.

Bouedieu's theory of habitus and field is very suitable to describe the Islamic disposition structure of Madurese children who grow naturally through one of the most important fields: langgar. So far, research on Madura has put too much emphasis on aspects of capital, both social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital, of the important actors there: kiai and *bâjingan* (or *blâtèr* in the western Madura dialect). From Mansurnoor²¹, Saxebøl²², Rozaki²³, Saputro²⁴, Khatib²⁵, to Pribadi²⁶, all have paid full attention to the relations of capital and power between the kiai and the government; kiai kampung and kiai pesantren; kiai and *bâjingan*; the kiai and the village head; the kiai and the businessman, with no one interested in the relation of the kiai langgar and children in the context of the nursery of a moderate Islamic character that grew out of and through this field.

¹⁸ Daniel Winchester, "Embodying the Faith: Religious Practice and the Making of Muslim Moral Habitus," *Social Forces*, vol. 86, no. 4 (2008): 1758.

¹⁹ Bourdieu, *The Logic*, p. 54.

²⁰ Winchester, "Embodying the Faith," 1759.

²¹ Mansurnoor, *Islam in An Indonesian World*, 1990.

²² Saxebøl, *The Madurese Ulama*, 2002.

²³ Abdur Rozaki, *Menabur Kharisma Menuai Kuasa: Kiprah Kiai dan Blater sebagai Rezim Kembar di Madura* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Marwa, 2004)

²⁴ Saputro, "Muslim Localizing Democracy," 2011.

²⁵ Khatib, "Kontestasi Langgar," 2016.

²⁶ Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura," 2016.



The Practice of Ngajhi ka Langghâr

In general, the duration of reciting the Qur'an is not long; between Maghrib and Isha. Before the evening call to prayer echoed, the children arrived at the langgar and were ready for the evening prayer in the evening. After the prayer plus remembrance, they will begin to read the Qur'an together. *Ghuru ngajhi* will sit near them (some are in front and some are at the side) to guide each child until everyone gets a turn. *Ghuru ngajhi* who is usually held directly by the kiai of the village is not always alone. Sometimes the main kiai is assisted by a child, niece, son-in-law, or even an outsider who happens to be appointed by the kiai to take the time to teach good and correct Qur'an recitation procedures. This is usually done if the number of ceremonies is too much to handle alone.

Ghuru ngajhi generally does not take long time to guide each child because his time is limited only to the evening prayer call. In that limited time, there is nothing else that can be conveyed by the kiai other than only material about the procedures for reading the Qur'an (*tajwid*), except for adolescent children who are already fluent. For those who are fluent in reading the Qur'an, the kiai no longer need to guide them. They usually read on their own or were asked by kiai to help teach the children under them. There are also kiai langgar that provide other materials, usually studying Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), for teenagers who are good at reading the Qur'an at a time that should be used to study the Qur'an for children who are not fluent.

Setting the place to read the Qur'an in the langgar is not always the same. There are langgar that tolerate the gathering of sons and daughters in the same langgar, but there are also those who separate the two –men in the langgar men; the girl in the women break. Regarding the policy for staying overnight also varies. There are langgar which is only treated by the son and langgar that is treated by both the son and daughter at the same time. For the latter, they usually sleep in the kiai's house. In Langgar Al-Ikhlâs where the study of sons and daughters is carried out in a different langgar, but still in the neighborhood of the kiai langgar. Langgar for men is on the west side, while langgar for women is on the east side. Slightly loose from Langgar Al-Ikhlâs, Langgar Al-Manar does not separate the place of study of children except in their seats. Sons and daughters alike recite in one field, however girls gather together and so do with the boys in the same langgar and at the same time.

As Saputro emphasized, langgar in Madura did not stop at the teaching of the Qur'an. Kiai langgar usually provide *fiqh* and Sufism material for children who are categorized as being able



to study the Qur'an well.²⁷ This view is actually not too different from pesantren, except that children who study at the langgar are not permanently settled and are not bound by formal rules as in pesantren.

In Langgar Al-Ikhlâs, the practice of *ngajhi ka langghâr* is not just learning to recite the Qur'an between Maghrib and Isha, but there is also a study of fiqh, nahwu, tawhid, and sufism which are scheduled after Isha prayer and after Fajr prayer. Children who take part in this study usually spend the night and sleep in a langgar. Generally they age between 13-18 years. Except for the Subuh, the yellow book study is not carried out every night; only Monday nights and Wednesday nights are filled with studies. Among all the available materials, fiqh gets the most portion. The standard fiqh book used as study materials are *Sullâm al-Taufiq* and *Safinah al-Najâh*; while tawhid and sufism use *Aqidah al-'Awâm* and *Risâlah al-Mu'âwanah*.

Almost the same thing does happen in Langgar Al-Manar. In this area, 3-year-old children have been "introduced" to the langgar. Ages 4 to 5 years have started to be included in the Qur'an. Many children age 7 years and over stay overnight in langgar to attend additional recitation in the form of fiqh, tawhid, morals, and *diba'an*. The standard works used are the same as Langgar Al-Ikhlâs, such as *Sullâm al-Taufiq*, *Safinah al-Najâh*, and *Aqidah al-'Awâm*. This additional activity was also carried out by Isha and Dawn. In fact, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) noted that *Sullâm al-Taufiq* had been taught in Islamic boarding schools in Java and Sumatra in the colonial era.²⁸

Just reciting the Qur'an without knowing the contents of the meaning in it certainly will not affect the way of thinking and acting. What is learned in a langgar is just a way of spelling and reading and in no way touches on mastery of the meaning or interpretation of it. A separate study of the interpretation of the Qur'an is only given to high school-level children, and that too is in the pesantren, not in the langgar. That is, a langgar that functions merely as a place to study the Qur'an without any additional material cannot be considered an ideal field in shaping moderate Islamic character.

Indeed, not all langgar provide complete facilities that can meet all the needs of *santrè langghârân* in studying various disciplines of Islamic orthodoxy. There is a langgar whose kiai is only able to read the Qur'an and the Arabic letters pegon, but cannot read the yellow book at all. These types of langgar usually only facilitate the learning of the Qur'an, and as a small

²⁷ Saputro, "Muslim Localizing Democracy," 299.

²⁸ Michael Laffan, *Sejarah Islam di Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: Benteng Pustaka, 2015), p. 171.



addition to the fiqh teaching, using books written in Arabic pegon letters. The most popular book in Madura is *Kétab Arkân*. This book is quite thin; just discussing the pillars, how to purify oneself, and other basic themes. The language is very easy to understand because in addition to having Arabic texts that have been worthy, there is also a translation in Madura.

In many langgar, Islamic material is really given in full because *kèyaè langghâr* has sufficient ability to convey other Islamic material by referring to the original corpus of Islam in Arabic without dignity. This practice happened in Langgar Al-Ikhlâs, Gapura Timur and Al-Manar, Lembung Timur. This type of langgar field certainly has a far greater impact in shaping the Islamic character of the Madurese community than a langgar which merely functions as a place of study of the Qur'an alone.

Beyond Jurisprudence

As is explained above, the most widely taught material in langgar besides the Qur'an is fiqh laws derived from the yellow books. In almost all Madurese (and possibly also in Java), the standard Jurisprudence books used as introductions are *Sullâm al-Taufîq* and *Safinah al-Najâh*; the first was written by 'Abd Allâh ibn Husain ibn Thâhir Bâ 'Alawî al-Hadlramî al-Syâfi'î (d. 1777) from Yemen while the second was written by Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Sa'ad ibn Sumair al-Hadlramî (d. 1855) who died and buried in Jakarta. Each of the books was commented on by Muḥammad Nawawî al-Bantanî (d. 1897) under the titles *Mirqât Shu'ûd al-Tashdîq* and *Kâsyifah al-Sajâ*. The intellectual network of the Nusantara-Yemeni ulama at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century which was marked by an increase in the reputation of al-Bantanî in Mecca was the starting point of the crossing of these two standard books in the pesantren environment throughout the archipelago.²⁹

Al-Bantanî, as Michael Laffan noted, is a typical noncompromistic orthodox cleric. He aggressively fought the colonial government during Banten and continued to Mecca. In the midst of such a situation al-Bantanî wrote *Mirqât Shu'ûd al-Tashdîq*, a rhetorical commentary on *Sullâm al-Taufîq* which has been the subject matter in Islamic schools and pesantren until now. But it is important to add here that the conservatism of al-Bantanî in fiqh got a moderate touch from sufism that he concentrated on. So it is not surprising that, besides commenting on

²⁹ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2007), p. 50.



the books of fiqh, al-Bantani also wrote comments on the book of *Nashâ'ih al-'Ībād* by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalâni (d. 1449). This book also becomes a staple supplement in addition to us - the fiqh books mentioned earlier. In fact, the books of sufism by al-Ghazâlî (1058-1111) are the subject matter of all pesantren.³⁰

Al-Bantani's commentary book on fiqh of gets more attention here because of two things: first, the material of *Sullâm al-Taufiq* includes fiqh and tawhid at the same time; and second, *Sullâm al-Taufiq* is the most powerful representation of orthodoxy. In contrast to which that contains purely the foundations of Jurisprudence and a small part of tawhid, the book of *Sullâm al-Taufiq* devotes much of its discussion to the status of one's disbelief. At least, there are three areas that are prone to rubbing people into the abyss of disbelief, namely speech, action, and belief. The doctrine of demarcation of who is Muslim and who is an infidel or apostate, is very clear in this book. Anyone who has studied this book will easily get the impression that the dividing line between Islam and disbelief is very thin.

Al-Bantani's comment on this book does not reduce the orthodoxy levels of the original author. In fact, he is very firm in advocating social distancing for young adults to places covered by disobedience. His decision to stay in Mecca also relates to this commitment. Despite leaving Banten, he remained very vocal in opposing the invaders and did not hesitate to include them in the *kâfir harbî* category. His fatwas in opposing the invaders made the Dutch East Indies authorities furious and so assigned Snouck Hurgronje specifically to monitor him in Mecca.³¹

In Langgar Al-Ikhlas both *Sullâm al-Taufiq* and *Mirqât Shu'ûd al-Tashdiq* are taught sequentially, while in Langgar Al-Manar it only teaches *Sullâm al-Taufiq*. However, the contents of both are not much different, except for an extended elaboration. Indoctrination using the book *Sullâm al-Taufiq* (of course, also *Mirqât Shu'ûd al-Tashdiq*) does not run without burden. There is arisk that is vulnerable and must be borne with extreme caution by the pesantren itself, namely the potential for strengthening traditionalism or religious conservatism among santri. The fiqh is indeed rich in diversity, but in particular the doctrine of infidelity is almost uncompromising. This means that the kiai langgarand the kiai pesantren both have the risk of the possibility of their students becoming radical in the form of easily making others infidel.

³⁰ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat* (Yogyakarta: Gading, 2012), p. 97.

³¹ Suwarjin, "Biografi Intelektual Syekh Nawawi Al-Bantani," *Tsaqafah & Tarikh: Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Sejarah Islam*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2017): 193-194, <http://dx.doi.org/10.29300/ttjksi.v2i2.717>.



Interestingly, the Islamic character of the Madurese who grew up in the field of langgar (and also the pesantren) did not reflect the conservatism of normative doctrine as presented in the book *Sullâm al-Taufiq*. It is difficult to find a precedent for the practice of infidel-judgemental things happening in Madura. This is very different from urban society which compiles and studies books of fiqh and tawhid such as - to name a but few- *Kitâb al-Îmân* by Ibn Taimîyah (1263-1328); *Tafhîm al-Qur'ân* and *al-Jihâd fi al-Islâm* by Abû al-A'la al-Maudûdi (1903-1979); or *Fi Dzîlâl al-Qur'ân* by Sayyid Quthb (1906-1966), tend to be radical and easily drop infidel seals on other people.³² The question is, why doesn't the same pattern occur in the Madurese community?

Kiai Langgar's Loose Attitude

Mansurnoor and Pribadi have mentioned accurately the central role of the kiai for the moral formation of the Madurese community. The kiai in the village unconditionally guide the community all the time. But, of course, this is not enough considering that literally the fiqh understanding of village kiai tends to be more conservative. Fortunately, the kiai's conservatism in fiqh is always exceeded by a loose attitude (moderate) which grows out of the influence of sufism teachings. The fiqh provides rigid restrictions and black-and-white calculations; sufism shows flexibility.

The infidel doctrine in *Sullâmal-Taufiq* or *Mirqât Shu'ûd al-Tashdiq* is not delivered outright by the kiai. At every opportunity, the kiai always emphasizes the importance of being careful in imposing infidel verdicts on others, because if we accuse others of being infidels and our accusations turn out to be wrong, then the verdict backfires, we ourselves become infidel. The infidel doctrine is often emphasized by the kiai as a guide for caution for oneself. In other words, the black-and-white infidel doctrine should be held and practiced as a guide in limiting and assessing one's own behavior, so that instead of being a doctrine oriented toward the falling of attitudes toward others, it is emphasized as an alarm for oneself.

This emphasis is not just an abstract discourse that is enough to be conveyed by kiai langgar to their students. In practice, the kiai truly exemplifies this caution to the community. At best,

³² Aksin Wijaya, *Dari Membela Tuhan ke Membela Manusia* (Bandung: Mizan, 2018), p. 140.



the kiai will give a label of haram or sin, and we have never found the practice of infidels-making carried out by kiai langgar to different parties.³³

For example, the late Kiai Sya'rani in Langgar Al-Ikhlâs was well known obstinate and noncompromistic in legal matters. The attitude of "obstinate" here is more as a benchmark for yourself, because his attitude in general towards others is very gentle and polite. Even when giving legal answers to questions that arise from the community. Around 2000 Kiai Sya'rani disagreed with Kiai Asy'ari about the law of reciting salawat for women in the *kasidahan* group that was publicly displayed. Kiai Sya'rani said it was haram, but Kiai Asy'ari argued that it was fine. Kiai Sya'rani firmly said:

*"Mitorot pamangghi bhâdhân kaulâ, maos salawat mungghu rèng bini' kalabân sowara ranying tor è têngghu bânya' orèng hokomma ka'dinto ta' kènging. Manabi bâdâ sè ngèngingngaghi èngghi dhingghâl ta' aponapa, sakèng kaulâta' noro'..."*³⁴

(In my opinion, chanting salawat for women in a loud voice expecting watched by many people, is not lawful. However, if there are kiai who allow unnecessary, clearly I do not participate...)

The case, although not in the context of infidel doctrine, was enough to show the flexibility and politeness of the kiai langgar in addressing the expressions of the people who at that time were enthusiastic about including their daughters in the salawat music group which was held rotating every Friday night. Kiai Sya'rani strictly forbids it, but never forbids her students to come along, especially as much as watching. This shows once again the moderate attitude of the kiai langgar in expressing their Islam: firm to oneself, but tends to be careful when it comes to people.

Meanwhile, similar practices also occur in Langgar Al-Manar. Kiai Iskandar was classified as a very conservative young kiai. He, for example, is not pleased with the festivity or khataman Al-Qur'an which is held by eating together at the grave. Whereas the people of Lembung Timur have long had a tradition of festivity or a recitation at the grave which ends with a meal together there. Several times received invitations to lead this kind of event, Kiai Iskandar did not refuse nor did he forbid eating together at the grave. He only asked the organizers of the program so that the meal for him to be wrapped. Some people thought that Kiai Iskandar was

³³ The case of Shia expulsion in Sampang is an exception here. This case does not necessarily invalidate the character of Islamic moderation of the kiai in general, because the Shia case in Sampang is not purely a religious conflict, but also found many interests in it. Naufil Istikhari, "Piagam Damai Sunni-Syiah," *Koran Madura*, January 27, 2014.

³⁴ Interview with Kiai Sya'rani's grandchild.



fasting. However, what actually happened was that he did not want to upset the public if he raised his objections, which was why he asked for food to be packaged. And he usually went home earlier than other worshipers. This was confirmed by himself:³⁵

“Sèngko’ dhibi’ ta’ ngollèyaghi ngakan areng-bhâreng neng è kobhurân. Sakéng mon soro alang-lang masyarakat ta’ dhâddhi, polana rèyag hun masala furû’iyah. Sèngko’ tako’ aghâbây masyarakat kacèbâ.”

(I myself adhere to a law that forbids eating together in the grave. But I can’t possibly forbid that tradition. After all this is only a matter of *furû’iyah* (secondary). I do not want the community to be disappointed).

From this statement it is clear that kiai langgar always try to put morals above fiqh. Generally they adhere to one very popular principle in the pesantren environment, namely: “*al-âdâb fauqa al-‘ilm*”, morals must be put on top of knowledge. Fiqh doctrines, however conservative, remain a part of “jurisprudence”, and because they are science, whatever constraints of a law must be given priority. Therefore, the attitude of a kiai in delivering legal fatwa to the community is very careful because in addition to the matter of the benefit of the people, he is also included in the way the kiai places morals with others above the rigidity of fiqh laws.

The kiai langgar rarely mentions the word sufism when trying to eart the character to children. The morality is preferred over Sufism because this last term in the imagination of the community tends to be very high and is the privilege of the kiai. In fact, morals are basically the same as sufism, because the essence of sufism is morals. Moral material that is often used in langgar is *Ta’lîm al-Muta’allim* by Burhân al-Dîn al-Zarnûjî (d. 1858) and *al-Akhlâq li al-Banîn* by ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad Baraja (d. 1990). If the first book is more specific on morals in seeking knowledge (including the morals of a student towards the teacher), then the second book covers morals in general. The two moral books are almost taught in all formal madrasas, early madrasa, and some langgar in Madura. In fact, Kiai Sya’rani taught the book *al-Hikam* by Ibn ‘Athâ’ Allâh al-Sakandarî (d. 1309) for children who were already familiar with the books of *Sullâm* and *Safînah*.

In the wider social context, kiai langgar receives and transmits knowledge from al-Bantani through two ways: fiqh and sufism. In practice, doctrine of sufismis being considered as precedence over fiqh. In other words, *Nashâ’ih al-‘Îbâd* put forward in social relationship rather

³⁵ Interview with Kiai Iskandar.



than *Mirqât Shu'ûd al-Tashdiq*. So, the imagination of the radical al-Bantani's figure in jurisprudence among kiai is softened by a kind and gentle figure in sufism.

The above description shows that morals is preferred over limited mastery of fiqh laws. The material of morals-sufism that is given after reading the book of basic fiqh has a very philosophical purpose, namely that the peak of children's knowledge is not rigid and radical in understanding and practicing Islamic law in daily life.

Tao ka Battonna Langghâr: Habitus Islamic Moderation

The practice of *ngajhi ka langghâr* is actually the result of habitus disposition in the form of religiosity of Madurese people multiplied by symbolic capital in the form of the label of "piety" and "obedience" for those who are diligent and smart in reciting the Qur'an. Therefore, it is not too surprising to find many parents in Madura who cannot read Latin script but are fluent in reading the Qur'an.

Ngajhi ka langghâr practices gave rise to wisdom formulation that the Madurese-called "*tao ka battonna langghâr*", which literally means "to know the edge of the langgar". This term actually refers to the character of children who are good at the Qur'an and are also able to show good character in social life. Conversely, those who cannot read the Qur'an, or at least can study the it but whose behavior often unsettles the community, will be teased as people who "*ta' tao ka battonna langghâr*", which literally means "not knowing the edge of langgar".³⁶

At this point it becomes clear that the langgar also contains connotative meaning which refers to, though not a determinant, one's morality. Just *tao ngajhi* is not enough as a sign of piety for Madurese. As far as the writers have observed, the bandits (Bangkalan people call them *blatèr*; Sumenep people say *bâjingan*) are almost certainly able to study the Qur'an well. This is because the Qur'an is a basic curriculum for children in Madura. Many older generations cannot read Latin letters, but are generally very well versed in reading the Qur'an. In other areas it may be difficult to find bandits or thugs who are fluent in reading the Qur'an. However, even though they can recite, because of their immorality towards the community, they still get the "*ta' tao ka battonna langghâr*". In short, more than just to *tao ngajhi* (able to read the Qur'an), for Madurese people, it must be *tao ka battonna langghâr* (understanding the social ethics).

³⁶ Khatib, "Kontestasi Langgar," 3.



Until now, there have been no cases of violence in the name of religious extremism committed by *bâjingan* in Madura with Sampang as an exception. In some religious issues, they still obey the kiai's commands, even though in the criminal context they go on their own way. This fact shows that the kiai have an important role in realizing moderation of Islam in Madura. This cannot be separated from the ability of the kiai to be violated in combining Islamic ethics with local Madurese wisdom itself. In teaching the practice of *tao ka battonna langghâr*, kiai langgar does not hesitate to teach local Madurese idioms such as *lakonè lalakonna, kennengngè kennenganna!* (be the right man on the right place!), *mon è tobi' sakè', jha' nobi' orèng laèn* (do not hurt anyone if you do not want to be hurt back!), etc.

Mainstreaming in social ethics is the foundation for the Islamic moderation nursery. Indeed, the composition of Madurese society is more homogeneous than Javanese, but the small community of followers of other religions has never improved the intolerant administration of the understanding of the Muslim population. Christian Chinese families in Desa Mandala, a village that borders directly with Desa Gapura Timur, for example, until now are living in peace without conflict with the local community. In fact, the kiai langgar allow the community to cooperate and trade with these non-Muslim families.

Bourdieu's field theory provides the basis for the existence of physical appearance of langgar as a place for people to draw up and care for the basic teachings of Islam. In addition, connotative meaning of the langgar which is not only a physical building, but also as a sign of morality, is a habitus that allows the langgar to exist as a place of practice of Islamic scientific transmission as well as a fundament for the nursery of continuous Islamic moderation.

In contrast to Bourdieu's view, stating social capital as a foundation for practices is the motive for achieving status, recognition, and power, the social capital of the kiai langgar is more directed at shaping the Islamic character of a moderate and tolerant society. Mansurnoor has shown well the existence of village clerics who are not at all interested in power and recognition from the government, so that this type of kiai power relationship is very limited although it does not reduce the level of his dedication to the community.³⁷

It was justified by Winchester that religious morals were often motivated by personal attachment to accepted religious practices in the environment. That means, the Islamic practices that took place in langgar and strengthened through concrete examples by the kiai

³⁷ Iik Arifin Mansurnoor, "Local Initiative and Government Plans: Ulama and Rural Development in Madura, Indonesia," *SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, vol. 7, no. 1 (February, 1992): 80.



langgar quickly became a prototype for people's moral standards in daily life. Thus, the practice of *ngajhi ka langghâr* as seen in Langgar Al-Ikhlâs and Langgar Al-Manar also contributed greatly to the nursery of Islamic moderation in Madura.

The big share does not necessarily have to be related to the higher powers above it. If a number of researches about the kiai's gait are always related to the power relations that have already been networked among them, most kiai langgar have no access at all to such power liaison. Many kiai langgar decide to remain kiai langgar without special interest in building patronage with kiai who have a higher social position. For example, the late Kiai Sya'rani never wanted to receive any assistance from the government, not even the attention of the village head. Kiai Sya'rani succeeded in sublimating his symbolic capital independently without budging for the patronage that is commonly held by kiai pesantren.

The results of this study have implications on conducting research at micro scale. Photographing the Islamic Madura of macro cases through kiai and large pesantren that Mansurnoor, Saxebøl, Saputro, and Pribadi did, are not just inadequate, but they can also risk for bias, especially when confronted with the question "why are Madurese who are culturally strict can demonstrate moderate Islam?"

Without having to reduce the importance of the role of the kiai and large pesantren in shaping the Islamic style in Madura, examining the strategic roles of kiai kampung is equally important. Kiai kampung have a distinctive and unique character, which, although often overlooked in serious and in-depth research on Madura, remains a key factor in understanding how moderate Islam grows and is deeply rooted there.

Conclusion

The practice of *ngajhi ka langghâr*, however, can never be separated from the important role of the kiai in shaping and maintaining the morality of society which is often truly selfless. The kiai langgar is not satisfied with just teaching, but also setting an example in daily life. Interestingly, although the religiosity of Madurese people is often perceived very strongly, coupled with stereotypes of Madurese character of stiff-necked, but these two conditions apparently failed to be a factor for the formation of religious fundamentalism and radicalism in Madura.

That happens because traditional education which consists of *ngajhi ka langghâr* provided is fully dynamic and inclusive by kiai langgar. The rigidity contained in fiqh is always flexed with



moral material and sufism at the end of learning. In addition, the kiai provides a direct example to the community in addressing differences in Islamic law. And no less important, the kiai must decide that *tao ngajhi* must be sufficient, but it must also be *tao ka battonna langghar* as a stipulation for living peacefully with the community. It is this pattern of education that has contributed to the growing moderation of Islam in Madura in the midst of the hard character of Madurese people.

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