

The Contribution of Local Muslim Scholars to the Development of Indonesia's Education

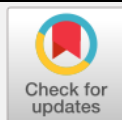
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ABSTRACT

Education is an urgent matter in every culture and civilization. With education, mankind can change themselves and their civilization. The same is true for the process of spreading Islam in Indonesia. Since Islam was first introduced in Indonesia, its spreading has been inseparable from people's daily lives, including the building and shaping of the education sector (Rochmawati et al., 2018; Vickers, 2013; Hasan, 2009). Java Island is one of Indonesia's regions with a wider history of Islamic education (Ricklefs, 2012; Woodward, 2010). In the present manuscript, the author examines the contribution of Muslim scholars in developing Indonesia's modern education. Data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The mediator and social agency method has been used to facilitate the investigation. The author conducted a structural study that reconstructs historical events and occurrences regarding educational development and transformation in the country. The study's findings are based on the question, "What is the contribution of Muslim Scholars in the development of Indonesia's modern education, and how is the education process on Java Island? This question laid the foundation for this study, and it helps to understand the functions of local Muslim scholars in the development of education between the 19th and 20th centuries in the Indonesian archipelago. The findings show that the characteristics of Muslim scholars' movements regarding education on Java Island consist of mainly two stages. Firstly, education is conducted at mosques, which later developed into Islamic schools classified as *madrasahs* and *pesantren* (Azra, 2018). In the second stage, education efforts are converted from its form of Islamic schools into Islamic organizations, leading to the establishment of several educational institutions and public schools, ranging

from kindergarten to higher education (Daulay & Tobroni, 2017; Azra, 2015). Finally, it concludes that Indonesia's education developed in stages, from education at mosques and small community gatherings in residences of Muslim scholars to Islamic schools. Finally, Islamic organizations were formed to develop today's public education system.

Keywords: Education; Historical Educational Development; Local Values; Muslim Education; Muslim Scholars

1. Introduction

Human life is inseparable from education; therefore, man needs the education to sharpen and develop his various potentials (Gardner, 1990; Havighurst, 1953). Furthermore, education is required to build a civilization (Butts, 1967). With its technological advancement, Japan became a developed country because of education. The independence of the Indonesian people also began with education (Okano, 2010). The belief that the Dutch colonial power lacked human ethics politically made Indonesian people realize their position of being colonized, leading to their unity in fighting for an independent government (Steenbrink, 2006; Schmutzer, 1977). This was due to Islamic movements across the archipelago (Asiah et al., 2022; Steenbrink, 2006).

Soekarno, one of the nation's forefathers and an excellent orator, spent his youth getting an education in both formal and informal institutions. His education broadened his perspective and improved his potential to motivate Indonesian people (Ghofar, 2018).

The process of education can be delivered through formal or informal institutions. In Indonesia, education had been delivered to the people way before the colonial government implemented the politic of ethics. However, the kind of education at that time only concerned religious (Islamic) knowledge. The teachers were mostly Muslim scholars. The education process at that time was not institutionalized; some form of informal education was delivered at mosques or houses of Muslim scholars. The education content consisted of general Islamic knowledge, including *Akhlak* (moral/character), *aqidah* (faith/belief), Quran reading and writing, and so on. The objective of the education process was to produce future Muslim scholars. Muslim scholars were an elite group of Muslims that played an important role in determining the movement of Muslim society in their pursuit of development. They were the patrons of Muslims' behavior development. All Muslims should act and behave according to the guidance of Muslim scholars (Mulkhan, 1994). Therefore, traditional education in Indonesia greatly depended on and was influenced by Muslim scholars.

Mansurnoor (1995), in his study concerning Muslim scholars in Madura, depicted the Muslim scholars in small villages as the true local leaders. With their charisma and authoritative bearing, Muslim scholars could overpower other local leaders (Formichi, 2012). As true local leaders, the existence of their leadership has been tested and proven in various historical events. The Muslim scholars, whose numbers were not too big, became the source of confidence and motivation for the people. Muslim scholars were knowledgeable; people came to them to ask about religious and social matters (Lev, 1972). Religious rituals, and any other forms of ritual, could not be performed without their presence. Considering the importance of

Muslim scholars' role in society, it was natural that they influenced education too. Education was their way to generate future Muslim scholars.

Islamic education—instilling Islamic values—had begun since the religion was introduced in South Sulawesi. Under the protection of kings who had converted their kingdoms to Islamic kingdoms, the Muslim scholars and preachers spread and instilled Islamic values in the people. Then, the people who had accepted and integrated Islamic values into their lives spread them to others, as urged by the Hadiths "*ballighu 'anniy walaw ayatan*" (spread Islamic teaching (that you know) that originated from me, even if it's just one verse).

To be able to manage the education and development of people, some Muslim scholars who held a position in the governmental structure had to let go of that post. Part of the reason was that the Muslim scholars found it easier to move autonomously if they were not part of the formal governance structure. This report aims to develop a theory referring to Barrington Moore's Injustice theory, as cited in [Abdullah \(1995\)](#). According to Moore, "There is a time when members of society show their obedience to the authority, but there is also another time when they fight against it." They might go against the authority. Moore explained this using the concept of injustice. He described three groups of injustice: authority, workload, and distribution of goods and services. Any perversion in these three groups indicated an injustice ([Abdullah, 1995, p. 48](#)).

Muslim scholars, as members of society, display what Moore described in his theory; sometimes, they obey the authority, and others oppose it. Why does it happen? Conceptually, this is in line with the concepts of jihad and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* in Islam. Jihad means fighting to uphold the way of Allah, while *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* is a concept of urging people to do good deeds and prevent evil conducts. Whenever something happens in a society, which falls under the category of *munkar* (evil) things, Muslim scholars will fight against it; as the Prophet Muhammad commanded, "Whoever sees evil conduct (*munkar*), they should change it with their hand. Should they be unable (to do so), they must change it with their tongue (words). And should he be unable (to do so), he must change it with his heart (intentions). The latest is the worst of the efforts; the minimum requirement applied only for those of weak faith" (Hadiths).

The traditional Islamic education system was implemented long ago in Nusantara (Indonesia), including South Sulawesi. The education system in South Sulawesi has not changed much since its conception in the early 17th century. The system is called *mangngaji tudang*. In general, the education system of *mangngaji tudang* is divided into two; *mangngaji korang* and *mangngaji kitta*. *Mangngaji korang* is further categorized into three levels: *angngijja*, *ammaca lambusu*, and *assarak baca*.

In its development, many education institutions of *mangngaji kitta* evolved into madrasah (Islamic schools) operating under the classical education system, using a building, classroom, curriculum, and other formal rules. For instance, the institution initiated by Haji As'ad evolved into Madrasah Arabiyah Islamiyah (MAI) Sengkang. In addition to these evolving institutions, some institutions had been founded as madrasahs since the beginning; for example, Madrasah Amiriyah Bone and Madrasah Islahuddin Jongaya-Gowa.

The importance of Muslim scholars in education has been evident in South Sulawesi ([Harvey, 1974](#)). The people of South Sulawesi had acknowledged the importance of Muslim scholars since the 15th century. Their struggle resulted in the conversion of the society into an Islamic kingdom. The changes in the structure of the society and the kingdoms were closely related to the education provided by Muslim scholars. Based on this phenomenon, the researcher intends to investigate the movement of traditional Muslim scholars in education,

with the research problem formulated as follows: how are the characteristics of the traditional Muslim scholars' movement in education?

This study aims to reconstruct the educational pattern that traditional Muslim scholars developed and implemented in shaping their society's culture. Sociologically speaking, based on the religious disciplines that the people believe; Muslims in Indonesia have been classified into two groups, the traditionalist and the modernist, since the 20th century (Noer, 1980). In Sumatra, these groups are termed 'the old' and 'the youth' (Abdullah, 1970). The traditionalists (the older people) are generally identified as Muslims who strongly promote the thinking of previous Muslim thinkers, particularly those who had lived in the classical period of Islam (Dhofier, 1982). Regarding fiqh, most traditionalists believed in the Syafi'i discipline, a discipline of Islam developed by Abdullah Muhammad Ibnu Idris As-Syafi'i (767-820). Meanwhile, modernist Muslims have separated themselves from the old thinking of the previous Muslim thinkers. This group explored and examined the teachings of Islam freely and rationally from the true sources of the religion, i.e., Quran and Hadiths, instead of following the interpretation of old thinkers (Nasution, 1983).

The Muslim scholars investigated in this study are traditionalists, although some of them were still active in the 1940s. It is because the concepts of traditional and modern are not measured based on time but on the Muslim scholars' mindset and framework.

2. Research Methodology

This study is conducted to explain a historical event occurring in a period, focusing on the figures involved or the changes in the social environment. Therefore, it utilizes a structured perspective. In theory, this approach perceives individuals or society based on social positions and roles, their functions, and the thinking and values that regulate their lives (Lloyd, 1993). The results of this study bring to light a string of events that happened in the past, as found by the researcher.

The importance of Muslim scholars in social life at that period put them in relatively high positions and status in the social or kingdom system. The concept of a mediator is implemented to assess the importance of their position in society. According to Hirokoshi (1987), the concept of the mediator is useful for analyzing societal changes. The changes mentioned here are those mobilized or caused by a certain party, in this case, the traditionalist Muslim scholars.

The role of a mediator is held by individuals or groups that connect or mediate a society with a wider system of society. In this study, the role of a mediator is held by the traditionalist Muslim scholars; the society connected to a wider system is the traditionalist Islamic society where they work.

In addition to the idea of a mediator, the study employs Llyod's concept of social agency (Llyod, 1993). There is always social agency in a society, which is defined as a person or autonomous group that exists in and belongs to the society and has some power, authority, and influence to act as an agent that governs and controls the changes in that society.

Data for this study was gathered from both primary and secondary sources. Both will be utilized in the analysis, but their allocation will differ. Primary data is utilized for analysis and discussion intimately connected to and focused on answering the research issue. It is vital to stress that while primary data from written sources are insufficient, primary data from oral sources (interviews) will also be utilized.

Written primary data was obtained from the works of traditionalist Muslim scholars in the form of books, lectures, notes, brochures, etc.; organizational documents, such as organizational statutes and by-laws, board resolutions, minutes of meetings and resolutions, reports; official

correspondence between organizations, legal rulings; other documentation of external origin that pertained to the organization, governmental and sectorial reports or communication, and the mass media. Data was also sourced from Makassar's National Archives, notably on issues related to the social and political situation of the colonial era.

Interviews were also conducted with over 50 respondents, including Islamic scholars, civil servants, and other people who were directly involved with or witnessed the historical events under study. As a result of the study's sociology and anthropology methodology and to supplement the written and spoken source material, participatory observation is carried out through socializing with Muslim academics and visits to various places.

The study also employed secondary data sources from published literature of researchers, academics and practitioners in the field. Worth noting is that both primary and secondary sources have been criticized internally and externally, as is common in the selection process of historical data.

3. Results and Discussion

The development of Islamic organizations in Indonesia is synonymous with the influence of education. From mosque to mosque, Islamic education ended in creating Islamic organizations with highly motivated people who always fought for their aspirations. For instance, Soekarno learned from a teacher, HOS. Tjokroaminoto. Both became important people in the course of Indonesian history.

In South Sulawesi, Islamic education had begun since Islam was first introduced in the area. Dozens and hundreds of people had gone to Mecca to continue their education and enhance their previous knowledge. The education process in South Sulawesi was originally a form of education delivered in mosques or teachers' residences (Muslim scholars). Education became more structured and equipped with adequate educational facilities as time changed. In this section, the researcher describes the stages of changes in education in the 19th century South Sulawesi.

3.1. Stage 1: from Mosque to Madrasah

Out of so many regions in South Sulawesi, Salemo holds a special place in the hearts of the hundreds of traditionalist Muslim scholars of South Sulawesi who once studied there. Between 1910 and 1940, Salemo was the biggest center of traditional Islamic education in South Sulawesi. About 20 traditionalist Muslim scholars, mostly teachers of *mangngaji kitta*, lived in the area. Hundreds of students visited them from the South Sulawesi area and other regions.

The most senior Muslim scholar, Gurutta Abdul Hamid, met when he first came to Salemo Island Gurutta Haji Abdul Rahim, more commonly known as Puang Walli. Abdul Hamid estimated that Puang Walli was 60 years old at that time. He passed away in 1928 at approximately 70 years old. Puang Walli was a Bugis-Makassar native, born in Tanete Barru. At 25 years old, he left his hometown and went to Mecca to perform Hajj rituals and study Islam. After staying and studying there for around 20 years, he returned home. Upon his arrival in Sulawesi, he moved from place to place to spread and teach Islam. One of the places he frequently visited was Salemo Island. It was there that he met a great merchant, Haji Rappung Daeng Nye're.

As the spread of Islam in the early period had been inseparable from economic activities, the development of Islam in the next period was also greatly influenced by the economy. At the end of the 19th century, trading among the islands in the Indonesian archipelago improved. The agricultural commodity of South Sulawesi, such as rice, copra, and coffee beans, were accepted

in a wider market. More money was circulated. On the other hand, imported products received more attention and demand from the local people. In this condition, the people of Salemo Island, fishermen or sea-faring traders, managed to improve their welfare. Since Salemo Island was strategically located, more people visited and stayed there over time. Most of them were traders and merchants. Initiated by Haji Rappung Daeng Nye're, these traders and merchants expanded and improved the Great Mosque of Salemo Island.

After the Great Mosque had been renovated, Daeng Nye're, and his colleagues always invited Muslim scholars from other areas to visit. One of them was Haji Abdul Rahim, a single, young Muslim scholar. Daeng Nye're then took Haji Abdul Rahim as his son-in-law, expecting that the latter could develop and improve Islamic education in the area. The marriage between Gurutta Haji Abdul Rahim and the daughter of Daeng Nye're was held, after which Haji Abdul Rahim stayed in Salemo Island. He was often visited by traditionalist Muslim scholars who wished to study under his guidance. Since each Muslim scholar visiting the island brought their students and disciples, Salemo Island was filled with teachers and students of *mangngaji kitta*.

As *mangngaji kitta* developed in Salemo, the economy also improved. The merchants and traders from South Sulawesi, who felt unsafe staying at their place because they opposed the Dutch colonial government, chose to live on Salemo Island. The support from these people developed *mangngaji kitta* even further.

Despite all the success that had been achieved, the spreading and development of Islam in Salemo could not survive for long. One day, in early 1944, Salemo Island was air-bombed by the Allied Forces. The island was on fire. The Great Mosque of Salemo and other buildings were destroyed in the fire. Not a single house was spared; everything was burnt to the ground.

After the incident, the students and citizens of Salemo left the island. Local people who had stayed in Salemo all their life moved to other surrounding islands. The students of the Great Mosque of Salemo returned to their homeland or went to other places to spread Islam. This was the end of *mangngaji kitta* in Salemo Island.

However, the end of *mangngaji kitta* did not mean the end of Islamic education activities. Some teachers who had moved to other places still continued their work. Meanwhile, many students who had learned in Salemo opened their places, applying the *mangngaji kitta*, in their homeland. For instance, Haji Abubakar Daeng Mappuji, who had learned in Salemo for about ten years, initiated *mangngaji kitta* at Tolok, Jeneponto, in 1947. His students came from various places, including Jeneponto, Gowa, Bantaeng, and Bulukumba. Later, the graduates of this school built Islamic schools (madrasahs) and Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*).

In Bantaeng, Gurutta Haji Abdul Hamid, a traditionalist Muslim scholar who also learned and taught in Salemo; developed his network of *mangngaji kitta* in 1950; located at Banyorang. However, this place was not as developed as the one built by Abubakar in Jeneponto. One reason was that Abdul Hamid could not focus on managing his *mangngaji kitta*; particularly because he frequently traveled.

In Makassar, from 1945 to 1970, some Muslim scholars from Salemo Island initiated *mangngaji kitta*, including Gurutta Haji Muhammad Danial, Haji Bilalu, and Haji Muhammad Nur. The *mangngaji kitta* organized by Haji Muhammad Nur, developed into an Islamic school in 1953, providing Islamic education for the levels of *Ibtidaiyah* (elementary school) to *Aliyah* (junior high school).

In the regions of Maros, Pangkajene Kepulauan, and Barru, the network of *mangngaji kitta* teachers and students originated from Salemo was even more numerous. Until the present day, there are still many Muslim scholars who teach Quran using *mangngaji kitta* system can be found in the three regions.

The next region that could be considered the center of Islamic education in South Sulawesi was Bantangeng. A new phase of Islamic education began in Bantaeng. In 1946, one of the Muslim scholars who felt unsafe to continue living at Arungkeke decided to move to Bantaeng. His name was Haji Mukhsin or Muhasing. In Bantaeng, he continued the effort initiated by Haji Daeng to teach Quran and Islamic knowledge. His financier, Makkatutu, was the son of Haji Labundu, the financier of Haji Daeng, who had passed away in the 1930s.

In Bantaeng, Haji Mukhsin, the head of Rabithul of Muslim scholars for the southern region, often had discussions with a modernist Muslim scholar, S. Majidi. The latter was the head of Mualimin Muhammadiyah Bantaeng. Muhammadiyah organization from East Java sent him in 1938 to handle their branch in Bantaeng. From S. Majidi, Haji Mukhsin learned about modernism. Using this principle, Haji Mukhsin then improved Haji Daeng's *mangngaji kitta* in Islamic schools (madrasah), covering *Ibtidaiyah* (elementary school) and *Tsanawiyah* (junior high school) levels. Students who had satisfied the requirement were accepted at the *Tsanawiyah* level; the rest were taught at the *Ibtidaiyah* level.

Since Haji Mukhsin had a future-oriented vision, his madrasah was called Nahdatul Thawalib. It was a combination of modernist and traditionalist names. The word "*Nahdah*" (*Nahdatul*) was taken from Nahdatul Ulama (a prominent Islamic organization in Indonesia). At the same time, the name of a famous education institution in Padang Panjang, Sumatra. Thawalib, inspired the word "Thawalib". In 1952, the Qadhi of Balanipa was appointed as the head of the Religious Affairs Office for Bantaeng. The work of Gurutta Haji Mukasang was continued by Gurutta Haji Abu Thahir, the Kali of Balanipa who had had experiences in managing Islamic schools in Sinjai before he stayed at Bantaeng.

Mandar is another important region where Muslim scholars developed Islamic education. Initially, Mandar was an autonomous kingdom that made a pact of agreement with the Dutch. This agreement restricted the movement of the Mandar Kingdom. In 1905, the Kingdom of Mandar officially submitted to the Dutch and was under the colonial government's control. In the Dutch Government's division of administrative regions, Mandar was one of the six afdeeling regions in South Sulawesi. Like other Islamic societies in other regions, the people of Mandar did not receive the Dutch government very well. Although they wanted to fight the colonials physically, they did not have sufficient arms and powers. Most Mandar people could only accept their fate and have faith in God's plan.

For common people, accepting their fate and having faith in God was final. However, for those who could think, who had conscience and vision, accepting things as they were, was not a solution. "If we accept everything for granted and have faith in God but not doing anything, how can we move forward?" they said. In Islam, it is said that Allah would not change the fate of society if they did not try to change it themselves.

The Reformist Muslim scholars were the first group to realize the fact that Muslims were undeveloped and needed to be pushed forward. This awareness led to the Majene branch of Muhammadiyah in 1928. Through this organization, the modernist Muslim scholars opened Islamic schools in Majene, Polewali, and Wonomulyo.

The opening of Islamic schools by modernist Muslim scholars motivated traditionalist scholars to do the same. However, considering their knowledge and educational background were very limited, the traditionalist Muslim scholars' efforts to develop Islamic education were indeed traditional. While the modernist Muslim scholars organized Islamic schools (madrasah), the traditionalists managed the education institution of *mangngaji kitta*. Between 1930 and 1942, two famous *mangngaji kitta* organizations in Mandar were located in Majene and Campalagian.

The education delivered in Campalagian was a symbol of Islamic education development. Campalagian produced many new Muslim scholars and kept improving educational institutions. Islamic education that was initially delivered in mosques was institutionalized. Such institutions could gather hundreds of students from various places.

Haji Maddempungan was the first to find an educational institution in Campalagian. He was a Muslim scholar from Bugis, born in Bilokka, Sidenreng Rappang. To implement his knowledge, Haji Abdul Kadir, his uncle, took him to Campalagian to spread Islam. During the process, Haji Maddempungan fell in love with a Campalagian girl, the daughter of Haji Abdul Hamid, Kali of Campalagian. Since his marriage to the girl, he decided to live in Campalagian and teach Islamic knowledge.

In Campalagian, Haji Maddempungan opened a *mangngaji kitta* institution. With support from his father-in-law, Haji Maddempungan managed to rapidly develop his teaching institution. As the *mangngaji kitta* developed, Haji Maddempungan became more and more famous. Nowadays, the *mangngaji kitta* founded by Haji Maddempungan has been turned into Yayasan Perguruan Islam Campalagian (Campalagian Islamic College Foundation).

The Campalagian Islamic College Foundation was one of the foundations that worked to develop Islamic study and Islamic teaching. Initially, it was a non-formal education institution operating under *mangngaji kitta*. The teaching-learning process was conducted at the house of Haji Maddempungan. Only a handful of students learning there in the first years of its development were there. The teaching-learning process was usually performed in *halakah* (circling) system. The teacher sat on one spot, and the student who arrived first sat on his right side. The next student would sit at the right side of the first student, and so on, until the last student sat at the left side of the teacher. In the end, they all would sit in a full circle.

Haji Maddempungan did not put an age restriction in accepting a student. He would accept everyone and put them in groups based on their reading level. The teaching process was delivered two times a day, from five to ten in the morning and around four to six in the afternoon. The length of the education was not limited; a student could leave anytime and stay as long as they wanted without having to pay any fee. Haji Maddempungan taught his students because of his devotion to Allah. He aimed to produce Muslim scholars who could read and write *kitab gundul* (books in Arabic letters, but without any indicators of how to voice the words; hence *kitab gundul* or 'bare books'). The basic knowledge that he focused on was Nahwu and Sharaf. Once a student understood the basics of Nahwu and Sharaf, he would be allowed to read books with greater difficulty (in terms of words and contents).

On the higher level, Haji Maddempungan taught the knowledge of Tauhid, Fiqih, *Tafsir* (Interpretation), *Falak*, and *Tarikh* Islam. From 1930 through 1932, the students of this institution were the local people. They used books inherited from Pua Golomang. In 1934, the learning activities were moved to the Great Mosque to facilitate a larger number of students. The education system was improved when Haji Abdul Hamid, who had been studying in Mecca for four years, returned home and moved to Campalagian. Besides Abdul Hamid, some students who had studied under Haji Maddempungan since the very beginning, such as Muhammadiyah and Abdul Halim, became capable enough to assist their teachers in teaching the new students.

Since then, a new development in Haji Maddempungan's education institution has begun. The students under 15 years old started to get classified based on age and competence. This marked the beginning of the classical education system implementation in the institution. For the first stage, they opened two classes for the *Ibtidaiyah* level; the first grade for those who learned Islam and Quran for the first time and the second for those with some basic knowledge.

With the opening of the madrasah education system, the students in Haji Maddempungan's institution studied under two systems of *mangngaji kita*; one for those above 15 years old and one for those under 15 years old. The number of students kept increasing. The temporary building with two classrooms was no longer adequate to facilitate them. Hence, in 1926, a new building was built on land (approximately 60 x 50 meters in length and wide) provided by Kiai Haji Abdul Hamid.

The golden age of Islamic education institutions was 1938-1954. The education went smoothly and far better than that in the previous years. The teaching and learning activities went steadily, efficiently, and effectively under the teachers who worked in Allah's name without hoping for worldly rewards. These teachers studied *kitab gundul* under Kiyai Haji Maddempungan from 1930-1937.

Years went by, and the madrasah *Diniyah* with the classical education system and the Islamic boarding school with *mangngaji kitta* operated hand-in-hand harmoniously. The number of students kept increasing, and the facilities were improved.

However, no man can avoid his fate. In mid-1954, Kiyai Haji Muhammadiyah was seized and arrested by a group of men under the order of Hasan La Kallu. Kiai Haji Muhammadiyah and his sons were arrested at Pembijagi, Tutallu area. Consequently, the education at Madrasah Diniyah that he led was disturbed, up to a point where it stopped temporarily.

However, this did not dampen the spirit of the pioneers of Islamic educational institutions. They kept improving Islamic boarding schools. Islamic education was no longer delivered at the Great Mosque; instead, it was performed at the houses of Muslim scholars, each of whom taught one specific subject. The subjects they taught include *Nahwu*, *Sharaf*, *Fiqh*, *Tafsir* (interpretation), Hadiths, and other Islamic knowledge. In a sense, the education at Muslim scholars' houses was no different than that performed at the Great Mosque because the institution was the same.

3.2. Stage 2: from Madrasah to Islamic Organization

1928 is the year of changes for Islamic education in South Sulawesi, especially for the education system in Wajo. Gurutta Haji As'ad organized the Muslim scholars who followed the *ahlu sunnah wal jamaah* discipline in the Wajo area to form an organization called '*Jamaah Tabligh*'. However, the Muslim scholars who joined the organization had no organizational experience in the modern sense. To handle this situation, Haji As'ad opened a *mangngaji kitta* institution at his house to educate and develop the Muslim scholars who one day could replace him and continue his legacy. *Mangngaji kitta* that Haji As'ad initiated would later be developed into Madrasah Arabia Islamiyah (MAI) Sengkang.

In 1932, a conference called '*Pertemoean Oelama Celebes Selatan*' (South Sulawesi Muslim Scholars Conference) was held in Watampone, the capital of Selfbestuur Bone. The conference was initiated by the King of Bone, Andi Mappanyokki Sultan Ibrahim and the wali of Bone, Gurutta Haji Abdullah Hamid. 26 Muslim scholars from all regions in South Sulawesi attended the conference. The conference produced ideas for improvement, which led to the development of the traditionalist Muslim scholars' movement in education. The ideas, according to Gurutta Haji Yusuf Muin (interview, 1999), were proposed by Gurutta Haji As'ad, a young Muslim scholar who was the star of the meeting.

The results of "*Pertemoean Oelama Celebes Selatan*" were described in detail by Mattulada as follows:

- 1) Developing Islamic education through Islamic schools (madrasah) and continuing the existing work of Muslim scholars in the traditional system.

- 2) Madrasah should receive the funds for its development from the *zakat* (donation) of the people.
- 3) Madrasah should be free from the influence of any political movement and should not put more emphasis on one discipline than the other.
- 4) Developing madrasah could open branches anywhere, as the area's people requested.
- 5) The Muslim scholars should avoid any debate and conflict among themselves" (Mattulada, 1983).

As a realization of the ideas agreed upon in the conference, Gurutta Haji As'ad immediately changed his *mangngaji kitta* into Madrasah Arabiah Islamiyah (MAI) Sengkang in 1932.

In the next stage of development, beginning from the finding of MAI, the first Islamic organization named Darud Dakwah wal Irsyad (DDI) was developed. This organization was founded because Muslim scholars were worried about the terrors and confusion that the Dutch colonials spread all over Indonesia, including in South Sulawesi. The killing and slaughter of people, mostly Muslims, happened everywhere. South Sulawesi people moved to other safer areas. Some of the Muslim scholars moved to Watang Soppeng because they considered that area to be fairly safe. The gathering of those Muslim scholars was a great opportunity to discuss education. They discussed the matter under the pretense of celebrating Maulid so as not to arouse any suspicion.

The meeting was held on Friday, February 7, 1947 (16 Rab'ul Awal 1366 H), initiated by K.H Daud Ismail (Kadhi Soppeng), Syekh Abd. Rahman Firdaus from Pare-pare, Kyai Haji Ambo Dalle from Mangkoso, and K.H. Muh. Abduh Pabbaja from Allakuang Sidenreng Rappang. In the meeting, it was discussed that it had been necessary to form an organization that worked not only in the field of education (such as MAI). The organization should also serve as a medium to spread Islam and social knowledge. Syekh Abdul Rahman Firdaus suggested developing an organization called Darud Dakwah wal Irsyad (DDI).

DDI, with its headquarter in Mangkoso, grew rapidly. Many regions requested the founders to open branches in their area. Consequently, the Central Office of DDI was a bit overwhelmed by the difficulty of procuring and providing teachers. The General Head of DDI finally issued a policy. It was agreed that the students at the highest level should teach in DDI's madrasah in various regions. They were required to serve as teachers and educators for a certain time before they could continue their studies.

However, a new problem arose. Mangkoso was no longer sufficient to handle all new and highly-varied activities of DDI. As the center (headquarter) of the organization, Mangkoso posed several problems, particularly concerning communication and transportation. Mangkoso was only a small sub-district town, while DDI was expected to be a national-level organization. Thus, Pare-Pare was selected to replace Mangkoso as the organization's center.

Under the leadership of Gurutta Kiyai Haji Muh. Faried Wadjedy, MA Pondok Pesantren DDI Mangkoso improved itself. Gurutta Kiyai Haji Muh. Faried Wadjedy was one of the more daring Muslim scholars in implementing new breakthroughs and innovations. The knowledge he had acquired during his stay at Mangkoso, the knowledge he had obtained in the Middle East, and the experiences from his travel to several European countries were his main capital and primary model to develop the Islamic educational institution.

When he first led the organization in 1985, the most urgent problem he felt was the campus expansion. Thus, he immediately planned an expansion program to build Campus II and Campus III while maintaining the quality of the Islamic school. He opened an I'dadiyah level; it was a one-year preparation class to bridge the knowledge gap of the students before they could

study at Mangkoso institution. This step was daring and risky that it caused debates among the senior management. Gurutta Faried Wadjedy convinced the other management board members that this was necessary to prevent the students from being overwhelmed by the new education system, in which the knowledge is provided in bare Arabic.

Pondok Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) DDI Mangkoso provides education for all levels, from kindergarten to university. To develop the Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) even more, many programs have been formulated, although the realization of those programs faces many challenges. The lack of facilities and funds is one of the problems that must be solved. To raise funds, the boarding school develops business units. The donated lands, in rice fields, small plantations, and fishponds, are managed very well. It also works in other areas, including agribusiness, publishing, cooperatives, and other businesses.

However, all these were not enough. The primary strength and capital of the institution was the way Gurutta Kiyai Haji Muh. Faried Wadjedy builds and maintains good relationships and partnerships with various parties. This allowed the institution to be rooted in a 'grass root community' and supported by 'the top authorities'.

Islamic education in this last stage is comparable to the concept of an Islamic boarding school in Java. A teacher or Muslim scholar who provides *mangngaji kitta* usually lives near a mosque, or sometimes he builds a mosque. The students come to him and, for their education, stay at the teacher's house or other houses donated by people for this purpose. The teacher generally lives from the donation of the surrounding society or the students. The students usually learn day and night so that Islamic living is integrated into their daily life. At one point, the needs of both teachers and students are integrated. At this point, the teacher usually says to the students:

"Ammantangmako Anrini Mappilajara anggaji, apa kujama apa todong nujama, apa kukanre apatodong nukanre, tangngareapa nutangngarea todong" (Come stay with me, and study Islam; you shall do what I do and eat what I eat. Should I have nothing to eat; you shall eat nothing, as well).

From the first stage to the fourth, knowledge transfer was performed in a non-formal, non-classical setting. There were no rules and teaching media. There were only books that the teacher and the students owned.

The Muslim scholars in South Sulawesi held a position of *parewa sarak*, a social status equal to the right hand of a king. The situation changed when the Dutch colonial government made a pact with the Kings of South Sulawesi. This caused many Muslim scholars to let themselves be free from bureaucratic bonds and opened *mangngaji kitta*.

In 1905, the Dutch government issued a regulation. In two years (by the end of 1907), all Kingdoms of South Sulawesi surrendered to the Dutch. All policies of the colonial government applied to the area. The Muslim scholars who did not want to surrender to the power of the government chose to escape to other, more isolated islands. One of the islands was Salemo Island.

In a further development, the traditionalist Islamic education institution became varied. Based on the initiator of the institution, the Islamic education organization was categorized into three kinds. (1) Islamic Education Institution initiated by free Muslim scholars, without any connection to the bureaucratic authority. An example of this kind of institution was *mangngaji kitta*, developed by K.H. As'ad, which later turned into a madrasah. (2) Islamic Education Institution was founded by *parewa sarak* in cooperation with the local kingdom, which was later

institutionalized. Examples of these institutions include the Madrasah Amiriyah Bone and Madrasah Islamiyah Jongjaya. (3) Islamic Education Institutions developed by traditionalist Muslim scholars, with some intervention from the government, such as those in Salemo and Majene.

Unlike the institutions founded by the kingdoms, those that Muslim scholars initiated survived for a long time. Meanwhile, the institutions developed under the influence of the Kingdoms only thrived while the Kingdoms had powers. However, both kinds of institutions generated high-quality Muslim scholars. The graduates of these institutions were appointed to be the staff of the Religious Affairs Office when the department was opened in South Sulawesi.

In Campalagian, Islamic education had developed greatly. The students who had been educated from 1930-1934 were able to help spread Islam and provide information concerning religious matters to the Muslims in the Campalagian area. In 1934, the Islamic institutions improved further. When the number of students increased rapidly due to the arrival of students from other areas, such as Mangkoso, a new system was initiated. The students were classified based on age and abilities in this new system. Those under ten years old were allocated to study under Haji Muhammadiyah, one of the senior students appointed to teach. Since so many students are under ten years old, an emergency building was built. It was only 12 x 15 meters in area, comprised of two rooms, and was built from the donation of the local people. The land where the building stood was donated by Haji Abdul Hamid, located between Muhammadiyah street and Kiai Haji Abdul Hamid street.

Other students older than ten years old were provided simple accommodation in a donation house in front of the Great Mosque of Campalagian, which still exists until the present day.

4. Conclusion

Sociologically speaking, based on the religious disciplines that the people believe in, Muslims in Indonesia are classified into two groups, the traditionalist and the modernist. The categorization is not based on the length of service the Muslim scholars contribute to the people but on the foundation of their discipline. The traditionalists are generally identified as Muslims who strongly promote the thinking of previous Muslim thinkers, particularly those who had lived in the classical period of Islam. Meanwhile, modernist Muslims have separated themselves from the old thinking of the previous Muslim thinkers. This group explored and examined the teachings of Islam freely and rationally from the true sources of the religion, i.e., Quran and Hadiths, instead of following the interpretation of old thinkers. This study focuses on traditional Muslim scholars.

The development of education in South Sulawesi is divided into two distinct periods. The first period is the transition from education in the mosque to the madrasah. The second period is the transition from madrasah (Islamic school) to Islamic organizations.

In the first period, Islamic education was performed in mosques or the teachers' residences (Muslim scholars). The materials they taught were still limited to reading and reciting Al Quran. The students were not classified or grouped into grades and classes. No matter his background and ability, anyone who wanted to learn would study under the tutelage of one teacher/Muslim scholar.

Although it was simple, some education centers were formed. Between 1910 and 1940, the biggest traditional Islamic education center in South Sulawesi was located in Salemo. About 20 traditional Muslim scholars, who were teachers of *mangngaji kitta*, lived in the area. They facilitated hundreds of students from South Sulawesi and other areas. Madrasah Arabiah

Islamiyah (MAI) Sengkang was the first madrasah to be built, with better educational facilities, including a building and more contents such as Fiqh, *Nahwu*, Quran, and Hadiths.

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