PATTERNS OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION MODERATION IN INDONESIAN HISTORY

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Abstract
This article aims to find out and describe the pattern of Islamic education moderation in Indonesian history. Islam in Indonesia is manhaj tawasuṭ (moderate). With manhaj, Islam as a religion followed by the majority of the Indonesian population succeeded in entering into every aspect of life in Indonesia from social, cultural, economic and even political and government bureaucracy. Similarly, Islamic education managed to occupy an important position in education in Indonesia. Even though it is an alternative education, the fact is that Islamic education in Indonesia is a very important part to educate the nation. Moderation of Islamic education in Indonesia began with the first education model in Indonesia, namely pesantren. The pattern of moderation found from pesantren is cultural acculturation which is very obvious, from the knowledge learned to educational methods used, Arabic pegan to fill the language gap. The next phase is accommodation patterns that we can see from madrasa that adapts the classical government system from the colonial side. The next pattern is formalization that can be described through the phenomenon of state madrasas. Then, the latest is mu’adalah policy and formal diniyyah education. From these patterns it can be concluded that Indonesian Islamic education always takes the middle way (wasaṭiyyah) of every challenge that arises due to historical movements. This modernization is a genius manner by paying attention to the rules of muḥafadzah ‘alā qadim al-ḥāliḥ wa al-akhdzu bi jadīd al-aṣlaḥ. With this understanding, Islamic education in Indonesia will always be relevant in every space and time (ṣaliḥli kull zamān wa makān) as aspired by the salāf al-ṣaliḥ.

Keyword: Moderation, Islamic Education

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المختصر
تهدف هذه المقالة إلى اكتشاف نمط الاعتدال في التربية الإسلامية في إندونيسيا ووصفه في المسار التاريخي. كما هو معروف أن الإسلام في إندونيسيا لديه منهج التوسط كأحد خصائصه. مع منهج المعتدل، نجح الإسلام كدين يتبعه غالبية السكان الإندونيسيين وهو يدخل في كل مفاصل حياتهم بدءًا من البيروقراطية الاجتماعية والثقافية والأكاديمية وحتى السياسية والحكومية. وكذلك، نجح التعليم الإسلامي في احتلال مكانة هامة في عالم التعليم في إندونيسيا. على الرغم من أنه تعليم بديل، إلا أن التعليم الإسلامي في إندونيسيا جزء مهم للغاية في الجهود الرامية إلى تثقيف حياة الأمة. أول الاعتدال في التربية الإسلامية في إندونيسيا وهو في المعهد الإسلامي. هذا النمط الاعتدال الموجود في المعهد الإسلامي هو التثقيف الثقافي الواضح عند النظر إلى خصائصه بدءًا من نظام تعليمه، والعلوم المس تفاديه فيه حتى الأساليب التعليمية التي تستخدم منها العربية Pegon كجسر من الفجوة في لغة التدريس. في المرحلة التالية، يمكن العثور في المنهاج الإقليمي على أنظمة التعليم الحكومية الرسمية لمادة الدين ، Madrasah Diniyah. من هذه الأنماط، يمكن أن نستنتج أن التعليم الإسلامي في إندونيسيا يمكن أن يكون نموذجًا ملائمًا للتعليم النظامي. الاعتدال، بدءًا من التجديد بطريقة عبقرية من خلال الاهتمام بقواعد العلم، يمكن أن يكون نموذجًا للتعليم الإسلامي في إندونيسيا دائمة صالح لكل زمان.

مفتاح الكلمات: الاعتدال، التربية الإسلامية

Abstrak
Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui dan mendeskripsikan pola moderasi pendidikan Islam di Indonesia dalam lintasan sejarah. Sebagaimana diketahui bahwa Islam di Indonesia memiliki manhaj tawasut (moderat) sebagai ciri khasnya. Dengan manhaj moderatnya, Islam sebagai agama yang diikuti mayoritas penduduk Indonesia berhasil masuk dalam setiap sendi kehidupan di Indonesia mulai dari sosial, budaya, ekonomi bahkan politik dan birokrasi pemerintahan. Demikian pula pendidikan Islam berhasil menempati posisi penting dalam dunia pendidikan di Indonesia. Sekalipun ia merupakan pendidikan alternatif, faktanya pendidikan Islam di Indonesia menjadi bagian yang sangat penting dalam usaha mencerdaskan kehidupan bangsa. Moderasi pendidikan Islam di Indonesia diawali sejak model pendidikan pertama di Indonesia yaitu pesantren. Pola moderasi yang ditemukan dari pesantren adalah akulturasi budaya yang sangat kentara jika

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mencermati seluk-beluk pesantren mulai dari sistem pendidikannya, ilmu yang dipelajari hingga metode pendidikan yang menggunakan *arab pegan* sebagai jembatan dari kesenjangan bahasa pengantar. Pada fase berikutnya ditemukan pola akomodasi yang bisa kita lihat dari pendidikan madrasah yang mengadaptasi sistem pemerintahan klasikal dari pihak kolonial. Pola selanjutnya adalah formalisasi yang bisa digambarkan melalui fenomena menjamurnya madrasah negeri, sampai yang terbaru, kebijakan *mu’adalah* dan pendidikan diniyyah formal. Dari pola-pola tersebut bisa disimpulkan bahwasanya pendidikan Islam Indonesia selalu mengambil jalan tengah (*wasaṭīyyah*) dari setiap tantangan yang muncul akibat gerak sejarah. Kebaharuan direspon dengan cara yang jenius dengan memperhatikan kaidah *muḥafādzah ʿalā qadīm al-ṣāliḥ wa al-akhdzu bi jadīd al-ṣāliḥ*.

Dengan pemahaman demikian maka pendidikan Islam di Indonesia akan selalu relevan dalam setiap ruang dan waktu (*ṣāliḥ li kull zamān wa makān*) sebagaimana dicita-citakan para *salāf al-ṣāliḥ*.

**Kata Kunci:** Moderasi, Pendidikan Islam

**Introduction**

Islam in Indonesia gets the world’s attention due to the ability to implement Islam as rahmatan li al-‘alamin. Historically, this is because in its spread, the *Wali songos* always pay attention to Indonesian local culture. The stories of the spread of Islam that accommodate local culture have become famous among Indonesian Muslims. Evidence of cultural products from this process is also not difficult to find. The tradition of *selametan, bedug*, mosque architecture, *wayang, dolanan* songs are many examples of the product of the spread of Islam in Indonesia by the *wali songo*.

The brilliance of Indonesian Islam cannot be separated from manhaj wasaṭīyyah (moderate) in Indonesia. The study of the concept of Islamic moderation (wasaṭīyyah) itself has attracted the attention of many scientists in various fields such as socio-politics, language, Islamic development, socio-religious, and Islamic education. This terminology is of the terminology that is often used to refer to Muslim labels such as modernist, progressive, and reformist Islam. As El Fadl acknowledges, this moderate terminology is considered the most appropriate among other terminology. Although moderates are often portrayed as modernist, progressive, and reformist

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1. Miftahuddin, “Islam Moderat Konteks Indonesia dalam Perspektif Historis” dalam *Jurnal Mozaik*, Vol. V, No. 1, 2010, 5.
2. See, Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo* (Bandung: Mizan, 2012).
groups, none of these terms replaces the term moderate. This is based on the legitimacy of the Qur'an and the Prophet's hadith that Muslims are commanded to be moderate. This is where the moderate term finds its roots in the Islamic tradition, let alone this wasatiyyah terminology is the basic identity and character of Islam.

The concept of wasatiyyah in some Islamic literature was interpreted in various ways by experts. Kamali analyzed wasatiyyah as a synonym for the words tawassuṭ, i'tidāl, tawazun daniqtiṣād. The term moderation is closely related to justice, and this means choosing the middle position between the extremities. The opposite of wasatiyyah is taṭarruf, which means "tendency towards marginalization" "extremism," "radicalism," and "excessive". Whereas Qardhawim identifies wasatiyyah into several broader meanings, such as fairness, istiqamah, elected and best, security, strength, and unity. Masdar Hilmy identified several characteristics of the use of the concept of moderation in the context of Indonesian Islam, including: 1) non-violent ideology in spreading Islam; 2) adopting a modern way of life with all its derivatives, including science and technology, democracy, human rights and the like; 3) the use of rational thinking; 4) contextual approach in understanding Islam, and; 5) the use of ijtihad.

Some of the meanings of wasatiyyah above show that this terminology is very dynamic and contextual. This terminology also not only stands in one aspect, but also involves a balance between mind and revelation, material and spirit, rights and obligations, individualism and collectivism, naql and 'aql, ideal and reality, all of which are interwoven in an integrated manner. That is why Hanapi calls wasatiyyah a comprehensive and integrated approach. This concept actually demands Muslims to practice Islam in a balanced and comprehensive manner in all aspects of life by focusing on improving the quality of human life related to the development of knowledge, human development, economic and financial systems, political

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3 Khlaed Abou El-Fadl, *Selamatkan Islam dari Muslim Puritan*, terj. Helmi Mustofa (Jakarta: Serambi, 2005), 27.
4 Haidar Bagir, *Islam Tuhan Islam Manusia: Agama dan Spiritualitas di Zaman Kacau* (Bandung: Mizan, 2017), 130.
5 Ali Muhammad Muḥammad al-Salabi, *al-Wasāṭiyyah fi al-Qurān al-Karīm* (Kairo: Maktabah at-Tabi‘în, 2001), 13-14.
6 Masdar Hilmy, “Whither Indonesia’s Islamic Moderatism? A Re-examination on the Moderate Vision of Muhammadiyah and NU”, dalam *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Vol. 07, Number 01, June (Surabaya: The Institute for the Study of Religion and Society (LSAS) and the Postgraduate Program (PPs), IAIN Sunan Ampel, 2013), 28
systems, education systems, nationality, defense, unity, equality between races, and others.7

This concept of moderation has become the spearhead of Islam so that it can penetrate in every part of life in Indonesia. The culture that is built in the scope of Indonesia in general cannot be separated from the interference of Islam. In economics, for example, sharia-based economic institutions that flourish in Indonesia are evidence of the position of Islam in Indonesia. Islam even occupies an important position in social order in Indonesia. Public positions that govern Islamic life can be found from the smallest level of modin to the ministry level, namely the minister of religion.

This article will then highlight how modest moderation in Islamic education in Indonesia. Islamic education in Indonesia can play an important role in the national education system as we see it today and is believed to be inseparable from the long history of Islamic education. So then the patterns of moderation of Islamic education emerged which were produced in every phase of history. The pattern of moderation in Islamic education is then focused on the period of Islamic penetration into the archipelago, colonialism and modern times to focus on the expansion of this article. At the time of the arrival of Islam to the archipelago, Islamic education in question was a pesantren and then a madrasa in the era of colonialism. Then, in the modern period, it will highlight about the changes of madrasah education system that was originally alienated from public education to become an integral part of the Indonesian education system.

Islamic Boarding School and Penetration in Indonesian Culture

Dealing with Islamic education in Indonesia will not be complete if it does not look at pesantren education. Pesantren in Indonesia is a very distinctive (indigenous) Islamic education system. Although several theories state that genealogies originate from other Islamic regions, pesantren in Indonesia appear as a vital part of Islam by forming social, cultural and religious forces. Islamic boarding schools are also considered active in shaping the building of modern Indonesian Islamic culture and shaping Indonesian identity.8

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7 Sauqi Futaqi, “Konstruksi Moderasi Islam (Wasathiyyah) dalam Pendidikan Islam, dalam 2nd Proceedings Annual Conference for Muslim Schoolars Kopertais Wilayah IV Surabaya 2018, 523.
8 Zamakhysarie Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011), 6. Lihat pula: Taufik
Data about the history of pesantren that first appeared is still confusing. Historians often complain about the lack of written data that can be used as a reference before the 12th century. This is because the tradition of transmitting culture that was formed at that time was not a written tradition but oral. From the search of historical data, Ricklef came to the conclusion that the pesantren education system began in the 12th century by relying on the proof of the lamreh sultanate that had existed since the beginning of the 12th century. While Zamakhsarie Dhofier stated that the Islamic education system had appeared two centuries earlier based on some evidence which shows that Barus has become a cosmopolitan city and also the center of Islamic education in the archipelago.

From the very beginning, the pesantren has shown how strong the identity and dynamics of the nation in the archipelago are in adopting aspects of an outside civilization that are considered good and useful. The word pesantren itself is considered to be taken from the Indian language shastri which means people who know the holy books of Hinduism or a scholar of Hindu scripture. While AH. Johns argued that the pesantren was derived from the word santri which came from the Tamil language which meant the teacher recited. While the hut, which is the equivalent of the pesantren, comes from Arabic funduq which means hotel or dormitory. From this term, it was found that pesantren had genealogy not only from the Islamic tradition (Arabic), but also from other cultural traditions (India). This theory is reinforced by the fact that indeed Indonesians use a large number of pseudo etymologies which express the intersection of the semantic field of a term and physical object.

A similar pattern can also be found in kyai and santri which are the main elements of pesantren besides huts, mosques and their scholarship.

Abdullah, Islam dan Masyarakat: Pantulan Sejarah Indonesia (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1987), 110.
9 MC. Ricklefs, Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2008 (Jakarta: Serambi, 2008), 39.
10 Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren., 30.
11 Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren., 30. Latar Hindu dalam sistem pendidikan pesantren ini juga ditampilkan oleh Karel A. Streenbrink dalam bukunya, Pesantren Madrasah Sekolah. Dalam analisanya, selain alasan terminologi, kesamaan letak pesantren dan pertanahan yang memunculkan desa perdikan dianggapnya sebagai sebuah indikator korelasi pesantren dengan tradisi Hindu India. Lihat: Karel A. Streenbrink, Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Moderen (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 21.
12 Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren., 41.
13 Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif Versus Kebatinan, terj. Hairus Salim (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), 304.
14 Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren., 79.
Santri, as explained earlier, is an absorption of the word sanshtri which comes from the Indian language. But another theory states that the word santri comes from the word cantrik which is a term for a person who studies at an ancient Javanese educational institution namely mandala. In mandala, the learners learn from a teacher called a yes. The term "yes" is then integral to the word kyai who are teachers of the santri in the pesantren. Apart from the theory, the word kyai also comes from the Javanese word used to refer to someone or object that is respected and derived from the word iki ae. The Banjar tradition refers to the kiai as the title of the district head and not the ulama, who transferred it to the Dutch East Indies government.

Even though there is a wide gap between Islam developing in Arabia and Indonesia due to the adoption of culture, the scholarship studied in pesantren cannot be separated from its great tradition. The books commonly taught in pesantren in various fields of religious science (fiqh, Arabic, Ushuluddin, Sufism and Tafsir) are works from the Middle East. Even some scholars of the archipelago needed to go to Arabia to study directly at the main source (the author). The need for scholars to go and study in Arabia was allegedly inseparable from the aspects of sanad connection which became an affirmation of scholarship in the scientific tradition that developed in the Ahlus Sunnah school which was mostly followed in Indonesia.

The use of books from Arabic, which of course speaks Arabic, is certainly a problem in the success of the educational process in pesantren considering that pesantren santri are indigenous archipelago foreign to that language. So to fill the language gap, the archipelago scholars genuinely created "Arabic Pegon". Arabic Pegon is a Javanese text or writing written in the Arabic text (hija'iyah). This Pegon in its use is a local literary tradition of Islamic communities in Java in transmitting Islamic teachings through text. With the Arabic pegon the problem of language isolation from the audience is closer, and thus the learning of Arabic-language books in the pesantren can be ascertained.

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15 Zulkifli, Gelar dalam Islam (Yogyakarta: Pinus, 2009).
16 See, Azyumardi Azra, Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII (Jakarta: Kencana, 2007).
17 About the urgency of sanad in Islamic Tradition in Indonesia, see, Aziz Masyhuri, Ensiklopedi 22 Aliran Tarekat (Surabaya: Imtiyaz, 2014), 30.
18 Karel A. Streenbrink, Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke 19 (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 108.
Madrasa and Modernization of Islam in Indonesia in the Period of Colonialism

Madrasas are recognized as a complete form of the long evolution of the development of Islamic education throughout Islamic history. The development of Islamic education began with the education of the halaqah system as carried out by the Prophet Muhammad at the home of a friend, Arqam, and then the Prophet's Mosque after Hijrah. This phase, according to Ahmad Syalabi, is called the phase of the khuttab mosque because the place of education is focused on the mosque. In this phase, the mosque has a dual function, a place of worship as well as a place of learning (khuttab). In the next phase, when Muslims have been divided into various firqahs, a mosque system emerges where students who come from far away to study are provided with accommodation facilities (khan) to stay overnight.19

The Islamic education system later became an embryo for the establishment of madrassas and their complete and concrete systems pioneered by Nizam al-Mulk. Madrasas as a new educational institution emerged systematically during the Saljuk dynasty. Nevertheless, the emergence of these madrassas does not automatically eliminate other educational institutions, such as khalaqah (mosque) or mosque-khan, because madrasas are basically intended for higher education while khalaqah and Masjid-khan are aimed at more basic education. In the history of Islam, there are several large madrasah that are most prominent in the development of madrassas in this classical period, including the Nizamiyah Madrasa, Baghdad Hanafiyah Madrasa, Baghdad’s al-Mustanshiriyah Madrasa.20

In Indonesian context, the first madrasa was established Madrasah ‘Adabiyah (‘Adabiyah School), established in Padang, West Sumatra in 1909, by Sheikh Abdullah Ahmad.21 However, broadly speaking, indeed the establishment of madrassas began to wriggle in the early 20th century and became one of the aspects in the reformation of Islam itself in Indonesia. This flow of renewal of Islamic Education as explained by Streenbrink, is related to the following factors:22

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19 Abdullah Fadjar, Peradaban dan Pendidikan Islam (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1990), 11-21.
20 Agus Salim, “Madrassas dan Globalisasi: Respon Madrasah Menghadapi Globalisasi”, dalam Jurnal Tajdid, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 2015, 67.
21 Mahmud Yunus, Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia (Jakarta: Pustaka Mahmudiah, 1960), 54.
22 Streenbrink, Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah., 27-28.
1. The Islamic renewal movement that took place in the Islamic world which was pioneered by Muhammad Abduh and the spread of the Wahabism had reached Indonesia.
2. Resistance of Muslims against Dutch authorities.
3. Islamic efforts to strengthen organizations in various fields including education.
4. Dissatisfaction with Muslim people and organizations with traditional education methods that emphasize rote memorization rather than understanding.

Renewal made by Muslims in Indonesia are mostly influenced by one or more of the above factors. Therefore, various terms related to Islamic renewal such as modernism and conservatives have ambiguous meanings and will be avoided in this discussion. This article will then discuss controversial matters as a result of the renewal of Islamic education in Indonesia which includes two things: the establishment of madrassas as a form of resistance to Dutch control and dualism of Religion and General education as a demarcation line of indigenous education and colonial education.

Madrassas as a form of resistance to the colonial government were practiced by Kyai Ahmad Dahlan through a religious organization which he founded namely Muhammadiyyah by establishing madrassas. The establishment of this madrasa was based on Kyai Dahlan’s understanding that colonial education for the indigenous population in HIS (Hollandsch-Inlandsche School) was a form of reciprocal politics. So, to free Indonesia from the debt bondage to the colonial government, Muhammadiyyah took the initiative to establish a governor education model school with Islamic lessons. The addition of religious studies then replaced the Catholic religion lessons in HIS. However, because the imitation was done too quickly, the portion of religious education provided was smaller than that of general education as with the HIS curriculum. As an illustration, religious education is only given a few hours a week in a madrasa founded by Muhammadiyyah.

Different renewal was done in Tebu Ireng Islamic Boarding School, where Kyai Hasyim Asy’ari as its leader applied renewal in Islamic education without eliminating the Islamic education system of pesantren which had been established previously. Unlike Muhammadiyyah which gives more portion to general education, Tebu Ireng provides a greater portion of religious education. General education includes Latin literacy,

23 Streenbrink, Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah., 54.
earth science, history and Malay language only given to elementary students. Then, it was only when the santri mastered this level, they were given education with a difficult written language using religious books.\textsuperscript{24}

Kyai Hasyim is well aware of the need for Muslim cadres to obtain literacy and other administrative sciences. So, he took the initiative to send his nephew, Muhammad Ilyas to study at HIS Surabaya in 1918 as a form of preparation for modernizing the education of Tebu Ireng while still deepening religious knowledge directly to Kyai Hasyim during holidays. After completing his education in HIS and solidifying his religious education in Tebu Ireng, Kyai Ilyas was then asked to become the leader of the Salafiah madrasa. It was during his leadership that Tebu Ireng was given general lessons as an additional lesson.\textsuperscript{25} The effort of Kyai Ilyas in the modernization of Islamic education was then continued by Kyai Wahid Hasyim after returning from studying in Mecca.\textsuperscript{26} From this we can observe that the effort to modernize Islamic education in Tebu Ireng and Muhammadiyyah was carried out by imitating colonial education and at the same time rejecting it because its original purpose was to prepare Muslim cadres to fight the revolution against the colonial government on the negotiating table.

Kyai Hasyim’s initiative to include general education in the Tebu Ireng madrassas in turn gained considerable rejection among the Muslim community. However, thanks to the charisma and perseverance that he had, the adoption of the colonial education system to the madrasa still existed in Tebu Ireng and was even transmitted to other pesantren. However, this did not reduce the negative excesses of society towards the colonial government’s education system. In practice, the system adopted by most madrassas at that time was only a classical system and still ruled out general education compared to religious education.\textsuperscript{27} Religion education is still considered to be far more important to learn than to learn general sciences.\textsuperscript{28} So what happened later was the emergence of the dichotomy of Religion and General Education due to the emergence of madrassas as a counter to Dutch colonial education.

\textsuperscript{24}Dhofier, \textit{Tradisi Pesantren.}, 156.  
\textsuperscript{25}Dhofier, \textit{Tradisi Pesantren.}, 156.  
\textsuperscript{26}Streenbrink, \textit{Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah.}, 71.  
\textsuperscript{27}Salim, “Madrasah dan Globalisasi.,” 72.  
\textsuperscript{28}This can be traced to genealogy by looking at the thoughts of al-Ghazali that formulated educational curriculum that divides sciences into two: general and religious sciences. See, Bukhari Umar, \textit{Ilmu Pendidikan Islam} (Jakarta: Amzah, 2011), 3.
Formalization of Madrasas as Response to Globalization

The contribution of madrasas that are so large that we can see them today cannot be separated from the efforts of the Ministry of Religion. Among the concrete steps of the Ministry of Religion in the assessment of Islamic education in Indonesia at the beginning of independence was carried out by Kyai Wahid Hasyim when he served as Minister of Religion since 1949. Kyai Wahid had only succeeded in establishing the State Religion Teacher Education (PGAN) in almost all residencies in just two years. School of Teachers and Public Religion Judges in Yogyakarta, Bukittinggi, Bandung and Malang, and established the State Islamic Religion College (PTAIN) in Yogyakarta. The Ministry of Religion also intensively fought for the politics of Islamic education in Indonesia until finally religious education was taught in public schools, in addition to developing madrasas themselves.

With support from the government through the Ministry of Religion regulation, madrasas then experienced significant progress. In the decade of the 60s, for example, the total number of madrasas was recorded at 13,849 with a total students of 2,017,590. This development shows that since the beginning, madrasa education has made a significant contribution to the process of intelligence and moral development. The movement of educational struggle at that time could be identified as an effort to formalize madrasa education which was originally part of non-formal education under the auspices of pesantren. The peak of the struggle for formalization of the pesantren was marked by the formulation of a Joint Decree (SKB) of the Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Ministry of Home Affairs which contained information on madrasas and public schools. Then in the Republic of Indonesia Act No. 2 of 1989 concerning Sispenas, madrasa has definitively become an integrated part of the national education system without losing its religious character.

Although the government through the Ministry of Religion has made many changes and formulation of policies to promote Islamic schools, it has not yet succeeded in eliminating the dichotomy of General Religion education inherited from colonialism. The urban community, until the 90s, still had a high interest to enter public schools whose value had better

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29 Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren., 152.
30 Maksun, Madrasah: Sejarah dan Perkembangannya (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999), 123.
31 Ibid., 126.
32 Ramayulis, Sejarah Pendidikan Islam: Perubahan Konsep, Filsafat dan Metodologi dan Era Nabi SAW sampai Ulama Nusantara (Jakarta: Kalam Mulia, 2011), 358.
33 Maksun, Madrasah., 132.
prestige than madrasas. On the other hand, "orthodox" Muslims still maintain madrassas that are reluctant to include general subjects in their curriculum. This type of madrasah is then referred to as the madrasah diniyyah takmiliyyah to distinguish it from madrassas that are already in the country. Similarly, people from the same group still prefer pesantren education which is considered more able to provide noble character education.

The Ministry of Religion as an institution that regulates religious education, is well aware that pesantren and madrasas are the main choice of most Muslims amid the recent moral degradation. To respond to that, the Ministry of Religion then made a strategic step to accommodate the aspirations of Muslims. The Ministry of Religion then released two regulations governing the education equality of pesantren and madrasas with formal education namely PMA number 13 in 2014 and PMA number 18 in 2014. In the Minister of Religion Regulation number 13 of 2014 concerning Islamic Religious Education arranged that madrassas under the auspices of pesantren are structured and tiered on the path of formal education can get formal recognition or in the PMA referred to as formal Early Education. While the Minister of Religion Regulation number 18 of 2014 regulates equality (mu 'is) the pesantren education that develops the peculiarities of pesantren with the Kitab Kuning base with a multilevel and structured muallimin education pattern with primary and secondary education within the Ministry of Religion.

Pattern of Moderation of Islamic Education in Indonesia

From various dynamics in Islamic education in Indonesia, it is known that there are various forms of moderation carried out and adapted. This is in line with the ideals of the predecessors (salāf al-ṣaliḥ) that Islam must always be relevant (ṣaliḥ) in every dimension of space and time (li kull zamān wa makān). So, to realize that, every change that occurs in a moving age always responds creatively to the rules of al-Muḥafazah fi Qadīm al-Ṣalih wa al-Akhḍhu bi Jadīd al-Ṣalih. Islam as a form of national identity does not just accept the renewal. The preceding clerics pointed out to us how the change must pay attention to good traditional so that the reforms made will ensure a better condition than before.

34 PMA no 13 year 2014 about Pendidikan Keagamaan Islam.
35 PMA no 18 year 2014 about Satuan Pendidikan Muadalah pada Pondok Pesantren
In the case of the first Islamic education in Indonesia, namely pesantren, Islam as a jadīd did not necessarily eliminate the original Indonesian culture of qadim. Islamic education then does not necessarily materialize like Islamic education in the Middle East as a place of origin for Islam. Islamic education then continued to maintain the Hindu-style education system and radically changed the sciences studied in it so that the pesantren education system emerged. Similarly, what happens in other aspects of pesantren includes social status and pegon arabic as described earlier. Such a pattern can also be found in almost all Indonesian Islamic traditions, the legacy of Islamic propagators who still maintain the physical aspects of indigenous culture. However, the content that was previously imbued by the traditions of animism, dynamism, Hinduism and Buddhism was completely replaced by rūḥ al-Islam.36

The pattern of moderation found in pesantren is then the pattern of acculturation. Acculturation itself is a cultural dynamic that arises due to foreign cultural contact with indigenous cultures so that new cultural products emerge without eliminating the original culture.37 The Hindu education system remains sustainable in India. Likewise Islamic education remains the same in the east-central place of origin. Pesantren is an education that is typical of Indonesia (indigenous) because it is the result of the genius ijtihad the disseminators of Islamic teachings in the archipelago.

If some people claim that Islamic da’wah is carried out only with an acculturation pattern, it seems that it must be observed how the emergence of madrassas in the colonial era and the development of post-independence madrassas. In those two periods, a completely different pattern was found compared to the period of penetration of Islam in Indonesia. At colonialism, madrasas as a form of more modern Islamic education came together with the modernization of Islam itself. As Streenbrink explained, madrasas merely add Islamic lessons to the general education system and vice versa. Thus, the innovation carried out in madrasas is a form of upgrading Islamic education by paying attention to the needs of the period. In anthropology, such cultural

36 For example, the selametan tradition practiced by almost all Muslim societies was originally a Hindu Buddhist tradition. This tradition is done by chanting mantras which aim to worship ancestral spirits by presenting cone as food for the spirits. With the advent of Islam, this tradition was later replaced by aspects of its contents by replacing its contents with the reading of al-quran, the purpose of praying for families who had died, and cone for charity and human consumption (blessings). The phenomenon of acculturation is thus discussed carefully in various books that describe the Indonesian Islamic tradition, for example: Nur Syam. Islam Pesisir (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005).

37 Koentjaraningrat, Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi (Jakaarta: Rineka Cipta, 2015), 202.
dynamics are called patterns of innovation.\textsuperscript{38} While in the post-independence era, the pattern found in state madrasas, mu‘adalah and formal diniyyah education is nothing but an effort to formalize Islamic education by the government.

From this it can be concluded that the moderation of Islamic education in Indonesia takes a plural form in accordance with the plurality of situations and conditions. The rule of al-Muḥāfaẓah fī Qadīm al-Ṣalih wa al-Akhḍhū bi Jaḍīd al-Ąṣlaḥ as the basis for caring for tradition then must be understood creatively because the concept of qadim and jadid is always dynamic. The so-called qadim and jadid during the penetration of Islam to the archipelago were certainly different from the qadim and jadid during colonialism and post-independence. Furthermore, what we call tradition is not referring to the relics of the past (qadim) alone. Indonesian Islamic tradition is thus the past, present and future.\textsuperscript{39}

This statement then reinforces the understanding that not all reforms in religion are bad. Indonesian Muslims today, as exemplified by their predecessors must be sensitive to change and react creatively with an open minded mind. Quoting Kyai Maemoen Zubair's statement, "Indonesian Islamic education must be prepared to accept changes. Because in every period of time, the world is always changing. It is no longer the time for pesantren to only study the books. Islamic boarding schools must also include general education as an adjustment to the changing times."\textsuperscript{40}

Conclusion

Islamic education in Indonesia has an important position in every phase of the country's history. In the period of the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, pesantren was the basis of Islamic education at that time to plant seeds of peace with local culture by embracing it. Madrasas, in the next

\textsuperscript{38} Innovation is a process of renewal in the use of natural resources, energy, and capital, as well as the arrangement of new labor systems and the use of new technologies. Thus innovation involves cultural reform, which is specific to technological and economic elements. In the case of madrasas, the innovations found were by incorporating a more advanced colonial education system and curriculum into traditional Indonesian Islamic education. See: Ibid., 210.

\textsuperscript{39} In the study of Anthropology, JJ. Honigmann, as quoted by Koentjaraningrat, said that tradition has three faces at once, namely ideas, actifities and artifacts. These three forms represent different time dimensions; ideas are how we look at the future, actifities are related to contemporary problems, while artifacts are a matter of past heritage. See: Ibid., 150.

\textsuperscript{40} Kyai Maemoen Zubair, “Orasi Ilmiah”, presented at Rapat Senat Terbuka: Wisuda II STAI Al-Anwar Sarang, 29 January 2018.
phase, are very outspoken in opposing colonialism by preparing strong Muslim cadres to fight for independence. Then in the midst of globalization that demands all legal, Islamic education both pesantren and madrasa appear as formal education options that remain loyal to the national identity while remaining open in accepting the newness that comes later. However, these changes are always responded to by scholars in a creative way. Creative here does not mean positive by accepting it or negative that rejects it altogether. Creative acceptance is acceptance with conditions; loyalty to the Indonesian Islamic tradition and novelty which leads to better change (muḥafadzah ā alā qadīm al-ḥāliḥ wa al-akhdzu bi jadīd al-ḥālaḥ).

Creative acceptance also presupposes a thorough consideration of the socio-historical aspects. We can see historical considerations in all cases of changes in Islamic education that pay attention to the needs of the times. While sociological considerations can be seen from how modernization of education is carried out by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari and KH. Muhammad Dahlan, even though he has the same spirit but produces a different product. Kyai Dahlan who lived in the city (Yogyakarta) adopts the governor's education system by adding Islamic religion lessons. While Kyai Hasyim, who lived in the village (Jombang), only adds general education in the madrasa at the Tebu Ireng Islamic Boarding School which is still based on learning the Yellow Book.

At present, Indonesian Islamic education is regulated centrally through the Ministry of Religion. So, at the macro level, Islamic education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Religion as a policy maker. The efforts made by the government in managing Islamic education in Indonesia to deal with the movements of the times, according to the author, have been done very well. However, unfortunately the government still issued unwise policies in educational settings such as the PPDB FDS and Zoning problems. For this reason it is recommended for the government to return to the principles that have been exemplified by the Salaf al-ṣāliḥ in upgrading Islamic education in Indonesia. By maintaining these rules, the manhaj tawasūṭ (moderate) which is the mainstream of Islam in Indonesia will remain sustainable and thus Indonesian Islam will remain victorious and increasingly prosperous.
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