Starting from Kerbung and Ending in Pesantren:
The Analysis of the Track Record of the Emergence of Pesantren in Lombok
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ABSTRACT
The people of Lombok have recognized the term of Kerbung prior than Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School). Kerbung was the Islamic boarding school (hereafter pesantren) of Lombok’s Society. However, both Kerbung and Pesantren are Islamic educational institutions rooted in the history and culture of Indonesia. The track record of the emergence of Pesantren in Lombok was associated with the revival of Islam in the late 19th century. It was marked by the growth of recitation centers, as can be found in Pagutan, Kediri, Batubangka Sakra, Praya, Sesela, Sekarbela and Tanjung (East Lombok). Besides, more than 2000 intellectual works of Lombok’s Muslims were also found at that time. Some of these manuscripts were used as references by the tuan guru for their students. This research is field research with a qualitative paradigm. This study found that the track record of the emergence of pesantren in Lombok was an integration of the Islamic educational system in Lombok, Java and the Middle East. However, the emergence of pesantren in Lombok was inseparable from the founding fathers of the pesantren itself.

A. Introduction

Kerbung was an Islamic boarding school (hereafter pesantren) for the Lombok people emerging at the end of the 19th century. It was an institution similar to a pesantren in Java, a surau in West Sumatra and a meunasah in Aceh. The existence of kerbung as an educational institution of the
Sasak society did not last long due to the incessant cultural contacts carried out by the Lombok’s Tuan guru making the cultural contact with the Middle East or haramayin, and the Javanese ulama preaching Islam to Lombok. Both of them spread Islam, and some of the Lombok’s Tuan guru were known as the founding fathers of kerbung or pesantren in Lombok. Their contribution was not only at the local scale but also at the national one as shown by TGH. Umar Kelayu.¹

Bruinessen said that there were no Islamic educational institutions such pesantren in some areas, such as in Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Lombok before the 20th century. The spread of the Islamic sciences was still very informal there.² This statement was argued by the socio-religious reality of Lombok society at that time because the founding fathers of pesantren in Lombok had made the cultural contact with muslims in the Middle East and Java long before the 20th century.³ The founding fathers of pesantren who were commonly known as tuan guru while studying in the Middle East were dominated by Wahhabism supported by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab whose mahzab fiqh became the official mahzab of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and and it was enacted into the state law.⁴ However, it did not affect the Lombok’s Tuan guru, so that when the Lombok’s tuan guru came home and preached Islam, they were well received by the Sasak people.⁵

From then till now, pesantren with its socio-religious attributes has long been the study of social sciences, such as Zamakhysari Dhofier’s work in the role of the kiai as the guardian of islamic ideology⁶ has been used as a basic study cited as a pesantren study in giving meanings to the socio-religious reality emerging as the acculturation with the local socio-cultural situation.⁷ Its emergence in the Sasak community becomes an important and inseparable part.

This article explores in depth the track record of the emergence of pesantren in Lombok whether it has any relevance to the rise of Islam in the 19th century. This study also focuses on the model of cultural contact among muslims in Lombok, Java, and the Middle East. Therefore, pesantren became institutionalized in Lombok. These aims are different from previous research.

¹ Salman Alfarisi, TGH. Umar Kelayu, Lombok Poros Mekah-Nusantara. (Publisher. Lombok Institut, 2016), 228-229.
² Martin Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning Pesantren dan Tarekat, Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia (Jakarta: Mizan, 1999), 23.
³ Jamaluddin. Sejarah Sosial Islam di Lombok Tahun 1740-1998 (Studi Kasus Terhadap Tuan Guru, (Jakarta: Ministry of Religious Affairs, Research and Development Agency and Training and Research and Development for Literature, Religious Treasures, 2011), 298-299.
⁴ Hitti, K.P. History of The Arab, From the Earliest Times to the Present. Translated by. Cecep Lukman Hakim, etc. (Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu, 2010), 948.
⁵ Murdianto. Menelusuri Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren di Lombok. dissertation has not been published, 2020), 6.
⁶ Zamakhysari Dhofier. Phd Thesis: The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Tradisional Ideology of Islam in Java. (Australian National University,1980), http://openresearchrepository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/11271/1/Dhofier_Z_1980.pdf.
⁷ Auliya Ridwan, Kajian Sosial Kepesantrenan dalam Bingkai Varian Teori Praktik: Sebuah Refleksi. Dimuat in Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam (Journal of Islamic Education Studies) ISSN (e)25274511 | Vol. 8 No. 2 (2020) | 153-172 DOI:http://dx.doi.org/10.15642/jpai.2020.8.2.153-172.
B. Research Methods

To fully examine the various interesting issues above, this research uses field research with a qualitative paradigm, and various approaches such as; sociological, philological, historical, and cultural approach.

A sociological approach is used to examine how social relations in the Lombok society affect the track record of the emergence of pesantren in Lombok. The awareness of the Lombok community regarding the functions of pesantren has resulted in the tendency of the Lombok society to maintain pesantren as an Islamic educational institution. On the other hand, the philological approach as a science becomes one of important keys to unlocking the past heritage known as the great tradition that covers the experience of Islam and Islamic society. Whereas, efforts to analyze and understand Islam of the past for the sake of Islam today and also in the future will become characteristics of the historical science. In this context, the history holds a key position in Islamic studies and Muslims. In addition, a cultural approach is used to reveal how the people of Lombok were converted to Islam by Javanese ulama and how the cultural contact was formed between Lombok’s tuan guru and Haramayn, so that pesantren was institutionalized in Lombok. To explore the data as a whole, the author uses in-depth interviews, observations, documentations and focus group discussion (FGD) techniques concurrently.

C. Results and Discussions

1. The Islamic Revival as the Warning towards the Emergence of Pesantren

Before being influenced by the foreign entity, Lombok people, indigenous Sasak people, believed in a traditional belief system which was Boda, and its followers were commonly called as Sasak-Boda. However, many studies confused it with Buddhism although it was unrelated to Buddhism and the followers did not know Siddhartha Gautama Buddha. Boda’s belief focused on elements of animism, pantheism, and anthropomorphism in principle. However, it is undeniable that Hindu Majapahit from East Java also entered Lombok in the 7th to 12th centuries introducing Hindu Buddhism to the Sasak community.

Then, in the 13th century, Islam entered Lombok brought by Javanese mubaligh from the Northwest Lombok following the destruction of the Majapahit Kingdom and the decline of its power in Java. However, an opinion mentioned that Islam spread in the 14th century, two centuries faster

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8 Abuddin Nata, Metodologi Studi Islam. (Jakarta; Rajawali Press: 2016), 68-70.
9 Minhaji, Sejarah Sosial dalam Studi Islam, Teori, Metodologi dan Implementasi. (Sunan Kalijaga Press: 2010), 62.
10 Abuddin Nata, Metodologi Studi, 39.
11 Erni Budiwanti, Islam Sasak: Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2000), 8-9.
12 Fath. Zakaria, Mozaik Budaya Orang Mataram. (Pahutan Mataram; Yayasan Sumusmas Al Hamidy),137.
13 Budiwanti, Islam Sasak, 8-9.
14 Fath. Zakaria, Mozaik Budaya,137.
than other assumption claimed. Since then, Islam became stronger after defeating the *Hindu Majapahit* empire. The Makassar Muslims approached East Lombok in the 16th century and controlled Selaparang, a native Sasak (Hindu) kingdom a few centuries later.  

However, the power of the Makassar Muslims did not last long because they were defeated by the Karangasem Kingdom in the 17th century, so that Karangasem occupied the western and northern areas of Lombok and consolidated its authority over all of Lombok after occupying the Muslim Kingdom of Makassar in Selaparang, East Lombok in 1740. The control of the Balinese Hindu influence had lasted for several centuries until the arrival of Dutch colonialism from 1894 to 1942.  

The Hindu-Balinese Kingdom reigning in Lombok at that moment was quite tolerant to the faith of the Sasak people. Nevertheless, the Sasak nobles and its *tuans guru* rose up against the kingdom although it had not succeeded. It encouraged them to ask the Dutch military for help until they could defeat the Balinese Kingdom and restore their power. Unfortunately, the Dutch colonized Lombok. It entered a new phase of colonialism in Lombok and then the Japanese came and looted Lombok for 3 years from 1942 to 1945.

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| Picture. 1 | The Religions and External Factors Entering Lombok from the 7th to 20th Century |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ![Diagram](chart.png) | **Hindu Majapahit, East Java created Hindu Selaparang Lombok (7th – 12th century AD)** |
| | **Javanese Islam (13th–16th century AD)** |
| | **Islam of Makassar (16th century AD)** |
| | **Hindu of Bali (17th – 19th century AD)** |
| | **Dutch Religious Politics in the late 19th century AD to the middle of the 20th century AD (1894-1942)** |
| | **Expansion of Japan (1942-1945)** |

The revival of Islam in Lombok was marked by the discovery of more than 2000 intellectual works of Lombok Muslims, such as the emergence of various manuscripts by the Lombok society. However, some of the authors’ manuscripts were unknown because it was rare to find the names of

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15 Fawaizul Umam dkk, *Membangun Resistensi, Merawat Tradisi: Modal sosial Komunitas Wetu Telu*, (Mataram, LKIM IAIN Mataram, 2006), 57.
16 Budiwanti, *Islam Sasak*, 9-11.
17 Alfons Van Der Kraan, *Lombok: Conquest, Colonialization and Underdevelopment 1870-1940*, (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Book Books), 6.
18 Fawaizul Umam, etc *Membangun Resistensi*, 57.
19 G.E. Marrison, *Sasaks and Balinese in Lombok During the Period of Balinese Rule, from 1740 to 1894 A.D.* (Ulverston England: Eighth European Colloquiumon Indonesian and Malay Studies, 1991), 29.
20 Budiwanti, *Islam Sasak*, 9-11.
the authors in almost all manuscripts. Furthermore, the two types of manuscripts of the Sasak community were those written in Jejawen scripts and others used Jawi or Arabic-Malay alphabets.\textsuperscript{21}

Manuscripts written in Jejawen alphabets could be in the copy form such as \textit{Jatiswara, Prembon, Alim Sujija, Sahelsah, Dalang Jati, Indrajaya, Puspakrame, and Rengganis}.\textsuperscript{22} Other documents were written from the oral stories, for examples \textit{Doyan Neda, Cupak Gerantang, and Lobangkara}. Meanwhile, some adapted texts were \textit{Tapel Adam, Prophet Yusuf, Prophet Ibrahim, Mi’raj of prophets and Menak stories}. The stories adopted from \textit{Menak} or Javanese stories had various titles, including \textit{Banyurung, Kendit Birayung, Kabar Sundari, Gentur Bumi, Pedang Kemkem}, and so on. On the other hand, some examples of essay manuscripts were \textit{Silsilah Batu Dendeng, Silsilah Rembitan, Babad Selaparang, Pengeling-eling, Mantra}, traditional medicine and so forth.\textsuperscript{23}

The revival of Islam started from the 18\textsuperscript{th} century and became stronger at the end of the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century because some Lombok’s \textit{tuan guru} were very active on preaching Islam such as TGH. Umar Buntimbe, H. Amin Kelayu, TGH. Umar Kelayu, TGH. Muhammad Shaleh Tsalis (TGH. Lopan)\textsuperscript{24} TGH. Amin Sesela, TGH. Mustafa, TGH. Amin Pejeruk, TGH. Abdul Gafur, TGH. Ali Batu, Guru Bangkol, TGH. M. Sidik Karang Kelok, TGH. Abdul Hamid Pagutan, and TGH. M. Rais Sekarbelaa in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century\textsuperscript{25} and TGH. Ahmad Kediri, TGH. Hamid Kediri and TGH. Usman Kediri were founders and successors of pesantren of Selaparang in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. Meanwhile, TGH. M. Shaleh Hambali Bengkel and TGH. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid Pancor, Tuan Guru Mustafa Ibrahim Kediri, TGH. Abdul Karim Kediri, TGH. Afifuddin Pancor, TGH. Ahmad Mali and TGH. Mustajab Pagutan spread Islam in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. They had a major contribution to the development of Islam in addition to being the founding fathers of pesantren.\textsuperscript{26}

The religious life was getting stronger with the growth of quran recitation centers. For instances, TGH. Abdul Hamid led the center in Pagutan West Lombok;\textsuperscript{27} TGH. Ahmad built the pesantren of Selaparang in Kediri;\textsuperscript{28} the center in Batubangka Sakra was under the leadership of Haji Ali; Guru Bangkol led in Praya; H. Amin directed the recitation in Sesela; TGH Mustafa was in charge of leading the central religious study in Sekarbelaa; and it was also conducted in East Tanjung Lombok. In addition, this activity was intended for parents and children to learn about quran, ushul, and fiqh. Parents also studied tasawuf. One of meritorious teachers was Syeikh Abdul Gani from Dompu.\textsuperscript{29} These places had a major contribution to the development of Islam in Lombok and the emergence of the pesantren.

\textsuperscript{21} Ministry of Education and Culture, \textit{Sejarah Nusa Tenggara Barat}, (year: 1988), 20.
\textsuperscript{22} Ministry of Education and Culture, \textit{Sejarah Nusa}, 22.
\textsuperscript{23} Jamaluddin, \textit{Sejarah Islam Lombok abad ke XVI-abad XX}, Yogyakarta: Ruas Media, 2019, 45.
\textsuperscript{24} H. Lalu Muhammad Azhar dan H. Lalu Muhammad Shaleh Tsalis, \textit{Tuan Guru Lopan}, 20.
\textsuperscript{25} Jamaluddin. \textit{Sejarah Sosial}, 298-299.
\textsuperscript{26} Ministry of Education and Culture, \textit{Sejarah Pendidikan Nusa Tenggara Barat.} Jakarta, 1984, 40.
\textsuperscript{27} Fath. Zakaria, \textit{Mozaik Budaya},153.
\textsuperscript{28} Ministry of Education and Culture, \textit{Sejarah Pendidikan}, 41.
\textsuperscript{29} Ministry of Education and Culture, \textit{Sejarah Pendidikan}, 23.
2. The Track Record of the Emergence of Pesantren in Lombok

Lombok people conducted *Ngaji Kerbung*\(^{30}\) to teaching *syahadat*ain, the pillars of faith, the pillars of Islam, and the procedure for purification (*thaharah*) by *ngaji tokol*, reciting the Qur’an while sitting cross-legged in front of the teachers, and highly respected their teachers.\(^{31}\) However, along with the development of science, the system of *kerbung* was transformed into *pesantren*.

The emergence of *kerbung* as the *pesantren* for Lombok people in the early period was different from the *pesantren* in Java and the education in the Middle East. Although its emergence could not be separated from the contribution of the two, they were not the true direction from the tradition of *pesantren* for the Sasak community in Lombok.\(^{32}\) The transformation from *kerbung* to *pesantren* was the impact of the development of science and technology of the Sasak community due to the contact and cultural adaptation by *tuan guru* as well as *ulama* from Java and the Middle East. Regardless of the process, both *kerbung* and *pesantren* succeeded in preaching Islam to various parts of the island. *Pesantren* was an Islamic educational institution led by a *kiai* or *tuan guru* teaching various religious knowledge from the main reference in *pesantren*, *Kitab Kuning*.\(^{33}\) As a part of the Islamic civilization, *pesantren* underwent the transformation and adaptation to the local wisdom because it provided the solution to problems in the society.\(^{34}\)

An opinion of the emergence of *pesantren* tracked by the author was from TGH. Turmudzi Badruddin Bagus\(^{35}\) explaining that *pesantren* in Lombok originated from Java seen from the terms used by *pesantren* in Lombok were the same as those used in Java, such as *Bedabit* (*Sorogan* in Javanese), *saling andang/berandangan* (*wetonan* in Javanese) and also *halaqah*. The *halaqah* system was originally from the Middle East, but it was very familiar and used in *pesantren* in Java and Lombok.

While TGH Mukhliis Ibrahim had a different opinion, he believed that *pesantren* in Lombok were not entirely derived from those in Java although some terms were used by *pesantren* both in Lombok and in Java.\(^{36}\) The emergence of *pesantren* in Lombok was a response to the development of the socio-religious reality at that moment because it was the traditional educational institution that

\(^{30}\) *Kerbung* is a recitation conducted by means of the students coming to the teachers and living in the *tuan guru*’s home environment or living far from the *tuan guru*’s house. The term “*kerbung*”is the characteristics of pesantren at the beginning of its emergence in Lombok and this is what distinguishes pesantren in Lombok from pesantren in Java.

\(^{31}\) Fahrurrozi, *Nahdlatul Wathan, Refleksi Keislaman, Kebangsaan dan Keummatan*. (Mataram; Publisher: CV. Al-Haramain Lombok, 2019), 18.

\(^{32}\) Abdurrahman Mas’ud, *Dari Haramain ke Nusantara, Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*. (Jakarta; Kencana, 2006), 120.

\(^{33}\) Mohd Roslan Nor Maksum Halim, 2017, Revisiting Islamic education: the case of Indonesia, Jurnal for Multicultural Education, Vol 8 Iss pp.- Permanent link to this document: http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/JME-05-20-2107-0019.

\(^{34}\) St. Wardah Hanafie Das, Abdul Halik, Amaluddin, Paradigm of Islamic Education in the future: The Integration of Islamic Boarding School and Favorite Shool, Jurnal for Information Management and Business Review (ISSN 2220-3796), Vol. 8. No. 4, pp. 24-32, August 2017.

\(^{35}\) Interview TGH. LTB, September 23rd 2018

\(^{36}\) Interview, TGH. MI October 30th 2019
was able to adapt to the current development at that time. Historically, *pesantren* was identical not only with the Islamic sense, but also with the meaning of the authenticity and indigenous of Indonesia because such institution existed before Islam, for example the Hindu-Buddhist educational institutions and Islam only continued the existing educational institutions.\(^{37}\) Based on the history of the development of Islam in Lombok in the 16\(^{th}\) century, Islam was brought by Sunan Prapen, a son of Sunan Giri, one of Walisongo. As a result, *pesantren* in Lombok was influenced by *pesantren* in Java.\(^{38}\)

The track record of the emergence of *pesantren* in Lombok was inseparable from the history of the Islamic education itself because both Javanese *ulama* and Lombok’s *tuan guru* were active in teaching Islam that was needed as an effective medium to educate the community. Teaching Islam was conducted by two groups. First, the *esoteric* group was from within the Lombok community itself before the modernization and transportation of the pilgrimage. Second, the Islamic pedagogy was carried out by the *mubaligh* from outside Lombok such as Java, Palembang, Banten, Gresik and Sulawesi after the modernization and transportation of pilgrimage.\(^{39}\)

The emergence of *pesantren* was appropriate for Sasak people because it was an Islamic educational institution based on Islamic principles that had rooted in the society.\(^{40}\) Moreover, *pesantren* offered the educational development that was suitable in accordance with the conditions of individuals and the local community.\(^{41}\) So, the presence of the *pesantren* was easily accepted because it quickly responded to the social reality of the Lombok people at that time who were being colonized by both Karangasem Bali and the Netherlands. Besides teaching Islam, the presence of *pesantren* was also used as a forum to unite the Sasak people to fight colonialism. Also, teaching Islam was conducted by means of *ngaji tokol*, the Qur’an recitation by sitting cross-legged with the *halaqah* system.\(^{42}\)

TGH. Syafii stated that the emergence of *pesantren* in Lombok came from the Middle East (*Saulatiyyah*) because TGH. Zaenuddin Abdul Majid studied in Saulatiyyah. He founded the *pesantren* of “Almujahidin” in Pancor in 1934. In addition, he built the NWDI college on August 17\(^{th}\) 1936 and the temporary NBDI on April 21\(^{st}\) 1943. Then, he was appointed as the amirull hajj in 1947. Afterwards, he founded the NW organization on March 1\(^{st}\) 1953. While working in the *dakwah* and education, TGH. M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid achieved the significant success due to the spread of *madrasah* affiliated with the NW in every village in Lombok as well as in several areas outside the island of Lombok.

Moreover, Ahmad JD argued that the track record of the emergence of *pesantren* could not be separated by the traditions and culture of the Lombok people themselves. The origin started from

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\(^{37}\) Nurkholis Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*. (Jakarta: Paramadina), 3.

\(^{38}\) Solichin Salam, *Lombok Pulau Perawan. Sejarah dan Masa Depannya*, (Jakarta: Kuning Mas, 1992), 4.

\(^{39}\) L. Ariadi, *Haji Sasak: Sebuah Potret Dialektika Haji dan Kebudayaan Lokal*, Ciputat; Impressa Publishing, 2003), 72.

\(^{40}\) St. Wardah Hanafie Das, Abdul Halik, Amaluddin, *Paradigm of Islamic*, 31.

\(^{41}\) Syamsul Huda, Iskandar Tsani, Muhammad Syazali, Rofiqul Umum, and Kittisak Jermsittiparsert, Retracted: The management of Educational system using three law Auguste Comte: A Case of Islamic schools, Jurnal for Manajement Science Letters 10 (2020) 617-624.

\(^{42}\) Interview, TGH. Mjb, November 4\(^{th}\) 2019
the habits of tuan guru in teaching the recitation of the Qur’an, tawhid, reconciliation of problems in the houses of tuan guru, langgar, or mosques. The recitation process took a long time, so the information spread to various areas on the island of Lombok and outside the island of Lombok. As a result, the students came to conduct the kurbung or mondok. The process through ngaji tokol or sitting cross-legged of the halaqah system went on for a long time. Hence, the pesantren formed which was the characteristics of the traditional Lombok education.\(^{43}\)

The Lombok’s tuan guru studying in the Middle East from the 18th to the 20th century had a big contribution to the emergence of pesantren in Lombok.\(^{44}\) Some of them learning in the Middle East in the 18th century were TGH. Umar Buntimbe, TGH. Umar Kelayu,\(^{45}\) TGH. Amin Sesela of the West Lombok, TGH Mustafa, TGH. Abdul Hamid Pagutan,\(^{46}\) TGH. Abdul Gafur, TGH. Sidik Karang Kelok, and TGH. Muhammad Shaleh Lopan.\(^{47}\) Meanwhile, those who acquired knowledge in the Middle East in the 19th century were TGH. Yahya Alkamili, TGH. Muhtar Kediri, TGH. Ahmad Kediri, TGH. Hamid Kediri and TGH. Usman Kediri and in the 20th century such as TGH. M. Rais Sekarbela,\(^{48}\) TGH. L. Abdul Hafidz Kediri, TGH. M. Shaleh Hambali Bengkel, TGH. Mustafa Kediri, TGH. Ibrahim Khalidy Kediri, TGH. Abdul Latif and TGH. Abdul Halim Sesela, TGH. Abdul Karim Kediri, TGH. Mutawali Jerowaru and TGH. M. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid Pancor.\(^{49}\)

Moreover, some of Javanese ulama doing the dakwah and playing a significant role to the emergence of pesantren in Lombok until the 19th century were Titi Sulamin, Titi Kumendur, Raden Mas Pakel, Kiyai Senggel Jepun, Pangeran Sangupati, Kiyai Mas Mirah, and Syeikh Ismail. Syeikh Ismail conducted the dakwah of Islam both in Lombok and Sumbawa. Furthermore, those who were born and raised in Lombok from the Selaparang Kingdom were Guru Rakam and Guru Deriah.\(^{50}\) Besides, after returning from the Middle East, TGH. Yahya Alkamili, the father of TGH. Mutawali Sibawaihi, and TGH. Noah Jerowaru stopped by and studied in Jombang, East Java at the end of the 19th century.\(^{51}\)

In a Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Ust. H. Khaeruddin\(^{52}\) and TGH. Salman Alfarisi\(^{53}\) described that the pesantren in Lombok was adopted from the Javanese pesantren system and the Middle East educational system had also a great impact on the pesantren in Lombok because most Lombok’s tuan guru learned in the Middle East in the early period. Ust. Sabaruddin\(^{54}\) and Ust. Samsahudi\(^{55}\) had the

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\(^{43}\) Interview , Ahd JD, November 6th 2019
\(^{44}\) Jamaluddin, Sejarah Sosial, 298-299.
\(^{45}\) Jamaluddin, Sejarah Islam, 226-228.
\(^{46}\) Fath. Zakaria, Mozaik Budaya, 153.
\(^{47}\) Lalu Muhammad Azhar dan Lalu Muhammad Shaleh Tsalis, Tuan Guru Lopan Waliyullah dengan Kirpah dan Karomahnya, (Lopan Kopang; Yayasan Pondok Pesantren As-Shalehiyah), 18.
\(^{48}\) Iskandar. Mengenal Sekarbelo Lebih Dekat. Yogyakarta: Mahkota, (2011), 130-138.
\(^{49}\) Adi Fadli. Pemikiran Islam Lokal: Studi Pemikiran TGH. M. Soleh Chambali Bengkel al-Ampenani. (Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2010), 45.
\(^{50}\) Ministry of Education and Culture, Sejarah Pendidikan, 25.
\(^{51}\) Focus group discussion, January 22nd 2020
\(^{52}\) Focus group discussion, January 3rd 2020
\(^{53}\) Focus group discussion, January 3rd 2020
\(^{54}\) Focus group discussion, January 3rd 2020
same opinion focusing on the Middle East’s educational system which was different from the pesantren both in Lombok and in Java.

The study above was very relevant to be analyzed using the theory of G. Herbert Mead’s symbolic interactionism in which the essence was the activity that was characteristics of humans, communication and interaction and adaptation, so meaningful exchange of symbols occurred.\textsuperscript{56} According to the theory, the emergence of pesantren was an adaptation of the culture of Lombok, Javanese Islam and Islamic Middle East. The process of cultural adaptation was followed by the absorption of Islamic cultural elements into Lombok people. Consequently, the ulama coming to Lombok and tuan guru studying to Java and the Middle East as well as prospective pilgrims had introduced Islamic cultural elements to the Lombok society. After returning to Lombok, they brought knowledge of Islam, literature, arts, and the Islamic educational system.

The process of cultural adaptation occurred through the adaptation of cultural elements they brought from other regions or countries, and the elements were absorbed and adapted to the local culture resulting in the cultural assimilation. Then, the combination of cultural assimilation and social process was marked by reducing differences between individuals or groups and increasing the unity of actions, attitudes, and mental processes in accordance with common interests and goals. The differences disappeared due to the assimilations of individuals into a group or a community. The previous group bond tended to fade and to merge into one group or society at least for certain purposes. This process was marked by the integration of the common attitude development for the integrated organization or thought and action. Hence, the pesantren was institutionalized in Lombok.

\textbf{Picture 2}
\textit{The Track Record of the Emergence of Pesantren in Lombok}

Based on the theory and field data of scientific studies and academic debates above, the author concludes several points regarding the emergence of pesantren in Lombok. \textbf{First}, pesantren in Lombok is adopted from pesantren in Java due to the same educational system prevailing in both regions. It is not adapted from the Middle East’s educational system. \textbf{Second}, traditions and culture of

\textsuperscript{55} Focus group discussion, January 3\textsuperscript{rd} 2020
\textsuperscript{56} G. Herbert Mead, \textit{Mind, Self and Society}. Editor Charles W. Morris. Chicago, (University of Chicago Press. 1934), 67.
the Sasak people influence pesantren in Lombok seen from the symbols used in the pesantren in Lombok which were only in the Sasak community, such as ngaji tokol, ngamarin and lalo bekerbung. **Third**, the pesantren in Lombok comes from the Middle East because the halaqah system and Kitab Kuning’s recitation were only found in the Middle East, so the pesantren in Java also imitates the Middle East’s educational system. **Fourth**, pesantren in Lombok blend the culture of Lombok, Java and the Middle East. The cultural contact occurred when the Javanese ulama preached to Lombok and the Lombok’s tuan guru studied in Java and even in the Middle East.

3. Founding Fathers Pesantren in Lombok

The peak of the Islamic revival in Lombok was at the end of the 19th century marked by the emergence of pesantren as a medium of da’wah which was effective to spread Islam because the pesantren emerged for the community itself. According to the author, the founding fathers of the pesantren appeared at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century were TGH. Abdul Hamid Pagutan (1827-1934), the founder of the pesantren of Nurul Qur’an Pagutan in 1972, TGH. Ahmad (1864-1928), the founding father of the pesantren of Selaparang Kediri in 1987, and TGH. Zaenuddin Abdul Majid Pancor East Lombok in 1934 the founder of the pesantren of “Almujahidin.” They were the representation of pesantren in Lombok.

1. TGH. Abdul Hamid Pagutan (1827-1934) The Founder of Pesantren of Nurul Qur’an Tahun 1972.

   TGH. Abdul Hamid Pagutan, TGH. Mustafa Sekarbela and TGH. Umar Kelayu were tuan guru known as “Tiga Serangkai.” TGH. Abdul Hamid whose real name was Tembeng Mustajab was brothers with TGH. Abdul Mu’it. Tembeng Mustajab changed his name after going to Mecca. He founded the Pesantren of “Nurul Qur’an,” the first pesantren in Lombok, in 1872. His santri came from various parts of the island of Lombok and Bali Island, Karangasem and Singaraja. Since then, Pagutan was known as the “Mecca Kodéq” or Sesangkok Mecca. It was like Serambi Mekah in Aceh.

   At the end of the 19th century, there was a war among the Pagutan led by TGH Abdul Hamid assisted by Congah Praya, and Sasak Pagutan won the war. The defeat of Bali Pagutan caused them to move to Cakranegara. Then, TGH. Abdul Hamid occupied the village of Présak by moving the old mosque in West Presak to the village of Presak and the mosque was completed in 1892. This mosque was surrounded by kerbung of the santri, so it was called as the mosque of “Pusaka Al Hamidy”

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57 M. M. Eliana Sari, The Role of Management of Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren) in Improvement of Their Student Religius Tolerance in West Java Indonesia, International Journal of Innovation and Applied Studies ISSN 2028-9324 Vol. 19 No. 1 Jan, 2017, pp. 24-32. http://www.ijias.issr-journals.org/
58 Fath. Zakaria, Mozaik Budaya, 153.
59 Fath. Zakaria, Mozaik Budaya, 153.
60 Ministry of Education and Culture, Sejarah Pendidikan, 41.
61 Interview, TGH. Iql Pagutan, January 28th 2020.
62 Fath. Zakaria. Mozaik Budaya, 153.
Pagutan. The mosque both in West Presak and in Presak was the historical evidence of the existence of the *pesantren* of Nurul Qur’an Pagutan and the mosque still exists today.

![Picture 3.](image3.png) ![Picture 4.](image4.png)

The first dome of the mosque of “Pusaka Alhamidy” Pagutan completed in 1892. The monument of the mosque of “Pusaka Alhamidy” Pagutan completed in 1892.

TGH. Abdul Hamid was a very influential religious figure both in the Muslim community and the Hindu society at that time. He had married three times. His first wife was a Hindu named Datok Dadong Yong and had a child, Mulabiyah or Papuk Diok. Meanwhile, his second wife, Papu Su’at, gave birth to TGH. Ahmad Mali and Ust. Musibuddin. Last, he married the daughter of his teacher, Syaikh Jabar Lingga Banten named Siti Zahrah when going to Mecca for the second time and had two children, Siti Manna and Siti Salma. Some TGH. Abdul Hamid Pagutan’s students were TGH. Abdurrahman Datar, TGH. L. Abdul Hafidz Kediri, TGH. Saleh Hambali Bengkel, TGH. Ismail Kuranji, TGH. Ra’is Sekarbela, TGH. Zaenuddin Abdul Majid Pancor, TGH. Ahmad Mali (the son of TGH. Abdul Hamid), H. Yasin Jempong, and Amaq Satrah Karang Bata.

The *dakwah* of TGH. Abdul Hamid focused on strengthening sharia by teaching more *fiqh* and reading the *qur’an*. Although he did not teach *tariqat*, he still conducted Imam Al-Ghazali’s *tasawuf* lessons. However, he did not teach *tasawuf* to his *jama’ah* and *santri* because the Sasak community had lack of Islamic theology and some of them still practiced Islam of *wetu telu*. Whereas, his *dakwah*

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62 Fath. Zakaria, *Mozaik Budaya*, 153.
63 Interview, TGH. Iql, January 28th 2020.
64 Interview, TGH. Amn Karang Bata, January 28th 2020.
65 Interview, Ust. H. HB, Pagutan, January 26th 2020.
concentrated on the completion of the five *wetu* by reinforcing sharia, so Sasak people no longer believed in animism and dynamism.\(^{66}\)

TGH Abdul Hamid developed the *pesantren* not only in Pagutan but also in Jurang Sate, Central Lombok following the completed construction of the dam of “Jurang Sate” by the Dutch government. The *pesantren* located in a self-cleared forest area covered a wide area of five hectares and faced the dam of “Jurang Sate.” TGH Abdul Hamid developed Islamic *syi’ar* and spent his old age until he passed away and was buried in “Jurang Sate” in 1934. His son, TGH Ahmad Mali continued to be a leader of the *pesantren*. However, the *pesantren* was used as a barrack by Japanese soldiers causing the building to be destroyed in 1942. Meanwhile, the tradition of the *pesantren* was continued by his grandson, TGH. Mustadjab who passed away in 1971. Since then, the *pesantren* no longer existed and turned into a regular madrasah with the same name, Nurul Qur’an. Nevertheless, when this research was conducted, the madrasa had existed again as a *pesantren*.\(^{67}\)

2. TGH. Ahmad Kediri (1864-1928) The Founding Father of Pesantren of Selaparang Kediri Lombok Barat Tahun 1897.

One of strong evidences of the emergence of the *pesantren* of Selaparang Kediri in the late 19th century founded by TGH Ahmad was the ancient 500-year-qur’an that was still stored nowadays in the inland of TGH L. Mahsun. It was the instructional media for the *santri* in Selaparang at that moment.\(^{68}\)

![The Handwritten Qur’an](image)

Another evidence proving that the *pesantren* of Selaparang appeared in the late 19th century was the manuscript of the waqf of the rice treats for *muqimin* of the Kediri Mosque including the *santri* living in Kediri donated by the king of Hindu or Dende Kalijaga or Dende Nawang Sasih, the

\(^{66}\) Interview, TGH. Fzn, Pagutan, January 27th 2020.  
\(^{67}\) Fath. Zakaria, *Mozaik Budaya*, 155-156.  
\(^{68}\) Patompo Adnan, *TGH. Abdul Hafid*, 217-218.
wife of Anak Agung Raja Bali Karangasem who colonized at that time. It occurred on Sunday, 14 Rajab 1282 H or December 4th 1865 BC. The waqf land still exists today and is functioned according to the purpose of the waqf or waqif. The lands were rice fields which were 16.273 square meter and the gardens were 10.782 square meter for vegetables.

Besides, Lebe Abdul Hamid, the father of TGH. Ahmad, started his life in the village of Kediri by building a mosque in Karang Elet Sedayu burned by the troops of the Hindu Karangasem Kingdom Bali during the war between Guru Bangkol Praya and the Hindu army approximately in 1894 or 1312. He then built the second mosque in Bawak Sukun in which the santri learned to recite the Qur’an with TGH Ahmad and other teachers. In addition, the third mosque, Jami’ Baiturrahman, was firstly founded by H. L. Sulaiman who was an architect or Mamiq Nafsiah, the village head of Kediri village and TGH L. Abdul Hafidz’s father in 1919 on the highway.69

The pesantren of Selaparang was built by TGH Ahmad bin Malik to prepare the active and creative prospective mubaliq in exploring religious education from its original sources. The teachers taught not only religion but also other Islamic sciences to the santri such as nahuw syaraf using the book of Matnul Ajrumiah and Syarakh Dakhlan as well as public lectures for the community.

The pesantren of Selaparang had three stages of development. First, the pioneering phase started since Lebe Abdul Hamid lived in Kediri. He came from the Islamic Kingdom of Selaparang. When this empire was defeated by the Karangasem Kingdom, he left the Islamic Kingdom of Selaparang and stopped at Parwa known as Sakra now. Then, he continued his journey towards the west with his 40 followers and settled in Kediri. After the era of Lebe Abdul Hamid, the development and the spread of Islam was replaced by his son, Lebe Ahmad or TGH Ahmad using the same method that was teaching tawhid, worship, and morals as well as the mosque that was the center of Islamic

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69 Interview, TGH. L. Mhn and L. AE, December 2nd 2019. Also see Patompo Adnan, TGH. Abdul Hafidz, 224-225.
studies, and the *halaqah* system was applied to learn al-Qur’an performed after *salah al-jama’ah* (congregational prayers).

**Second**, the enhancement phase was associated by TGH. Ahmad from 1897 to 1928 in which the *pesantren* of Selaparang was built when TGH Ahmad had just come back from Mecca in 1896 and it was officially used as the place for the Islamic religious learning in 1897. In this period, the *santri* learned Islamic lessons from their teachers, such as TGH. Ahmad (1864-1928), TGH. Usman (1870-1945), and TGH. Hamid (1881-1941) by setting cross-legged or *halaqah* without paying attention to the level of the *santri*, so the new and old *santri* studied together. The *santri* also took in the first *nahwu* in Lombok, *Matnul Ajrumiah* and *Syarakh Dakhlan*. The method used was that the teachers read the materials in Arabic and then translated words per words as well as explained it in the local language.**70**

The last step was the refinement phase. In this phase, the *pesantren* of Selaparang led by TGH. Abdul Hafidz bin Sulaiman (1898-1983) emphasized on the improvement of teaching methods of classical books, the system and the organization. His leadership started from 1928 to 1983. In addition, TGH. Abdul Hafidz’s primary education was completed in the School of *Gouvernement* in the second grade in Praja, *Onderdeeling Middew* Lombok. He finished his studies at the age of 17 years in 1915. When living in Praja, his teacher was TGH. Najamuddin Prapen Praya, and he also acquired knowledge from other teachers before studying in Mecca such as TGH. Ahmad Asy’ary, TGH. Utsman, TGH. Abdul Hamid, TGH. Mukhtar, TGH. Nuruddin, TGH. Abdurrahim, and TGH. Nuruddin Prapen Praya.**71**

The leadership of TGH. Abdul Hafidz bin Sulaiman started from 1928 to 1983 was focused on improving the system and teaching methods. The teaching system of the *santri* was divided into two groups: the group of the new *santri* learning basic books and the old *santri* group studying advanced versions of books. These two groups could study together, so the new *santri* became acquainted with the books they would learn and the old santri recalled their lessons.**72** In this refinement phase, the formal education was in the *pesantren* of Selaparang.

3. TGH. M. Zaenuddin Abdul Majid Pancor (1908-1997)

The spread of Islamic *dakwah* got used to be conducted by Javanese *ulama* for the first time; however, it was taken over by *tuan guru* studying in the Middle East accompanied by the growth of *pesantren* that attracted the *santri* from various regions both inside and outside of Lombok. Furthermore, TGH. M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid was known as the founding father of the first classical *pesantren* in Lombok and the founder of the biggest Islamic organization in West Nusa Tenggara, *Nahdlatul Wathan* (NW). He also had the *qaromah* and super genius and high intelligence.

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**70** Ministry of Education and Culture, *Sejarah Pendidikan*, 52-53

**71** Patompo Adnan. *TG. Abdul Hafidz*, 233.

**72** Patompo Adnan. *TG. Abdul Hafidz*, 247-248. Patompo Adnan. *TG. Abdul Hafidz*, 247-248.
After learning from *tuan guru* in Lombok, TGH. M. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid then was sent to Mecca al-Mukarrromah by his father and learned religious studies from the *ulama* of Mecca at the age of from 1922 to 1934. In 1928, he continued to study in Madrasah *Ash-Shaulatiyah* in which at that time was led by Syaikh Salim Rahmatullah, the son of Syaikh Rahmatullah, the founder of Madrasah of *Ash-Shaulatiyah*. It was the first *Madrasah* in Mecca producing great *ulama*. Here, TGH. M. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid dug for knowledge of religious science under the guidance of leading *ulama* in the city of Mecca.\(^\text{73}\)

While in Mecca, TGH. M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid had many teachers. Some of them were:

1. **Teachers of Tajwid, Al-Qur’an and Qiraat Sab’ah:**
   
   1) Al-Syaikh Jamal Mirdad, an *Imam* who was buried by Imam Hanafi in *Masjidil Haram*, 2) Al-Syaikh Umar Arba’in, a famous expert on *al-Qur’an* dan *Qasidah*, 3) Al-Syaikh Abdul Latif Qari, a professor of *Qiraat Sab’ah* in *Madrasah of Ashaulatiyah*, and 4) Al-Syaikh Muhammad Uba’id, a leading Professor on *Tajwid and Qiraat* in Mecca.

2. **Fiqh, Tasawuf, Tajwid, Ushul Fiqh and Tafsir:**
   
   1) Al-‘Alamah al-Syaikh Umar Bajunaid al-Syafi’i, 2) Al-‘Alimul al-Alamah al-Syaikh Muhammad Said al-Yamani, 3) Al-‘Alamah al-Syaikh Muhtar Betawi. 4) Al-‘Alamah al-Syaikh Abdul Qadir al-Mandili, a special student from ‘Allamah, 5) Syaikh Ahmad Hamud Minangkabau from West Sumatra, 6) Al-‘Alamah al-Faqih Abdul Hamid Abdur Rabb al-Yamani, 7) Al-‘Mutaffanin Al-‘Allamah al-Syawid Muhsin al-Musawa, a musician and founder of Darul Ulum Mecca Al Mukarramah, and 8) Al-‘Alamah al-Adib al-Syaikh Abdullaah al-Lajahi al-Farisi, a very famous author).

3. **Teachers of Arud Science (Arabic Syi’ar):**
   
   1) Al-‘Alim Al-‘Allamah al-Syaikh abdul Qani al-Qadli, 2) Al-‘Alim Al-‘Allamahal-Adib al-Sayyid Muhammad Amin al-Kutbi.

4. **Teachers of astronomy:**
   
   1) Maulana Syaikh Cianjur from West Java 2) Al-‘Alim Al-‘Allamah al-Falaki Maulana Syaikh Khalifah al-Makki, and 3) Al-‘Alim Al-‘Allamah al-Sayyid Ahmad Dahlan Sadakah al-Syafi’i.

5. **Teachers of Hadith, Mustalahul Hadith, Mustahul Tafsir, Fara’id, Sirah (Tarikh) dan various knowledge of alat (Nahwu Syaraf):**

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\(^{73}\) Mastuki and M. Ishom El-Saha, *Intelektualisme Pesantren, Potret Tokoh dan Cakrawala Pemikiran di Era Keemasan Pesantren,* (Jakarta, Diva Pustaka, 2004), 154.
1) Al-‘Allamah al-Qabir Sibawaihi Zamanahi al-Syaikh al-Maliki, 2) Al-‘Allamah al-]alil ASyaikh Iamal al-Maliki, 3) Al-‘Allim al-‘Allamah al-Kabir al-Muhaddist Maulana Syaiikh Umar Hamdan al-Mihrazl al-Syafi’i, 4) Al ‘Allimul ‘Allamah al-Kabir al-Muhadist Maulana Syaiikh Abdullaah al-Buhari al-Syafii (Mufzi Istanbul), 5) Maulanna Wamurabbi Abil Barakah al-‘Allim al-‘Allamali al-Ushull al-Muhaddist al-Shufi al-‘Arifubillah Maulana Syaiikh Hasan Muhammad al-Mahsyat al-Maliki, 6) Al-‘Allim al-‘Allamali al-Shorfi Maulana Syaiikh Mufrar Makdum al-Hanafi, 7) Al-‘Allim al-‘Allamali Maulana Syaiikh al-Sayyid Muhsin al-Musawa, 8) Al-‘Allim al-‘Allamali al-Adeb al-Shufi Maulana Shaihk al-Sayyid Muhammnad Amin al Kutbi al-Hanafi, 9) Al-‘Allim al-‘Allamah al-Syaikh Umar al-Faruk al-Maliki, 10) Al-‘Allim al-‘Allamah al-Kabier al-Syaikh Abdul Qadir al-Syalabi al-Hanafi.

6. Teachers of Arwad (Ahzab):

1) Al-‘Allim al-‘Allamah (Kyai Falaj) from Bogor, East Java, and 2) Maulana Syaiikh Malla Musa al-Maqribi.

7. Teachers of Khat of Islamic Calligraphy:

1) Al-Khattah al-Syaikh Abdul Aziz Langkat, 2) Al-Khattah al-Syaikh Dau al-Rumani al-Fhatani, 3) Al-Khattah al-Syaikh Muhammnad Ra’is al-Maliki.74

After studying in Mecca and coming back to Indonesia, TGH M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid realized his dream to continue the dakwah of his parents as community and religious leaders enforcing religious education. His first step was building a mosque, Almujahiddin, in 1934. In this mosque, the santri started studying and conducting dakwah by the youth gathering in the halaqah or taklim assembly (majelis taklim). This was the pesantren established by TGH.M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid as the frontrunner of the Indonesian religious education for centuries.75

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74 Mastuki dan M. Ishom El-Saha. *Intelektualisme Pesantren*, 156-157.
75 Mastuki and M. Ishom El-Saha. *Intelektualisme Pesantren*, 155.
When Lombok people’s interest in learning religion was getting higher, the *halaqah* learning model was replaced by the Madrasah *Nahdatun Wathan Diniah Islamiyah* (NWDI) classical educational model which was officially established on 15 *Jumadil Akhir* 1356 H or 1936 M. At the beginning of its emergence, NWDI was equivalent to the basic education whose curriculum and methods were designed by themselves, and it then grew rapidly. In addition, TGH M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid built the *Nahdatun Banât* (NBDI) on April 21st 1943 and he was appointed to be ‘*amirul Hajj*. *Nahdatun Wathan* (NW) was founded on March 1st 1953. TGH M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid succeeded in *dakwah* and education that can be seen from many *madrasah* found in every village in Lombok affiliated with *Nahdatun Wathan* (NW). There were many educational institutions founded by TGH M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid from *Raudatul Atfal* (RA) to college, as well.

TGH M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid was known as a prolific author due to his persistence. His manuscripts were in Arabic, Arabic-Malay, and Sasak Language. Some of Arabic work were *Rasâlatut Tauhid* in the Question-Answer form (monotheism), *Sullamul Hija Syarah Safînataun Naja* (fiqh), *Nahdatul Zainiyah* in the form of *Nahdam* (fara’id), *At-Tuhfatul Ampenaniyah* in the Question-Answer form (fara’id), *Mi’fajus Shibyam ilasama’illmil Bayin* (balaghah), *An-Nafahat ‘alat Taqriatis Sanîyah* (hadith of muth talaaah),*Naifatul Anfal* (tajwid), *Hizbu Nahdatul Wathan* (wirid prayer), *Hizbu Nahdatul Banat* (wirid prayer), *Sholawat Nahdatul Wathan* (iftitah and khotimah sholawat), *Thoriqot Hizib Nahdatul Wathan* (daily wirid), an overview of *Hizib Nahdatul Wathan* (daily wirid), *Sholawat Miftahi Babî Rahmatillah* (wirid and prayer), and *Sholawat Mab’utsi Rahmatan Lil’alamin* (wirid and prayer).

In addition, some of his work written in Arabic and Malay as well as Sasak Language were *Batu Ngompal* (tajwid), *Anak Nunggal Taqrîrat Batu Ngompal* (tajwid), *Wasiat Renungan Masa I* (advice and battle guidance for NW residences), and *Wasiat Renungan Masa Pengalaman Bari II* (advice and battle guidance for NW residences). Meanwhile, some *nasyid* or national anthems and *dakwah* in Arabic, Bahasa and Sasak Language were *Ta’sis NWDI* (antiya Pancor Biladi), *Imamunasy Syafii*, *Ya Fata Sasak*, *Ahlan Bi Waf’dizzarinin*, *Tanawwar*, *Mars Nahdatul Wathân*, Bersatu la Haluan, *Nahdlataîn*, and *Pacu Gama.*

These manuscripts have been used as references for santri until now. So, many people said that TGH.M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid had super genius intelligence. He passed away on October 21st 1997 or *Jumadil Akhir* 1418 H at approximately 100 years old in BC or 103 years old in the Islamic calendar.

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76 Jamiluddin. *Biografi Tokoh Tuan Guru Kyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Majid* (HAMZANWADI. (Jakarta; Ministry of Education and Culture, 2005), 43-45.
D. Conclusion

Observing various findings in the field, the author concludes that the track record of the emergence of *pesantren* in Lombok is linked to the Islamic revival in the 19th century, as evidenced by the strengthening and growth of Qur’an recitation centers in Lombok. It is the impact of the cultural contact by *founding fathers* of the *pesantren* and Javanese *ulama* as well as education in the Middle East. Moreover, the author identifies four things related to the track record of the emergence of *pesantren* in Lombok. First, the *pesantren*’s educational system in Lombok is adopted from the educational system in Java. Second, *pesantren* in Lombok grow from the traditions and culture of the Sasak people. Third, *pesantren* in Lombok come from the Middle East. Fourth, *pesantren* in Lombok originates from a cultural blend of Islam in Lombok, Java and the Middle East.

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