



The Kiai's Cultural Strategy in Shaping the Religious Culture of the Community of Temboro Magetan Village, East Java

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Abstract

Religious culture in the village of Temboro, which made it is known as "Kampung Madinah", certainly did not happen suddenly, but there was a process of formation and role of Kiai and Pesantren Al-Fatah. This study aims to analyze the Kiai's cultural strategy in developing a religious culture using a phenomenological approach and collects data through in-depth interviews, active participant observation, and documentation. The study results show that, firstly, ideological culture is the strategy of the Kiai in shaping the religious culture of the Temboro community. Secondly, the ideological culture of the Tablighi Jamaat has an impact on changing the five religious cultures of the Temboro community, namely: (1) ideological faith, (2) normative Islam, (3) Sufistic religious experience, (4) moderate-textual religious knowledge, (5) Maqami-intiqali practice.

Keywords: Cultural Strategy, Kiai, Religious Culture, Tablighi Jamaat, Temboro

A. Introduction

Historically, the transformation of Temboro into a religious tourism village began with the establishment of the Pesantren al-Fatah in the 20th century by Kiai Siddiq (1890-1950) (Suparta, 2009). In 1984, the leadership relay was replaced by his son named KH Mahmud. There was a change in the orientation of pesantren education from *Salafiyah* NU system to the *Salafiyah* Tablighi Jamaat (Suparta, 2009). Tablighi Jamaat was founded by Muhammad Ilyas al-Kandhlawi (1885-1994), a Deoband alumnus in 1927 Mewat south Delhi India (Ali & Amin, 2020). After this, the Pesantren al-Fatah became center of the largest Tablighi Jamaat movement in East Java, based on pesantren (Arifin, 2017). Moreover, Tablighi Jamaat is the largest transnational Islamic movement in the world (Mamun, 2019).

The naming of Temboro Village with "Kampung Medina" is an effort to build a village (village) order that tries to imitate the Medina order at the time of the Prophet Muhammad (Arifin, 2017; Awabien, 2020) whose daily activities are centered on the mosque. It is known that after moving to Medina (hijrah), there were three activities carried out by the Prophet, namely building mosques, taking time for mosques, and making mosque practices (Anonim, n.d.).

The religious activities of the Temboro people are influenced by the ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat, which is taught by the kiai of the Pesantren al-Fatah, who is also the *Amir* (leader) of this movement (Arifin et al., 2021). The center of religious activities is in the Trangkil Mosque belonging to pesantren. Every Friday night, the kiai holds a recitation (*ijtima'*) which students, the Temboro community attend, and followers of the Tablighi Jamaat, both from within the country and abroad (Machmudi & Ardhani, 2020). The concept of *Ijtima'* is to gather as many new members as possible and invite them along with the old members to perform *khuruj* (Ahmad, 2011).

The study of Tablighi Jamaat in Temboro, generally discusses ideological aspects and religious movements (Agha, 2015; Ali & Amin, 2020; Aziz, 2004; Bustamam-Ahmad, 2008; Ma'mun, Huda et al., 2020), also related to *amaliyah* that characterizes Tablighi Jamaat such as *khuruj* and *Masturah* (Arifin et al., 2021; Machmudi & Ardhani, 2020; Manshur, 2010). Several studies also examine the authority and leadership of *Kiai* and *Nyai* from the perspective of the Tablighi Jamaat (Arifin, 2017; Arifin & Rohmah, 2019; Machmudi & Ardhani, 2020; Nadlifah et al., 2020). Meanwhile, the influence of Tablighi jamaat ideology and the authority and leadership of the Kiai on changes in community culture has not been depth studied.

This study wants to analyze how the kiai's cultural strategy shapes the religious culture of the people of Temboro village located in Magetan Regency, East Java. The change in the religious culture of the Temboro community occurred after the al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School followed the ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat. This congregation came to Temboro around 1984 when groups from Pakistan and India came to al-Fatah boarding school (Suparta, 2009). There was a change in people's understanding of the importance of studying religion and forming an atmosphere of religious learning (Ghani, 2016). As researched by Benny Baskara in the Bajo community that the Tablighi Jamaat

movement has changed the religious behavior of the people who are more orthodox (puritan) and fatalism (Baskara, 2020).

B. Literature Review

This study uses two theories: cultural strategies and religious (religious) dimensions—first, the cultural strategy. Peursen divides the three stages of human culture, namely: mythical, ontological, and functional (Peursen, 1988). Meanwhile, according to Kuntowijoyo, there are three human knowledge systems: myth, ideology, and science (Kuntowijoyo, 2001, 2006). Usman developed van Peursen & Kuntowijoyo's theory into four types of awareness in Muslim society: *jahiliyyah*, *diniyyah*, *'ilmiyyah*, and *hanifiyyah* (Usman, 2013).

This study uses the theory of culture in Islamic thought presented by Al-Jabiri, namely: *Bayani*, *Burhani*, and *Irfani*. Walid Harmaneh, in his introduction, said that in 1980, al-Jabiri published several articles that had been presented at various conferences on Islamic philosophers. Al-Jabiri's works are *Nah}nu wa al-Turas}*, two years later, he published a book on contemporary Arabic thought, *al-Khit}ab al-'Arabi al-Mu'as}ir: Dirasah Tahliliyyah Naqdi}yyah* (Contemporary Arabic Discourse: Critical and Analytical Studies). This book was followed by three volumes of al-Jabiri's magnum opus entitled: *Naqd al-'Aql al-'Arabi* (Criticism of Arabic Reason) published in 1984, 1986, and 1990. Three volumes of *Naqd al-'Aql al-'Arabi* are: (1) *Takwin al-'Aql al-'Arabi*, (2) *Bunyah al-'Aql al-'Arabi*, and (3) *'Aql as-Siyasi al-'Arabi* (Mohammed 'Abed al-Jabiri, 1999).

In his two books, *Takwin al-'Aql al-'Arabi* and *Bunyah al-'Aql al-'Arabi*, al-Jabiri explains a lot about the three Arab cultures in understanding Islam, namely *bayani*, *'irfa ni*, and *burhani*. *Bayani* culture is a system of thought that uses the Qur'an, hadith, *ijma'* and *qiyas* as a primary source of understanding (Widodo, 2007). For example, the opinion of Imam Syafi'i quoted by al-Jabiri, "Someone It is not permissible to say something is lawful or unlawful unless it uses knowledge based on the Qur'an, Hadith, *ijma'* and *qiyas*." (Muhammad 'Abed al-Jabiri, 2009). *Burhani* in Arabic means *al-hujjah al-fas}ilah al-bayyinah* (Muhammad 'Abed al-Jabiri, 1990), which emphasizes *'aqliyyah* or empirical rational reasoning through experimental tests (Muhadjir, 2014). While the culture of *'Irfani* in Arabic is the *masdar* of *'arafa*. In *lisan 'Arabic*, *al-'irfan* means knowledge. The term *al-'irfan*, according to Sufism experts, indicates the meaning of *ma'rifah*, which means *kasyaf* or inspiration (Muhammad 'Abed al-Jabiri, 1990). This *irfan* tradition is rooted in the deepest, authentic, *fitri*, *h}anafiyah samh}ah* experience and is almost unspeakable by logic and is not revealed by language, which is referred to as (*al-'ilm al-h}ud}u ry*) (Abdullah, 2010).

Second, the religious dimension in this study uses Stark and Glock, which consists of five aspects, namely belief (ideological), practice (ritualistic), experience (experiential), knowledge (intellectual), and practice (Consequential) (Reitsma et al., 2006; Saroglou, 2011). According to the Islamic perspective, these five dimensions are understood and can be equated with *aqidah*, *sharia*, and *morals* (Ancok & Suroso, 2011). Subandi further understands the five dimensions of Stark and Glock in an Islamic perspective as follows:

Table.1: Comparison of the Religious Dimensions of Stark and Glock and Islam (Subandi, 2013)

No	Dimensi Stark and Glock	Islam
1	Religious belief (ideological)	Pillars of Faith (<i>Rukun al-Iman</i>)
2	Religious practice (ritual)	Pillars of Islam (<i>Rukun al-Islam</i>)
3	Religious feeling (experiential)	Sufism (<i>Ihsan</i>).
4	Religious knowledge (intellectual)	Knowledge of <i>fiqh</i> , <i>Tauhid</i> , and Sufism
5	Religious effect (consequential)	Deed (<i>Amal</i>)

C. Research Methodology

This research was conducted qualitatively with a religious phenomenology approach to understand and give a deeper meaning to a phenomenon or religious expressions (Dhavamony, 2010) as well as subjective religious facts, such as thoughts, feelings, ideas, emotions, intentions, and experiences of someone who expressed in words and deeds (Assegaf, 2007). The data collection technique was through documentation, in-depth interviews, and participant observation by participating in several religious activities at the al-Fatah Islamic Boarding Schools and *Khuruj* to participate in preaching in the community.

This research was conducted in 2014-2015 by conducting in-depth interviews with the Kiai of the al-Fatah Islamic boarding school, students, the Temboro community, and the Tablighi Jamaat activists from various regions who participated in *Ijtima'* at the Trangkil mosque. Triangulation was done to check data from various respondents' sources and techniques (Sugiyono, 2010). For example, the results of interviews with Kiai were cross-checked with observations or interviews with students or the community.

D. Findings and Discussion

1. Ideology as Kiai's Cultural Strategy

A significant change that became a milestone in the formation of the religious culture of the Temboro community was the change in the ideology of the pesantren from a pesantren based on the ideology of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) to become the Tablighi Jamaat. The Kiai's decision to change the ideological basis of the Temboro pesantren is undoubtedly based on the ideology adopted by the Kiai, which is then applied to the education system at the Pesantren al-Fatah Temboro.

The success of ideological change in the Pesantren al-Fatah cannot be separated from the figure and authority of the Kiai. Kiai is the central figure of change in pesantren who has power and authority (Dhofier, 2011) which comes from a combination of pesantren education traditions and charisma (Rohmaniyah & Woodward, 2012; Sukamto, 1999). The charisma of the Kiai can be obtained both given because it has genealogical ties and the process of engineering through spiritual mastery accompanied by morality, pious personality, and helping the community (Rozaki, 2004).

Charismatic authority comes from the influence (emotional) of one's personality (Weber, 1968), characterized by obedience, not to rules or traditions (Turner, 1974). This charisma is related to the spiritual quality of the leader (Nadlifah et al., 2020), which encourages individual belief and trust (Karim, 2009). The charismatic leadership of the Kiai encourages people to obey and not oppose it because it can hinder blessings and cause *kualat* (Budiwiranto, 2009).

Ideology as a cultural strategy is interpreted as the Kiai's effort in influencing the Temboro community with an ideological approach or in Usman's language as *diniyyah*, namely awareness that emphasizes the spirit and quality of high and correct diversity (Usman, 2013). One of the hallmarks of Kiai leadership is having an ideological network (Muttaqin, 2020), and the dominant ideology developed by the Pesantren al-Fatah is the Tablighi Jamaat.

The authority and charisma of the Kiai in the Pesantren al-Fatah are evident in changing the ideological basis of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) to the Tablighi Jamaat. Change is also Kiai's strategy to shape the religious culture of the Temboro community. This cultural transmission process occurs from the boarding school's classroom through the educational process; there is a transformation of the pesantren culture. This religious culture intersects with the surrounding community so that this pesantren's religious culture is also transferred to the community around the Pesantren al-Fatah.

2. The Impact of the Ideological Culture of the Tablighi Jamaat on Changes in the Religious Culture of the Temboro Society

The ideological culture of the Tablighi Jamaat that developed at the Pesantren al-Fatah had an impact on changing the religious culture for the Temboro community, namely: (1) ideological faith, (2) Normative Islam, (3) Sufistic religious experience, (4) moderate-textual religious knowledge, and (5) the practice of *Maqami-Intiqali*.

a. Culture of Ideological Faith

The Tablighi Jamaat is a faith movement (Ma'mun et al., 2020). As stated by Maulana Ilyas, the initiator of the Tablighi Jamaat that "This movement is a movement solely to renew and perfect faith." (A. A. As-Sirbuny, 2010). The purpose of this ideological faith is faith that is based on the ideological doctrines of the Tablighi Jamaat through bayan (religious lectures) delivered in mosques as well as during *khuruj fi sabilillah* activities (observation, February 5, 2015). The sources of the books that are used as references are *H}ayah al-Sah}abah* (The Life of the Companions) by Maulana Muhammad Yusuf al-Kandahlawi, *Fadhail al-Sahabah* (The virtue of the Companions), and the Book of *Fadhail al-A 'mal* (Book of the Virtue of Charity) by Maulana Muhammad Zakaria al-Kandahlawi, and so on.

Ideological faith is always fostered through *khuruj fi sabilillah* activities. This activity is a form of practicing faith and an exercise in teaching faith to the community or learning by doing. The cultivation of ideological faith is influenced by the ideological doctrines of the Tablighi Jamaat. For example, it can be seen from KH Umar Fatahillah's lecture that "...

Allah's commands do not have to be digested by reason, but must be obeyed. Religion is not reason but obeyed, if obeyed, then Allah will provide sustenance unexpectedly..." (Observation, March 3, 2015)

b. Culture of Normative Islam

Religious practice is related to ritual. In Islam, this dimension is included in the pillars of Islam that every Muslim must carry out. The cultural practice of the Temboro people's religion tends to be textual-normative, evidenced by how to understand religion and dress. For example, male residents usually wear a robe, turban, *cingkrang* pants, and maintain a long beard, while women wear a veil (*purdah*) and dark robes (black or brown). When entering the village of Temboro, many billboards invite Muslims to dress, behave Islamically, maintain cleanliness, and write calligraphy on every street corner and house (Observation 2014-2015)

This normative-textual Islamic practice culture in the Temboro community is influenced by the ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat, which tends to understand Islam literally (Aziz, 2004). However, the birth of the Pesantren al-Fatah is based on the NU ideology, which until now still teaches the classical books of the *Shafi'i* school of thought. In contrast, the origin of the Tablighi Jamaat is the *Hanafi* school because Maulana Ilyas, the founder of the Tablighi Jamaat, is an alumnus of *Darul Ulum* Deoband. The *madzhab* adopted by Deoband is *Hanafi* (Agha, 2015).

c. Culture of Sufistic Religious Experience

Religious experience in the Islamic tradition is related to the dimension of *Ihsan*, which emphasizes appreciation in religion. The religious experience of the Temboro people tends to a Sufistic culture can be seen from the *khuruj* activities in mosques carried out by the students and the Temboro community (interview with Lutfi al-Hasyimi, January 16, 2015). There are four main activities in *khuruj*: worship-remembrance (*dzikir*), *da'wah*, *ta'lim*, and *khidmah* (social services).

Many Tablighi Jamaat followers experience a change in character when participating in *khuruj* activities. For example, one member of the congregation admitted that there was a change in his character for the better; his life was more focused because he had a purpose and a passion for learning religion. (interview with Dadang, September 27, 2015).

The people of Temboro experienced an increase in worship practices, such as; praying five times in congregation, increasing public knowledge about religion, people's behavior being more religious, and Muslim women wearing Islamic clothes and wearing *purdah* (veil). The majority of Temboro people send their children to the Pesantren al-Fatah, and many Temboro people memorize the Qur'an and hadith (interview with M. Syafi'i, January 2, 2015)

This phenomenon of character change is called religious transformation, which is the process of changing religious orientation from ordinary religious life to mystical religious life or from being religious to ordinary people (*abangan*) to being more religious and obedient in practicing religion (Subandi, 2009).

The culture of the Sufistic religious experience of the Temboro community is also supported by the *Naqasyabandiyah-Khalidiyah tarekat* tradition, which was implemented at the al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School before the arrival of the Tablighi Jamaat ideology. The pioneering period of the Pesantren al-Fatah during the time of Kiai Shidiq (1890-1950), the model for the study was in the form of the *Naqsyabandiyah tarekat*, which is still being continued until now, for example, the Kiai used to give diplomas to his students, there were also certificates of *hirzi* (protection) verses to be guarded by Allah is born and inside, and so on (interview with Abdur Rouf, 15 January 2015)

In addition, the Tablighi Jamaat is a Sufism-Islamic-traditional revivalist movement (Ma'mun et al., 2020). Maulana Ilyas (1885-1944) is a Sufi figure who combines three models of a Muslim's life, namely Sufism, fundamental Islam, and the life of the Prophet Muhammad. The life of the Sufi M. Ilyas was influenced by the *Naqsyabandiyah* and *Chistiyyah* orders (Bustamam-Ahmad, 2008), although he did not use this *tarekat* theory in the obligatory practice for *Tabligi*. According to as-Sirbuny, "although Shaykh Ilyas and Shaykh In'amul Hasan (the grandson of Shaykh Ilyas) are Sufis, this da'wah effort does not follow Sufi theories." (As-Sirbuny, 2010).

d. Culture of Textual-Moderate Religious Knowledge

Tablighi Jamaat is one of the Sunni Islamic communities (Burhani, 2020) that preaches religious messages peacefully or peaceful fundamentalist (Aziz, 2004). This community concentrates on individual moral reform (Hasan, 2008) and is limited to the practice of sharia in matters of ritual, dress, and does not have a global political agenda, hence the name "traditionalists." (Metcalf, n.d.).

The Tablighi Jamaat's ideological pattern influences the culture of religious knowledge of the Temboro community, which tends to be textual-moderate. In that sense, religion is literally in understanding the texts of the Qur'an and hadith, but being moderate with differences of opinion, evidenced by the existence of the *ushul da'wah* of the Tablighi Jamaat, which prohibits discussing politics, *khilafiyah* (differences) of madhhabs), community disgrace, and social status (al-Kandahlawi, 2008). The books that support the strengthening of religious knowledge from the perspective of the Tablighi Jamaat are as follows:

Table. 2: Tablighi Jamaat Ideology Books

No	Nama Kitab	Pengarang	Isi Kitab
1	<i>Kitab Fadail al-A'mal</i>	Maulana Muhammad Zakaria al-Kandahlawi	It contains stories of the companions of the Prophet, the virtues of prayer, <i>tabligh</i> , remembrance, al-Qur'an, Ramadan, and how to improve the decline of the people (al-Kandahlawi, 2011).
2	<i>Muntakhab al-Ahadis</i>	Syaikh Maulana Muhammad Yusuf al-Kandahlawi disusun kembali oleh Syaikh Maulana Muhammad Sa'ad	contains the sentence <i>thayyibah</i> , prayer, knowledge and remembrance, <i>ikram al-muslimin</i> , sincere, <i>da'wah</i> and <i>tabligh</i> , and leaving things that are not useful (Al-Kandahlawi, 2007).

al-Kandahlawi			
3	<i>Fadail al-Sadaqat</i>	Maulana Muhammad Zakaria al-Kandahlawi	contains the virtues of infaq of property, reproaches of stingy attitude, friendship, the virtue of zakat, <i>zuhud</i> attitude, <i>qana'ah</i> , and not begging, and stories of <i>zuhud</i> experts and philanthropists (al-Kandahlawi, 2006).
4	<i>Ḥayah al-Sahabah</i>	Maulana Muhammad Yusuf al-Kandahlawi	Contains stories of the lives of the companions of the Prophet, preaching to Allah swt. and His messenger, allegiance, patience in the face of suffering in the way of Allah, migration, <i>nusrah</i> , and <i>jihad fi sabilillah</i> (Al-Kandahlawi, 2008).
5	<i>Fadilah Ibadah Haji & Umrah</i>	Maulana Muhammad Zakaria al-Kandahlawi	Contains the pilgrimage and the virtues of Mecca and Medina (al-Kandahlawi, 2008).

The moderation attitude of the Temboro people can be seen from their acceptance of other Sunni Islamic groups, which can be seen from preaching, which avoids the *khilafiyah* of madhhab but only invites the community to prosper the mosque. Thus, it can be concluded that the religious behavior of the Temboro people is exclusive for themselves (the group) but moderate for other (Sunni Islam) groups; this is the culture of textual-moderate religious knowledge that is influenced by the ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat.

e. Culture of *Maqami and Intiqali* Practices

The fifth change in religious culture is the practice of *Maqami and Intiqali*. These two practices impact the participation of the Temboro community with the Jamaah Tablighi ideology developed by the Pesantren al-Fatah. The word *Maqami* comes from the root word *qama-yaqumu-qauman-al-maqam*. The word *al-maqam* can be interpreted as a place, position, position, and situation (Munawir, 1997). The practice of *Maqami* in the Tablighi Jamaat tradition is carried out in the mosque where they each live by reviving four practices: remembrance (*dzikir*) and worship, *ta'lim* (teaching and learning), *da'wah*, and *khidmah* (service). (Interview with KH Imdad, January 16, 2015). Meanwhile, if these four practices are carried out outside their place of residence, they are called *Intiqali* practices, which in language means to move (out) (Munawir, 1997) or also called *khuruj fi sabilillah* (out in the way of Allah).

Of these four practices, one practice is community service (social), namely: *khidmah* (service); this can be seen from the people of Temboro, which is open to outsiders. Guests who attend the Temboro mosques are provided with a place to rest, drinking water, and a place to cook, and some even provide free food or drink. For worshipers who are *khuruj* (practice *Intiqali*), then other pilgrims whose husbands are not *khuruj* should provide necessities for wives left behind by their husbands (Observation, 2014-2015)

This *Maqami and Intiqali* practice of practice is a form of religious practice due to following the ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat. The practice of *Intiqali* in the form of *khuruj* to preach in the society, several stages must be passed as follows:

Table.2: The stages in the da'wah effort (Anonim, n.d.)

No	Basic Stage (10% <i>nisab</i> age)	Intermediate Stage (1/3 <i>nisab</i> age)	High Stage (lifetime)
1	2.5 hours daily	8 hours every day	Wealth, time, and self are ready to be discussed (in <i>da'wah</i> efforts)
2	3 days every month	10 days every month	
3	40 days every year	4 months every year	
4	4 months for life	1 year for life	

The practice of *Intiqali* (*khuruj fi sabilillah*) is the hallmark of the Tablighi Jamaat's da'wah model that distinguishes it from other Islamic organizations. In this activity, the congregation can follow the stages of preaching (3 days, 40 days, 4 months) by preaching around from mosque to mosque, both domestically and abroad. This da'wah model is believed by the Tablighi (followers of the Tablighi Jamaat) as *da'wah 'ala mnhaj an-nubuawah* (Arifin & Rohmah, 2019), namely preaching by visiting people in the congregation. (interview with Dadang, 27 September 2015).

Intiqali practice for husbands and wives of the Tablighi Jamaat is called *Masturah*, an effort to revive religious practices that are carried out secretly (*Masturah*) in the house so that the house functions as a mosque. *Masturoh* program activities such as *majlis taklim*, congregational prayers, remembrance, reading the Qur'an, and so on (Manshur, 2010). *Masturoh's* goal is to prepare wives to become *mu'allimah* and *muta'alimah*, *daiyah*, and *a'bidah* (Arifin et al., 2021).

Masturoh is a da'wah activity carried out by husband and wife. During *Masturoh*, the husbands live in the mosque while the wives stay at the homes of fellow Tablighi Jamaat members (Siddiqi, 2018). For the Tablighi Jamaat family, building a family must be based on religion, and the household is an important means for wives to be involved in strengthening family faith (Agha, 2015), namely through *Masturoh* activities.

E. Conclusion

This research can be concluded that the cultural strategy of the kiai of the Pesantren al-Fatah in shaping the religious culture of the Temboro community is through the actualization of the ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat in the education process and the daily activities of the pesantren, which then spread to the Temboro village community. As a transnational Islamic movement with a fundamentalist-Sufi Islamic understanding style, Tablighi Jamaat influences the religious attitude of its followers, namely moderate. The moderation of the Tablighi Jamaat is seen in its peaceful preaching by visiting the community, avoiding differences among Sunni Islam, and not having a global political agenda.

The ideological culture developed by Kiai of the Pesantren al-Fatah also has an impact on changes in the religious culture of the community, namely: (1) ideological faith, (2) Normative Islam, (3) Sufistic religious experience, (4) moderate-textual religious knowledge, and (5) the practice of *Maqami-Intiqali*. This change in religious culture implies

that Temboro is known as the "Kampung Medina" and "Religious Tourism Village," which is promoted by the Magetan Regency Government of East Java.

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