The Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Tembororo Based on Jamaah Tabligh Ideology

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Abstract

Kiai is a charismatic figure who has influence for the existence of pesantren. Spiritual leadership is a typology of kiai based on the values of Islamic spirituality. This study examines the source of authority of the spiritual leadership of the kiai using perspective of Weber's authority theory. Using the approach of religious phenomenology, this study observes phenomenologically the spiritual leadership of kiai at Pesantren al-Fatah (or known as Pesantren Tembore), which became the center of the biggest ideology of Jamaah Tabligh in Southeast Asia. Research data was obtained through in-depth interviews, active participation, documentation, and open questionnaires. This research found the three authorities of spiritual leadership at Pesantren Tembore, namely traditional, charismatic, and rational. First, traditional authority derives from three traditions: (1) pesantren education, (2) Jamaah Tabligh, and (3) the Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah congregation. Second, charismatic authority derives from the spiritual qualities of the kiai and is reinforced by karomah. Third, rational authority derives from the rational efforts of kiai in opening formal madrasah as a form of modernization in Islamic educational institutions.

Keywords: Authority, Spiritual Leadership, Kiai, Jamaah Tabligh

Abstrak

bersumber pada tiga tradisi, yaitu: (1) pendidikan pesantren, (2) Jamaah Tabligh, dan (3) tarekat Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah. Kedua, otoritas karismatik bersumber pada kualitas spiritual kiai dan diperkuat dengan karomah. Ketiga, otoritas rasional bersumber pada usaha rasional kiai dalam membuka madrasah-madrasah formal sebagai bentuk modernisasi lembaga pendidikan Islam.

Kata Kunci: Otoritas, Kepemimpinan Spiritual, Kiai, Jamaah Tabligh

Introduction

Pesantren is the oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesia which is historically, not only synonymous with Islamic meaning, but also it contains the meaning of Indonesian authenticity (indigenous). Abdurrahman Wahid describes pesantren as a subculture with a lot of uniqueness in the way of life adopted, the views of life, the values that are followed, and the hierarchy of powers that are fully adhered to. With such a pattern of life, pesantren can survive for centuries in the use of its own values.

The existence of pesantren as an Islamic educational institution in the modern era cannot be separated from the leadership role of the kiai in maintaining the tradition of pesantren from the influence of outside culture. Zamakhsari Dhofier explained that the kiai is the most essential element of the pesantren. In fact, the kiai in Java likened pesantren as a small kingdom and the kiai became the absolute source of power and authority within the pesantren.

The title of kiai is not easily achieved by Muslims and it is not obtained from formal education. The kiai’s title is a gift of society because he meets several requirements. Steenbrink explains that in traditional societies, a person can be a kiai caused by: (1) accepted by society, (2) many people come to seek

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3. Zamakhsari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai and Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia, Ninth Edition (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011), 93–94; In Madura, the leadership of kiai is equated with local leaders such as Blater and Kalebun who have influence in the social, political, economic, and cultural realtor in their respective communities. Yanwar Pribadi, “Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture,” Al-Jami’ah: Journal of Islamic Studies 51, no. 1 (2013): 3–4.
advice, and (3) many parents send their children to study for him.\(^4\) According to Aboe Bakar Atjeh cited by Steenbrink, several factors that cause people to be great kiai are: (1) knowledge, (2) piety, (3) descendants (genealogy) from previous kiai, and (4) many santri.\(^5\)

A kiai with his aides is the only power hierarchy that is explicitly acknowledged in the pesantren. This power is absolute, so many santri for the whole of his life feel attached to the kiai, at least making his kiai as a source of inspiration and moral support in private life.\(^6\) This kiai power derives from a combination of (tradition) Islamic education and the charisma gained and inherited from the previous kiai\(^7\)-the charismatic leadership of the kiai.\(^8\) The power that derives from the kiai’s charisma has strong persuasion in instilling ideology. This charismatic power is called ideological / normative power.\(^9\)

Hiroko, as quoted by Bambang Budiwiranto, argues that pesantren life is strongly influenced by hierarchy and patron-client relationship where kiai with a charismatic leadership pattern are highly respected by santri and the community and its surrounding.\(^10\) For Sutiyono, the kiai becomes a role model (patron) for the santri and the surrounding community (client) due to the ability and knowledge of religion owned by the kiai(\textit{traditional Islamic Boarding School leaders}).\(^11\)

Based on the above some views, it can be concluded that the kiai as spiritual leaders in boarding schools have the power (authority) both obtained

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\(^5\) \textit{Ibid.}, 109.


\(^8\) Sukamto, \textit{Kepemimpinan Kiai Dalam Pesantren} (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1999), 23.

\(^9\) Chumaidi Syarif Romas quotes Galtung’s account of three typologies of power, namely: (1) remunerative sourced profits in social exchange; (2) punitive that gives rise to fear; and (3) ideologically sourced from charismatics. Chumaidi Syarief Romas, \textit{Kekerasan Di Kerajaan Surgawi: Gagasan Kekuasaan Kyai, Dari Mitos Wali Hingga Broker Budaya} (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2003), 205.


in charismatic and genealogically from the previous charismatic leadership kiai. Research on the authority and style of kiai leadership has been largely done by previous researchers. Here are some studies on the authority, style or pattern of kiai leadership in pesantren:

Zainal Arifin explains the typology of kiai leadership in Pesantren Salafiyah Mlangi based on the three Weber’s theories of authority, namely traditional, charismatic, and rational. Traditional leadership is strongly influenced by the tradition of pesantren education which highly respects the kiai’s position as head of the pesantren, even the kiai as the owner of the pesantren. Charismatic leadership derive from the attitude of the kiai’s religiosity and exemplary character. This charisma also supported the position of kiai as Mursyid (spiritual leader) of Thoriqah Naqsyabandiyah and they have karomah. Rational leadership is articulated in the delegation of pesantren management and the orientation development of Salafiyah pesantren into a mixed pesantren (mixed), namely a combination of Salafiyah (traditional) and modern (formal school) systems.  

Mastuhu found a pattern of pesantren leadership in combination with traditional pesantren leadership styles, namely: charismatic, fatherhood authoritarian, and laissez faire. There is a tendency to change from “charismatic” to “rational”, from “fatherhood authoritarian” to “diplomatic-participative and it is from laissez faire to” bureaucratic”. Muhtarom found a pattern of kiai leadership that is a combination of charismatic, authoritarian-paternal and democratic. The charismatic model is based on psychological identification with offspring. This charismatic leadership style combines with paternalistic toward democracy which has a very protective attitude towards ustaz and santri but kiai are still democratic and they give guidance to pesantren board and the ustaz.

M. Ridlwan Nasir explains about the shift of kiai leadership which contains the dominant element of charismatic-traditional or traditional-

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The leadership of a charismatic kiai refers to a central figure who is perceived by his support community having supernatural powers from God and superiority in various fields of science. The leadership of traditional kiai requires the formal legitimacy of his support community by finding a genealogical link from previous charismatic leadership. While the leadership of rational kiai refers to collective leadership patterns, higher levels of community participation, more complex organizational structures, and it does not refer to an individual but rather it leads to institutionality, and leadership mechanisms are governed managerially.

From some of the above research can be concluded that the authority or style of leadership kiai is various. The kiai is sometimes as a charismatic figure fully of dignity, a traditional figure who holds the values of Islam, as well as a rational figure that refers to the collective leadership within the pesantren. What distinguishes this research from previous ones is the focus where the current research focuses more on the authority of spiritual leadership based on Jamaah Tabligh at Pesantren Temboro which is the center of Jamaah Tabligh ideology in the East Java region, even the pesantren with the ideology of the largest Jamaah Tabligh in Southeast Asia.

Research on the Jamaah Tabligh movement at Pesantren Temboro has been carried out but it did not focus on the study of spiritual leadership authority. Mundzier Suparta examines the "Changes in Orientation of Pesantren Salafiyyah to Community Religious Behavior" at Pesantren Maskumambang Gresik and Pesantren Temboro Magetan. The results of this study indicate that (1) the change of orientation of Maskumambang Pesantren from Salafiyyah-Ahlussunnah Waljamaah (Aswaja) to Modern-Wahabiyah has an impact on the change of religious understanding of Wahabi people and (2) Changes of orientation of Pesantren Temboro from Tarekat-Salafiyyah-Aswaja being Modern-Aswaja-Jamaah Tabligh also has an impact on the changing of religious behavior of society, that is increase of tabligh intensity and worship in Temboro village.

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17 Mundzier Suparta, Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyyah Terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat (Jakarta: Asta Buana Sejahtera, 2009), 258.
Anis Hidayatul Imtihanah viewed the gender relation of the *Jamaah Tabligh* family at Temboro that showed the pattern of gender-neutral gender relation. They distinguish between sameness and equality and support the concept of equality between men and women but it does not mean that it is necessarily equally. The realization of *sakinah* family formation is supported by their participation in *Jamaah Tabligh*. Muhammad Arif AM in his research confirmed that Pesantren Temboro became the center of the spread of Islamic teachings and the place of development and the spread of *Jamaah Tabligh* ideology. Dissemination of this ideology through learning activities and activities *tabligh* (*khuruj fi sabilillah*) out of the region.

From some of the above research it can be concluded that Pesantren al-Fatah Temboro (or known as Pesantren Temboro) has experienced orientation from *Nahdlatul Ulama* ideology to *Jamaah Tabligh*, especially in da’wah and *tabligh*. This orientation change made pesantren being a center for the development and dissemination of the biggest *Jamaah Tabligh*’s ideology in Indonesia, even in Southeast Asia. The ideology of *Jamaah Tabligh* influenced the behavior pattern of Temboro people in religion and family.

Abdul Aziz explained that the *Jamaah Tabligh* movement first came to Indonesia around 1952 and named itself “*Jamaah Khuruj*” to train for improving themselves and inviting Muslims to implement the Islamic teachings by imitating the behavior of the prophet and his companions. The *Jamaah Tabligh* movement in Indonesia began to show its intensive preaching (*dakwah*) movement around 1974 taken place at Kebon Jeruk Mosque Central Jakarta.

Kamaruzzaman describes the purpose of the first *Jamaah Tabligh* movement in India initiated by Maulana Muhammad Ilyas in response to local Islam and international Islam. First, the local Islamic response to deal with *hindunization* in India. The method used is *da’wah* and sufism. Second, the international Islamic response by reviving the Islamic community due to the decadence of

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18 Anis Hidayatul Imtihanah, ““Relasi Gender Keluarga Jama’ah Tabligh (Studi Relasi Suami Istri Pengikut Jamaah Tabligh Temboro)” (UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2011).
many Islamic governments.  

Jan A. Ali also agreed that the transnationalization of Jamaah Tabligh as a response to the negative impact of modernity or the moral crisis in certain areas.

In this research, researcher examines in depth any authority that develops in the spiritual leadership of Pesantren Temboro. Viewed from the literature review, it seems clear the positioning of researcher with previous researchers about the leadership of the kiai and Jamaah Tabligh movement. Viewed from the theoretical foundations, this research develops the concept of spiritual leadership in the perspective of Weber’s authority theory (traditional, charismatic, and rational). The findings of this research are the concept of spiritual leadership in traditional pesantren based on Jamaah Tabligh ideology.

Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro

The uniqueness of this research is the study of the authority of spiritual leadership of kiai at Pesantren Temboro which has the peculiar tradition of Jamaah Tabligh ideology in da’wah and it still maintains tradition as traditional pesantren with Nahdlatul Ulama model (NU) in terms of process in studying classical book (Kitab Kuning) and tarekat.

The uniqueness of NU and Jamaah Tabligh integration at Pesantren Temboro will give the impact of the spiritual concept of leadership. Researchers use the term "Pesantren Temboro" with the aim of presenting local wisdom Pesantren al-Fatah which located in Temboro Village, Karas District, Magetan Regency, East Java. As we know some pesantren in Indonesia are better known by the name of the region, such as Pesantren Tebu Ireng, Gontor Ponorogo, Tremas, and so forth.

In previous research, M. Arif AM and Mundzier Suparta explain the type of leadership of kiai in Pesantren Temboro is charismatic or spiritual leader. However, both studies do not explain the authority that developed in

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the spiritual leader's typology. According to Tomboro, the concept of spiritual leadership is defined as a model of leadership that can inspire, influence, serve, and move the conscience of His servants in a wise way through ethical and exemplary approaches by relying on spiritual intelligence. The indicators are: honesty, fairness, self-knowledge, focus on good deeds, spiritualism, working more efficiently, awakening the best in yourself and others, open to change, visionary, doing the right thing, discipline, relax, smart and humble. Toto Tasmara emphasizes that the most dominant character in spiritual leadership is able to instill the principle of truth in the form of tauhid sentence which is then connected with the life practices reflected in the morals of the Prophet. Spiritual-based leaders only offer God, not lust, treasures, thrones, and positions.

Based on this description, researchers can conclude three spiritual leadership competencies, namely: personal, social, and spiritual. Personal competence relates to the virtues of the leader that includes honesty, fairness, discipline, intelligence, and humility. Second, social competence is related to good behavior to others hablun min al-nas, and thirdly, spiritual competence associated with the obedience of a leader to God (Allah Swt) in the form of obeying God's command and away from His prohibition of relation to God (hablun min Allah) and make Messenger (Rasulullah) as a model in behaving.

In this research, the concept of spiritual leadership is defined as a model of leadership that can move, influence, and serve its followers with spiritual/spiritual approach based on Jamaah Tabligh ideology that developed in Pesantren Temboro. This model of spiritual leadership is examined by the approach of Weber's authority theory (traditional, charismatic, rational) so

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27 Toto Tasmara, Spiritual Centered Leadership (Kepimpinan Berbaris Spiritual) (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2006), xvi–xvii.
that it can be seen the authority that develops in the spiritual leadership of the kiai.

**Genealogy of Spiritual Leadership At Pesantren Temboro**

The spiritual leadership genealogy of Pesantren Temboro started from the pilot period of the tarekat led by Kiai Shidiq (1912-1950) to the diniyyah-Jamaah Tabligh II period which is now headed by K.H. Umar Fatahillah (2014-present). This period developed the results of Mundzier Suparta's research at Pesantren Temboro being competed with the more actual field data. The term genealogy follows historical studies and traditional anthropology can be defined as the study of the evolution and network of groups of people for some generations. The concept of genealogy in this study is useful to observe the development of diachronic and intellectual chains between generations at Pesantren Temboro so that it can be mapped the differences among generations.

Mundzier Suparta’s research explains there are four periods at Temboro Pesantren leadership, namely: (1) pilot period: tarekat (+/- 1912-1950) initiated by Kiai Shidiq, (2) Salafiyah period (1950-1965), and (3) Modernization and Jamaah Tabligh (1965-1996) initiated by Kiai Mahmud, then continued in (4) the Diniyah-Tabligh I period (1966-2014) led by Kiai Uzoiron. After Kiai Uzoiron died in 2014, the estafed leadership of Pesantren Temboro was continued by his younger brother, Kiai Umar Fatahillah until recent time. During the leadership of Kiai Umar Fatahillah still continue the development of Pesantren Temboro into the center of education studies Diniyyah and the central of Jamaah Tabligh in East Java, so researchers call the period diniyyah-Jamaah Tabligh II.

In conducting Pesantren Temboro, K.H. Umar Fatahillah or "Gus Fatah" assisted by his younger brother, K.H. Ubaidillah or "Gus Ubaid".

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29 Kiai Shidiq is married to Hj. Thohiroh and has four children, namely Kiai Mahmud, K.H. Ahmad Shodiq, Miftahul Khoeroh, and Zaenab. After Kiai Shidiq died, the leadership of pesantren was then led by Kiai Mahmud and assisted by his younger siblings. Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat*, 194.

30 Suparta, 190–231.
According to Abdur Rouf, "... for the efficiency of pesantren management, Gus Fatah leads North Pesantren and Central Pesantren, while Gus Ubaid leads Pesantren Trankil for men and Pesantren Trankil for women". They are also assisted by his sisters-in-law and nephew: K.H. Noor Thohir (husband of Fatimah az-Zahra), K.H. Thantawi (husband of Robiatul Kholidah), K.H. Imdad (husband of Minhatul Aziz), and Gus Yusuf (son of the late K.H. Uzoiroln Thofifur Abdillah). Chart of family kinship relation of Pesantren Temboro can be seen in chart 1 below:

**Chart 1. Kinship Relationship of Kiai Family at Pesantren Temboro**

1. Kiai Shidiq (1890-1950) + Hj. Thohiroh
   - K.H. Ahmad Sodio
   - Miftahul Khoeroh
   - Zaenab

   - Masrohah (born in 1960)

3. K.H. Uzoiroln (1963-2014). One of his sons, who was named Gus Yusuf (born in 1991) assist the leadership at al-Fatah
   - K.H. Umar Fatahillah (born in 1973)

   - K.H. Ubaidullah (born in 1978)

5. Mawari datus Sofiyah (born in 1978)

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31 Abdur Rouf, santri of Daurah tahasus program from NTB, January 15, 2015, Trankil mosque.
From the chart above it can be concluded that the spiritual leadership tradition of Pesantren Temboro is hereditary from father to oldest son (Kiai Shidq to Kiai Mahmud and Kiai Mahmud to Kiai Uzoiron) and from brother to younger brother (Kiai Uzoiron to Kiai Umar). Genealogical leadership is a tradition of typical leadership succession taking place in traditional pesantren as a form of preservation of kiai’s authority and power. According to A. Rozaki, “genealogical bonds include charismatic power acquired by given” or inheritance from generation to generation. For Dhofer,

“...the closest family tradition should be a strong candidate for leadership success is an effort to preserve the tradition of pesantren to build solidarity and cooperation as strongly as possible. In addition to genealogical leadership, to build solidarity can carried out by developing a network of endogamaous marriage alliances between kiai families and the tradition of knowledge transmission and the intellectual transmission chain between fellow kiai and their families.”

The Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro

Max Weber divides his authority theory into three, namely traditional, charismatic, and rational (legal). For Weber, every authority has a different source. The source of traditional authority on established beliefs about the sanctity of ancient traditions, charismatic authority stems from the extraordinary purity and exemplary character of an individual, and the rational authority derives from legality of legislation and legal authority. Sulaiman Kurdi specifies three Weber authorities and how leadership forms are based on that authority, see the table below.

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Based on the above explanation it can be concluded that traditional leadership based on the traditional authority (non-rational) is stagnant (static) for an organization because of the nature on hereditary leadership selection. Charismatic leadership which derived from charisma (the emotional influence of their followers) has impacts of organizational change dynamically based on the individual roles of charismatic leaders. While rational leadership created from a rational culture rather than a personal leader so that it is the nature of impersonal and dynamic power. The leaders are rationally selected under the laws and regulation which is applied in modern organizations.

In this research, researchers used the theory of Weber’s authority to analyze the growing oracles in the spiritual leadership at Pesantren Temboro based on Jamaah Tabligh ideology. From the interviews, observations, documentation, and questionnaires during the study, the researchers concluded that there are three distinct authorities of the spiritual leadership at Pesantren Temboro, namely traditional, charismatic, and rational.

**Traditional Authority**

Traditional authorities in the spiritual leadership at Pesantren Temboro are influenced by established traditions. This tradition has become a belief for the santri and the Temboro community that the kiai is the ideal figure in holding the Islamic teachings that should be obeyed. Karim explains that “traditional authority for Weber is based on long-standing customs and traditions in society. Society obeys the rule because it respected its existence without any doubt its legitimacy as it has been accepted by the previous generation.”37 “In the tradition of pesantren, especially kiai in Java, pesantren

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is like a small kingdom where *kiai* have an absolute source of authority that can not be matched by *santri*” 38 and society. Thus, the *kiai* are adhered to, respected, and followed by his teachings by the santri and the surrounding community.

Researcher found three sources of traditional authority contained in the spiritual leadership at Pesantren Temboro: (1) the tradition of pesantren education, (2) the tradition of *Jamaah Tabligh*, and (3) the tradition of the *Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah* congregation. Each tradition has different cultural values.

**First**, the tradition of pesantren education. In the tradition of pesantren education, *kiai* is highly respected by santri and society because it has become a culture and belief that *kiai* is a spiritual leader figure who is a role model in the perfect practice on Islam. The tradition of pesantren education encourages the *santri* and the community to be obedient to the *kiai*. This obedience as a symbol of the practice on Islamic teachings to honor a *kiai* who has the knowledge of religion in depth. Obedience to the *kiai* is manifested in the form of obeying the *kiai’s* command, imitating the religious behavior of the *kiai*, even surrendering the future of his life to be discussed to the *kiai*. An example of this behavior as delivered by Jailani, a santri (student) of *Takhasus* program who has been 10 years at Pesantren Temboro,

> “a *santri* after graduating from *pesantren* then surrendered the future of his life according to the deliberations of the *kiai*, such as whether he was asked to help teaching at Pesantren Temboro, married to santriwati (woman student) at Pesantren Temboro, or asked to teach the branches of Pesantren Temboro in Indonesia.” 39

From Jailani’s statement above, it can be seen how santri adherence to his *kiai*, so *santri* gave up the future of his life based on the discussion the *kiai*. 40 The santri (student) have confidence that the choice of *kiai* is the best choice

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38 Zamakhsari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition the Role of the Kiai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java*, (United States of America: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1999), 34.

39 Jailani, santri of Takhasus program: 10 years at pesantren, July 25, 2014 while being khuruj fi sabillah at Baitus Sholihin Mosque Tanjung Sepreh Maospati Magetan.

40 The tradition of musyawarah in the ideology of Jamaah Tabligh is one of the main teachings done by the Tabligi before deciding something. This deliberation is usually led by an amir.
for his future. The same thing was conveyed by Ustadz Mukhlas, a 9-year-old senior student at Pesantren Temboro and a cleric in the *North Pesantren Temboro* (formal class),

Kiai directs all santri to attend Pesantren Temboro education for 10 years through formal class. There are about 40% santri following the kiai’s directions above, others attend college after leaving formal Islamic School (MTs and MA) or many more in other else.\(^{41}\)

**Second, Jamaah Tabligh** tradition. The kiai’s authority at the Pesantren Temboro is also supported by the *Jamaah Tabligh* tradition which put the kiai an obeyed *amir* nonformally\(^{42}\) The *kiai* Pesantren Temboro make the Trankil mosque as the main office of *Jamaah Tabligh* activity in East Java Province. Kiai Abbas claimed that the Trankil mosque is also part of *diniyyah* education for santri of *Daurah* and *Takhasus* programs.

"The guests who come at Trankil mosque are about 40 guests or at least there are 2 groups or about 20 people every day. Students (santri) who take care of this mosque are about 60-70 people who served *khidmah*\(^{43}\) to feed and beverage for free of charge. Where’s the money coming from? Yes ... from the sky (God).\(^{44}\)

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\(^{41}\) Mukhlas, formal program lecturer at North Pesantren Temboro, January 2, 2015, North Pesantren Temboro.

\(^{42}\) Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat* In the ideology of Jamaah Tabligh, the amir is a small leadership concept based on the magnitude of the quality of faith not because of the rank in the world. Amir in Jamaah Tabligh was appointed by deliberation and as chairman, it is not the official organization that has the leadership and official membership, so the function of kiai’s Pesantren Temboro is an amir at Pesantren Temboro who has responsible for teaching and disseminating Jamaah Tabligh ideology to the community.

\(^{43}\) The santri who are *khidmah* (service) are the students who studied at Pesantren Temboro for free because they can not afford the cost of education at Pesantren Temboro. They are dedicated to ministry in the Pesantren Temboro mosques, cooperative officers, logistics, assisting in the construction of Pesantren Temboro, and so on. According to Kiai Abbas, "Santri who do not pay there are about 3500 santri because they are poor. There are about 315 santri tobe given morning job in the building and afternoon attend school. K.H. Abbas, leader/kiai of the Pesantren al-Qadir, the first branch of Pesantren Temboro, April 25, 2015, his home.

\(^{44}\) K.H. Abbas, 11:00 am-12:00 pm.
Every day the Tabligi (preacher) come to the Trankil mosque in groups to discuss the business of da’wah and tabligh. They come by self-financing fees through donation collected to their leaders of each group. Every Thursday or Friday night, the Trankil mosque is functioned as the activities of ijtima ‘Jamaah Tabligh.’ This activity is held after Maghrib prayer in congregation at Trankil mosque. At the time of ijtima’, Kiai Umar and other kiai usually presented the bayan Maghrib for the congregation for the santri, the Temboro community, and the Tabligi from various regions who come to the central for performing the khuruj. Usually the theme discussed by the kiai is about the importance of increasing faith and righteousness as the key to success of life in the world and the hereafter.45

Third, the tarekat tradition. Pesantren Temboro still develop the tradition of Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah tarekat which is followed by the students, the community Temboro, and the surrounding community. Currently, his Mursyid46 is Kiai Umar, "... the lineage of the Kiai Uzoiron (the late) Tarekat leadership number 40 and is now being continued by Kiai Umar occupying the lineage as tarekat leader number 41."47 "The tradition of this tarekat has existed since the era of Kiai Shidiq, the forerunner of Pesantren Temboro and the father of Kiai Mahmud. When kiai Mahmud followed the ideology of Jamaah Tabligh, the tradition of the tarekat is still running today. Furthermore, kiai Mahmud feels there is a similarity of tarekat with Shaykh Maulana M. Ilyas.48 Faqihudin Slamet said,
Kiai Mahmud belongs to the Khos person explicitly and inner way. He once time sold his car for going to New Delhi to visit directly *Jamaah Tabligh* founded by Maulana M. Ilyas. And it turns out ..., upon arriving there, Kiai Mahmud felt the similarity of *tarekat* with *tarekat* Maulana M. Ilyas, namely *Naqsyabandiyah*, and Maulana Ilyas’s Pesantren in New Delhi is called Deoband.49

Based on the above descriptions, it can be concluded that there are three traditional spiritual leadership authorities in Pesantren Temboro which encourage the students and the Temboro community to obey the kiai, namely: (1) the obedience driven by the tradition of pesantren education which puts the kiai as the leader and role model (2) obedience driven by the *Jamaah Tabligh* tradition which positions the kiai as leader in the *da’wah* and *tabligh* efforts, and (3) the obedience encouraged by the *Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah* *tarekat* tradition which positions the kiai as a *mursyid* to know God deeply.

These three traditional spiritual leadership authorities that developed in Pesantren Temboro are supported: **first**, the authority of the Pesantren tradition is supported by the genealogical succession of leadership [heredity] from the previous charismatic kiai. In addition, the position of the kiai as a representation of a cleric who is the heir of the Prophet Muhammad (*Peace upon on Him*)50 and he becomes a source of problem solving for community problems due to his intimacy to God. **Second**, the authority of *Jamaah Tabligh* tradition is supported by the position of kiai Temboro as leader and kiai makes Trankil mosque as the central of ideology activity of *Jamaah Tabligh* in East

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49 Faqihudin Slamet, teacher of Pesantren Temboro, January 2, 2015, 16.45-17.45 pm, at his home Temboro.

50 One hadith which states that the cleric is the heir of the prophet, as follows: Abu Ad-Darda then said, “I heard the Prophet (peace upon on Him) said:” Whoever walks the path to study, then Allah will make it easier to walk to heaven. Really, the angels lowered their wings as sincereness to the claimant of science. The knowledgeable person will be apologized by the inhabitants of the heavens and the earth until the fish that are on the seabed. Excess attack of pious compared to worship experts such as the virtue of the moon on the full moon over all stars. The scholars are the heirs of the prophets, and the prophets do not inherit the dinars and dirhams, they are only inherited knowledge. Whoever took it then he has taken a large part. “Has told us Muhammad bin Al Wazir Ad Dimasyqi has told us Al Walid he said: I met Shaybib ibn Shyaibah then he told me from Uthman ibn Abu Saudah from Abu Ad Darda from Prophet (peace upon on Him) with the meaning”. [Prophet tradition History (Prophet tradition told by Abu Daud, hadith no. 3157, quoted from Program Lidwa Pustaka i-software – Kitab 9 Imam] Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat*. 

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Java. Thirdly, the authority of the tarekat tradition (Sufism) is supported by the kiai’s position being murshid. To maintain this authority, kiai Pesantren Temboro often holds meetings of the congregation with his followers.

**Charismatic Authority**

Karim quotes Weber’s view that "charismatic authority stems from the personal qualities of leader and legitimacy derived from the spiritual qualities of leaders who created to the beliefs and the trust of society." In pesantren, the personal qualities of kiai can be manifested in their ability to master Islamic studies and the spiritual qualities of the kiai can be manifested in the mujahadah power and the spiritual height of a kiai.

A charismatic kiai is a spiritual leader who has the special ability from (God) Allah which is not owned by santri and ordinary people. These traits are described by Horikoshi as "ideal values held in high esteem by society and such a high ability is viewed by a group of cultures as something difficult to achieve or maintain". Charismatic leadership refers to a central figure who is perceived as a support community to possess supernatural powers of God and superiority in various fields of scholarship. The kiai’s charismatic power can be gained given, such as a large body, loud voice, and sharp eyes, genealogical bonds with charismatic kiai before, and the process of mastery of religious science accompanied by morality, pious personality, and loyalty to the community.

From some of the above opinions it can be concluded that the source of charismatic authority lies in the quality of individual kiai that is not owned or difficult possessed by society, such as the power of worship (spiritual), moral quality, mastery of the religion deeply, and has advantages such as karomah, and so forth. In this study, researchers found that the authority of charismatic

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51 Karim, “The Pesantren-Based Ruling Elite In Sumenep In The Post-New Order Indonesia,” 103.
spiritual leadership also appeared in the leadership of Pesantren Temboro. One example of the charismatic nature of the late Kiai Uzairon below:

"... has a heart and spiritual cleanness, kiai since birth has been circumcised, he often dreamed and met the Messenger of Allah... (Muhammad)"\textsuperscript{55} "... has a high knowledge..."\textsuperscript{56} "...he married again because of the dream of meeting the Prophet of Muhammad and before dying in the month of Ramadan, when Umrah met the angel Izrail..."\textsuperscript{57}

The properties possessed by this Kiai Uzairon are karimah which is owned by a kiai because of its proximity to Allah swt. Karomah is an advantage only possessed by certain people given by God because of its spiritual power, worship, and obedience in running the teachings of Islam. This advantage if for the prophets is called a miracle. The main characteristic of a kiai’s charismatic spiritual leadership is karomah\textsuperscript{58} which is not just anyone can have it. The stories that Kiai Uzairon possessed of the advantages beyond the human ability generally indicated that Kiai Uzairon had a typology of charismatic spiritual leadership.

"...for the Temboro community, the kiai have an extraordinary charisma......"\textsuperscript{59} "... this extraordinary ability arises because the consistence attitude of the kiai in practicing Islamic teachings in a devout manner ..., ""... all his behavior follow the sunna of the Prophet Muhammad saw and his companions..."\textsuperscript{60}

The source of the authority of charismatic spiritual leadership in Pesantren Temboro lies in the quality of the individual kiai which includes the power of mujahadah in worship (spiritual) who follow the Prophet tradition

\textsuperscript{55} Slamet, teacher of Pesantren Temboro, 16.45-17.45 pm.
\textsuperscript{56} Mulwi M. Makmun, teacher of Daurah class, December 25, 2014, 13:00 to 14:00 pm, at his home in Temboro village.
\textsuperscript{57} Ahmad, Tabligi from Sidoarjo, July 25, 2014, 11.00 am, Trankil mosque.
\textsuperscript{58} Ahmad Zainal Arifin explains that in the pesantren tradition, the kiai’s charism is derived from the concept of blessing and karomah derived from the process of religious (religious exercises), such as zikr, sunnah fasting, and so forth. Santri and the people believe that the blessings and karomah of the kiai are derived from God given to the power of riyadah performed by the kiai Ahmad Zainal Arifin, \textit{Charisma and Rationalisation in a Modernising Pesantren} (Saarbrücken: Scholar’s Press, 2015), 111.
\textsuperscript{59} Hamzah, one of Temboro residents, January 12, 2014, 17:00-17:45 pm.
\textsuperscript{60} “Open Questionnaire Results from the Woman Teacher of Islamic Junior High School (MTs) and Islamic Senior High School (MA)” (Pesantren Temboro, March 30, 2015).
(Sunna) of the exemplary moral quality of the mastery on religious knowledge in depth, and it has advantages, such as *karomah* as exemplified in the nature of Kiai Uzoiron. To maintain the charismatic authority of the kiai it is necessary to keep these traits always inherent in the personality of the kiai.

In addition, there are structural efforts by the kiai to maintain the authority of charismatic spiritual leadership in Pesantren Temboro, namely: through the transmission of scholarship and the leadership cadre of the genealogical. For example, conducted by Kiai Mahmud by providing basic education about Islam to his children in Pesantren Temboro then proceeded to some Islamic boarding schools/universities in the country and abroad. Similarly, the regeneration of religious teacher (*Kiai*) Uzoiron did to his siblings. Before he died, he has been conducting his younger brothers to manage Pesantren Temboro. As Faqihudin Slamet opinion follows.

The existence of Pesantren Temboro is influenced by the *baraka* of *Jamaah Tabligh* dakwah and cadre performed by kiai to their brothers and santri. This has been done by kiai in Pesantren Temboro, for example Kiai Uzoiron. Kiai Uzoiron is known by santri and his followers as a charismatic kiai. When Kiai Uzoiron passed away in 2014, Pesantren Temboro did not experience the shakiness left by his charismatic kiai, because before Kiai Uzoiron passed away, he had given his brother and credential mandate, Gus Fatah to replace him. 61

The transmission of knowledge and leadership regeneration in a genealogical way is an effective way of maintaining the kiai charism in the center of the santri and the Temboro society structurally. While socially done with an interactive relationship between kiai with students and the community Temboro through activities of worship, *taklim*, and *da’wah*, both in the pesantren and in the village of Temboro as well.

**Rational Authority**

Theoretically, rational authority derives from the legal rules found in modern (state) organizations. A leader in a modern organization is chosen or appointed by virtue of its ability. Rational leadership (legal-formal) is a more rational form of leadership and is widely used in institutions and official

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61 Slamet, teacher of Pesantren Temboro, 16.45-17.45 pm.
Zainal Arifin

The Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro Based on Jamaah Tabligh Ideology


institutions such as companies, school educational institutions or madrasah, and so forth. In this study, researchers found the source of rational authority in the spiritual leadership of Pesantren Temboro, the kiai effort in rationalizing the education of traditional pesantren by opening a formal madrasah. The opening of a formal madrasah in addition to teaching Islamic sciences is also part of the rationalization of kiai to provide opportunities for people to study the general sciences (rational), as taught in other formal madrasah. The rationalization effort (moderniasi) has been done by Kiai Mahmud from 1965 to 1993 by establishing the Islamic Elementary School (Madrasah Ibtidaiyah) until the distant class of Sunan Giri University (UNSURI). The way (strategy) to maintain this rational spiritual leadership authority is to open an independent madrasah and select their leader (head) from the kiai’s immediate family so that it is easily controlled within the kiai family’s deliberations. In addition, the kiai always encourage the Temboro community and the santri for the crucial aspect of studying religion rather than studying the rational sciences. Thus, the management of education in the formal Madrasah of Pesantren Temboro prioritizes diniyyah (religious) education rather than general education, as an example of the schedule of activities at Islamic Senior High School (Madrasah Aliyah) santri are the following formal classes:

Table. 2. Activities of Formal Schools at Pesantren Temboro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Hour</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>03.00-06.30</td>
<td>a. <em>Tahajud</em> prayer individually in the mosque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Reading wirid and holy-qur’an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. Subuh prayer in congregation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d. Reading the verses of Hirzi, such as yasin, or choice verses for self-protection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e. Room discussion for <em>muhasabah</em> overnight activities led by Amir, senior of the upper class. (2/3 class) Having meal program/bathing (if possible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>06.30-09.30</td>
<td>Discussion by diniyyah book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>09.30-11.30</td>
<td>Taking a rest (sleeping)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>11.30-13.00</td>
<td>Lunch and Dzhurur prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>13.00-15.30</td>
<td>Formal Lesson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>15.30-17.20</td>
<td>Ashar prayer, reading verses of <em>Hirzi</em>, listening to religious lectures (<em>bayan</em>) kiai then continued to have afternoon meal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on the schedule of activities above, it can be concluded that the activities of students at Pesantren Temboro filled with many activities and religious studies (diniyyah). Kiai Pesantren Temboro always emphasizes the importance of studying religion than other general (rational) sciences. Can be seen how kiai Pesantren Temboro prioritize diniyyah study in the process of teaching and learning activities in his formal madrasah.

Based on the above descriptions, the researcher concludes three authorities that developed in the spiritual leadership of Pesantren Temboro, namely traditional, charismatic, and rational authority. First, traditional authority is derived from three traditions: (1) tradition of pesantren education, (2) Jamaah Tabligh tradition, and (3) tarekat tradition. Second, the charismatic authority derived from the spiritual qualities inherent in the kiai’s personality [not tradition or institution] and reinforced by karomah. Third, rational authority is based on the rational efforts of kiai in opening formal madrassah as a form of modernization of Islamic educational institutions. A summary of these three authorities can be seen in chart 2 below.

Chart 2. The Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro
The Uniqueness of Spiritual Leadership’s Cultural At Pesantren Temboro

The spiritual leadership typology of Temboro Pesantren has a cultural distinctiveness in developing the education of Islamic boarding schools and Temboro based on the ideological values and traditions of Jamaah Tabligh. The role of kiai as head of Pesantren and Amir Jamaah Tabligh can encourage students and the Temboro community to run the Jamaah Tabligh tradition such as the practice of Maqami and Intiqali at Temboro Village.

The Maqami Prayer is a practice in Jamaah Tabligh tradition which is performed in the high place for each (maqam). The term Maqami according to Arabic derives from the basic word qama-yaqumu-qauman-al-maqam. The word al-maqam can mean place, position, and situation. Based on the meaning of language can be interpreted that practice Maqami means deeds done in place (mosque) respectively, so that often this practice is also called the practice of the mosque. Therefore, the function of mosque and mushola is very crucial to make habit for Maqami practices, especially at Temboro village. In the book “Mudzakarah Da’wah Usaha Rasulullah” mentioned four Maqami practice includes four practices, namely zikr and worship, ta’lim, da’wah, and khidmah.

If the practice of Maqami is a practice done by the Temboro people in the place (mosque / mushola) of their respective villages, the practice of Intiqali is a practice performed when khuruj fi sabilillah outside the region and abroad. Intiqali language comes from the word intaqala-yantaqilu-intiqal which means moving / moving. Amalan Intiqali means deed done when moving (out) from home to another place. The process of moving (out) from this house is called khuruj.

This cultural distinction distinguishes it from two salafiyah pesantren in Temboro village that still maintains the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) tradition, both structurally, ideologically, and the orientation of its preaching, namely: Pondok Pesantren Raudhatul Athfal cared by H. Hamim Royani and Pesantren Ahmad Warson Munawwir.

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63 Anonim, Mudzakarah Da’wah Usaha Rasulullah (Temboro: Maktabah Barokah, n.d.), 22.
64 Anonim, 1458.
al-Muttaqin that is taken care of by KH Sofwan who is also the head of Syuriah NU in Magetan. The difference of kiai leadership pattern in Pesantren Temboro with kiai at Pesantren Raudhatul Athfal and al-Muttaqin is the tradition of preaching (da’wah). In terms of authority, both Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) pesantrens are also developing traditional, charismatic, and rational authorities as they also provide opportunities for santri to study religion and school in madrasah.

However, in terms of tradition / ideology of da’wah, Pesantren Temboro developed the tradition of Jamaah Tabligh (khuruj), while the pesantren Raudhatul Athfal and al-Muttaqin developed the da’wah tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) At the beginning of the change of orientation of Temboro Pesantren from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) to Jamaah Tabligh led to conflict in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) management, but lately the relationship between pesantren in Temboro village is getting better and mutual appreciation. Moreover, one of the leaders of Pesantren al-Qadir affiliated with Pesantren Temboro, K.H. Abbas is the younger brother of K.H Abi Mansur who is one of the leaders of Raudhatul Athfal. In addition, Pesantren Temboro often sends worshipers (Tabligin) to both Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) pesantrens to introduce and invite the kiai involved in Jamaah Tabligh dakwah effort. As stated by K.H Abi Mansur and Hj. Hidayatul Anwaroti follows.

Pesantren Temboro often send Jamaah Tabligh guests from abroad to persuade kiai of Pesantren Raudhatul Athfal to join in da’wah work, but until now this cottage has remained consistent in developing the NU version of Islamic education model and is not involved in the development of Jamaah Tabligh ideology, although the caretaker of this cottage did not forbid if any citizens who follow or hold a da’wah and tabligh event around the cottage.

The ideology tradition of Jamaah Tabligh that developed at Pesantren Temboro adds kiai’s charism to the kiai in Pesantren Temboro besides being respected by Temboro people as well as Tabligi, and even Temboro Pesantren becomes the biggest development center of Jamaah Tabligh in Southeast

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65 K.H. Abbas, leader/kiai of the Pesantren al-Qadir, the first branch of Pesantren Temboro, 11:00 am-12:00 pm.
66 Abi Mansur and Hidayatul Anwaroti, leaders of Pesantren Raudhotul Athfal, March 31, 2015, 10.40-11.30 am, at his home.
Asia, as a researcher interview with Suwarsono Abdur Rouf, Tabligi from Yogyakarta following:

Pesantren Temboro quickly developed due to have four indicators, namely pesantren as school of da‘wah, ‘alim, experts of the Qur’an, and experts of remembrance (zikir). That is, in the Pesantren Temboro, there are kiai who have the ability in four things, namely: kiai dakwah experts (involved in the dakwah of Jamaah Tabligh), ‘alim means mastering the teachings of Islam, the Qur’an experts mean kiai and santri even society Temboro many who understand the science of the Qur’an and memorized 30 Juz, and experts Zikir means kiai’s Pesantren Temboro also as mursyid of Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah tarekat.

Suwarsono’s statement can be concluded that the characteristics of the cultural distinctiveness of kiai leadership at Pesantren Temboro has four abilities above. What distinguishes the leadership of the Temboro Pesantren kiai with the kiai of Nahdatul Ulama (NU) at Temboro Village is the da‘wah and tabligh endeavor using Jamaah Tabligh ideology. In fact, with the ideology, kiai at Pesantren Temboro is increasingly respected by the people of Temboro and Tabligi because it is quite successful in forming the village of Temboro into the Madinah village.

Conclusion

In this research, researchers found the three authorities of the spiritual leadership of Pesantren Temboro views Weber’s perspective, namely traditional, charismatic, and rational. Based on these three authorities, it can be classified as a type of spiritual leadership, namely the traditional spiritual [pesantren tradition, Jamaah Tabligh, and Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah], charismatic spiritual, and rational spiritual with different sources of authority.

The typology of spiritual leadership at Pesantren Temboro has distinctive cultural features that distinguishes it from pesantren Raudhatul Athfal and al-Muttaqin. It means that this pesantren is still consistent with Nahdatul Ulama (NU) propagation tradition because it is influenced by the

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67 Suwarsono Abdur Rouf, Tabligi from Bantul Yogyakarta, August 31, 2016, 19.30-22.00 pm, Villa Banguntapan Mosque.
68 Rouf, 19.30-22.00 pm.
ideology of Jamaah Tabligh, especially in the orientation of dakwah, ie khuruj fisabilillah. While, viewed from its learning curriculum, Pesantren Temboro maintains its tradition of salafiyah atmosphere with studies of the classical book (Kitab Kuning) as in Pesantren Salafiyah of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) do. The ideology of Jamaah Tabligh that developed at Pesantren Temboro greatly influenced the authority that developed in the spiritual leadership of the kiai. This ideology strengthens deeply the kiai’s charism for the santri, the Temboro community, as well as the Tabligen both domestic and abroad who visit to Temboro Village to learn da’wah at Pesantren Temboro.
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Zainal Arifin

The Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro Based on Jamaah Tabligh Ideology


———. “Pesantren Sebagai Subkultur,” n.d.


