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The Curriculum Of Islamic Studies In Traditional And Modern Dayahs In Aceh: A Comparative Study

Mohammad AR

ملخص

في هذه المقالة يحاول الكاتب أن يقارن بين المناهج الدراسية المطبقة في المدارس الإسلامية في آتشيه والمعروفة باسم "داياه", التقليدية منها والحديثة. يعتبرهذا الموضوع مهما لان "داية" فى آتشيه بحد ذاتها تعتبر واحدة من اقدم واشهر المعاهد التربوية فيها, حيث أن أي تغير وتطور في المناهج الدراسية الإسلامية في أتشيه يؤثر على تطور العلوم الإسلامية في إندونيسيا أجمع. في أثناء إجراء هذه الدراسة , قام الباحث بدراسة ميدانية زار فيها عددا من المدارس الإسلامية التقليدية منها والحديثة وقام أيضا بدراسة المخطوطات (الوثائق) والكتب التي لها علاقة بالموضوع.

بمرور الزمن ظهر في آتشيه عدد من المدارس الإسلامية الجديدة والتي تمتلك مناهج مختلفة عن المناهج التي تدرس في المدارس الإسلامية التقليدية التي لا تزال تدار بصورة قديمة. العلوم التي ليس لها علاقة مباشرة بالتعاليم الإسلامية مثل الرياضيات والعلوم الطبيعية والعلوم الاجتماعية واللغات الأجنبية (ما عدا اللغة العربية) بدأت تأخذ طريقها إلى المدارس الإسلامية الحديثة. ما عدا الاختلاف في مناهج الدراسة, فأنه يوجد بعض الاختلافات أيضا في إدارة وتنظيم هذه المدارس بصورة عامة.

Abstrak

Paper ini membandingkan kurikulum keilmuan Islam yang diterapkan pada sekolah-sekolah agama Islam di Aceh, terkenal dengan sebutan Dayah, yang masih tradisional dan modern. Hal ini dianggap penting, karena Aceh adalah institusi pendidikan yang paling tua dan dominan di Aceh, sehingga perubahan dan perkembangan kurikulum keilmuan Islam di Aceh dinilai akan berpengaruh terhadap perkambangan keilmuan keislaman di Indonesia secara umum. Dalam melakukan studi ini, penulis melakukan observasi secara langsung pada Dayah-dayah tradisonal dan modern, selain juga mempelajari dokumen-dokumen dan buku-buku yang memuat informasi mengenai masalah yang dibahas.

Sesuai dengan perkembangan zaman, di Aceh telah muncul Dayah-dayah baru yang menerapkan kurikulum yang berbeda dengan yang selama ini diterapkan dalam Dayah yang masih dikelola secara tradisional. Ilmu-ilmu yang secara tidak langsung berkaitan dengan teks-teks ajaran Islam, seperti matematika, ilmu pengetahuan alam, ilmu pengetahuan sosal, bahasa asing (selain bahasa Arab) mulai diajarkan di Dayah moden. Selain perbedaan kurikulum, perbedaan lain jga ditemukan pada sisi menejemen dan pengelolaan Dayah secara umum.

A. Introduction

Dayah is the traditional Islamic school which provides knowledge and instruction in Islamic tenets. Traditional dayahs are institutions that follow the old methodology in teaching Islamic Studies. As such they are not open to new and innovate systems and curricula. They are also rigid in drawing a line of demarcation between Islamic and secular subjects.

Nowadays, there are many modern dayahs established in Aceh, Sumatera, Indonesia, the research area. These institutions provide an amalgamation of Islamic Studies and Islamized natural and social sciences. To name a few of the Islamized branches of knowledge we have Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, English, Geography, Economics, History and so forth, while in traditional dayahs such subjects have not been introduced at all.

Aceh, one of the provinces in Indonesia, is located in the northern end of the island of Sumatera and is divided into eight Kabupaten (district). It has a population of over 4 million. Acehnese are homogeneously Muslims. Banda Aceh is the provincial capital. The vast majority of the Acehnese are farmers with rice being the main product. Aceh is very rich in mineral resources, particularly oil and gas. In fact, Indonesia is currently the world's

number one exporter of LNG (Liquid Natural Gas). It can be said that Aceh is rich with mineral resources but the central government (Jakarta) has never given right to the Acehnese to govern and manage themselves, as well as to enjoy their own properties. Since 1989-1998 Aceh was declared as Daerah Operasi Militer (Military Operation Zone) by the Indonesian government. As a result, there have been many Acehnese killed and slaughtered and this kind of action has been occurred up to now. So far the Acehnese under the banner of GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka) have declared openly war against the Indonesia government to build their own country which is separated from Indonesia.

Islam came to the Malay archipelago in the year 850 Hijriyyah. It was first brought by the traders from Gujerat in India and Arabia to Peureulak, Aceh. Within a short span of time Aceh became very popular as a center for Islamic propagation and also that of trade in Southeast Asia.

The establishment of the dayah institution dates back to the beginning of Islamic teachings in Aceh. Due to its pioneering role in Islamic education, the government of Indonesia has granted it the status of "Daerah Istimewa" (Special Province). Under this status Aceh is free to practice and maintain its religious teachings, culture, and is also at liberty to set up Islamic institutions theoritically without central control. Anyway, such situation is just a drama to lull the Acehnese. This is worst trick which is always applied by Jakarta to Aceh and no matter who the president is.

The main objective of this study is to find out the scope of the curriculum of traditional and modern dayahs, and the process of their development. Also, this study is to find out to what extent the implementation of the curriculum of Islamic Studies has been carried out in both systems.

Generally, throughout Indonesia, the common Indonesian term for the traditional Islamic school is pesantren. Most pesantren are located in Java island, particularly in east and central Java. In recent years many so called modern pesantren have been established throughout the country including in Aceh. They, of course, adapt a different system of teaching conceptually and operationally, with their proper curriculum and methodology.

A dayah is led by a Teungku Syik while the leader of pesantren is called Kyai, both with dominant influence in deciding the curriculum and methodology to be used in the establishment they lead.

Taking into consideration the existence of the two different types of dayah and the role of the Teungku Syik, in each of them, this study is aimed at discussing the differences of curricula adapted by one and the other.

B. The Role of Dayah System in Aceh

Dayah is the most famous Islamic traditional school (system) in which practical and theoretical religious instructions are given. In other parts of Indonesia this institution is known either as dayah or pesantren. While in Aceh, only the term of dayah is used. It is one of the oldest tremendously educational institutions in Aceh and has influenced the Acehnese community.

Dayah plays an important role in cultivating the people to become knowledgeable. The majority of Acehnese receive Islamic teachings and pratical religious instructions from traditional Islamic school. Acehnese are expected to study there for at least one or two years. It is an undeniable fact that outstanding figures and charismatic leaders both in the government as well as in the community have undertaken, in one way or another, religious education in the dayah during their early stage of schooling. A very special aspect of this institution is its total immunity from theritical thoughts and teachings that often strike newer Islamic establishment.

The term pesantren is used here to mean the name currently used for the traditional institution in the rest of Indonesia.[1] In reality, dayah and pesantren refer to the same thing. Quite often both these terms are used interchangeably. As such, there is no difference between dayah and pesantren as both institutions srve as a place for Islamic education that aim to produce better Muslims and knowledgeable Ulama. The difference lies in the root word, one is derived from Arabic and the other from Sanskrit. The word dayah, which is also pronounced *deeah*, is derived from the Arabic " *zawiyah*". The word pesantren, is derived Sanskrit word "*santri*" which lexically means servant, but more commonly refer to "pupil of religious school". It also means a person who strictly observes his religious duties. This pesantren means the abode of santris, a kind of dormitory where students live and study.[2] The History of dayah can be traced back to when Islamic Kingdom first existed in Aceh. When Islam came to Aceh in the nineteenth century Hijriyyah, Islamic education was introduced and taught everywhere. Meunasah and dayah institutions were established all over the kingdom. During the reign

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[1]James T. Siegel,. *The Rope of God*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 48.

[2]Nasution, *"The Development of a Public School System in Indonesia: 1920-198,"* Ph.D's Thesis, submitted to The University of Wisconsin,(Michigan: University Microfilm International, Ann Arbor, , 1997), 17.

of Sultan Iskandar Muda in the early sixteenth century, Aceh was affectionately called "Serambi Mekkah" (Veranda of Mecca). It was noted for its great Ulama, devout Muslims, as well as for its educational institutions. The Sultan and Ulama were working hand in hand to support the development and progress of Islamic education. It is during this golden epoch that Aceh produced great and world well-known Ulama as well as literary men, such as Syech Nuruddin Ar-Raniry, Syech Abdur Rauf Fansuri, Syech Ahmad Khatib, Syech Syamsuddin As-Sumatrani, Hamzah Fansuri, etc.[3]

Hasymy,[4] states that the establishment of dayah has a long history as it was first established in the era of the Kongdom of Perlak, in the year 850 Hijriyyah. Historically, the first known dayah was Dayah Cot Kala, established by Teungku Syik Muhammad at the end of the tenth century. Later, other dayahs appeared, such as Dayah Seureulu, Dayah Blang Peria, Dayah Lam Peureu'eun, Dayah Simpang Kanan where Hamzah Fansuri (the greatest Acehnese sufi) and Abdul Rauf Singkili (the greatest Ulama of Aceh) studied, Dayah Batu Karang, Dayah Lambirah, dayah Tanoh Abee and so forth. Dayahs or pesantrens are generally located in rural areas. In the beginning, they had neither a detailed curriculum, nor any academic title; and of course no certifies given to the graduates.

When Islam established itself as the rule-of-life in Aceh, Islamic education took place at Meunasah, a sort of "club" seeing not only as a house of prayer but also as a common lodging house, especially for the youth. The name is derived from the Arabic "madrasah," meaning a teaching institute. One scholar,[5] however, is of the opinion that the word Meunasah could have been derived from a very beautiful origin which means: companionship, fellowship, friendship, togetherness. It originates from the word "anisa" which means to be in harmony with, to be acquainted with, to be in a full enjoyable partnesrship or friendship with someone or something.

Meunasah is the first place where children go to learn the basic tenets of Islam, before pursuing their education in dayah. Usually, as has been pointed out earlier, Meunasah is a sleeping place for young men, a rest house

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[3]Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Mahmudiah, 1960), 151.

[4]A. Hasymy, *Peranan Islam dalam Perang Aceh dan Perjuangan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1976), 21.

[5]Special interview with Assaoc. Prof. Dr. Sha'ban Muftah Ismail on December 15, 1993, at 10.00 a.m. in Gombak, Selangor Darul Ehsan, Malaysia.

for way-fearer and a house of prayer, that also serves as a place of meeting for various special occasions.[6] Nowadays, *Meunasah* has lost some of its function and used normally as a place to perform the five obligatory daily prayers and other religious activities of the village.

Needless to say, the Islamic education implemented in Aceh has its own style. In general it can be classified into three levels: elementary schooling that takes place in Meunasah (Madrasah), secondary school level in Rangkang, and higher education in Bale. The subjects taught in each level are different. According to Hasymy,[7] the structure of Islamic education is well organized and it begins with Meunasah. At this level the pupils are taught how to read and write Arabic, to recite Al-Qur'an, to perform shalat (prayer), akhlaq (morals), Islamic history, pillars of faith and to sing religious songs every Thursday night.

After completing their elementary level in Meunasah, the pupils pursue their secondary education in Rangkang, where they start studying Arabic, Tawhid (unity of God), Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence), Tasawwuf (mysticism) Islamic History and non-religious subjects such as Geography, Arithmetic, and World History.[8]

Subsequently, at the higher level the students continue their education in Bale (pronounced bar-laey). The agglomeration of several Bales and Rangkangs constitutes a dayah.[9] Because of different levels of education and curricula, the position and status of the teachers in the eyes of the community are also not the same. Those who teach at the elementary level in Meunasah are called "Teungku di Meunasah," in secondary level the teachers are called "Teungku di Rangkang," ang "Teungku di Bale" is the title given to those teaching in Bale. The highest title is Teungku Syik (In Java called "Kyai"), equivalent to a professor in the university system. Generally, he is the one who leads the dayah and responsible for the formation of Teungku "Teungku di Rangkang," "di Meunasah" and "di Bale," having himself acquired much knowledge, especially in Islamic teachings from other

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[6] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Translated by A.W.S. O'sullivan, Vol. 1., Late (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1906), 62.

[7] Hasymy, A., "Bunga Rampai Revolusi dari Tanah Aceh," Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978, p.35.

[8] Ibid. p. 25

[9] A.K. Baihaqi, "Ulama dan Madrasah Aceh," in Taufiq Abdullah (ed.), "Agama dan Perubahan Sosial", Jakarta: Rajawali, 1983, p. 142.

great teachers and by his own studies. In fact, when reaching this status, he is usually referred to as a simply "Teungku of X" ("X" being the name of the dayah or the village of his abode.[10]

In Aceh religious institutions, such as pesantren, dayah, and meunasah, as is the Surau educataion in west Sumatera, are institutions which produce Islamic scholars. Thus, the task of a pesantren is not to teach students to become trained manpower in various fields of activities, but to prepare them to be teachers themselves of pesantren; or simply to be instructors in reading the Holy Qur'an, to be Imams of mosques, chiefs of villages, and other such leadership positions. Naturally, there are always students who pursue pesantren education exclusively for their own benefit.[11]

But then again, the function of a dayah is not only to educate people in order to become Ulama or outstanding people in the community, but when the need arises to produce "fighters" who are willing to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Allah. In time of war, the dayah inculcates within the students the spirit of Jihad and of struggle against the enemy of Islam.[12]

Majid[13] elaborates that, the main objective of a pesantren is to produce Muslim awareness wit an acute of practicing Islamic teaching completely. In addition, graduates are expected to be able to anticipate and respond to any obstacle in daily life, in accordance with the tenets of Islam.

According to Boland,[14] a dayah or pesantren could be compared to a private religious boarding school in the western world, where an individual education is given. In the case of the former, education is limited to religious instructions and ritual practices.

Uncontestably, dayah in Aceh is an institution which has helped produce many great Ulama and outstanding figures in the community. This fact, is abundantly evident throughout history to this day, as some dayahs are noted for the highly respected Ulama and leaders they have sent out into the community. The progress or decline of a pesantren or a dayah in prepar-

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[10]Ibid. p. 143

[11]Steenbrink, Karell, A., *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, p 162.

[12]Hasymy, Op. Cit. p.26.

[13]Majid, Nurcholis, "Merumuskan Kembali Tujuan Pendidikan Pesantren," in M. Dawam Rahardjo (ed.), *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren: Membangun dari Bawah*, P3M ., Jakarta, p. 3.

[14]Boland, B.J., *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), p. 113.

ing candidates of high scholarship depend on the caliber of the Teungku Syik or Kyai as a top leader in organizing and administering it. However unfortunately, the past few years, the role of the institution as the center for producing capable Ulama and community leaders has become questionable because of erosion of the quality of the present day successors. It has thus become vicious cirle: less able teachers producing even lesser quality graduates.[15]

Osman says : pesantren (as it is known in Indonesia) and Sekolah Pondok (as it is known in the Peninsula) used to be the centers of religious instruction. Although such schools later became the stronghold of the conservative scholars as against the teachings of the so called "modernistic reformers," they had served for a long time as the point of reference for Islamic knowledge. The pesantren, on the other hand, while subscribing to the basic tenets of Islam were qu ite unaware of the scholastic traditions of religious knowledge.[16]

Nevertheless, as it is common for those who have completed their studies in their respective villages to pursue their higher education in dayah which may be located far from their villages, it is safe to say that the dayah institution continues to be central in developing and deepening the Islamic teachings. After studying for several years (usually 5-7 years), the students may go back to their respective villages and establish another small dayah in their locality. Such effort will be highly appreciated and warmly welcomed by the community.[17]

Traditional Islamic schools will welcome new ideas or thoughts when they do not contradict Islamic creed and values. Thus, Peacock [18] says: "that traditionalist Islamic schools (known as pesantren) appear to strongly encourage both refor theologians and associates" Despite the fact that certain specific features of method and doctrine in pesantren schooling oppose reformism, and even thogh pesantren is organizationally affiliated with "santri

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[15]Nadj, E. Shobirin, "Kepemimpinan dan Manjemen Pesantren," in M. Dawam Rahardjo (ed.), Op.Cit. p.114.

[16]Osman, Mohd. Thaib, "Islamization of the Malays: A Transformation of Culture ," in Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddiqui, and Yasmin Hussain (eds.), *Reading in Islam*, Southeast Asian Studies, (Singapore: ISEAS, 1985), p. 46.

[17]Alfian, Ibrahim, *Perang di Jalan Allah*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1987), p.153.

[18]Peacock, James, L., *Muslim Puritan: Reformists Psychology in Southeast Asian Islam*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 37.

kolot" (traditionalist Muslims) parties, something about the general psychology of pesantren schooling (perhaps the sheer intensity and asceticism of the experience) appears to encourage the development of reformist orientations.

It is obvious that pesantren is a religious institution which grows and develops on the ground of Islamic religion. Hence, the motive, purpose, and effort of the pesantren itself are based on Islamic principles. In fact, nowadays the pesantren does not focus its attention on religious affairs, but is attempting to be considered also a social institution.[19]

It wants to be considered an agent of change, because as a social institution, it has indeed made many changes for the people around it. As an institution of solidarity expected by the community, its role will be dynamic and a catalyst of rural development. Therefore, the dayah should play its role not only in religion, but also in social, economic and cultural affairs. It is possible for the dayah to initiate solidarity between the rural community and outsiders. By virtue of its unique location in the rural area, it can easily understand the problems faced by the rural community and incorporate new ideas and concepts into that community.[20]

According to Liem, [21] dayah is educational institution, which originated in the native group even before the arrival of the Dutch. Until the present time the pesantren has remained a private institution. We have seen how in the past, the colonial government had sought to incorporate these Muslim schools into the public educational system. However, the disparity between the Western type public education and the traditional Islamic one appeared to be so great that such plans had to be dropped. The curriculum of pesantren was mostly restricted to the faultless reading of the Qur'an and other religious texts. None of the secular subjects taught in the public school system were included. Unlike the public school the pesantren was "upgraded" in terms of levels, though in many Langgars (Javanese equivalent of Meunasah) some kind of elementary instruction might be provided.

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[19]Suyata, "Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Sosial yang Hidup", in M. Dawam Rahardjo, Op. Cit. p. 17.

[20]Sulaiman, Irchamni, "Pesantren Mengembangkan Teknologi Tepat Guna K Desa", in M. DawaM Rahardjo, Ibid. p. 245.

[21]Liem, Tjong Tiat, *"Ethnicity and Modernization in Indonesian Education: A Comparative Study of Pre-Independence and P{ost-Independence Period"*, Ph. D's Thesis submitted to The University of Wisconsin, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1986, p. 187.

The Islamic institutions of learning were established in Java and other islands of Indonesia at the beginning of the fifteenth century when Islam was first introduced. Even then, it was strongly felt that that the meaning of Islamic knowledge and ritual required more than casual study. At first, this study was carried out through instruction offered in the "Kyai's" (religious teacher's) house or in the "Surau" (another Malay name for Meunasah). Such instruction included recitation of the Al-Qur'an and prayers. The model-more formal Hindu-Buddhist Javanese asrama (boarding) was adapted and became the "Pondok Pesantren".[22]

Prof. Ibrahim Husein,[23] the former rector of The State Islamic Institute of Ar-Raniry, Darussalam-Banda Aceh, asserts that the dayah is one of the many Islamic institutions in Aceh which provides Islamic teachings to students particularly for the intermediate and advanced level of education. The dayahs are established on the initiative of the Ulama and local community. Therefore, most of the well-known Ulama in Aceh have their own dayah to teach and to educate the young generation to become Muslim *duat* (preachers). In fact, the institution remains traditional in every way and its nature and characteristics are still maintained, especially in terms of the teaching and learning process and students also maintain their traditional life style. For example, in the teaching and learning process of the Bale, the students and Teungku, sit in halaqah (circle) and wear kopiah songkok (or in Malay, a rimless fur like cap usually made of velvet), and sarong. Also, the books used as the primary sources must be selected from the Shafei'i school (mazhab Shafei'i) the authority of Teungku is absolute, and his/her ideas and decicions are not for the students to question. The method of teaching is also traditional, for instance, the Teungku Syik would read the lesson first before explaining it to the students, then he would ask the students to re-read and discuss it with their friends. In this respect, the authority of Teungku Syik, his/her decicions and ideas must be followed. Nevertheless, any student who is successful in completing his/her studies in one of the traditional dayahs, is always given high consideration in society because of the patience,

[22]Soegiyanto, Saleh, "Education and National Development: A Study of Influence of Schooling, Student Background, and Academic Ability on Student Academic Achievement in Indonesian Public General Senior High School," Ph.D's submitted to The Florida State University, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1985, p. 25.

[23]Ibrahim Husein, "Persepsi Kalangan Dayah terhadap Pendidikan Tinggi di Aceh", (unpublished paper) IAIN Ar-Raniry, Darusslam-Banda Aceh, 1985, pp.20-21.

hard-work and hardship he/she has had to endure to be successful. Besides, dayah graduates are also considered Ulama who have acquired much knowledge and wisdom and not just those mastering Arabic grammar. Nowadays, the exixstence of dayahs, and their traditional ways, are challenged by many modern madrasahs in Aceh. Therefore, the traditional dayah have to broaden their curriculum and modify their education system in order to survive in the midst of the progressing community.

Basically, the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs has requested all dayahs/pesantrens to apply a uniformalized curriculum as the one used in the government religious schools: but they are still resisting this, and so far none has complied with the official requirement. The Ministry of Religious Affairs plans to modernize all dayahs or pesantrens by imposing some subject, such as Physics, Biology, Chemistry, Mathematics, Panca Morality Edsucation (civics), and Indonesian Languange as well as other social sciences. But Jakarta will need much longer time ang stronger persuasion methods to convince the traditional dayah leaders. One such methods currently applied is in the form of rejection by rector of the State Islamic Institute (I.A.I.N.) to enroll dayah/pesantren students into any of these government institutes.[24]

The pesantren, in the early stage of its establishment, was compared to an earthen jar with only substance in it. No other subjects were to be taught other than Islamic tenets. Its sole function was to deepen Islamic knowledge of the students, a place for *"tafaqqahu fid din"*. Today, the contents and the programs of pesantren education are no longer limited to religious instruction. The earthen jar has been filled with various matters, the nature of which depends on the desire of its Kyai. Indeed, modern pesantrens are everywhere in Indonesia, with curriculum as diverse as their founders. Subjects like English, Arabic, and other sciences as provided in government schools are taught.[25]

Langgulung,[26] says that the curriculum of Islamic education should include language courses, for example, (Arabic, English and etc),

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[24]Ahmad Syadali, "Sekali Cekal Buat Lulusan Pesantren", *Media Dakwah*, August 1992.

[25]Gozali, K.H. Syukri, "Bukan Lagi Sebuah Kendi Air", *Panjimas*, No. 727, August 10, 1992, p. 33.

[26]Hasan Langgulung, *Asas-Asas Pendidikan Islam*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991), p. 127.

religiousinstruction, natural science, history, geography, literature, poetry, philosophy, and logics.

In fact, the objective of the curriculum of Islamic studies is to produce Muslim intellectuals. They should not only be knowledgeable in Islamic matters but must also be good at other branches of knowledge. Along with the traditional subjects of Tafsir (exegesis), Fiqh (jurisprudence), Hadits (the tradition and sayings of the Prophet), etc., new courses suach as "Islam in the modern World" and "Contemporary Revivalist Movements" should be taught in the dayah. In this case, Muhammad Iqbal, one of the most outstanding Muslim poet-philosophers of the twentieth century, suggested that Islamic studies has four basic objectives which are depicted as follows:

The purpose of Islamic studies is to educate and train well-qualified theologians; to produce scholars who may, by their research in the various branches of Muslim literature and thought, be able to trace genetically the continuity of intellectual life between Muslim culture and modern knowledge; to turn out Muslim scholars well versed in the various aspects of Muslim history, art, general culture and civilization; and to produce scholars who may be fit to carry on research in the legal literature of Islam.[27]

It seems logical for Iqbal's opinion to be accepted formally and implemented in the modern day life of the dayahs in Aceh in order to improve the quality of their Islamic education, and thus perpetuate their existence.

In this respect, Kazi (1992) complements the above idea of Iqbal by saying :

> Traditional Islamic education is not divorced from other activities of life. In fact, it is an important part of it. The Islamic approach towards education is integrated and holistic and the curriculum is presented as a unified whole aiming at simultaneous development of pupils' moral, social, cultural, religious and intellectual personality.[28]

On the other hand, Kazi also expresses his ideas about the objevtive of traditional Islamic education.

The main objective of traditional Islamic education has been to pre-

[27] Allama Muhammad Iqbal, quoted in Ziauddin Sardar, *Islamic Futures: The Shape of Ideas to Come*, (Malaysia: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd., 1988), p. 305.

[28] M. A.Kazi, "Conceptual Framework of Islamic Educational System", *Islamic Thought and Scientific Creativity* (A Quarterly Journal of the Comsteech), No. 2, Vol. 3, 1992, p. 7.

pare the young child to live a life of honesty and virtue, in accordance with the precepts provided in the Qur'an. During this preparation, effort was made all the time to upgrade his moral state and to to inculcate in him the respect for Islamic values and principles. It was also intended that he should grow up to become a responsible member of the community, enjoying virtue and forbidding vice.[29]

The opinions of both Iqbal's and Kazi's with regards to curriculum and objective of Islamic education are suitable to be applied in dayahs. Their opinion would uphold the quality of Islamic education and produce Muslim intellectuals who are responsible for the ummah.

Ismuha,[30] states that dayah provides the students with religious instruction besides teaching *Nahw'* and *Sarf*. In dayah, the students are taught by Teungku whose reputation attracts students from near and far. Therefore, it is quite often that those who intend to study seriously have to choose a dayah which is far from their villages.

It is said that the *"Ulama"* (plural form of "a'lim" meaning "one who is knowledgeable") and their dayah played a very significant role in promoting Islamic Education. It is due to these dayahs that the young generations are inspired and persuaded to travel far and wide to gain knowledge in Islam.[31]

Ali and Effendy[32] are of the opinion that the dayah is the institution which zealously support the traditional method of teaching and is opposed to modernization. The Kyai or Teungku Syik plays the most important role in defending traditionalist Muslims and traditionalist teachings.

In modern society, dayahs and pesantrens are considered the most successful institution in socializing values and in inculcating the Islamic tenets among the younger generation. Therefore, it is assumed that the institution of dayah/pesantren has been able to protect the young adults from moral trepidation and ignorance. This reality is evident in the children of many

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[29]Ibid. p.12.

[30]Ismuha, "Ulama Aceh dan Perubahan Sosial", in Taufiq Abdullah (ed.), Op.cit. p.20.

[31]Taufiq Abdullah, "The Pesantren in Historical Perspective", in Taufiq Abdullah and Sharon Siddiqui (eds.), *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia*, (Singapore: ISEAS, 1988), p.169.

[32]Ali, Fachri and Effendy, Bachtiar, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1986), p. 154.

parents who have sent their offspring to these institutions.[33]

While they found in both rural and urban areas, most pesantren are located in village or small towns. Several of the oldest ones in central Java were established by and for many years sustained through, royal patronage. In either case the pesantren typically includes a mosque, a house of Kyai, and dormitories. The entire complex is the property of the Kyai. In the nineteenth century students were exclusively male. Many pesantren now have classes and dormitories for female students. In these schools the sexes are strictly separated.[34]

In term of genre, to my mind, giving up equal rights to women to pursue their education is a proper thing to do. Unfortunately, this stand was not adapted widely in the life of dayah/pesantren in Aceh in the past. Women were not encouraged to pursue higher education. But such a situation has changed much in the post-independent Indonesia. In this respect, I support the concept of the dayah allowing women to study in segregated classes. I am happy to note that at present, this is the prevailing trend in most dayahs in Aceh.

Traditionally, education in pesantren starts with learning the Qur'an and Hadith, and all activities are planned to be in harmony with the principles of Islam; Islam is taught to the students as a way of life.[35]

Ibrahim, the head regent of Aceh Pidie, Sumatera, Indonesia,[36] says that the dayah or pesantren is a very strategic asset which shoul be maintained seriously to produce leaders with dynamic leadership qualities in the community. It is a well documented historical fact, that most of the fighters for independence in the early period of the Indonesian struggle against colonialism had been dayah educational educated. Nevertheless, the educational and curricular systems need to be reformed in order to suit the society of today. Moreover, the dayah educational institution should be prepared to

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[33]M.. Rusli Karim, *Dinamika Islam di Indonesia: Suatu Tinjauan Sosial Politik* Yogyakarta: Hanindita, 1985), p. 137.

[34]Mark R.Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanet of Yogyakarta*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1988), p.146.

[35]Mukhtar Bukhari, "Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia: Problem Masa depan", in M. Dawam Rahardjo (ed.), *Islam Indonesia Menatap Masa Depan*, (Jakarta: P3M., 1989), p.76.

[36]H.M. Diah Ibrahim, "Pesantren Merupakan Asset Strategis Dalam Mencetak Kader Pembangunan", *Serambi Indonesia*, 5 September 1992, p.5.

improve its quality by developing their students' vision.[37]

It is further suggested that a harmonious relationship between the dayah and the government should be further developed. Both of them should work closely in maintaining the Islamic education in dayah. They should minimize the conflict and eradicate any misconception that will bring disunityamong the Muslim ummah.

C. Description of the Dayah System in Aceh

As stated earlier, dayah is the oldest educational institution in Aceh. As such, dayah has been responsible for the education of many great leaders as well as the common people, especially in inculcation of religious practices and tenets to the younger generation. Indeed, to ignore the role of the dayah in the formation of the Acehnese psyche is to deny history and actual fact.

Basically, when talking about dayah,people tend to imagine that this institution is just as the traditional Islamic school. Nowadays, however, there are two kinds of dayah found in Aceh. They are : 1) traditional dayah (dayah tradisional) and 2) modern integrated dayah (dayah moderen terpadu). Both institutions, of course, have their own systems and styles. As their names suggest, one follows the well established traditional ways, while the other adapts modern methods.

Traditional dayah still uses the classical curriculum of Islamic Studies. This is evident from all the classical books *(kutub)* which are still being taught. Zhofier (1990, p.50) [38] explains that the classical books are divided into eight, namely : Nahw (syntax), and Sarf (morphology), Fiqh (jurisprudence), Ushul Fiqh (principle of the jurisprudence), Hadth (the Prophet Sallallahu Alaihi wasaalam sayaing), Tawhid (theology), Tasaawuf (mysticism), ethics, and other disciplines such as Islamic History and Balaghah (rhetoric).

In the past few years, there have appeared many modern dayahs everywhere in Aceh. In these modern dayahs the curriculum has been modified, in order to intensify the development and cater the quality of education to the needs of the progessing community. Moreover, the people's awareness of the importance of secular education is on the increase. Dayah, together with its curriculum, should accommodate the demands of the techni-

[37] H.M Kasem T.B., "IPTEK di Terima Sebagai Ko-Kurikuler Dayah", *Serambi Indonesia*, December 5, 1992, p.3.

[38] Zhofier, Zamakhsyari, *Tradisi Pesantren: Study tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1960), p. 50.

cal industrial era without allowing any laxity in the religious practices of the Islamic faith. In other words, it should strike a balance in the life of the Muslim community. Therefore, there should be a great emphasis in the teaching of naturasl sciences in order to increase the quality and to maintain the high reputation of a successful Islamic education.

Ridwan, the head regent of northern Aceh (1992, p.3),[39] suggests that the existence of dayah or Acehnese styled-pesantren s, which apply a traditional curriculum, needs to be maintained. Nevertheless, the presence of new style pesantren such as the "Pesantren Inti" and the " Modern Pesantren" are acceptable and actually needed by the community. He also states that the dayah has proved its self as the only institution which has been educating the younger generation in Islamic education continuously since Islam came to Aceh. Because of this vital and central role within the community, it is unthinkable for the Acehnese community to ever abandon the dayah institution.

Dayah has been a social institution which constitutes a moral and spiritual force as one of the most valuable heritage elements of Aceh and it may have the greatest resource and contribution to the national development.[40]

As previously mentioned, dayah is a significant institution in educating Muslims, a central place for disseminating Islamic da'wah, and forging a cooperative link with the government in the Acehnese community.

Many efforts have been made both by the community and the government towards the development of dayah. It seems that the dayah as a system of education has to be maintained. Yet, there are a few dayahs which are reluctant to accept any kind of aid from the government because of certain political reasons. The efforts of the government to have natural and social sciences included in the curricula of dayah establishment could be of more benefitto the students than the feared negative impact.[41]

Aceh was visited by Italian traveler, Marco Polo, earlier in the 12th century and by Ibnu Batutah (the famous Arab traveler from Morocco) in the 14th century. It is believed that this was the first place where the seed of Islam was implemented and from where it later spread to cover the entire Malay

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[39]Ramli Ridwan, "Dayah Model Aceh Perlu di Pertahankan", *Serambi Indonesia*, December 4, p.3

[40]Idris, Safwan, "IPTEK di Terima Sebagai Ko-Kurikuler Dayah", *Serambi Indonesia*, December 5, p.1.

[41]Syadali, *Op. Cit.* p. 52.

archipelago (Southeast Asia). Aceh was the site of the famous early Islamic kingdom of Perlak ang Samudra Pase (pronounced "Pasai").

Marco Polo on his return voyage from China in A.D. 1292 called inhabitans of the town Muslims while those of surrounding towns were characterized as pagans. A Muslim tombstone was also discovered in north Sumatera: that of first ruler of Samudera-Pase (Marco Polo called it "Samara") Sultan Malik al-Salih (the righteous king) who died in A.D. 1297.[42]

In A.D. 1345, Ibnu Batuta, a famous Moroccan traveler who visited Samudera on his journey from Bengal to China, recorded that Islam had been influential therte for almost a century and commented on the piety of its ruler Sultan Malik al-Zahir.[43]

The above quotations reveal that both Ibnu Batuta and Màro Polo witnessed that Acehnese had already embraced Islam. Therefore, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the dayah system might have existed in the same time in Aceh. On the other hand, the modern dayah was first established in 1983 is, the dayah of "Ulumul Qur'an –Bustanul Ulum", in Langsa, East Aceh. Accordingly, a comparative description of the two dayahs: the traditional and the modern; may be more helpful. The curriculum, the teachers, and the students of both institutions will be examined.

1. Traditional Dayahs

Dayah is the traditional Islamic school system found throughout Aceh. Presently, the total number traditional dayahs in Aceh is about 364, with students enrolled in them are 477.822.[44] Most dayahs are located in rural areas. Each dayah has its own campus, consisting of a mosque, dormitories for students, a Bale (a special hall in the form of a raised platform), a library and several classroom and an administrative office. Generally, the place where a dayah is situated belongs to a Teungku Syik (head of dayah) himself or to a waqf (a land donated for religious or community use). The students live in dormitories during the course. Female and male students are strictly separated both in classes and in dormitories.

This research has been carried out on five traditional dayahs: Dayah Darul Fallah and Dayah Darul Munawwarah which are located in Ulel Gle,

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[42]Israeli, Raphael, *The Cresent in the East: Islam in Asia Minor*, (London: Curzon Press, London, 1988), p. 181.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Kantor Wilayah Departemen Agama (KANWIL DEPAG), Banda Aceh.

Kecamatan (sub-district) of Bandar Dua, Kabupaten (district) Pidie. Dayah Ma'hadul 'Ulum Diniyah Islamiyah Mesjid Raya and Dayah Putri Muslimat Mesjid Raya which arec located in Mideun Joek, Kecamatan Samalnga, Kabupaten Aceh Utara. And the last of five is dayah Darussalamah, Teupin Raya, Kecamatan Glumpang Tiga, Kabupaten Pidie. Besides the above, which are open to both male and female studenys only such as the dayah Putri Muslimah Mesjid Raya and the Dayah Darussalamah Teupin Raya.

Generally, the system of traditional dayah education is set-up in five levels:

First, Tajhiziyah (preparatory school) lasting one year. In this level, the newly enrolled pupils are expected to excel academically within the year. They are taught basic Arabic grammar, Quranic readings and basic Islamic jurisprudence (Ushul Fiqh) morality (Akhlaq), and other basic Islamic tenets and principles.

Second, Ibtidaiyah (primary school). This level lasts 3 (three) years.

Third, Tsanawiyah (junior high school). Lasting also 3 (three) years.

Fourth, Aliyah (senior high school). For another 3 (three), students are taught more advances in Islamic tenets principles.

Fifth, Takhassus (specialization). At this level, the students are required to study, for three years, under the tutelage of a Teungku di Bale (teungku Syik). This class is considered equivalent to a university or college level. The subjects offered here are more critical and comprehensive in nature, such as philosophy, mantiq (logic), comparative study of the Islamic schools of thought, tasawwuf, and comparative religion.

As has been mentioned earlier, the Teungku Syik's position in the traditional dayah in particular, and in the community in general, is highly honored. He is the absolute policy maker of the dayah. He determines everything related to the dayah including and especially the curriculum and the recruiting of teachers or Tengkus Rangkang. Conversely, such absolute authority is not possible in the modern dayah, where the hedmaster cannot do or determine anything without consultation with the teaching and administrative staff. Every decision he makes must be approved by the board of teachers and administrators of the dayah and and probably by the government, through the local education authority.

a. Curriculum

There are theoretical approaches adopted by dayahs in Aceh in formu-

lating curricular offerings which are more responsible and flexible for both the teachers and students. Curriculum content must of necessity be geared towards the total development of man, physically, morally, socially and spiritually in order that Muslims become the best ummah whose ways of life are strictly in accordance with the rules stipulated in Qur'an and Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.uh.).

The curriculum is defined according to the philosophy of education applicable in every country. It is what goes on in schools and other educational institutions; it is only part of education.[45]

Beyer and Apple (1988) say that: Curriculum can also be thought of as what students have an opportunity to learn under the auspices of schools. In this case, the overt curriculum constitutes what school people intend that students learn and teachers say they intend to teach: the publicly advertised fare of the schools. The hidden curriculum is what students have an opportunity to learn through everyday goings-on under the auspices of schools, although teachers and other school people do not intend those learnings.[46]

Generally, we can say that the curriculum is something going on at school which is either formal or informal, overt or hidden. In other words, the teachers' and students' activities both inside and outside the classroom can be included as part of the curriculum. Yet, from an Islamic point of view, the curriculum involves many things related to Islamic values. This has been contended by one of the Muslim educators. In this respect, Ismail has contributed his opinion about the curriculum.[47] He says that : "Curriculum is people and their beliefs, their philosophies, and their practices. It is the reflection of political, religious, social, and ethical values of any given in its school system".

The contents of traditional dayah curricula revolve around Islamic law and jurisprudence, Islamic History, Mysticism, Unity of God, Arabic, Traditions of the Prophet, Quranic Interpretation and the like. The curriculum is arranged on the bases of the Teungku Syiek's experience and normally follows the same pattern as all other dayahs in Aceh. In this respect, the Teungku

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[45]John Matthews, *Curriculum Exposed*, (London: David Fulton Publishers, 1989), p. 2.

[46]Gail McCutcheon, "Curriculum and Work of Teachers", in Landon E. Beyer and Michael W. Apple (eds.), *The Curriculum: Problems, Politics, and Possibilities*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1988), p. 191.

[47]Sha'ban M. Ismail, *The In-Depth Study of Full-Time Islamic School*, (Indiana: ISNA, 1991), p. 3.

Syik has full control of the curriculum in his dayah. As the curriculum has never been evaluated by any other party, it is very difficult to suggest as to whether it is suitable or not for the students.

Today, the meaning of curriculum has been expressed and given wider

TABLE I
SUBJECTS AND BOOKS USED FOR THE FIFTH YEAR STUDENTS IN THE TRADITIONAL DAYAH

NAME OF SUBJECTS	NAME OF BOOKS
Fiqh	Al Mahally
Tafsir	Al Khazen
Nahw and Sarf	Ibnu Aqil
Tasawwuf	Ihya 'Ulumuddin
Hadith	Fathul Mabdi
Mantiq	Al 'Athar 'ala Syahril Khiashi
Balaghah	Jawhirul Balaghah
Ushul Fiqh	Ghayatul Ushul
Tarikh al Islam	Khulash Nurul Yaqin
'Ulumul al Tafsir	Al Tashi
'Ulumul al Qur'an	Al Itqan
Tawhid	Dusuqi 'ala Ummi Burhan

scopes by some experts, even if the traditional dayahs in Aceh still apply or maintain the conventional pattern. The curriculum of traditional dayah in Aceh is different from those of government schools and the modern dayahs because it gives more emphasis to Islamic Studies. Besides its curriculum, determined by the Teungku Syik(the head of dayah), it is also adapted to the local needs. However, most dayahs apply the same curriculum as that of the Dayah Labuhan Haji (one of the famous dayahs in South Aceh). This is due to the fact that most dayah leades today graduated from the Labuhan Haji, so it is natural that they should apply the experience they had during their studies in their own establishments.[48] As a consequence, almost all of

[48]M. Yusuf Ahmad and Tumanggor, Rusmin, "Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Labuhan Haji, Aceh Selatan (Study Tentang Perkembangan Sistem Pendidikan Agama Islam di Aceh)", (unpublished) Lembaga Riset dan Survey IAIN Ar-Raniry, Darussalam, 1985-86, p.24.

TABLE II
SUBJECTS AND ALLOCATION OF TIMES SPENT PER-WEEK

NAME OF SUBJECTS	TIMES SPENT PER-WEEK	
	Hours	Minutes
Fiqh	14	30
Tafsir	4	0
Nahw and Sarf	6	30
Tasawwuf	3	0
Islamic History	2	30
Hadith	4	0
'Ulumul al Qur'an	2	0
Mantiq	2	30
'Ulumul al Tafsir	2	30
Balaghah	2	30
Ushul Fiqh	4	0
Tawhid	5	0
Total	54	0

the curriculum and its contents of dayahs in Aceh are static, not progressive. To solve the current problems on curriculum content the Persatuan Dayah Inshafuddin was established on February 4, 1968. It seeks to eliminate the differences among the dayah on curricula matters. To achieve its purpose, the Persatuan Dayah Inshafuddin expended much effort on the improvement of curriculum contents to make them more responsive to the changes of time. The Persatuan Dayah Inshafuddin has the following functions:

1. To arrange, preserve, and develop the education of dayah in order to educate the ummah and to disseminate knowledge to all people.
2. To propagate Islamic da'wah.
3. To develop the community and culture based on Islam.[49]

The above points have been implemented to some extent by the dayahs in educating the Muslims, and in the propagating Islamic Da'wah throughout Aceh. The above points explain how the coming of Inshafuddin has minimized the gap and differing points of view, especially in formulating the dayah curriculum.

[49] Anggaran Dasar (Statutes) Inshafuddin, article 5, Banda Aceh, 1986.

Actually, most dayahs in Aceh have agreed particularly in adopting many common Islamic Studies in their curriculum. The subjects provided in these studies are Tawhid, Tasawwuf, Mantiq, Fiqh, Tafsir, Hadits, Nahw Sarf, Balaghah, Ushul Fiqh and Islamic History. The books used are classical Arabic textbooks which are written by Imam Shafe'i and his disciples.

Based on the subjects mentioned above, it is thus clear that traditional dayahs in Aceh only offer Islamic Studies. Not a single natural science subjects is taught in any of the 5 (five) establishments surveyed. It is obvious that the Persatuan Dayah Inshafuddin was established with the view of reorganizing and strengthening the existing traditional dayah curriculum and not to develop or modify it.

Books and subjects mentioned in the curriculum of traditional dayahs, particularly those for the fifth year students, are stated in the table below.

The time for studying starts after Shalat Maghrib up to Shalat Isha', and then continues until the midnight. After Shalat Subuh the program starts again to finish at 9.00 a.m. Studies are also conducted after Shalat Zuhur up to Shalat 'Ashar. This is the normal study schedule in the traditional dayahs.

All of the above subjects are known as overt curriculum, but there are also the 'hidden curriculum', such as handycraft, and other skills or arts, which are not specially mentoned. In fact, some dayahs have also introduced some extra curricular activities such as, tailoring, embroidery, sewing, agricultural and poultry farming, etc.

All these activities are carried out in order to supplement the students' income durin their study in the dayah and also as back-up skills if their academic qualifications should prove to be insufficient to support their livelihood in the future.

The allocation of times spent according to the subject matter per-week in hours/minutes are as follows:

The above table (Table II) reveals that the times spent per-week for each subject are varied. Of the twelve subjects mentioned in the table, only Fiqh takes more time than the others. Fiqh takes 14.30 (fourteen hours and thirty minutes) per-week. Then, Nahw and Sarf take 6.30 (six hours and thirty minutes) per-week. Tawhid comes third in the rank of the subjects that requires much study time. It takes 5 (five) hours per-week. While Ushul Fiqh, Hadith, and Tafsir take 4 (four) hours per-week. The remaining 2 (two) subjects take 3 (three) and 2 (two) hours per-week respectively.

The time of studying in traditional dayahs is at night, in the morning and in the afternoon. Inother words, it starts after Shalat Maghrib for an

hour. Two and half hours after Shalt Isha', three hours after Shalat Subuh, and two and half hours after Shalat Zuhur. So, the average time spent is 9 (nine) hours per-day. The time allocated for studies as mentioned above will guide students to utilize the time efficiently and wisely.

It has become a tradition that after completing the reading of the book "Khanduri Peutamat Kitab" there will be a first ceremonial feast performed. To achieve this will take the Teungku Rangkang or Teungku di Bale and students attending the subject a few months. When this is accomplished the students ang their Teungku will hold a thansgiving prayer for the author of the book. Usually prior to that, a goat or a sheep would have been slaughtered to be served at the n feast after the thansgiving prayer.

Examinations are carried out twice a year or once every semester in traditional dayahs. Examinations consist of the oral type (reading of textbooks) as well as written (compositions). This is the only type of examinations carried out in the dayahs.

b. Teachers

The teachers in the traditional dayahs work basically on voluntary basis without expecting any reward either from the students or from the community. They are not regular salaries. Most are senior students who have been studying at least 8-9 years in the same dayah. They are not issued any certificates or diplomas by the government, and not even by their dayah. What they have is recognition by the dayah or the knowledge and experience they gained. They are called Teungku di Rangkang, meaning assistant master and prefect for students who lodge in the Rangkang (stilt hut).[50] Teungku di Rangkang are taught by Teungku di Bale (Teungku Syik) who is the leader of the dayah.

It has been pointed out earlier that the position of a teacher in traditional dayah is very respectable. He/she works exclusively for the blessing of God. Dayah teachers dedicate their entire life for serving the ummah. It is not an exaggeration to say such teachers are the original role model. They are not only persons of learning but also of virtue, of piety whose exemplary conduct, by itself, bears a great impact upon the minds of the younger generation under their tutelage (Husain and Ashraf, 1970, p. 104).[51]

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[50] Hurgronje, C. Snouck, Op. Cit., 1906, p. 29.

[51] Syed Sajjad Husain and Ashraf, Syed Ali, *Crisis in Muslim Education*, (Jeddah: Hodder and Stoughton , King Abdulaziz University, 1979), p.104.

In the traditional dayah, there is a Bale which is a special place where the students, study together with their teacher. Such arrangement is not found in modern dayahs, that provide students classrooms and a laboratory to study. Thus, in traditional dayah the students, in the bale, together with a Teungku sit in halaqha (circle) to study. The method of teaching used is discussion, question and answer, lecture, and memoriczation, etc.

The Teungku, first, reads the book (kitab) whle the students listen. The he recites it again, this time with explanations. After that, students are told to read the text and repeat the commentary.

Normally, the Teungku di Rangkang (teachers) stay in the dormitory and so do the students. Only the Teungku Syik lives in his own house which is usually located within the dayah.

The life of Teungkus is very simple. To survive they cultivate the land owned by the dayah (waqf), growing rice, vegetables and fruits. Their incomes are also supported modestly by the local community through payments of Zakat and shadaqah (alms).

c. Students

The students of the traditional dayahs or pesantren are called *"ureung meudagang"* (lirally means 'away from home people'), while in the rest of Indonesia they are called *"santri"*. Both these terms are used solely for the students in traditional dayah or pesantren.

The number of students in a class varies from around 20 to 25. Every level is divided into three or four categories, such as class A,B, C and D. It is very common that the lower levels have more students than higher classes. It was found that the average number of students in the higher level classes is around 10-15.

Most of the dayah students have different secular educational backgrounds. Some of them are graduates of Junior or even Senior High Schools, while others have completed primary schools. There are also some dropouts.

Those who wish to study in dayah, have to sit for a test. This test is intended to evaluate whether the students have any basic knowledge in Islam and Arabic. Those who do well will be placed in class (1) one upon entry, while those who do not will be placed in Tajhizi (preparatory class) for one year. This system is applied both in Putri Muslimat dayahs (for sisters only) and Muslimin (for brothers) throughout Aceh.

Today, there are Putri Muslimat dayahs established in Aceh such as

the one in Samalanga and "Darussalamah" in Teupin Raya. Although many such dayahs for female students only have been established, other dayahs are also admitting sisters. In these establishments, as mentioned earlier, male and female students are housed in separate dormitories ansd study in segregated Bales. Normally, the sisters students are taught by women teachers and similarly, the brothers are taught by male teachers.

According to the information obtained from Heads of dayahs and by teachers, the students who graduate from Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (State Islamic Primary School), Madrasah Tsanawiyah (State Islamic Junior High School), and Madrasah 'Aliyah (State Islamic High School) are faster in adjusting to the Islamic Studies compared to those who graduated from Sekolah Dasar (State Primary School), Sekolah Menengah Pertama (State Junior High School), and Sekolah Menengah Atas/Umum(State Senior High School). The reason is of course obvious, as in the secular establishments no religious subjects are given.

The different educational levels and background of the dayah students reflect the differences in their ability to study and to master Islamic subjects, such as Arabic. For this reason, students are allowed to proceed to the next level eventhough they do not really master Arabic, Nahw and Sarf.

2. Modern Dayahs

The modern dayah is a new educational institution in Aceh. For the Acehnese community this institution is more familiarly known as "pesantren terpadu (integrated pesantren)". However, it has been growing rapidly. According to data obtained from Kantor Wilayah Departemen Agama Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh (regional office of the religious affairs of the Aceh province) there are about 22 modern dayahs spread all over Aceh. The number is set to increase in the near future, because of the growing interest among parents to send their children to these modern dayahs where Islamic studies are taught together with secular subjects.

The first modern dayah established in Aceh is Madrasah Ulumul Qur'an Dayah Bustanul 'Ulum, in Langsa, Kabupaten Aceh Timur, and then the others soon appeared, such as the Pesantren Moderen Terpadu Jabal Ghafur in Bambi and Dayah Jeumala Amal Lueng Putu, in Kabupaten Pidie, Dayah Syamsudhdhuha and Ulumuddin in Kabupaten Aceh Utara. In recent times, many other modern dayahs have been established all over Aceh.

The level of education in modern dayahs can be classified into two syages, namely, the Tsanawiyah and 'Aliyah levels. Both these levels take

six years to complete.

The facilities available in modern dayahs have been improved with, for example, the provision of more classrooms and libraries for students to study. Students are housed in more comfortable dormitories. In aadition, other facilities provided such as teachers' houses, language, physics and biology laboratories, are much better than available in the tarditional set-up.

The background of establishment of modern dayah has been explained by Lieutenant Colonel Mohd. Nurdin (1993), [52] the former head district of Aceh Timur, as the founder of Dayah Bustanul 'Ulum, as follows:

1. It is estimated that the Islamic world will face many kinds of obstacles and hindrances in its ideology, culture, economy, etc. In fact, in this twentieth century, the super power countries have been dominating all aspects of human life. They have created and spread new ideologies, cultures and economic systems which are in opposition to the Islamic point of view. To anticipate all those aspects, the students must be provided with various kinds of knwoledge in order to be able to preserve Islamic teachings in this world.
2. Sophisticated technology, especially in the field of electronic, audio visual, and other media of infromation, will influence our culture sooner or later. To guard against the negative effects of such influence, every Muslim society must have scientists, experts, socilogists and educators; a society which is capable of filtering the influences of the Western civilization.
3. The purpose of this new order is to develop Indonesians both materially and spiritually. Therefore all Indonesians, especially the younger generation, must be educated and guided, in order to be the cadres of development, who will be able to defend the national ideology and country from any aggressor.
4. The seminar on the history and the development of Islam in Aceh and the Malay archipelago in 1990 in East Aceh underlined that the Islamic Kingdom of Peureulak established in 225 Hijriyah was the oldest Islamic Kingdom in Southeast Asia. Islam, in this area and all over the archipelago, was spread by Islamic cadres who wereeducated in the traditional dayah of Zawiyah Cot Kala, and we must not forget the au-

[52] Modh. Nurdin, in the Proyek Proposal Dayah Moderen Bustanul Ulum by Zainuddin Mard, Lngsa 1993, pp. 1-2.

thenticity of history. Therefore, we have to give much support and encourage the younger generation to rebuild the cadres of Islamic education in order to enable them to strengthen Islamic teachings perfectly and become the pilot project in Daerah Istimewa Aceh (special province of Aceh).

5. At the opening of the 12th Musabaqah Tilawtil Qur'an (Quranic Recital Competition) 1981 in Banda Aceh delivered by the Presiden Suharto[53] said : "Let us comprehend and practice the contents of al-Qur'an in our life while we enjoy the beauty and the art of the Qur'an recitation". Based on his suggestion, coinciding with the rising spirit of Eastern Acehnese community a centre of Islamic Education which was later named "Bustanul 'Ulum", was founded.
6. In 1981, Dayah Bustanul 'Ulum was established on the initiative of Mohd. Nurdin together with some other community leaders. As a matter of fact, the establishment of this dayah has been supported by many people in the government, Ualama, and the community at large. Due to the aareness of every level of the community in developing the dayah, this establshment is still here today, ever stronger, to be utilized by the young generation.It has attracted many people to send their children in order to be educated and to become Ulama and Muslim intellectuals. Indeed, we are at this time short of such learned intellectuals. As such, with many kinds of challenges occuring, we remain weak in the face of them, and have difficulty in solving the problems the pose. These are some of the expectations that the people have of the newly developed dayahs. They hope that by these dayahs, the best Ummah could be produced in order to solve community problems.

Those matters constitute some of the factors in the establishment of the dayah "Bustanul 'Ulum". Generally speaking, however, the purpose of all modern dayahs is based on similar grounds.

a. Curriculum

The curriculum of the modern dayah is differenr from the traditional one. The modern dayah curriculum provides Islamic studies as well as other branches of knowledge such as Physics, Mathematics, Chemistry (natural

[53]Ibid. p.3.

TABLE III
THE SUBJECTS OF SECOND YEAR STUDENTS OF MODERN DAYAH

Subjects	Hours Semester		Total
	III	IV	
Qur'an -Hadith	2	2	4
Aqidah-Akhlaq	2	2	4
Fiqh	2	2	4
Arabic	3	3	6
Tafsir and Introduction to Tafsir	5	5	10
Hadith and introduction to Hadit	4	4	8
Ushul Fiqh	4	4	8
History and Islamic Culture	0	0	0
Tarikh Tasyri'	0	0	0
Ilmu Kalam	0	0	0
Religious History	0	0	0
Total	22	22	44

sciences), English and Computer Education (social Sciences), etc. In addition, there are other extra curricular activities which are introduced to the students such as farming, raising chicken and fish on the land and in ponds owned by the dayah. Tailoring and embroidery are also taught to interested students.

All those activities will help the students support themselves and theiw families if they are unable to complete their education. In other words, the students are not only provided with knowledge but also with living skills.

The curriculum used in the modern dayah is organized by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, while the curriculum used in the traditional dayah is fully drwan up by the dayah itself or by the Persatuan Dayah Inshafuddin (the main traditional dayah organization).

It seems that the curriculum of the modern dayah is more extensive than the traditional one. In modern dayahs, the curriculum organized by the Religious Affairs is applied full time during the day, but during the night time the traditional curriculum takes over.

The scope of the curriculum and its contents revolves around Islamic Studies, natural and social sciences, and foreign languages as a tool to seek

knowledge. The curriculum is also arranged in accordance with the national philosophy and the way of life imposed by the Republic.Therefore, the national ideology of Pancasila is an obligatory subject that must be indoctrinated to the students through up-grading of P4 (Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila) Guideline for Carrying Out the Principles of Panca sila, Pancasila Moral Education (these subjects are a must in the Suharto era) and the like. Specifically, Islamic Studies taught in modern dayahs are concerned with Hadith, Tafsir, Islamic Law and History, Tawhid, Arabic within a very limited time.

To examine whether or not the target of the curriculum is achieved, eaxaminations are held three times each semester. Quizzes, are done after studying for onw month and a mid-term test is done in mid semester, and a summative test at the end of a four month-semester. We recall that examinations are carried out once every semester or twice a year in traditional dayahs.

TABLE IV
THE SUBJECTS OF TRADITIONAL DAYAH APPLIED IN MODERN DAYAH

Subject	Books
Tawhid	Kifatul 'Awam and Husnul Hamidiyah
Fiqh	Kifatul Akhyar
Nahw and Sarf	Matammimah
Tafsir	Jalalaini and Al- Thabari
Ushul Fiqh	Lathaiful Isyarah
Balaghah	Al-Risalah
Tasawwuf	Maraqil 'Ubudiyah

The above table (Table III) describes the curriculum of Islamic Studies of the Religiuos Affairs which is applied to the modern dayahs especially for the second year students.

The above table shows the time spent for Islamic Studies for the second year students of Madrasah 'Aliyah in modern prsantren. Subject 1 (Qur'an-Hadith) through subject 7 (Ushul Fiqh) are subjects in Islamic Studies which are taught for the first and second year students of Madrasah 'Aliyah while the rest are provided for the third year students in semester 5

and 6.

The table also shows that Qur'an-Hadith, Aqidah-Akhlaq, and Fiqh are taught two hours per-week (a lesson-hour equals forty five minutes). Arabic takes three hours, Tafsir and Introduction to Tafsir take five hours, while Hadith and Introduction to Hadith and Ushul Fiqh take four hours for each subject per-week.

Generally, the curriculum of the Ministry of Religious Affairs is fully given in the morning session, from 8.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m., while the afternoon session, is used for the Lembaga Bahasa (Language Class) to improve their Arabic and English, and for excercises, skill and talent development. Tn the evening the time is allocated to Islamic Studies, reverting back to the traditional dayah curriculum.

Beside studying at times allocated above, there are other routine matters done by the students in modern dayahs. They have to study *tahfidhul Qur'an* (Qur'an Recitation) after Shalat Subuh at least an hour or two for exercises and other skills after Shalat 'Ashar. Most of these activities are carried out in groups.

There is one more important thing that has been prescribed in a modern dayah regulation: students are prohibited from speaking languages other than English and Arabic, whether when they are studying in the classroom or when outside in the cateen, library or in the dormitory. This regulation is strictly enforced in modern dayahs in order to ensure their mastery of Arabic and English. The curriculum of traditional dayahs which is applied in modern dayahs can be seen in the following table:

The above subjects (Table IV) are taught for the second year students of the modern dayah of Madrasah 'Aliyah, where each subject takes an hour and half per-week. All of those subjects are taught by the teachers who graduated from traditional dayahs. All Islamic Studies mentioned in the table are written in Arabic textbooks, while the Islamic provided by the Ministry of Religious Affairs are presented in Bahasa Indonesia. Therefor. The text-books used for Islamic Studies in both curricula are different. The texbooks used in modern dayah are prepared by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia while textbooks used in traditional dayah are written in Arabic as the real sources of Islamic studies under Shafe'is school.

Subjects in Table IV are taught at different times at different dayahs.It depends on the teacher. In fact, while some of the subjects are taught at ninght in some dayahs, in others they are taught after Shalat 'Ashar.

b. Teachers

At present, there are 30 teachers serving modern dayahs. Almost all of tem are university graduates and most have undergone teachers training courses. Some of them graduated from Institute Agama Islam Negeri (State Islamic Institute) and Universitas Syiah Kuala in Banda Aceh, the capital of the Province. Others graduated from traditional dayahs, and have much experience in teaching, as well as being profound in their knowledge of Islamic teachings. A few of them graduated from the Middle East, for example from Egypt and Saudi Arabia. As for the Arabic and English teachers, the dayahs have recruited many young teachers who graduated from Pesantren Modern Gontor, Ponorogo in East Java. Most of them are employed in the modern dayahs to improve and strengthen the use of both Arabic and English by the students.While in one hand, the teachers who graduated from Gontor can speak and write Arabic and English fluently, they find it hard to read and to comprehend old Arabic textbooks. On the other hand, the teachers who graduated from traditional dayahs have difficulties in oral or written English. They are unable to communicate in Arabic fluently but they can read and comprehend old Arabic textbooks perfectly. Such problems are common to all teachers in both traditional and modern dayahs.

The academic facilities in the modern dayahs are more complete and convinient than in the traditional dayahs. The teachers' needs are almost completely taken care of, in such a way whichj makes for more efficiency in performing their duties. They are paid fixed salaries monthly and the rates are sufficient to support their family. Teachers who come from poor economic backgrounds are provided with a house usually located within the campus of the dayah.

Suffice it to say, modern dayah teachers receive more support in terms of finance and other facilities. Perhaps the administration of modern dayahs is more efficient, too. In this respect, a wise administrator is really indispensable in order to enhance the quality and stability of its existence.

c. Students

It is necessary to state that the modern dayah provides two levels of education. First, is Madrasah Tsanawiyah (junior High School), and second, is Madrasah 'Aliyah (Senior High School). But it has no ibtidaiyah (primary) and University levels so far. The dayah accepts only pupils who have graduated from Madrasah Ibtidaiyah and the like. In addition, the modern dayahs prepare students who wish to continue their studies to College or Univer-

sity.

Students wishing to study in the modern dayah must take the entrance test. This test is very stringent. The pupils are examined in reciting al-Qur'an, basic knowledge of Islam and they are interviewed. The most important things are reciting of Qur'anic verses abd religious instruction. Those who fail in both the tests will be rejected from admission to the modern dayah.

Successful students are placed in the dormotories provided by the dayah. These dormitories are located within the campus. The Students are stricly prohibited to leave the campus without permission from thewarden. Those who breah the rules formulated by the dayah will be expelled. Therefore, the students are there not only to absorb knowledge but also to learn discipline.

D. Conclusions

The tradistional dayah is the the oldeest educational institution in Aceh which provides the students with Islamic Studies exclusively. It uses its own curriculum, which is in contrast to the modern one. The teachers (Tengku Rangkang) are not specially trained like the state teachers who are professionals because they have at least graduated from an educational faculty or they also have received diplomas in education. Meanwhile we find the teachers from the traditional dayahs possessing the minimum qualification (s) in teaching as the majority of them are not diploma holders. In actual fact they are senior students who teach voluntarily without expecting and even accepting any fees from the students. Sometimes they are given some honorary fees by the dayah committee. This practice has been carried out from generation to generation as a way of appreciating the role and contribution of these dayah teachers. The students admission into the traditional dayah has no age limit and no pre-requisite is placed on the intake of students. The dayah will accept any student who shows sincerity and enthusiasm to learn.

In 1980s, then same institution (dayah) appeared inits new dimension, popularly known as Dayah Moderen or Dayah Terpadu (modern dayah/ modern itegrated dayah). This institution is absolutely different from the traditional one. It uses a comprehensive curriculum, which is limited to Islamic Studies only but also includes general sciences. Within its realm, Islamic Studies, natural sciences and other disciplines are cosolidated or integrated.

In comparison to the traditional dayah, the modern dayah only recruites well-trained professional teachers. These recruited teaching staff are provided

with adequate teaching and living facilities. Also the modern dayah is very strict in terms of the admission of students. Only students who are high acheivers and well-versed in reciting al-Qur'an along with a strong basic knowledge of Islam are accepted.

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