

THE GENEALOGY OF SANTREN AS IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF RESISTENCE MOVEMENT OF SASAK SOCIETY AGAINST COLONIALISM IN LOMBOK

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Abstract

Santren is the name of a place that has been used as a center for religious teaching in Sasak society for a long time. This article critiques the contemporary lack of attention toward Santren as the earliest institution for Islamic education among the Sasak people. Furthermore, it explores the genealogy of Santren as a space for mental and spiritual cultivation since Islam became the official religion of the Selaparang kingdom.. Based on the theoretical basis of genealogy from Michel Foucault, this research was conducted by exploring historical data, criticizing phenomena and reality, with a new ethnographic approach in the form of self-reflexivity and truthfulness. The results of the author's findings revealed that the genealogy of Santren as a place of religious teaching was practiced from the early

Islamic era in the Kingdom of Selaparang that receive Islam as the religion of Sasak community. Then, when the troops of Karangasem Kingdom, Bali reached the Kingdom of Selaparang, Santren turned in the basis of resistance, and also against Dutch, and Japan in colonialism era which centered in guru ngaji (qur'anic teachers) as the actor. Then, after the Independence of Indonesia, form of resistance transform against ignorance, backwardness, and poverty.

Keywords: *Genealogy; Resistance; Santren; Sasak; Selaparang; Qur'anic Teacher*

Introduction

Santren in Sasak language terminology is different from the popular Islamic boarding school designation today. In this paper what is meant as Santren is the designation for prayer rooms, in other society called surau, langgar, and not infrequently even the terrace or part of the room in the home of the qur'an teacher is used as a place for the process of learning the qur'an, and it is also called a Santren. In his book, Azyumardi Azra mention that Santren or surau are said to have experienced a transition and modernization as traditional Islamic education (Azra, 2017: 7). It is undeniable that Santren in the past had a vital role in shaping the Muslim generation before fading away with the emergence of modernity, especially the medium of television entertainment. Life in the village used to be well-established with religiosity, one of which was marked by the existence of the Santren as a place for spiritual guidance for children every night. In several traditions of society in the archipelago, the function of the Santren and other designations is the same as a place to learn to read the Qur'an and then develop ubudiyah (Anam, 2017: 4).

In Sasak terminology, a santren is a place of worship built by a group of people on a plot of land deemed easily accessible. Santren are predominantly used as places for congregational prayer and Quranic study for both children and adults. In this context, santren is not a formal institution with legal status, but rather a culture born from the Sasak community itself, which later became an Islamic identity. Other terms include mushalla (prayer hall) in Arabic, langgar

(Javanese langgar), surau (Minang surau), and dayah (Acehnese sura). In the Sasak context, the term santren is distinct from pesantren, which became popular in the mid-20th century (Fadli, 2012).

Many of the teachers upon their return from the holy land of Mecca also established santren as centers of Islamic teaching and the indoctrination of religious ideology in the early development of Islam in Lombok. In the context of East Lombok, Tuan Guru Haji Umar Kelayu also established a Santren near his residence, where many of his students later became Tuan Gurus, including TGH. Zainuddin Abd. Madjid, popularly known as Maulanasyaikh. The Santren where he taught has now become a foundation under the name Pondok Pesantren Al Umari, Kelayu (Tohri, et al., 2020). Likewise, after Maulanasyaikh returned from the holy land, he founded Santren Al Mujahidin (Suparman & Nasri, 2024), and many other formal educational institutions that he founded were not originally from Santren, but the name Al Mujahidin remains as one of the names of Islamic boarding schools that have become a collective memory of the community, and have transformed into providing formal education. In this case, historically, santren can be referred as developers of Islamic society in the context of traditionality (Furqan, 2019: 9).

Santren and Islamic boarding schools (Pondok Pesantren) are two distinct institutions. Many of today's popular Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) evolved from the former centers of learning and teaching, even as bases of resistance by the Tuan Gurus (teachers) or predecessors of the teachers there. The difference between santren and pesantren today lies in their function and institutions. Santren were once places of worship that also served as places for teaching and learning the Quran and religious knowledge. Institutionally, santren are not formal institutions that require a clear structure, permanent students, and a foundation deed, as required for Islamic boarding schools to gain recognition from state legal institutions. Meanwhile, Islamic boarding schools function more as educational

institutions, both formal and informal. They also offer not only religious studies but also general knowledge (Rahman, 2023).

In this paper, I tries to build a critique by asking research questions, namely how the genealogy of Santren as a center of Islamic education and the spread of religious ideology from Tuan Guru in the past in the Sasak community of Lombok then also became a basis for resistance against colonialism.

This research was conducted using a qualitative approach by applying a New ethnography concept from Paula Saukko (2003), namely self-reflexivity is used to reflect the reality that the author encounters as part of the community members, or in other terms it can also be referred to as insiders. The next concept is an effort to reveal the truthfulness (being truer) of the object of this study, in this case the religious condition of the community represented through Santren which no longer finds its function as a vital institution in building the religious spirit of children in the village. And also, not many of the Sasak people know the historical of Santren that once established in the Sasak society in the past.

The concept of genealogy is used as an analytical tool in this study in relation to efforts to trace the origins of santren in Sasak society which is established as a religious institution as well as a center of religious life. The concept of genealogy was originally used in science studies, which is the field of gene study to trace the origins of living things. In the context of social science, genealogy proposed by Michel Foucault is based on efforts to dismantle the origins, stripping the established structure of a concept that is considered the embryo of both society, place, and knowledge (Foucault, 2001). Santren in this case is the origin of an educational system that is currently established but is actually marginalized by the discourse of Islamic boarding schools which are considered more dominant. In the context of surau in Minang society in his study Azyumardi Azra is almost the same as santren in Sasak society which is actually marginalized by not being considered the earliest institution of religious learning activities. The

discourse of Islamic boarding schools, which was initially established in Java, then spread to other regions in the archipelago, which were then considered the earliest Islamic educational institutions in society and became the identity of the Indonesian Muslim community (Yusutria & Febriana, 2018).

Method

This study employs a qualitative research approach with an interpretive-critical orientation. A qualitative approach is considered appropriate because this research does not aim to measure social phenomena statistically, but rather to interpret meanings, trace historical processes, and analyze power relations embedded in religious institutions and practices, particularly the Santren within Sasak society.

The research is designed as a genealogical study, drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of genealogy. Genealogy is used not to reconstruct history in a linear or chronological manner, but to trace the emergence, transformation, and marginalization of Santren as a religious and socio-political institution within specific historical configurations of power. Following Foucault, genealogy focuses on discontinuities, ruptures, and relations between knowledge, power, and subject formation rather than on origins understood as fixed or essential (Foucault, 2001).

In this context, Santren is treated as a historical-cultural formation whose meaning, function, and authority have shifted over time—from a center of Qur'anic learning, to a basis of ideological resistance against colonial domination, and later to an institution marginalized by the formalization of Islamic education through pesantren discourse.

This study applies the New Ethnography approach developed by Paula Saukko (2003), particularly emphasizing two key principles: self-reflexivity and truthfulness (being truer).

Self-reflexivity is employed because the author is not positioned as a detached observer, but as an insider who is culturally and historically connected to the Sasak community and familiar with the lived practices of Santren. This position allows the researcher to critically reflect on personal experiences, collective memory, and social narratives surrounding Santren, while remaining aware of the power relations and subjective positioning involved in knowledge production.

The principle of truthfulness (being truer) is applied by juxtaposing dominant historical narratives—particularly those privileging pesantren as the earliest and most authoritative Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia—with local histories, oral traditions, and lived experiences of Sasak society. Rather than claiming an absolute or final truth, this study seeks to produce a more nuanced and context-sensitive understanding of Santren as a cultural and ideological formation.

Data Sources

This research relies on multiple qualitative data sources, including: Historical documents and secondary literature, such as Babad Selaparang, colonial-era accounts, and academic studies on Islam in Lombok, Santren, pesantren, and Sasak resistance movements.

Oral histories and collective memory, obtained through informal interviews and conversations with religious figures, Qur'anic teachers (guru ngaji), and community elders who possess knowledge of Santren traditions and naming practices.

Observational data, derived from the author's long-term engagement with Santren spaces, religious practices, and community rituals in Lombok, particularly in East Lombok.

Cultural artifacts, including place names (toponymy), ritual practices, and institutional transformations that reflect the historical presence and symbolic significance of Santren.

Data analysis is conducted through genealogical interpretation, focusing on: The relationship between Santren and religious authority (tuan guru, guru ngaji), The role of Santren in producing religious ideology and resistance narratives, The interaction between local Islamic institutions and colonial as well as post-colonial power structures, Rather than organizing findings strictly chronologically, the analysis emphasizes configurations of power, discourse, and practice across different historical moments, revealing how Santren functioned as both an educational and political space within Sasak society.

Ethical considerations in this study include respecting community narratives, avoiding the exploitation of oral histories, and maintaining reflexive awareness of the researcher's positionality. Informants are treated as knowledge holders rather than mere data sources, and their narratives are interpreted within their socio-historical context.

Result and Discussion

Santren in the Early Context of Sasak Islam

Much of the literature on the spread of Islam in the Sasak community states that the term of Santren is also called kerbung (Murdianto, 2021). Kerbung refers to the situation of people gathering in a circle and one of them is a teacher. Regarding the place, kerbung is an area that was built to be used as a gathering place, without walls, a seat cover in the form of carpets (ketaring) made of coconut leaves, the roof is made of reeds or woven coconut leaves. It was in that place that the Sasak people gathered to learn about Islam as a legitimate religion. Kerbung or Santren is used as a place of worship as the case with a surau, which is not only used as a place for prayer, but also a place to rest, a place to study, and even a place to hold legal debates, to wedding processions.

Both kerbung and Santren are shared spaces that are recognized by the community as sacred places, so they need to be revived with religious and social activities. The hamlet of Lengkok Lendang which is the object of this paper consists of 9 Santren as

places to study the Qur'an, each of which also represents a particular religious organization. Kerbung in his research by Murdianto (2020) mentions that it was the forerunner of the Islamic boarding school that is known today. Of course not all kerbung then transform into Islamic boarding schools, because not all of them can be institutionalized with government regulations. However, Santren is indeed a place devoted to learning to read the Qur'an. The kerbung terminology in Murdianto's research is more suitable for the term majlis taklim which is popular today, because there the emphasis is on religious understanding by learning through lectures from the central figure. While the emphasis on Islamic boarding schools in this paper is learning to read the Qur'an which is also interspersed with discussions on fiqh law at the last moment after learning to recite the Qur'an.

Santren in the context of Sasak is a place that serves as a center for non-formal learning, especially at night. Before there was electricity, teplok lamps were used as lighting. The children's enthusiasm for reciting the Qur'an was very high because it was the only way to get religious education there. At the Folks School (Sekolah Rakjat, before transform into SD or elementary school) only general sciences were taught, especially reading, arithmetic, and learning Indonesian Language. While in the Santren they learn religious knowledge, reading the Qur'an, reading Arabic Malay script, as well as guidance for worship. So it's no wonder that there are older people from the 40s-50s generation who can't read Latin letters, but they can read the Qur'an or Malay Arabic writing. Before the establishment of the Latin writing of Indonesian as the national language, the Sasak people were also well established with Malay Arabic script but the content was in Sasak. These classical Malay Arabic books were written in Sasak language, making it easier for the students to recite the Qur'an on topics that are adapted to the real conditions of society. Santren as an intellectual management institution was of course strong enough to become a stronghold in society. Because it was also a base for

gathering the period when colonialism (Dutch, Japanese) also succeeded in occupying Lombok. For example, Islamic boarding schools in Kelayu, Pancor, and Selaparang, Kediri West Lombok, which graduates many Sasak scholars of the recent era. Efforts to build a spirit of religious intellect through Santren are of course accompanied by a community movement that is so strongly instilled with Islamic values that are applied in everyday life (Halim, et al., 2005).

Santren in the context of the Sasak community is different from pesantren in the context of the Javanese community, Surau in the Minang community, or in other terms, namely Langgar (Asiah, et al., 2022). Islamic boarding schools apply the concept of majlis taklim in their learning, surau is also a place to study religious knowledge and even becomes a place for debate when there is a problem, while the Santren as explained above is a place devoted to learning to read the Qur'an. The Qur'an teacher at a Santren can be a central figure in many ways, including as a leader of remembrance, reading the talqin of the deceased when someone dies, giving lectures and being a khatib in the mosque. There is a shift in function between Santren before and today. One of them is due to the people's easier access to information, entertainment, and technological developments that have an impact on lifestyle (Yusutria & Febriana, 2018). The discussion in the next chapter tries to present the identification of the causes of the decline of Santren as a vital institution for building the spirit of Islamic education.

Santren as a Cultural Product of the Sasak Community

The narrative of Santren as a cultural product and pioneering institution in religious education for the Sasak community, presented in this study, refers to the concept of genealogy, which also intersects with historical studies. Santren is the earliest non-formal institution used as a forum for fostering religious learning in Sasak society. According to the author, the term "santren" cannot be equated with

the word "santri," as Faridah stated in her writing, which states that "pesantren" originates from the word "santri" (Faridah, 2019). "Santren" refers to a place, while "santri" refers to a subject or individual. The term "santri" in the early days of religious learning in the Sasak community was certainly not well-established. Sasak people were more established in referring to themselves as "students" when studying under a teacher. The term "santri" began to gain popularity when Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) became established as formal institutions required to be registered and approved by the government, specifically the Ministry of Religious Affairs (at that time).

The concept of Santren in Sasak society has long been established as an institution for educating generations of Sasak in religious matters. Children who study the Quran at a Santren are more commonly referred to as murid (student) derived from Arabic language than santri. However, the emergence of the discourse of Islamic boarding schools, established as traditional Islamic educational institutions, has shifted the discourse of Santren within Sasak society as a cultural product born of their religious background. In this case, the power relations that establish the discourse of Islamic boarding schools as traditional Islamic educational institutions in the Nusantara are inseparable from the dominance of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which is largely staffed by alumni of Islamic boarding schools in Java, who then standardize Islamic educational institutions according to the ones they have attended. In this case, Foucault's concept of power relations is related to the production of discourse or knowledge infiltrated through the power legitimized by state institutions (Foucault, 2002).

The genealogy of Santren, which traces its history back to the time when Islam became the majority religion in Sasak society, can be traced back to several places that served as centers of religious instruction, each with a memorable religious figure. Although written tradition was not yet established, through oral transmission, religious

knowledge within the community flourished. Simple teaching methods, utilizing accessible locations, became the preferred method for religious leaders in teaching Islamic knowledge, beginning with learning to recite the Quran. In the early days of Islam's development in Sasak society, the term *santren* may have been unfamiliar; Sasak people referred to them as places for studying and praying (*taoq ngaji sembahyang*). The term *santren* itself is a Sasak term often associated with the Malay translation of the Arabic word *mushalla*, meaning prayer place (*makanun shalli*). The original place used as a center for religious teaching in the Sasak community was the courtyard of a respected figure or figure, or simply a spacious place that facilitated large gatherings to listen to teachings and practice religion (Naamy, 2023). The establishment of the name "*Santren*" was not immediately familiar to the Sasak people; they continued to refer to these places of learning by popular terms such as "*taoq ngaji sembahyang*" (prayer hall), or other terms that were already familiar to them.

The term "*santren*" for a *mushalla* (prayer room) in the Sasak language is often equated with the term "*pesantren*" (Islamic boarding school), which later became established as a formal religious institution, with the word "*pondok*" added to the prefix. However, in the Sasak community, *santren*, originally a place for religious study, was marginalized as formal religious educational institutions also became established. As mentioned earlier, the term "*santren*" extends beyond places built specifically for prayer and learning. Even the courtyard of a Quran teacher's house, used as a teaching space, is also referred to as a *santren*. This means that the term *santren*, although linguistically refers to a place translated into Sasak from the word *Mushalla*, in the daily life of the Sasak people, a place used for teaching by a teacher or religious figure can also be called a *santren*.

The naming of *Santren* is predominantly based on the name of the place of learning, or some are named after a Quran teacher. For example, some are named *Santren Bawaq Bageq* (under a tamarind tree) because teaching takes place under a tamarind tree. Although

there was no complete building at the time, it was only a simple structure with four supporting pillars and a thatched roof, with a floor made of woven coconut leaves that each student brought as a seat. Bawaq Bageq was used as a place for learning because its many branches and dense leaves made it shady enough for a gathering place. This naming is called toponymy in linguistic studies. The concept of toponymy in place naming in Sasak society serves as a collective memory of an area or event that is then passed down through generations through oral tradition (Hakim, 2025). It is very rare to find written records made as memorials in place names. Of course, one reason is also because written literacy was not yet established, making it easier to pass down through oral tradition. These include narratives, mystical stories, and even myths, designed to maintain the status quo. Many other examples of Santren naming refer to places or figures. For example, Santren Dasan Bageq, Santren Lingkok Tune, Santren Amaq Abir, Santren Guru Mahir, and so on. However, after Islam spread rapidly in Sasak society, the naming of places began to adopt Islamic names, which were also intended to serve as prayers. The names of Santren, which previously used the names of places or religious teachers, were later changed to reflect Islamic values (Interview with H. Zulhaqqi Amin).

The naming of Islamic boarding schools, mosques, and other institutions that flourish today is not much different from that of informal institutions in the past among the Sasak people. The practice of honoring objects, places, and even spaces through naming them as memorials is a practice that has been re-adopted today in institutions under state control (Rahim, 2024). For example, buildings in a formal educational institution are named after a figure who contributed to the institution's development. According to the author, this practice aligns with naming streets after individuals deemed to have contributed to the development of the region.

Meanwhile, naming a santren after name of person is more likely due to the fact that the place of learning the Quran is the

residence of the ustadz (teacher). Unlike naming streets, buildings, or other major landmarks, naming a santren after a religious teacher (ustadz) is a form of respect born from the Sasak community itself, who was once part of the santri. Meanwhile, naming streets or buildings is usually bestowed through mechanisms of power. The person in power has the right to honor them through memorials or the affixing of their name to public places.

In this context, the author believes that santren can be considered an Islamic identity within the Sasak community. This is consistent with the narrative that Islamic boarding schools are considered the earliest traditional Islamic educational institutions established through discourses constructed by those in power through state institutions (in this case, the Ministry of Religious Affairs). In Sasak society, santren also represent an effort to establish religious educational institutions borne from the community's own culture. The Islamic identity built through santren is so deeply embedded in Sasak society that it reflects a culture grounded in religious spirit, a practice we can still observe today in areas where traditional life remains. For example, in several areas in East Lombok, Central Lombok, West Lombok, and North Lombok, santren remain centers for learning the Koran, attended by children from dusk to night, guided by a teacher. The identity built through santren also serves as a collective memory deeply rooted in the established traditions of Sasak society. Such as the namatang (completion of the Quran before the fasting month), laburang (or some call it ngelerang awu) (sprinkle ashes) from torn Qurans to prevent them from being scattered. The ashes from burned Qurans are then scattered in the sea or along rivers.

Examining the genealogy of Santren in the Sasak context is inseparable from the intellectual role of a Quran teacher, religious leader, or ustadz (Islamic teacher), who serves as the center for the transfer of knowledge to their students. The historical context of the emergence of a Santren is also related to the community's relationship with the religious knowledge they seek to acquire from a Quran

teacher. In this regard, Santren are claimed to be the earliest centers of learning in Sasak society, as Islam began to become established in all circles. In their early days, Santren were not only filled with children of Quranic age, but also with all levels of society who desired to break free from ignorance and seek to better understand their religion. The context of the Santren during this period not only served as a basis for resistance against colonialism but also as a source of resistance against the ignorance, poverty, and backwardness of those who had been hegemonized by the colonial power of Karangasem, Bali.

Structurally, Sasak society during the Karangasem colonial era had not yet formed a social class. As in European society, social classes were constructed based on control of the means of production: the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, and the slave class (Burke, 2015). Even in pre-Islamic Arab society, social classes had already been formed: nobility, freemen, and slaves. Meanwhile, the development of Islam, which began to establish itself in the archipelago, starting with the Islamic kingdom of Samudra Pasai in Aceh, did not recognize a class system, although the ruler of the kingdom was still addressed as Sultan. This did not mean their social class was superior, but rather that they were excluded because of their position as leaders (Iswanto, 2021). In this context, the Sasak community also did not recognize a social class system; they considered each other's position superior to theirs in the context of the relationship between teacher and student.

This is more prevalent in Santren, where students are also adopted by a religious teacher. These students are not taught solely to understand religion, but rather, the teacher's hope is for the continuation of the teachings they have pioneered. Therefore, after a student returns home after studying with a teacher, if they do not continue their studies further, such as to Mecca, they will establish a Santren in their home as a mandate for the continued dissemination of knowledge.

Santren in Sasak society is an identity constructed by the community itself in relation to efforts to build a religious intellectual space that is closely related to them. Referring to the time span in historical research, the author has not obtained comprehensive data regarding when and where the first santren in Sasak society was formed. However, referring to the writings in Babad Selaparang (Sulistiati, 1993), that the teachings conducted by a religious leader in Kedatuan Selaparang were placed in the Bale Sangkep which was used as a Santren. This means that the Bale Sangkep building was not only a gathering place for deliberation, but also served as a place of worship and religious teaching. Several academic writings mention that Islam entered Lombok in the 15th century, and the time span until the popular santren in the 18th century, namely the Santren founded by Tuan Guru Abdul Hamid Pagutan (perhaps at that time the term Tuan Guru was not yet well established) in West Lombok (Baharudin, 2017). Furthermore, the Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu's Santren, along with others in East Lombok, was also flourishing at that time, producing skilled students in religious fields who became the successors to the spread of knowledge in their respective homes (Farisi, 2016).

Foucault's concept of genealogy focuses more on the relationships between actors within a historical timeframe (Latif, 2006). In this study of santren, the author presents the context of santren, along with the actors and their acts of resistance through the santren they initiated. In this study, the author uses Michel Foucault's genealogical framework to interpret the historical context, not merely as a periodization or temporal expression, but rather as a focus on the actors' actions through the santren they established, which ultimately became a basis for resistance against the oppression experienced by the Sasak people at that time. Tracing the time period (predominantly in years), there is little written data regarding the year of the incident or when the intellectual figures of the Santren lived and spread their knowledge. However, the author draws conclusions by referring to

the names of prominent teachers who became intellectual figures against the colonialists, then connecting them to the santren that became centers of learning and the bases of the resistance they built.

A genealogical reading of the context of the Santren past then points to the earliest religious teaching system carried out by the religious leader in the Selaparang kingdom, until his students spread to their hometowns. These students then gave birth to subsequent generations who were more established in religious matters when they were able to travel to study at the center of Islam in Mecca and perform the Hajj pilgrimage. During the Dutch colonial period, Hajj pilgrims from Lombok or the Lesser Sunda Islands departed on colonial government ships via the port in East Lombok, later known as Labuhan Haji. They then joined other groups from the archipelago, known as Jawiyyin students, and remained there until the Hajj season arrived. While waiting for the Hajj season to arrive, they studied with teachers who taught at the Grand Mosque or at the madrasas in Mecca at the time (Hadi, 2018).

Genealogically, the initiation of santren can be traced to the early 17th century, with the emergence of religious figures popularly known as Penghulu Alim, Guru, or Kyai. These titles replaced the pre-Islamic religious figures known as Pedanda or Empu. As santren began to emerge as centers of religious learning, the term guru also became popular. The author's basis for proposing the narrative that santren became the earliest institutions serving as centers of religious learning in Sasak society is traced to the teaching models passed down from generation to generation within the Sasak community, namely, learning in santren. Therefore, the author's claim is quite supportive in building a narrative about the revitalization of Santren as a traditional Islamic education that is closely related to the Sasak community that should get space for a more established existence, one of which is by providing attention and support to Koran teachers or students who study at a santren so that they not only learn to read

the Qur'an, but also other scientific concepts that are also important to be established through learning at the Santren.

Santren and the Sasak Resistance Movement

The name Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu is often mentioned in several references to the Sasak Islamic movement of the past as a figure whose students also became Tuan Gurus, continuing his religious teachings (Farisi, 2016). The Bawaq Sabo Gubuk Tenga (Bawah Sawo Kampung Tengah) santren in Kelayu was where he taught after returning from the holy land of Mecca when he was only 29 years old. The santri at this santren came not only from Kelayu village but also from outside Kelayu, even from all over Lombok. He began teaching monotheism and the sharia law of worship to the Lombok community, which at that time was still unfamiliar, as not everyone had the opportunity to study at religious centers like Selaparang, the center of the kingdom at the time. From this santren, his students, who were considered to have good religious understanding, spread throughout Lombok and continued their studies in Mecca. The Bawaq Sabo Santren refers to the terrace of his house, which he used as a teaching space. It was named Bawaq Sabo because there was a shady sapodilla tree in front of his terrace, so students who couldn't get a seat on the terrace sat under it. After several years of teaching at Gubuk Tenga Kelayu, Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu departed for Mecca and stayed for several years. It was during this second visit that he was entrusted with teaching and serving as Imam at the Grand Mosque. During his teaching in Mecca, he had many Malay students, but according to some accounts, many of them were not yet fluent in Arabic. He also initiated teaching in Malay, along with Arabic books as references. It is said that K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari was also one of his outstanding students while teaching at the Grand Mosque.

After several years of teaching in Mecca, he returned to Lombok to practice the halaqoh system he used when teaching at the

Grand Mosque. The Bawaq Sabo Santren was no longer able to accommodate his students who came to study. Therefore, a mosque was built, and it was named after him, the Al Umari Kelayu Mosque. The Al Umari Mosque is undeniably a continuation of the Bawaq Sabo Santren, which was later also used as a teaching center by him. Before the Al Umari Mosque was 100% completed, people were already flocking to Kelayu to study with him. Many then built settlements around the mosque to be closer to them when teaching was held. Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu was also famous for his charisma, so that his students increasingly came and became increasingly respected in the community. His popularity with his charisma and piety, as well as his humility which was continuously told orally, led to an increasing number of Sasak people coming to entrust their children to his study. His charisma was quite popular among the Sasak people when he was invited as a speaker to attend the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday simultaneously in several different places. This story is deeply ingrained in the Sasak people's memories and has been continually passed down through oral stories to subsequent generations.

Many of these students went on to establish Santren around East Lombok. Amidst the dominance of the Karangasem Kingdom in Bali at the time, the Santren served not only as centers of religious learning but also as spaces for the mental and spiritual development of the Sasak people, encouraging them to bravely resist colonialism (Tohri et al., 2020). Several students of Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu, who already had their own santren and congregations, also began to consolidate their efforts to resist the Karangasem rulers, who had conquered Selaparang centuries earlier. The Selaparang kingdom, the Muslim ruler of the Lombok region, was conquered by Karangasem after a series of lengthy battles. Because the Selaparang leaders at the time did not want further casualties from the war, the kingdom's center was eventually taken over, and the people of Lombok were obliged to pay tribute to the Karangasem government (Agung, 1991).

Furthermore, several areas with significant natural resources were managed by the Karangasem government, employing permanent Sasak workers. Due to the prolonged colonial rule and its devastating consequences for the Sasak people, religious leaders began to build a movement to oppose the government, which they perceived as inflicting suffering on the people. Furthermore, the Sasak people had developed a deeply rooted Islamic spirit, so when the Hindu-based Karangasem government attempted to infiltrate Hindu teachings into the Sasak community, this became a catalyst for resistance. The resistance movement which initially rejected tribute then turned into a religious-based resistance movement.

During this period, Santren functioned as spaces for developing strategies against colonialism. If we examine the Tuan Guru's earlier educational movements, which sought to liberate the Sasak people from ignorance by establishing Santren, ideologically, the Santren, which served as centers of learning, possessed a specific religious character, supported by the spirit of its leaders. For example, the Bawaq Sabo Santren, initiated by Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu, served as a forum for fostering a strong Islamic spirit, using teaching methods he practiced, reminiscent of those he had learned in Mecca. His persistence in educating his students gave the Sasak community hope for the continuation of a strong Islamic faith to this day.

Meanwhile, the ideologies of resistance against colonialism in Karangasem, developed by his students in the santren, provided the Sasak community with tremendous spiritual support when Tuan Guru himself became a pioneer in the resistance movement. Some of his students, such as Tuan Guru Badarul Islam, Tuan Guru Muhammad Nuh, Tuan Guru Muhammad Ali, and others, used the santren where they taught as a forum for deliberation and strategizing against Karangasem (Salam, 2005). He also included wirid (prayer chants) that were considered obligatory after prayers while awaiting the decision of the group of ulama involved in the deliberation before deciding to engage in confrontational resistance against the colonialism of

Karangasem, Bali (Farisi, 2018). In Sasak society, santren also served as a place to build a foundation for religious ideology, with each leader possessing their own distinctive style of religious education. For example, Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu's religious teachings focused primarily on understanding sharia law, Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), and procedures for worship. Once his understanding of sharia was sufficiently established, he then continued teaching a deeper understanding of monotheism using a Sufi approach.

The ideology referred to here refers to how the Sasak people represent their religious understanding in their daily actions and worship. In this context, Santren serve as a vital place for fostering socially-based ideologies within the Sasak community. A Quran teacher at a Santren, besides being called Tuan Guru, was also known as a teacher, penghulu, or some adopted the Javanese term Kyai. For example, Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu's teacher before he left for Mecca was Kyai Retane, who was also a penghulu agung (great leader) in the Selaparang kingdom (Farisi, 2016).

These Santren, based on the ideology of resistance against the Karangasem Bali government, later became a jihad movement, championed by protecting the faith and property rights of the Sasak people against those deemed infidels. Similarly, the spirit of jihad was later echoed in the fight against Dutch colonialism. For example, the Santren of Tuan Guru Badarul Islam Pancor, in addition to serving as a center for religious learning, also developed into a center for self-defense training, including special wirid (prayer chants) with mystical nuances, attracting many to learn from him. Tuan Guru Badarul Islam Pancor was the son of Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu who continued his struggle in educating the Sasak people with a more Sufi approach in his religious studies (Farisi, 2016).

The ideology he developed was also related to efforts to instill a spirit of love for the homeland which at that time was still under the colonial occupation of Karangasem Bali. He initiated several resistances against the Balinese who were considered to be acting

arbitrarily towards the Sasak people who were unable to pay the tribute set by their government. Confrontational resistance in the Sakra region then forced the Balinese army to retreat to Mataram so that in the East Lombok region they could not develop. They were more dominant in power in the Cakranegara region, most of West Lombok, and several points in the central part of Lombok to the point of building settlements that were provided free of charge by the Karangasem government for the soldiers (Anisa & Buduroh, 2025).

The Transformation of the Santren Resistance Movement

In its early days, santren was initiated with the spirit of providing a space for the Sasak people to become educated. This spirit later evolved into a resistance movement against the colonialism of the three nations that had once occupied the Sasak people. The term "colonialism" was certainly not yet widely used, and the Sasak people were unaware that colonialism was taking place. The nature of colonialism at that time was also very vague between the colonizers and the colonized. However, Alfred Russel Wallace's notes, as retold by Alfons Van Der Kraan, clearly describe the oppression perpetrated by the Karangasem Balinese army against the Sasak people (Kraan, 2009). During Wallace's travels to West Lombok, he saw several Sasak people locked in bamboo cages under the scorching sun, some even lying in the open fields uncared for.

The resistance movement, which initially sought to eradicate ignorance, later evolved into a confrontational and agitational movement against oppression. Several historical accounts presented in academic writings also frequently review past Islamic figures in the Sasak community who became pioneers in voicing resistance against this oppression. For example, TGH. Muhammad Ali Batu is often referred to as the Mursyid of the Sufi Order (tarekat), who later used the Sufi Order as a base for resistance. His diligent and devoted students were taught spiritual knowledge, making them immune to various weapons and bullets. Furthermore, in his house, which served

as a santren, the teachings provided included not only Quranic recitation and Islamic knowledge, but also special wirid (wirid) techniques that could be used as a guide when facing pressing situations or other adverse circumstances (Wacana, 1983).

The resistance movement centered on the santren also extended to the social context of the Sasak community, which at that time was also severely oppressed economically. Lifecycle rituals of the Sasak community were carried out in the santren, with the entire community collectively responsible for the costs of celebrations (begawe). Even from oral traditions, the tradition of begawe, involving the entire community in helping, began with the initiative of a religious leader who invited all local residents to participate in cooking and enjoying the meal as an expression of gratitude during a celebration. The communal prayers held in the santren also contribute to strengthening the communal spirit of the oppressed Sasak people, fostering a spirit of kinship to care for one another and fight against the oppression that undermines the Sasak nation's independence.

Building a santren in the past required more than just a physical structure, but most importantly, a prominent figure, a religious teacher, who served as a focal point for the community to come and learn at the santren. Although the physical structure of the place of learning was very simple, because at that time the Sasak people did not have many preferences for learning, the santren would quickly grow large and popular, coupled with the figure of a teacher who was indeed established in terms of knowledge and morals, who was used as an example by his students. Santren became a non-formal institution that could be called resistance to colonial government institutions that provided space for the people of the archipelago to be educated through ethical politics by establishing formal institutions but with very limited access, not everyone could enter these educational institutions.

Furthermore, santren also served as a means of strengthening the mentality of the Sasak people, who had long been oppressed by

the Balinese Karangasem invasion of Lombok during the Selaparang Kingdom's reign. Although there are no official records that indicate that the Selaparang Kingdom had a santren serving as an educational center for the Sasak people, the author believes that several areas used as teaching centers could be considered santren. For example, near the entrance gate to the Selaparang cemetery complex, there is a building that was once a santren. However, when the Selaparang cemetery complex was renovated, the santren was no longer used for religious activities because other santren had been built in the surrounding residential areas. Furthermore, there are no residential houses around the Selaparang cemetery complex, so the santren in the cemetery complex was eventually abandoned. It is possible that the santren had long served as a center of learning during Selaparang's heyday as a center of government.

The spirit of Santren after their transformation into formal institutions, or Islamic boarding schools (Pondok Pesantren), can be said to be more oriented towards eradicating ignorance by making formal diplomas a prerequisite for students to continue their education to a higher level or to obtain jobs that require formal education. The orientation of students after entering formal madrasahs or Islamic boarding schools is not simply to eradicate ignorance, but also to the hope that through formal education they can obtain the legality to continue their education or change their destiny. In this sense, Santren also become a resistance movement against poverty and underdevelopment, through their transformation into formal institutions. Madrasah and Islamic boarding school administrators make them not only centers of education but also institutions oriented towards social and Islamic propagation. The social orientation of santren can be traced back to their past, when they served as centers for resistance movements against colonialism. Today, the social movement of santren is more focused on revitalizing the community's economy through the presence of Islamic boarding schools or madrasahs in residential areas. For example, the Al

Mujahidin Islamic Boarding School, founded by Maulanasyaikh Tuan Guru Muhammad Zainuddin Abd. Madjid, at that time did not have a dormitory or accommodation provided for students, but students then took the initiative to find accommodation close to the school by becoming foster children or renting from residents' homes around the school.

Even when the Santren Al Mujahidin transformed into a madrasah, a formal foundation, and even a religious organization, not many educational institutions under the NW organization provided boarding education. For example, the NW Pancor Religious Islamic Boarding School (MAK) is the only one that provides a dormitory, as does the Special Program Islamic Boarding School (MANPK) for public schools under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Other educational institutions that were transformed from the Santren Al Mujahidin mostly have students living in residents' homes. According to Fahrurrozi in his writing, Maulanasyaikh deliberately did not build a dormitory for students studying at the NW madrasah so that his students would not only learn Islamic knowledge in a formal institution, but also learn within the community itself by living directly with them. Furthermore, with students living in residents' homes, economic activity was also fostered, as they rented boarding houses and shopped at local stalls around the madrasah (Fahrurrozi, 2018;2019).

Conclusion

The Sasak people's resistance against Balinese colonialism gave birth to a new spirit in religion, by building an ideological basis oriented towards freedom from oppression, both culturally and in the context of belief. The Balinese government is said to not only control natural resources, but also shackle the people with obligations to respect the king and his army, as well as coercion of the Sasak people with very stifling tributes. This oppression was seen by religious figures at that time such as Tuan Guru, Qur'anic teachers (guru ngaji),

religious leaders, hajis, ustadz, making santren the center of the resistance movement.

The title "guru" (teacher) is often attributed to the fact that teaching in Sasak society is typically confined to places designated as religious centers, such as santren, or even mosques. A santren doesn't have to be a building specifically dedicated to worship and other religious activities; it can also be a portion of a teacher's house or yard, used as a place for teaching and learning for the Sasak community. This limitation leads Sasak people who study at a santren to deeply respect their teachers. Not everyone has the opportunity or time to study amidst the limitations and oppression of Balinese colonial rule. The title "guru" (teacher) is also a reflection of the services they rendered to the Sasak community at that time in the context of religious education. The most common places for teaching were in santrens or the homes of prominent figures, which were converted into santrens. Therefore, the term "guru" (teacher) is a sign of respect for their dedication.

In this context, the author believes that santren serve as a forum for the Sasak community to build a religious foundation, which later became a collective memory of learning centers, particularly in Quranic recitation, to this day. Formerly traditional institutions serving as centers of learning within the Sasak community, santren have undergone various transformations over time to maintain their existence. Not only have the teaching formats changed, but many institutional structures have also adapted to the needs of the times. One example is the transformation from a formal institution based on collectivism to one dominated by a handful of individuals or groups. Ideologically, the early santren that developed in Sasak society were characterized by a sense of liberation, stemming from a lack of religious understanding. Not everyone could afford to attend centers of learning like the homes of the tuanguru (teacher) or the centers for the spread of Islam established by the Selaparang kingdom in the past. Small santren initiated by individuals deemed to possess a better

understanding than the general public provided an alternative for religious education. Beyond liberation from ignorance, the ideology of the struggle against oppression in Karangasem was also reproduced by these religious teachers, leading them to be respected not only as religious teachers but also as figures of resistance against the oppression of the Sasak people. The Sasak people's Islamic identity, initially established with the spirit of Islamic law, later evolved into a spirit of resistance against the so-called infidels who oppressed the Sasak people. This spirit could be considered somewhat tendentious when compared to today's humanist spirit.

Santren, as a cultural product of the Sasak community, should be given a place to exist by embodying the identity of religious institutions in Lombok, similar to Surau, Dayah, or Meunasah that exist outside Java. Historically, the existence of santren can be traced to cultural artifacts found in the Selaparang tomb complex, the administrative center of the Selaparang kingdom, which also includes one of the buildings that served as the origin of santren.

The transformation of several established santren into formal Islamic boarding schools (pondok pesantren) represents an effort to develop institutions with broader reach and management. This, in turn, can be described as entrepreneurship, creating employment opportunities while also providing a place to serve and disseminate religious knowledge. Further study of santren, or the network of religious teachers who pioneered the establishment of santren as religious centers, can be continued by exploring the connections between the scholarly networks of tuan guru (teacher) in Lombok and the legacies they left behind, whether santren transformed into Islamic boarding schools (pondok pesantren) or mosques named after prominent figures.

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