Integration of Pesantren And Mosque Function in Teaching Islam in South Sulawesi And Their Significance towards Consistency of Religious Moderation

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Abstract

This article discusses the teaching of Islam through the integration of pesantren and mosques functions, focusing on South Sulawesi. This study is directed to see the significance of teaching in pesantren and mosques in producing and supporting consistency of religious moderation in Indonesia. This study uses a descriptive-analytical method, by applying the theory of cultural reproduction of Pierre Bourdieu, which includes arena and habitus as the main components, of which there is capital. From this, this study concludes that Islamic teaching in pesantren and mosques carried out by ulama has a strong significance in carrying out consistency of religious moderation in South Sulawesi, even in the Indonesian context. The social capital of the ulama in pesantren and mosques builds a social structure that places the ulama as local leaders (agents) in forming a moderate religious model. The significance of teaching Islam further becomes a great opportunity in maintaining and developing religious moderation in Indonesia which is carried out together with the government. The collaboration between the government and the ulama indicates the need for agreement in understanding the urgency of religious moderation in Indonesia. In the agreement, the government as the provider of facilities and infrastructure supports the Islamic
teaching movement by the ulema. This is as happened in the process of teaching Islam at the beginning of Islamization in Indonesia, including in South Sulawesi.

**Keywords:** Pesantren, Mosques, Islamic Teaching, Ulema, Religious Moderation.

**Introduction**

Even though mosques have been places of Islamic teaching since the beginning of Islamization in South Sulawesi (Mattulada, 1976; Akhmar, 2018), their relationship with pesantren has not been a separate study. In fact, teaching Islam in the mosque plays an important role in the formation of a pesantren. As'adiyah, for example, is the oldest pesantren in South Sulawesi whose history cannot be separated from teaching Islam at Jami' Mosque Sengkang, Wajo (Pasanreseng, 1992). This relationship indicates the need for integration of functions between pesantren and mosques, especially in teaching Islam to the community which is carried out by ulema pesantren. This phenomenon intersects with Imam Mas'ud's finding that many ulema in eastern Indonesia teach about national and religious harmony to santri and community when teaching about Islam or preaching (Mas'ud, 2021).

Therefore, examining the existence of pesantren and mosques within the framework of integrating their functions is necessary to understand the consistency of religious moderation, as was done by ulama in South Sulawesi.

Pesantren’s ulema play a major role in teaching Islam to santri and community. In pesantren, the ulema are the determining element for the growth and development of pesantren tradition, so the ulema are always role models for their santri. (Dhofier, 2011). While at the mosque, the ulema become Religious Teachers, namely people who teach and become role models for the community (Pijfer, 1984; Robinshon, 2020). With this significant role, the pesantren’s ulema become an agent as well as change as well as a local
leader who can direct the religious model of the surrounding community, especially if the cleric is the leader of a pesantren. Thus, this study makes the ulema leadership of the pesantren as the key in finding the pattern of integration of the functions of the pesantren and the mosque. Pesantren and mosques became a means for ulema to teach Islam which then formed a distinctive religious model for santri and the wider community in South Sulawesi.

So far, the explanation above finds the significance of the study of pesantren and mosques in South Sulawesi. So far, there have been many studies on pesantren, with various perspectives, which therefore do not need to be listed here. However, studies on mosques in South Sulawesi which revolve around their functions are still few. Ridhwan examines the history and function of mosques in two of his studies, both of which focus on Bone, South Sulawesi. The first study discusses the specifics of the Al-Mujahidin Watampone mosque (2017), while the second study, written with Abidin Nurdhin and Wardhana, discusses mosques that existed from the royal era to the old era in Bone (2019). The two studies reveal the historical side and functions that are closely related to Islamic teaching. Another study was conducted by Wandi Chandra, Risfaisal and Kaharuddin (2019) which discussed the multifunctionality of mosques. In their study, they revealed that the mosque has multifunctionality other than a place of worship and education, namely as a place for religious tourism. These studies have not examined mosques as places of Islamic teaching that are integrated with pesantren. Therefore, a study on the integration of the functions of mosques and pesantren on Islamic teaching, especially finds its significance on the issue of religious moderation.
Why religious moderation? Apart from being a special concern among scholars (Malik et al, 2021; Husen et al, 2021), it is important to reveal this issue in response to the latest findings from Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT), which revealed that many pesantren have been joined by a network of terrorist groups (www.cnnindonesia.com). In the case of mosques, Noorhaidi Hasan revealed that many mosques in urban areas have been occupied by radical religious groups (Hasan, 2009). Therefore, it is important to disclose the Islamic teaching model to identify, filter, and anticipate Islamic teaching movements from radical groups. After that, efforts were made to integrate Islamic teaching in pesantren and mosques, especially towards religious moderation.

Thus, the consistency of religious moderation in this study is understood as the survival as well as the continuity of religious moderation in pesantren and mosques, as taught by pesantren’s leaders. In observing the consistency of religious moderation, it is important to reveal various aspects related to Islamic teaching in mosques and pesantren, from religious ideology to the materials taught by ulama in pesantren and mosques. From here, this study seeks to reveal moderate Islamic teaching in South Sulawesi which then becomes an offer to the Indonesian context, as a whole, within the framework of presenting pesantren and mosques as the basis for strengthening religious moderation.

Method

The question to be answered in this research is how to integrate the functions of mosques and pesantren for ulama in teaching Islam? And what is the significance of the integration of mosques and pesantren’s functions in producing religious moderation? To answer this question, this research uses
the analytical-descriptive method, which is to describe and analyze data related to the issues discussed. In conducting this analysis, this study uses the cultural reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu. In this theory there are arenas and habitus as the main components, of which there is capital (Bourdieu, 1977). In the context of this study, arena refers to pesantren and mosques, habitus to Islamic teaching, and capital refers to the ulema and leadership of pesantren owned by Islamic teachers.

This research is a field study, which shows that the data collected comes from documentation, observation, interviews, as primary sources. The position of the informants came from the pesantren, such as from Pesantren As’adiyah, Darud Da’wah wal Irsyad (DDI) pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulum pesantren, and mosque administrators in South Sulawesi. The secondary data were obtained from books, journal articles, websites, related to pesantren and mosques as well as issues of religious moderation. The methodical steps are discussing the context of mosques and pesantren as places of teaching Islam from the history of Islamization to the present in South Sulawesi. After that, discussing the role of ulema in teaching Islam to the community through pesantren and mosques. After that, analyze the ideology of pesantren and mosques. Then, analyzing the relationship between Islamic teaching in pesantren and mosques that can be drawn a common thread to the issue of religious moderation in Indonesia.

Results and Discussion
1. Mosques and Pesantren in the History of Islamic Teaching in South Sulawesi

The history of Islamization in South Sulawesi since the early 17th century AD, both in Makassar and Bugis, can be mapped into two stages,
namely reception and teaching. At the acceptance stage of Makassar, the initial Islamization took place in a peaceful palace environment as Dato' ri Tiro, Dato' Pa'timang and Dato' ri Bandang to the kings of Gowa-Tallo (Noorduyn, 1972). Meanwhile in Bugis, the acceptance of Islam in the court environment was the result of the defeat of the Bugis kingdoms, such as Bone, Soppeng and Wajo, from the Gowa-Tallo kingdom (Mattulada, 1995). This acceptance model is known as top down Islamization (from top to bottom), namely from the king (palace) to the community. In other words, if the king has embraced Islam, his people will automatically follow Islam. Anzar Abdullah in his study concludes that the process of accepting Islam is closely related to the local cultural system in South Sulawesi, which then forms an Islamic model that is unique to Bugis and Makassar (Abdullah, 2016). In the sense that the carriers of Islam (muballigh) are moderate when dealing with the cultures they encounter, both the results of the previous religious heritage (Hindu-Buddhist) and the customs of the Bugis-Makassar tribe itself.

In Indonesia, the government's attention to mosques continues to be carried out, not only in the form of their construction in various regions but also in various activities or functions. Jusuf Kalla as General Chair of the Indonesian Mosque Council (DMI) said that mosques and prayer rooms in Indonesia reached the largest number in the world, which was around 800,000. (Aprionis, 2022). Likewise, the function of the mosque is also continuously developing, both in worship and social development for the people, such as in terms of tourism, economy, art and others (see Maulany, 2015; Nata, 2021; Saputra, 2017). The magnitude of the attention and function of the mosque brings the position of the Imam and the Ulema of the mosque to always be an important reference for the community (Robinson, 2020).
The information above indicates that the collaboration or combination of the roles of ulama and umara is very strong in developing da'wah in mosques, which has been going on since the early Islamization of Indonesia. As previously stated, the teaching of Islam by the ulama in South Sulawesi was at the initiative of the kings at that time, which among others made the mosque a place of worship and Islamic da'wah, as was the case with the 40th Arung Matoa in Wajo (Ilham, 2017). In Demak, Sunan Kalijaga together with other walisongo in collaboration with the Kingdom of Demak launched Islamic da'wah to the people through the mosque, which was later known as Masjid Agung Demak (Susilo dan Wulansari, 2019). In Kudus, Sunan Kudus's da'wah which was colored by Javanese culture resulted in the Al-Aqsa Manarat Qudus mosque which until now has been guarded and even became a cultural heritage by the Central Java government (Kharis, 2020).

The process of Islamization continues to the teaching stage. At this stage, the teaching of Islam departed from the initiative of the king who wanted his people to understand their new religion. This was because the Bugis-Makassar people (society) at that time embraced Islam without having any knowledge of Islam (HS, et al, 2021). With this context, the kings appointed people who were considered to have a high understanding to teach about Islam, who would later be referred to ulema. Ridhwan, Abidhin Nurdin and Wardhana considered that Islamic teaching or education during the process of Islamization also meant preaching Islam, as was done by the ulema who served as Qadi (advisors to the king).

In Bone, for example, Islamic teaching from the royal era to entering the old order era was carried out by ulema, among others, in mosques (Ridhwan, et al, 2019). In Wajo, the 40th Arung Matoa as king in 1821-1825 of them ordered to build, repair and expand the mosque to serve as a place of
worship and teaching of Islam at the same time (Ilham, 2017). In fact, in Gowa in pre-Islamic times, Manggorai Daeng Mammeta Karaeng Tunijallo (1565-1590) as king at that time had built a mosque in Somba Opu, the capital of the Gowa-Tallo kingdom, as a symbol of good relations with kings such as those from Malacca and Banjar who first embraced Islam (Poelinggomang, 2015; Pelras, 2006). This shows that since the beginning of the acceptance of Islam, the mosque has become an important building in the teaching of Islam.

Islamic teaching which originally departed from the mosque later developed into an effort to teach Islam in the form of educational institutions. As mentioned above, the king of Wajo developed many mosques as places of Islamic teaching, from which AGH Muhammad As'ad Al-Bugisy emerged as a pioneer in the formation of madrasas in mosques known as Madrasah Arabiyah Islamiyah (MAI) (Ilham, 2017). In its history, Islamic teaching in MAI was initially an Islamic teaching activity in the form of Halaqah at AGH. Muhammad As'ad al-Bugisy's house, then continued at the Jami’ Mosque Sengkang-Wajo, until became MAI, then became Pesantren As'adiyah (Kalsum, 2008). In fact, the genealogy of knowledge MAI can be traced to halaqah's activities at Mecca Mosque, as an intellectual trip AGH. Muhammad As'ad al-Bugisy who was a long time studying in Mecca (HS, et al, 2021).

In other regions, Darud Da’wah Wal Irsyad (DDI) pesantren in Mangkoso, Barru, was also born inseparable from the recitation carried out by AGH. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle at the Mangkoso Mosque. From the recitation, AGH Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle established Madrasah Arabiyah Islamiyah (MAI) Mangkoso, who later developed and changed its name to Darud Da’wah Wal Irysad (DDI) Mangkoso (Rasyid, 2009). Another pesantren is Al-Nahdlah Makassar, a pesantren that its history of birth is also inseparable from halaqah's recitation conducted at AGH Muhammad
Harisah’s house, then continued to the Qubah Mosque of Layang, Makassar (Firdaus, 2009). In his study, Ridhwan said that two madrasas in Bone present with a background of Islamic teaching, namely Madrasah Amiriyah Islamiyah and Madrasah Dinia in Bone (Ridhwan, et al., 2019).

Arriving here, the explanation above is a part of the example that shows Islamic teaching which was originally carried out in the mosque then continued into a pesantren. This shows that the history of Islamic teaching cannot be separated from the mosque and developed into an educational institution in the form of pesantren. The significance of Islamic teaching in pesantren and mosque cannot be separated from the presence of ulema who are central figures in Islamic teaching in South Sulawesi. As revealed above that even though Islamic revenues and the authority of Islamization in South Sulawesi were held by the kings at that time, but Islamic teaching was entrusted to the ulema. Until now, the ulema took a double role in pesantren and mosques. Therefore, the next section will be discussed about ulema, especially pesantren leadership, along with the assistance role in Islamic teaching in South Sulawesi.

2. Double Role of Ulema in Islamic Teaching: Pesantren-Mosque

Previous discussions have been explained about the presence of a significant mosque and pesantren in teaching Islam. Until now, Islamic teaching in pesantren and mosques is still making ulema as religious leaders or local leaders. Actually, who teaches in pesantren and mosques is not just the ulema of pesantren’s leaders. Many young ulema, or more often called Ustadz, become teachers in pesantren and mosques. However, the authority of the ustadz was no stronger than the authority of pesantren’s leadership. This is due to the scientific capacity and social position of pesantren’s leadership than
Ustadz. In this regard, the community in South Sulawesi distinguishes the issuance title for pesantren’s ulema with Ustadz. Pesantren’s leader is automatically called Anrongguru for the Makassar tribe, and Anregurutta for the Bugis tribe, while the title for Ustadz is Gurutta (see Muhammad, 2017). With this context, the mention of the ulema as a local leader in this study is intended to Anreguruta Hajj (AGH) or more often summarized into Anregurutta who teaches in pesantren and mosques at once.

As stated above that AGH Muhammad As'ad al-Bugisi was the first ulema in South Sulawesi which established a pesantren called Pesantren As’adiyah. AGH. Muhammad As'ad Al-Bugisi received the trust of King Wajo (Bugis: Arung Matoa) to teach about Islam to the Bugis community at the Jami’ Mosque (Sicki, 2013; Ilham, 2017). In its development, Pesantren As’adiyah gave birth to many ulema spread in various regions in Indonesia, including AGH. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle, AGH. Abduh Pabbaja, AGH. Abdul Muin Yusuf, AGH. Daud Ismail, AGH. Junaid Sulaiman, AGH. Muhammad Yunus Martan, AGH. Abdul Kadir Khalid, AGH. Ahmad Marzuki Hasan, AGH. Hamzah Manguluang, AGH. A. Rahman Mامتammeng, AGH. Nasaruddin Umar and others (Halim, 2015).

The number of ulema as the results of Pesantren As’adiyah above forms the issuance in Indonesia, especially in South Sulawesi. In this context, Syamsuddin Arif considered that the da'wah movement by As'adiyah ulema produced a da'wah network model in the form of a pesantren in the 20th century (Arif, 2007). Furthermore, many of these ulema who founded or led pesantren, among them were Darul Da'wah Wal Irsyad (DDI) in Barru, Al-Furqan in Pare-Pare, Al-Urwah in Sidrap, Yatsrib in Soppeng, Al-Junaidi Biru in Bone, Al-Ikhlas Ujung in Bone, MDIA in Makassar, Darul Istiqamah in Maros, Galesong Baru in Makassar, and others. In addition, there are also
many ulema of Pesantren As'adiyah alumni, in these various pesantren, teaching Islam in various mosques, among in Bugis, Makassar, and Java areas.

Currently, many great ulema of South Sulawesi who are alumni of pesantren As'adiyah have succeeded in taking part in teaching Islam in pesantren and mosques. For example, AGH Nasaruddin Umar. He is an As'adiyah alumni who became the founder and leader of Pesantren Al-Ikhlas Ujung in Bone. In addition, AGH Nasaruddin Umar is also the Grand Imam and great ulema at the Istiqlal Mosque in Jakarta. Another ulama is AGH Muhammad Harisa who is an alumni of pesantren As'adiyah who became the founder and leader of pesantren Al-Nahdlah Makassar who is also actively teaching Islam in mosques in Makassar, especially in Tinumbu area. Even though AGH Rafii Yunus Martan was not the founder, he became the leader of pesantren As'adiyah in 2002-2018. In addition, AGH Rafii Yunus Martan is also a great ulama at the Grand Mosque, Sengkang Wajo.

In addition, there are also many ulema who are alumni of pesantren established by the alumni of pesantren As'adiyah who are actively teaching Islam in pesantren and mosques, such as AGH. Sanusi Baco, AGH. Farid Wajedi, AGH. Nursyamsi A. Pawawoi. These three ulema are alumni of Darud Da'wah wal Irsyad (DDI) led by AGH. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle, alumni of pesantren As'adiyah. AGH. Sanusi Baco became the founder and leader of pesantren Nahdlatul Ulum in Maros who was also a great ulama at the Makassar Grand Mosque until he died in 2020. AGH. Farid Wajedi became the head of pesantren Darud Da'wah wal Irsyad in 1985-present. He also became a major ulama in various mosques, including at the Al-Markas mosque and the Grand mosque in Makassar. AGH. Nursyamsi A. Pawawoi has been the founder and leader of pesantren DDI Hasanuddin Ulumul Qur'an in
Maros since 2002. He has also been a major ulama in various mosques, including Raudhatul Muftihien Makassar.

Up to this point, the explanation above gives an understanding that many ulema in South Sulawesi have a dual role in teaching Islam, namely in pesantren and mosques. This dual role indicates the magnitude of the influence of these ulema on the religious life of pesantren community (santri) and the general public outside pesantren. Thus, their position as a religious leader or local leader become agent who can determine the direction of religion to the madzhab and ideologies that they believes to be correct. The problem is what are the madzhab and ideologies of these ulema? To answer this question, the next discussion will be discuss about the ideology of the pesantren and (therefore) also the mosque.

3. Understanding Religion and Ideology of Ulema in South Sulawesi

The previous two discussions have explained the significant role of mosques and pesantren, both during the Islamization period in South Sulawesi and today. In this significance, the ulema became the central figure in determining the direction of the religious model of pesantren and mosque community. Thus, the two discussions lead to the significance of understanding the religious understanding of mosques and pesantren. Therefore, this section analyzes the religious madzhab and ideologies held by ulema based on mosques and pesantren in South Sulawesi. This analysis was carried out from pesantren to mosques, which then became the basis for further analysis of the religious understanding of ulema who teach Islam in pesantren and mosques. This step was chosen considering that the authority of ulema in this study are pesantren, which teach and become the center and determinant of curriculum, sects, and religious ideologies in mosques.
In exploring religious understanding in pesantren in South Sulawesi, As'adiyah as the oldest pesantren becomes significant enough to be analyzed first. In the dissertation study conducted by Syamsuddin Arif, pesantren As'adiyah adheres to Ahlu Sunna wal Jama'ah understanding (Arif, 2007). Meanwhile, in terms of fiqh, Ilham in his dissertation said that AGH. Muhammad As'ad follow the Shafi'i madzhab, but do not close themselves off from other madzhab (Ilham, 2017). Specifically, As'adiyah's religious understanding is very close to the religious understanding of Nahdlatul Ulama, even though it is not part of Nahdlatul Ulama (HS, et al, 2021). From here, this religious understanding is maintained and disseminated to the community, including and especially in mosques, as was done by, for example, AGH. Rafii Yunus Martan at the Grand Mosque, Sengkang-Wajo. In fact, until now, the mosque has permanently become a place of Islamic teaching by the ulemas of pesantren As'adiyah, both followed by its santri and the wider community through teaching Islam in mosques.

As a pesantren founded by a student of AGH Muhammad As'ad Al-Bugisi, pesantren Darud Da'wah wal Irsyad founded by AGH Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle of course, in general, has a religious understanding that is not much different, as well as its branches, such as pesantren Ulumul Qur'an DDI Hasanuddin led by AGH Nursyamsi A, as well as other DDI branches. In the sense that pesantren Darud Da'wah wal Irsyad and its branches adhere to Ahlus Sunna wal Jama'ah understanding and Shafi'i madzhab (Muhsin, 2014; Muhsin, 2017). In fact, DDI followed As'adiyah in terms of maintaining its legal status, which was also not part of Nahdlatul Ulama. This understanding of ideology and religious madzhab is also shared by other pesantren led by DDI alumni, such as pesantren Nahdlatul Ulum led by AGH. Sanusi Baco. However, in contrast to his alma mater, AGH. Sanusi Baco wants the pesantren he founded...
to be affiliated with the ORMAS Nahdlatul Ulama (Shahrir, et al, 2021). Regardless of whether they are part of Nahdlatul Ulama or not, these pesantren have many similarities in terms of ideology, religious madzhab of thought.

The similarities above are reinforced by the materials taught. Referring to Abdurrahman Wahid's mapping of the material taught in pesantren, namely tafsir Al-Qur’an, hadis, fiqh, tasawuf, and akhlak (see Wahid, 2007), the various pesantren in South Sulawesi have similarities. Among the similar kitab, kitab tafseer taught is Tafsir Jalalain by Jalaluddin Al-Suyuthi and Jalaluddin Al-Mahalli. Kitab hadith taught is Riyadhushshalihin, Abu Zakariyah Yahya bin Syaraf Al-Nawawi. Kitab fiqh taught is fathul Qarib by Ibnu Qasim Al-Ghazi. Kitab tasawuf taught is Maraqil ‘Ubudiyah by Nawawi Al-Bantani. Kitab akhlak taught is Mauidzatul Mu’minin by Muhammad Jamaluddin Al-Qasimi (Interview with Marlinda, Ilyas, Hafidz, 25 Februari 2022). These kitab are also found in pesantren in Java (see Bruenessen, 1995). Furthermore, the various kitab that are teachings of Islam are kitab that are based on Shafi’i madzhab of thought and Ahlus Sunna wal Jama’ah orientation.

From the understanding, madzhab and religious ideologies mentioned above, pesantren’s ulema who teach about Islam in mosques certainly bring the influence of the teachings that are grown and developed from pesantren to mosques. With this model, it can be understood that mosques under the teachings of pesantren such as As’adiyah, Darud Da’wah wal Irsyad, Nahdlatul Ulum and others also make mosques as a domain or arena in producing a habitus in the form of Islamic teachings that are Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama’ah and Shafi’i madzhab. In this context, Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama’ah and Shafi’i madzhab are believed by the majority of Muslims in Indonesia that this religious understanding leads to the formation of a moderate religious model. Many
studies show that *Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah* has become a moderate religious understanding (Zuhriah, 2021; Mufid, 2013). From here, the next section discusses efforts to integrate the functions of pesantren and mosques in South Sulawesi in producing a moderate religious model.

4. Islamic Teaching in Pesantren and Mosques as a Consistent Basis for Religious Moderation

The previous discussions have explained the important position of pesantren and mosques in teaching Islam from the beginning of Islamization to the present day. This important position cannot be separated from the role of ulama who built and developed it in teaching Islam to santri and the community. In this teaching, the religious understanding of the ulama forms a religious model in South Sulawesi, which is based on *Ahlus Sunna wal Jama'ah* and based on Shafi'i madzhab. This model of religious understanding is under the auspices of the educational and social movements of Ulama As'adiyah, Darud Da'wah wal Irsyad, and Nahdlatul Ulama, which although not as a form of community organization (ORMAS), but all three have the spirit and religious understanding of religious moderation that is taught to society. From here, this section discusses efforts to integrate Islamic teaching in pesantren and mosques. The aim is to show that pesantren and mosques can and are important to be central areas as well as the basis for consistency of religious moderation in Indonesia.

As discussed above, Islamic teaching movement first took place from mosque and pesantren As'adiyah. The teaching movement is based on *Ahlus Sunna wal Jama'ah* which is close to a moderate religious model. This understanding is reinforced by the latest findings about As'adiyah conducted by Saddam Husain and Andi Eki Dwi Wahyuni which revealed that As'adiyah
maintains and develops religious models that are tawasuth (moderate), tawazun (balanced), i’tidal (fair), tasamuh (tolerance), al-musawah (equality), syurah (consultation), islah (reform), aulawiyah (putting priority on priority), tatawwur wa ibtikar (dynamic and innovative), tahaddur (civilized), wathaniyah wa muwathanah (nationality), dan qudwatiyah (exemplary) (Husain and Wahyuni, 2021). The moderate religious model is also seen in pesantren Darud Da’wah wal Irsyad by combining keeping traditionalists and modernists at the same time (Samsir, 2012). As for pesantren Nahdhaltul Ulum, although there has been no study showing its model of religious moderation, its affiliation with Nadhlatul Ulama, a moderate organization in Indonesia (Read Hamida and Chasnnudin, 2021; Wulandari, et al, 2021; Saefuddin and Al Fatihah, 2020), shows that at the very least, pesantren teaches Islam which is tasawwuth, tasamuh, tawazun, and i’tidal.

With the model of religious understanding above, pesantren and mosques become arenas of consistency, namely the maintenance and development of a moderate Islamic model. In this arena, pesantren’s ulema are the main agents of Islamic teaching in producing the habitus of religious moderation. Pesantren’s ulema are the center of initiation and social control which have always been a reference for the people of South Sulawesi. The ulema of the pesantren have a scientific connection from the beginning of Islamic teaching, as initiated by AGH. Muhammad As'ad Al-Bugisi, then other ulema such as AGH. Sanusi Baco, AGH. Nasaruddin Umar, AGH. Farid Wajedi. In a global context, AGH. Muhammad As'ad Al-Bugisi is a study friend of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, founder of Nahdlatul Ulama, both of whom studied in Mecca (Interview with Ilham Nur, 23 December 2021). AGH. Sanusi Baco is a friend of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, leader of Nahdlatul Ulama in 1989-1999 (Tawhid, et al, 2021). Likewise, other pesantren clerics
who have relations in a global context. The connection between these scientific chains indicates that broadly speaking, pesantren in South Sulawesi (to all parts of Indonesia) have large social capital in maintaining the consistency of religious moderation for Muslims.

Furthermore, in the various social capitals owned by ulema, efforts to maintain consistency in religious moderation based on pesantren and mosques are more effective when collaborating with the government. The fact that the collaboration of Islamic teaching between the government and ulama is not new in Indonesia, including in South Sulawesi. As previously stated, the government and ulema have collaborated in the successful early Islamization of South Sulawesi, both at the reception and teaching stages. Why do ulama collaborate with the government? Apart from the fact that the government has strong social capital in regulating society, the government is the main actor in the spread of religious moderation in Indonesia, including in South Sulawesi (see HS, 2021). The collaboration between the government and the ulema bring effectiveness in moderating the religion of pesantren and mosque communities.

**Conclusion**

From the various discussions in the previous sections, it can be concluded that the teaching of Islam in pesantren and mosques carried out by ulama has a strong significance in carrying out the consistency of religious moderation in South Sulawesi, even in Indonesian context. Pesantren’s ulama since the beginning of Islamization until now still consistently teach Islam in pesantren and mosques, which makes them have a strong socio-religious capital in South Sulawesi. The large amount of social capital of pesantren’s ulama for pesantren community (santri) and the general public in South Sulawesi builds
a social structure that places the ulema as local leaders (agents) in forming a moderate religious model. In this context, moderate religious understanding based on *Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama’ah* and *Syafi’i madzhab* has made pesantren’s ulema in South Sulawesi such as pesantren As’adiyah, Darud Da’wah wal Irsyad (DDI), Nahdlatul Ulum and others have the similarity of the model of religious moderation with Nahdlatul Ulum, as an organization that spreads religious moderation in Indonesia to the world.

The significance of teaching Islam further becomes a great opportunity in maintaining and developing religious moderation in Indonesia which is carried out together with the government. The collaboration between the government and the ulema indicate the need for agreement in understanding the urgency of religious moderation in Indonesia. In the agreement, the government as the provider of facilities and infrastructure supports the Islamic teaching movement by the ulema. This is as happened in the process of teaching Islam at the beginning of Islamization in Indonesia, including in South Sulawesi. Thus, ulema not only gain legitimacy in teaching Islam, they also have and can fulfill their responsibilities to the state in maintaining the consistency of the religious moderation of their people through pesantren and mosques. From here, the integration of the functions of pesantren and mosques has a historical basis as well as a strong argument for socio-religious needs in producing consistency in religious moderation.

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