

THE DETERMINATION OF BEGINNING OF *PASAH* AND *TELLASAN* AT AL-KARAWI ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL OF SUMENEP REGENCY

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Abstract

The determination of beginning of *Pasah* and *Tellasan* in Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding Schools is often different from the decisions of the government (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia) or Islamic society organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama or Muhammadiyah. Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School uses the calculating method compiled by one of the boarding school educators in determining the beginning of fasting and Eid. This research is intended to analyze the phenomenon of early fasting and Eid from a sociological perspective. These problems are discussed with field research through the socio legal studies approach. The results of this study indicate that the beginning determination of fasting and Eid Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School is often different from the government is due to the strong patronage relationship among kiai, santri and the residents of Karawi village.

Keyword : *Pasah*, *Tellasan*, Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School

Abstrak

Penentuan awal *pasah* dan *tellasan* di Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi seringkali berbeda dengan keputusan Pemerintah (Kementerian Agama RI) atau ormas Islam, seperti Nahdlatul Ulama atau Muhammadiyah. Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi menggunakan metode hisabhaqiqiyang disusun oleh salah satu pengasuh pondok pesantren tersebut dalam menentukan awal *pasah* dan *tellasan*. Penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk menganalisis fenomena awal *pasah* dan *tellasan* di Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi Kabupaten Sumenep dalam perspektif sosiologis. Permasalahan tersebut dibahas dengan menggunakan penelitian lapangan (*field research*) melalui pendekatan *socio legal studies*. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa penentuan awal *pasah* dan *tellasan* di Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi Kabupaten Sumenep yang seringkali berbeda dengan Pemerintah disebabkan hubungan patronase yang kuat antara kiai, santri dan warga Desa Karawi.

Kata Kunci : Pasah, Tellasan, Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School

A. Introduction

The determination of beginning of *Pasah* and *Tellasan* in Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding Schools is often different from the decisions of the government (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia), but the public's obedience to hisab at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School makes this reckoning still followed by the people of Karawi Village, Ganding District, Sumenep Regency. The people of Karay Village also trust the two figures of Falak Science at the boarding school, Kiai Hammad and Kiai Abbad as guardians of Allah.

Pasah is the term fasting for the Madurese people. The *tellasan* comes from the Javanese language *telas*, which means finished. This shows the completion of the Muslim community in carrying out fasting. Madurese know three *tellasans*, namely *tellasan agung* (Eid al-Fitri), *tellasan topa'*(ketupat) and *tellasan reyajah* (Eid al-Adha).¹

Munif, one of the residents of Karay Village, said that not only the people of Karawi Village, were students from the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School who followed Kiai Hammad's calculations, but also the surrounding villages. Munif said when interviewed at his house: "There are a lot of people participating in Karay islamic boarding school. It could be said that all Karay people followed suit. Even though he was not alone, his son was there. The people here obey what the kiai says. Moreover, the kiai in Karay islamic boarding school are known for their guardianship, including the two kiai who are experts in Falak calculations, Kiai Hammad and Kiai Abbad. "²

Al-Karawi Islamic boarding school is one of the Islamic boarding schools in Sumenep Regency, precisely in Ketawang Karay Village, Ganding District. This Salaf Islamic boarding school is known to have and apply a calculation method that often starts fasting and holidays different from the calculation methods currently developed. This difference is very significant, because sometimes it reaches a gap of two days. The

¹Interview with Zuhri, a resident of Karay Village at his house on April 18, 2019, at 09:30 WIB.

²Interview with Bambang Hendriyanto, a resident of Karay village and observer of Falak Science at his house on April 16, 2019, at 20:00 WIB.

government set the start of Ramadan 1439 Hijriah on Thursday Pahing to coincide with May 17, 2018. Al-Karawi Islamic boarding school with calculation system started Ramadan 1439 Hijriah on Tuesday Kliwon, to coincide with May 15, 2018. Al-Karawi Islamic boarding school in 1439 Hijriah started fasting two days earlier than the Government's decision. This phenomenon for the people of Karay Village and its surroundings is nothing new. The people of Karay Village almost every year start fasting one or two days earlier than the Government stipulated, although in some cases sometimes it also coincides with Government decrees.

This phenomenon is also recognized by Zuhri, a resident of Karay Village who also controls the initial calculations of pasah and tellasan versions of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. Zuhri said that the calculation for Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School is often earlier than the Government's stipulation, one day or two days, but it does not rule out the same time with the Government's decrees. The people of Karay Village still follow the results of these calculations even though the boarding school does not invite them. Zuhri said in the interview: Karay islamic boarding school usually precedes the Government (during fasting and Eid). It could be one day, it could be two days, it could also coincide with the Government. The results of these calculations were still followed by the Karay community, even though the boarding school did not command or invite them to participate. People who want to participate, go ahead, those who don't are also okay.³

The Hisab Rukyat Board of Sumenep Regency spoke out regarding the initial determination of pasah and tellasan at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, Sumenep Regency. According to Abdus Sabar, one of the Hisab Rukyat Board of Sumenep Regency, the initial determination of the pasah and tellasan Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School is local and individual, does not apply regionally or nationally. The Hisab Rukyat Board of Sumenep Regency appreciates Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School

³Interview with Zuhri, a resident of Karay village at his house on April 18, 2019, at 09:30 WIB.

because in determining pasah and tellasan it does not do ihbar or announcement to the community.⁴

The Al-Karawi Islamic boarding school has two expert Falak figures, namely Kiai Hammad and Kiai Abbad whose results are widely followed by the local community. Hisab Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School is a model of the periodic calculation schedule regarding the entry of the Arabic (hijri) year compiled by Kiai Ahmad Dahlan and improved by Kiai Hammad, the second caretaker of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. Kiai Hammad is one of the sons of ten sons of Kiai Ahmad Dahlan. Kiai Ahmad Dahlan is the son of Kiai Imam Mahmud who is the founder of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School.⁵

Kiai Ahmad Dahlan compiled a schedule for calculating the beginning of the lunar month to determine the inclusion of Arabic years taken from the book *al-Durūs al-Falakiyah* by Shaykh Ma'sum Jombang, the book *al-Jawāhir al-Naqiyah fī al-A'māl al-Jaybiyah* compiled by Ahmad bin Abdul Latif Minangkabau and the book *Wasīlah al-Ṭullāb* by Shaykh Yahya bin Muhammad al-Khattab al-Maliki. The calculation compiled by Kiai Ahmad Dahlan has its own characteristics, namely having a reference data source and how to calculate it is easy to master.⁶

The characteristics of the calculation system at the beginning of the month of Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School often precede one or two days from the Nahdlatul Ulama ihbar, Muhammadiyah edicts or isbat the Government (Ministry of Religion), for example the beginning of the month of Ramadan and Syawal 1430 Hijriah, Nahdlatul Ulama as a symbol of the rukyat and Muhammadiyah mazhab as The symbol of the hisab school of thought together establishes 1 Ramadan 1430 to coincide with 22 August 2009 on the basis of istikmal, because the height of the new moon at the end of

⁴Interview with Abdus Sabar, one of the Hisab Rukyat Bodies of Sumenep Regency at his house on June 9, 2019, at 11:00 WIB.

⁵Ahmad Faidal, " Penentuan Awal Bulan Hijriyah dalam Sistem Hisab 'Urfi Al-Karawi Menurut Perspektif Hisab Hakiki Kontemporer dan Implikasinya dalam Hukum Islam " (Thesis, Sunan Giri University Surabaya, 2015), 11.

⁶Ach. Mulyadi, "Melacak Geneologi Sistem dan Penerapan Mazhab Hisab Pesantren Karay Ganding Sumenep," *Nuansa: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* (2011), accessed March 27, 2019, 6, doi: <http://www.ejournal.stainpamekasan.ac.id/nuansa/article/download/1/1>

Sha'ban 1430 Hijriah is still under the horizon, as well as the Government (Ministry of Religion RI). The Al-Karawi Islamic boarding school in this case is in accordance with the results of the reckoning starting the month of Ramadan 1430 Hijriah on August 21, 2009.

The public is constantly discussing the issue of the inclusion of the beginning of the month of Lunar, especially the months of Ramadan, Syawal and Zulhijjah. The discussion was due to the fact that in the three months it was directly related to general Islamic mahdahumat worship, such as the obligation of fasting, issuing zakat fitrah, holidays and performing the haj pilgrimage.

The spread of several tarekat-tarekat or Islamic boarding schools that have an interest in Falak Science throughout the archipelago has contributed to the debate in entering fasting and holidays. This phenomenon often causes uproar in the community about who they should join. Rural communities tend to follow local murshid or ulama where they live in fasting or holidays.

B. Research Methodology

This research is classified as qualitative research with a focus on field studies and uses the socio legal studies approach. This study determined the place to be the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School and the people of Karay Village, Ganding District, Sumenep Regency. The place of this research was chosen because it was in this pesantren and village that was often different from the Government's decision to initiate fasting and holidays and was followed by the community, especially Desa Karay.

Primary data in this study were obtained by interviewing the descendants of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, the community and community leaders in Karay Village. Secondary data were obtained through informants related to the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, literature related to this research, such as Falak books, research results, whether in the form of journals, thesis or dissertation.

C. Results and Discussion

C.1. Patronase Concept

Patron comes from the Latin *patronus* or *pater* which means father, while *client* also comes from the Latin *cliens* which means followers.⁷ Another opinion states that the term patron comes from the Spanish language which means a person who has power, status, authority and influence, while *client* means a subordinate or person who is ruled.⁸

The term *patronus*, which is the root of the word *patron*, suggests that a patron is someone who provides protection, benefits, funds and supports the activities of several people. James C. Scott describes the patron client relationship as follows:

The patron-client relationship an exchange relationship between roles may be defined as a special case of dyadic (two person) ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which an individual of higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses his own influence and re-sources to provide proteccion of benefits, or both, for a person

⁷ Peter Davies, *The American Heritage Dictionary of The English Language*, (New York: Dell Publishing, 1977), 154.

⁸ James C. Scott, "Patron-Client and Political Change in Southeast Asia," *American Political Science Review* (1972), 93, accessed 8 October 2019, doi: 10.2307 / 195280.

*of lower status (client) who, for his part, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance, including personal service to the patron.*⁹

Based on this definition, it can be concluded that the client patron is a relationship between two different communities, both in terms of status, power or income, so that the patron is placed in a higher position (superior) and the client is in a lower position (inferior).

The patron-client relationship pattern is an alliance of two community groups or individuals who are not equal, both in terms of status, power and income. This condition places the client's position in a lower position (inferior), while the patron is in a higher position (superior). Patrons occupy a position that helps their clients.¹⁰

The concept of the client patron has historically been known since ancient Roman times. Each aristocrat (patronus) at that time had a number of people of a lower social strata (clientes) who hoped for protection from him. Roman client patron relationships were built on the basis of mutual rights and obligations that were hereditary. Patrons have a duty to guard clients from enemies and protect against lawsuits. The client is also obliged to help the patron in certain circumstances, for example the client is obliged to make up for the patron when arrested and becomes a prisoner of war.¹¹

Patron clients in social science are identified with the concept of the relationship between social strata and control of economic resources. The patron concept always goes hand in hand with the client concept, so that the two relationships form a special relationship known as clientelism.¹² The special relationship referred to in the patron client concept is characterized by a more personal and vertical relationship, namely a superior-inferior personal relationship.

⁹Scott, "Patron,"... 92

¹⁰Eko Setiawan, "Eksistensi Budaya Patron Klien dalam Pesantren (Studi Hubungan Antara Kiai dan Santri)", *Ulul Albab* (2012): 141, accessed January 3, 2020, doi: <http://ejournal.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/ululalbab/article/download/2372/4304>.

¹¹Moh. Hefni, "Patron-Client Relationship Pada Masyarakat Madura", *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* (2009): 19, accessed on 07 October 2019, doi: 10.19105 / karsa.v15i1.110.

¹²Sumeeta Shyamsunder Chandavarkar, "Patron-Client Ties and Maoist Rural China," (Thesis, University of Toronto, 1997), 12.

Patron client relationships have characteristics (a) relationships occur between actors who have unequal power and status, (b) are based on the principle of reciprocity, (c) relationships are particularistic and private, only loosely occurring in public law or norms - community norms.¹³

James C. Scott explained the characteristics of the client's patron relationship, namely the presence of inequality, the presence of face to face character and its diffuse flexibility. Scott further described the client patron relationship as a relationship of two people involving a very instrumental friendship in which an individual with a higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses his or her own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits to someone with a lower status (client). Who ultimately responded by offering general support and assistance, including personal service to the patron.¹⁴

The patron-client relationship is a special form of exchange relationship that can be seen from the relationship between the two parties whose interests only apply in the context of their relationship. Partnerships that are built in patron client relationships are of a special nature, not of general interest. Each of these client patrons felt the need to build allies that had higher (superior) or lower (inferior) status.¹⁵

The patron-client concept states that the relationship between the two (patron and client) forms an interdependent relationship. The client is very dependent on the patron, because of the client's debt of gratitude to the patron during the relationship. Patrons who act as parties with more abilities make clients feel indebted because they are unable to reciprocate in a balanced manner. Dependence of clients in one social interaction does not rule out the possibility of expanding into other aspects of life. The relatively long relationship between the patron and the client will foster client trust in the patron.

Flow from clients to patrons is services or personnel in the form of technical expertise for the benefit of the patron. These services are in the form of

¹³Robert R. Kaufman, "The Patron-Client Concept and Macro Politics: Prospects and Problems," *Journals Comparative Studies in Society and History* (1974), 285, accessed October 03, 2019, doi: 10.1017 / S0010417500012457.

¹⁴Scott, "Patron..." 91.

¹⁵Cut Rahma Rizky & Agus Nurhadi, "Hukum Islam dan Patronase dalam Penentuan 1 Ramadhan di Bungong Keumang," *Al-Ahkam: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam* 28, no. 2 (2008), 201.

basic work / agriculture services, additional services for households, personal domestic services and periodic food provision. The key element that affects the level of dependence and legitimacy for clients on the patron is the ratio of services provided to the patron and the results / services received. The greater the value he receives from the patron compared to the fees that must be returned, the more likely he is to see the patron-client bond as legal and legal.¹⁶

The relationship between patron and client is transformed into a norm that has moral strength and includes rights and obligations that must be fulfilled by both parties. These norms will continue as long as the patron guarantees protection and security for clients. The patron-client relationship is a normal relationship in the social system, because in essence social relations are relationships between positions and statuses, each of which takes part in accordance with their role.

C.2. The Method of Early Determination of Pasah and Tellasan in Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School

The initial determination of pasah and tellasan at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School if traced historically was determined in two ways, namely rukyat and hisab. Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi initially determined the beginning of pasah and tellasan by means of rukyat. This practice was carried out at the beginning of the establishment of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, namely during Kiai Muhammad Imam's care for Kiai Ahmad Dahlan's second half.¹⁷

The method of reckoning was taken during the time of Kiai Ahmad Dahlan to the next generation, this was due to Kiai Ahmad Dahlan's disappointment with the rejection of rukyat he reported. Another factor behind Kiai Ahmad Dahlan's shift from the rukyat to hisab method was that the location of the rukyat at that time was relatively far from Karay Village.

Kiai Mun'im said, the people of Karay Village had to wait until late at night to determine the entry of the initial pasah or tellasan, because the distance between Karay Village and the location of the rukyat, namely Ambunten District, Sumenep Regency was relatively far, especially at that time there was no means of

¹⁶Cut Rahma Rizky & Agus Nurhadi, "Hukum Islam...", 201.

¹⁷Mulyadi, "Melacak Geneologi....," 6.

transportation or telecommunications as it is now to report the success or failure of the rukyat hilal.¹⁸

Departing from this background, Kiai Ahmad Dahlan decided to determine the initial pasah and tellasan to be determined by reckoning. Kiai Ahmad Dahlan compiled the reckoning based on three books, namely al-Durūs al-Falakiyah by Muhammad Maksum bin Ali Jombang, al-Jawāhir al-Naqiyah fī al-A'māl al-Jaibiyah by Ahmad bin Abdul Latif Minangkabau and Wasīlah al-Ṭullāb by Yahya bin Muhammad al-Khattab al-Maliki.¹⁹

Hisab compiled by Kiai Ahmad Dahlan has its own characteristics that the calculation method is easy to master. This calculation method has always been preserved by generations or successors to Kiai Ahmad Dahlan. Kiai Ahmad Dahlan's work was later developed by the next caregiver, namely Kiai Hammad. Kiai Hammad compiled a list of the beginning of the Lunar year based on the reckoning method he had learned from Kiai Ahmad Dahlan. The presence of the list at the beginning of the Lunar year makes it easier for followers of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School to start *pasah* and *tellasan*.

The image shows a handwritten manuscript page with a calendar table. The table is organized into columns and rows, listing days of the week (e.g., Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday) and corresponding dates. The text is in Arabic script. The table appears to be a calendar for a specific year, detailing the days of the week for each date. The manuscript is written on aged paper with some ink bleed-through from the reverse side.

¹⁸Interview with Kiai Mun'im.

¹⁹Interview with Kiai Mun'im.

Figure 1: Initial Schedule for the Lunar Month version
Al-Karawi Islamic boarding school

Kiai Hammad had a penchant for paying attention to the movements of the Moon (old and young sickles), which at that time was always accurate with the results of his calculations. The Government's decision at that time which was not clear in determining the beginning of the month of lunar was also a concern of Kiai Hammad so that he compiled hisab for guidelines for determining the beginning of the lunar month, especially fasting and holidays. The people at that time also considered that the Government did not have a definite stand in determining the start of fasting and holidays.

The list of the beginning of the Lunar year compiled by Kiai Hammad was developed by Kiai Jufri in the format of the Al-Karawi Calendar. The calendar is published by the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School and distributed free of charge to the people of Karay Village and the alumni of Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. The existence of this calendar makes it easier for people who follow the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School reckoning to initiate pasah and tellasan.

The calculation system at the beginning of the month of Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School is very easy to master. The calculation system is not the same as the initial calculation of the month as usual. Hisab Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi does not base its calculations on the moving average of the synodic month (the time spanning from ijtimak to the next ijtimak).

The calculation system is based on the first day of the month of Muharram in the Hijri year to be passed, not based on the synodic cycle of the Moon. Such a calculation system is almost the same as the calculation of the beginning of the lunar month in the book *al-Durūs al-Falakiyah*, it's just different in determining the cycle. Al-Karawi's calculations determine that one cycle equals 210 years, while *al-Durūs al-Falakiyah* imposes a 30 year cycle.²⁰

The leap years in the 210 year period occur in years 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 29, 32, 35, 37, 40, 43, 45, 48, 51, 54, 56, 59, 62, 65, 67, 70, 73, 75, 78, 81, 84, 86, 89, 92, 95, 97, 100, 103, 105, 108, 111, 114, 116, 119, 122, 125, 127, 130,

²⁰Interview with Kiai Jufri.

133, 135, 138, 141, 144, 146, 149, 152, 155, 157, 160, 163, 165, 168, 171, 174, 176, 179, 182, 185, 187, 190, 193, 195, 198, 201, 204, 206 and 209. The Basitah years in the Al-Karawi reckoning system occur in years other than those mentioned, namely years 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 93, 94, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 115, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 126, 128, 129, 131, 132, 134, 136, 137, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 158, 159, 161, 162, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 172, 173, 175, 177, 178, 180, 181, 183, 184, 186, 188, 189, 191, 192, 194, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 207, 208, and 210.²¹

Determination of the beginning of the lunar month using the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School calculation method is as follows:

1. Determine the Hijri year which will be calculated on the first day of the month of Muharram.
2. Divide the number for the year by 210 and see what the remainder is.
3. Match the remainder of the dividend with the list / schedule at the beginning of the month that has been compiled.²²

The remaining figure for the quotient is matched to the first day of the month of Muharram in the year in question. The beginning of the following months can be found by adding the fall of the day at the beginning of the month of Muharram as it has been formulated as follows:

Month Name	formula (+)
Safar	+ 2
Rabiulawal	+ 3
Rabiulakhir	+ 5
Jumadilawal	+ 6
Jumadilakhir	+ 1
Rajab	+ 2
Syakban	+ 4

²¹Manuscript Hisab Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School.

²²Manuscript Determination of the Beginning of the Islamic Month of Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School

Ramadan	+ 5
Syawal	+ 0
Zulkaidah	+ 1
Zulhijah	+ 3

The practice of calculating the initial determination of the months of Ramadan and Shawwal in 1441 Hijriah (2020) version of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School is as follows:

- a) Year 1441 divided by 210 = 181 (remainder).
- b) Match the remaining results (181) with the table / schedule of the beginning of the Islamic month of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School version → Saturday. So, the month of Muharram 1441 Hijri falls on a Saturday.
- c) The formula for determining the beginning of Ramadan = the day when the month of Muharram falls in the year in question plus 5 → Thursday.
- d) The formula for determining the start of Shawwal = the day when Muharram falls in the year in question plus 0 → Saturday

C.3. Community Response to the Phenomenon of Early Determination of Pasah and Tellasan in Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School

The initial calculation for the lunar version of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School is indeed easy, but not everyone, even the students themselves know the calculation, because it is not taught in the boarding school. The initial calculation for the lunar month is only the personal consumption of the Islamic boarding school's ndalem family, although there are some people who know the procedure for calculating the beginning of the lunar month according to the Al-Karawi Islamic boarding school.

The early phenomena of pasah and tellasan in Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, which are often different from the Government, are almost followed by all residents of Karay Village, Ganding District, Sumenep Regency, even in villages outside Karay although not as massive as Karay Village itself, such as Platokan and Desa Prancak.²³

The residents of Karay Village did not question this controversial phenomenon. The majority of Karay Village residents accept and follow the initial

²³Interview with Tabrani.

practice of pasah and tellasan at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School without notes. Almost all residents of Karay Village are students of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School or boarding their children in the Islamic boarding school.

Kiai Mun'im revealed when interviewed that the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School did not invite people to follow the initial calculation of pasah and tellasan at the cottage. Kiai Mun'im emphasized that the calculation applies to the families of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School itself.

*"Hisab pesantren Karay ka'dinto kaangguy dhibi'. Pihak pesantren Karay ta' jakngajak masyarakat kaangguy apasah otabe atellasan asareng pesantren Karay. Manabi badeh se ngerengah, eyatoreh. Manabi ta' ngerengah pesantren Karay, enggi tak ponapah. Abelihdha' kayakinan tong-settong."*²⁴

Kiai Mun'im's statement as a family member of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School is affirmed by the statement of Zuhri, a resident of Karay Village. Zuhri stated that basically the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School did not invite the public, even the students themselves, to follow the initial determination of pasah and tellasan at the boarding school. Zuhri continued, residents of Karay Village have participated in the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School in determining the initial pasah and tellasan since the cottage was led by Kiai Ahmad Dahlan.

"Manabi masyarakat Karay ampon abit ngereng pasah bi' tellasan Pondok Karay, sajeggeh Kiai Dahlan, sapaoninggah kaula. Masyarakat ka'dinto ce' taattah ka Kiai, ja' reng santrenah kabbih. Kabennya'an maksoddeh."

A similar statement was also made by Munif, a resident of Karay Village who is also an alumnus of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. Munif emphasized that when interviewed, almost all residents of Karay Village were not resistant to the initial determination of pasah and tellasan at Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi. The belief of the residents of Karay Village in determining the initial pasah and tellasan at Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi is firmly etched. This belief is supported by the existence of kiai at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School to

²⁴"Hisab Karay Islamic boarding school for personal. The Karay pesantren does not invite the public to start fasting or Eid at the same time as the Karay pesantren. If there are people who want to follow, that's their right. If someone doesn't follow that, that's also their right. Everything returned to their respective beliefs."

become the foundation of residents, both in the social, economic, and especially religious dimensions.

Bambang Hendriyanto, a resident of Gadu Barat Village, Ganding Subdistrict, Sumenep Regency, a village directly adjacent to the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, responded differently to the phenomenon of determining the initial pasah and tellasan in the Islamic boarding school. Bambang stated that the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School should start to abandon this calculation or revise it because the results of the calculations differ greatly from the calculations currently circulating. Bambang, who is also an activist and observer of hisab and rukyat in Ganding District, really hopes that Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School will follow the Government or at least move from its hisab system to the real hisab system, considering that the Islamic boarding school has a strong influence in Karay Village. Bambang emphasized when being interviewed:

“Kalau memang mau pakai hisab, ya silahkan saja. Tapi, hisab yang akurat. Perhitungan dalam Falak itu kan terus berkembang, harusnya Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi itu memperbaiki atau merevisi sistem hisabnya, supaya selisihnya tidak terlampau jauh. Kalau sudah berselisih 2 hari, itu ya terlampau jauh menurut saya. Namun bagaimana pun, kita tetap saling menghormati. Alangkah baiknya, jika berpuasa dan berhari raya secara serentak. Saya tetap berharap Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi mengikuti Pemerintah, meskipun pondok itu tidak mengajak warga untuk mengikuti. Pondok itu itu sangat berpengaruh di Desa Karay.”

The response to the initial determination of pasah and tellasan at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School was also conveyed by Tabrani, an alumni of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School who had been a ndalem servant at the Islamic boarding school for approximately 4 years. Tabrani chose to follow the Government in determining the initial pasah and tellasan. According to him, with no orders from the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, it means that the boarding school gives freedom to determine the direction of its students in terms of determining the initial pasah and tellasan, moreover it was conveyed by the boarding school caregiver that the initial determination of pasah and tellasan was only for personal Tabrani continued, students or alumni cannot be claimed to be

disobedient students just because they do not follow the initial determination of pasah and tellasan at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School.²⁵

The Sumenep Regency Hisab Rukyat (BHR) also spoke up in response to the phenomenon of determining the initial pasah and tellasan that occurred in Karay Village. Basically, the Rukyat Rukyat Agency of Sumenep Regency has no problem regarding the phenomenon of the beginning of pasah and the telling of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School which was attended by almost residents of Karay Village. The Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School did not invite the public to join the pasah or tellasan with the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. Abdus Sabar, a member of the Sumenep Regency Rukyat Hisab Agency, said:

“Dulu saya pernah sowan ke sana (Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi), ya sambil lalu berbicara tentang fenomena puasa dan lebaran yang seringkali selisih, bahkan terkadang sampai 2 hari dengan kita (Pemerintah). Pihak sana bilang, praktik demikian itu sudah berjalan sejak mbah buyut mereka dan itu pada dasarnya dipraktikkan sendiri oleh keluarga ndalem, tidak mengajakwargaatausantri.”

The early phenomena of pasah and tellasan at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School are social realities in community life that are formed from social interaction and give birth to meanings in the community itself. The meanings that are formed by the community together from the interactions they experience are then defined as mutual agreement.

The people of Karay Village accept and follow Kiai Ahmad Dahlan's thoughts and take them for granted, because basically the community (especially the village community) has a knowledge system that is local and is accepted from generation to generation. Public knowledge is constructed by the thoughts of Kiai Ahmad Dahlan in terms of determining the initial pasah and tellasan.

Peter Ludwig Berger²⁶ states that social construction is a process of meaning carried out by each individual to his environment and aspects outside himself which consist of processes of externalization, internalization and objectification.

²⁵Interview with Tabrani.

²⁶Peter Ludwig Berger was born in Vienna, Austria on March 17, 1929. Berger is widely known for his view that social reality is a form of consciousness. Berger's works focus on the relationship between society and the individual. The Social Construction of Reality is Berger's monumental work on social construction. Berger with Lukcman developed a sociological theory 'Society as Objective Reality and Subjective Reality'. See: https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_L._Berger, accessed March 22, 2020.

Individuals in the process of externalization try to adapt to their sociocultural world by using means of language or action. Acceptance or rejection of an individual depends on whether or not the individual is able to adapt.²⁷

The trust that is deeply rooted in Karay Village and engraved in the hearts of the Karay Village community is difficult to break. The trust factor of guardians in the caregivers of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School is very much inherent in the beliefs of the Karay Village community, and of course this is very influential in the religious practices of the Karay Village community, one of which is initiating pasah and tellasan.

C.4. The Effect of Patronage in Early Determination of Pasah and Tellasan in Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School

Pondok pesantren as the oldest Islamic education institution in Indonesia has a unique pattern of interaction that differentiates it from other educational institutions. Comprehensive educational goals, both in terms of potential thought, remembrance, feeling and initiative can be found in Islamic boarding schools, a community that is deliberately designed integrally for this. Islamic boarding schools at the level of development continue to try to integrate conventional and modern education systems as a manifestation of the motto of *al-muhāfazah 'alā al-qadīm al-ṣālih wa al-akhzu bi al-jadīd al-aṣlah* (still preserving the good old traditions and not being antipathetic to new, better traditions).

The kiai, as the head of the Islamic boarding school, has become a social actor who is synonymous with religion. The influence of the character of a kiai can be seen from his role in preaching and the methods which are then linked to the aspects of the existence of an awakened kiai. The kiai position in the social strata is placed as an elite figure, because it is considered to have advantages in terms of religion and wisdom, so that not a few kiai are asked for advice, both in worldly matters, especially in ukhrawi matters.

²⁷Argyo Demartoto, "Teori Konstruksi Sosial dari Peter L. Berger dan Thomas Luckman," diakses 22 Maret 2020, <https://argyo.staff.uns.ac.id/2013/04/10/teori-konstruksi-sosial-dari-peter-l-berger-dan-thomas-luckman/> Lihat juga: I. B. Putera Manuaba, "Memahami Teori Konstruksi Sosial," *Masyarakat Kebudayaan dan Politik* (2008): 222. Diakses 22 Maret 2020. Doi: <http://journal.unair.ac.id/downloadfull/MKP2603-d17a31df4afullabstract.pdf>

A person can be said to be a kiai at the practical level if he owns and / or cares for a boarding school, but it does not rule out that people who do not own and / or care for the pesantren are said to be kiai depending on the character they have and the legality of the surrounding community. The existence of a kiai cannot be separated from the recognition of the surrounding community.

The interaction of a kiai with the community ultimately forms a socio-religious relationship. The relationship formed between the kiai and the community is the relationship between teacher and student, while the relationship between the kiai and the students is seen in the relationship between father and child. Most people consider the kiai (especially in their own area) to be a teacher even though the community does not formally study at the boarding school they lead or care for. This assumption arises because in essence the kiai's activities are not only involved in the Islamic boarding school. A kiai is automatically required to mingle with the surrounding community to color his environment with Islamic values.

Kiai play a central and strategic role in strengthening ethical, moral and spiritual joints. The role of a kiai is more than that of introducing the life of the nation and state by instilling and cultivating the love of the country (*hubb al-wat*). The role of Islamic boarding schools is not only limited to inculcating religious values in a community, but kiai are also role models who have a huge influence in life, in terms of politics, economy, social, culture and law.

The kiai of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School are practicing the concept of Islamic boarding schools. Since its establishment, the kiai activities at Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School have been to serve the people. The local community makes the kiai of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School as a reference in matters of the world, even more spiritual, such as wanting to build a house, marrying off their children, starting a business (trading) and working on the land.²⁸

The name "Al-Karawi" chosen by Kiai Ahmad Dahlan is an attempt by a kiai to instill love for the country by ordaining a boarding school that was established in a village, even at the beginning of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding

²⁸Interview with Tabrani.

School called Pondok Pesantren Karay. This phenomenon shows the kiai's conception of trying to perpetuate the basis of the Islamic boarding school to uplift the dignity of a village, in addition to the tawaduk attitude of a kiai by not attributing it to his or her family name.

The relationship between kiai and society in social science theory is said to be a patron-client relationship (patronage). The kiai acts as a patron, while the community as a client. Kiai as a patron is certainly able to build patronage with the surrounding community through strong emotional ties. Patron, in this case the kiai provides services to the community in the form of knowledge (especially in religious matters) and the hope of blessings. The community as a client gives back for the services of the kiai by showing respect, obedience and reverence.

There are two models of kiai relationships with the community at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. First, the pattern of teacher-student relations is the pattern of relationships that exist between kiai and santri as is the case with teachers and students in formal relationship patterns, including in this case the community and santri guardians who consider themselves as students of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. Second, the pattern of the father-son relationship, namely the pattern that occurs between kiai and santri as is appropriate between father and child. The relationship between the kiai and the students of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School encourages the formation of a pattern of father-child (paternalistic) relationships.

The paternalistic relationship that exists in Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School is influenced by internal and external factors. The internal factor that is intended is that the kiai (the boarding school caregiver) in question views the santri as a mandate from the community (the parents of the santri) who must be educated like their own children, while the external factor is the tradition of the parents of the santri who fully surrender their children to the kiai and the students consider the kiai. as his own parents at the pesantren concerned.

The close relationship between the community and the boarding school community will influence each other. The leaders of Islamic boarding schools in certain areas occupy as religious elites whose daily activities are not only concerned

with religious matters, but also penetrate other lines, such as social, cultural, economic and even political.

Sociologically, pesantren can be categorized as a subculture in society, because of its unique characteristics, such as the way of life, the way of life that is adopted and the values it follows, as well as its own hierarchy of power which is fully adhered to. Pesantren if viewed from the side of the power hierarchy is closely related to the structure of feudal society.²⁹

The structure of feudal society as expressed by Kartodirdjo, the king, the aristocratic family and the bureaucratic elite and the rulers were the masters, while the people were the servants. Kiai in their capacity as an elite in a pesantren have authority and power in their life and environment. The impact of this condition is the growth of a process of mutual influence with the surrounding community.³⁰

The relationship between the boarding school and the community is interesting enough to be the focus of attention, especially in the things that the boarding school provides and matters affecting the community. The roles, functions and relations of Islamic boarding schools with the community in matters of religion are well known, but interestingly, the leaders of the Islamic boarding schools as religious elites in certain areas are also able to play social, economic and even political functions in the community.

Social theory states that the reciprocal relationship with the exchange of goods and services between patrons (kiai) and clients (society) will form a patronage relationship.³¹ A kiai can easily build patronage relationships with his students and communities outside the village. The pesantren also connects the parents of the santri, because they feel psychologically indebted to the kiai who has contributed to educating their children in the pesantren.³²

The values contained in Islamic boarding schools contain three elements that lead to the formation of patronage relationships. First, the patron-client

²⁹Syamsul Ma'arif, "Pola Hubungan *Patron-Client* Kiai dan Santri di Pesantren," *Jurnal Ta'dib* (2010), 285, diakses 13 Januari 2020, doi:jurnal.radenfatah.ac.id/index.php/tadib/article/view/76/71.

³⁰Ma'arif, "Pola Hubungan...", 285

³¹Cut Rahma Rizky & Agus Nurhadi, "Hukum Islam...", 208.

³²Endang Turmudi, *Perselingkuhan Kiai dan Kekuasaan*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2003), 31.

relationship is based on an unequal exchange and this reflects differences in status (inequality). Second, the patron-client relationship is personal (face to face character). Third, the patron-client relationship is comprehensive, flexible and not limited by time (diffue flexibility).³³

This well-known social theory occurs in the socio-religious life of the people of Karay Village, Ganding District, Sumenep Regency. be a smart and pious person. The people of Karay Village as clients receive many services from the Kiai of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School as a patron, so that the client (community) is automatically bound by the patron (kiai). Zuhri said that the majority of the people of Karay Village are students of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, even though they do not study directly at the Islamic boarding school, but many of the children of the Karay Village community study at the Islamic boarding school. Tabrani, one of the alumni and courtiers of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, also conveyed a similar story.

The condition for a second patronage relationship is personal. The reciprocity pattern between kiai and santri fosters a sense of belief and dependence on the relationship pattern. The very high culture of respecting the students to the kiai tends to be a cult of the individual. The people of Karay Village have great respect for the kiai of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. The kiai style of Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School which is popular in society supports the solidarity between the kiai and the community. The trust of the people of Karay Village can be seen when they want to carry out important moments, such as a celebration, building a house, starting a business that always positions the kiai of Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School as a consultant.

The patronage relationship between the kiai at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School and the Karay Village community also occurs because of the long-standing relationship between the kiai and the students in educating students at the Islamic boarding school. Santri also always adhere to values that they consider to be bad (shell, Madurese language) and make Kiai angry (dhuka, Madurese

³³Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Intelektual Pesantren Perhelatan Agama dan Tradisi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004), 84.

language), for example arguing or arguing with kiai, because this is believed to erode blessings and bring quality. at a later time.

The concept of *sami'nā wa aṭa'nā* (obey without conditions) is actually applied by the people of Karay Village. The advice and actions of the kiai seem to be unwritten laws in the life of the pesantren which are then preserved when the students have recruited / become alumni. The patronage relationship that occurs in Karay Village is the central point in addressing the initial phenomena of *pasah* and *tellasan* which are often different from government regulations (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia). The community prefers to follow the beginning of the *pasah* and *tellasan* Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi because of the patronage relationship that fosters the belief of the Karay Village community towards kiai (caregivers) in the boarding school.

The relationship between kiai and santri is very close in many ways and very emotional because the kiai's charismatic position in their society is strengthened by a culture of subordination. This relationship does not only last as long as the students live in the pesantren, but it continues so that the students become part of the community. Certain religious rituals held by the kiai and followed by the students are a factor in the lasting relationship between the kiai and the students.³⁴

The phenomenon of determining the initial *pasah* and *tellasan* at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School which is widely followed by the people of Karay Village and its surroundings is the support of the Karay Village community, the majority of whom are students of the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School as a form of social exchange from clients (community) to patrons (kiai).

James C. Scott explained that patronage relationships involve instrumental friendship, where individuals with a higher social status (patron) use their influence to provide services to individuals with lower social status (clients), so that clients provide support to the patron.³⁵

³⁴Eko Setiawan, "Eksistensi Budaya Patron Klien dalam Pesantren (Studi Hubungan Antara Kiai dan Santri)," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam* (2012), 149, accessed on 13 January 2020, doi: 10.18860/ua.v0i0.2372.

³⁵Scott, "Patron Client...", 91.

The support from the santri and the community is very important, because the charisma of a patron (kiai) as a religious elite will radiate more with the stronger support from the client (community). The popularity of the Kiai and the Islamic boarding schools he leads is also getting bigger. This support is important to manage because it has the potential to become a means of preaching and educating the local community, which is the main task and function of the boarding school itself.

The phenomenon of determining the initial pasah and tellasan Pondok Pesantren Al-Karawi strengthens the solidarity of the Karay Village community. Durkheim said that people will be strong if they have high solidarity, because solidarity is a social need. Communities with low solidarity are prone to chaos. The people of Karay Village feel that they have received a blessing from the kiai by following the initial determination of pasah and tellasan at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. The solidarity of the Karay Village community is also a social capital in the existence of the initial calculation of pasah and tellasan at Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School to date.

D. Conclusion

Based on an analysis of the phenomenon of determining the initial pasah and tellasan at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, Sumenep Regency, it can be concluded that Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School, Sumenep Regency since its establishment until the second half of Kiai Ahmad Dahlan's leadership used rukyat in determining the beginning of pasah and tellasan. beside the relatively far distance from the rukyat place. The community responded positively to the phenomenon of determining the initial pasah and tellasan at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. The correlation between kiai, santri and the community formed a patronage relationship in the phenomenon of determining the initial pasah and tellasan at the Al-Karawi Islamic Boarding School. The strong patronage relationship between the kiai and the Karay village community fosters a sense of belief in the community's soul, so that the initial calculations of pasah and tellasan remain sustainable and are followed by the majority of the community (especially Karay Village) even though it is often different from the Government's decision.

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