



## Banjarese Scholars and the Evolution of Islamic Education in South Kalimantan Circa 1900-1950

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### ABSTRAK

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk memberikan gambaran sejarah tentang ulama Banjar yang merupakan alumni Timur Tengah dan organisasi Islam di Kalimantan Selatan, serta peran mereka dalam pengembangan lembaga pendidikan Islam pada awal abad ke-20. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode sejarah dengan pendekatan sejarah sosial-intelektual. Studi ini mengungkapkan peningkatan yang signifikan dalam jumlah alumni Timur Tengah di Kalimantan Selatan pada awal abad ke-20. Para ulama ini telah menuntut ilmu di Haramain dan Mesir (al-Azhar) pada periode tersebut. Seiring dengan meningkatnya jumlah alumni Timur Tengah, berbagai organisasi Islam muncul, baik lokal maupun nasional. Organisasi-organisasi ini termasuk Sarekat Islam, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), dan Musyawaratuththalibin (MTH). Baik alumni Timur Tengah maupun organisasi Islam tersebut bekerja sama dan berkontribusi dalam mendirikan lembaga pendidikan Islam, khususnya madrasah, di berbagai wilayah. Mereka berhasil mengubah sistem pendidikan tradisional majelis taklim (pengajian atau pertemuan keagamaan) dan langgar barangkap (musala bertingkat dua) menjadi madrasah. Beberapa madrasah ini berfungsi sebagai cikal bakal lembaga yang kemudian berkembang menjadi pesantren pada paruh kedua abad ke-20. Sistem pendidikan tradisional mengalami pergeseran menuju pendekatan yang lebih modern, dengan memasukkan pendidikan klasik dan pengetahuan umum ke dalam kurikulum madrasah. Mereka juga mendirikan asosiasi madrasah untuk mengoordinasikan dan menstandarisasi sistem pendidikan madrasah. Selain itu, mereka juga menginisiasi pendirian lembaga pendidikan tinggi Islam, meskipun hal ini belum sepenuhnya terwujud pada awal abad ke-20.

### ABSTRACT

This article provides a historical overview of Banjarese scholars who were alumni of the Middle East and Islamic organizations in South Kalimantan, as well as their roles in the development of Islamic educational institutions in the early 20th century. The research employs historical methods with a social-intellectual history approach. The study reveals a significant increase in the number of Middle Eastern alumni in early 20th-century South Kalimantan. These scholars studied in Haramain and Egypt (al-Azhar) during that period. Concurrently, with the rise in the number of Middle Eastern alumni, various Islamic organizations emerged, both locally and nationally. These organizations included Sarekat Islam, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and Musyawaratuththalibin (MTH). Both Middle Eastern alumni and these Islamic organizations collaborated and contributed to establishing Islamic educational institutions, particularly madrasahs, in various regions. They successfully transformed traditional educational systems of majelis taklim (study circles or religious study gatherings) and langgar barangkap (a two-story small mosque) into madrasahs. Some of these madrasahs served as precursors to institutions that later evolved into Islamic boarding schools in the second half of the 20th century. The traditional education system underwent a shift towards a more modern approach, incorporating classical education and general knowledge into the madrasah curriculum. They also established madrasah associations to coordinate and standardize madrasah education systems. Furthermore, they initiated the establishment of Islamic higher education institutions, although this was not fully realized in the early 20th century.

### KATA KUNCI

Ulama Banjar; Alumni Timur Tengah; Organisasi Islam; Lembaga Pendidikan Islam; Awal Abad ke-20.

### KEYWORDS

Banjarese Scholars; Middle Eastern alumni; Islamic Organizations; Islamic Educational Institutions; Early 20th Century.

## A. Introduction

Before the emergence of Islamic organizations in the early 20th century, scholars, particularly those who had studied in the Middle East, played a crucial role in the initial growth of Islamic educational institutions in South Kalimantan. In the 18th century, Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari established an educational institution resembling a traditional pesantren, known as Dalam Pagar. This area served as a residential complex for Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari's family and as a place where he taught and mentored his students.<sup>1</sup> According to Yusuf Khalidi, Dalam Pagar consisted of several buildings, including the residences of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari's wives, children, and grandchildren, a prayer hall (*langgar*), a teaching hall with a library, and several houses for his students.<sup>2</sup> The entire complex was enclosed by a fence, separating it from the surrounding area. It was here that Syekh Arsyad al-Banjari educated his students, including his descendants. Once trained, Syekh Arsyad's children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren were sent to various regions across Kalimantan to spread their knowledge.

Before the establishment of the Dalam Pagar educational model, according to Yusliani Noor, there were already two educational institutions present in the 17th century: Banua Halat (*Garis Halat*) in the Rantau area and Kandang Haji in the Balangan area. According to her, the Banua Halat institution was organized by the Banua Halat community residing in Kampung *Garis Halat* (*Dalam Garis*). This community conducted educational activities in the form of religious study sessions (*pengajian*) at the Banua Halat Mosque, led by Datu Ujung. A similar institution was established by Datu Kandang Haji (Syekh Zainal Abidin). Yusliani Noor explains that the name Kandang Haji referred to a specifically designated territorial area for the Kandang Haji community's study sessions. This area included Lulunan, Bamban Balang, Baruh Dauh, and Pajijihan. Three mosques served as the centers for the Kandang Haji community's study activities: Al-Mukarramah Mosque, Jannatul Ma'wa Mosque, and Sirajul Huda Mosque. According to Yusliani Noor, using mosques as educational centers for religious study sessions has been practiced since the 16th century in Banjarmasin, notably at Sultan Suriansyah Mosque, led by Khatib Dayan. Other notable mosques include Plajau Mosque and Banua Lawas Mosque.<sup>3</sup>

The historical information above indicates that mosques have served as educational centers for the Muslim community in South Kalimantan since the 16th century. Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari brought about a significant change by expanding the concept of education beyond the mosque through his establishment of the Dalam Pagar educational institution. Instead of relying solely on the mosque, he created a specialized community that included facilities such as a teaching hall with a library and residential accommodations for students. Dalam Pagar, which emerged as a community dedicated to

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<sup>1</sup> Abu Daudi, *Maulan Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari (Tuan Haji Besar), Edisi Baru* (Martapura: Yapida, 2003), 68.

<sup>2</sup> Yusuf Halidi, *Ulama Besar Kalimantan Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari* (Banjarmasin: Aulia, 2016), 30.

<sup>3</sup> Yusliani Noor, *Islamisasi Banjarmasin (Abad Ke-15 Sampai Ke-19)* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2016), 373-375.

religious education in the 18th century, continued to thrive and evolve. By the 19th century, it remained a crucial educational hub, despite the emergence of other religious study centers in different areas. In the early 20th century, Dalam Pagar further solidified its status as an educational center with the establishment of Madrasah Istiqomah in 1931.

One of the popular educational institutions that flourished in the 19th century was Langgar Barangkap (double-story prayer hall). Langgar Barangkap served multiple purposes: it was a place for communal prayers (shalat berjamaah), religious study sessions (pengajian), and accommodation for religious students (santri). The upper level functioned as a prayer hall (mushalla) and a study area, while the ground level was used as a dormitory for the students. Such double-story prayer halls were quite prevalent, particularly in the Nagara region. From the 19th century to the early 20th century, several Langgar Barangkap emerged as educational institutions. Notable examples include Langgar Asy-Syamsu wa al-Qamar in Nagara, led by Muhammad Thahir; Langgar Al-Jam'iyatul Islamiyyah in Sungai Banar (Amuntai), led by Ahmad Sungai Banar; and Langgar Abdurrasyid in Pekapuran Amuntai.<sup>4</sup> These institutions were headed by scholars who were alumni of Middle Eastern institutions in Mecca and Egypt.

However, at the beginning of the 20th century, the influence of the langgar educational system declined with the emergence of new educational institutions in the form of schools and madrasahs. While pre-20th-century institutions such as Dalam Pagar and Langgar Barangkap were pioneered by Middle Eastern alumni like Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Muhammad Thahir Nagara, Ahmad Sungai Banar, and Abdurrasyid, the subsequent institutions, including schools, madrasahs, and eventually pesantren, continued to benefit from the contributions of an increasing number of Middle Eastern alumni in the early 20th century. Moreover, the emergence of several Islamic organizations during the nationalist movement era (1900-1942) played a significant role in fostering, developing, and reforming Islamic educational institutions and systems in the early 20th century. The accelerated growth and development of Islamic educational institutions were significantly influenced by the contributions of Muslim elites (Middle Eastern alumni) and the active participation of Islamic organizations and their activists.

Recent studies have explored the role of Islamic scholars (ulama) and organizations in the development of Islamic education in the early 20th century. Among these is the study by Ahmad Suja'i and Muhammad Amir Baihaqi (2022), which examined the role of ulama and Islamic organizations in the growth and development of Islamic education in Indonesia. This study found that the ulama initiated reforms related to curriculum and teaching methods, while Islamic organizations played a crucial role in

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<sup>4</sup> Rahmadi, *Jaringan Intelektual Ulama Banjar Abad XIX dan XX* (Banjarmasin: Antasari Press, 2019), 143, 150.

establishing Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia.<sup>5</sup> The 20th century was spearheaded by charismatic modernists, many of whom were influenced during their pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This modernization encompassed aspects such as institutions, curricula, teaching methods, and the management systems of Islamic educational institutions.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, research by Abdul Basit, Desman, Zulmuqim, and Duski Samad (2023) focused on the role of Islamic mass organizations in the development of Islamic education in Indonesia. They found that several Islamic organizations (Jam'iyatul Khair, Sarekat Dagang Islam, Muhammadiyah, NU, al-Washliyah, al-Irsyad, Persis, and al-Ittihadiyah) established various educational institutions, including pesantren, schools, madrasahs, and universities. These organizations also successfully implemented educational reforms, particularly concerning curricula and teaching methods.<sup>7</sup>

This study aims to provide a historical description of Middle Eastern alumni ulama and the growth of Islamic organizations, as well as their roles in the development of Islamic educational institutions in South Kalimantan during the early 20th century. To address this issue, the study employs a historical research method. The data sources primarily include historical literature (books, historical research findings, journal articles) and documents (archives) previously written by scholars and ulama relevant to this research topic. There are challenges in finding specific historical sources about the history of Islamic education in South Kalimantan, as most historical sources predominantly focus on political history.<sup>8</sup> For example, the book "Sejarah Banjar" only includes a short subchapter on educational development during the nationalist movement era, while political history is heavily emphasized. The section on Islamic education spans only about five pages.<sup>9</sup> However, several historical research reports and documents on the profiles of institutions and the founders of pesantren have been instrumental in overcoming this difficulty.

This study combines social history and intellectual history approaches. According to Kuntowijoyo, social history focuses on society as the object of study. Themes explored in social history, besides social events, social classes, and historical facts, also include the study of social institutions.<sup>10</sup> This study targets the examination of social institutions related to the movements of specific social

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<sup>5</sup> Ahmad Suja'i and Muhammad Amir Baihaqi, "Peran Ulama dan Ormas Islam dalam Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia," *Tarbawi* 5, no. 2 (August 2022): 139–150.

<sup>6</sup> Dadan Adi Kurniawan, "Modernisasi Sistem Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia: Dari Awal Abad Ke-20 Hingga Periode Kontemporer," *MUKADIMAH: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sejarah, dan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial* 7, no. 1 (February 9, 2023): 24–38.

<sup>7</sup> Abdul Basit et al., "Peran Ormas Islam dalam Pengembangan Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia," *Al-Ibanah* 8, no. 2 (July 2023): 77–84.

<sup>8</sup> Difficulties related to sources of Islamic education history were also raised by Karel A. Steenbrink, especially related to data on Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The available data is generally incomplete, some are even unavailable. See Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 7-9.

<sup>9</sup> This 1044-page book contains only a minimal discussion on the history of education. See M. Suriansyah, et. Al. (eds.) Idham, *Sejarah Banjar* (Banjarmasin: Balitbangda Kalimantan Selatan, 2007), 381-382 dan 388-391.

<sup>10</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah Edisi Kedua* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003), 42.

classes, namely the educated religious group or religious elites (ulama Banjar) and Islamic organization activists who worked to develop Islamic educational institutions during the colonial era. On the other hand, intellectual history, as defined by Sjamsuddin, deals with the history of ideas.<sup>11</sup> In this study, the focus is on the ideas concerning the development and reform of Islamic educational institutions, which triggered the formation and transformation of these institutions in South Kalimantan in the early 20th century. The social history approach is more prominently used in this research than the intellectual history approach. This approach allows for an in-depth examination of the roles and contributions of ulama and Islamic organizations in the development of Islamic education in South Kalimantan, contextualized within the broader social movements and transformations of the time.

## B. Discussion

### 1. Middle Eastern Alumni in South Kalimantan in the Early 20th Century

#### a. Studying in the Haramain

From the 18th century to the mid-20th century, the Haramain (Mecca and Medina) served as a major center for Islamic studies, attracting students from the Banjar Muslim community who sought religious knowledge there. The Haramain was a key destination for Islamic scholars and students from various parts of the Muslim world, including Southeast Asia, particularly the Nusantara region. The annual pilgrimage (Hajj) drew Muslims from across the globe to these holy cities, creating a unique opportunity for students to combine their religious pilgrimage with extended stays for study.

Banjar students took advantage of this opportunity, traveling to the Haramain not only for Hajj but also to immerse themselves in the rich educational environment. This period of study allowed them to learn from some of the most renowned scholars of the Islamic world who visited or resided in the Haramain. These scholars taught in the halaqahs (study circles) of the Masjid al-Haram, fostering a cosmopolitan and inclusive intellectual environment. The presence of esteemed scholars and the convergence of students from diverse regions transformed the Haramain into a hub of intellectual exchange and interaction. This cosmopolitan and inclusive setting was a significant draw for Banjar students, motivating them to pursue their studies in the Haramain from the 18th century to the early 20th century.

Besides halaqahs, several alternative places for Banjar students to study Islam emerged in the Haramain, particularly in the 19th and early 20th centuries. These included madrasahs, zawiyahs, ribats, and majelis taklim held at the residences of various sheikhs. While halaqahs at the Masjid al-Haram were widely utilized by students from across the Islamic world, madrasahs

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<sup>11</sup> Helius Sjamsuddin, *Metodologi Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Obor, 2007), 327-238.

became prominent places of learning in the early 20th century, with institutions like Madrasah Shaulatiyah and Madrasah Darul Ulum being particularly popular.

Several Nusantara scholars undertook scholarly journeys to the Haramain, including Banjar ulama. Azyumardi Azra notes that during the 17th and 18th centuries, several Nusantara scholars studied in the Haramain, such as Nuruddin Ar-Raniry (d. 1658), Abdurrauf as-Sinkily (1615-1693), Yusuf al-Makassari (1627-1699), Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (1710-1812), Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari (1735-, Abdushshamad al-Palimbani (d. after 1789), and Dawud al-Fathani (d. 1847).<sup>12</sup> These Haramain alumni became influential ulama who played significant roles in the intellectual and social dynamics of Islam in the Nusantara during the 17th and 18th centuries. Their influence remained strong in the 19th century, contributing to the intellectual discourse in the Nusantara, including in South Kalimantan.

As previously mentioned, among the Nusantara scholars who studied in the Haramain were those from South Kalimantan, known as Banjar ulama (al-Banjari). According to Azra, two notable Banjar ulama who pursued their studies in the Haramain in the 18th century were Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari.<sup>13</sup>

These two scholars can be regarded as the early pioneers of Islamic studies in the Middle East. Their efforts paved the way for subsequent Banjar ulama to follow. In the 19th century, the number of Banjar ulama traveling to the Haramain for education increased significantly. Some of the notable Banjar scholars who studied there during the 19th century include Sa'aduddin, also known as Datu Taniran (1779-1861), Khalifah Syhabuddin (d. after 1842), Qadhi Abdussamad Bakumpai (1822-1899), Mufti Jamaluddin Sungai Jingah, Abdurrahman Tunggulirang (1834-1945), Salman al-Farisi (1858-1931), Qadhi Muhammad Jafri (d. 1916), Ismail Dalam Pagar (1858-1946), and Abdurrahman Shiddiq al-Banjari.<sup>14</sup> These scholars not only enhanced their religious knowledge in the Haramain but also played significant roles in the development and transformation of Islamic education upon their return to South Kalimantan. They became key figures in the establishment of educational institutions and the reform of Islamic curricula and teaching methods, thereby contributing to the rich intellectual and spiritual heritage of the region.

Generally, Banjar students studied in the halaqahs (study circles) of the Masjid al-Haram throughout the 19th century. During this period, the number of halaqahs at the Masjid al-Haram was increasing. Badri Yatim notes that while there were approximately 25 halaqahs in the early

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<sup>12</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2007), 197-323.

<sup>13</sup> Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah, dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*, 314-323.

<sup>14</sup> The brief biographies of some of the aforementioned ulama can be read at: Tim LP2M UIN Antasari dan MUI Kalimantan Selatan, *Ulama Banjar Dari Masa Ke Masa (Edisi Revisi)* (Banjarmasin: Antasari Press, 2018).

to mid-19th century, this number rose dramatically to around 120 by the end of the century. This proliferation of halaqahs created a dense learning environment, with activities occurring from morning until after Maghrib (evening prayer).<sup>15</sup> In this vibrant educational setting, Banjar ulama studied with scholars from various countries, ethnicities, and madhabs (Islamic schools of thought).<sup>16</sup>

The abundance of halaqahs and the presence of numerous prominent scholars from different parts of the world allowed Banjar students to choose their teachers and fields of study according to their interests. Typically, they selected halaqahs led by renowned scholars whose religious views aligned with their own. The ease of choosing suitable halaqahs for Banjar students in the Haramain was further facilitated by the presence of many Jawi (Southeast Asian) scholars, including Banjar scholars, who taught there. This made communication easier, as Banjar students could initially learn from Malay-speaking Jawi scholars, especially those of Banjar origin who had their halaqahs in the Masjid al-Haram. This network of Jawi scholars provided an accessible and supportive learning environment for Banjar students embarking on their studies in the Haramain.

At the end of the 19th century, a private school named Madrasah Shaulatiyah was established in Mecca in 1873 CE (1290 AH). This madrasa was founded by Sheikh Muhammad Rahmatullah al-Utsmani al-Hindi (d. 1891 CE) and funded by a wealthy Indian woman named Shaulatunnisa, after whom the school was named. Madrasah Shaulatiyah became a prominent educational institution for students from Southeast Asia, particularly from the Nusantara region. Banjar students were also drawn to this madrasa in addition to attending halaqahs at the Masjid al-Haram. Historical records do not indicate the presence of Banjar students at Madrasah Shaulatiyah at the end of the 19th century. However, this madrasa became a significant place of learning for Banjar students in the early 20th century.<sup>17</sup> Notable Banjar scholars who studied at

<sup>15</sup> Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Sosial Keagamaan Tanah Suci: Hijaz (Mekkah dan Madinah) 1800-1924* (Jakarta: PT Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999).

<sup>16</sup> The teachers at Masjid al-Haram in the 19th century came from various nationalities, including Arabs, Egyptians, Turks, Indians, and people from the Nusantara region, among others. In addition to their nationalities, these teachers can also be categorized based on family lineage, as the tradition of teaching at Masjid al-Haram was often passed down through generations within families. Some of the families that taught at Masjid al-Haram include the ar-Rais family, the Abd asy-Syakur family (originating from India), the al-Faqih al-Masyayikh Abdullah bin Ja'far family, the al-Saqif al-Sayyid al-'Alawi ibn Ahmad family, the Saubal family, the Mirdad family (originating from Afghanistan), the Abd ar-Rasul family, the al-Sunni family, the Kamal family, the al-Duhan family (originating from India), the Jastaniyyah family, the al-Kutbi family, the al-Maliki family (originating from Tripoli), the Syaththa family (originating from Dimyath), the al-Masysat family, the al-Labani family, the Sayyid Kujak family, the Jan family (originating from Afghanistan), the ad-Dahlan family, and the al-Fattah family. Southeast Asian ulama from various ethnicities and nationalities also taught at Masjid al-Haram, as indicated by their ethnic and national laqab, such as al-Fatani, al-Kalantani, as-Sarawaqi, al-Jawi, al-Asyi, al-Sumbawi, al-Maqassari, al-Bugisi, al-Banjari, al-Falimbani, and many more. For further details, see Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Sosial Keagamaan Tanah Suci*, 210. Regarding a number of famous scholars at the Masjidil Haram who became teachers of scholars from the Nusantara, see: Umar 'Abd al-Jabbar, *Siyar Wa Tarajim Ba'dh 'Ulamaina Fi al-Qarn Ar-Rabi'* (Jeddah: Tihamah, 1982).

<sup>17</sup> In addition to Madrasah Shaulatiyah, several other important madrasahs were established, including Madrasah Diniyah Darul Ulum and Madrasah al-Falah. Madrasah Darul Ulum was founded by Sayyid Muhsin al-Musawi al-Hadhrami in Syi'ib Ali in 1933 CE. The teachers at this madrasah were mostly people of Makkah with Malay heritage,

Madrasah Shaulatiyah include Muhammad Hanafie Gobit, Usman, Mansur Ismail, and Muhammad As'ad.

In the early 20th century, three main forms of educational activities developed at the Masjid al-Haram: halaqah dirasiyyah (academic study circle),<sup>18</sup> halaqah tahfiz al-Quran (Quran memorization circle),<sup>19</sup> and Ma'had Haram al-Makki (the Makki Institute of the Haram).<sup>20</sup> Banjar students predominantly chose to study in the halaqah dirasiyyah. This preference was due to the open and relatively unrestricted nature of this system of learning. The openness and freedom of halaqah dirasiyyah were evident in several aspects. Firstly, there was no fixed curriculum (*manhaj muqarrar*), allowing the sheikh to freely determine the subjects and texts to be taught. Secondly, students had the autonomy to choose their sheikh and the subjects/texts they wished to study. Lastly, the inclusive nature of these study circles meant that anyone could teach and learn, resulting in a diverse mix of sheikhs and students from various parts of the Islamic world within a single halaqah. This flexible and inclusive environment made halaqah dirasiyyah particularly attractive to Banjar students.<sup>21</sup>

Unfortunately, the freedom and openness of educational activities at the Masjid al-Haram in the 19th and early 20th centuries began to change. Towards the end of the Ottoman Turkish rule, regulations were introduced regarding the qualifications of sheikhs allowed to teach in the halaqahs at Masjid al-Haram. Only those who passed an examination before an academic council led by the qadhi al-qudhah, and consisting of members from the four fiqh madhabs, were permitted to teach. Educational regulations became even stricter when the Saudi Dynasty, with its Wahhabi movement, took control of the Hijaz (including the Haramain) in 1925. These

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such as Sheikh Muhammad Yasin al-Padani, Sheikh Zakariya Bilal, and Sheikh Ibrahim Daud al-Fatani. Madrasah al-Falah was established by a wealthy merchant named Sheikh Muhammad Ali Zainal Ali Ridho (1301-1389 AH) in 1323 AH. Among these three madrasahs, many students from Banjar chose Madrasah Shaulatiyah and Madrasah Darul Ulum in Makkah as their primary institutions for studying Islamic sciences in the early 20th century. For further details, see: Rahmadi, *Jaringan Intelektual Ulama Banjar Abad XIX dan XX*, 114-115.

<sup>18</sup> Halaqah dirasiyyah was intended for adults and generally took place in the afternoons and evenings. The teaching method involved a teacher sitting in a specific location, usually on a higher chair or in the center of the gathering. The sheikh would present the material, and participants (*mustami'in*) could ask questions afterward. At certain intervals, the sheikh would grant an *ijazah* (teaching certification) to participants, who could then start their own halaqah in Masjid al-Haram. For further details, see: Maksum Mukhtar, "Kajian Islam Haramain: Pengalaman di Makkah," in Ismatu Ropi & Kusmana (ed.), *Belajar Islam di Timur Tengah* (Jakarta: Dirjen Binbaga Islam Depag RI, n.d.), 22-23.

<sup>19</sup> Halaqah tahfiz Alquran was established in 1380 AH by a Pakistani merchant. The learning sessions were in the form of halaqah, specifically focusing on producing Muslims who could memorize the Quran. The participants of this halaqah were generally teenagers, who were provided with scholarships as an educational guarantee. For further details, see: Maksum Mukhtar, "Kajian Islam Haramain: Pengalaman di Makkah," in Ropi, *Belajar Islam di Timur Tengah*, 25.

<sup>20</sup> Ma'had Haram al-Makki was opened in 1385 AH. This institution consists of three levels: *l'dadiyah* (3 years), *Tsanawiyah* (3 years), and *Aliyah* (4 years). The curriculum composition includes religious sciences (62-70%), Arabic language (30%), and Islamic history (8%). Although it offers education up to the *Aliyah* level, graduates of this ma'had are not eligible to enter higher education institutions. Additionally, to enroll in this ma'had, one must first have a residence permit (*iqamah*). Those who successfully enroll receive free books and scholarships. For more information, see Maksum Mukhtar, "Kajian Islam Haramain: Pengalaman di Makkah," in Ropi, *Belajar Islam di Timur Tengah*, 24.

<sup>21</sup> Maksum Mukhtar, "Kajian Islam Haramain: Pengalaman di Makkah," in Ropi, *Belajar Islam di Timur Tengah*, 22-23.

restrictions increasingly made it difficult for many ulama from Southeast Asia and other regions to teach at the Masjid al-Haram. Scholars whose religious views did not align with Wahhabi doctrines were gradually restricted from teaching.<sup>22</sup>

Despite these changes and restrictions, Banjar students continued to travel to the Haramain for their studies. Their primary challenge, however, was related to transportation security due to the outbreaks of World War I and II, which led some to cancel their plans to study in the Haramain. Among the Banjar ulama who pursued their studies in the Haramain in the early 20th century (between 1897 and 1942 CE) were Muhammad Kasyful Anwar (1887-1940), Muhammad Syarwani Abdan (1915-1989), Sya'rani Arief (1914-1969), Ahmad Sungai Banar (1860-1944), Muhammad Khalid Tangga Ulin (1875-1963), Abdullah Shiddiq Kandangan (1895-1976), Abdul Wahab Sya'rani (1910-1978), Muhammad Yasin Banjarmasin (1889-1969), Akhmad Abdul Hamid (1903-1967), Hasan Mugni Marwan (1903-1981), Muhammad Hanafie Gobit (1914-1990), Usman bin Husin (1901-1979), Mansur Ismail (1905-1983), M. As'ad (1908-1991), Abdul Hamid Sungai Banar (1896-1951), Ahmad Khathib Amuntai (1866-1956), Ahmad Hasan (1913-1983), Bajuri bin Mansyur (1918-1975), Mahfuz Amin (1914-1995), and Abdul Karim al-Banjari (d.2003).<sup>23</sup> These scholars, despite the challenges, played a significant role in continuing the tradition of Islamic education and contributing to the intellectual and religious life in South Kalimantan.

These scholars were all renowned and influential Banjar ulama of their time. Their contributions were significant not only in accelerating the intellectual and scholarly transmission of Islam in the Banjar region but also in the reform of Islamic education, the struggle against colonialism, and the establishment and management of Islamic organizations. As alumni of the Haramain, they played a pioneering role in Islamic education, transforming Islamic institutions in South Kalimantan.<sup>24</sup> Their legacy is marked by their substantial impact on the intellectual, educational, and social landscape of the region.

#### **b. Studying in Egypt**

Unlike the Haramain, Egypt began to attract the interest of Banjar students only in the early 20th century. There is no information indicating that Banjar students traveled to Egypt for education during the 19th century. However, Egypt's appeal had long been noted by Nusantara

<sup>22</sup> In 1345 AH, the Saudi Arabian government issued regulations regarding the educational system at Masjid al-Haram, known as Nizham al-Tadris al-'Am. According to these regulations, each halaqah was overseen by a scientific council (lajnah ilmiyyah) led by the qadhi qudhah. The council's responsibilities included determining the subjects that could and could not be taught. Teachings containing elements of bid'ah (innovation) and khurafat (superstition) from the Wahhabi perspective were prohibited. Additionally, the council selected and approved the sheikhs permitted to conduct halaqah sessions and the books that could be studied. Rahmadi, *Jaringan Intelektual Ulama Banjar*, 116-117; Maksum Mukhtar, "Kajian Islam Haramain: Pengalaman di Mekkah" in Ropi, *Belajar Islam di Timur Tengah*.

<sup>23</sup> The brief biographies of some of the aforementioned Haramain alumni scholars can be found at: Tim LP2M UIN Antasari dan MUI Kalimantan Selatan, *Ulama Banjar dari Masa ke Masa (Edisi Revisi)*, 174-206.

<sup>24</sup> Rahmadi, *Jaringan Intelektual Ulama Banjar Abad XIX dan XX*, 140.

students in the Haramain, as several Egyptian scholars taught there. In the 18th century, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari and his companions were actually preparing to travel to Egypt for further studies. However, their teacher in Medina, Sheikh Sulaiman Kurdi, did not permit them to go. He believed that the knowledge they sought in Egypt was already available to them in the Haramain, making the journey to Egypt unnecessary.

In the early 20th century, students from various regions of the Nusantara, including Banjar, began traveling to Egypt for their studies. Their primary destination was Al-Azhar University. The first Banjar individual to pioneer studying at Al-Azhar University was Abdur Rasyid (d. 1934), who studied there from 1912 to 1922. Following in his footsteps, other Banjar ulama pursued their studies in Egypt at Al-Azhar University between 1912 and 1950. These scholars included Juhri Sulaiman (1907-1972), Mansur Ismail (1905-1983), Muhammad As'ad (1908-1991), Abdul Hamid Karim (1910-1994), Abdurrahman Ismail (1914-1972), and Mastur Jahri (1920-1987). They enrolled in both degree programs (Bachelor's and Master's) and non-degree programs at al-Azhar University.<sup>25</sup> Additionally, some Banjar ulama chose to study outside of Al-Azhar University. One notable institution was the Faculty of Darul Ulum, part of Al-Jami'ah Al-Mishriyyah (Cairo University).<sup>26</sup> Abdul Hamid Karim continued his education here after completing his studies at Al-Azhar University. These Banjar scholars played a crucial role in bringing back advanced religious knowledge and modern educational practices to their homeland, significantly contributing to the development and reform of Islamic education in South Kalimantan.

The attraction to Egypt was not solely due to the reputation of Egyptian scholars teaching in the Haramain but also because of the emergence of reformist ideas among Nusantara Muslims, including Banjar ulama, in the early 20th century. Students from South Kalimantan, particularly those who would become Banjar ulama, were aware of these developments and some were even intrigued by the new ideas. However, historical information about their attitudes towards these reformist ideas and the extent to which they absorbed and propagated them needs to be examined more specifically. This is because Banjar ulama had varied responses to these issues. Some Banjar scholars viewed these reformist ideas as a threat, some embraced them enthusiastically, while others remained neutral.

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<sup>25</sup> For a brief biography and the intellectual network of Banjar ulama who are alumni of Al-Azhar, see: Rahmadi, *Jaringan Intelektual Ulama Banjar Abad XIX dan XX*, 186-206.

<sup>26</sup> The Darul Ulum Faculty is now one of the faculties within Cairo University. Originally, Cairo University was called the Egyptian University or al-Jami'ah al-Mishriyyah when it was first established on December 21, 1908, as a private university. On March 11, 1925, the Egyptian government established the Egyptian University as a public institution, incorporating the private Egyptian University into it. On May 23, 1940, the university's name was changed to Fu'ad al-Awwal University. On September 28, 1953, the name was changed again to Cairo University, which it has retained to this day. For more information, see: Abdul Hayyie Al-Kattani, *Studying in Islamic Countries: Panduan Lengkap Kuliah di Negara-Negara Islam* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2009).

The Banjar scholars who studied in Egypt (Al-Azhar) did not exhibit a clear response to these reformist ideas. For instance, it is unclear how Banjar students, particularly Abdurrasyid and Juhri Sulaiman, responded to the reformist ideas of Jamaluddin al-Afghani (d. 1897), Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905), and Muhammad Rasyid Ridha (d. 1935) while they were studying at Al-Azhar during the periods 1912-1922 and 1922-1930, respectively. The biographies written about them do not delve into this aspect. Both Abdurrasyid and Juhri Sulaiman appeared to remain loyal to traditional religious views, despite engaging in efforts to reform Islamic institutions and educational systems, which at that time were still lagging and traditional in nature. This indicates that while they might not have openly embraced the reformist ideas, their contributions to educational reform suggest a nuanced approach. They aimed to modernize Islamic education while retaining traditional religious values, reflecting a complex interplay between tradition and reform in their intellectual and practical pursuits.

**c. Impact on Intellectual Dynamics and Islamic Educational Institutions**

The return of Middle Eastern alumni, both from the Haramain and Egypt, significantly impacted the intellectual development and reform movements in the Nusantara, including South Kalimantan. Azra noted that the return of Haramain alumni shifted the intellectual orientation of Islam in the Nusantara from mystical-philosophical Islam to neo-Sufism, which emphasized greater adherence and complete obedience to the sharia.<sup>27</sup> This shift in orientation also occurred in South Kalimantan, beginning with Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari in the 18th century and gaining momentum through Middle Eastern alumni in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This influence is evident in the strong fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) orientation and content in both the kitab studies at Langgar Barangkap and the curricula of madrasahs and pesantren in subsequent phases.<sup>28</sup> The alumni from the Middle East brought back advanced knowledge and new perspectives that were integrated into local educational practices, promoting a more structured and systematic approach to Islamic education. This transformation not only enriched the intellectual landscape but also led to significant reforms in the organizational and educational frameworks of Islamic institutions in South Kalimantan.

<sup>27</sup> Azra, Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia, 385-386.

<sup>28</sup> Several works of fiqh by Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, such as Sabil al-Muhtadin, Kitab an-Nikah, and Luqtah al-Ajlan, along with the works of his descendants, like Parukunan Jamaluddin, reinforced the fiqh orientation of the Banjar community, which was previously more focused on Sufi wujudiyah practices. This shift was further strengthened when the curriculum of early madrasahs, which later transformed into pesantren, such as Madrasah Darussalam, continued to uphold classical texts and the books studied with ulama in the Haramain. The books retained in the curriculum were similar to those mentioned by Mahmud Yunus, particularly in the suraus of Sumatra in the early 20th century. For more details, see: Mahmud Yunus, Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia (Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1996), 53-55. The books used in madrasahs and pondok pesantren during the early era bear a resemblance to the list of books presented by Martin van Bruinessen in late 20th century Indonesia. For more details, see: Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 132-133, 179-180, 185-187, 193-194, dan 197-198.

Following the neo-Sufism reforms, the early 20th century saw the emergence of new intellectual movements brought by Middle Eastern alumni, introducing ideas of purification (purification) from reformists and modernism from the modernist group (Kaum Muda). The neo-Sufi group, now the traditionalists (Kaum Tua), found themselves in opposition and contestation with these new groups, whom they referred to as Kaum Muda. Intellectual conflicts soon arose as Kaum Muda 'attacked' the beliefs and worship practices of Kaum Tua. The conservative-traditionalist Kaum Tua resisted the reformists but accepted modernism in certain external aspects rather than doctrinal changes. For example, they retained the teachings and texts established in their educational institutions but were willing to modernize the education system to a classical and tiered structure similar to modern schools or madrasahs, even incorporating general subjects into the madrasah curriculum. Steenbrink categorizes this group as modernists who accepted external changes—cultural, economic, and political—while preserving the intellectual heritage of Islamic history and rejecting the slogan of returning to the Qur'an and hadith.<sup>29</sup>

Mahmud Yunus highlights both the positive and negative aspects of the intellectual conflict between Kaum Muda and Kaum Tua, particularly in the context of Minangkabau. He observes that although the conflict initially led to divisions, it ultimately had a positive outcome: the competition and contestation led to the establishment of numerous madrasahs by supporters of both sides, each aiming to uphold and spread their religious ideologies. This situation significantly contributed to the growth in the number of madrasahs, fostering educational development in the region.<sup>30</sup>

The situation described by Steenbrink and Yunus also occurred in South Kalimantan. The network of Middle Eastern alumni who inherited neo-Sufism (Kaum Tuha [older generation]) faced off against the reformist-modernist Kaum Muda. One of the most prominent religious conflicts between these two groups in the early 20th century in South Kalimantan took place in the Alabio region and its surroundings, mirroring the conflict described by Mahmud Yunus in Minangkabau. This religious conflict in Alabio was well-documented by Fedyani Saifuddin in his research on conflict and integration in the area.<sup>31</sup> Although the conflict caused divisions and fragmentation within the Banjar community, it also triggered a contestation in the establishment of madrasahs and efforts for consolidation by aligning with Islamic organizations that supported their ideas. Kaum Muda chose to establish branches of Muhammadiyah, while Kaum Tua preferred to establish or join branches of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) or Musyawaratutthalibin. On

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<sup>29</sup> Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern*, 30-31.

<sup>30</sup> Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia*, 92.

<sup>31</sup> Some of the debated religious issues included reciting "ushalli," talqin, maulid celebrations and recitations, funeral ceremonies, hilah (legal stratagems), and seeking intercession at sacred graves. For more details, see: Achmad Fedyani Saifuddin, *Konflik dan Integrasi Perbedaan Fahaman dalam Agama Islam* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1986), 41-56.

the positive side, the conflict and contestation became one of the driving factors for the accelerated establishment of madrasahs in South Kalimantan, alongside other contributing factors. This dynamic led to a significant increase in the number of madrasahs, fostering educational development in the region and creating a competitive environment that enhanced the quality and reach of Islamic education.

## 2. Islamic Organizations in South Kalimantan in the Early 20th Century

Suryanegara notes that during the movement era and the rise of national consciousness in Indonesia in the early 20th century, numerous Islamic organizations emerged as platforms for gathering and consolidating efforts. Some of these organizations include Jam'iyat al-Khair in Jakarta (1905), Sarekat Islam in Surakarta (1906), Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta (1912), Persyarikatan Ulama in Majalengka (1917), Pergerakan Tarbiyah Islamiyah in Minangkabau (1928), Matlaul Anwar in Menes Banten (1916), NU in Surabaya (1926), Nahdlatul Wathan in Pancor Lombok (1935), and Persatuan Islam in Bandung (founded in 1923).<sup>32</sup> Additionally, there were al-Irsyad in Jakarta (1914) and Jam'iyah al-Washliyah in Medan (1930), as mentioned by Yunus and Steenbrink.<sup>33</sup>

Most of the founders of these Islamic organizations were alumni of the Middle East (Haramain and Egypt). If not founders, they were actively involved as members or at least supported the existence and activities of these organizations. Through these Islamic organizations, they built social-political networks and consolidated efforts to advance the Muslim community, particularly in the field of Islamic education in the early 20th century (1900-1950).

Several of these Islamic organizations expanded and spread to various regions of Indonesia, including South Kalimantan. Four prominent Islamic organizations that emerged and developed in the early 20th century in South Kalimantan, either as local organizations or branches of national organizations, were Sarekat Islam (SI), Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and Musyawaratuththalibin (MTH). Of these four, only MTH was founded by ulama and Islamic activists in South Kalimantan. A brief description of the early development of these four Islamic organizations is as follows: Sarekat Islam (SI), Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and Musyawaratuththalibin (MTH). These organizations played crucial roles in shaping the religious, educational, and social landscapes of South Kalimantan, contributing to the broader national movement and the development of Islamic education during the early 20th century.

### a. Sarekat Islam

Sarekat Islam (SI) in South Kalimantan was first established in Banjarmasin in 1912 by a trader from Marabahan named M. Arif. SI quickly spread to various areas in South Kalimantan, particularly in densely populated towns such as Martapura, Rantau, Margasari, Kandangan,

<sup>32</sup> Ahmad Mansur Suryanegara, *Api Sejarah: Mahakarya Perjuangan Santri dan Ulama dalam Menegakkan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (Bandung: Salamadani, 2013), 347-497.

<sup>33</sup> Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia, 195-199* (al-Washliyah) dan Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah*, 61-62 (al-Irsyad) and 76-83 (Jamiatul Washliyah).

Nagara, Amuntai, Pelaihari, Pagatan, Kotabaru, and Marabahan.<sup>34</sup> Although SI's initial existence was hindered by Dutch bureaucracy, it gained recognition through the efforts of HOS Tjokroaminoto, who visited Banjarmasin in 1914. Subsequently, SI received formal recognition through the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies' Decree No. 33, and the Banjarmasin branch was officially acknowledged in 1915. This recognition allowed SI to operate smoothly. SI's activities in South Kalimantan mainly focused on economic, social, educational, and da'wah (Islamic proselytizing) issues.

However, by 1922, SI began to experience signs of decline and internal division. Reorganization efforts failed to halt the organization's decline,<sup>35</sup> which was caused by several factors: (1) strict Dutch control over SI members, (2) the infiltration of Marxist members (known as SI Red) within the organization, (3) an increasingly political orientation, (4) members shifting to new organizations, and (5) SI's lack of responsiveness and sensitivity to contemporary and strategic issues of the time.<sup>36</sup>

#### **b. Muhammadiyah**

Muhammadiyah in South Kalimantan was established in Alabio in 1925. It was founded by Haji Usman Amin, a trader, and Jafri bin Umar, a local ulama in Alabio, who became the first leader of the organization in the region. Muhammadiyah quickly grew in Alabio and became the center for spreading the organization to various areas in South Kalimantan, including Sungai Tabukan, Jarang Kuantan, Hambuku Ulu, Anjir Serapat, Haruyan, Kandangan, Rantau, and Barabai.<sup>37</sup> In 1929, Muhammadiyah also established a branch in Banjarmasin, led by Guru Ushul Teluk Tiram. Between 1925 and 1940, Muhammadiyah in South Kalimantan experienced rapid growth, with numerous social and educational initiatives, such as founding schools, orphanages, mosques, health centers, and maternity clinics. This expansion significantly contributed to the region's educational and social welfare infrastructure, aligning with Muhammadiyah's broader mission of reform and modernization in Islamic education and social services.<sup>38</sup>

#### **c. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)**

The establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in South Kalimantan is closely linked to the influential ulama Abdul Qadir Hasan (1891-1978) from Martapura. He attended the first NU congress in Surabaya in 1926, which was attended by 170 ulama, including Abdul Qadir Hasan. During this congress, he was requested by Hadhratus Syaikh Hasyim Asy'ari to establish NU in

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<sup>34</sup> Syaharuddin, *Orang Banjar (Menjadi) Indonesia Dinamika Organisasi Islam di Borneo Selatan 1912-1942* (Yogyakarta: Eja Publisher, 2009), 66-67.

<sup>35</sup> Syaharuddin, *Orang Banjar (Menjadi) Indonesia Dinamika Organisasi Islam di Borneo Selatan 1912-1942*, 72-73.

<sup>36</sup> Humaidy, "Sarekat Islam di Kalimantan Selatan," *Al-Banjari* 9, no. 2 (July 2010): 123-138.

<sup>37</sup> Syaharuddin, *Orang Banjar (Menjadi) Indonesia Dinamika Organisasi Islam di Borneo Selatan 1912-1942*, 81.

<sup>38</sup> Syaharuddin, *Orang Banjar (Menjadi) Indonesia Dinamika Organisasi Islam di Borneo Selatan 1912-1942*, 82-87.

South Kalimantan. Fulfilling his teacher's request, Abdul Qadir Hasan officially founded NU in Martapura in 1928.<sup>39</sup>

The founding of NU in Martapura received support from various parties, including ulama, students, and the broader community. One notable supporter was Muhammad Kasyful Anwar, who was the head of Madrasah Darussalam at the time. He allowed the office of Madrasah Darussalam to be used as a shared office with NU administrators. The teachers and students of Madrasah Darussalam became the first supporters of NU in South Kalimantan. Interestingly, Madrasah Darussalam, initially established by members of Sarekat Islam in 1914, transformed into an NU-affiliated institution.<sup>40</sup> Starting from Martapura, NU spread to various regions, including Banjarmasin in 1930, Barabai and Haruyan (Labuan Amas) in 1934, Nagara around 1935, Kandangan around 1936, Kelua in 1937, Alabio around 1939, and Ampah in 1948. This expansion helped solidify NU's presence and influence in South Kalimantan, contributing significantly to the region's Islamic education and religious life.<sup>41</sup>

#### d. **Musyawatutthalibin (MTH)**

Musyawatutthalibin (MTH), which translates to "Consultation of Students," was established in Banjarmasin on January 2, 1931 (12 Sha'ban 1349 H). The organization was founded by a group of students and ulama, including Madjedi Effendi, Ali Baderun, Busera Qasim, Busera, Abdul Halim, Muhammad Zamzam, M. Anwar, Riduan Syahrani, Ahmad Abdul Hamid, Ahmad Kusasi, and Hanafi Gobet.<sup>42</sup> MTH had several key characteristics: (1) cooperative, emphasizing collaboration with various parties, including the Dutch; (2) moderate, being flexible and accepting diverse religious understandings as long as they aligned with Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah; (3) modern, displaying modern attitudes, actions, and appearances; and (4) reformist, focusing on innovations, particularly in education and da'wah.<sup>43</sup>

In the 1930s, MTH experienced rapid growth. Its influence spread across Kalimantan (South, Central, and East) and Sumatra (Tambilan and Sapat, Indragiri). In South Kalimantan alone, MTH had 11 branches, in Central Kalimantan, there were 2 branches (Sampit and Samuda), in East Kalimantan, at least 5 branches, and in Sumatra, there were 10 branches. According to a 1939 report, MTH had a total of 6,170 members across all branches.<sup>44</sup>

However, from 1940 to 1942, MTH's activities declined significantly. This downturn was exacerbated when the Japanese occupation forces suspended the organization in 1942. Despite

<sup>39</sup> Syharuddin, *Orang Banjar (Menjadi) Indonesia Dinamika Organisasi Islam di Borneo Selatan 1912-1942*, 92.

<sup>40</sup> Ahdi Makmur et al., *Sejarah Perkembangan Nahdlatul Ulama di Kalimantan Selatan (1928-1984)* (Banjarmasin: IAIN Antasari, 1999), 18.

<sup>41</sup> See the early development of NU in South Kalimantan in: Makmur, *Sejarah Perkembangan Nahdlatul Ulama di Kalimantan Selatan (1928-1984)*, 15-27.

<sup>42</sup> M. Maksum, et al., *Musyawatutthalibin: Historis, Perjuangan dan Pergulatan Pemikiran* (Banjarmasin: Antasari Press, 2007), 17-18.

<sup>43</sup> Maksum, *Musyawatutthalibin: Historis, Perjuangan dan Pergulatan Pemikiran*, 17 dan 23-24.

<sup>44</sup> Maksum, *Musyawatutthalibin: Historis, Perjuangan dan Pergulatan Pemikiran*, 18-19.

the suspension, some educational activities managed to continue. After World War II, efforts by former members to revive MTH were unsuccessful, and the organization gradually faded into history.

### 3. Development of Islamic Educational Institutions in the Early 20th Century and the Role of Middle Eastern Alumni

#### a. Langgar Barangkap

Before the establishment of madrasahs in the Nusantara, there were already local Islamic educational institutions. In Sumatra, these institutions were known by various names: in Aceh, they were called Dayah, Meunasah, and Rangkang;<sup>45</sup> in Minangkabau, they were known as Surau; and in Java, they were called pesantren.<sup>46</sup> In South Kalimantan, the educational institutions were known as Langgar, small mosques that served as places for worship and religious learning. In this region, particularly in the Nagara area (Hulu Sungai Selatan), the Langgar system was well-known from the 19th century to the early 20th century, often referred to as Langgar Barangkap (double-story and boarding). The ground floor (first level) was used as a dormitory for students (santri), while the upper floor (second level) served as a place of worship and religious study. However, there were variations in this arrangement, such as at Langgar Barangkap Ahmad Barwawi (1882-1942) in Pabaungan, Tapin, where the upper floor was used for resting or sleeping by the santri, and the lower floor was used for prayers and religious study. Langgar Barangkap, or boarding langgar, resembled a miniature version of pesantren in a limited form, as langgars were typically not very large. Despite their smaller size, these institutions played a crucial role in providing religious education and fostering the intellectual growth of the Muslim community in South Kalimantan before the advent of more formalized madrasah systems.

Analiansyah and colleagues provide information about several popular langgars in Nagara that served as centers for religious study from the 19th century to the early 20th century. The first is Langgar Asy Syamsu wal Qamar, established in 1835 in Pasungkan, led by Muhammad Thaher. The second is Langgar Baiturrahman, founded in 1856 and led by Abdurrahman. The third is Langgar al-Falah, established in 1880 in Paramaian and led by Azhari. The fourth is Langgar Al-Kaukab, founded in 1938 in Pasungkan and led by Muhammad Yasin. In addition to these four langgars, there were dozens of other langgars serving as educational centers, totaling around 40 langgars at the time.<sup>47</sup>

In the early 20th century, ulama who were alumni of the Middle East identified several weaknesses in the langgar education system that needed improvement. The first weakness was

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<sup>45</sup> Taufik dan A.B. Lopian (eds.) Abdullah, *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah Jilid 3: Kedatangan dan Peradaban Islam* (Jakarta: PT Ihtiar Baru van Hoeve, 2012), 341-344.

<sup>46</sup> For information related to Meunasah, Dayah, Rangkang, and Surau see: Abuddin Nata, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam dan Institusi Pendidikannya* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2012), 292-298.

<sup>47</sup> Analiansyah et. al., *Aspirasi Pendidikan Masyarakat Banjar* (Banjarmasin: Antasari Press, 2007), 17-19.

the lack of clear study timelines; it could take decades to complete certain texts. The second weakness was the limited capacity of langgars. Their multifunctional role meant that the dormitory areas also served as sleeping quarters, dining areas, and kitchens, while the main part of the langgar was used for both worship and learning. The third weakness was that the ulama or tuan guru who taught in this system often did so alone, handling all teaching responsibilities from basic to advanced texts without involving potential student assistants. This not only led to teacher fatigue but also failed to provide opportunities for talented students to help teach junior student.<sup>48</sup> Given these weaknesses, Middle Eastern alumni sought to transform the langgar system into a more structured educational format, particularly the madrasah system. This transformation aimed to address the issues of indefinite study periods, limited space, and the burden on single teachers, thereby creating a more efficient and effective educational environment.

The Langgar Barangkap education system experienced a decline in the last two decades of the early 20th century (1930-1950). This decline was due to the emergence of more modern educational institutions, namely madrasahs. Madrasahs, which began to develop in South Kalimantan in the early 20th century, offered a more structured educational system with classrooms, grade levels, and facilities like desks, chairs, and blackboards. Prior to this, Islamic education took place in ulama's homes (mangaji duduk), in langgar study sessions (as previously mentioned), or in mosques.

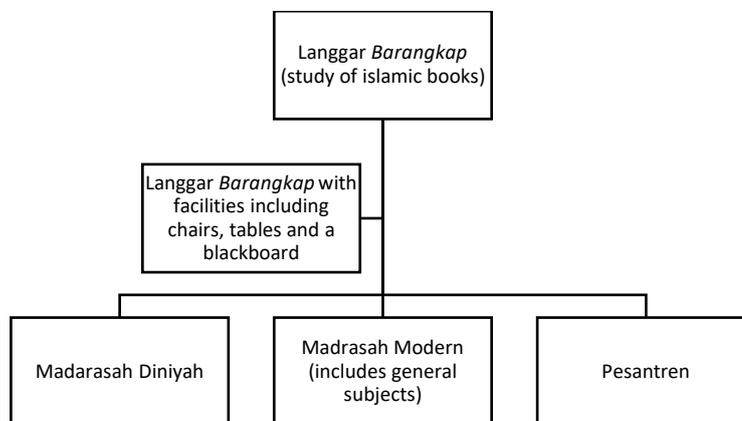
The transformation of the Langgar Barangkap system mirrored the transformation of the surau education system in Sumatra. As Yunus noted, suraus in Minangkabau transformed into madrasahs, leading to the decline of surau as an Islamic educational institution. A similar transformation occurred with the Langgar system in South Kalimantan. Initially, Langgar Barangkap was equipped with desks, chairs, and blackboards. Eventually, Langgar Barangkap transformed into madrasahs or pondok pesantren. However, unlike the transformation of suraus, where some became secular institutions following the Dutch educational model, Langgar Barangkap did not adopt secular education. Azyumardi Azra reported that some suraus in Minangkabau transformed into Dutch-model schools, although they did not fully adopt the Dutch government's curriculum. In contrast, the transformation of Langgar Barangkap remained firmly within the Islamic education framework, emphasizing religious teachings while modernizing the educational facilities and methods. This transition marked a significant shift in the educational landscape of South Kalimantan, aligning with broader trends of educational reform and modernization in the region.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Muhammad Abrar Dahlan, *Biografi Singkat KH. Mahfuz Amin dan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren "Ibnul Amin" Pamangkih* (Barabai: Pondok Pesantren Ibnul Amin, 2004), 104-105.

<sup>49</sup> Azyumardi Azra, "Pesantren: Kontinuitas dan Perubahan," in Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren Sebuah Potret Perjalanan* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat dan Paramadina, n.d.), xv.

At that time, there were at least three models of educational modernization that developed: the secular school model implemented by the Dutch government, the reformist-modernist madrasah model adopted by the reformist group (Kaum Muda), and the modern madrasah model, which featured a class system with desks, chairs, and blackboards but primarily focused on Islamic disciplines, sometimes with the addition of a few general subjects.

In the case of the transformation of the Langgar Barangkap educational system, several forms of change can be identified. First, some Langgar Barangkap were equipped with desks, chairs, and blackboards, adding modern educational facilities while maintaining the traditional religious curriculum. Second, some Langgar Barangkap transformed into madrasah diniyah, adopting a classical, tiered system with modern facilities but focusing solely on religious education. Third, other Langgar Barangkap became modern madrasahs, implementing a classical, tiered system using modern facilities and teaching both religious subjects and general subjects, including foreign languages (English and Dutch), although religious education remained dominant. Finally, some Langgar Barangkap transformed directly into pondok pesantren, with a few initially becoming madrasahs before evolving into full-fledged pondok pesantren. These transformations reflect the broader trends in educational reform and modernization in South Kalimantan, accommodating the need for structured and modern educational environments while retaining a strong emphasis on religious instruction.



**Picture 1. Transformation of Langgar Barangkap**

**b. Early Madrasahs**

According to Yudi Latif, the early development of madrasahs in the early 20th century was spearheaded by reformist-modernist groups. In Sumatra, this group established Sekolah Adabijah (founded by Abdullah Achmad in 1909), which implemented a classical and tiered education system and included general subjects in the curriculum. Similarly, Thawalib School (transformed from a surau-based educational institution by Haji Rasul in 1912) adopted the same approach. In Java, Ahmad Dahlan made similar efforts by establishing an experimental madrasah that used desks and blackboards and founding an elementary school (1911) that taught both

general and religious subjects side by side. These madrasahs occupied a middle ground between traditional religious schools and modern secular schools. Furthermore, the establishment of madrasahs was an expression of the reformist-modernist desire to revive and rejuvenate the Islamic community through their campaign to reform Muslims by returning to the original sources of Islam. The madrasahs they established represented the ideas of Islamic reformism.<sup>50</sup>

The traditionalist Muslim community also kept pace with these developments by establishing madrasahs and adopting modern educational systems. Among the pioneering ulama was Abdul Wahab Chasbullah, who founded modern Islamic schools with a nationalist outlook. Following him, Kiai Ma'sum introduced the madrasah system (with classes and levels) at Pondok Pesantren Tebu Ireng in 1916. General subjects began to be taught at this madrasah in 1919. Subsequently, Abdul Wachid Hasjim established Madrasah Nidhomiah at Pesantren Tebu Ireng, where 70% of the curriculum consisted of general subjects, including English and ducht.<sup>51</sup> These initiatives illustrate the broader trend of educational reform and modernization within both reformist-modernist and traditionalist Muslim communities in early 20th-century Indonesia. By integrating modern educational practices with religious instruction, these early madrasahs played a crucial role in shaping the landscape of Islamic education in the region.

All the pioneers of modern Islamic schools or madrasahs mentioned above were alumni of Middle Eastern institutions, having studied either in the Haramain or at Al-Azhar. Both reformist-modernist and traditionalist communities sought to reform Islamic education by establishing more modern educational institutions. This effort was also undertaken by other Middle Eastern alumni in the Nusantara in the early 20th century, including in South Kalimantan.

Mirroring the general trends in Islamic educational dynamics in the Nusantara, South Kalimantan saw the establishment of several modern Islamic educational institutions in the early 20th century, which were more advanced compared to the Langgar Barangkap system. These institutions were generally founded by Middle Eastern alumni (Haramain and Al-Azhar) and Islamic organization activists who were emerging in the early 20th century. These institutions were variously called Islamic schools (Islamische school), religious schools (diniyyah school), Arabic schools (Arabisch School), madrasahs, and sometimes Normal Islam schools. Some of these Islamic schools or madrasahs were transformations of the Langgar Barangkap system, while others were established as madrasahs from the outset.

Some early madrasahs established between the early 20th century and the 1930s in South Kalimantan include: Madrasah Darussalam (1914) in Martapura, Madrasah al-'Ashriyah (1915) in Banjarmasin, Arabische School (1928) or Madrasah Rasyidiyah (1930) in Amuntai,

<sup>50</sup> Yudi Latif, *Intelegensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Indonesia Abad Ke-20* (Bandung: Mizan, 2005), 133-139.

<sup>51</sup> Latif, *Intelegensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Indonesia Abad Ke-20*, 237-238.

Madrasah Mishbaul Wathaniyah (1930) in Kelua, Madrasah al-Istiqamah (1931) in Dalam Pagar, Madrasah Islamiyah (1934) in Pantai Hambawang, Madrasah Hidayah Islamiyah (1934) in Birayang, and Madrasah Sirajul Islamiyah (1936) in Margasari.<sup>52</sup> Some of these madrasahs, established in the first half of the 20th century (1900-1950), continued to operate into the second half of the century, while others were forced to close. Some changed their names or adopted new nomenclatures,<sup>53</sup> and others underwent both name and system changes simultaneously. These institutions illustrate the efforts to modernize and reform Islamic education in South Kalimantan, reflecting broader educational trends in the region and contributing to the evolving landscape of Islamic education during the early 20th century.

### c. Madrasah Associations

In the early stages of madrasah growth in South Kalimantan, each institution and its administrators operated independently without coordination. Observing this situation, several Muslim elites, especially alumni from the Middle East and teachers, were motivated to unify these madrasahs under coordinated efforts. At least three organizations were established in the 1930s and 1940s to achieve this: Hidayat Islamiah, PPI, and IMI.

Hidayat Islamiah, an educational association, was founded in 1932 by KH Mansur Ismail. This organization aimed to establish a number of madrasahs as religious education platforms for children. When the NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) organization expanded in South Kalimantan, Hidayat Islamiah decided to merge with NU, along with several madrasahs under its umbrella.<sup>54</sup>

PPI (Persatuan Perguruan Islam) was an association established to standardize the structure and curriculum of madrasahs, which at the time operated independently with their own systems. PPI was founded in 1935 in Barabai by several Middle Eastern alumni (from Egypt and Mecca). Under PPI's coordination, there were 29 madrasahs (23 madrasah ibtidaiyah and 6 madrasah tsanawiyah) across South Kalimantan. The peak of madrasah coordination under PPI occurred between 1935 and 1946. However, PPI's development was disrupted during the Japanese occupation and the Asia-Pacific War (1942-1945). By 1946, PPI could no longer coordinate its affiliated madrasahs due to the guerrilla warfare against the Dutch.<sup>55</sup> These

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<sup>52</sup> See other madrasahs in the list provided by: Rahmadi, *Islam Kawasan Kalimantan* (Banjarmasin: Antasari Press, 2020), 254-256.

<sup>53</sup> In the second half of the 20th century, Islamic educational institutions in South Kalimantan continued to grow and their numbers increased significantly. Several nomenclatures were used to name these Islamic educational institutions starting from the 1950s, including names that had been used previously. Among the names used were madrasah, SMI/SMIP (Sekolah Menengah Islam), SMA Islam, Sekolah Persiapan IAIN, MMP (Madrasah Menengah Pertama), MMA (Madrasah Menengah Atas), PGI (Pendidikan Guru Islam), PGA (Pendidikan Guru Agama), and others. However, in the following decades, the names of Islamic educational institutions such as SMIP, SP IAIN, PGA, PGI, MMP, and MMA gradually changed to madrasah, whether madrasah ibtidaiyah, madrasah tsanawiyah, or madrasah aliyah, according to the educational level of the institution. For more details, see: Rahmadi, *Islam Kawasan Kalimantan*, 256.

<sup>54</sup> Tim Penulis IAIN Antasari, *Setengah Abad IAIN Antasari Jalan Menuju Universitas Islam Negeri Antasari* (Banjarmasin: IAIN Antasari, 2014), 13.

<sup>55</sup> Ramli Nawawi et al., *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Kalimantan Selatan* (Banjarmasin: Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah, 1981), 52-55.

associations played crucial roles in the initial coordination and standardization of Islamic education in South Kalimantan, aiming to create a more cohesive and unified educational framework amidst the challenges of the era.

After PPI's influence in coordinating madrasahs began to wane, a new organization emerged to consolidate, communicate, and develop madrasahs: IMI (Ittihadul Ma'ahid al-Islamiyyah). This organization was established in Amuntai in 1945. IMI's membership and coordinating commissariats included several regions in South Kalimantan (Amuntai, Tabalong, Paringin, Alabio, Banjarmasin, and Kotabaru), Central Kalimantan (Kuala Kapuas, Kuala Kurun, and Pulang Pisau), and East Kalimantan (Samarinda). In 1952, IMI was transformed into PMII (Persatuan Madrasah Islam Indonesia), which oversaw 65 madrasahs. However, PMII experienced a period of inactivity in 1955, after which the Islamic educational institutions or madrasahs under its umbrella began operating independently.<sup>56</sup> This transition highlights the ongoing efforts to unify and improve Islamic education in the region, despite the challenges of maintaining cohesive coordination among various institutions.

#### d. Nomenclature and Origins of Pesantren

In the early 20th century, Islamic educational institutions in South Kalimantan did not explicitly use the nomenclature "pondok pesantren." However, many of these institutions, whether called madrasahs or Islamic schools, already incorporated essential elements of the pesantren system.<sup>57</sup> Generally, an institution referred to as a pondok pesantren possesses five key elements: a kyai (religious leader), a pondok (dormitory), santri (students), a masjid (mosque), and kitab kuning (classical Islamic texts). These elements distinguish pesantren from other Islamic educational institutions like madrasahs. Some early educational institutions, such as the complex of Dalam Pagar founded by Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, already embodied these elements. Similarly, the Langgar Barangkap system also incorporated these elements to some extent, functioning as a miniature version of pesantren.

It appears that the term "pondok pesantren" began to be used for naming Islamic educational institutions in the second half of the 20th century. The first Islamic educational institution in South Kalimantan to use the name pesantren was likely Pondok Pesantren Ibnul Amin Pamangkih, established in 1958. Following this, during the 1960s and 1970s, other institutions began to adopt the pesantren nomenclature for their educational establishments.

<sup>56</sup> Abdul Muthalib Mohyiddin et al., *50 Tahun Perguruan Islam Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah* (Amuntai: Yayasan Pemeliharaan Perguruan Islam Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah, 1972), 114-125.

<sup>57</sup> Pondok pesantren is one of the many Islamic educational institutions that have developed extensively in Indonesia. The word "pondok" is believed to originate from the term referring to the dormitories where the students (santri) reside or from the bamboo huts where they live. Additionally, "pondok" may be derived from the Arabic word "funduq," which means hotel or dormitory. The term "pesantren" comes from the word "santri" with the addition of the prefixes and suffixes (pe – an), which transforms into "pesantrian" and is eventually pronounced as "pesantren." Nor Huda, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2015), 304-305.

From the 1950s onwards, the term *pesantren*, which originated from the Islamic education model in Java, became increasingly popular in South Kalimantan. This adoption reflects a broader trend of aligning local Islamic education practices with the well-established *pesantren* system of Java, further enhancing the region’s educational infrastructure.

Several of the oldest *pondok pesantren* in South Kalimantan originally started as *madrasahs* before adopting the *pesantren* nomenclature. Some *madrasahs* established in the early 20th century underwent multiple name changes but did not initially use the term *pesantren*. For example, *Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Martapura*, established in 1914, began as *Madrasah Darussalam*. It later changed its name to *Madrasah al-Imad fi Ta’lim al-aulad Darussalam* and only adopted the *pondok pesantren* nomenclature during the leadership of KH. Badaruddin (1976-1992). Another example is *Pondok Pesantren Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah*, which originally started as *Arabische School*. This institution underwent several name changes until the mid-20th century but continued to use the term *perguruan Islam* instead of *pondok pesantren*. Similarly, *Pondok Pesantren Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjary Dalam Pagar* was initially named *Madrasah al-Itiqomah* (established in 1931) and later renamed *Madrasatussyar’iyyah* in 1951.

This information highlights that Islamic educational institutions in South Kalimantan did not commonly use the *pondok pesantren* nomenclature in the first half of the 20th century. This terminology only became prevalent in the 1950s, during the second half of the century. The first educational institution in South Kalimantan to directly use the name *pondok pesantren* was *Pondok Pesantren Ibnul Amin Pamangkih*, established in 1958. Initially named *Pondok Pesantren Hulu Kubur*, it was later renamed *Pondok Pesantren Ibnul Amin*. These transitions reflect the broader trend of aligning local Islamic educational practices with the well-established *pesantren* system from Java, thereby enhancing the region’s educational framework and maintaining the traditional elements that define *pondok pesantren*.

**Figure 1. Name Changes in Islamic Educational Institutions in Early 20th Century South Kalimantan**

No	Name of Pondok Pesantren	Name Changes
1	Darussalam (Martapura)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Madrasah Darussalam (1914)</li> <li>2. Madrasah al-Imad fi Ta’lim al-aulad Darussalam (1922-1959)</li> <li>3. Madrasah El-Islamiyah Darussalam (dekade 60-an)</li> </ol>
2	Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah (Amuntai)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Arabische School (1928)</li> <li>2. Madrasatur Rasyidiyah (1931)</li> <li>3. Ma’had Rasyidiyah (1942)</li> <li>4. Normal Islam (1945)</li> <li>5. Komplek Rasyidiyah (1956)</li> </ol>
3	Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjary (Madrasah Sullamul Ulum Dalam Pagar, Martapura)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Madrasah Istiqomah (1931-1950)</li> <li>2. Madrasatussyar’iyyah (1951-1963)</li> </ol>
4	Ibnul Amin Pamangkih (Pamangkih, Barabai)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Pondok Pesantren Hulu Kubur (1958)</li> <li>2. Pondok Pesantren Ibnul Amin (1959)</li> </ol>

In the context of pesantren in Java, Abdurrahman Mas'ud identifies five influential alumni of the Haramain who were pivotal in the development of the pesantren system both in terms of scholarly contributions and strategic approaches. These figures are Nawawi al-Bantani (1813-1897), Mahfuz at-Tirmisi (d. 1919), Khalil Bangkalan (1819-1925), Asnawi Kudus (1861-1959), and Hasyim Asy'ari (1871-1947).<sup>58</sup> Similarly, in South Kalimantan in the early 20th century, several Haramain alumni can be considered 'architects' of the pesantren system and its scholarly foundations: Muhammad Kasyful Anwar, Anang Sya'rani, and Mahfuz Amin. Additionally, alumni from Al-Azhar, Egypt, can also be grouped as part of these key architects.

Muhammad Kasyful Anwar, the founder of Pondok Pesantren Darussalam, significantly developed the pesantren's educational system when it was still a madrasah. He made advancements in various aspects, including types and levels of education, curriculum, teaching methods, structure of learning resources (kitab kuning), syllabus, duration of study, and evaluation processes. Muhammad Sya'rani Arif further advanced Pesantren Darussalam by establishing the Madrasah Isti'dadhul Mu'allimin and introducing higher education levels, such as the Faculty of Sharia. Mahfuz Amin transformed the traditional langgar education system into a pondok pesantren by implementing a non-classical book system categorized into three groups: muftadi (first year), mustakmilah (second to fourth year), and muwasalah (duration not specified). Abdurrasyid reformed the Langgar Barangkap system into an Arabische School, which later evolved into a madrasah in the first half of the 20th century and eventually into a pondok pesantren in the second half of the century. These transformations and contributions by the Haramain and Al-Azhar alumni were instrumental in shaping the educational landscape of pesantren in South Kalimantan, aligning with the broader trends of educational reform and modernization in the region.

The Dalam Pagar complex, established by Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari in the 18th century, was originally structured as a pesantren. However, throughout the 19th century, it evolved to adopt a system of religious study conducted in the homes of ulama within the Dalam Pagar area. It was not until 1931 that Qadhi Muhammad Thaha, a Haramain alumnus, founded a formal madrasah named Madrasah Istiqamah. This madrasah was managed by alumni of the Haramain and descendants of Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. Among these alumni were Abdurrahman Ismail, who renamed the madrasah to Madrasatussyyar'iyyah, and Muhammad Sya'rani Arif, who later renamed it Madrasah Sullamul Ulum. Eventually, this institution became known as Pondok Pesantren Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjary. This progression illustrates the transition from informal religious study settings to more structured educational institutions,

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<sup>58</sup> Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain ke Nusantara: Jaringan Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2006), 1-4.

reflecting broader trends in Islamic education reform and the influence of Middle Eastern alumni in shaping the educational landscape in South Kalimantan.

**e. The Role of Middle Eastern Alumni**

Middle Eastern alumni have played a strategic and significant role in the reform of Islamic education in Indonesia. The transformation of traditional Islamic educational institutions into modern educational establishments is largely attributed to their contributions. Scholars such as Yunus, Steenbrink, and Latif have all highlighted the crucial role of these alumni in the reform of Islamic education in Indonesia.<sup>59</sup>

Similar trends and influences were evident in South Kalimantan. The modernization of Islamic education in this region was also driven by the contributions of Middle Eastern alumni. As previously discussed, they were instrumental in transforming Langgar Barangkap into madrasahs and pesantren and forming madrasah associations. They were also involved in establishing new madrasahs and setting up branches of Islamic organizations in various areas.

These alumni's efforts were pivotal in creating a more structured and modern educational framework, aligning with broader trends of educational reform and modernization across the region. Their impact is evident in the establishment of madrasahs, the transformation of educational systems, and the formation of Islamic educational organizations that continue to shape the educational landscape in South Kalimantan.

In general, regarding madrasahs, schools, and pesantren, Basran Noor and colleagues<sup>60</sup> noted several Middle Eastern alumni (who studied for several years in Mecca and Egypt) who became Muslim elites (ulama Banjar) and their roles in establishing and developing Islamic education in South Kalimantan in the first half of the 20th century. These influential figures and their contributions are highlighted below:

1) Muhammad Yasin (1889-1969)

After studying in Mecca for nine years, he established Madrasah Diniyah Islamiyah in Sungai Kindaung in 1929, which was later renamed Madrasah Islamiyah Muhammadiyah Sungai Kindaung.

2) Ahmad Abdul Hamid (1903-1967)

After studying at Madrasah Shaulatiyah in Mecca, he founded Madrasah Irtiqaiyah in Pemurus Dalam, Banjarmasin, in 1930.

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<sup>59</sup> Mahmud Yunus has extensively documented and mentioned the names of Middle Eastern alumni who contributed to the development of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia in his book, *Sejarah Islam di Indonesia*. Similarly, Steenbrink lists several scholars who played significant roles in the reform of Islamic education and the establishment of Islamic organizations in Indonesia. For more details, see: Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern*, 26-83

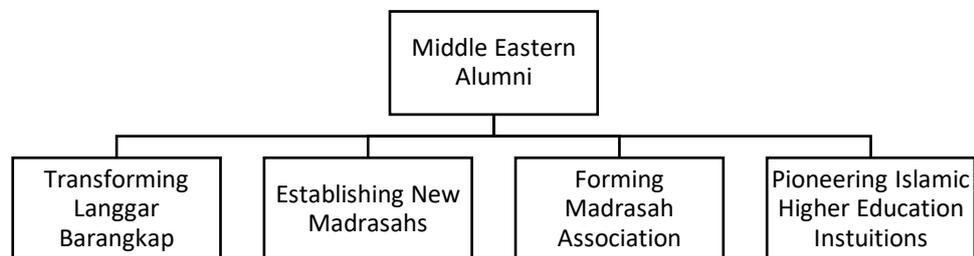
<sup>60</sup> Basran Noor, et al., *Elite Muslim di Kalimantan Selatan (Studi Gerakan Elite Muslim di Bidang Pendidikan 1900-1950)* (Banjarmasin: Fakultas Tarbiyah IAIN Antasari, 1993), 15-60.

- 3) Muhammad Hanafie Gobit (1914-1990)  
After studying at Madrasah Shaulatiah in Mecca from 1933 to 1940, he founded SMIP in 1946.
- 4) Muhammad Kasyful Anwar (1887-1940)  
After studying in Mecca for 17 years, he reorganized the education system and facilities at Madrasah Darussalam beginning in 1922, ensuring it met the essential elements of a pondok pesantren. Through various reforms and changes, he became known as the founder (muassis) of Pondok Pesantren Darussalam.
- 5) Usman (1901-1979)  
After studying at Madrasah Shaulatiah in Mecca for 5 years, he led Sekolah Islam Pandai in 1931, which was originally established as Sekolah Islam Kandangan in 1916.
- 6) Mansur Ismail (1905-1983)  
After studying at Madrasah Shaulatiah in Mecca for 3 years and continuing his studies in Egypt for 7 years (1925-1932), he founded several madrasahs named Hidayah Islamiyah in 1934 in various regions. He also established PPI (Persatuan Perguruan Islam) in 1937, which managed 50 madrasahs across South Kalimantan.
- 7) Mursyid (1897-1959)  
After studying in Mecca for 4 years (1937-1941), he established Madrasah Muallimin Barabai in 1948.
- 8) Muhammad As'ad (1908-1991)  
After studying at Madrasah Shaulatiah in Mecca (1927-1930) and at Al-Azhar in Egypt (1930-1933), he founded Madrasah Hidayah Islamiyah and subsequently transformed its educational system from the halaqah method to a classical system. He also co-founded Persatuan Perguruan Islam and served as its treasurer.
- 9) Abdul Hamid Karim (1910-1994)  
After studying at Al-Azhar University and Darul Ulum in Egypt (1929-1935), he established several madrasahs with his colleagues in various regions. He also co-founded PPI (Persatuan Perguruan Islam) and became an active member.
- 10) Abdurrasyid (1884-1934)  
After studying at Al-Azhar University in Egypt (1912-1922), he founded the Arabische School in Pekapuran Amuntai in 1928 and later established madrasahs in Barabai and Kandangan.
- 11) Juhri Sulaiman (1907-1972)  
  
After studying at Al-Azhar University for eight years (1923-1931), he implemented organizational and administrative reforms at the Arabische School, including upgrading its facilities. He also renamed the Arabische School to

Madrasaturrasyidiyah. Additionally, he founded a madrasah in Kampung Patarikan Amuntai in 1943.

The efforts of Middle Eastern alumni in developing Islamic educational institutions extended beyond elementary and secondary education to the establishment of Islamic higher education institutions. In 1948, several Muslim elites and Middle Eastern alumni, including Abdurrahman Ismail, Juhri Sulaiman, Abdul Hamid Karim, Abdullah Shiddiq, Usman, and Muhammad Hanafie Gobit, gathered in Amuntai to discuss the establishment of an Islamic higher education institution. They formed the Preparatory Body for the Islamic College of Kalimantan, headquartered in Barabai, and led by Abdurrahman Ismail.<sup>61</sup> Despite their efforts, this initiative did not materialize until the early 1950s. It was only a decade later, in 1958, that their efforts bore fruit with the establishment of the Faculty of Islamic Religion in Banjarmasin. Following this, additional faculties were established: the Faculty of Ushuluddin in Amuntai (1961), the Faculty of Tarbiyah in Barabai (1961), and the Faculty of Adab in Kandangan. These faculties collectively formed the embryo of IAIN Antasari, which was officially established in 1964. This progression underscores the significant contributions of Middle Eastern alumni in laying the groundwork for comprehensive Islamic education in South Kalimantan, from foundational to higher education levels.

Figure 2. The Role of Middle Eastern Alumni



#### 4. The Role of Islamic Organizations in the Development of Islamic Educational Institutions in the Early 20th Century

The emergence of Islamic organizations in South Kalimantan in the early 20th century significantly contributed to the social transformation of the Muslim community in the region. From their inception in 1912, these organizations mobilized Muslims to strive for better living conditions, fight against colonialism, address backwardness and poverty, and foster nationalism and unity among the ummah (Muslim community).

One of the key areas of focus for these Islamic organizations was education. They competed to establish schools and madrasahs to educate the Muslim community. As a result, one of the most

<sup>61</sup> Mohyiddin, *50 Tahun Perguruan Islam Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah*, 102.

prominent activities and programs of Islamic organizations in the early 20th century during the national movement era was the establishment of educational institutions in various regions where their branches operated. They established modern schools, both Islamic and general, similar to Dutch schools. In South Kalimantan, the Sarekat Islam (SI) founded Hadzihil Madrasatul Wathaniah, Diniyah School (1921) in Sungai Kindaung, HIS Swasta (1922) in Pasar Lama, HIS Swasta (1929) in Marabahan, and other HIS Swasta schools in Kotabaru and Kandangan.<sup>62</sup> SI also founded a madrasah in Luklua, which later became Madrasah Islam Pandai.<sup>63</sup> In Martapura, SI members established Madrasah Darussalam (1914). Additionally, the Arabische School in Banjarmasin, which later became Islamsche School, was founded and nurtured by SI members.<sup>64</sup> As SI declined, several educational institutions it had established either continued independently or affiliated with other organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, which also focused on developing educational institutions. These organizations played a crucial role in the educational advancement of the Muslim community in South Kalimantan, ensuring the preservation and dissemination of Islamic knowledge while integrating modern educational practices.

In addition to SI, the Muhammadiyah organization, which developed in South Kalimantan, also prioritized education. Similar to other regions in the Nusantara, Muhammadiyah established numerous educational institutions in South Kalimantan. In this region, Muhammadiyah pioneered the establishment of various educational institutions, including the Standard School (1925) and Wostha School (a teacher training school, 1928) in Alabio, schools in Teluk Tiram (1929) and Kelayan (1932), HIS Muhammadiyah (1935), and Schakel School (1936), all in Banjarmasin.<sup>65</sup> In the 1950s, Muhammadiyah successfully established SMP Muhammadiyah and SMA Muhammadiyah in Banjarmasin, and later opened PGA Muhammadiyah, a religious teacher training school. These institutions reflect Muhammadiyah's commitment to improving educational opportunities and promoting intellectual development among the Muslim community in South Kalimantan. By establishing a wide range of schools, from elementary to higher education, Muhammadiyah played a crucial role in the educational advancement of the region.<sup>66</sup>

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) played a significant role in the development of Islamic educational institutions in South Kalimantan, particularly in the form of madrasahs and pesantren. Many NU leaders and members established and managed madrasahs. In the early stages of its educational development, NU experienced a significant increase in affiliated madrasahs when several local Islamic organizations and their members joined NU, such as the Hidayah Islamiyah organization,

<sup>62</sup> Syaharuddin, *Orang Banjar (Menjadi) Indonesia Dinamika Organisasi Islam di Borneo Selatan 1912-1942*, 121-124.

<sup>63</sup> Nawawi, *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*, 56.

<sup>64</sup> Wajidi, *Peranan Pendidikan Islam dalam Pergerakan Kebangsaan di Kalimantan Selatan* (Jakarta: Direktorat Sejarah Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, 2017), 115.

<sup>65</sup> Syaharuddin, *Orang Banjar (Menjadi) Indonesia Dinamika Organisasi Islam di Borneo Selatan 1912-1942*, 124-126.

<sup>66</sup> Mahyuddin Barni, "Lembaga Pendidikan Muhammadiyah di Kalimantan Selatan," *Al-Banjari* 9, no. 2 (July 2010): 139-150.

which had already established and managed madrasahs in various regions. Some madrasahs initially founded by Sarekat Islam (SI) were taken over by NU when SI members joined NU. For example, Madrasah Darussalam, originally established by SI, later became an NU institution. Several leaders and members of Musyawaratuththalibin also joined NU, and this organization managed numerous madrasahs, some of which became affiliated with NU while others remained independent. NU's madrasahs and schools operated under the LP Ma'arif NU umbrella, which established and managed kindergartens, madrasahs, secondary schools, and vocational schools in South Kalimantan in the second half of the 20th century. Many pesantren in South Kalimantan were founded by religious figures affiliated with NU, further emphasizing the organization's substantial impact on the region's educational landscape.

Musyawaratuththalibin (MTH) also established several madrasahs because this local Islamic organization had a specific organizational structure dedicated to education, known as the Majelis Pengajaran Pendidikan. Wherever MTH was established, educational institutions (madrasahs) were also founded. MTH set up Madrasah Syafi'iyah in almost all its branches, which were commonly referred to as Sekolah Musyawarah.<sup>67</sup> MTH founded madrasah ibtidaiyah in various areas, including Wasah, Padang Batung, Angkinang, Kelua, Amuntai, and Alabio. Additionally, MTH established a madrasah tsanawiyah in Rantau named Madrasah Normal Islam (1935). Initially, this madrasah was only at the ibtidaiyah level (1935) and was located at the rubat masjid Rantau (the house where the mosque caretaker lives). This madrasah later changed its name to Madrasah Hidayah Islamiyah, then added a tsanawiyah level (1940), and eventually was renamed Madrasah Normal Islam.<sup>68</sup>

To implement educational reforms, MTH established several educational institutions in various areas. Among the institutions founded by MTH in South Kalimantan are Normal Islam in Rantau, Sekolah Putri in Kelua, Qismul Mudarrisin in Kandangan, Madrasah Diniyah in Tabukan, Madrasah Diniyah in Hambuku, Madrasah Asy-Syafi'iyah Musyawaratuththalibin in Sungai Pandan, and Sekolah Musyawaratuththalibin in Banjarmasin and Alabio. MTH also established several madrasahs in East Kalimantan, including Madrasah Syafi'iyah and Kulliyatul Muallimin in Samarinda. On the island of Sumatra, MTH founded Hollandsch Indonesisch Arabisch School in Tambilahan, as well as Sekolah Awwaliyah and Ibtidaiyyah in Sapat.<sup>69</sup> These efforts by MTH reflect their commitment to enhancing and expanding Islamic education across various regions, contributing significantly to the educational development of the Muslim community.

### C. Conclusion

The Banjar ulama alumni from the Middle East (Haramain and Egypt) played several crucial roles in the dynamics of Islamic education in South Kalimantan in the early 20th century. First, they

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<sup>67</sup> Wajidi, *Peranan Pendidikan Islam dalam Pergerakan Kebangsaan di Kalimantan Selatan*, 122.

<sup>68</sup> Nawawi, *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*, 57-58.

<sup>69</sup> Maksum, *Musyawaratuththalibin: Historis, Perjuangan Dan Pergulatan Pemikiran*, 26-27.

transformed the Langgar Barangkap education system into formal educational institutions in the form of madrasahs that implemented modern educational systems. They also converted the Langgar Barangkap system into pondok pesantren. Second, they established dozens of madrasahs or Islamic schools in various regions. Third, they undertook reforms and improvements in the existing madrasah education system, including advancements in education levels, curriculum, teaching methods, learning resources and reference books, evaluation, organizational structure, administration, and the development of learning facilities. Fourth, they formed madrasah associations such as PPI and IMI. Fifth, they pioneered and initiated the establishment of Islamic higher education institutions in South Kalimantan. These contributions significantly enhanced the educational landscape, fostering a modern and structured approach to Islamic education while preserving its traditional values. Their efforts laid a strong foundation for future educational development in the region.

Meanwhile, the significant role of Islamic organizations in South Kalimantan in the early 20th century was to establish Islamic educational institutions in various regions and to reform the Islamic education system to compete with Dutch educational institutions. These Islamic organizations managed madrasahs and schools to ensure their sustainability. Even when certain Islamic organizations experienced decline, efforts were made to keep the madrasahs and schools they had established operational.

The collaboration between Islamic organizations and Middle Eastern alumni was pivotal in their collective efforts to advance Islamic education in South Kalimantan. This partnership fostered the rapid growth of Islamic educational institutions in various areas and led to the modernization of Islamic education in the early 20th century. This synergy accelerated educational development, blending traditional Islamic values with modern educational practices to create a robust and resilient educational framework.

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