



## The Implications of *Ajengan* Ruhiat's Thought and Contributions in the Network of Intellectual Scholars in West Java

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**Abstrak:** This research endeavors to scrutinize the persona, ideologies, and pivotal role of KH. Ruhiat in shaping the intellectual ulama network within the West Java region. Furthermore, it delves into the intricate nexus with the Cipasung Islamic Boarding School, situated in Tasikmalaya, which was founded by KH. Ruhiat. This institution has endured over time, generating a cadre of ulama figures who have made substantial contributions to the dissemination and expansion of KH. Ruhiat's intellectual legacy. Employing a historical and qualitative framework, this study undertakes the comprehensive exploration of the profound influence and presence of ulama figures, most notably KH. Ruhiat, in the establishment of the ulama network within West Java. Methodologically, the research adopts a case study approach, focusing on the profiling of a prominent ulama figure in West Java. Data collection methods encompass meticulous documentation, astute observation, and in-depth interviews. The findings of this investigation underscore the pivotal role played by KH. Ruhiat in the resistance against Dutch colonialism and in catalyzing nationalistic consciousness among the populace. His endeavors in education and religious advocacy effectively galvanized the community towards the pursuit of Indonesian independence. Notably, KH. Ruhiat assumed a pivotal position in the formation of the ulama-intellectual network in West Java, particularly at the Cipasung Islamic Boarding School. This network was meticulously constructed through genealogical lines of descent, marriage alliances, and scholarly transmission. The architectural framework of the core and satellite boarding schools emerged as instrumental components in the establishment of this extensive network. Furthermore, matrimonial unions among the progeny of ulama, accomplished senior santri, and individuals possessing scholarly acumen emerged as efficacious mechanisms for the consolidation of the ulama-intellectual network.

**Keywords:** *Cipasung Islamic Boarding School; Genealogy of Lineage; Genealogy of Marriage; Genealogy of Transmission; KH. Ruhiat; Ulama Network.*

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### Introduction

The presence and influence of ulama, or Islamic scholars, in Indonesia have played a pivotal and indelible role throughout the nation's history and cultural development. These scholars serve not only as the custodians and transmitters of Islamic teachings but also as fundamental pillars in the advancement of culture, education, politics, and societal structure. From the pre-Indonesian era onward, ulama have not merely functioned in a religious capacity but have emerged as influential leaders within their respective communities. They have disseminated Islamic principles that not only possess universal applicability but also possess the flexibility to harmonize with diverse local cultures and traditions, thereby significantly contributing to the molding of Indonesia's identity and civilization.

In practical terms, ulama stand at the vanguard of propagating Islamic doctrines through their scholarly discourse and educational endeavors, establishing a distinct network wherein one ulama is intricately connected with others through a chain of scholarly lineage and interlinked teachings. This network of knowledge and religious propagation, established by ulama across the Indonesian archipelago, has played a pivotal role in safeguarding Islamic tenets, fostering education, catalyzing political movements, and enhancing societal welfare within the region. The implications of this network are profound in shaping Indonesia's identity and Islamic civilization. A tangible illustration of the ulama's impact is exemplified by their role in the development of an Islam that harmonizes with local traditions. They play a pivotal role in disseminating religious values, broadening access to education across the broader populace, advocating for social justice, and actively participating in the nation's political landscape.

The presence and enduring legacy of ulama within diverse communities, disseminating and imparting Islamic teachings in culturally congruent manners, can be traced through the historical diffusion of Islam across the Indonesian archipelago. These ulama emerged during distinct epochs when they could connect and establish a shared scholarly network. Many among them were interlinked through shared mentorship, acquired knowledge from common sources, or established educational institutions that nurtured subsequent generations of ulama. Consequently, within the specific context of Indonesia, the practice of disseminating and imparting Islamic teachings by ulama transcends informal assimilation and cultural instruction, evolving into formalized practices, most notably through the establishment of Islamic boarding schools (*Pondok Pesantren*) and their subsequent developments, including Islamic-based educational institutions. The existence of *Pondok Pesantren* serves as a testament to the ulama's enduring commitment to scholarly pursuits as their primary focus, among other responsibilities (Ilahi & Polah, 2007).

The scholarly network of ulama (Islamic scholars) in the Indonesian archipelago has not only been fostered through academic connections—comprising shared sources and mentors—but has also been shaped by the educational institutions known as *Pondok Pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools). This phenomenon underscores the profound influence of ulama in shaping societal values and contributing to the development of Islamic civilization in the archipelago. An examination of the historical contributions of ulama in the region not only emphasizes their pivotal roles but also underscores the crucial role played by *Pondok Pesantren*, founded by ulama as centers for adaptive Islamic studies tailored to the community's needs and evolving with the changing times.

Ulama, as the primary agents in disseminating Islam, employ specific strategies to establish extensive networks of scholarship and mass religious outreach across the archipelago. Consequently, numerous influential figures have emerged in various regions and communities across the archipelago, playing pivotal roles in the propagation of Islam. Notable names such as Nuruddin Al-Raniri in Aceh, Muhammad Yusuf Al-Makassari in Sulawesi, Syekh Khalil in Bangkalan, Nawawi Al-Bantani in Banten, and the Walisongo in Java, among others, are renowned ulama whose impact is discernible in their respective communities. In the context of West Java, significant figures have pioneered the spread of Islam in the region. One such figure is Syarif Hidayatullah, also known as Sunan Gunung Djati (Wildan, 2002). Sunan Gunung Djati's teachings laid the groundwork for the propagation of Islam, a legacy continued by other prominent ulama such as Syekh Abdul

Muhyi in Pamijahan, Tasikmalaya, who contributed to the dissemination of Islam in the Priangan region during the 18th century (Khaerussalam, 1993).

In subsequent periods, the process of disseminating and instructing in Islam in West Java, particularly among the Sundanese community, was carried forward by other ulama. These ulama included those who were disciples of earlier ulama and those who pursued Islamic studies in the Arab world before returning to Indonesia to establish educational institutions as centers for Islamic instruction. During the Dutch colonial era in Indonesia, Haji Hasan Mustapa, born in 1852 and passing away in 1930 (Kartini, 1985), emerged as one of the most renowned ulama in the Priangan region. Another prominent ulama in the West Java community was KH. Muhammad Soedja'i, also known as *Mama Kudang*. *Mama Kudang* was a direct disciple of Hasan Mustapa and other ulama. He studied under Syekh Khalil in Bangkalan, Madura. KH. Muhammad Soedja'i, along with two of his companions, Syekh Haji Abdullah Mubarak bin Nur Muhammad, commonly known as Abah Sepuh (who later established Pondok *Pesantren* Lathifah Mubarakiah in Kaki Gunung Suryalaya), and KH. Syarif Hidayatulloh, also known as *Mama Bantar Payung* (who founded a Pondok *Pesantren* in the Bantarpayung area of Tasikmalaya) (Mubarak, 2018), played a pivotal role in the continuation of Islamic education and dissemination in the region.

*Mama Kudang* is credited with making significant contributions to the establishment of an extensive ulama network in West Java, particularly through the formation of *Idharu Baitil Muluk wal Umara* (IBMU) in 1920, which later evolved into the Perkumpulan Guru Ngaji (PGN) in 1925. The establishment of this organization represented a significant effort in building a network of ulama in West Java, as PGN boasted approximately 1,350 *ajeungan* (Kyai) members at the time. It was from this network that a prominent ulama, KH. Ruhiat, also known as Abah Ruhiat, emerged. Within this network, KH. Ruhiat is known to have studied and received *tabaruk* from KH. Syabandi along with KH. Zaenal Musthafa. The latter has been officially recognized as a national hero by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.

The province of West Java has historically been home to several centers for the dissemination and education of Islam, as well as renowned ulama (Islamic scholars). These centers, including Cirebon, Tasikmalaya, Cianjur, and others, have contributed to the establishment of a robust network of ulama in the region. This network has been further bolstered by the proliferation of Pondok *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) across West Java, exemplified by the founding of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung in Tasikmalaya by KH. Ruhiat. Ulama hold a prestigious position not only due to their scholarly expertise and exemplary moral character but also because of their ability to create enduring institutions, namely, Pondok *Pesantren*, which play a pivotal role in community development. Saletore's observations emphasize that the Muslim community has accorded high regard to ulama within the social hierarchy since the Middle Ages. Drawing upon various hadiths of the Prophet, Saletore underscores the significant status of ulama alongside Prophets and Messengers, categorizing them as individuals deserving complete trust (*shiddiqin*), alongside martyrs (*syahidin*) (Saletore, 1983).

These considerations have earned KH. Ruhiat a distinct and esteemed place in the hearts and minds of the community. His central role in Islamic scholarship within the Tasikmalaya and West Java regions places him in a particularly exceptional position in the eyes of the public. KH. Ruhiat is renowned as an ulama who not only participated in the

struggle for Indonesian independence against colonial powers but also made substantial contributions to the establishment of the ulama network in West Java through the founding of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, Tasikmalaya. This underscores the central role and social significance of ulama within the structure of Islamic society. It is not an exaggeration to assert that ulama are pivotal figures in the historical struggles of the Muslim community, spanning various domains such as politics, economics, social affairs, education, culture, and, most importantly, matters of religion. The designation of an individual as an ulama is not conferred through a formal process but is rather a recognition bestowed by the broader society following an extensive evaluation within the community. This recognition is based on qualities such as integrity, scholarly competence, moral rectitude, and social responsibility (Raharjo, 1993).

As such, scholarly discourse on the roles, functions, and contributions of ulama in society holds paramount significance. This discourse encompasses comprehensive biographical histories as well as examinations of their scholarly ideas and social interactions. Such studies are not merely academically relevant but, more crucially, serve as historical records and narratives that communities can reference to identify and study their local ulama. This process enables communities to emulate their exemplary conduct, delve into their thoughts and teachings, explore their innovations, and pay homage to the contributions of ulama toward the holistic development of society and the nation.

Regarding KH. Ruhiat's persona, he is widely acknowledged, particularly within the West Java community, primarily due to the existence of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, which he established. Studies conducted by Adang (2014), for instance, corroborate that KH. Ruhiat was not solely an ulama engaged in the propagation of Islam and education but also a dedicated freedom fighter. Similar conclusions are drawn by Noorikhshan (2017), who asserts that KH. Ruhiat was a nationalist ulama who prioritized the welfare of the community over personal gain. In a different context, elMawa's study (2003) demonstrates the pivotal role played by KH. Ruhiat and Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung in the political and religious social movements within the context of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Indonesia. Despite its non-political educational nature, Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, as revealed in Satori's study (2014), played a critical role due to the presence of a political-santri cultural model, instrumental in advancing the cause of Islam in Tasikmalaya and Indonesia as a whole.

Building upon the aforementioned considerations and prior research findings, it is evident that KH. Ruhiat occupied a central role in West Java society. Nevertheless, there remains a dearth of studies that delve into the analysis of KH. Ruhiat within the context of the ulama network specific to West Java. Consequently, this study fundamentally seeks to conduct a more in-depth analysis of KH. Ruhiat's persona, ideas, and role in the establishment of the intellectual ulama network in West Java. Moreover, this study acknowledges the presence of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, Tasikmalaya, founded by KH. Ruhiat, which has endured over time and has given rise to various other ulama figures contributing to the dissemination and expansion of KH. Ruhiat's intellectual legacy. In essence, an exploration of KH. Ruhiat's persona, ideas, and influence within the context of the ulama network in West Java can offer valuable insights into the role of ulama within the broader framework of West Java and, by extension, Indonesia.

## Literature Reviews

Numerous studies pertaining to the presence and influence of scholars (ulama) in shaping intellectual networks within specific regions are indeed relatively scarce. Existing research often concentrates on the ideologies and philosophies of individual ulama, especially as manifested in their written works, both disseminated directly and transmitted through their disciples. One of the early and comprehensive inquiries into this realm is the research conducted by Azyumardi Azra, a prominent Muslim scholar in Indonesia renowned for his expertise in tracing the genealogical lineage of ulama across the Indonesian archipelago. His study delves into the networks of Middle Eastern ulama and their intellectual influence throughout the Indonesian archipelago during the 17th and 18th centuries. Azra presents compelling data concerning the direct and indirect connections among these ulama, which ultimately left a significant imprint on the development of Islamic teachings and religious doctrines in various regions across the Indonesian archipelago.

Another notable study by Rakhmat Zailani Kiki (2011), prefaced by Azyumardi Azra, shifts its focus toward the intellectual networks of Betawi ulama spanning from the early 19th century to the 21st century. Kiki's research (2011) yields insights that reveal the intellectual network of Betawi ulama can be discerned through the examination of approximately 160 intellectual works authored by 26 Betawi ulama who lived during the 19th and 20th centuries CE. The predominant emphasis of these intellectual endeavors gravitates towards the field of jurisprudence (fikih). This shift reflects a transformation in perspectives and orientations within *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), particularly among ulama authors. It signifies a transition from the influence of Sufism, which characterized the thoughts of ulama in the 17th and 18th centuries CE, towards a jurisprudential focus. This transformation stemmed from an acknowledgment of the community's demand for pragmatic religious guidance. In terms of literary genre, a majority of these works adopt the form of *khulasah* or summaries. This suggests that some ulama still adhere to the notion that classical Islamic texts (kitab kuning) comprehensively encompass the requisite religious knowledge, potentially impeding progress towards contemporary reinterpretations. The Betawi ulama predominantly penned their works in Arabic, underscoring their mastery of the Arabic language. This linguistic proficiency was, in part, a result of their tutelage under Middle Eastern ulama, a factor that significantly shaped their daily lives. Nevertheless, a subset of these ulama also produced works in Malay and Indonesian languages to cater to the specific needs of their local communities (Kiki, 2011; Rahmah, 2018).

The study conducted by Syu'aib and Nuh (2018) represents another exploration of the network of intellectual ulama within a specific region of Indonesia, particularly in Riau Province. This research traces the scholarly lineage of Sheikh 'Abdurrahman Ya'qub (1330-1389 H/1912-1970 CE), a scholar who was active in the early 20th century in the Indragiri region of Riau. Their findings indicate that Sheikh 'Abdurrahman Ya'qub's credibility as a scholar was intrinsically linked to his participation in the ulama network. He inherited knowledge from distinguished ulama, including Sheikh Sa'id Yamani (1265-1352 H), Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali al-Maliki (1287-1368 H), Sheikh 'Umar Hamdan (1292-1368 H), Sheikh Hasan bin Muhammad al-Masysyath (1317-1399 H), and Sheikh Muhammad Yasin al-Fadani (1335-1410 H). His involvement within this network of eminent ulama

significantly contributed to the formation of intellectual networks among ulama in Riau Province.

Yet another parallel study is Rahmadi's (2010) endeavor to trace the intellectual network of ulama in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan Province, with a particular focus on the descendants of Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. This research unveils that the intellectual network among the progeny of Sheikh Arsyad al-Banjari was inextricably linked to Sheikh Arsyad al-Banjari's role in imparting knowledge to his descendants, including his offspring, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. This initial effort laid the foundation for a tradition of scholarly learning within the family. The intellectual network expanded as more descendants of Sheikh Arsyad embraced the path of ulama and perpetuated the scholarly tradition of Sheikh Arsyad al-Banjari. Despite the widespread dispersion of Sheikh Arsyad's descendants, this network remained intact, bolstered by a tradition of mutual visits for the purpose of learning and the strong bonds shared among fellow descendants of Sheikh Arsyad al-Banjari. Undoubtedly, Sheikh Arsyad al-Banjari's figure served as a unifying force among them.

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## Methods

This study employs a historical and qualitative approach to elucidate the significant role and presence of ulama, particularly KH. Ruhiat, in the establishment of the ulama network in West Java. Methodologically, this research constitutes a case study that profiles one of the prominent ulama figures in West Java. The research procedures and data collection methods encompass the following:

**Literature Review:** The study commences with an exhaustive literature review concerning the history of ulama in Indonesia, their societal roles, the evolution of Pondok *Pesantren*, and KH. Ruhiat's contributions within this context. Both primary and secondary sources will be leveraged to gain a comprehensive understanding of the historical backdrop and progression of ulama in West Java.

**Interviews:** This study also involves interviews with experts, scholars, and community leaders possessing expertise and experience concerning KH. Ruhiat's role and the ulama network in West Java, with a particular focus on the family and alumni of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung. These interviews will provide a deeper perspective on his contributions and influence in shaping the ulama network.

Document Analysis: Historical documents, archives from Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, writings, correspondence of ulama, as well as their travel records, will undergo analysis to trace the development of KH. Ruhiat's ideology, education, and influence, as well as those of other ulama within the network.

Field Observations: The study also encompasses on-site visits to Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, Tasikmalaya, for direct observation of the current conditions, activities, and extant historical heritage.

The data collected from the literature review, interviews, document analysis, and field observations will undergo qualitative analysis. This data will be systematically organized, categorized, and critically evaluated to discern patterns, themes, and significant findings pertinent to KH. Ruhiat's role within the ulama network in West Java. The outcomes of this data analysis will be utilized to compile a research report that encapsulates KH. Ruhiat's contributions to the formation of the ulama network in West Java, alongside its historical and social implications within the context of Islam's development in Indonesia.

Through this approach, this study endeavors to provide a profound insight into the role of ulama, specifically KH. Ruhiat, in shaping the ulama network in West Java, and how this role impacts educational progress, religious values, and communal identity within the region. Consequently, this research is anticipated to offer a valuable contribution to an enhanced comprehension of the role of ulama in the history and progression of Islam in Indonesia.

## Result and Discussion

The document analysis, observations, and interviews conducted by the author regarding the researched topic have yielded several salient points, which can be elaborated upon as follows:

### Biography of KH. Ruhiat and Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung

Kyai Haji Ruhiat, henceforth referred to as KH. Ruhiat, or affectionately known as Abah Ruhiat by the students and residents of Cipasung, stands as an illustrious Islamic scholar, educator, and pioneering freedom fighter, acclaimed within the West Java community, notably in the Tasikmalaya region. KH. Ruhiat is celebrated for his collaborative endeavors with one of the nation's heroes, also a charismatic ulama in West Java, namely KH. Zaenal Mustofa. Furthermore, he enjoys widespread recognition in West Java for his unwavering dedication as an Islamic preacher, tirelessly disseminating Islamic teachings among the local populace.

In his historical lineage, KH. Ruhiat, was born in Cisarow Village, Cipakat Subdistrict, Tasikmalaya Regency, on November 11, 1911. He was born to a mother named Hj. Umayah binti Indra (d. 1932) and a father named H. Abdul Ghofur bin Umray (d. 1937) (Personal interview with KH. A. Bunyamin, June 1, 2021). Tragically, his mother passed away precisely one year after the establishment of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, while his father followed suit, passing away six years after the founding of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung in Tasikmalaya. In essence, both of his parents bore witness to KH. Ruhiat's pioneering efforts in establishing the Islamic educational institution in Cipasung, Tasikmalaya.

KH. Ruhiat was also born into a sizable family. Genealogically, KH. Ruhiat boasted many siblings due to his parents' involvement in three marriages. The initial marriage produced one son and four daughters, namely H. Siti Sobariah, Encoh, Uwen, Juansah, and Acih. The second marital union with Hj. Umayah resulted in four sons and two daughters: H. Sofiah (d. 1986), H. Maksum (d. 1981), H. Syuja'i (d. 1986), KH. Ruhiat (d. 1977), H. Muharam (d. 1973), and Hj. Jamilah (d. 1983). Abah Ruhiat's third matrimony with H Zenab binti H. Idris (d. 1971) bore one son, H. Abdul Hamid (*Pesantren Cipasung*, 2010).

KH. Ruhiat is widely renowned for his founding of the educational institution, Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung. This achievement is closely intertwined with his educational trajectory. According to historical records, KH. Ruhiat pursued twelve years of education, with the initial four years dedicated to formal schooling, culminating in the completion of the fourth grade at the age of 10 in 1921. Subsequently, he embarked on his Islamic studies journey at *Pesantren* Cilenga, under the tutelage of KH. Muhammad Syabandi. During his tenure at this *pesantren*, KH. Ruhiat underwent two distinct study periods: the first spanning from 1922 to 1926, encompassing five years, and the second from 1929 to 1931, amounting to three years. Within the interim years, from 1926 to 1928, totaling two years, he engaged in further educational pursuits at three different *pesantren*, adopting the tabaruk method (Mubarak, 2018).

The process of tabaruk learning involved KH. Ruhiat, or Abah Ruhiat, undertaking his studies at three prominent *pesantren* in Tasikmalaya during the period in question. He spent three months at *Pesantren* Sukaraja Garut, under the guidance of KH. Emed. Subsequently, KH. Ruhiat continued his studies for seven months at *Pesantren* Kubang, led by KH. Abas Nawawi. Finally, he concluded his educational journey with a ten-month period at *Pesantren* Cintawana, under the tutelage of KH. Toha. Thus, for a cumulative duration of 20 months, KH. Ruhiat embarked on a pilgrimage of knowledge, studying at three significant *pesantren* existing in Tasikmalaya during that era (*Pesantren Cipasung*, 2010).

In addition to his tabaruk studies, KH. Ruhiat also engaged in tabahur learning under the guidance of senior ulama at the time, most notably KH. Muhamad Sudja'i, who was commonly referred to as *Mama Kudang*. Given that KH. Syabandi and KH. Toha, his own teachers, were disciples of *Mama Kudang*, KH. Ruhiat participated in *Mama Kudang's* study sessions every Sunday or Wednesday. He also became a member of the *Perkoempoelan Goeroe Ngaji* (PGN), an assembly of 1300 Kyai in East Priangan, which was under the leadership of *Mama Kudang* (Mubarak, 2018).

In 1931, following the completion of his education and studies at *Pesantren* Cilenga during the second period of his mondok stay with his first wife, KH. Ruhiat initiated the founding of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung. The name "*Pesantren* Cipasung" is derived from the geographical location of the *pesantren*, namely Cipasung. Cipasung is situated in Cipakat Village, Singaparna, Tasikmalaya Regency, adjacent to the area where KH. Ruhiat was born. At the time of founding Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, KH. Ruhiat was twenty years old (Personal interview with KH. A. Bunyamin, June 1, 2021).

Regarding the historical establishment, as narrated by KH. Ruhiat's successors who oversee Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, it is known that the *pesantren* was founded at the conclusion of 1931 by KH. Ruhiat. The precise date and month remain uncertain due to



a lack of well-documented records. The extended family, however, identifies the founding of *Pesantren* Cipasung as taking place towards the end of 1931 when KH. Ruhiat was twenty years old. KH. Ruhiat himself passed away and left Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung on November 28, 1977, coinciding with the 17th of Dzulhijjah 1397, at the age of 66 (*Pesantren* Cipasung, 2010).

The construction of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung commenced with the building of a dedicated residence for KH. Ruhiat when he relocated from *Pesantren* Cilenga to Cipasung in 1931. This year marked the pivotal historical moment when Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung was established. Assisted by 40 students provided by KH. Syabandi, who had been KH. Ruhiat's teacher at *Pesantren* Cilenga, Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung was officially inaugurated. The *pesantren* establishment was intended to complement the existing taklim (study sessions) forums (Yahya, 2006).

In recounting the history of its founding, as conveyed by the successors of KH. Ruhiat who manage Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, it becomes evident that the strategic establishment of the *pesantren* involved two influential figures in Cipasung, H. Affandi and H. Uzer. Both individuals were held in high esteem in Cipasung, and their blessings lent KH. Ruhiat considerable support. One particularly strategic move was the marriage of KH. Ruhiat's daughter, Mumun Maemunah binti Ruhiat, to a student named Saeful Millah, whose mother, Hj. Niah, was wed to H. Uzer. Consequently, H. Uzer became KH. Ruhiat's son-in-law, thereby solidifying a robust kinship bond (Yahya, 2006).

Secondly, for the sake of expediency, KH. Ruhiat nurtured a special rapport with H. Ucoy Qusoy. He consistently involved the local community in the development of the *pesantren*, fostering the perception that the *pesantren* was not merely a family endeavor but an institution belonging to the entire community. The presence of the *pesantren* was highly regarded by the community, as Abah consistently engaged in communal activities and did not position himself as an elite ulama but as one with the people. Consequently, from its inception to the present day, Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung has experienced rapid growth, greatly benefiting the local community by indirectly contributing to its economic development (Personal interview with KH. Ubaidillah, June 3, 2021).

The establishment of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung underwent several distinct phases:

*The first*, initial phase centered around the construction of a mosque. Given KH. Ruhiat's close rapport with the local community, he aspired to erect a mosque, an idea that garnered widespread approval. Subsequently, KH. Ruhiat solicited the involvement of H. Uzer, H. Affandi, and his two younger brothers, H. Maksu and H. Rusa'i, to oversee the construction committee. H. Affandi, renowned for his expertise in Quranic studies, assumed the role of the mosque's prayer leader (imam), while H. Uzer was entrusted with delivering the Friday sermon (khotib) at the mosque, which they collectively constructed.

*The second*, phase revolved around the contemplation of expanding religious outreach through the establishment of a *pesantren*. The existing taklim (study sessions) assembly, previously serving as a venue for community members to gain knowledge of Islam, underwent a transformation into a *pesantren*. The residents of Cipasung became the pioneering students of KH. Ruhiat during the nascent stages of *Pesantren* Cipasung, along with an additional 40 students brought by KH. Syabandi, his mentor at *Pesantren* Cilenga. To secure broader support, especially in influencing the local community, Abah Ruhiat entered into matrimony with the daughter of a wealthy farmer from Cipancur, named Hj

Siti Badriyah. His second wife was the offspring of Kosasih, also recognized as Abang Engko, a notable figure in Cipancur Sariwangi.

The third, phase centered on integrating the community as an indispensable component of the *pesantren*. This integration is conspicuous in the organizational framework instituted by Abah Ruhiat subsequent to the *pesantren* inception. Although the *pesantren* was founded in 1931, its official commencement transpired in 1932. Foremost among the protectors of the *pesantren* was the head of Cipakat Village. A considerable number of Cipasung's residents engaged in religious instruction under Abah Ruhiat's guidance, especially the initial cohort of 40 individuals who were accommodated within the *pesantren* premises. Numerous neighboring residents pursued their studies by becoming santri kalong, providing companionship to the resident students. The choice of the name "Cipasung" following the term "*pesantren*" constituted a strategic maneuver to ensure the *pesantren* ownership by the people of Cipasung and to avoid the use of Arabic terminology, as practiced by his instructor at *Pesantren Cilenga*.

The fourth, phase was dedicated to safeguarding the *pesantren* existence amidst Dutch colonial rule. The year 1931 coincided with Dutch colonial dominance over Tasikmalaya and the Dutch East Indies. Nevertheless, *Pesantren* Cipasung stood resolute and even served as a sanctuary for indigenous individuals to pursue Islamic studies and other subjects developed in subsequent phases. Extramural religious gatherings, serving as a medium of communication with the community, included monthly and weekly study sessions open to the public. Additionally, gatherings for scholars and alumni were convened every Thursday.

The fifth, phase marked the establishment of a Madrasah Diniyah or religious school in 1935. This educational institution laid the cornerstone for the evolving educational system within *Pesantren* Cipasung. It was from this madrasah that KH. Ruhiat's vision to train and produce capable santri cadres for Islamic preaching (muballigh) began to take shape.

The sixth, phase entailed the establishment of the School for Islamic Education (Sekolah Pendidikan Islam or SPI). This institution aimed to provide formal education by integrating religious and general studies. In 1953, five years later, SPI underwent a name change, becoming the First Islamic Middle School (Sekolah Menengah Islam Pertama or SMIP), which has subsequently adapted to become the Islamic Junior High School (Sekolah Menengah Pertama Islam or SMPI). During the same year, towards the end of 1953, *Pesantren* Cipasung also founded the Islamic Elementary School (Sekolah Rendah Islam or SRI), which later evolved into the Mandatory Education Madrasah (Madrasah Wajib Belajar or MWB) and currently operates as the Elementary Madrasah (Madrasah Ibtidaiyah or MI). In 1959, the establishment of the Islamic Senior High School (Sekolah Menengah Atas Islam or SMAI) took place.

g. The seventh phase constituted the establishment of higher education institutions. Following Pondok Cipasung's provision of education at the primary (MI), middle (SMPI), and upper (SMAI) levels to complement the *Madrasah Diniyah* and KKMM education tiers, Pondok Cipasung inaugurated the Islamic Higher Education (*Pendidikan Tinggi Islam* or PTI) on September 25, 1965. The process of instituting this higher education establishment commenced with a conclave between the leaders of Pondok *Pesantren* Cipasung, prominent community members, and local government representatives to initiate deliberations concerning the establishment of a higher education institution in

Cipasung. Subsequently, the administrators of *Pesantren* Cipasung sought permission from the Head of the Bureau of Religious Higher Education, then operating under the auspices of the Department of Religious Affairs (Depag) of the Republic of Indonesia. Consequently, *Pesantren* Cipasung successfully established the PTI with the issuance of Decree No. BB-XII/2b/34-11/65, dated September 25, 1965, pertaining to the foundation of the Cipasung Islamic Higher Education Institution, abbreviated as PTI Cipasung (*Pesantren* Cipasung, 2010; Outcomes of personal interviews with KH. A. Bunyamin and KH. Ubaidillah).

The presence of the College further enriches the educational services offered by *Pesantren* Cipasung to the community. The College, situated within *Pesantren* Cipasung, has consistently strengthened its position, notably following the issuance of a correspondence by the Head of the Bureau of Religious Higher Education (Kabiro Perguruan Tinggi Agama or PTA), a division under the Directorate General of Islamic Community Guidance (Bimas Islam) of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, bearing reference Number 53/B-XII/2/Swt/65. This official decree designates the Faculty of Tarbiyah within Cipasung Islamic College (PTI) as a Registered Private Islamic College. Through these two decrees, issued by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, *Pesantren* Cipasung underscores its presence and the progressive evolution of its educational framework within the local community. Each developmental phase has been successfully traversed, leading *Pesantren* Cipasung to thrive and emerge as the preferred choice for the public, offering a diverse range of educational services.

The manifold initiatives aimed at enhancing educational services at *Pesantren* Cipasung reaffirm the dedication of its administrators, not only to establish a proficient educational institution for the community but also to foster high-quality Islamic educational services. This commitment aligns seamlessly with the vision of KH. Ruhiat, the illustrious founder of *Pesantren* Cipasung, who envisioned that the institution would produce erudite graduates, particularly intellectual scholars capable of comprehending and adapting to the multifaceted demands of society. In this manner, *Pesantren* Cipasung ensures that the educational establishments it creates can nurture a generation of students poised to carry forward the legacy of the eminent scholars who preceded them.

### **The Role of KH. Ruhiat in the Indonesia's Independence and Education**

KH. Ruhiat played a significant role in the struggle for Indonesia's independence and in the field of education. The establishment of *Pesantren* Cipasung in 1931 occurred during a period when Indonesia was under Dutch colonial rule. The Dutch colonial administration viewed *pesantren* as potential sources of rebellion, leading to their continuous intervention in *pesantren* activities, including *Pesantren* Cipasung. Consequently, KH. Ruhiat, adopting a heroic stance, became one of the leaders of *pesantren* who opposed colonialism, albeit employing more subtle methods. His primary and initial approach to this resistance was through education.

KH. Ruhiat's commitment extended beyond education to the dissemination and teaching of Islam. His efforts were aimed at resisting Dutch colonialism and promoting national independence. Right from the beginning, KH. Ruhiat held a vision of nationalism and aspired to free Indonesia from Dutch colonial oppression. He sought to instill a similar awareness in his community, motivating them to join the struggle for independence. He firmly believed that independence was a prerequisite for societal progress and a

fundamental condition for Muslims to improve their quality of life (Personal Interview with KH. Acep Adang Ruhiat, August 15, 2018). In essence, KH. Ruhiat possessed both a visionary understanding of societal conditions and a strong sense of nationalism, which compelled him to actively engage in the fight against Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia.

One of his notable contributions during the colonial era was delivering speeches on various platforms. KH. Ruhiat was highly regarded by the community for his persuasive and inspirational speeches. Through these public addresses, he effectively disseminated the spirit of nationalism and played a significant role in igniting the flames of patriotism (Personal Interview with KH. A. Bunyamin, June 1, 2021). KH. Ruhiat's proficiency in teaching Islam to the community and his adept management of the educational institution he founded, *Pesantren Cipasung*, made it a preferred choice for parents seeking educational opportunities for their children. This further solidified KH. Ruhiat's influence within the community. Consequently, the Dutch colonial authorities grew increasingly concerned and apprehensive about KH. Ruhiat's activities and influence, perceiving him as a potential threat. Consequently, they closely monitored his activities. As a result, KH. Ruhiat often resorted to metaphorical language, which the Dutch authorities did not fully understand, as a form of resistance (Personal Interview with Hj. Neng Madinah, August 19, 2021).

KH. Ruhiat's significance expanded when he joined Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in the Tasikmalaya branch in 1928. NU, founded in 1926, came under his teacher's leadership, KH. Muhammad Syabandi, two years later. Although KH. Syabandi was a student of *Mama Kudang*, a leader in the Persatuan Guru Nahdlatul Ulama (PGN) faction, both he and KH. Ruhiat favored NU in the *harokah* (struggle). In the 1930s, KH. Syabandi and KH. Ruhiat held differing views from the colonial government, which received support from the PGN. However, both institutions were playing their respective roles, emphasizing the importance of collaborating with the authorities for protection while simultaneously advocating for independence, each in accordance with their positions (Mubarak, 2018).

The emergence of disagreements between the PGN and the NU, led by KH. Ruhiat, is discernible in the debates carried out through the *Al Imtisal* newspaper of PGN and the *Al Mawaidz* newspaper of NU. When the NU branch in Tasikmalaya, under the leadership of Soetisna Sendjaja, decided to publish the *Al-Mawaidz* magazine in August 1933, KH. Ruhiat actively participated in overseeing the religious section along with several other scholars affiliated with NU who possessed a high level of expertise. These debates were conducted openly, with each newspaper directly addressing the other. *Al Imtisal*, under the leadership of *Mama Kudang* and *Kyai Idharu Baiatil Muluk wal Umara* (IBMU), engaged in written discourses, which were then responded to by NU scholars in their newspaper.

In the 1930s, both the PGN (*Perkoempoelan Goeroe Ngaji*) and the NU branch in Tasikmalaya engaged in discussions regarding the status of the Dutch colonial government and the Islamic perspective on them. Scholars within both organizations partly concurred that the colonial government could be regarded as *ulil amri* (those in authority), although they did not arrive at a consensus on the nature, meaning, and role of *ulil amri*. KH. Fachroeddin from PGN argued that the colonial government could be considered *ulil amri* as long as it did not impede religious practices and Islamic teachings. Conversely, NU scholars in the Tasikmalaya branch believed that the colonial government could only be considered *ulil amri* in a political context to protect the people. They asserted that the colonial government had no jurisdiction in religious matters, which should be the purview of religious scholars within the community (Falah, 2009).

KH. Ruhiat, as a member of NU, aligned his views with the organization regarding leadership (*ulil amri*) and the status of the Dutch colonial government. Although these views did not necessarily reflect his personal beliefs, as an NU official, his perspectives were in harmony with NU's stance. The Dutch colonial government grew suspicious of the NU movement and also became increasingly concerned about KH. Ruhiat due to NU's positions and his preaching content that nurtured patriotism and nationalism while opposing Dutch colonialism. On November 17, 1941, KH. Ruhiat was arrested, along with other prominent figures, on charges of inciting the people against the colonial government. After being detained in Tasikmalaya and Sukamiskin prisons for 53 days, KH. Ruhiat was released, but his struggle did not cease. In February 1942, he was arrested again on charges of engaging in social activities and preaching that incited resistance against the Dutch colonial government. During his detention, the management of *Pesantren* Cipasung was taken over by KH. Saeful Millah, KH. Ruhiat's son-in-law (Personal Interview with KH. A Bunyamin, June 21, 2021).

Following independence, KH. Ruhiat's efforts shifted towards the *pesantren* educational institution and the schools he had established. Through education and religious outreach, he began contemplating how *pesantren* could innovate and become a leading sector beneficial to the nation and the state. This did not mean that *pesantren* entities lacked a significant role, but KH. Ruhiat had a forward-looking perspective in which *pesantren*, as they were, would not provide a comprehensive solution to the challenges faced by the newly independent country. Therefore, with a progressive outlook, KH. Ruhiat initiated the transformation of *Pesantren* Cipasung into a comprehensive or integrative *pesantren*.

Three years after Indonesia declared independence, in 1948, *Pesantren*, under the leadership of KH. Ruhiat, established the School for Islamic Education (Sekolah Pendidikan Islam or SPI). This school laid the foundation for the emergence of the First Islamic Middle School (Sekolah Menengah Islam Pertama or SMIP) and subsequently became the Islamic Junior High School (Sekolah Menengah Pertama Islam or SMPI). Five years later, the Islamic Elementary School (Sekolah Rakyat Islam or SRI) was founded, which later evolved into MI (Elementary Madrasah). Four years after that, in 1959, the Islamic Senior High School (Sekolah Menengah Atas Islam or SMAI) was established. Ten years later, the Islamic Higher Education Institution (Pendidikan Tinggi Islam or PTI) was founded. It is evident from this sequence of developments that KH. Ruhiat dedicated himself to building human resources through formal education within the framework of a traditional *pesantren*.

The establishment of these educational institutions marked a pivotal moment in the history of *Pesantren* Cipasung and KH. Ruhiat's enduring commitment to education. Under his leadership, *Pesantren* Cipasung not only preserved its traditional religious teachings but also embraced modern education to equip its students with the knowledge and skills necessary to navigate the challenges of the modern world. These institutions served as a platform for students to receive a well-rounded education that seamlessly integrated Islamic teachings with formal academic subjects, fostering a holistic approach to learning. Moreover, KH. Ruhiat's progressive vision extended beyond the confines of his educational institutions to encompass the broader community. He emphasized the pivotal role of education in nation-building and instilled a strong sense of social responsibility in

his students. His efforts were aimed at producing graduates who would not only excel academically but also emerge as leaders and contributors to the betterment of society.

KH. Ruhiat's multifaceted role in the struggle for Indonesia's freedom and education is noteworthy. He not only resisted Dutch colonialism through education and religious outreach but also played a significant role in shaping the intellectual and moral development of his students. His contributions extended to the broader community, where he promoted the values of patriotism, nationalism, and social responsibility. Through his visionary leadership, *Pesantren* Cipasung transformed into an educational institution that seamlessly combined traditional Islamic teachings with modern education, thereby laying the foundation for generations of students to become well-rounded individuals capable of making significant contributions to their nation's progress.

KH. Ruhiat can be regarded as having visionary thinking that transcended the norms of his time, especially in an era when the integration of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) and formal education was not yet a widespread concept. He was acutely aware of the need to contribute to the newly independent Indonesia's efforts to catch up with other nations. While his education was steeped in Islamic knowledge, his vision for advancing the nation found practical application within the *pesantren* he led. Moreover, KH. Ruhiat was not content with merely advancing *Pesantren* Cipasung; he actively encouraged and mentored alumni and colleagues to establish integrated *pesantren*-school systems. His continuous advocacy for the integration of formal schooling within the *pesantren* framework had a profound impact. The adage "Kyai intelek dan intelektual Kyai" (Intellectual Kyai and Kyai as Intellectuals) became a frequent mantra during lectures and discussions within Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. His significant influence on other Kyais (Islamic leaders) made the concept of Integrative *Pesantren* widely accepted among *pesantren* communities. Consequently, the symbiotic relationship between schools and *pesantren* flourished, resulting in Indonesian human resources who possessed both a deep understanding of religion and mastery of science and technology, fostering rapid development.

On November 28, 1977, all of KH. Ruhiat's activities came to a halt as he departed to meet his Creator. He left behind an invaluable legacy, marked by numerous achievements. His formal educational institutions, spanning from early childhood education to higher education, stand as evidence of his ability to discern the nation's need for future progress. The towering buildings of *Pesantren* Cipasung, complete with a grand mosque and eleven dormitories, bear testament to how the institution continued to evolve and innovate. The cadre of Kyais within and outside his family demonstrates KH. Ruhiat's success in nurturing the Indonesian populace.

### **The Central Role of KH. Ruhiat in the Establishment of the Network of Intellectual Scholars in West Java**

The construction of the network of intellectual scholars at *Pesantren* Cipasung can be attributed to three key components. These components intertwine within a structural framework, creating institutional affiliations within the Cipasung Alumni Family (*Keluarga Alumni Cipasung* or *KAC*) and its various derivative entities, including alumni associations associated with each dormitory, educational institution, or madrasah. This network extends to encompass the Alumni Association of Postgraduate Students (*Ikatan Keluarga Alumni Pascasarjana* or *IKAP IAIC*), among others. In addition to these institutional affiliations,

there exist emotional and cultural connections. However, the latter, which constitutes the primary focus of this study, poses challenges in terms of investigation and explication due to the absence of clear delineations. In contrast, KAC boasts defined alumni memberships and well-established leadership structures. The network's three constituent elements include genealogical lineage, matrimonial bonds, and scholarly lineage, each contributing to the establishment of an intellectual scholars' network revolving around the central figure of KH. Ruhiat.

Following are the descriptions of each of these components in the formation of the ulama network in West Java.

**Genealogical Lineage:** Genealogical lineage denotes a network established on the biological descendants of KH. Ruhiat. Two generations stand out as pivotal: the second and the third. The second generation comprises twenty-seven offspring from two wives, while the numerical count of the third generation is omitted unless specific individuals within it played a significant role in shaping the envisaged network of intellectual scholars. The expansive Cipasung family, in essence, predominantly gave rise to *kiyai* or *ajengan* for *Pesantren* Cipasung, refraining from the establishment of *pesantren* outside this ambit. Nevertheless, there are affiliations between three major *pesantren* and the extended family, extending beyond *Pesantren* Cipasung itself. In general, the extended family, particularly the second generation (comprising KH. Ruhiat's children), dedicated more effort to the advancement of *Pesantren* Cipasung. Consequently, genealogical lineage might seem less influential in terms of network expansiveness, but its role should not be undermined. The congregation at *Pesantren* Cipasung fortifies its core, rendering it more resilient and cohesive.

Nevertheless, to gain a comprehensive understanding of the foundation or underpinning of the Network of Intellectual Scholars, particularly its core component, the extended family of *Pesantren* Cipasung, an exploration of the educational system within *Pesantren* Cipasung is imperative. This examination will provide valuable insights into the formation of this network, thereby establishing a resilient network framework. At a minimum, several components of the network framework warrant analysis:

*Firstly*, the pattern of core dormitories. Dormitories, referred to as "*kobong*" in the Sundanese *pesantren* context, constitute a fundamental element of *pesantren* institutions. As Dhofier outlines in "Tradition in *Pesantren*," a *pesantren* identity is characterized by the presence of five main components: *kiyai* (religious scholars), mosque, kitab kuning (traditional Islamic texts), dormitories, and madrasah (educational institution). *Pesantren* Cipasung boasts 23 (twenty-three) integrated dormitories, all of which are an integral part of *Pesantren* Cipasung. Within these 23 (twenty-three) dormitories, four (four) hold the status of core dormitories, with their absolute ownership vested in *Pesantren* Cipasung. Anyone assuming leadership at *Pesantren* Cipasung automatically inherits the responsibility of nurturing and serving as the primary caretaker of these dormitories. The aforementioned core dormitories are Asrama Bahagia, Asrama Nugraha, Asrama Selamat, and Asrama Sejahtera.

*Secondly*, the pattern of satellite dormitories. Satellite dormitories are established by the extended Cipasung family, whether through biological or ideological connections. Two dormitories were founded based on ideological affiliations, devoid of biological ties. These dormitories cater to senior santri who have made significant and enduring contributions to the advancement of *Pesantren* Cipasung. The aforementioned dormitories include

Asrama al-Muna, under the direct supervision of Nyai Hj. Suwa, who played a pivotal role in aiding KH. Ruhiat during the initial development of *Pesantren* Cipasung, and Asrama al-Tawakal, overseen by KH. Dodo, a senior santri appointed by Nyai Hj. Siti Aisyah and KH. A Bunyamin Ruhit.

In principle, the establishment of these dormitories follows a pattern akin to the founding of *pesantren* in general. Given the multitude of santri encompassing various age groups, interests, and affiliations, these dormitories are established while adhering to and aligning with the broader *pesantren* policies. The caretakers, who also assume the roles of dormitory owners, form an integral part of *Pesantren* Cipasung. However, it should be noted that not all policies they adopt necessarily coincide with the overarching leadership of the *pesantren*. Consequently, a dual system of regulations exists, encompassing both *pesantren*-wide directives and dormitory-specific rules. Santri residing in core dormitories, as expounded in the initial point, are automatically under the guidance of the *pesantren* leadership, though specific responsibilities are delegated to a “Dewan Ustadz” (Council of Religious Scholars) appointed by the *pesantren* leadership. The complete list of dormitories and their respective caretakers is provided in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Dormitory Names and Satellite Dormitory Caretakers

No	Dormitory Caretakers	Dormitory Names
1	K.H. A. Bunyamin Ruhiat, Drs, M.SI	Al-Uswah I & II Dormitory
2	K.H. Acep Adang Ruhiat, Drs, M.Si	RB I Dormitory
3	K.H. Koko Komarudin Ruhiat	Ar-Ruhiyah Dormitory
4	Hj. Neneng Nurlela, M.Pd.I	Asrama RB II & Al - Jihad Dormitory
5	Hj. Nunuy Nurhayati, Dra.	Al-Istiqomah (Pa & Pi) Dormitories
6	Hj. N. Ida Nurhalida, M. Pd	Esa Lama Dormitory
7	Hj. Enung Nursaidah R, M. Pd	Esa Mandiri Dormitory
8	Hj. Ai Rohmayati, Dra	Al-Rohmaniyah Dormitory
9	H. Dedi Purnama Alam	Al-Amin Putri Dormitory
10	Ust. Asep Taufiqurrahman, S.Ag	Al-Muna Putri Dormitory
11	K.H. Abdul Khobir, MT	Al-Jabar Dormitory
12	KH. Agus Saepul Bahri, S.Pd.I.	Al-Bahriyah Pa & Pi Dormitories
13	H. Dendi Yudha S., S.Ag, M.Ag	Al-Uswah III Dormitory
14	Aj. Dodo Ahmad Syuhada	Al-Tawakal Dormitory
15	H. Muhammad Rizki	Al-Mubtadiin Dormitory



Meanwhile, the core dormitories overseen by the Council of Religious Scholars can be observed in the following table:

Table 2. Dormitory Names and Core Dormitory Caretakers

No.	Core Dormitory Caretakers	Dormitory Names
1	Ust. A. Zenal M, S. Ag, M.SI	Selamet Dormitory
2	Ust. Wa'idin, S.Sos.I., M.Pd.I.	Bahagia Dormitory
3	Ust. Deni Muhammad A, ST	Sejahtera Dormitory
4	Ust. Agus Rahmatul W, Drs	Nugraha Dormitory

When analyzing the composition of caretakers and ownership, it becomes apparent that the caregiving dynamics influencing the network of intellectual scholars at *Pesantren* Cipasung are oriented toward satellite dormitories established by their respective caretakers. At a minimum, two generations are actively engaged in caregiving responsibilities:

The second generation, comprised of the biological offspring of KH. Ruhiat, originating from both *Emih Kulon* and *Emih Wetan*. Interestingly, some of these caregiving roles are assumed by KH. Ruhiat's wife, who is a daughter-in-law, reflecting considerations related to their sons and daughters.

The third generation, consisting of the grandchildren of KH. Ruhiat, whose parents are no longer present. This phenomenon underscores the idea that the nurturing of ulama continues through caregiving patterns passed down through generations. Notably, individuals from this third generation have, in some instances, established new dormitories to attract fresh santri. This occurs even when their parents are still alive, encompassing both biological grandchildren and those related through marriage.

In light of these observations, it can be reasonably inferred that the foundation of the intellectual scholars' network at *Pesantren* Cipasung is exceptionally robust and systematically structured, yielding a substantial network influence. Each dormitory maintains its distinct network, collectively contributing to the establishment of an all-encompassing network consolidated under the overarching umbrella of *Pesantren* Cipasung.

**Genealogical Marriage:** This term denotes a network established through the practice of marrying individuals within the genealogical lineage to external parties possessing scholarly competence. This can be categorized as sociological genealogy, where marriage and wedlock serve as effective mechanisms for constructing a more robust network with emotional connections reminiscent of genealogical lineage. This pattern was extensively utilized in the historical Nusantara kingdoms and has also been applied to scholarly networks worldwide to create more extensive and cohesive networks. The implications of these marriages are profound, contributing significantly to the dissemination of teachings, traditions, values, and, at the very least, the establishment of a scholarly "dynasty."

Several reasons underscore the prominence of marriage as the primary pattern in the cultivation of scholars and the network: (1) The first rationale is that marriages between the offspring of scholars naturally yield scholars. Historically, the "blue-blooded" lineage of

scholars tends to produce scholars, with at least one offspring among several pursuing this path, even though instances of unsuccessful disciples exist. (2) The second rationale involves marrying into the senior santri, particularly when the scholar has a daughter. A *kiyai* (religious scholar) will arrange a marriage between his daughter and a senior santri to ensure the continuity of leadership within his *pesantren*. It becomes evident that the *kiyai* aims to have sons or sons-in-law who will carry forward the *pesantren* legacy. Even when male heirs exist, the *kiyai* will still seek a suitable senior santri to marry his daughter. This strategic decision serves to both sustain and advance the *pesantren* after the *kiyai's* eventual passing. *Pesantren* Cipasung conforms to these two primary motivations.

Occurrences of such marriages among the children of outside *Pesantren* Cipasung are not uncommon. Similarly, the practice of marrying a daughter to a senior santri to ensure the *pesantren* continuity can be observed within *Pesantren* Cipasung. Additional motivations, such as marrying into entrepreneurial, governmental, or influential families, are also encountered, irrespective of the individuals' scholarly backgrounds and *pesantren* affiliations.

Marriages within *Pesantren* Cipasung are instrumental in facilitating the *pesantren* growth and play a fundamental role in the network of intellectual scholars. These marriages give rise to two categories of intellectual scholars. Firstly, there are those scholars closely associated with the *pesantren* itself, such as KH. Saefulmillah, KH. Khobir, and Nyai Hj. Neneng Nurlela, who have made significant contributions to the *pesantren* development. Secondly, there are intellectual scholars engaged in broader educational activities conducted by the *pesantren*, including Nyai Hj. Imas, KH. Dendi Yuda, Nyai Hj. Pipit, Nyai Hj. Tuti, and Drs. KH. Mansur M.SI. All of these scholars have played substantial roles in expanding the network of *Pesantren* Cipasung.

Another strategy that has contributed to the expansion of the *Pesantren* network and the strengthening of familial bonds involves marriages between the extended Cipasung family and families outside the *Pesantren* Cipasung community. This strategy emulates the Integrative *Pesantren* model employed by *Pesantren* Cipasung itself. It should be understood as a deliberate strategy employed by KH. Ruhiat to propagate his vision of building an integrative *pesantren* aimed at enhancing both the quantity and quality of integration between *pesantren* and formal educational institutions. These marriages outside *Pesantren* Cipasung can be categorized into two groups: the core family category, consisting of direct descendants of KH. Ruhiat as the second generation, and the second-tier family category, comprising the grandchildren of KH. Ruhiat who establish *pesantren* and educational institutions beyond the core family, thereby creating a more extensive network that extends beyond the core family itself.

**Scholarly Genealogy:** This term refers to a network founded on knowledge rather than biological lineage, but rather on ideological affinity. It can be described as ideological genealogy, where the teachings imparted to santri create a connected lineage, and the bond is forged not through biological lineage but through ideological succession. While blood relationships may vary, knowledge and the chain of scholarly lineage serve as more potent cohesive factors than biological ties. In the context of the studied *Pesantren* Cipasung network, this form of scholarly genealogy holds significant value, particularly within the broader framework of West Java's nomenclature. Consequently, the scholarly genealogical

network significantly influences the network of intellectual scholars, with biology still remaining a fundamental component.

The third facet of the intellectual scholar network pattern, resulting from KH. Ruhiat's ideas and the educational system of *Pesantren* Cipasung, is the network formed by *Pesantren* Cipasung alumni based on their scholarly or ideological affiliations. These alumni play a strategic role in advancing KH. Ruhiat's concepts, especially regarding the development of an integrative *pesantren*. They adopt and adapt the integrative *pesantren* model of Cipasung by making necessary adjustments.

Within this context, there are at least three models of integrative *pesantren* that alumni have employed as templates in shaping the concept of an integrative *pesantren*: (1) The pure integrative *pesantren* model, closely aligned with Cipasung; (2) *Pesantren* that modify *Pesantren* Cipasung to meet their specific needs, as exemplified by *Pesantren* Mathla'ul Khoer Cintapada. Nearly all the major concepts discussed earlier are implemented in *Pesantren* Mathla'ul Khoer, with minor modifications such as the inclusion of tahfidz (Quran memorization) and a heightened focus on Arabic and English; and (3) *Pesantren* that draw inspiration from various *pesantren*, leading to unique institutions that may not strictly adhere to all five principles of *Pesantren* Cipasung.

From the network of intellectual scholars produced by *Pesantren* Cipasung, it can be deduced that the ideological or scholarly genealogical network is categorized into two groups: (1) *Pesantren* alumni who establish *pesantren* following either the pure or modified model; and (2) Alumni from formal educational institutions such as junior high schools, high schools, religious schools, and colleges (Cipasung University), who can be formally recognized as Cipasung alumni. This recognition is also acknowledged by KH. Ruhiat, who stated, "Sok sanajan ngaji sapoe, anjen diaku sebagai santri Cipasung." (Personal interview with KH. A. Bunyamin, June 21, 2021). However, alumni status is governed by specific mechanisms. To illustrate this network, several *pesantren* established by alumni who share an ideological scholarly connection with Cipasung, beyond scholarly lineage, while adopting the integrative *pesantren* model of *Pesantren* Cipasung, are mentioned. The list provided serves as a representative sample, considering the numerous Cipasung alumni dispersed throughout Indonesia. These references to *pesantren* aim to demonstrate that these alumni have collectively formed a network that serves as a fundamental source for constructing the intellectual scholar network concept of *Pesantren* Cipasung. A knowledge-centric network in knowledge transmission holds paramount significance. The more this network is utilized for knowledge dissemination, the greater the potential influence of the *kiyai* (scholarly leader) within it (Jamil et al., 2019).

The network of scholars established by the intellectual scholar network of *Pesantren* Cipasung has significant ramifications for both *Pesantren* Cipasung and the broader Muslim community. These impacts can be categorized as follows:

*Firstly*, it serves as a means of affirming the identity of intellectual *santri* and scholars within the *pesantren*. These individuals represent a community of scholars rooted in the traditional *pesantren* milieu, equipped to engage across various facets of life. Their ability to interact effectively with bureaucrats and technocrats stems from their belief in possessing a recognized network of scholars with a widely acknowledged identity. This perception is further consolidated through the presence of various organizations that provide platforms for the realization of this community of *santri*, including the Indonesian Ulema Council

(Majelis Ulama Indonesia), the Indonesian Mosque Council (Dewan Masjid Indonesia), the Institute for the Development of Quran Recitation (Lembaga Pengembangan Tilawatil Quran), the Islamic Boarding School Forum (Forum Pondok *Pesantren*), among others.

Secondly, the network of intellectual scholars' functions as a reservoir of knowledgeable human resources for *pesantren*. Given that this network of scholars is cultivated and educated to become scholars under diverse conditions, the acquisition of the role of traditional scholars is considered one of their core competencies. Despite *Pesantren Cipasung's* identity as an integrative *pesantren*, aspiring to assume the role of a traditional *pesantren* Kyai (scholarly leader) remains a primary aspiration for students at *Pesantren Cipasung*. As they immerse themselves in the educational environment of *Pesantren Cipasung*, these prospective *kiyai* are exposed to various *pesantren* models, allowing them to develop a multifaceted perspective. Even if they eventually become traditional *pesantren kiyai*, they possess comparative knowledge of alternative educational approaches beyond the traditional *pesantren* setting. This breadth of understanding is crucial for facilitating a constructive dialogue between the realms of Islamic education and general education. Furthermore, their heightened comprehension of educational matters equips these *kiyai* to be adaptable and informed human resources (Pribadi, 2014).

## Conclusion

This study underscores the profoundly significant role played by KH. Ruhiat in the resistance against Dutch colonialism and in the cultivation of nationalist consciousness within Indonesian society. Through educational initiatives and religious outreach, he effectively mobilized the populace in the struggle for Indonesian independence. KH. Ruhiat also assumed a pivotal role in the establishment of the network of intellectual scholars in West Java, particularly within *Pesantren Cipasung*. This network evolved through genealogical lineage, genealogical marriage, and scholarly genealogy, with the core dormitory and satellite dormitory patterns emerging as integral elements in its formation. Marriages involving the offspring of scholars, senior santri, and individuals possessing scholarly competence proved to be an efficacious means of constructing the network of intellectual scholars. These matrimonial connections played a pivotal role in expanding the network of intellectual scholars while reinforcing the position of the *pesantren* as a hub for learning and the dissemination of Islam.

The presence of *Pesantren Cipasung*, established by KH. Ruhiat, assumed a critical role in human resource development through formal education, spanning from early childhood to higher education levels. KH. Ruhiat espoused a progressive vision of integrating *pesantren* with formal schooling, thereby nurturing a robust and high-caliber human resource pool. The network of scholars, exemplified by KH. Ruhiat and Pondok *Pesantren Cipasung* in Tasikmalaya, provides a tangible illustration of how scholars in the Indonesian archipelago not only preserved and propagated Islamic teachings but also played instrumental roles in social, political, and educational spheres. Their contributions to the formation of Islamic civilization in Indonesia are immeasurable, and their legacy endures across various facets of life in this region.

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