

Authority and Ulama In Aceh: The Role of Dayah Ulama In Contemporary Aceh Religious Practices

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Abstract: Recently, the traditionalist ulama Dayah has been questioned in Aceh. With the arrival of religious groups with a Wahhabi-Salafi pattern, Acehese Dayah ulama has lost its authority as agents or religious figures in Acehese society. This study focuses on the authority of the Dayah ulama and its role in contemporary Acehese spiritual practice. This study aims to see the authority of the Dayah ulama amid the development of Wahhabi-Salafi understanding in contemporary Aceh. By conducting interviews with the Dayah ulama group, Wahhabi-Salafi groups, and related government institutions in the province of Aceh and using qualitative data analysis, the researcher found that the role of the Dayah ulama was still vital in influencing the religious practice of contemporary Acehese society as evidenced by the community's rejection of Salafist religious understanding. Fundamentalism developed in Aceh because it was not by understanding the Dayah ulama, namely the doctrine of Ahlunnah Waljamaah. In addition, there is support from the Aceh government for the religion of the Dayah ulama, with evidence by issuing a circular regarding the obligation to worship according to the teachings and understanding of syafi'iyah in the province of Aceh.

Keywords: Authority of Dayah Ulama, Ahlunnah Waljamaah Doctrine, Wahabi-Salafi

A. Introduction

The Dayah Ulama has an essential role in the life and religion of the Acehese people. Since the time of the Aceh sultanate, the role of the ulama has been prominent as a judge who makes decisions based on Islamic law (*qadhi*).¹ At this time, Aceh was also known as an area that adhered to *Ahlunnah Waljamaah* as the official trust and four schools of law in fiqh. After that, during the independence period, especially after implementing Islamic law based on the law,

¹ Gazali, "Hubungan Umara Dan Ulama Dalam Membentuk Kehidupan Sosio-Relijius Di Aceh Darussalam Masa Sultan Iskandar Muda," *Jurnal Penelitian Hukum De Jure* 16, no. 2 (2016): 173-85.

the ulama institutions were also given the authority to issue fatwas and considerations regarding government, development, community development, and Islamic economics.² Thus, the ulama's role in Acehnese society's history is not only as leaders and teachers in religion. However, ulama also plays a role in various lines of community life, including politics.³

The authority of Aceh's ulema has recently been questioned with the development of Salafi-fundamentalist religious understanding in Aceh in the 2004s. In that period, there was a post-tsunami in which various countries came to help recover the condition of Aceh and its people, especially those related to religious understanding. The ideology of Wahhabi-Salafi in Aceh was unavoidable after the return of several Wabahi-Salafi clerics to Aceh. The Wahhabis think they are the bearers of the Da'wah of Tawhid and Sunnah. This jargon has made them feel that their understanding represents real Islam.⁴

In historical records, much earlier, around the 1939s, Wahhabi-Salafi's understanding had entered Aceh through the organization formed by Tengku Muhammad Daud Beureueh, namely the All Aceh Ulama Association (PUSA).⁵ According to Khairil Miswar,⁶ if examined carefully, PUSA religious thought has many similarities (not to mention identical) with the ideas developed by Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab in Saudi Arabia in the 18th century. Based on research that Djami'ah IAIN Ar-Raniry around the 70s, it was stated that Tgk. Hasballah Indrapuri, a cleric in Aceh Besar, uses the Book of Tawhid by Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Wahab to teach monotheism to the people.

² Abidin Nurdin et al, "The Role of Ulama in the Application of Islamic Syariah in Aceh: A Study of Aceh Ulama Council's Fatwa on Apostasies and Heresies," *Mazahib* 17, no. 1 (2018): 46–68, <https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v17i1.1022>.

³ Nurlaila Nurlaila and Zulihafnani Zulihafnani, "Pengaruh Fatwa Ulama Dayah Dalam Masyarakat Aceh," *Substantia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 21, no. 2 (2019): 93–103, <https://doi.org/10.22373/substantia.v21i2.3742>.

⁴ Hasbi Anwar, "Politik Luar Negeri Arab Saudi Dan Ajaran Salafi-Wahabi Di Indonesia," *Jisiera: The Journal of Islamic Studies and International Relations* 1, no. August (2016): 15–30.

⁵ Bambang Satriya, Suwirta, and Ayi Budi Santoso, "TEUNGKU MUHAMMAD DAUD BEUREUEH DAN REVOLUSI DI ACEH (1945-1950)," *Factum: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Pendidikan Sejarah* 7, no. 1 (2018): 27–42.

⁶ Khairil Miswar, "Aceh Dan Wahabi, Sebuah Wacana Menarik," *Hidayatullah.Com*, 2015, <https://www.hidayatullah.com/artikel/opini/read/2015/03/25/67329/aceh-dan-wahabi-sebuah-wacana-menarik-1.html>.

The contestation between the *Ahlussunnah Waljamaah* with Wahhabis in Aceh briefly dimmed in the 90s, where – along with the popularity of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), the "hegemony" of traditional movements was getting stronger in Aceh. However, after the tsunami on December 26, 2004, and the peace between the central government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in 2005 after the conflict began in 1976 – 2005, the issue of Wahhabism re-emerged along with the increasing number of different schools of understanding about Islam entering Aceh. The Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah group indicated it as a recitation group with Wahhabism. The climax occurred in 2015 when thousands of masses from the Acehese Dayah ulama held a large demonstration against the presence of Wahhabis in Aceh and urged the Acehese government to immediately implement the Qanun Jinayat, which was ratified by the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPRA) in September 2014.⁷

The position of the Ulama in Acehese society is exceptional because the Acehese consider the ulama to have a strong religious sense, and even the role of the Ulama in Acehese society is far beyond the part of the Sultan himself. The people of Aceh believe that the ulama is the heirs of the Prophet, and based on this belief, the people of Aceh respect the fatwa of the ulama more than the rules formulated by the government or the Sultan.⁸

Talking about the authority of the ulama in Aceh, how many researchers have researched the ulama's power in Aceh, their role in political issues and social problems in Acehese society. Abd. Wahid saw that ulama's role in Aceh's State was experiencing ups and downs. During the Old Order, Acehese clerics did not have a significant role in the government. It was different during the reformation period. The part of the ulama did indeed have a considerable influence. However, there are times when there is a significant shift. For example, many ulama are involved in politics.⁹

⁷ Nurdin Hasan, "Ribuan Massa Tolak Paham Wahabi Di Aceh," Benarnews.org, 2015, <https://www.benarnews.org/indonesian/wahabi-09102015190337.html>.

⁸ Tengku Muhammad Jamil, "Overcoming the Social Problems Faced by Contemporary Acehese through the Social Political Role of Acehese Clerics (Muslim Scholars)," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 11, no. 1 (2019): 213–33, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-03-2018-0047>.

⁹ Abd Wahid, "Peran Ulama Dalam Negara Di Aceh," *Madania* XVII, no. 1 (2013): 85–92, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/287227872.pdf>.

Muhammad Chabibi also saw that the role of the ulama as an institution had long emerged since the excellent relationship between the ulama and the umara (government) during the Aceh kingdom. At first, the Acehnese scholars institutionally formed the All Aceh Ulama Center (PUSA), then changed to the Aceh Consultative Council (MPU), changed again due to levelling from the centre so that it became the Aceh Special Region Ulama Council (MUDIA) and experienced suspended animation during the New Order era. Then it was revived by both the central and provincial governments during the Reformation period. Its name was returned to the Ulema Consultative Council (MPU) as a privilege given by the Republic of Indonesia to Aceh by restoring the role of Ulama or Tengku Dayah.¹⁰

In contrast to the opinion above, in Nurlaila's view,¹¹ the Dayah ulama is still very much respected by the people of Aceh. The fatwa of the Dayah ulama becomes a binding fatwa and is obeyed because the public does not know about the clerical institutions in the government, such as the MPU. Meanwhile, Muhammad Sahlan argued that there were four essential roles of ulama in Aceh during the reconciliation process in post-conflict Aceh. *First*, the spread of religious knowledge. *Second*, as a legal decision maker that comes from Islamic teachings, especially those related to the reconciliation process. *Third*, as a mediator between communities in conflict. *Fourth*, Acehnese ulama acted as spiritual figures for the two warring parties.¹²

According to Rasyidin,¹³ the existence of Acehnese ulama is the government's acknowledgement of the Dayah institution in Aceh. The existence of the Dayah institution is mutually beneficial for the government and the Dayah ulama. For the government, the existence of the Dayah institution is used by the government as a mediator between the government and the community. On the

¹⁰ Muhammad Chabibi, "Disfungsi Agensi Politik Ulama Di Aceh (Kajian Struktural Dalam Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama)," *Al-Tsiqoh: Islamic Economy and Da'wa Journal* 1, no. 2 (2016): 1–13.

¹¹ Nurlaila and Zulihafnani, "Pengaruh Fatwa Ulama Dayah Dalam Masyarakat Aceh."

¹² Muhammad Sahlan et al., "Peran Ulama Dalam Proses Rekonsiliasi Pasca Konflik Di Aceh," *Society* 7, no. 2 (2019): 271–88.

¹³ Rasyidin, "The Social Political Role of Muslim Scholars (Ulamas) in the Acehnese Society," *Journal of Global Responsibility* 12, no. 1 (2021): 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JGR-10-2018-0040>.

other hand, for the Dayah ulama, the existence of the Dayah can be used as a consolidation of their power for the benefit of the people.

Based on all the research discussed above, it can be said that the researchers put more emphasis on the relationship between the Dayah ulama and the state or between the ulama and the umara (government) rather than the relationship between the Dayah ulama and the community. Previous research is more narrative and more focused on historical approaches. As a result, this research has not discussed the condition of the ulama in contemporary society. Therefore, this research is expected to pay more attention to the modern perspective with the ulama authority approach and the social definition paradigm, which aims to understand and view the contemporary Acehnese society on the role of the ulama in the socio-political structure of Acehnese society. This study was conducted to test the hypothesis that ulama is considered one of the social groups with great privileges in Aceh. The right of ulama in Aceh's history began with the establishment of the Islamic sultanate in Aceh until now. Even during the New Order era, the ulama was marginalized, but the contemporary Acehnese still recognized the authority of the Acehnese ulama.¹⁴

This study aims to analyze contemporary Acehnese people's perspective on the socio-political role of the ulama in solving problems in Acehnese society. This study wants to see whether the position of ulama is still dominant in contemporary Acehnese society, as happened in the pre-independence period until the era of the social revolution in the early 1970s. Therefore, the role of the ulama in social politics is exciting to study, especially Acehnese ulama, who take part directly in Aceh's socio-cultural and socio-political world. Based on some of the phenomena that have been described previously, the fundamental problem to be discussed in this research is how the role of the Dayah ulama, who understands Ahlusunnah Waljamaah towards the religious practice of the Acehnese people amid the development of Salafist-fundamentalist spiritual understanding at this time and how the Aceh government supports the religion of the Dayah ulama.

¹⁴ Jamil, "Overcoming the Social Problems Faced by Contemporary Acehnese through the Social Political Role of Acehnese Clerics (Muslim Scholars)."

The research that will be carried out is the authority of the ulama towards contemporary Acehnese society. Using the theory of authority, it is hoped that the study can provide a clear picture of the ulama's power in contemporary Acehnese society. In addition, in understanding the condition of contemporary Acehnese society, this research will use several theories that are considered relevant. Based on these theoretical reasons, this study will analyze the actual situation and socio-political background that encourages social groups in Aceh to continue to place the authority of the Dayah ulama in a dominant position.

B. The Authority of Dayah Ulama in Aceh

In a theoretical framework, discussion of authority—in the sociological dimension—always refers to Max Weber. Authority can be understood as the power to influence and control other people. Authority is not owned by anyone but by some people who deserve it.¹⁵ However, in Weber's conception, authority is not that simple. Forever authority is intertwined with legitimacy. Therefore, Weber constructs authority into three forms; traditional authority, legal-rational authority, and charisma. In simple terms, it can be called formal authority if it gains legitimacy based on established beliefs in a tradition.

At the same time, legal-rational authority is an authority that gains legitimacy based on the legality of the rules for issuing orders, such as the Bureaucracy.¹⁶ On the other hand, it has also received legitimacy from those who exercise authority according to tradition. In other words, traditional authority is based on the tradition's claim that there are virtues put forward by the leader and gain the followers' trust, thus creating a system of relationships (*personal approach*). The leader in this system is not superior but a private master.

From the authoritative theory above, it is clear that the Dayah ulama are traditional and legal-rational authority figures because, in the view of the Acehnese people, the Dayah ulama are public figures who are responsible and

¹⁵ Ahmad Mushonnif, "Fragmentasi Otoritas Antar Organisasi Pemerintah Dan Organisasi Keagamaan Dalam Penentuan Awal Bulan Islam," *Al-Hukama: The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Family Law* 03, no. 02 (2013): 165–79, <http://jurnalafh.uinsby.ac.id/index.php/alhukuma/article/view/242>.

¹⁶ Effendi Chairi, "Ketidadaan Otoritas Terpusat Dalam Fenomena Kontemporer Di Indonesia," *SANGKĒP: Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan* 2, no. 2 (2019): 197–215, <https://doi.org/10.20414/sangkep.v2i2.666>.

always provide advice and fatwas on every problem faced by the Acehnese people.¹⁷ The existence of Dayah clerics is still very much considered by the people of Aceh. Public recognition of the Dayah ulama in Aceh is influenced by several factors, including, *first*, the existence of historical legitimacy. Historically, the position and role of the ulama in Acehnese society were quite central in the past. The involvement of Acehnese clerics in leading Muslims against the invaders formed strong charisma, influence, and trust from the community for the ulama. In addition, the gait of ulama in the history of religious education in Aceh is the seed that encourages the formation of their historical legitimacy. *Second* sociological legitimacy. Ulama are a social elite group with a strong legitimacy base, often even stronger than the government.¹⁸ Through their activities that are in direct contact with the community at the lower level, ulama has a significant influence on society. Ulama can be regarded as a community leader in the field of religion. Thus, for most Acehnese, obedience to the ulama manifests as obedience to the Prophet.¹⁹ *Third*, Juridical Legitimacy. The juridical legitimacy of the Dayah ulama organized into the Ulema Consultative Council (MPU) has the task of drafting laws relating to religious activities in Aceh. The MPU has juridical legitimacy in its duties and functions as a government partner institution, including participating in legal legislation.²⁰

Throughout history, the position of the ulama occupied an important part, especially during the 13th-century Samudera Pasai kingdom. At that time, the ulama played a role in the spread of Islam, so the Samudra Pasai kingdom became the centre of the Islamization process in Malay lands, especially Aceh.²¹ Likewise, during the Islamic kingdom of Aceh in the 17th century, Acehnese scholars under the command of the ulama expelled the Dutch invaders from the Veranda of Mecca. The Acehnese clerics waged a Holy War through mosques throughout Aceh every Friday sermon. The ulema's struggle is depicted in Hikayat prang Sabil

¹⁷ Rasyidin, "The Social Political Role of Muslim Scholars (Ulamas) in the Acehnese Society."

¹⁸ Abidin Nurdin, "Reposisi Peran Ulama Dalam Penerapan Syariat Islam Diaceh," *Al-Qalam* 18, no. 1 (2016): 54–65, <https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v18i1.244>.

¹⁹ Abidin Murdin, "Ulama Dan Proses Legislasi: Mengkaji Legitimasi Lembaga Ulama Aceh," in *Serambi Mekkah Yang Berubah*, ed. Arskal Salam and Adlin Sila (Tangerang: Pustaka Alvabet, 2010).

²⁰ Nurlaila and Zulihafnani, "Pengaruh Fatwa Ulama Dayah Dalam Masyarakat Aceh."

²¹ Yusny Saby, "The Ulama in Aceh: A Brief Historical Survey," *Studia Islamika* 8, no. 1 (2001): 1–54.

(*The Story of the Holy War*), a poem that states that expelling the Dutch from the land of Rencong is the duty of every Muslim and declares it a jihad.²² Therefore, the existence of ulama was essential for the kingdom at that time, especially when the Aceh kingdom reached its peak in the 17th century. In this century, the kingdom of Aceh became the centre of the birth of prominent scholars of the archipelago, such as Hamzah Fansuri, Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani, Nuruddin al-Raniry, and Abdurrauf al-Singkili. They produced terrific intellectual works and encouraged the development of intellectual traditions in the archipelago. Even more than that, the ulama during the Aceh kingdom also occupied important positions in the royal structure, such as Syaikhul Islam, a level position below the Sultan. Through this institution, the ulama became the king's companions who helped determine every critical and strategic decision in the kingdom.²³

The political role of Acehnese clerics became increasingly prominent when the Acehnese were fighting against Dutch colonialism. With the concept of jihad, fighting in the way of Allah with the reward of heaven, the scholars became a symbol of the struggle against the invaders. The concept of jihad is a holy war that is not only carried out to defend Aceh but also against those who commit crimes. In this context, the ulama played the role of formulator and, at the same time, gave meaning to the Acehnese struggle against the Dutch. The central part of the ulama continued into the early 20th century. When modernization began to enter the lives of the people of Aceh, the ulama acted as agents of Islamic renewal. The ulama strives to empower and develop Aceh's Muslims through the All Aceh Ulama Association (PUSA), founded in 1938. PUSA officially aims to create a modern Islamic education system in Aceh with a vision not to return to Aceh's "golden age" but to welcome a "glorious future" where all Muslims will be united through religious law.²⁴

In the early days of the New Order, the role of Aceh's ulama was slightly weakened due to President Soeharto's policy of state-centred economic development. Even when there was a conflict between GAM and the central government, the role of the ulama had only one choice between neutral and pro-

²² Edward Aspinall, "From Islamism to Nationalism in Aceh, Indonesia," *Nations and Nationalism* 13, no. 2 (2007): 245–63, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2007.00277.x>.

²³ Sahlan et al., "Peran Ulama Dalam Proses Rekonsiliasi Pasca Konflik Di Aceh."

²⁴ Saby, "The Ulama in Aceh: A Brief Historical Survey."

state, except for those in the area of GAM's base. According to Barter,²⁵ Pro-Indonesian ulama, at that time, could be divided into career clerics (who earned their living through state organizations) and Dayah ulemas (ulama who taught religious knowledge in the Dayahs). Career clerics are scholars who openly support the state, and included in this category are legislative officials, universities, political bodies, and state-sponsored clerical organizations. The Indonesian government often instructs these career clerics always to support government policies and carry out propaganda against GAM. In this condition, the authority of the ulama began to weaken because they were involved in practical politics. Most of the ulama are members of political parties (PPP: United Development Party) and several newly formed institutions during the New Order era (MPU: Ulema Consultative Assembly). In other words, ulama are only positioned as parties outside the framework of the ongoing conflict in Aceh.

Although during the conflict period, the authority of the ulama weakened, it did not mean that the Acehese ulama did not play a role at all in the social dynamics that took place in Aceh. According to Abidin Nurdin,²⁶ the Acehese ulema are institutionally always present in the lives of the Acehese. The authority of Aceh's ulama has not changed. It's just that it's not as significant as it was in the past. During the conflict, the Dayah remained, and the activities of the santri or student with the ulama continued.

At the time of independence until the New Order era, the authority of the ulama weakened a little because they had to follow government programs. The ulama's attitude follows the motto "ulama is the companion of umara," which is always echoed in the midst of society. The slogan succeeded in changing the public's perception of the authority of the ulama in the midst of society. According to Tengku Muhammad Jamil,²⁷ the shift in the role of the ulama in society was caused by the transition from traditional to modern society. Therefore, the shift in the role of ulama is not strange and seems natural. Acehese clerics used to be

²⁵ Shane Joshua Barter, *Ulama, the State, & War: Islam-State Relations in the Aceh Conflict* (Washington: University of Washington, 2008).

²⁶ Nurdin et al., "The Role of Ulama in the Application of Islamic Syariah in Aceh: A Study of Aceh Ulama Council's Fatwa on Apostasies and Heresies."

²⁷ Jamil, "Overcoming the Social Problems Faced by Contemporary Acehese through the Social Political Role of Acehese Clerics (Muslim Scholars)."

considered not only spiritual leaders but also intellectuals with expertise in agriculture, trade, health, and the military.

In this contemporary century, the religious authority of the *Dayah ulama* has been disturbed by the emergence of Wahhabis-Salafi- ideology in Aceh. The re-emergence of this Salafi-Fundamentalist understanding was marked by the increasing number of recitation groups which the *Dayah ulama* group later indicated as recitation groups with Wahhabism. The climax occurred in 2015 when thousands of masses from the Acehnese *Dayah* clerics held a large demonstration against the presence of Wahabi-Salafi in Aceh and urged the Aceh government to immediately implement the *Qanun Jinayat*, which was ratified by the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPRA) in September 2014.²⁸ Another case occurred when the people of Aceh rejected Ustadz Firanda Andirja Abidin at the Al-Fitrah Mosque in Ketapang Village, Banda Aceh because it was suspected that he was a Wahhabi.²⁹ Another case occurred when the people of Aceh rejected Ustadz Firanda Andirja Abidin at the Al-Fitrah Mosque in Ketapang Village, Banda Aceh because it was suspected that he was a Wahhabi³⁰ and the burning of the Muhammadiyah mosque in Bireun district.³¹

From the several cases above, it can be concluded that the existence of Wahabi-Salafi is still not accepted by the people of Aceh and proves that the *Dayah ulama* is the holder of religious authority in Aceh is still very strong. Theologically, most Acehnese adheres to the *Ahlusunnah waljamaah* doctrine that the *ulama* developed and occupies the forefront in spreading the values of unity in Islam and upholding a culture that always refers to Islamic history and local traditions.

²⁸ Hasan, "Ribuan Massa Tolak Paham Wahabi Di Aceh."

²⁹ Media Indonesia, "Massa Tolak Pengajian Ustaz Firanda Andirja Di Aceh" (Mediaindonesia.com, 2019), <https://mediaindonesia.com/nusantara/241484/massa-tolak-pengajian-ustaz-firanda-andirja-di-aceh>.

³⁰ Muhammad Saleh, "Dituduh Wahabi Ustadz Farhan Ditolak Ceramah Di RSUDZA Banda Aceh," Modusaceh.com, 2018, <https://modusaceh.co/news/ustadz-farhan-ditolak-ceramah-di-rsudza-banda-aceh/index.html>.

³¹ Nirzalin and Yogi Febriandi, "Aswaja Mobilization And Intolerance : Sub-State Ideology , Religious Vigilantism in Aceh , Indonesia," *Cogent Social Sciences* 8, no. 1 (2022): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2089382>.

C. Methods

This type of research uses qualitative methods to understand the phenomena experienced by the research subject, such as behaviour, perception, motivation, and action³². Qualitative research views objects as dynamic and holistic because every aspect has an inseparable unity³³. This research took place in 5 (five) districts/cities in Aceh; Langsa City, East Aceh District, North Aceh District, Aceh Besar, and Banda Aceh. According to the researcher, these five cities have cultural and religious diversity in implementing the values they believe in. They are reflected in every line of life in the organization, the intellectual world, and relationships.

To get a clear picture of the authority of the Dayah ulama and its influence on contemporary Acehnese religiosity, the researcher conducted field observations by looking directly at the Dayah ulama recitation groups, both in their paradigmatic development, as well as their movements and activities³⁴. In addition, in-depth interviews are also a method of this research in exploring and confirming data in the field³⁵. The researchers used this interview to obtain in-depth information about the authority of the Dayah ulama to the Dayah ulama recitation group, the Aceh government, MPU, Kesbangpolinmas, the Islamic Syariat Service, the Ministry of Religion, politicians, and intellectuals.

The data analysis in this study used qualitative data analysis. The qualitative data analysis begins with: *First*, the presentation of the data in detail and systematically. *Second*, data reduction sorts out data that have an essential quality to the data on the role of the ulama in Aceh. Third, concluding by verifying the data by considering whether the data is included in the research report or *hidden report*. *Hidden reports* support data that is not included in the primary draft but

³² Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2016).

³³ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan: Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif Dan R&D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2013).

³⁴ Sutrisno Hadi, *Metodologi Research 2* (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset, 2004).

³⁵ Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*.

play an essential role as a supporter if the data's validity is questioned in the future.³⁶

D. Result

1. History of the Emergence of Dayah in Aceh

Dayah is a non-formal educational institution that teaches various Islamic sciences based on the Shafi'i school of thought. The reference books are the yellow books in Malay and Arabic. The yellow books in Arabic are called the *thurast books*. The term Dayah is a traditional pesantren in Aceh. The Acehnese are more familiar with the term Dayah than Pesantren because the term Dayah is deeply rooted in the history of the Acehnese people. Indeed, there is a difference between the terms Dayah and pesantren. Dayah comes from the Arabic word *zawiyah*, which means corner or corner of the house. The Acehnese people believed the term *zawiyah* to be the first to use in the corner of the Medina mosque when the Prophet gave lessons to his companions in early Islam³⁷.

Dayah in Aceh's history begins with the establishment of two Islamic educational institutions by Sultan Alaidin Sayed Maulana Abbas Syah in the Perlak kingdom, which is currently in East Aceh. The first is Zawiyah Aziziyah, located in Buket Cibrek, now called Teumpeuen village, at 250 H/865 H. The second is Zawiyah Cot Kala, located in Aramiyah, now known as Bayeuen. Zawiyah Cot Kala was founded in 285/899 H³⁸. According to Hanafiyah,³⁹ in its history, the existence of Dayah can be seen in four periods, namely: *First*, the heyday (the period of the sultanate); *second*, the period of decline (the Dutch and Japanese colonial wars); *third*, the transition period (the period of independence until the outbreak of the DI/TII event); and *fourth*, the resurrection period (after DI/TII until the emergence of the Labuhan Haji branch Dayahs). According to Snouck

³⁶ Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison, *Research Methods in Education*, Sixth Edit (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

³⁷ M.Hasbi Amiruddin, *Menatap Masa Depan Dayah Di Aceh*, ed. Ishak Assa'ad, Cet. I (Banda Aceh, 2008).

³⁸ Mashuri Mashuri, "Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Islam Di Dayah," *Jurnal Ilmiah Didaktika* 13, no. 2 (2013): 259–70, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jid.v13i2.477>.

³⁹ Hanafiah Hanafiah, "Dayah Collectively as a Social Movement," *International Journal of Human Rights in Healthcare* 11, no. 1 (2018): 56–64, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJHRH-08-2017-0034>.

Hurgronje's records, the existence of Dayahs in Aceh long before the arrival of the Dutch, such as the Ie Leubeue and Tiro Dayahs in the Pidie District. Meanwhile Dayah Lamnyong, Dayah Kreung Kale, Dayah Lamseunong, and Dayah Tanoh Abee were in Aceh Besar⁴⁰.

In Acehnese society, the Dayah is a centre for learning religious sciences, worship, social affairs meetings and lodging for youth in the area. So the function of the Dayah for the Acehnese is where young people learn about the basics of belief (aqidah), worship and muamalah⁴¹. According to Eka Srimulyani, the hallmark of a pesantren or Dayah is teaching and learning the *Yellow Book*⁴². This *Yellow Book* contains several main subjects, such as Tafseer (tafsir Al-Qur'an), Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), etc.⁴³ Meanwhile, Azyumardi Azra argues that pesantren or Dayah institutions have at least three crucial roles: a centre for transmitting religious knowledge, a guardian of Islamic traditions, and a centre for reproducing ulama⁴⁴. Hefner also argues that pesantren or Dayah is a place to preserve the classical Islamic knowledge tradition.⁴⁵

Dayah in Aceh is different from Dayah in other places, such as in Java in the early twentieth century until the beginning of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. The Dayah is generally still traditional but does not apply to all-Dayahs. Some have entered the renewal ideas, such as some modern-Dayahs in Aceh. However, some Dayahs still carry out the characteristics of traditional

⁴⁰ Amiruddin, *Menatap Masa Depan Dayah Di Aceh*.

⁴¹ Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad and M.H. Aminruddin, *Ulama, Separatisme, Dan Radikalisme Di Aceh, Kaukaba* (Banda Aceh: Kaukaba, 2013), https://www.academia.edu/9700883/Ulama_Separatisme_dan_Radikalisme_di_Aceh.

⁴² Ismail Fahmi Arrauf Nasution and Syafieh, "Menolak Stigmatisasi (Upaya Deradikalisasi Di Pondok Pesantren Modern Islam [PPMI] Assalam Surakarta, Indonesia)," *Tsaqafah: Jurnal Peradaban Islam* 17, no. 1 (2021): 39–62.

⁴³ Eka Srimulyani, "Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia: Negotiating Public Spaces," in *Amsterdam University Press*, 2012, 115–18, https://doi.org/10.26530/oapen_418531.

⁴⁴ Azyumardi Azra, "Genealogy Of Indonesian Islamic Education: Roles In The Modernization Of Muslim Society," *Heritage Of Nusantara International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage* 4, no. 1 (2015): 86–114.

⁴⁵ Robert W Hefner, "Islamic Schools, Social Movements, And Democracy In Indonesia," ed. Robert W Hefner, *Making Modern Muslims The Politics of Islamic Education In Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

Dayahs, do not recognize the class system and learning levels, and use group recitation with the halaqah system.

The existence of the Dayah as an educational institution, whether it still maintains the traditional education system or has undergone changes, significantly influences Indonesian people's lives. From time to time, Dayah grows and develops both in quality and quantity. Few people still pay great attention to Dayah as an alternative education. Because Dayah education has developed until now, the model is always in harmony with the soul, spirit, and personality of the Indonesian nation, which is predominantly Muslim

Until now, Dayah in Aceh continues to exist as a place for Islamic religious education with some modifications to adapt to the progress of the times. There are currently two Dayah models being developed in Aceh. *First*, Dayah still maintains his education as his trademark. Every child must study with a pesantren education, followed by general education, namely school, either MA (Madrasah Aliyah) or SMA (High School). Dayah's natural learning process uses Arabic books (yellow books). After studying at Dayah, they receive a diploma at the Aliyah level to continue their education at STAI or IAIN. *Second*, which makes pesantren and school education the basis of education for a person, pesantren and schools have the same role in developing human children. Children are given school education from elementary to high school/MA level ⁴⁶.

There are other Dayah models apart from the two Dayah models mentioned above, namely the integrated pesantren education model, which issues two diplomas, namely the high school diploma/Aliyah and the Islamic boarding school diploma at the Aliyah level. The students can use one of these diplomas to enter IAIN or STAI. They can also use a general certificate equivalent to high school to enter public universities, such as Unsyiah and other universities ⁴⁷.

2. The Existence of Wahhabis-Salafis in Aceh

Salafi is a form of attribution to the *as-Salaf* themselves in language, meaning people who preceded or lived before our time. Some scholars then added the label *ash-shalih* so that it became *as-salafu ash-shalih* to give a character of a

⁴⁶ Marzuki, "Sejarah Dan Perubahan Pesantren Di Aceh," *Millah* 11, no. 1 (2011): 221-34.

⁴⁷ Marzuki.

defender with our other predecessors who came after the three generations of this period (later known as *al-Khalaf*). So a *Salafi* claims to follow the path of the companions of the Prophet. *tabi'in* and *tabi' tabi'in* in all aspects of their teachings and understanding⁴⁸.

By definition, *Salafi* is people who lived during the time of the Prophet, namely the companions. Then those who follow the followers of the Companions and those who are after them. The word *Salafi* already exists in Islamic terms. *Salafis* are people whose teachings and understanding follow the companions of the Prophet Muhammad. However, it is not to point to one particular study group that they are the most *Salafi*. Even mazhab scholars do not call themselves *Salafi* or *Salafi* schools because of their humility. They will feel their limitations in claiming to be perfect following their companions. What is there is that they try with all their might with their *ijtihad* to follow the teachings of friends through *tabi' tabi'in*⁴⁹.

Understanding *Salafi* in Indonesia is inseparable from the Indonesian Muslims who went to Mecca to perform the Hajj during the Dutch occupation. Some *Salafi* also emerged from Indonesian has studied in Mecca in Saudi Arabia. The first influence that came to Indonesia was in Minangkabau, the Wahhabi movement to call back to the purification of faith. This movement began the resistance to the colonizers, known as the Padri war in the 19th century⁵⁰.

According to Iffah Muzammil, the word *Salafi* is always associated with an Islamic movement that is intolerant, rigid, and even reactionary⁵¹. In fact, according to Muhammad Abid al-Jabiri and Fahmi Jad'an, the word *Salaf* is used for every movement that uses the Qur'an and hadith as a systematic thought. Two

⁴⁸ Harakah Institute, "Melacak Gerakan Anti-Salafi Di Aceh," *Jurnal Gerakan* 1, no. 1 (2019): 1-43.

⁴⁹ Syaikh Idahram, *Ulama Sejagad Menggugat Salafi Wahabi*, ed. Irwansyah, XX (Yogyakarta: PT.LKiS Printing Cemerlang, 2012).

⁵⁰ Ahmad Bunyan Wahib, "Being Pious among Indonesian Salafis," *Al-Jami'ah* 55, no. 1 (2017): 1-26, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.551.1-26>.

⁵¹ Iffah Muzammil, "Global Salafisme Antara Gerakan Dan Kekerasan," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 1 (2013): 211-34, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2013.3.1.211-233>.

Muslim thinkers, Jurj Tharabishi and Aziz al-Azmah use Salafism to refer to currents of thought or anti-modern and reformist groups.⁵²

According to Asep Muhamad Iqbal,⁵³ Salafis were present in Indonesia around the mid-1980s. This Salafi movement can be identified by looking at the clothes they wear, such as the appearance of Salafist men who usually always wear Arabic clothes, an Arab style tie or headgear or white cap, and long pants whose bottom is above the ankles, and their beards. Left for long. At the same time, the women wear clothing models such as women's clothing from Arabia. Usually, the clothes are black or brown and loose and wear a veil to cover the face.⁵⁴ The existence of Salafis can also be seen in the Salafist communities, which tend to be closed and separated from other communities in general. They are determined to form an alternative society that is different from the existing model of society by reviving and following the sunnah textually as developed by the Prophet and pious Salaf to return to the ideal and pure Islam. To achieve this goal, Salafists have a solid commitment to da'wah activities to invite the Muslim community back to "true Islam" by forming halaqah (religious study groups) and dawra (religious training). They believe that the Islamic ummah who aspires to sharia as the only valid law can only be realized through an evolutionary process that involves 'purification' (tashfiyyah) of un-Islamic actions and thoughts and 'education' (tarbiyah) of true Islam.⁵⁵

The Acehnese always label the Salafis as a Wahhabi group. This labelling is understandable because the Salafi movement, which was founded and popularized for the first time by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703-1792), was inspired by the thoughts of Ibn Taimiyah (1263-1328) and his student Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah (1292-1350)⁵⁶. Many later mentions of these two terms

⁵² Muzammil.

⁵³ Asep Muhamad Iqbal, "Agama Dan Adopsi Media Baru: Penggunaan Internet Oleh Gerakan Salafisme Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia* 2, no. 2 (2013): 77-87, <https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v2i2.7834>.

⁵⁴ Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Salafi Movement in Indonesia: Transnational Dynamics and Local Development," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 1 (2007): 83-94, <https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201x-2006-045>.

⁵⁵ Hasan.

⁵⁶ Krismono Krismono, "Salafisme Di Indonesia: Ideologi, Politik Negara, Dan Fragmentasi," *Millah* 16, no. 2 (2017): 173-201, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol16.iss2.art2>.

were combined into Wahhabis-Salafis, although some Salafi groups did not want them to be called Wahhabis.

According to some historical records, Wahhabis' entry into Aceh occurred around 1939 through the organization formed by Tengku Muhammad Daud Beureueh, namely the All Aceh Ulama Association (PUSA). On May 5, 1939, this clerical organization was formed in Peusangan, Bireuen, North Coast of Aceh and was elected chairman. Teungku Muhammad Daud Beureueh himself with Deputy Chairman Teungku Abdurrahman Meunasah Meutter, while Ampon Chik Peusangan was appointed as a protector. Most of the PUSA organization administrators are reformist clerics who intend to form a forum to unite their minds.⁵⁷

According to Khairil Miswar,⁵⁸ if examined carefully, PUSA religious thought has many similarities (not to mention identical) with the ideas developed by Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab in Saudi Arabia in the 18th century. Research that Djami'ah IAIN Ar-Raniry around the 70s had done, it was stated that Tgk. Hasballah Indrapuri, a cleric in Aceh Besar, uses the *Book of Tawhid*, written by Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab to teach monotheism to the people.

Aceh, which was known as an adherent of the teachings of Ahlussunnah Waljamaah at that time, was disturbed by the presence of modernist ulema in the PUSA body who carried the Wahhabi-style understanding of Islamic renewal by collaborating with the Acehnese authorities to eliminate the Ahlussunnah Waljamaah creed which the Acehnese people had embraced for hundreds of years. With a joint call or "Joint Declaration" signed by the PUSA management and Acehnese businessmen, the reformer group removed all practices they considered heretical. To smoothen their activities, it is not uncommon for them to commit violence and atrocities by arresting several Dayah clerics and some even being killed by DI/TII armed groups (Harian Aceh Indonesia, 2019).

From some of these historical series, it is very natural that Wahhabi teachings have no place in the hearts of the Acehnese people. According to the researcher, the hatred of the Acehnese people towards Wahhabism does not lie in its

⁵⁷ Satriya, Suwirta, and Santoso, "Teungku Muhammad Daud Beureueh Dan Revolusi Di Aceh (1945-1950)."

⁵⁸ Miswar, "Aceh Dan Wahabi, Sebuah Wacana Menarik."

teachings which invite Islamic purity by returning to the Qur'an and Hadith. Isn't the meaning of Ahlussunnah Waljamaah also going in that direction, namely practising the religious teachings regulated in the Qur'an and hadith and what is done by the scholars? However, the hatred of the Acehnese people towards Wahhabis lies in their treatment of the Acehnese clerics during the DI/TII period because the ulama for the Acehnese people are the successors of the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. which must be respected. As a result, whatever practices some Acehnese people have that are similar or identical to Wahhabi instructions are immediately accused of being a Wahhabi group⁵⁹.

E. Discussion

The Wahhabi method of understanding and interpreting it is a problem for the meaning of the Qur'an.⁶⁰ The difference in understanding that occurred in Aceh between the Dayah ulama who belonged to the Ahlusunnah Waljama'ah and Wahabi sects had occurred for a long time, namely when some of the scholars who were members of the PUSA organization introduced Wahhabi teachings to the Acehnese people.⁶¹ Conflicts and disputes between groups calling themselves Ahlusunnah Waljamaah and those considered Wahhabis in Aceh became something that culminated after the Aceh MPU fatwa no. 9 of 2014 concerning "Wahhabi". Historical researchers say that the arrival of Islam to Aceh was peaceful. For this reason, the Acehnese do not regard Islam as a source of problems in matters of violence. However, the spread of Wahhabis in Aceh is a concern for Acehnese scholars who will change the mindset of the Acehnese people, which, since Islam first came, there has been no hostility⁶².

Along with modernization and globalization, urbanization and immigration have increased and become one of the causes of societal changes everywhere,

⁵⁹ Mulyana Idris and Muhammad Sahlan, "Antara Salah Paham Dan Paham Yang Salah: Pandangan Teungku Seumeubeut Terhadap Wahabi," *Substantia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 20, no. 1 (2018): 80–89, <https://doi.org/10.22373/substantia.v20i1.3407>.

⁶⁰ Mumtazul Fikri, "Transformasi Tradisi Akademik Islam Dan Kontribusinya," *Conference Proceedings-ARICIS I 1* (2016): 544–67.

⁶¹ Satriya, Suwirta, And Santoso, "Teungku Muhammad Daud Beureueh Dan Revolusi Di Aceh (1945-1950)."

⁶² Marzuki, "Berebut Masjid: Resistensi Dan Penolakan Masyarakat Islam Lokal Di Aceh Terhadap Aliran Islam Pendetang" *Penamas* 29 (2016): 349–58.

including Aceh. A large number of immigrants and, at the same time bringing, new sects were able to change the socio-cultural and socio-religious order of the Acehese people. The immigrants then became the root of the internal conflict of the Islamic community in Aceh when the practice of Islam from the local community was replaced with a new model of Islam. In the socio-cultural order, society undergoes various changes, including marriage, birth, and death customs. In the socio-religious order, society changes in worship, education, association, and da'wah procedures. These changes occur very subtly and almost unconsciously. When local people realize they have to fight hard against and maintain their environment's socio-cultural and religious order.⁶³

On the one hand, this kind of conflict is seen as inappropriate in the view of pluralism in social life. Still, on the other hand, local Muslims have the right to defend and fight against every threat that destroys their society's socio-cultural and socio-religious order⁶⁴. Several cases of religious conflict in Aceh are rooted in differences in understanding the practice of worship in society. Among the groups involved in disputes with local communities in Aceh are Muhammadiyah, Tablighi Jamaat, and Salafiah Wahabiyah.⁶⁵

In Aceh, there has never been an attitude of radicalism, and there has been a strong rejection by the Dayah ulama for the development of deviant sects that tend to be spontaneous in understanding various religious issues such as Wahhabism. On the other hand, that group is considered radical by the Dayah ulama. The Dayah ulama are a group of scholars who have long been known and integrated with the people of Aceh because of their great work since the days of the Aceh Sultanate⁶⁶. Because since the beginning of the development of the Dayah in Aceh, it has become a bulwark so that the people unite and agree in all aspects based on the references to the *mu'tabarah book* (often used) that are studied in traditional Dayahs in Aceh.

The contestation between Ahlussunnah Waljamaah and Wahhabis in Aceh briefly dimmed in the 90s, where – along with the popularity of the Free Aceh

⁶³ Marzuki.

⁶⁴ Marzuki.

⁶⁵ Marzuki.

⁶⁶ Syarifuddin Syarifuddin, "Islamic Plurality in the Perspectives of Ulama Dayah in Aceh," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 9, no. 3 (2021): 567–86, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v9i3.583>.

Movement (GAM), the "hegemony" of traditional movements was getting stronger in Aceh. However, after the tsunami on December 26, 2004, and the peace between the central government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in 2005 after the conflict started in 1976 – 2005, the issue of Wahhabism re-emerged along with the increasing number of different schools of understanding about Islam entering Aceh. The re-emergence of Wahhabism in Aceh was marked by the emergence of more and more recitation groups which the Ahlussunnah Waljamaah group later indicted as a recitation group with Wahhabism. The climax occurred in 2015 when thousands of masses from the Acehnese Dayah ulama held a large demonstration against the presence of Wahhabis in Aceh and urged the Acehnese government to immediately implement the Qanun Jinayat, which was ratified by the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPRA) in September 2014.⁶⁷

The rejection of the Acehnese people towards the Wahhabi-Salafi sect has recently become increasingly widespread. The last case occurred, the rejection of the Acehnese community towards Ustadz Firanda Andirja Abidin at the Al-Fitrah Mosque in Ketapang Village, Banda Aceh, because he was suspected of being a Wahhabi⁶⁸. The rejection of the Ustadz, accused of being Wahabi previously also occurred to Ustadz Farhan, who gave a lecture at the Mushalla of the Zainoel Abidin General Hospital (RSUDZA) Banda Aceh, Lampriet, Banda Aceh⁶⁹; and the burning of the Muhammadiyah mosque in Bireun district.⁷⁰

Previously, there had been a conflict between the Dayah ulama and the Wahhabis over the seizure of the mosque in 2015. On Friday, June 19, 2015, the Aceh Dayah Ulama Association (HUDA), the Aceh Nanggroe Ulama Council (MUNA), and the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) took over the management of the implementation of the Friday Prayer at the Baiturrahman Grand Mosque in Banda Aceh from the Wahhabi-Salafi group to restore the Friday prayer at the Baiturrahman Grand Mosque by the Ahlussunnah Waljamaah doctrine. A year

⁶⁷ Hasan, "Ribuan Massa Tolak Paham Wahabi Di Aceh."

⁶⁸ Indonesia, "Massa Tolak Pengajian Ustadz Firanda Andirja Di Aceh."

⁶⁹ Saleh, "Dituduh Wahabi Ustadz Farhan Ditolak Ceramah Di RSUDZA Banda Aceh."

⁷⁰ Iqbal Muhtarom, "Pembakaran Masjid Muhammadiyah Di Aceh Dipicu Isu Wahabi," *Tempo.co*, 2017, <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1026032/pembakaran-masjid-muhammadiyah-di-aceh-dipicu-isu-wahabi>.

later, a similar case occurred at the Al-Izzah Mosque, Krueng Mane, Muara Batu District, North Aceh Regency, on Friday, May 20.⁷¹ After several incidents, worship at the mosque returned to how the Dayah clerics usually did. The above incident proves that the religious authority of the Dayah ulama in Aceh is still very strong.

The religious authority of the Dayah ulama can be seen clearly with the issuance of the Fatwa of the Aceh Ulama Consultative Council (MPU) Number 09 of 2014 concerning the understanding, thoughts, experiences, and broadcasting of Islam in Aceh, which is based on the doctrine of Ahlusunnah Jamaah. The reason for implementing the Ahlussunnah Waljamaah doctrine in Aceh can be seen from several aspects. The moderate Islam preached by the Dayah clerics in Aceh helps reduce social conflict from the sociological aspect. If radical ideas continue to develop and the Dayah ulama do not promote Wasathiyah Islam, social unrest will occur in Aceh. The ongoing conflicts in the Middle East and South Asia are an important lesson for Muslims in Aceh to prevent the entry and development of radicalism. As taught by Acehnese Dayah scholars, moderate Islamic thought and values need to be maintained. Moderate Islam can be understood from the spiritual reality of Muslims from the beginning of Islam until today. Although moderate Islam was born in the early 20th century, scholars have explained its characteristics to Muslims by understanding the Qur'an in totality (Unity) according to a theoretical system. Most Acehnese adheres to *Ahlusunnah Waljama'ah* because it was developed by the ulama and those at the forefront of spreading the values of unity in Aceh. This understanding of Ahlusunnah Waljamaah also upholds a culture of Islamic history and local traditions.

The Dayah ulama as a government partner found its momentum when the government issued a Circular through the PLT governor of Aceh on December 13, 2019, which was addressed to regents/mayors throughout Aceh, heads of SKPAs, and regional heads of ministries/non-ministerial Aceh provinces, number 450/21770 concerning the prohibition of holding recitations other than the Ahlusunnah Waljamaah doctrine originating from the Shafi'iyah

⁷¹ Fikri, "Transformasi Tradisi Akademik Islam Dan Kontribusinya."

School.⁷² Regardless of those who agree or disagree with the Circular,⁷³ the issuance of a Circular from the Aceh government indicates that the religious authority of the Dayah ulama still strongly influences contemporary Acehnese religious practices and, at the same time, indicates that the Acehnese clerics have carried out their functions as actors or figures who are responsible for traditional Islamic hegemony in Aceh.

F. Conclusion

From some of the explanations above, it can be concluded that the religious authority of the Dayah ulama can be seen from the structuration and agency approach. The structuration approach will capture social practices that occur across space and time. Anthony Giddens states that actors do not present social activities but are continuously created by expressing themselves as actors. Through their actions, agents reproduce the conditions that allow activities. The conflict in religious understanding in Aceh between the Dayah ulama and Wahhabis was because the Acehnese people were used to the traditional religious practice of Dayah, which was very thick with the Syafi'iyah understanding, which could not accept the understanding of immigrant religions, which were considered heretical, such as the Wahhabis-Salafi understanding which led to the mutation of Allah's substances such as in lectures delivered by Wahhabi-Salafi groups either at the al-Fitrah mosque or on social media, resulting in their lectures being disbanded by the Dayah ulema group and the FPI of Aceh.

The issuance of a Circular through the PLT governor of Aceh on December 13, 2019, regarding the prohibition of holding recitations other than the Ahlusunnah Waljamaah doctrine sourced from the Syafi'iyah School, proves that the Aceh Government seems to provide flexibility to the Dayah ulama group as the owner of the authority for religious understanding in Aceh. At the same time, it indicates that the Dayah ulama have high bargaining power in identity politics

⁷² T. Saifullah, Fauzah Nur Aksa, and Albert Alfikri, "Peran Pemerintah Aceh Dalam Penanganan Konflik Keagamaan Antar Mazhab Islam," *REUSAM: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* (2020), <https://doi.org/10.29103/reusam.v8i2.3661>.

⁷³ Muhammad Nur Miswari, "Kedudukan Surat Edaran Gubernur Aceh Nomor 450/21770 Tentang Larangan Mengadakan Pengajian Selain Dari I'tiqad Ahlussunnah Waljamaah Yang Bersumber Dari Mazhab Syafi'iyah Terhadap Qanun Nomor 8 Tahun 2014 Tentang Pokok-Pokok Syariat Islam" (Universitas Sumatera Utara, Medan, 2020).

in Aceh. Furthermore, the Dayah ulama as government partners can be seen from an integration perspective. This perspective is commonly used in analyzing the relationship between Islam and politics (power). The existence of social movements cannot be measured by rigid autonomy. However, the willingness to accommodate and integrate with the political structure of power is an urgent need to continue the process of Islamic reform, reconciling Muslim commitments with the practical needs of society through engagement—intellectual agents" in the structure of the state.[]

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