

Pesantren Tradition and the Existence of Tarekat Syattariyah in the Java War of 1825-1830

Moh. Ashif Fuadi*

[UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta](#)

[Email: moh.ashiffuadi@iain-surakarta.ac.id](mailto:moh.ashiffuadi@iain-surakarta.ac.id)

Moh. Mahbub*

[UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta](#)

[Email: muhmahbub03@gmail.com](mailto:muhmahbub03@gmail.com)

Martina Safitry*

[UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta](#)

[Email: martina.safitry@iain-surakarta.ac.id](mailto:martina.safitry@iain-surakarta.ac.id)

Usman**

[IAIN Parepare Sulawesi Selatan](#)

[Email: usman01@iainpre.ac.id](mailto:usman01@iainpre.ac.id)

Dawam Multazamy Rohmatulloh***

[Institut Agama Islam Sunan Giri Ponorogo](#)

[Email: dawam_mr@insuriponorogo.ac.id](mailto:dawam_mr@insuriponorogo.ac.id)

M. Harir Muzakki***

[IAIN Ponorogo](#)

[Email: harir@iainponorogo.ac.id](mailto:harir@iainponorogo.ac.id)

Abstract

The Java War had its unique influence on the development of pesantren. Prince Diponegoro plays the struggle against the invaders with some of his soldiers who come from among the pesantren. After his defeat in the Java War of 1825-1830, many Diponegoro warriors spread to teach religion. This research will discuss the sustainability of the struggle of Diponegoro warriors in pesantren and the Islamic treasures of the Java War, such as strengthening pesantren traditions and the existence of tarekat syattariyah (syattariyah order).

* Jl. Pandawa, Dusun IV, Pucangan, Kec. Kartasura, Kabupaten Sukoharjo, Jawa Tengah 57168

** Jl. Amal Bhakti No.8, Bukit Harapan, Kec. Soreang, Kota Parepare, Sulawesi Selatan 91131

*** Jl. Pramuka No.156, Ronowijayan, Kec. Siman, Kabupaten Ponorogo, Jawa Timur 63471

This research is classified as historical research through Kuntowijoyo's historical research methods: topic selection, heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. This research yielded several conclusions, namely: *First*, after its defeat in the Java war, the struggle of Diponegoro warriors with a cleric-santri background continued through the establishment of pesantren with a change in strategy more to intellectual strengthening. *Second*, intellectual traditions during the Java War, one of which was through the study of yellow books typical of pesantren with fiqh and Sufi patterns such as *Fath al-Qarib* and *Tubjah al-Mursalab ila Râh al-Nabiy*. *Third*, the existence of the *tarekat syattariyah* that had an anti-colonial character at that time was quite popular in Java, made the order followed by prince Diponegoro and some of his soldiers. *Fourth*, when compared to the Padri War, the typology of da'wah struggle developed by Diponegoro warriors is more moderately patterned identically to Walisongo's accommodating character.

Keywords: Java War, Pesantren, Intetektualism, *Tarekat Syattariyah*, Diponegoro

Abstrak

Perang Jawa memberikan pengaruh tersendiri terhadap perkembangan pesantren, mengingat perjuangan melawan penjajah diperankan oleh Pangeran Diponegoro dengan sebagian laskarnya yang berasal dari kalangan pesantren. Pasca kekalahannya dalam Perang Jawa 1825-1830 banyak di antara laskar Diponegoro yang menyebar untuk mengajarkan agama. Penelitian ini akan membahas tentang keberlanjutan perjuangan laskar Diponegoro di pesantren dan khazanah keislaman Perang Jawa seperti penguatan tradisi pesantren dan eksistensi *tarekat syattariyah*. Penelitian ini tergolong penelitian sejarah, melalui metode penelitian sejarah Kuntowijoyo dari pemilihan topik, heuristik, verifikasi, interpretasi dan historiografi. Penelitian ini menghasilkan beberapa kesimpulan; *pertama*, pasca kekalahannya dalam perang Jawa, perjuangan laskar Diponegoro yang berlatar belakang ulama-santri terus berlanjut melalui pendirian pesantren dengan perubahan strategi lebih kepada penguatan intelektual. *Kedua*, tradisi intelektual pada masa Perang Jawa salah satunya melalui kajian kitab kuning khas pesantren yang bercorak fikih dan tasawuf seperti *Fath al-Qarib* dan *Tubjah al-Mursalab ila Râh al-Nabî*. *Ketiga*, eksistensi *tarekat syattariyah* yang mempunyai karakter anti-kolonial masa itu cukup populer di Jawa, menjadikan tarekat tersebut diikuti oleh pangeran Diponegoro dan sebagian laskarnya. *Keempat*, jika dibandingkan dengan Perang Padri, tipologi perjuangan dakwah yang dikembangkan laskar Diponegoro lebih bercorak moderat, identik dengan karakter Walisongo yang akomodatif.

Kata Kunci: Perang Jawa, Pesantren, Intelektualisme, *Tarekat Syattariyah*, Diponegoro

Introduction

The resistance movement against the invaders became an ingrained tradition of society. They are departing from the same fate and purpose as the fighters with the motivation to defend religion and the nation willing to sacrifice their lives to gain independence. The history of the journey of the resistance movement in the archipelago also varies greatly, starting from local movements such as resistance in small corners of villages. Still, there is also a model of resistance movements that are massive in the Java War of 1825-1830.¹ The Java War, also known as the Diponegoro war, had a significant influence on the subsequent series of resistance of Muslims in Indonesia to colonialism. To further heighten the spirit of resistance, the doctrine was immediately instilled that the war that was waged was a *sabîl war* or holy war, a war in the way of God that not only defended and defended the dignity of the self but also protected religion from the tyranny of the *kâfir* (infidels).² This war drained almost all concentration and finances owned by the Dutch.³ Although, in the end, Prince Diponegoro was captured and exiled, this war was the beginning of a substantial resistance and the subsequent resistance by the fighters.⁴

In connection with the war, Prince Diponegoro was supported by a line of fighters, nobles, *santri* (students), and scholars (ulama). They come from various Islamic universities in the Mataram Kingdom region. These scholars occupied a vital position in the combat units of Prince Diponegoro to move the people to wage a *sabil war* against the infidels of the Dutch invaders.⁵ Not only providing support, but the scholars also made a confessional attitude towards Prince Diponegoro's position as *Sultan Ngabdulhamid Herucokro Amirul Mukminin Sayyidin Panotogomo Khalifatulloh Tanah Jawa*. According to M.C. Ricklefs, Prince Diponegoro is seen as the figure of *queen adil*, who the people have awaited. The figure of Prince Diponegoro is believed to be able to

¹ Peter Carey, "The Origins of the Java War (1825-30)," *The English Historical Review* 91, no. 358 (1976): 52-78, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/565191>.

² Peter Carey, *Asal Usul Terjadinya Perang Jawa (1825-1830)* (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 1986), 2.

³ Saleh As'ad Djamhari, *Strategi Menjinakkan Diponegoro: Stelsel Benteng 1827-1830* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2014), 9.

⁴ Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Laskar Ulama-Santri & Resolusi Jihad: Garda Depan Menegakkan Indonesia* (Ciputat: Pustaka Compass, 2014), 50.

⁵ Carey, *Asal Usul Terjadinya...*, 41.

save Java and its inhabitants from oppression.⁶ Please note that the Diponegoro Army network, in addition to the palace's princes, also came from scholars, most of whom were students and Kiai pesantren stakeholders. According to Peter Carey, at least 108 Kiai, 31 Hajj, 15 sheiks, 12 leaders of the Yogyakarta Palace, and 4 kiai-teacher (murshid order) participated in fighting with Prince Diponegoro.⁷

In addition, the primary support among the most famous scholars was Kiai Mojo, an ideologue of the Java War who was widely referred to as the intellectual-spiritual advisor of the Prince, and Sentot Ali Basah, who became a *Senapati* (warlord).⁸ Full support was also given by several north and eastern coastal scholars, including Kiai Umar Semarang, Kiai Hasan Besari Tegalsari Ponorogo, and so on.⁹ It is likely that Prince Diponegoro also established communication with the Ottoman Turkish caliphate, such as *Bulkiyo*, *Turkiyo*, and *Harkio*.¹⁰ According to Peter Carey, the selected regiments that became Prince Diponegoro's bodyguards were *Bulkio-Bulkio*, *Turkio-Turkio*, and *Arkio-Arkio*, all of which became the *Janissary* Regiment of the sultans in the time of the Ottoman Turkish emperor.¹¹

After the Java War ended, after Prince Diponegoro was arrested, the kiai-ulama, who became high-ranking officers in the combat unit, carried out an exodus (moving places en masse). They established a mosque or pioneered the establishment of pesantren to teach the villagers. Most of the spread from Kedu, Yogyakarta, and Magelang areas switched to the *eastern mancanagari* area around Mount Lawu. Strategic steps like this were taken to compensate for the tactics of stelsel fortresses in the Java War, which they had previously experienced. They opened new land (*mbabat alas*) with their followers and occupied villages that were poor in religious values generally

⁶ M. C. Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2008* (Jakarta: Serambi, 2008), 254. Another version explains that the term *Herucakra* is associated with King Kediri Prabu Jayabaya, who ruled in the 11th century. Sultan Herucakra is a person who does not prioritize wealth, the ministry of birth. He was elected without any conditions. Later, that time signifies that the atmosphere will return to normal in this Java, Hardjonagoro, *Sultan Ngabdulkamit Herucakra, Khalifah Rosululloh Di Jawa 1787-1855* (Surakarta: MRP, 1990), 99.

⁷ Peter Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa, 1785-1855* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2016), 937.

⁸ Sartono Kartodirjo, *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru: 1500-1900, Dari Emporium Sampai Imperium* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1987), 383.

⁹ Bizawie, *Laskar Ulama-Santri & Resolusi Jihad...*, 46.

¹⁰ Ahmad Baso, *Pesantren Studies* (Jakarta: Pustaka Afid, 2013), 29.

¹¹ Carey, *Asal Usul Terjadinya...*, 41.

by establishing mosques and pesantren.¹² Most of these scholars and students changed their names and identities to avoid the pursuit of Dutch intelligence that continuously monitored the movements of the remains of Laskar Diponegoro. In its development, some person warriors consisting of santri-scholars teach *ngaji* (religion knowledge) in the mosque or pesantren they visit. They intend to lower the tempo of resistance from the previous guerrilla war full of risks, changing the silent opposition strategy by teaching *kitab kuning* (book of pesantren) in pesantren so that the Dutch do not feel worried.¹³

According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier, the tradition of pesantren is an Islamic education site that has grown since the beginning of the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, which in the course of history became the object of research studies, one of which is through the tradition of reading the *kitab kuning* and tarekat (order).¹⁴ Regarding the existence of the *tarekat syattariyah*, this tarekat gained many followers and practitioners of the 17th and 18th centuries pada in the Sumatra and Java regions of the nobles of Aceh and Yogyakarta familiar with the book of *Tuhfah al-Mursalah ila Rûh al-Nabi*.¹⁵ The book of Sufism explains the dignity of the seven, which is also the reading material of Prince Diponegoro.¹⁶

This research is interesting and important because it reveals the historical fact that the Java war bequeathed the tradition of intellectualism in pesantren and provided a new perspective on the pattern of moderate da'wah movements should be adopted by pesantren-pesantren in the present. This research also shows the network of scholars who are members of The Diponegoro Warriors in maintaining the traditions and treasures of pesantren and local wisdom as a valuable heritage for the next generation. In the context of the relationship of the Java War with pesantren, the study of

¹² Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Jejaring Ulama Diponegoro: Kolaborasi Santri Dan Ksatria Membangun Islam Kebangsaan Awal Abad Ke-19* (Ciputat: Pustaka Compass, 2019), 19.

¹³ Peter B Carey, *Kesatria Dan Santri: Beberapa Catatan Tentang Hubungan Pendukung Keraton and Agamawi Diponegoro, Dari Babad Dan Hikayat Sampai Sejarah Kritis; Kumpulan Karangan Dipersembahkan Kepada Prof. Dr. Sartono Karto Dirdjo* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press., 1987), 277, <https://doi.org/10.1017/50022463400005518>.

¹⁴ Zamakhsyari Dhofir, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2015), 22.

¹⁵ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning Pesantren Dan Tarekat* (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2015), 234.

¹⁶ Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Syekh Mutamakkin: Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat* (Jakarta: Pustaka Compass, 2014), 125.

pesantren traditions and *tarekat syattariyah* in this study has a value of novelty and found historical data on the sustainability of the struggle of Diponegoro troops after losing the Java war. During the transition, many of the warfighters developed religious traditions within the scope of pesantren. In addition, as a practitioner of the order and the successor of the Walisongo struggle, Diponegoro warriors bequeathed a moderate da'wah character. Based on the background above, this research can be formulated about the dynamics of pesantren played by Diponegoro warriors after their defeat in the Java war. Then, about strengthening the tradition of pesantren, the existence of the *tarekat syattariyah* in the Java War, and the pattern or character of the resulting struggle. The results of this study are expected to be a reference in tracing Islamic civilization in the Java war during colonialism that can be contextualized today.

There has been a lot of academic research done to uncover the history of Prince Diponegoro. But specifically, academic research that tracks the traces of pesantren traditions and the Javanese war syattariyah order is still minimal. Among them are Peter Carey (2016),¹⁷ *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro dan Akhir Tatanan Lama di Jawa 1785-1855*, Nancy K Florida (2019),¹⁸ *SHAṬṬĀRIYYA SUFI SCENTS: The Literary World of the Surakarta Palace in Nineteenth-Century Java*, Zainul Milal Bizawie (2019),¹⁹ *Jejaring Ulama Diponegoro Kolaborasi Santri Dan Ksatria Membangun Islam Kebangsaan Awal Abad 19*. In general, these sources can be used quite comprehensively. However, the work has not been able to fully connect the relationship between pesantren traditions and the order with the warriors. Likewise, it has not been seen the sustainability of the soldiers after their defeat in the war. Books and Articles can supplement Peter Carey, Nancy, and Bizawie's information by Martin Van Bruinessen, who also researched a lot about the order in Indonesia.

This study uses a qualitative approach, which aims to uncover the intellectual values inherited by Prince Diponegoro through the Java War to the next generation of the nation's ideals. According

¹⁷ Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro...*, 900-37.

¹⁸ Nancy K Florida, *SHAṬṬĀRIYYA SUFI SCENTS: The Literary World of the Surakarta Palace in Nineteenth-Century Java*, ed. R. Michael Feener and Anne M. Blackburn (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019), 153-157.

¹⁹ Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Jejaring Ulama Diponegoro Kolaborasi Santri Dan Ksatria Membangun Islam Kebangsaan Awal Abad 19*, Cetakan du (Tangerang: Pustaka Compass, 2019), 71-79.

to Danandjaja, a literature study collects data by tracking various information obtained from several documents relevant to the problem or research purpose.²⁰ Further, Sugiyono stated that the activity in qualitative analysis is carried out interactively and takes place continuously until it is completed so that the data is saturated. At the same time, the data analysis activity in this study includes data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification).²¹ To analyze the data, the author uses the method of historical research. According to Kuntowijoyo, historical research has five stages, the first is theme selection, heuristic, criticism, interpretation, and the last is historiographic.²² Referring to this opinion, the literature studied in this study comes from written records about Prince Diponegoro's activities during his life and various other events that support the purpose of the study, namely the disclosure of intellectual values inherited by the fighter. Based on the background above, this research will be focused on the continuation of the struggle of Diponegoro warriors, the intellectual treasures of pesantren, the existence of the *tarekat syattariyah*, and the pattern of da'wah struggle played by the Diponegoro troops.

Dynamics of the Post-Java War Resistance Movement: The Development of Pesantren

Related to the sustainability of the struggle of Diponegoro warriors, after the Java War ended, the scholars who became high-ranking officers in the combat unit carried out diaspora moves to spread themselves and then set up a mosque or pioneered the establishment of pesantren to teach ngaji villagers. Most of the spread from Kedu, Yogyakarta, and Magelang areas switched to the *eastern mancanagari* site around Mount Lawu.²³ According to Martin van Bruinessen, the village of *perdikan*²⁴ is the initial part of the formation of

²⁰ James Danandjaja, *Folklor Indonesia: Ilmu Gosip, Dongeng, Dan Lain-Lain* (Jakarta: PT. Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1997), 77.

²¹ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Bisnis: Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, Kombinasi, R&D*, ed. Sofia Yustiyani Suryandari, 3rd ed. (Bandung: CV Alfabeta, 2017), 56.

²² Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2013), 70.

²³ Bizawie, *Laskar Ulama-Santri & Resolusi Jihad...*, 53.

²⁴ Land or village of *perdikan* is an area whose land or territory is a village of grace from the king whose inhabitants are exempt from paying taxes and compulsory work. This area is considered a free or independent area led by a village chief. The village chief in this region is directly under the king's sovereign, look Guillot, "Le Role Historique Des

pesantren. In the subsequent development, families who are given the trust to hold the village of *perdikan* have a specific religious authority. No wonder some of his family members there are influential spiritual teachers. That's where the teaching and learning process becomes institutionalized in the form of pesantren. The method of forming the pesantren was carefully described by Guillot (1985) in the case of the establishment of pesantren Tegalsari Ponorogo.²⁵

Martin van Bruinessen also reminded us that only a few of the Javanese pesantren have a background like Tegalsari that has met the criteria of pesantren. The first Dutch survey of 1819 (before the Diponegoro War) on indigenous education gave the impression that the real pesantren did not yet exist throughout Java. Educational institutions similar to pesantren are reported in Priangan, Pekalongan, Rembang, Kedu, Surabaya, Madiun, and Ponorogo. There is no official education except informal education provided in private homes and mosques in other areas. Madiun and Ponorogo (where there are Pesantren Tegalsari and Banjarsari) at that time had the best pesantren. Here, the children of the north coast continued their studies (Van der Chijs 1864, p. 215-219). According to Martin, there is no clear evidence of 19th-century pesantren before Tegalsari.²⁶ Michael Laffan explained that after the Diponegoro War of 1930, the emergence of village *perdikan* gave the scholars blessings to show their independence. Growth with the growth of villages led to the Islamization of Java becoming more developed and sustainable.²⁷ Although it had succeeded in the Java War, the Dutch were still vigilant and worried about the emergence of another upheaval and resistance in Java. The potential for local resistance remained threatening. The resistance of the next period was no longer carried out by the royal elite but was led by scholars and kiai who had spread and built bases in pesantren.²⁸

Please note that pesantren serves as a religious, educational institution and as the planting of cadres of religious leaders. Some

Perdikan Ou Villages Francs: Le Cas de Tegalsari," *Archipel* 30 (1985), 161.

²⁵ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren...*, 93; Mastuki and Ishom El-Saha, *Intelektualisme Pesantren: Potret Tokoh Dan Cakrawala Pemikiran Di Era Pertumbuhan Pesantren* (Jakarta: Diva Press, 2003), 9.

²⁶ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren...*, 93.

²⁷ Michael Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara (Terj.); The Making of Indonesia Islam* (Yogyakarta: PT Benteng Pustaka, 2015), 54.

²⁸ Zainul Milal Bizawie, "Diponegoro and the Ulama Nusantara Network," *The International Journal of Pegon : Islam Nusantara Civilization* 3, no. 02 (2020): 193–223, <https://doi.org/10.51925/inc.v3i02.26>.

famous pesantren established from end to end of Java Island in the second part of the 19th century include; Pesantren Lengkong (Cirebon), Krapyak (Yogyakarta), Tegalsari (Ponorogo), Sidoresma (Surabaya). It is common for students to learn from one pesantren to another in search of adequate knowledge.²⁹ Therefore, it is not surprising that the leadership of anti-colonialist religious movements, many arise from the pesantren and order environment as done by Prince Diponegoro.³⁰

At least there is an essential thing in the history of Prince Diponegoro's resistance to the Netherlands, Prince Diponegoro (1785-1855) is a symbol of *mujâhidîn* (fighters) in his struggle against the Dutch colonial. He is seen as the first national fighter capable of awakening and uniting the Indonesian people to use his power. The Diponegoro War involved scholars with their students on the side of Prince Diponegoro. In this *sabîlillah* war, the Javanese had kiai as influential leaders and teachers and glorified Prince Diponegoro himself as a true leader.³¹

After the Java War, the scholars were indeed hit, but this does not mean that the scholars no longer held resistance to Dutch colonialism. Meanwhile, in rural areas in Java. Sporadically, symptoms of uprisings, protest movements, and various social unrest continued against the Dutch. From Banten on the western tip of Java island to East Java, from time to time until entering the 19th century, there was a popular resistance movement against the Dutch colonial.³² Almost the entirety of the movement involves kiai, hajj, and *ngaji* teachers.³³ These cases made the Dutch colonial government non-cooperative (suspicious) clerics. Among pesantren scholars included a group of people feared by the Dutch government. Pesantren scholars, in general, have a reasonably high level of fanaticism. They quickly fostered hatred and a deep hostility towards the Dutch (European) people, who were considered infidels.³⁴

²⁹ Poesponegoro, Djonoed Marwati, and Nugroho. Notosusanto, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* (Jakarta: Depdikbud dan Balai Pustaka, 1993), 310.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 310.

³¹ Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Intelektual Pesantren; Perhelatan Agama Dan Tradisi* (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2004), 17.

³² Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten...*, 217.

³³ Ibnu Qayyim Ismail, *Kiai Penghulu Jawa; Peranannya Di Masa Kolonial* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1984), 51.

³⁴ Nor Huda, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2015), 224.

The path taken by the Dutch colonials to reduce the mobility of religious leaders next is to systematically narrow the space for scholars. Therefore, from the Java war until 1959, various government regulations concerning hajj travel and its implementation were arranged in such a way by the Dutch to limit and complicate hajj travel to Mecca.³⁵ This moment was done by the colonial government solely because of fears and concerns about establishing essential political religion relations between Mecca and Indonesian Malays continued after the Java War.³⁶ Kiai Saleh Darat also describes this condition in one of his books. He says:

“Lan sarehne ora ono ing dalem iki zaman wong kang nglakoni mengkono mider-mider marang kampung-kampung utawa marang desa-desa kerana arah muruki agama Islam kerana kinawedden fitnah zaman, mongko dadi wajib ing atase ‘alim, arep ngaweake kitab perkarane agama Islam, sangking ‘aqâid al-îmân, lan furu’ al-syari’ah, bâb al-thahârah lan bâb al-shalât kelawan endi-endi carane, cara melayu utawa cara Jawa.”³⁷

The quote aims to see the situation of colonization conditions that are increasingly difficult with the hunting of scholars in the regions. Then it is recommended to the ulama (scholars), especially in pesantren, to write religious books. This reason shows how much dutch intervention was against the scholars at that time, after successfully troubled the Dutch during the Java War. For this reason, the scholars continue to try to conduct guerrilla warfare and form cadres in pesantren with an anti-colonialist spirit.

According to Rijal Mumazziq, such a strategic step was taken to compensate for the tactics of the *stelsel fortress* in the Java War, which they had previously experienced so that the Diponegoro Warriors moved to move places for self-existence and religious efforts. They *mbabat alas* (open new land) with their followers and generally occupy poor villages with religious values by establishing mosques. These kiai scholars changed their names and identities to avoid pursuing Dutch intelligence.³⁸

³⁵ Husnul Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda; Het Kantoor Voor Inlandsche Zaken* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986), 10.

³⁶ Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten...*, 218.

³⁷ Muhammad Shaleh As-Samarani, *Tarjamah Sabil Al-'Abîd* (Semarang: Toha Putra, n.d.), 67.

³⁸ Rijal Mumazziq, “MENELUSURI JEJAK LASKAR DIPONEGORO DI PESANTREN,” *Falasifa* 7, no. 1 (2016): 147, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.36835/falasila.v7i1.10>.

As a continuing episode of the Diponegoro War, in his notes, Zamakhsyari Dhofier, after the Java war rolled, at least found *nggon ngaji* (religious duty place) that widespread and can be found in almost every village where Islam became the dominant religion. In 1831 after the Diponegoro War, based on Dutch records, 1853 pieces of *nggon ngaji* with 16,556 students spread across several districts in Java dominated by Muslims. The number increased sharply when van den Berg found 14,929 *nggon ngaji* with about 222,663 students in 1885.³⁹

Spiritual Intellectual Strengthening through The Book of Pesantren

Pesantren tradition is an Islamic education system that grew since the beginning of the arrival of Islam in Indonesia. The course of its history has become the object of research by scholars who study Islam in this archipelago.⁴⁰ As mentioned, Zamakhsyari, the arrival of santri facing the kiai whose *kitab kuning* (book of pesantren) is in Arabic and translates into Javanese (regional language). In relation to strengthening scientific traditions through the book by Prince Diponegoro and his soldiers, at a glance by reading the history of the Prince in several other sources, it is mentioned that the book of *Topah* or *Tohfah* which became one of Prince Diponegoro's favourite books is the book of *Tuhfah al-Muhtâj* by Imam Ibnu Hajar al-Haitami, or maybe *Tuhfah al-Thullâb*. The work of Imam Zakariya al-Ansari, it could also be *Tuhfah al-Ḥabîb* by Imam al-Bujairimi. Since he was young, the Prince has been a lot glossed through his books through scholars who often discuss in *balairung* his great-grandfather Ratu Ageng's residence in Tegalrejo.⁴¹

Most likely, the *Tohfah* is *Tuhfah al-Mursalâh ila Rûḥ al-Nabî* by Sheikh Muhammad bin Fadhlullah Burhanpuri. This book explains the philosophy of Sufism about the teachings of the "*martabat tujuh*" (dignity of the seven). This reliance is very practiced among the Javanese in god contemplation in the world and humans. The Prince is also familiar with methods of Islamic mystic theology such as *ushûl* (the subject of religion) and *tasawuf* (Sufism). An overview of the variety of reading texts from Javanese sources during Prince Diponegoro's

³⁹ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan...*, 88.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴¹ Ahmad Baso, *Islam Nusantara: Ijtihad Jenius & Ijma'ulama Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Afid, 2015), 98.

study in Tegalrejo. Javanese mystic verses such as the historical *suluk* of the prophets or *serat anbiya* and the interpretation of the Qur'an. So, part of his literary curriculum was as well as works of Islamic political philosophy such as *Shirâth al-Salâthîn* and *Tâjus al-Salâthîn*.⁴²

In the view of Martin van Bruinessen, the book of *Tuhfah al-Mursalâh* is part of a typical Indian Sufi tradition related to *tarekat syattariyah* (syattariyah order). It has a significant influence on the archipelago. This tradition is represented by the works of Muhammad al-Ghauths, Muhammad Burhanpuri, Sibghatullah, Ahmad al-Synnawi, Ahmad al-Qusyasyi, and Ibrahim al-Kurani. The last two figures have several students from the archipelago. This Indian Sufi tradition adheres to metaphysics based on *wahdât al-Wujûd* Ibn al-'Arabi, although the spirit of Indian mysticism also colours it.⁴³

Another area that received special attention from Prince Diponegoro is the Islamic law of *Fath al-Qarîb*, *Lubâb al-Fiqh*, and *Muḥ arrar*, which were all studied by Prince Diponegoro. Later, he said proudly that a friend of his kept his collection of Javanese Islamic books in Yogyakarta during the Java War. That fact made Prince Diponegoro very critical of writing legal reforms in 1812.⁴⁴ In comparison, *Fath al-Wahhâb* became a book that Kiai Mojo routinely studied in front of scholars during his struggle.⁴⁵

In the author's search, when visiting the collection of the Diponegoro Museum in Magelang, in Prince Diponegoro's room, 3 (three) Diponegoro relics can be seen. Namely the Qur'an, prayer beads, and the book of *Fath al-Qarîb*. The relics of the book *Fath al-Qarîb* written in *pegon* letters (Arabic) are believed to be the handwriting of Kiai Nur Iman Mlangi Sleman, Yogyakarta. The book is also thought to have always been carried by Prince Diponegoro during his life and struggle. Several collections of relics of Prince Diponegoro, the Qur'an, the book of *Fath al-Qarîb*, and prayer beads explain how the true identity of the Prince. Through the book of *Fath al-Qarîb*, Prince Diponegoro shows that Prince Diponegoro is a Muslim with shafi'i. While the relics of

⁴² Peter Carey, *Takdir: Riwâyat Sang Pangeran Pangeran Diponegoro (1785-1855)* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2014), 31.

⁴³ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren...*, 28; Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Mizan, 1994); A. Aziz Masyhuri, 99 *Kiai Pondok Pesantren Nusantara: Riwâyat, Perjuangan, Dan Do'a* (Yogyakarta: Kutub, 2007), 317.

⁴⁴ Mumazziq, "MENELUSURI JEJAK...", 140.

⁴⁵ Carey, *Takdir: Riwâyat Sang Pangeran ...*, 31.

robes and prayer beads are often carried during the war show, Prince Diponegoro adheres to *tarekat syattariyah*. Habib Lutfi bin Yahya also often conveys this in some of his statements.

In addition to studying the Qur'an and Fiqh, Prince Diponegoro also studied (at least once read to him) works that are more moral and basic in Javanese literature from classic Arabic and Persian works such as *Ḥakīk al-Mudin*, and *Nasihāt al-Mulk*, as well as modern Javanese stories taken from classic stories such as *Serat Rama*, *Buma Kawiyah*, *Arjuna Wijaya*, and *Wiwaha*. Another Javanese book introduced to Prince Diponegoro was *Joyo Lenggoro Wulan*, whose copy was found at Selarong headquarters in October 1825.⁴⁶

The Existence of Tarekat Syattariyah Laskar Diponegoro

The tarekat syattariyah was brought to the Malay world by one of Ronggosasmita spiritual ancestors, namely Abdul Rauf al-Singkili (1620-1693 AD), whose family tree originated in Aceh. The most prominent feature of his teachings suggests that what is referred to as neo-Sufism is that the teachings of Sufism must go hand in hand with sharia. The adherents of the mystical path gain true *ḥaqîqah* (reality) experience by adherence to the Shari'a. Many of his disciples continued the teachings brought by Abd al-Ra'uf Singkel with the pattern of neo-Sufism.⁴⁷ Among Abdul Rauf al-Singkili's disciples was Sheikh Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan (d. 1715), a Javanese Muslim scholar from the Mataram kingdom of Central Java who had received the teaching of the tarekat syattariyah from Abd al-Rauf. Then he moved to the kingdom of Banten and settled on the hill of Southeast West Java, not too far from the South Coast.⁴⁸ There is an assumption, the son of Abdul Muhyi named Fakih Ibrahim had served as a ruler in surakarta palace during King Pakubuwana II (reigned 1745-1749) and Pakubuwana III (reigned 1749-1788 AD). It should be noted that Pakubowono II was the King. He tried to rule as a Sufi raja in Kartasura before moving his palace to Surakarta because of the encouragement of his mother, Queen Pakubowono.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁷ Florida, *SHAṬṬĀRIYYA SUFI SCENTS: The Literary...*, 155.

⁴⁸ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah...*, 274.

⁴⁹ Florida, *SHAṬṬĀRIYYA SUFI SCENTS: The Literary...*, 157.

The santrization process was also encouraged by strengthening sharia reorientation among adherents of the order, especially Naqshbandiyah Khalidiyah, Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah, which was then followed by many other orders. This development follows the same trend that occurred in Aceh, Palembang, and Banjarmasin orders throughout the 17-18th centuries. In addition to emphasizing loyalty to the shari'ah and rejecting the tendency, these orders were also anti-Dutch. They plunged into a jihad against the colonials, and subsequently, as well, Ricklefs asserted an anti-Christian attitude.⁵⁰

Prince Diponegoro's complete and intact understanding of Islam can be seen in his writings, especially his autobiographical chronicles and Makassar notes. However, the writings of Prince Diponegoro also show that he is more typical of Javanese mystics than an Orthodox Reformer of Islam. This reference was recognized by his principal advisor in the field of religion, Kiai Mojo, also a follower of *tarekat syattariyah*. Kiai Mojo mentioned that the Prince seemed to be trying to reach a level of mystical permanence in Sufism.⁵¹

Although the records of Prince Diponegoro in Makassar are impressive because of the many quotations from the Qur'an and Hadith, Prince Diponegoro was not very interested in textual interpretations but was more interested in the use of dhikr in the form of meditation activities. The description where the test of the efficacy of prince Diponegoro's dhikr also mentions the area and rituals carried out by adherents of the *naqshbandiyah* and *tarekat syattariyah*.⁵² This opinion is different from Ricklefs; as an adherent of *tarekat syattariyah*, Prince Diponegoro can establish harmonious relations with the santri community and Sufi networks. As a villager, he can establish relations with the villagers.⁵³ Perhaps by compromising the two opinions above, although the network of *tarekat syattariyahs* has not been solidly established, the joints of his teachings have inspired Diponegoro's struggle with a monopolistic anti-colonial spirit. The group of *tarekat* has proven to fight against the Dutch wherever they are consistent.

When viewed from the chronology of the year of development, according to Martin van Bruinessen, in the 17th century, *tarekat*

⁵⁰ Azyumardi Azra, "Islamisasi Jawa," *Studi Islamika* Vol.20, Nomor 1 (2013): 176.

⁵¹ Carey, *Takdir: Riwayat Sang Pangeran...*, 39.

⁵² Peter Carey, *Takdir, Riwayat Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2012), 40.

⁵³ Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern...*, 252.

syattariyah taught al-Kurani and al-Qusasi. *Tarekat syattariyah* is the most popular order among its Indonesian students, perhaps because of the various interesting ideas of the book of *tuhfah* fused with this order. *Tarekat syattariyah* itself can relatively easily blend with various local traditions. In Martin van Bruinessen's terms, he became the order buried among the existing orders. On the other hand, through *syattariyah*, various Sufi metaphysical ideas and various symbolic classifications based on the teachings of the "*martabat tujuh*" (dignity of the seven) became a widespread belief in Java.⁵⁴ Martin van Bruinessen said that the influence of the idea of mystical ideas of *tarekat syattariyah* could survive because of the gradual incorporation of this order into all the *magical practices* that are popular in Javanese society.⁵⁵ In that context, maybe Javanese people were more likely to like *kejawen* orders, and many people followed the spiritual discipline of one of the numerous local tarekat and *kebatinan* mystical movements.⁵⁶

In the mid-19th century, there were several stories about Javanese rulers, such as Paku Buwono II and Mangkubumi. They applied old customs and made villages with religious teaching locations or holy tombs called villages that were exempt from all taxes and compulsory work. This case indicates that the teachings of *syattariyah* have begun to be accepted in the Javanese Palace.⁵⁷ Seeing this condition, it is likely that the teachings of *tarekat syattariyah* were also developed in the Tegalsari as the *perdikan* Surakarta Kingdom. The Banjarsari is the *perdikan* of the Yogyakarta Palace and a "derivative" of the Tegalsari Pesantren.⁵⁸

Furthermore, Michael Laffan mentioned at first that not all the fiefs were related to *tarekat syattariyah*. Even if that had happened, the Tegalsari charter only noted that Paku Buwono II urged all the founders of the game to read specific religious texts or orders without mentioning the slightest manuscript that must be read. In 1789 there was evidence of a *syattariyah* orientation supported by the kingdom, saying that Paku Buwono IV (1788-1820). he was influenced by a faction whose praxis had deviated from the dominance of the "reef," which

⁵⁴ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren...*, 234.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 423.

⁵⁶ Martin Van Bruinessen, "The Peacock in Sufi Cosmology and Popular Religion (Connections between Indonesia, South India, and the Middle East)," *Episteme* 15, no. 2 (2020): 179, <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2020.15.2.177-219>.

⁵⁷ Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara...*, 30.

⁵⁸ Guillot, "Le Role Historique Des Perdikan...", 139.

almost certainly referred to the network connected to Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan murshid *syattariyah*.⁵⁹

As a comparison, it can also be noted here that Kiai Mutamakkin Kajen probably became his disciple Sheikh Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan before Sheikh Mutamakkin left for Yemen. Although the sources do not give the number of his birth year, this allegation is based on his record of Mutamakkin, who talked about *tarekat syattariyah* in *Malay Arabic* (Javanese pegon). His teachings are not much different from Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan about *al-Marâtib al-Sab'ah*. While al-Singkili and al-Makassari probably gave instructions for Sheikh Mutamakkin to study in Yemen with Muhammad al-Baqi, when he got there was already dead and replaced by his son Sheikh Zein bin Muhammad Abdul Baqi al-Mizjaji around 1691.⁶⁰

It should be noted that some scholars, including Kiai Ageng Muhammad Besari Tegalsari (d.1742), and Kiai Muhammad bin Umar Banjarsari (d.1807), were contemporaries and probably met with Syeh Mutamakkin. Perhaps at that time, everything was dissolved into *tarekat syattariyah*. Although the source is not found with certainty, both Tegalsari and Sheikh Mutamakkin himself mentioned the dignity of the seven characteristics of *tarekat syattariyah*.⁶¹ According to the author, the existence of *tarekat syattariyah* (around the 18th century) was quite popular in the community and around the palace, making the order quite "in demand" for most Javanese people. In addition, the teachings of *tarekat syattariyah* are more "grounded," especially among Javanese people who prefer Javanese mystic teachings that are almost the same as the teachings of *tarekat syattariyah*.

In addition, the Java War, to being caused by several policies that significantly harmed indigenous peoples, was also closely related to the Islamic transformation of Prince Diponegoro.⁶² As revealed in some research by Peter Carey, a historian from Oxford University, about Prince Diponegoro, it is seen that the Prince underwent an Islamic transformation through the environment of order and pesantren. Prince Diponegoro took a very intense religious experience that made him no longer able to accept the presence of Dutch colonialism.⁶³

⁵⁹ Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara...*, 30.

⁶⁰ Bizawie, *Syekh Mutamakkin: Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat...*, 102.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁶² Florida, *SHATṬĀRIYYA SUFI SCENTS: The Literary...*, 153.

⁶³ Azra, "Islamisasi Jawa...", 174.

Is the tarekat syattariyah that Martin Van Bruinessen rated as the most sacred order.⁶⁴ The role of syattariyah in the Java war cannot be underestimated. He is one of the Diponegoro warriors network in central and east Java such as Pesantren Jamsaren Surakarta, Pesantren Takeran Magetan, Pesantren Kalibeber Wonosobo which was established by alumni or members of Diponegoro warriors.⁶⁵ In 1830 AD, it became a very important turning point in the political and social history of the Javanese people, marked by the power of indigenous palaces, which was the beginning of high colonialism in Java. The arrest and arrest of elite Javanese officials, namely Pakubawana IV, Kiai Mojo, R. Ng. Yosodipuro II, and R. Ng Ronggosasmito, became a setback so far for the syattariyah tarekat in Surakarta Palace.⁶⁶ The colonialists considered Islam (especially the shudders) to threaten them. So they separated the candidate of the King and his descendants from Islamic practices, especially the tarekat syattariyah. After 1830 the teachings of the tarekat syattariyah were widely included in the *suluk-suluk* and *serat* Surakarta kingdom as well as a medium of teachings such as *Suluk Acih*, *Martabat Waḥdat Wakidiyat*, and *Serat Centhini*, *Wedhatama*, *Wulangreh*.⁶⁷

According to Martin van Bruinessen, when Sufism became a mass phenomenon and practiced in the association of the order, it did not only function as a religion. In colonial times, for example, resistance and rebellion movements were facilitated by many orders to become socio-political means. Moreover, entering the era of modernization to penetrate society, Sufism no longer provides a set of religious teachings but also dabbles in other issues such as the treatment of narcotics addicts and psychological such as Abah Anom in Suryalaya.⁶⁸

The order group has always been synonymous with resistance. In addition to the above explanations, traditions are also seen in the events of the Banten peasant uprising. The revival of this religion can trigger an emotional response to disturbing or frustrating situations. The flourishing orders encourage fanaticism, while the idea of Islamic eschatologists transforms members of the orders into militant revolutionary groups aimed at overthrowing colonial

⁶⁴ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren...*, 98.

⁶⁵ Bizawie, *Jejaring Ulama Diponegoro...*, 71.

⁶⁶ Florida, *SHAṬṬĀRIYYA SUFI SCENTS: The Literary...*, 172.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁶⁸ Martin Van Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of Sufi Orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia," *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 1 (1994): 1, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v1i1.864>.

rule spearheaded by the *tarekat Qadiriyyah* of Kiai Haji Abdul Karim's disciples.⁶⁹ According to Martin van Bruinessen, resistance from the *tarekat syattariyyah* group was only seen in west Sumatra due to enacting a tobacco tax that had just broken in 1908. They often played a role in several resistances against invaders.

Further, there was no network of orders involved during the most significant uprising against the Dutch in the 19th century led by Prince Diponegoro. However, most of his followers were driven by religious motivations. This network reinforces the suspicion that at that time, there was no network of orders in Central Java and Yogyakarta that Prince Diponegoro and his advisory scholars might utilize.⁷⁰

Moderate Da'wah by Laskar Diponegoro

The Java War was a *sabîl war* to expel the Dutch from Java, like Imam Bonjol in the Battle of Paderi (1821-1837). Prince Diponegoro used Islamic symbols in the form of turbans and white clothes. In the Middle East, the Wahabi group was repelled by the Ottoman Sultan of Turkey in 1818.⁷¹ Prince Diponegoro, like Imam Bonjol, directed the spirit of liberation outwards by expelling the invaders. However, there is a very noticeable difference, Imam Bonjol is supported by Wahabi scholars, while Prince Diponegoro is supported by Sufis and Kiai of Javanese heir to the Walisongo tradition. The Wahabi group condemns the local culture as heresy, while Sufis and kiai interpret it as a means/medium of da'wah.⁷²

The closeness of Prince Diponegoro's Islamic spirit with Ottoman Turkey is also seen in the name of one of his commanders: Sentot Ali Basya, where "Basya" is an Arabic transliteration of the word "pasha," the rank of the level of the famous general in the Turkish Empire. The name was likely used as a signal that the identity affirmation of Prince

⁶⁹ Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten, 1888: Kondisi, Jalan Peristiwa, Dan Kelanjutannya: Sebuah Studi Kasus Mengenai Gerakan Sosial Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1984), 217.

⁷⁰ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren...*, 239.

⁷¹ Yudian Wahyudi, *Dinamika Politik "Kembali Kepada Al Quran Dan Sunnah" Di Mesir, Maroko, Dan Indonesia, Alih Bahasa Saifuddin Zuhri* (Yogyakarta: pesantren nawasea press, 2010), 16; Yudian Wahyudi, *Maqashid Syariah Dalam Pergumulan Politik: Berfilsafat Hukum Islam Dari Harvard Ke Sunan Kalijaga, Edisi Ke-3* (Yogyakarta: pesantren nawasea press, 2007), 59.

⁷² Yudian Wahyudi, *Perang Diponegoro : Tremas, SBY Dan Ploso* (Yogyakarta: Pesantren Nawasea Press, 2012), 3.

Diponegoro and his soldiers was anti-Wahabi.⁷³

The defeat of Prince Diponegoro made the kingdoms in Central Java and Yogyakarta increasingly bound to Dutch rule and away from explicit Islamic influence. Rival palaces in Surakarta even mock Prince Diponegoro for associating with “trash” such as students and scholars; there is even a growing assumption that the palace and pesantren are always contradictory. Kiai Mojo can be disappointed to know that Prince Diponegoro is more interested in electrifying a country after flying the *jihād* flag.⁷⁴ But the Prince’s deep concern for Islam, as instilled by his family Islam and a Sufi teacher of Prince Diponegoro, Kiai Taftayani, cannot be ignored.⁷⁵

Of course, we should not assume that jihad is a Wahabi monopoly or be surprised that Diponegoro’s notebook in Makassar contains prayers related to *syattariyah* and *naqshbandiyah*. A descendant of Prince Diponegoro who visited Manado in the 20th century seemed to be surprised because Kiai Mojo was a *syattariyah*, not a *qodiriyyah wa naqsyabandiyah*. Certainly, Prince Diponegoro’s collection did not meet Wahabi standards. Kiai Mojo behaved differently from the prototype Wahabi, using servants to hold the hem of his white robe and a golden umbrella when walking.

However, Prince Diponegoro was destined to lose the war like the sultan. Assessing Diponegoro’s defeat, Peter Carey wrote “a closed Javanese era.” The confidence of religious community communities was destroyed, Europe replaced Arabi as the dominant foreign power in Java, and Javanese political independence ended. Although Prince Diponegoro was the last Prince to attempt to unite a great alliance with the religious Javanese whites, many kiai continued dialogue with Mecca without referring to the sultan, who soon passed or to various degrees from the Hague.⁷⁶

According to Kiai Jamaluddin, the caretaker of Tambakberas Pesantren, after Kiai Mojo spread prince Diponegoro’s troops, the Diponegoro Warriors jointly established pesantren. Then from the pesantren-pesantren Laskar Diponegoro was born Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) figures. Exactly 100 years after the Diponegoro War in 1826, Nahdlatul Ulama was established in 1926. This argument follows

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁴ Ahmad Mansur Suryanegara, *Api Sejarah* (Bandung: Salamadani, 2013), 205.

⁷⁵ Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara...*, 53.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

the “boast” of Prince Diponegoro, “another hundred years, there will be a thousand Princes of Diponegoro,” the result of Nahdaltul Ulama pesantren-pesantren.⁷⁷ From the various descriptions, it can be concluded that the way of da’wah used by Laskar Diponegoro is “identical” to the method used by Walisongo, who adopts the tasawuf (Sufism) approach so that the practice of da’wah used prioritizes *maslahah* (better). This concept is quite reasonable considering that the supporters of Prince Diponegoro are mostly traditionalist groups of scholars with Sufi ideology. The character of da’wah is now also adopted by Nahdlatul Ulama. As the largest organization in Indonesia, NU is proven to inherit the struggle of Laskar Diponegoro, who consistently maintains the integrity of NKRI by prioritizing the benefit of the people.

Amid the tendency to strengthen radicalism issues related to transnational movements, identity politics, and the incompleteness of questions about the relationship between religion and the state, it feels essential to take lessons from the theme of pesantren, *tarekat syattariyah*, and the Java War. Through the spectrum of the struggle of Prince Diponegoro, who is a cleric, followers of the *tarekat syattariyah*, educated people, and nobles, this study presents the harmony of the pattern of relationship patterns between the network of santri-scholars who have long been built and fostered, so that support is widespread in Java. The colonization and physical war era had ended when the nation’s founders proclaimed Indonesia’s independence. As a reflection by reading and making the history of the struggle of Diponegoro and his soldiers, able to inspire the current generation by developing an attitude of love of the homeland (nationalism) and contributing by optimizing intellectual and spiritual so that human resources are superior and dignified.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that, after the Java war ended, Diponegoro warriors with a santri background and scholars continued the struggle by pioneering the establishment of *nggon ngaji* in the village of *perdikan*, which became the initial embryo of the development of pesantren-pesantren in Java. Within the scope

⁷⁷ “Kiai Jamaluddin Ahmad Di Ponpes Darussalam Summersari Kencong Kepung Pare Kediri Tanggal 7 Juni 2015/ 20 Sya’ban 1436 H.”

of pesantren tradition, Prince Diponegoro, Kiai Mojo, and his soldiers often read and studied the typical yellow books of pesantren such as *Fath al-Qarib*, *Lubâb al-Fiqh*, and *Muḥarrar*, *Ḥakik al-Mudin*, and *Saran al-Mulk*, and *Tuhfah* or *Tuhfah al-Mursalâh ila Rûḥ al-Nabiy* by Sheikh Burhanpuri. This Book of *Tuhfah* explains the philosophy of Sufism about the teachings of the “dignity of the seven,” which signifies that Prince Diponegoro and some people nearby follow the *tarekat syattariyah* had an anti-colonial character. In the character of the da’wah pattern applied by the Diponegoro, the army is more accommodating (moderate) when compared to the puritan Imam Bonjol’s army.

The discussion of the development of pesantren traditions and the existence of the *tarekat syattariyah* in the Java War became an important finding for historians. This finding is due to efforts to reduce history by displaying the figure of Prince Diponegoro only as a royal nobleman, when in fact, he, besides the nobility, is also a santri who holds firm to the values of government. The discussion of this theme also provides important information about the early days of the establishment of pesantren in the early 19th century. For the next researcher, it is important to trace the historical roots of the struggle of Prince Diponegoro and his warriors through primary sources in the form of Diponegoro chronicles and relevant manuscripts such as philological approaches and field observation. It is known that Prince Diponegoro is a productive figure in writing, especially in his exile. In addition, there are also many manuscripts stored in pesantren-pesantren affiliated with Diponegoro warriors, who hold intellectual treasures that are academically interesting.[]

Bibliography

- A. Aziz Masyhuri. 99 *Kiai Pondok Pesantren Nusantara: Riwayat, Perjuangan, Dan Do’a*. Yogyakarta: Kutub, 2007.
- As-Samarani, Muhammad Shaleh. *Tarjamah Sabîl Al-‘Abîd*. Semarang: Toha Putra, n.d.
- Azra, Azyumardi. “Islamisasi Jawa.” *Studi Islamika* Vol. 20, Nomor 1 (2013): 169–79.
- _____. *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Mizan, 1994.

- Baso, Ahmad. *Islam Nusantara: Ijtihad Jenius & Ijma'ulama Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Afid, 2015.
- _____. *Pesantren Studies*. Jakarta: Pustaka Afid, 2013.
- Bizawie, Zainul Milal. "Diponegoro and the Ulama Nusantara Network." *The International Journal of Pegon : Islam Nusantara Civilization* Vol. 3, Nomor 02 (2020): 193–223. <https://doi.org/10.51925/inc.v3i02.26>.
- _____. *Jejaring Ulama Diponegoro: Kolaborasi Santri Dan Ksatria Membangun Islam Kebangsaan Awal Abad Ke-19*. Ciputat: Pustaka Compass, 2019.
- _____. *Laskar Ulama-Santri & Resolusi Jihad: Garda Depan Menegakkan Indonesia*. Ciputat: Pustaka Compass, 2014.
- _____. *Syekh Mutamakkin: Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat*. Jakarta: Pustaka Compass, 2014.
- Bruinessen, Martin Van. *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat*. Cetakan II. Yogyakarta: Gading Publising, 2015.
- Bruinessen, Martin Van. "The Origin and Development of Sufi Orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia." *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 1 (1994): 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v1i1.864>.
- _____. "The Peacock in Sufi Cosmology and Popular Religion (Connections between Indonesia, South India, and the Middle East)." *Episteme* Vol. 15, Nomor 2 (2020): 177–219. <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2020.15.2.177-219>.
- Carey, Peter. *Asal Usul Terjadinya Perang Jawa (1925-1830)*. Yogyakarta: LkiS, 1986.
- _____. *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa, 1785-1855*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2016.
- _____. *Takdir, Riwayat Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*. Jakarta: Kompas, 2012.
- _____. "The Origins of the Java War (1825-30)." *The English Historical Review* 91, no. 358 (1976): 52–78. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/565191>.
- Carey, Peter B. *Kesatria Dan Santri: Beberapa Catatan Tentang Hubungan Pendukung Keraton and Agamawi Diponegoro, Dari Babad Dan Hikayat Sampai Sejarah Kritis; Kum Pulan Karangan Dipersampaikan Kepada Prof. Dr. Sartono Karto Dirdjo*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press., 1987. <https://doi.org/10.1017/50022463400005518>.

- Danandjaja, James. *Folklor Indonesia: Ilmu Gosip, Dongeng, Dan Lain-Lain*. Jakarta: PT. Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1997.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 2015.
- Djamhari, Saleh As'ad. *Strategi Menjinakkan Diponegoro: Stelsel Benteng 1827-1830*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2014.
- Florida, Nancy K. *SHATTĀRIYYA SUFI SCENTS: The Literary World of the Surakarta Palace in Nineteenth-Century Java*. Edited by R. Michael Feener and Anne M. Blackburn. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019.
- Guillot. "Le Role Historique Des Perdikan Ou Villages Francs: Le Cas de Tegalsari." *Archipel* Volume 30 (1985).
- Hardjonagoro. *Sultan Ngabdukkamit Herucakra, Khalifah Rosululloh Di Jawa 1787-1855*. Surakarta: MRP, 1990.
- Huda, Nor. *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2015.
- Ismail, Ibnu Qayyim. *Kyai Penghulu Jawa; Peranannya Di Masa Kolonial*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1984.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono. *Pemberontakan Petani Banten, 1888; Kondisi Jalan Peristiwa Dan Kelanjutannya, Terj. Hasan Basari*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1984.
- _____. *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru: 1500-1900, Dari Emporium Sampai Imperium*. Jakarta: Gramedia, 1987.
- Kuntowijoyo. *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2013.
- Laffan, Michael. *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara (Terj.); The Making of Indonesia Islam*. Yogyakarta: PT Bentang Pustaka, 2015.
- Mas'ud, Abdurrahman. *Intelektual Pesantren; Perhelatan Agama Dan Tradisi*. Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2004.
- Mastuki, and Ishom El-Saha. *Intelektualisme Pesantren: Potret Tokoh Dan Cakrawala Pemikiran Di Era Pertumbuhan Pesantren*. Jakarta: Diva Press, 2003.
- Mumazziq, Rijal. "MENELUSURI JEJAK LASKAR DIPONEGORO DI PESANTREN." *Falasifa* Vol. 7, Nomor 1 (2016): 139-54. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.36835/falasifa.v7i1.10>.
- Poesponegoro, Djonoed Marwati, and Nugroho. Notosusanto. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*. Jakarta: Depdikbud dan Balai Pustaka, 1993.
- Ricklefs, M. C. *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2008*. Jakarta: Serambi, 2008.

- Sugiyono. *Metode Penelitian Bisnis: Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, Kombinasi, R&D*. Edited by Sofia Yustiyani Suryandari. 3rd ed. Bandung: CV Alfabeta, 2017.
- Suminto, Husnul Aqib. *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda; Het Kantoor Voor Inlandsche Zaken*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986.
- Suryanegara, Ahmad Mansur. *Api Sejarah*. Bandung: Salamadani, 2013.
- Wahyudi, Yudian. *Dinamika Politik "Kembali Kepada Al Quran Dan Sunnah" Di Mesir, Maroko, Dan Indonesia, Alih Bahasa Saifuddin Zuhri*. Yogyakarta: pesantren nawasea press, 2010.
- _____. *Maqashid Syariah Dalam Pergumulan Poitik: Berfilsafat Hukum Islam Dari Harvard Ke Sunan Kalijaga, Edisi Ke-3*. Yogyakarta: pesantren nawasea press, 2007.
- _____. *Perang Diponegoro : Tremas, SBY Dan Ploso*. Yogyakarta: Pesantren Nawesea Press, 2012.
- "Kyai Jamaluddin Ahmad Di Ponpes Darussalam Sumber Sari Kencong Kepung Pare Kediri Tanggal 7 Juni 2015/ 20 Sya'ban 1436 H."