

**KAFF AL-'AWÂM :**

**Saat Kiai Hasyim Berbicara  
Sarekat Islam  
Ashari elbahr**

**Suntingan Teks, Terjemahan dan  
Analisis Naratif Kadis Nabi  
Muhammad Dalam Naskah Balines  
Lutfianto**

**Tarekat Khalwadiyah dan  
Perkembangannya di Indonesia  
Retna Dwi Estuningtyas**

**Partisipasi Ulama Perempuan Dalam  
Penyebaran Islam Di Nusantara  
Melalui Pendidikan  
Oga Satria**

**Urgensitas Sanad Sebagai Modal  
Sosial Pesantren Dalam  
Deradikalisasi Islam  
Sufyan Syafi'i**

**Diponegoro and the Ulama  
Nusantara Network  
Zainul Milal Bizawie**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

The International Journal of **PEGON**

Islam Nusantara Civilization

Vol. 3 - Issue 2 - 2020

<b>Table of Contents</b>	iii
<b><i>Kaff Al-‘Awâm</i> : Saat Kiai Hasyim Berbicara Sarekat Islam</b> <i>Ashari elbahr</i>	1
<b>Suntingan Teks, Terjemahan Dan Analisis Naratif Kadis Nabi Muhammad Dalam Naskah Balines</b> <i>Lutfianto</i>	81
<b>Tarekat Khalwatiyah Dan Perkembangannya Di Indonesia</b> <i>Retna Dwi Estuningtyas</i>	113
<b>Partisipasi Ulama Perempuan Dalam Penyebaran Islam Di Nusantara Melalui Pendidikan</b> <i>Oga Satria</i>	131
<b>Urgensitas Sanad Sebagai Modal Sosial Pesantren Dalam Deradikalisasi Islam</b> <i>Sufyan Syafi'i</i>	161
<b>Diponegoro And The Ulama Nusantara Network</b> <i>Zainul Milal Bizawie</i>	191



## DIPONEGORO AND THE ULAMA NUSANTARA NETWORK

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### أبستراك

فيراغ جاوا ميروفاكان فيريستيو فيرلاوانان تيرببسا مشاركات جاوا تيرهاداف فيغوواسا كولونيال. سيباكاى بينتوك فيرلاوانان تيرأخير "تاتانان لاما", فيراغ جاوا مينجادي ساكسي ديلوچوتيا كيراتون-كيراتون جاوا تغاه باكيان سيلتان كيتيكا ويلاياه-ويلاياه ميربكا دي منچانكارا تيمور فون أخيريا ديانيكسيساسي جوكا (١٨٣٠-١٨٣١). (هاوبين ١٩٩٤: ١٧-٧٢). حال إيني دافات دياغكاف سيباكاى رغايبان فانجاغ بينجانا ميليتير, ياغ ديمولاى دي أخير أباد كي-١٧ أوليه فيرلاوانان ترونوجيو (١٦٧٦-١٦٧٩) ياغ تيلاه ميغانچوركان كيكواتان أمغورات I دي أيرا ماتارام. فاذا أخير فيراغ , كيندالي بيلندا أتاس فولأو جاوا ماسيه بيلوم تيرتنديغي. فيران ميربكا بارو بيرأخير ١١٢ تاهون كيموديبان (١٨٣٠-١٩٤٢). إيتو فون دي تاغان جيقاغ (٩ ماريت ١٩٤٢), بيرسيليسيه هاپا ساتو هاري ديغان هاري سات كيتيكا ديفونيكورو ميماسوكي كوتا ماكيلاغ أونتوك ميلاكوكان " فيرونديغان داماي " (٨-٢٨ ماريت ١٨٣٠) ياغ ناس إيتو ديغان دي كأوچك (چاربي ٢٠١٤: ٣٣٨).

دالام فيراغ جاوا، ايديتيتاس جاوا مينجادي فاكفور كونجي سيماعات قارا فيندوكوڭ ديفونيكورو. دي سامثيغ مينجونجوڭ تيغكي مراتبات اكاما اسلام، ريستوراسي نيلاي-نيلاي جاوا سيجارا حصوص ادالاه فيريوريتاس كونجي، ياغ ميندوروڭ قولا راسا فيرموسوهان كيقادا اوراغ نون جاوا، سيلاما فيراغ، تيروتاما قادا بيلاندا. االيانسي كاوم كيساتريا دان سنترى ياغ ديباغون ديفونيكورو تيلاه ميغينسفيراسي فيراغ ليما تاهون ياغ ميمفيروليه دوكونان سوسيبال ساغات لوواس دان اونيك ديبان سيماعات كياكامان. بهكان فاسجا فيراغ جاوا، بيلاندا ميغاكاف فاكايان فيراغ سوچي بيتو سيباكي لمباغ كيجاهاتان سوبفيري سي باكي باغساوان جاوا) چاري، 2017: 166) سيسا-سيسا تيراخير كيلواركا تراه ديفونيكوران دياپاهكان داري كيراتون. ايني ارتيا، كولونيبال بيلاندا تيروس بير اوفايا ميميساهكان تراه ديفونيكاران ديبان كاوم اليم اولاما، مينجاوهكان قارا كيساتريا ديفونيكورو ياغ ماسيه تيرسيسا ديبان جيجاريج سانترى ياغ بيرتيبيران دي بيرباكي ويلايه جاوا.

توليسان ايني اكان ميغيكسفلوراسي جاريغان اولاما سانترى ديفونيكورو، ميسكيفون دالام توكوه-توكوهيا تيلاه باپاك ديسيغكوڭ. داري ديفونيكورو دان كياي موجو بيريكوت جيجاريج اولاما سانترى دالام ميمباغون بالاد اسلام، ياغ قادا اينتيا ميميليكي توجووان ساما، ياليتو مينسينيركيان اسلام دان تاتانان مشاركات، ميغكونستروك سيبوواه اسلام كيباغسان ياغ دي كيموديبان هاري دي تاغان حضرة الشيخ هشيم اشعارى دان قارا اولاما لاينا بيرحصيل ديباغون اونتوك مينكاگان ن.ك.ر.ا. لنتاس، سيباكااه ياغ ميلنجوتكان ريستوراسي كيباين اسلام دي جاوا دان ميغكونيكسيكانيا ديبان لووار جاوا؟ تينتو ساجا تيداك داقات ديجيلاسكان ديبان ميغوكاف قارا كيتورونان ياغ سيلاما ايني همفير سياباد ديكجار-كيجار دان هيدوف دالام كيتير هيمفيتان كارينا ديبورو كولونيبال بيلاندا.

ساتو حال ياغ ديتانامكان ديفونيكورو ادالاه ايبا تيداك ميليهات ادا كونفليك ياغ ميليكات انتارا الام سفيريتووال جاوا دان كيدودوكانبا سيباكي باكيان داري اومات اسلام دي دونيبا، ياغ فوسات-فوساتپا بيرادا دي حجاز (اراب ساودي) دان تركي عثمانى. اوليه كارينا ايتو، بوكان سواتو كيبيتولان قارا اولاما اتاو كالاغان سانترى كيموديبان ميمباغون جاريغان دي حرامين دالام فينجورو قارا مفتي تركي عثمانى

دي حجاز، ياغ نانتيا ديكينال كومونيتاس جاوا (جامعه الجويين) ياغ بيرأوجوغ مونچوليا توكوه سيفيرتي حضرة الشيخ هشيم أشعاري. كيبيرادان هشيم أشعاري ميموكا تابير بيتاغا جيجاريغ كيايلموانيا بيرسمبوغ ديغان جيجاريغ فيرجوواغانيا كي لاسكار فادا سنترى دان كساتريا ديفونيكورو جوکا تيرهوبوغ ديغان اولاما نوسانتارا لاينا، بهكان تيلاه ميندونيا، سيكاليكوس ميغهبوغيكان فادا ساند كيقادا اولاما-اولاما سييلوميا. كارينا ايتو ميوسوري جيجاريغ دان ساند تيرسيبوت ساغات فينتيغ اونتوك ميغودار كيکواتان دهشات داري سفيريت اسلام دالام ميمباغون نيلاي-نيلاي كيغسان دي ايندونيسيا، ياغ بيربيدا داري باغونان ناسيوناليسي دي نيکارا-نيکارا بارات. سفيريت اسلام ايتو تيرواريسكان دان تيرجاکا دالام جيجاريغ دان ساند فارا اولاما ياغ بيرحصيل ميمبنتوك کاراکتير كياسلامان ياغ حاص دي نوسانتارا. جيجاريغ اولاما ديفونيكورو مينجادي تينيك كروسيال كيغراه اولاما-سنترى نوسانتارا دالام ميروات تراديسي اسلام دي نوسانتارا دان مينوسانتارا دي حرامين. كريا-كريا ميريك مينجادي ريفيرينسي اوتاما سيستيم فيمبيلاجاران دي سورأو، فيسانترين دان مدراسه هيغكا سات اينيا. اولاما جاوي مينوليس تيكس ديغان ميغكوناكان افسارا فيكون، يکني بيرأفسارا ارب نامون ديغان باهاسا جاوا. كتاب-كتاب فيكون اينيله ياغ مينجادي تراديسي فيغيتاهووان دان فورماسي تيكس ياغ کوکوه سيباکاي سيستيم كومونيكاسي اولاما اونتوك ميلاوان كولونياليسي. كتاب-كتاب فيكون مينجادي وارينسان سيجاراه ياغ مينجادي مورا کوسمولوگي فيمکيران، ديناميکا فيغيتاهووان دان اکومولاسي کيبودايان اولاما جاوي دان فيسانترين دي نيگيري اينيا.

**کاتا کونچي:** ديفونيكورو، جيجاريغ اولاما، سنترى، مگه، جاوي،  
نوسانتارا

## Abstrak

Perang Jawa merupakan peristiwa perlawanan terbesar masyarakat Jawa terhadap penguasa kolonial. Sebagai bentuk perlawanan terakhir ‘tatanan lama’, Perang Jawa menjadi saksi dilucutinya keraton-keraton Jawa tengah bagian selatan ketika wilayah-wilayah mereka di mancanegara timur pun akhirnya dianeksasi juga (1830-1831) (Houben 1994: 17-72). Hal ini dapat dianggap sebagai rangkaian panjang bencana militer, yang dimulai di akhir abad ke-17 oleh perlawanan Trunojoyo (1676-1679) yang telah menghancurkan kekuatan Amangkurat I di era Mataram. Pada akhir perang, kendali Belanda atas Pulau Jawa masih belum tertandingi. Peran mereka baru berakhir 112 tahun kemudian (1830-1942). Itu pun di tangan Jepang (9 Maret 1942), berselisih hanya satu hari dengan hari saat ketika Diponegoro memasuki kota Magelang untuk melakukan “perundingan damai” (8-28 Maret 1830) yang naas itu dengan De Kock (Carey 2014: 338).

Dalam perang Jawa, identitas Jawa menjadi faktor kunci semangat para pendukung Diponegoro. Di samping menjunjung tinggi martabat agama Islam, restorasi nilai-nilai Jawa secara khusus adalah prioritas kunci, yang mendorong pula rasa permusuhan kepada orang non Jawa, selama perang, terutama pada Belanda. Aliansi kaum ksatria dan santri yang dibangun Diponegoro telah menginspirasi perang lima tahun yang memperoleh dukungan sosial sangat luas dan unik dengan semangat keagamaan. Bahkan pasca Perang Jawa, Belanda menganggap pakaian perang suci itu sebagai lambang kejahatan subversi bagi bangsawan Jawa (Carey, 2017: 166) Sisa-sisa terakhir keluarga trah Diponegaran dienyahkan dari keraton. Ini artinya, Kolonial Belanda terus berupaya memisahkan trah Diponegaran dengan kaum alim ulama, menjauhkan para ksatria Diponegoro yang masih tersisa dengan jejaring santri yang bertebaran di berbagai wilayah Jawa.

Tulisan ini akan mengeksplorasi jaringan ulama santri Diponegoro, meskipun dalam tokoh-tokohnya telah banyak disinggung. Juga memberikan perspektif lain dalam membaca perbedaan pendapat dan strategi dari Diponegoro dan Kyai Mojo berikut jejaring ulama santrinya dalam membangun Balad Islam, yang pada intinya memiliki tujuan sama, yaitu mensinergikan Islam dan tatanan masyarakat, mengkonstruksi sebuah Islam Kebangsaan yang di kemudian hari di tangan Hadratus Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari dan para ulama lainnya berhasil dibangun untuk menegakkan NKRI. Lantas, siapakah yang melanjutkan restorasi kejayaan Islam di Jawa dan mengkoneksikannya dengan luar Jawa? Tentu saja tidak dapat dijelaskan dengan mengungkap para keturunannya yang selama hampir seabad dikejar-kejar dan hidup dalam keterhimpitan karena diburu Kolonial Belanda.

Satu hal yang ditanamkan Diponegoro adalah ia tidak melihat ada konflik yang melekat antara alam spiritual Jawa dan kedudukannya sebagai bagian dari umat Islam di dunia, yang pusat-pusatnya berada di Hijaz (Arab Saudi) dan Turki Usmani. Oleh karena itu, bukan suatu kebetulan para ulama atau kalangan santri kemudian membangun jaringan di Haramain dalam penjuruan para mufti Turki Usmani di Hijaz, yang nantinya dikenal komunitas Jawa (jama'ah al Jawiyyin) yang berujung munculnya tokoh seperti Hadratus Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari. Keberadaan Hasyim Asy'ari membuka tabir betapa jejaring keilmuannya bersambung dengan jejaring perjuangannya ke laskar para santri dan ksatria Diponegoro juga terhubung dengan ulama nusantara lainnya, bahkan telah mendunia, sekaligus menghubungkan pada sanad kepada ulama-ulama sebelumnya. Karena itu, menyusuri jejaring dan sanad tersebut sangat penting untuk mengudarkan kekuatan dahsyat dari spirit Islam dalam membangun nilai-nilai kebangsaan di Indonesia, yang berbeda dengan bangunan nasionalisme di negara-negara Barat. Spirit Islam itu terwariskan dan terjaga dalam jejaring dan sanad para ulama yang berhasil membentuk karakter keislaman yang khas di Nusantara. Jejaring

ulama Diponegoro menjadi titik krusial kiprah ulama-santri Nusantara dalam merawat tradisi Islam di Nusantara dan menusanantara di haramain. Karya-karya mereka menjadi referensi utama sistem pembelajaran di surau, pesantren dan madrasah hingga saat ini. Ulama Jawi menulis teks dengan menggunakan aksara Pegon, yakni beraksara Arab namun dengan bahasa Jawa. Kitab-kitab Pegon inilah yang menjadi tradisi pengetahuan dan formasi teks yang kokoh sebagai sistem komunikasi ulama untuk melawan kolonialisme. Kitab-kitab Pegon menjadi warisan sejarah yang menjadi muara kosmologi pemikiran, dinamika pengetahuan dan akumulasi kebudayaan ulama Jawi dan pesantren di negeri ini.

**Kata Kunci:** *Diponegoro, Jejaring Ulama, Santri, Makkah, Jawi, Nusantara*

### **Abstract**

The Javanese War was the event of the greatest resistance of the Javanese against the colonial authorities. As the last form of 'old order' resistance, the Java War witnessed the disarmament of the southern central Java palaces when their territories in eastern countries were finally annexed (1830-1831) (Houben 1994: 17-72). At the end of the war, Dutch control of Java was still unchallenged. Their role only ended 112 years later (1830-1942). That, too, was in the hands of the Japan (March 9, 1942), disputing only one day with the day when Diponegoro entered the city of Magelang to conduct a "peace negotiation" (March 8-28, 1830) with De Kock (Carey 2014: 338).

In the Java war, Javanese identity became a key factor in the enthusiasm of Diponegoro's supporters like Meiji Restoration in Japan. Besides upholding the dignity of the Islamic religion, restoration of Javanese values in particular was a key priority,

which also encouraged enmity towards non-Javanese during the war, especially to the Netherlands. The alliance of knights (ksatria) and muslim students (santri) built by Diponegoro has inspired a five-year war that seeks social support that is very broad and unique with religious fervor. Even after the Java War, the Dutch regarded the holy war clothing as a symbol of subversion crime for Javanese aristocrats (Carey, 2017: 166). The last remnants of the Diponegaran family were removed from the palace. This means, the Dutch Colonial continued to try to separate the Diponegaran breed from the religious scholars (Ulama), keeping the remaining Diponegoro knights from the santri network scattered in various parts of Java.

This paper will explore the network of Diponegoro ulama-santri (scholars-students), although many of the characters have already been mentioned. Also provides another perspective in reading differences of opinion and strategy from Diponegoro and Kyai Mojo along with a network of ulama-santri in building an Islamic Balad (region/city/land), which in essence has the same goal, namely to synergize Islam and the order of society, to construct an Islamic Nationality which was later in the hands of Hadratus Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari and other scholars succeeded in being built to uphold the Republic of Indonesia. Then, who continues the restoration of the glory of Islam in Java and connects with it outside Java? Of course it cannot be explained by exposing its descendants who for nearly a century were chased and lived in coincidence because they were hunted down by the Dutch Colonial.

One thing that was instilled by Diponegoro was that he did not see any inherent conflict between the Javanese spiritual realm and its position as part of the world's Muslims, whose centers were in Hijaz (Saudi Arabia) and Ottoman Turkey. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the ulama or the santri community then built a network in Haramain throughout the Ottoman Mufti in the

Hijaz, which would later be known by the Javanese community (jama'ah al Jawiyyin) which led to the emergence of figures such as Hadratus Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari. The existence of Hasyim Asy'ari opened the veil of how his scientific network was connected with his struggle network to the paramilitary forces of the Diponegoro ulama-santri and knights also connected with other archipelago (nusantara) scholars, even worldwide, as well as connecting to sanad (scientific continuity) to previous scholars. Therefore, going through the network and sanad is very important to fade the awesome power of the spirit of Islam in building national values in Indonesia, which is different from the building of nationalism in Western countries. The spirit of Islam is inherited and maintained in the network and sanad of the scholars who succeeded in forming a unique Islamic character in Indonesia. The Diponegoro ulama network has become a crucial point in the progress of Nusantara's ulama-santri in caring for Islamic traditions in the nusantara and widespread throughout the Nusantara in mecca. Their works have become the main reference for learning systems in surau, pesantren and madrasa to date. The works are a historical legacy which is the mouth of cosmology of thought, the dynamics of knowledge and the accumulation of the culture of Jawi scholars and pesantren in this country.

**Keywords:** *Diponegoro, Nertwork of Ulama, santri, Mecca, Jawi, Nusantara*

## INTRODUCTION

The Javanese War was the last attempt of the old Javanese order to repel Dutch colonialism in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century led by Prince Diponegoro. Prince Harya Diponegoro, also known as Diponegoro, was born in Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, 11 November 1785 - died in Makassar, 8 January 1855 at the age of 69. Prince Diponegoro was the eldest son of Sultan Hamengkubuwana III, the third king in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. Even if it fails, its inspiration will be captured by later generations. In the Javanese war, Javanese identity became a key factor in the spirit of Diponegoro supporters. Besides upholding the dignity of the Islamic religion, restoration of Javanese values in particular was a key priority, which also encouraged hostility towards non-Javanese during the war, especially in the Dutch. The alliance of knights and *santri* has inspired a five-year war that has gained very broad and unique social support with a religious spirit. However, this alliance is an unstable relationship, which even a Diponegoro prince of Islam cannot keep it.

To find out the events of Javanese War, there are several Javanese chronicles (*babad* or *Hikayat*) to study the history of Prince Diponegoro (1785-1855) and the Java War (1825-1830). In brief there are three groups of *Babad* Diponegoro: (1) manuscripts written by Diponegoro himself and his close relatives, such as his eldest son, Pangeran Diponegoro Muda (around 1803 - after March 1856); (2) a chronicle written after the war on the orders of the first regent of Purworejo, Raden Adipati Cokronegoro I (served 1831-1856), known as the *Babad Kedung Kebo*, and (3) a chronicle written in the Yogyakarta and Surakarta palaces.

Diponegoro's chronicle (*Babad*) (written or dictated in Manado 13 November 1931-3 February 1932) is Java's most famous historical source and is now recognized as Memory of the Word by UNESCO (18 June 2013), a copy of which is at Leiden University, LOr 6537a-d (Collection GAJ Hazeu). The *Babad Kedung Kebo* was written in the early 1840s and one copy of it can be found in the Leiden University Library (LOR 2163). This chapter was written by order of Cokronegoro I, one of Diponegoro's main opponents in the Bagelan area. There is also a high probability that a former Diponegoro commander, Basah Pengalasan (around 1795-1866) also co-authored the book (Carey, 1974b: 259-288). While *Babad Surakarta* tells the events leading up to and after the Java War on July 20, 1825, a copy of which was in the Leiden Library (LOR 2114).

These three texts according to Carey (2017: 6), have important historical value because they were written by people who lived during with the Java War. *Babad* is basically a literary work, not historical narrative or chronology. *Babad* is important as a symbol of the legitimacy or authorization of power in the context of Javanese society. *Babad* is made for a unique family heritage. Babad Diponegoro wrote to relieve the deep sorrow experienced when arrested through treason in Magelang (28 April 1830). He also admitted making *Babad* to ask God's forgiveness for all sins, both those he had done himself and those that his family had done. He wants to explain why his struggle demands power and for whose authority. Whereas in the *Babad Kedung Kebo*, the aims are essentially the same, but are veiled in a more mundane context; Cokronegoro wanted to provide basic rights for the dynasties of the regents he had established in Purworejo (east Bagelan); that he did during the Java War is something that is meaningful for the enforcement of its power (Carey, 1974b: 261). This

chronicle also addresses the issue of power and strings attached in connection with the reason Cokronegoro decided to fight against Diponegoro even though both were students of the same kyai, Kyai Taptojani, who in pre 1805 became a *perdikan ageng* (head of the pesantren) Mlangi near Yogya (Carey, 2017: 8).

According to Carey, Diponegoro had offered the opportunity to understand the cultural origins of the Javanese Sufi Muslim worldview of the great people in the main transitional period between the 'old order' of Java in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the rise of colonial era, which began since the Dutch victory in the Java War (Carey, 2014: xxi). In the aftermath of the Javanese War, the Dutch continued to separate the Diponegoro family and breed, distancing the remaining Diponegoro knights from the *santri* network spreaded in various parts of Java. The collaboration of *santri* and knights that had been built by Diponegoro continued to be undermined by the Dutch Colonial so that the spirit of Islam would not become a coal in power in the kingdom of Surakarta, Yogyakarta and other kingdoms, but in fact it met and was consolidated in Mecca until Dutch sent Snouck Hurgronje to Mecca to investigate.

Diponegoro war is a war that is motivated by oppression and repression of all freedoms and independence as a nation. A war that was not caused by takeover of the land. Diponegoro's desire to sit down to become king who had never been proven at all, but he tried to protect the interests of the Javanese in their own land from the hands of a foreign nation is sufficient to prove that at that time the spirit of the soul possessed sovereignty as a nation was already firmly attached to Diponegoro's heart (Sodewo, 2017: 74). Diponegoro emerged in the midst of waning awareness of having a sovereign and self-reliant nation, amidst the strong European culture permeating the joints of the

life of the aristocracy and court officials which then impacted on the conditions in society which had to endure misery. Diponegoro does not worry about wealth or position, but rather independence and freedom as an independent nation in line with other nations and conduct mutually beneficial cooperation, not occupation in any form (Sodewo, 2017: 76).

Diponegoro seeks to uphold the love of the homeland as an independent nation based on the spirit of Islam as a religion. At the same time, he also loved Javanese tradition as his identity which underlies his identity even as a muslim but does not discard Javanese as his nation. Precisely both are wrapped and packaged very beautifully by Diponegoro as an attitude of nationalism and independence as a civilized nation. His love for the Prophet Muhammad and Islam is as great as his love for his homeland and Javanese culture (read: Indonesia) (Sodewo, 2017: 79). This is because Diponegoro is not only a prince, but also a *santri* as well as an *ulama* who is quite close to the world of *pesantren*.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF ISLAMIC NATION SPIRIT AND ULAMA NETWORK**

In several of his books on Diponegoro and expressly stated in the book "The Other Side of Diponegoro" (2017: 9), Carey acknowledged that he had not yet discussed in detail how the impression of Islam, both as a force legitimizing the framework of traditional Javanese culture, and as a force innovative at the beginning of the XIX century (Ricklefs, 2006). Therefore, this article will complement Carey's study, which has not yet explored the network of Diponegoro *Ulama-santri*, although the characters have been mentioned a lot. Besides, provides another perspective in reading

differences of opinion and strategy from Diponegoro and Kyai Mojo along with a network of *Ulama-santri* in building an Islamic *Balad*, which basically has the same goal, namely to synergize Islam and the order of society, to construct an Islamic nationality which was later in the hands of Hadratussyekh Hasyim Asy'ari and other *ulama* succeeded in being built to uphold the Republic of Indonesia. Moreover, Carey explicitly stated that the Java War provided the driving force for a process that continues to roll in modern Indonesia, namely the integration of Islamic values into the identity of Indonesia today (Carey, 2014: xxvii). Although Diponegoro failed to achieve his goal of restoring the glory of Islam in Java, the dignity and integrity championed in the name of Javanese Muslims finally came into being 90 years after his death, marked by the proclamation or declaration of Indonesia's independence, August 17 1945. So, who will continue the restoration of the glory of Islam in Java and connect it to outside Java? Of course it cannot be explained by exposing its descendants who for nearly a century were chased and lived in coincidence because they were hunted down by the Dutch Colonial.

One thing that has been planted by Diponegoro is that it does not show any inherent conflict between the Javanese spiritual realm and its position as part of the world's Muslims, whose centers are in Hijaz (Saudi Arabia) and Ottoman Turkey. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the *ulama* or the *santri* circles then built a network in Mecca in the corners of the Ottoman Mufti in the Hijaz, which would later be known by the Javanese community (*jama'ah al Jawiyyin*) which led to the emergence of figures such as Hadratussyekh Hasyim Asy'ari. The existence of Hasyim Asy'ari unmasked how his scientific network was connected with the network of his struggle to the army of the *santri* and the Diponegoro knights and was also connected to other

Nusantara's *ulama*, even worldwide, as well as connecting to *sanad* to previous scholars. Therefore, going through the network and *sanad* is very important to fade the awesome power of the spirit of Islam in building national values in Indonesia, which is different from the building of nationalism in Western countries. The spirit of Islam is inherited and maintained in the network and *sanad* of the *ulama* who succeeded in forming a unique Islamic character in the Nusantara.

The color of Diponegoro's struggle is indeed very thick with the nuances of Islam, evidenced by the support of *pesantren* and *kyai* who are in the Diponegoro paramilitary army (Sodewo, 2017: 76). Nuances of Islam also appear in the troops of the army which are given names such as the Turkish military and fostered *jihad*. Even though it is full of Islamic nuances, this cannot be interpreted by Diponegoro wanting to establish an Islamic state in the land of Java. Diponegoro only straightens the intention as a human being who must fight for the truth and get the pleasure of God. He was well aware that the existence of *sunan* and *sultan* had become a tool for the Dutch Company to blackmail the people must be immediately ended, because *sunan* and *sultan* were a *sayidin panatagama* which means the leader and stylist of the religion, not merely as a regional ruler. Diponegoro realized that the founding of the land of Mataram was to create prosperity based on religious spirit, which happened to the Mataram kingdom to use Islam as a choice and look in the mirror of the Turkish kingdom at that time (Sodewo, 2017: 77).

Previous to the Diponegoro era, the Mataram kings had appointed *ulamas* devoted to certain villages with tasks including guarding the tombs of the royal elite and the nobility, teaching Islam, and organizing various religious activities in village mosques. *Perdikan* (tax free Village) formed religious communities under the

leadership of the *ulama* in which Islamic teachings were applied and Islamic rules were made. Thus in this *perdikan*, the *pesantren* was first established. Fokkens (1886: 478-480) explains the existence of the village in detail, stating that the teaching of Islam in *pesantren* is one of the most important aspects of community life in the village. Therefore, *perdikan* is considered to contribute to the process of Islamization of local communities. *Perdikan* was built by referring to the traditional system of land tenure in Java, where the village was determined not by geographical boundaries, but the population, precisely the family of farmers (*cacah*), who settled in the village. As such, *perdikan* has created a rural community, and agriculture - to be precise, rice fields - is the main source of economic life.

Diponegoro's experience of physical and spiritual wandering has changed attitudes, ideas and views about himself and society. In his wandering, he was not only Javanese, but also a Muslim, "I am not Diponegoro, I am Ngabdul Kamid" (Vlekke, 1959: 284). He also began to leave Javanese clothes and replace them with all-white apostolic clothing. Symbolically, that attitude confirms his idealism to follow in the footsteps and actions of the Prophet (Djamhari, 2014: 30). He identified the Yogyakarta palace government as a *jahiliyah* community, so he felt obliged to turn it into an Islamic society based on the Prophet's guidance. According to him, arranging a new society in an *Islamic balad* (state) container could be achieved through a *sabil* (holy) war against infidels. (Van Der Kemp, 1896: 567-568; Djamhari, 2014: 30). His extensive association with the *santri* and peasant communities made it easy for him to gain the sympathy, support and recognition (legitimacy) of leadership from the community (Carey, 1986: 62), moreover he was a descendant of the *Sultan* (King). Therefore, the prince's deep concern for Islam as instilled by his family

towards Islam and a Sufi teacher of Prince Diponegoro namely Kyai Taptojani, cannot be ignored (Laffan, 2017: 53).

His determination to establish an *Islamic ballad* was stronger because of his close relations with subordinate, *demang*, *bekel*, *kyai* and *ulama* leaders, especially Kyai Mlangi, Kyai Kwaron and Kyai Taptojani (Vlekke, 1959: 275). And Tegalrejo are markplaats, which are places to "sell and buy" ideas, ideological concepts, politics, statehood, culture, military, strategic plans and actions; a gathering place for community leaders when in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta there was a leadership vacuum (Louw, 1894, I: 97-106); The place of Diponegoro get a basis of legitimacy through voluntary consensus from interested parties (Babad I: 1983, 103; Djamhari, 2014: 30).

The role of the santri also cannot be ignored. They are the leading communicators for the delivery of ideas and ideas about *Islamic ballads*, stable warfare and ignorance. They are a group that has a wide network in the community. In the *pesantren* tradition, a student who has graduated is required to undergo a kind of 'initiation', wandering from one place to another, to teach his knowledge to others (Djamhari, 2014: 31).

The idea of *Islamic ballad* led Diponegoro to elaborate on the concept of *jihad* as well as the *khilafah* which of course was influenced by the *fiqh* books he studied. The concept of *jihad* and *khilafah* is rarely discussed by *serat* and *babad*, let alone the context at that time in the royal system. The quality of the leader must radiate out in the form of blessing or "*mupangat*" (benefit) that can be felt and enjoyed by others around him. In other words, a measure of the quality of one's leadership must be proven from the reality of the extent to which the leader is able to bring the people around him to prosper. All people,

without discrimination (*tan ana kang bineda*), and all are the same brothers (*sami kinulawisuda*).

*Khilafah* discourse conveyed by Kyai Mojo is a new idea that goes beyond the monarchical system including the Ottoman Turks, moreover some Islamic kingdoms in the Nusantara do not have a history of direct linkages under the sultanates or dynastic / monarchical rulings change the Middle East. The division of power that was discussed in the application of the *Khilafah* (read: the government that followed the teachings of Islam) by the Kyai Mojo was actually pillars of power in the nation state, unlike the concept of the caliphate according to Islamic state fighters. This idea could have been spread in the Nusantara long ago and became the political thought of scholars who have scholars such as Kyai Mojo since Walisongo. Even about forty years after the Java War, the Nusantara scholars (*ulama*) had held a meeting in Aceh and declared what they called "*jumhuriyah Indunisiyah*" (Republic of Indonesia) at 1874, whereas at that time in several areas there were still kingdoms and Dutch control.

That is, the *ulama* in the Nusantara apparently discussed the *Khilafah* as a system that provided for the distribution of power before European countries sparked the trias politica which would be realized in the *jumhuriyah Indunisiyah*. They refer to the views of Imam Mawardi, in his two books, *al-Ahkamul Sulthaniyyah* and *adabul Dunya wal Diin* which states clearly that what the first leader must do is "*hifzul diin*" to guard the religion. The duty of the leader of a Muslim country is to protect the interests of religion, state affairs, and the people. This is what underlies the political stance of the Nusantara scholars (*ulama*) in responding to various problems in society during the colonial period to state that Indonesia is *darus salam* or *darul ahdi*

*waladah* until finally establishing Indonesia as the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

What was discussed by Diponegoro and Kyai Mojo did not find a common ground, but it had sparked the values of a strong national spirit as well as explored the right system to be applied later. Each time there was a difference of opinion, both of them reverted to the book *Nashihatul Muluk* by Imam al-Ghazali, which has long been a guide to several sultanates in the Nusantara. Books such as *Tajus-Salathin* from Aceh, *al-Mawahib* from Mecca about fatwas on political problems in the Nusantara, to the *Serat Nawawi* inspired from the book *Nashihatul Muluk*. In fact, Kyai Mojo and Diponegoro also always referred to the *Taqrib* and *Fath al-Wahhab* as books that were routinely studied in the presence of the *ulama* during guerrilla.

Enlightening and inspiring discussion between Kyai Mojo and Pangeran Diponegoro on the building of this nation is an indication of the strong determination of the Nusantara's *umara* (government) and *ulama* to realize a strong community order in accordance with Islam that had been predicted or hinted by *waliyullah* or *ulama* since Walisongo. Therefore, the discussion of Kyai Mojo and Pangeran Diponegoro recorded in the *babad Diponegoro* should be interpreted as the difference between the two models in regulating *pesantren*-based power. That is, even though Diponegoro seemed to maintain his noble tradition, it did not mean he would establish what was often called feudalism. Diponegoro prince wanted a strong government without being disturbed by the Dutch Colonial, but still in the leadership tradition that he obtained from the world of *santri*, markets and agriculture.

In fact, this was also done in the era of Sultan Malik Zhahir in the Pasai Ocean. He remains a trader, not a land ruler and tax collector.

Ibn Battuta in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, noted that the King of Pasai had a merchant ship and trade representative in Guangzhou, China. That is to say, the kings of the Nusantara were not feudal kings, nor were the owners and rulers of the land collect taxes and tribute from their people. Trade is also an initial instrument to drive awareness about an independent, sovereign nation and an instrument of welfare for the people. The principle that needs to be underlined from the experience of Diponegoro who was educated in the pesantren tradition is the importance of being a ruler who expedites markets and trade, and makes food cheap.

However, Diponegoro was destined to lose the war. Assessing the defeat of Diponegoro, Carey wrote, "an era in Javanese history is closed". The confidence of the religious communities was destroyed, Europe replaced Arabs as the dominant foreign power in Java, and the political independence of the kings of Central Java came to an end. Although Diponegoro was the last prince who sought to unite a large alliance with religious Javanese princes, many *ulama* continued dialogue with Mecca without referring to the imminent sultans or to various decrees from The Hague (Laffan, 2013: 53). It was these *ulama* who continued their struggle, how the *ulama-santri* network was consolidated in Mecca and the Nusantara which was not controlled by the power in the palace, but by the strong teacher-student relationship, *sanad* (intellectual chain) supported by a solid kinship network even connected to the Ottoman Turkish mufti network.

## NETWORK OF ULAMA EXTENDS TO NUSANTARA IN MECCA:

### *JAMĀ'AH AL-JĀWIIYYĪN*

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although the form of the capitalistic economy began to spread to the villages, the *pesantren* did not necessarily carry the current. The *ulama* actually carried out various strategies to fortify the community by placing their *pesantren* close to economic centers such as the Dutch Colonial sugar factories. On the one side, the village elite including *ulama* began to gain material benefits due to new economic changes that resulted in the creation of changes in the structure of people's lives (Burger, 1983). *Ulama* grew to become the leading elite in the field of religion as well as the economy and politics in the country side. However, after experiencing much resistance led by religious leaders who had made the majority of the hajj, hajj was seen as a means of a spirit of rebellion - brought to Mecca by Indian rebel Muslims who sought refuge in Mecca - as a source religious imagination of pilgrims from the Nusantara (Laffan 2003: 38). In his research in Mecca, Snouck Hurgronje recommended that the Jawi community in Mecca be more influential in determining the development of Islam in the Nusantara, rather than the pilgrims. Because the Jawi community had made Mecca the 'heart of religious life in the Nusantara' (Hurgronje 1931: 291). The Jawi community further strengthens an increasingly intensive network between Southeast Asia and the Middle East. The wide circulation of the books and the increasing demand for fatwas from the Meccan scholars was among the evidence of the increasing network (Jajat 2012: 108). For *pesantren* scholars, the learning experience (*thalab al ilm*) in Mecca had a major impact on the development of the *pesantren*

into a distinct community, through which they built religious authority among Muslims.

In this connection, the existence of Nusantara scholars in Mecca such as Syekh Nawawi Banten, Syekh Makhfud Termas and others have a strategic role. They not only achieved prominent intellectual positions in the Middle East, but also became one of the most important scholars who played a role in the process of transmitting Islam and the continuity of the *Sanad* to the Nusantara. In addition to making these scholars have a close relationship with *ulama* at the center of Islam, Mecca's experience also made him recognized as part of the *ulama's* circle in Mecca (Jajat, 2012: 110).

In his Mecca, Hurgronje wrote several biographies of Jawi scholars based on the information of his assistant Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (1854-1914), a Banten elite who wrote *Tarajim al Ulama al Jawa* (Cod. Or 7111) (Laffan 1999: 527). In the book, Jawi scholars are portrayed involved in Islamic learning as well as socio-intellectual interactions, which in turn adds to the feeling of being part of the *ulama* community among the Jawi community. On this basis, Mecca at the end of the 19th century became the center of *ulama* cadre, together with its emergence as a learning destination for Muslims. The religiously neutral authority of Sharif Usman, different from the previous theocratic Saudi Wahabi Dynasty (Didier 1985: 89), encouraged the growth of a conducive intellectual climate in which scholars from various schools of Islamic law could live. In this situation, and supported by changes in the sea transportation system, immigrants from Islamic countries (*Al mujawirin*) increased rapidly. They make up almost half of Mecca's total population of 150,000 in 1909 (Orphans 1999: 180; Jajat 2012: 113). The scholars made a circle of recitation (*halaqah*) in the Grand Mosque for the colleagues of his

area who made *rihlah* to Mecca, even reaching around 120 halaqas. From these halaqas, the Jawi community built an intellectual network between the Nusantara and the Middle East.

Laffan (1999: 517-542) and Jajat (2012) considered Snouck Hurgronje in his works to be more perspective in Banten, where his assistant, Aboe Bakar Djajaningrat had a point. Hurgronje did not find many influential ulama other than Syekh Nawawi al Bantani, which was quite a lot, and as a result, his analysis and recommendations to the Dutch colonials, although in a few effective years, turned out to be not what was imagined, so finally the Dutch colonial collapsed because of the solid network of Nusantara scholars who are not only devoted to the Sheikh Nawawi Banten. The establishment of NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) by Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari and Muhammadiyah by KH Ahmad Dahlan became strong evidence of solidity and good solidarity among the scholars. Many *ulama* shafts are more rooted in the Nusantara and have a wider network from the west to the eastern end of the Nusantara. In short, when the Islamic empires collapsed one by one, the *ulama* actually spread and established networks in Mecca.

Mecca is no longer interpreted as a spiritual center for political power, as revealed in royal texts, but is starting to be seen as a center of Islamic learning. This changing perception took place simultaneously with the emergence of a new configuration in Islam in the Nusantara when *ulama* institutions such as *pesantren* began to take a major part in the development of Islam (Jajat 2012: 98). The emergence of *pesantren* scholars, especially Sheikh Hasyim Asy'ari and other scholars, cannot be separated from the role of the Nusantara scholars in Mecca. These scholars became spiritual and scientific satellites in the Nusantara. Sheikh Mahfudz Termas, Sheikh Khalil Bangkalan, Sheikh Sholeh Darat, Sheikh Zainuddin Sumbawi, Sheikh

Nawawi Banten and others are the main knots of spiritual and intellectual genealogy of *pesantren* scholars in Indonesia. They are recognized as having laid a solid foundation not only for the growth of *pesantren*, but also in the formation of social solidarity among the *ulama* (Dhofier 1982: 91). These scholars who came from Indonesia were also contemporaries and teachers in Mecca with some scholars from Patani including Sheikh Muhammad Zain bin Mustafa Al-Fathani (Born 1233 H./1817 AD, died 1325 H./1908 AD).

Mecca really has become the center of prayer not only as the direction of prayer, but an achievement goal that will increase both religious and spiritual authority. Therefore, the formation of the *Jawi* community in Mecca, making Islam in the Nusantara increasingly fully integrated with the Islamic center. the *Jawi* community, a term used for Muslims in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, proves that the spirit of *thalab al 'ilm* became one of the main aspects of their perception of the pilgrimage. Snouck Hurgronje (1931: 254) shows how Islamic teaching became an important feature, describing it as a major element in the *Jawi* community.

The association of scholars is known as the *Jawi* community, or *Jamâ'ah al-Jâwiyyîn*. This *nisbat* not only covers the territorial scholars who came from *Java Dwipa*, but from all over the Nusantara or Indonesia (including Malay, Pattani, and South Philippines). We can track this *nisbat* in one of the Al-Azhar Mosque rooms (*riwwâq jâwi*). The 19<sup>th</sup> century AD (and early 20<sup>th</sup> century) was the culmination of the intellectual writhing of the Nusantara scholars in the Middle East. They not only take part and contribute to the country, but also have a big role in the international sphere, especially in the Middle East. Several Nusantara scholars became intellectuals in the global

campaign. They compose books that are used as an important reference.

Indeed, the traces of the movements of the Nusantara scholars in the Middle East (mainly Hijâz and Egypt) can be traced since the 17<sup>th</sup> century CE, but starting in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century after the Diponegoro War, it became a golden period for the Nusantara scholars in Mecca. The role of ulama in this century cannot be released in an effort to free the country from colonialism. The scholars have at least two roles, namely as teaching scholars, education, thinkers and reformers as well as commander or leader of the war against Western imperialism. These roles are characteristic of the existence of ulama networks around the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The *ulama-santri* has been more or less discussed in the book, *Masterpiece Islam Nusantara* (Bizawie, 2016). The established *ulama-santri* network was indeed not directly involved in fighting on the battlefield against the Dutch colonial. But the attachment and awareness that he had built had produced a united force several the Nusantara, the Dutch East Indies. They continue to foster and maintain good relations between fellow scholars and teacher-student relationships that are very strong inner ties. This is a form of cultural resistance, a long process of awakening Muslims and establishing themselves to continue to uphold justice and continue the struggle of the Walisongo. During the national movement and the war of independence, this network became a potential force to mobilize Muslims to uphold the Indonesian state and defend it.

The position of the Jawi community in Mecca is recognized by a great Malay scholar, Sheikh Ahmad al-Fathani (teacher of Sheikh Kholil Bangkalan), in his book, *Hadiqatu-l-Azhar wa-r-Rayahin*

And [the Land of Malay and Nusantara] is overflowed with *ni'mat* and mercy, and the wealth that is in him is a blessing or blessing that gives benefits to Islam and lifted up with Him [Allah subhanahuwata'ala] by the designation of the type of heavy Malay and greatest with him by his kingdom in all hearts *ajanib* [foreign nations] [Meaning respected and feared by foreign nations, especially the colonizing nations from Europe]. And *tamaddun* [advanced and civilized] with Him by their *siyasa* as *tamaddun* [civilization] which is *muwafaqat* with *Shara'* [Islamic law]. "

*Halaqah* in Mecca, especially under the guidance of Sheikh Mahfudz Termas and Sheikh Nawawi Banten, and who chose to take part in homeland building *pesantren* such as Sheikh Khalil Bangkalan and Sheikh Sholeh Darat, have contributed to cadre ulama. The learning experience in Mecca has increased the authority of the ulama, and ultimately formed a solid network. This process is also supported by the *pesantren* tradition, which strongly emphasizes the students' obedience to teachers, who are recognized as lifelong spiritual guides (Jajat 2012: 116). The teacher-student relationship or the *ulama-santri* is connected by a solid *sanad* path. This relationship has become the foundation for the formation of a network of scholars. Sheikh Mahfudz, Sheikh Khalil Bangkalan, Sheikh Saleh Darat, Sheikh Nawawi al Bantani, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Tuanku Guru Zainuddin Sumbawa, Sheikh Abdul Ghani Bima and other scholars, have laid the foundation for the creation of a network of *ulama* in the Nusantara, which later developed into one community of scholars. In addition to building a *pesantren*, *ulama* have a strong relationship in the spiritual and intellectual fields which leads to the two *ulama*. Supported by Sufi elements in the *pesantren* tradition (Madjid 1974: 103-115), and strengthened by traditional culture in the rural social environment, the *ulama* became an honorable figure. They are

considered "realizing religious ideals", and the *santri* fully obey their words (Wahid 1974: 45-46; Dhofier 1982: 82-83).

They not only take part in the Jawi community in Mecca, but also connect to the realm of *pesantren*. Transmits to students and Muslims in the Nusantara through *ulama* who return to their homeland. *Santri* who will leave for Mecca or after coming from Mecca usually study first in a number of *pesantren* on the north coast such as the *pesantren* of Sheikh Kholil Bangkalan and Sheikh Sholeh Darat Semarang. One of the students from the two teachers who later continued his struggle was Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari. From these last scholars, emerged the scholars who further strengthened networking among *pesantren* in Java, especially East Java and Central Java, even outside the area.

The extent of the network and the unbroken *sanad* of the *ulama* have confirmed that Islam in the Nusantara is a part of the development of world Islamic civilization. Not only in Mecca, *Ulama* of Nusantara also connects with other centers of Islamic learning in other Middle Eastern Islamic countries, especially Egypt. During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Egypt experienced rapid progress thanks to the new policy of Ismail Pasha which freed Islamic educational institutions such as al-Azhar from the obligation to pay taxes to the government. So, the Azhar has sufficient funds to bring in students from other countries by providing 36 *riwaq* including *riwaq al Jawi* (Heyworth Dunne 1939: 395-405; Dodge 1961: 201-207). This is proven, Sheikh Nawawi Banten was once a Jawi scholar known in the Islamic intellectual circle in Cairo through his works and at one time an Egyptian *Ulama* was invited to give lectures at al Azhar (Chaidar 1978: 85-86; Rahman 1998: 89-90). In his book "*al-Khithath al-Taufiqiyyah*" (published in 1885 AD), Ali Pasha Mubarak described a

portrait of the intellectual movement in al-Azhar at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD providing quite important information related to the networks and connections of the Nusantara - The middle East. al-Khithath (juz IV, pages 27-28) informed the curriculum and books that were used by the Al-Azhar santri at that time in accordance with their scientific levels.

Thus, the network between the Nusantara and the Cairo-Mecca had been established since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and in the closing decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Cairo Mecca network was even more intensive which then progressed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when the reformist Muhammad Abduh and Jamaludin al Afghan. Jawi communities in Cairo and Mecca are interconnected, moreover some Egyptian scholars also became Nusantara's ulama teachers in Mecca, such as Sayyid Bakri bin Muhammad Zainal Abidin Syatta, Umar bin Muhammad Zainul Abidin Syatta and Uthman bin Muhammad Zainul Abidin Syatta (Jajat 2012: 122). Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabaw played an important role in sending his cadres to Cairo who later became the driving figures for renewal in the Minang and Nusantara lands.

Connectivity with the ulama network in Mecca and Cairo marked the integration of Islam in the Nusantara into the development of the Islamic world, so that it indirectly made the *pesantren* an "Islamic scholastic community" (Makdisi 1981: 153-223), what was learned (the book) by *ulama* and *santri* in Nusantara is the same as other Islamic countries. This condition is supported by the growing development of print technology in book production. *Ulama* published works have contributed to the formation of Islamic boarding school discourse and in turn the formation of religious authority of scholars (Jajat 2012: 127). In the previous era, Al-Azhar in Cairo had emerged a

*ulama* from the guardian of the *Ahlu Sunnah* tradition, namely Kiai Abdul Manan Termas, one of the Diponegoro troops. He was the grandfather of Sheikh Mahfudz Termas who pioneered and founded *riwaq al Jawi*, the village for Southeast Asian Muslims in Cairo for the first time. Ali Mubarak in his work *al Khitat al Taufiqiyah* (1889), identified the name Ismail Muhammad al Jawi who became the leader and teacher of Nusantara Muslims in *riwaq al Jawi* in 1871-1875 from about six students (Abaza 1994: 38-39).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Nusantara's *ulama* in Mecca especially after the Diponegoro War have laid the foundation for the creation of a network of *ulama* in the Nusantara, which later became a community of scholars. In addition to building boarding schools, *ulama* have a strong relationship in the spiritual and intellectual fields. They identified themselves as part of a community of scholars who had *sanad* connected to Nusantara's *ulama* in Mecca. This perception remains a major element in the *pesantren* tradition. Jawi scholars who returned to the Nusantara formed a social group oriented towards increasing understanding of Islam and achieving spiritual power. In addition, the rural environment also contributes to increasing the position of the *ulama*, where they become a place for asking for religious advice and guidance in all aspects of Muslim daily life. The *halaqah* that was built in Mecca have increased the authority of the *ulama*, and eventually formed a strong network. This process is also supported by the *pesantren* tradition, which strongly emphasizes the students' obedience to teachers, who are recognized as spiritual guides all their lives. As a result, the *ulama-santri* relationship became the foundation for the formation of the *ulama* network. Building *pesantren* is recognized as a measure of the

success of Islamic learning in *pesantren*, and in turn is considered as a prerequisite for students to be recognized as scholars.

As religious elites who are also involved in the socio-political affairs of the community, *ulama* are also actively involved in the emergence of anti-colonial sentiments. One of the consequences of the discourse in Mecca which at that time was the flow of nationalism and activism movements that wanted to carry out socio-moral renewal of Muslims. With activism, they took the form of a protest movement against the arbitrary actions of the Dutch colonialists. And Mecca is considered a source of inspiration for the anti-colonial activism. Entering the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century although the resistance of the *pesantren* was barely audible, and the Dutch colonial increasingly confirmed its influence on Muslim life especially through its originators, the existence of *pesantren* as a center of Islamic teaching was precisely more solid, and scholars as rural social elites remain intact. In the realm of *pesantren*, it was even more severed with colonial politics, an entity that was independent and far from colonial which would be very useful in the war of independence in which the people chose to follow the *ulama*. *Ulama* become more consolidated as an authoritative Islamic institution among Muslims. They become the core of the *santri* community which has its own traditions not only in the scope of *pesantren*, but in the surrounding community.

One of the traditions in *pesantren*, students' respect for their teachers is absolute and eternal, and must be manifested in all aspects of life - religious, social and personal. The loyalty of the students to the *ulama* continues outside the boarding school. The *ulama* remained the spiritual guides of the *santri* all their lives. Therefore, the *ulama-santri* relationship is still built, and it becomes the foundation for the formation of *ulama* networks. Building *pesantren* is recognized as a

measure of the success of *pesantren* learning, and is a necessary requirement for them to be recognized as scholars. As a result, *pesantren* in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the Diponegoro war, not only grew rapidly, but the *ulama* network also started to develop more established. And the *ulama* emerged as guardians of the *santri* community, as can be seen from the following Hadratushsheikh Hasyim Asy'ari.

The *ulama* are always intertwined by an unbroken intellectual chain. This means that between one *pesantren* and another, both in one period of time and from one generation to the next, there is established intellectual relations so that developments and changes that occur within the *pesantren* environment actually can simultaneously describe intellectual history of Islamic tradition in *pesantren*. The sustainability of a *pesantren* has always been an important factor to strengthen the network that has been built and maintain its existence.

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