

ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT OF PAKU BUWANA IV

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Abstrak

Tekanan-tekanan politik yang dilancarkan pemerintah kolonial Belanda telah mendorong raja dan aristokrat Jawa menggunakan Islam sebagai ideologi perjuangan. Dengan landasan ideologi tersebut memberi peluang raja mengembangkan jejaring politik dengan ulama, pesantren, dan kelompok politik dalam masyarakat untuk membangun basis massa dan legitimasi politik. Keresahan politik dan ekonomi akibat pembagian kekuasaan Mataram memaksa PB IV memperkenalkan pemikiran politik Islam, din-dawlah. Pemikiran dan pengamalan politik Islam transnasional yang diperkenalkan PB IV menimbulkan kekhawatiran sejumlah elit politik Jawa dan Sunan dipaksa secara militer kembali ke cara lama.

مستخلص

فيما بين العامين 2005-2007 راجت المسلسلات التليفزيونية الدينية ذات الأجواء الصوفية الباطنية وتلك التي تحكي عن عوالم الجن والشياطين. تحاول الدراسة الإجابة على تساؤل مهم هو كيف قدمت الممارسة الدينية عبر هذه المسلسلات؟ استخدمت الدراسة اقتراباً مشتقاً من أدبيات علم الدلالة حسب سوسير وبيرس. لقد توصلت الدراسة إلى نتائج أهمها أولاً: أن هناك أكثر من 44 مسلسلاً على مدار العامين المذكورين. وثانياً: أن هذه المسلسلات توزعت على ثلاث فئات رئيسة هي قصص العصاة الذين يعذبهم الله، وقصص الصابرين الناجحين، وقصص العصاة التائبين. وثالث هذه النتائج أن هناك أربعة أشكال من التديل على توافق محتوى المسلسل مع التعاليم الإسلامية هي عنوان المسلسل الذي يستخدم عبارات اصطلاحية إسلامية، مصدر المسلسل الذي يقال إنه مبني على حقائق واقعية، استضافة علماء مسلمين معروفين للتعليق على المسلسل، وأخيراً استخدام آيات الذكر الحكيم. رابع النتائج التي توصلت إليها الدراسة هي أن هذه المسلسلات تقدم أمثوذجاً غير رشيد للممارسة الإسلامية عن طريق تقديم أنماط أهمها

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أن المسلم يرى الواقع بشكل ساذج أبيض أو أسود، وأن المسلم الحقيقي لا يكثرث بالأسباب وإنما يعتقد في قدرة الله بشكل ساذج، وأن الموت هو شيء مخيف للغاية وعذاب الله مبالغ فيه غالباً، وأن العلماء المسلمين مهمتهم الرئيسة هي الاشتغال بطرد الجن والشياطين، وأن التوبة يمكن القيام بها بشكل سريع وجاهز. إن النتيجة الأخيرة التي يمكن الانتهاء إليها من هذه الدراسة هي أن المسلسلات الدينية المعروضة بالتلفاز الإندونيسي في الفترة المذكورة سيطر عليها منطق الترويج التلفزيوني الساعي للربح عبر ترويج ممارسة دينية شعبية صلتها بعلوم الدين ضعيفة.

Keywords: Islam, Pemikiran Politik, Paku Buwono IV, Pesantren, dan Belanda

A. Introduction

Nowadays emerge a debate about local Islam construction in Nusantara. The debate took place in different perspectives, such as *dunya-akhirat*, *din-dawlah*, and *umur al-dunya-umur al-din*, these make the debate difficult to come across. The Islamic founding fathers understood that Islamizing in Java is best propagated by using local culture so it's easy to be accepted, and fastens the process. The consequence, Islam is constructed in society as a form of an acculturation of the Javanese idea, Hindu, and Buddha concurrently.¹ The construction is not a mistake made by the Islamic founding fathers, but due to the Javanese idea, Hindu, and Buddha that still exist in society, so Islamizing requires time and continuity. In history, king and aristocrats took a fancy to local Islam rather than trans-national Islam. The acceptance of local Islam is not caused by running *shariat*, but Islam has the strength to overcome social cultural, social economical, and social political problems.

The construction of local Islam yielded three variant of leaders, they were bureaucratic Muslim scholars, non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars, and syncretic Muslim scholars.² Bureaucratic Muslim scholars resided in the palace, while non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars and syncretic Muslim scholars reside in their society. Non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars and Muslim syncretic scholars were the opposition of the palace and Dutch colonial government. They owned powerful mass bases that represented centrifugal power, and was able to menace king's power.³ Political murder

¹ Denis Lombard, 2005, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya, Bagian II Jaringan Asia*, a.b. Winarsih P. Arifin, Rahayu S. Hidayat, Nini H. Yusuf, Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Forum Jakarta-Paris, & Ecole Francais d'Extreme-Orient, pp. 84-148.

² Fachry Ali, "Massa Tak Berwarga Negara: Gerakan-gerakan Protes di Jawa Abad ke-19", dalam Asep Gunawan (ed.), *Artikulasi Islam Kultural: Dari Tahapan Moral ke Periode Sejarah*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2004), p. 247.

³ M.C. Ricklefs, *Yogyakarta di Bawah Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792*, (Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa, 2002), pp. 6-12.

toward Sheikh Siti Jenar, Sheikh Amongrogo, and the others showed that there was a political wrestling between king and religious leaders. For weakening of the centrifugal power of non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars and syncretic Muslim scholars, Sultan Agung (1613-1645) created a policy that the palace is a center of Islamizing in Java, and Islam represented cultural reconciliation of Javanese tradition.⁴ This means that the palace is a center of Islamic studies,⁵ Islam is a political legitimating tools,⁶ and pattern of the faith is syncretism.⁷

It could be said that Sultan Agung's policy as *cuius regio eius et religio* ideas. It means "king's religion is the people's religion". The implication of that principle was the existence of policy of containment toward non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars by giving *perdikan* land to them.⁸ So, *perdikan* land as a tool of political cooperation and political repression. It's the problem how Islamic political thought of Paku Buwana IV, and why that ideas would be transferred when dealing with the politics of Dutch colonial.

B. Muslim Alienation by Dutch Colonial Policy

Sultan Agung succeeded to attach the Islamic symbols in political system, it is seen that Sultan Agung made a mutual cooperation with non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars. Sultan Agung's ideas is that non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars to be explored as a link the political difference among Sultan Agung and regents after the invasion to Batavia. After the death of Sultan Agung, Amangkurat I (1645-1677) and Amangkurat II (1677-1703) started deconstruction of Mataram's political system. Amangkurat I killed the Muslim scholars and *santris* (student at traditional Muslim school) in Plered's town square,⁹ while Amangkurat II and the next rulers did not

⁴ Merle C. Ricklefs, 1998a, "Islamizing Java: The Long Shadow of Sultan Agung", dalam *Archipel*, Vol. I, No. 56, pp. 469-482.

⁵ M.C. Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java 1726-1749: History, Literature and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II*, (Honolulu: Allen & Unwin, and University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), pp. xvii-xix.

⁶ Azyumardi Azra, "Islam dan Negara: Eksperimen dalam Masa Modern, Tinjauan Sosio-Historis", dalam Asep Gunawan (ed.), *Artikulasi...*, pp. 142-143.

⁷ Niels Mulder, *Individual and Society in Java: A Cultural Analysis*, (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1992), pp. 4-19.

⁸ Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad Ke-19*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), p. 30.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

need the political legitimacy from Muslim scholars and the *pesantren* (traditional Muslim school), even though that *pesantren* represented the mass bases and had the patrimony by Mataram.¹⁰

Political complex of Mataram Empire is coloured with the wide-spreading of intrigues, provocations, and factions in commutation of the throne supported by VOC.¹¹ This political situation made aristocrats loss their political moral and ethics. Kanjeng Ratu Mas Balitar, wife of Paku Buwana I, was distressed to see the attitude of aristocrats of Mataram Empire. She wrote Javanese literatures that described the glorious of Mataram, especially in the period of Sultan Agung. The purposes of the spread of Islamic literatures were: (1) to put Islam as a ideology in enlightening aristocrat's political moral and ethics, (2) the existence of Islamic literatures will give spirits and strong attitudes against the intervention of VOC. Reading and comprehending oral and writing Javanese literatures have an effect toward readers' opinion and emotion.¹² But, the complexity of politics in Java and also the low desire of aristocrats to read the Javanese literatures cause the decline of their attitude and awareness. So, the messages of political moral never changed the behavior of Javanese aristocrats.

On the other hand, the background of Javanese aristocrats lost of political moral and ethics were: (1) they had the interest and priority to attain political power; (2) condition of the weak state and separation among political components. This political phenomenon indicated that Javanese aristocrats paid more to their own intrinsic of interest rather than giving priority of people, nation, and the state; (3) the lack of king's control toward the Javanese aristocrats, and did not try to create a delegate authority to control his aristocrats.¹³

The literatures of Kanjeng Ratu Mas Balitar including *Serat Menak*, *Serat Iskandar*, *Serat Yusuf*, *Suluk Garwa Kencana*, *Gita Sifat Nabi*, *Seh Samsu Tabred*, *Caritaning Nabi Ibrahim*, and *Caritaning Nabi Nub*.¹⁴ The literatures beside to introduce political ideas and values of Islam to the Javanese aristocrats,

¹⁰ Soemarsaid Moertono, *Negara dan Usaba Bina Negara: Studi tentang Mataram II, Abad XVI Sampai XIX*, a.b. YOI, (Jakarta: YOI, 1985), pp. 37-39.

¹¹ Ricklefs, *The Seen...*, pp. 28-126.

¹² Mikihiro Moriyama, *Semangat Baru: Kolonialisme, Budaya Cetak, dan Kesusastraan Sunda Abad ke-19*, a.b. Suryadi, (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2005), pp. 4-19.

¹³ James S. Coleman, *Dasar-Dasar Teori Sosial*, a.b. Imam Muttaqien, Derta Sri Widowati & Siwi Purwandari, (Bandung: Nusa Media, 2008), pp. 79-95.

¹⁴ M.C. Ricklefs, *The Seen...*, *ibid.*

and also fight against the Dutch colonial.¹⁵ Kanjeng Ratu Mas Balitar understood that king and aristocrats didn't have the guts to come across the VOC power. So, norms and values were being reproduced in Islamic literatures as a ideological product that root at propaganda. This argument showed that king and aristocrats entered the period of *ilang sirnaning manembah*.¹⁶ The interpretation of *ilang sirnaning manembah* was lost of *pusaka* (patrimony) and *jati diri* (spirit of elite).¹⁷

Pusaka and *jati diri* did not belong to the Javanese aristocrats, but parts of rural society life, which was far from the center power.¹⁸ The pioneer transformation of *pusaka* and *jati diri* in rural society was non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars. In rural area, non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars were intellectual and a cultural brokers. The period of *ilang sirnaning manembah* occurred in XVIII and XIX century, it expressed inside *Serat Wedatama* which was written by Mangkunegoro IV. *Serat Wedatama* describes that aristocrats had the right and priority to attain power, and ignored Islamic doctrine. Even though that doctrine is good as guidance to build the power sides with people. *Serat Wedatama* is seemingly to open the concerned of Kanjeng Ratu Mas Balitar and a clip can be told:

“Allah” is not first choice...he [Mangkunegara IV] was not the descendant of chatib or leader of religion. He was a son of “Javanese aristocrat”, the empire officer directly or indirectly connected with the aristocracy. ...he does not feel merged into a clan of Islamic leaders, term for the people that formed by “Islam” idiom. With the arrogance that half hidden, he assume “*nista*” (be bad) when joining forces with clan caste. ...*Yen muriha dadi kaum temah nista* Thereby, “Allah” was seen only as one of [the] choice. Allah was being compared with King. Both practically equal. “Allah” also does not being assumed to have the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ The meaning of *ilang sirnaning manembah* was king and aristocrats never think sinful and ashamed to their political, economic, and social actions.

¹⁷ The meaning of patrimony was norms and values would be contained in Quran and Hadits, that would be shield themselves. The shield is introduced and to be condition as a political culture. Alex Sadewa, *Dari Kartasura ke Surakarta: Studi Kasus Serat Iskandar*, (Yogyakarta: Lembaga Studi Asia, 1995), p. 22.

¹⁸ Goenawan Mohamad, “Paradigma Pengging: Kata Pengantar”, dalam Nancy K. Florida, *Menyurat yang Silam Menggurat yang Menjelang: Sejarah sebagai Nubuat di Jawa Masa Kolonial*, a.b. Revianto B. Santosa & Nancy K. Florida, (Yogyakarta: Benteng Budaya, 2003), p. xiv-xvi.

universal knowledge energy. “Java” [is] an attitude that looks into Panembahan Senapati ... as a model. Not Muhammad saw, a prophet that is to far to be made as an example in life. “*Lamun sira paksa nulad, tuladaning kanjeng nabi, o ngger kadohan panjangkah*”.¹⁹

The literatures of Kanjeng Ratu Mas Balitar are connected with the idea of Sayyid Hossein Nasr and present that Islamic literatures have function as a tool to assist recollection (*eling lan waspada*) and reawakening (*bangkit*).²⁰ Kanjeng Ratu Mas Balitar refused to bow to the strength of the colonial Dutch, and criticized the attitude of king and Javanese elites that conducted intrigues, provocations, and factions in a commutation of empire throne, and also submit to VOC. That submit has an effect on political moral and ethics of Javanese elites.²¹

Thereby Islam literatures introduced by Kanjeng Ratu Mas Balitar had a doctrinal character to build up the spirit of Javanese elites, and become a tool to help returning the political moral and ethics that had fade. Political chaos in XVIII until XIX century, holds the Javanese elites in power ambition, and drags the people into conflict circle. Confrontative attitude in Javanese politics at XVIII until XIX century showed the lower civic engagement and the lower political engagement between political groups in Java.²² The lower civic engagement and the lower political engagement between political groups caused the attitude of tolerance and political elites trust toward the empire institution was weak. Even number of conflicts between political elites exalarates the collapse its social structure of the society, because that conflict burden directly caused the people and state in economic crises. According to Sayyid Hossein Nasr if the conflict between political elites occurred continuesly, fastened the poverty, & propagated the problems in society.²³

¹⁹ *Serat Wedatama* quoted by Gunawan Muhammad showed that Javanese political elites priority is to reach power, and the process to reach power by the association and Dutch intervention. Dutch intervension has been entered center power of the Javanese throne. Goenawan Mohamad, “Catatan Pinggir: Abangan”, dalam *Tempo*, 17 September 2006, p. 114.

²⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *Historiografi Islam Kontemporer: Wacana, Aktualitas, dan Aktor Sejarah*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2002), p. 202.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194-200. Ethics are ways of life in Javanese culture. Disappearing of political moral and ethics it means disappearing responsibilities of political elites to make justice, prosperity, and protect the peoples. See Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Politik: Prinsip-prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1988), pp. 12-15.

²² Saiful Mujani, *Muslim Demokrasi: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007), pp. 26-29.

²³ Azyumardi Azra, *Historiografi...*, *ibid.*

C. Consolidation of Paku Buwana IV

The low of civic and the political engagements were cause of social structure as an impact of feudalism. In feudalism the social structure of the society is partitioned off in a few social stage, and the relation between social stages have a tendency to be difficult to come across. On the other hand, the involvement among political groups is very limited, due to limited members of Javanese elites, that is king, nobles, and Muslim scholars. The low civic and political engagement caused: (1) the wide-spreading of intrigues, provocations, and factions in Javanese political elite circles; (2) the political structures facilitate the colony to take control of Javanese political elites; and (3) political structures above, drag people's involvement into a conflict among political elites. In political history conflict among Paku Buwana II, Prince Mangkubumi, and Raden Mas Said, was also dragging people into political conflicts. Conflicts took a long time and was unable to be finished, and also drove the colony to be a part of this conflict. The result, Mataram was divided into three parts, they were Kasunanan-Surakarta, Kasultanan-Yogyakarta, and Kadipaten Mangkunegaran.

Each empire conducted an internal or external consolidation. Consolidation that conducted by Paku Buwana IV was introduced the Islamic politics *din-dawlah* in his bureaucracy empire. *Din-dawlah* paradigm represents the interrelationship between religion and state. Religion needs the state, because through state, religion has an ability to expand, and Islam norms and values can be made as an ethics base and also political moral. In introducing his *din-dawlah*, Paku Buwana IV decided: (1) notable Muslim scholar as political adviser. This structure is a typical, because political advisers of king are *patih* (chief minister to a king) and *bupati nayaka* (regent);²⁴ (2) obliging functionaries, *sentana* and *abdi dalem* to wear white clothes in a meeting (*pisowanan*);²⁵ (3) changing functionaries of the palace which was not yet executed the Islamic *shariat*.

Din-dawlah in Paku Buwana IV thought was extending the political relation by pesantren, especially Tembayat and Kajoran.²⁶ This political relation was a mean to

²⁴ Yasadipura I, *Babad Pakepung*, translated by Endang Saparinah, (Surakarta: Fakultas Sastra UNS, 1989), pp. 24-37.

²⁵ Ann Kumar, "Javanese Court Society and Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Record of Lady Soldier. Part II: Political Developments: The Court and the Company, 1784-1791", dalam *Indonesia*, No. 30, October 1980, p. 85; lihat pula Purwadi & Rahmat Fajri, *Mistik dan Kosmologi Serat Centhini*, (Yogyakarta: Media Abadi, 2005), pp. 51-61.

²⁶ Ann Kumar, *The Diary of Javanese Muslim: Religion, Politics and the Pesantren 1883-1886*, (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies, ANU, 1985), p. 1-7.

lead harmonious relationship among bureaucratic Muslim and non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars. Paku Buwana IV realized the big role of non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars in society, but was often alleged by king and Dutch colonial as rebellion. On the contrary, king and bureaucratic Muslim scholars have never assisted the people to face the political and economics pressure by the colonial Dutch. Only non-bureaucratic Muslim scholars advocate people, even as a whole the Muslim scholars resided in the front line to conduct the protest movements.

Political change in Kasunanan was stopped by military force of the Sultan-Yogyakarta, Mangkunegoro I, and Dutch colonial rule. They sent troops and besieged the Keraton Kasunanan through three directions, from south was Sultan-Yogyakarta, north was Mangkunegoro I, and west was Dutch colonial troops. They claimed that the sixth of the Muslim scholars, who are Kiai Panengah, Kiai Wiradigda, Kiai Nursaleh, Kiai Bahman, Kiai R. Santri, and Kiai Kandhuruan to be burnt as a punishment.²⁷ Political conflicts among Paku Buwana IV and Sultan Hamengku Buwana I, Mangkunegoro I, and also Dutch colonial were written in *Babad Pakepung* (chronicle). Conflicts among political elites represented in a traditional Javanese mysticism and orthodox legalistic Islam.²⁸ In this case Paku Buwana IV, a follower of orthodox legalistic Islam, saw that Mataram divisions ended after Paku Buwana III passed away. Meanwhile Sultan Hamengku Buwana I and Mangkunegoro I as traditional Javanese mysticism followers sees that the orthodox legalistic Islam existence in Keraton Kasunanan can demolish the reconciliation, and also cause the disharmony of Islamic mystique.²⁹

Divisions of Mataram was automatically caused each empire in a fragile condition, so it is an usual phenomenon that king conduct an internal and external consolidation. Internal consolidation is asking the entire *sentana* and *abdi dalem* to strengthen the Islamic values as a guidance of life, while external consolidation made political relation with *pesantrens* around Surakarta. The Islamic model of consolidation conducted by Paku Buwana IV is caused by his learning experiences of

²⁷ Burning punishment to the Muslim scholar or other elite groups is against the teachings of al-Quran and al-Hadits.

²⁸ S. Soebardi, "Santri-religious Elements as Reflected in the Book of Tjentini", dalam *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde (BKJ)*, No. 127, 1971, p. 349.

²⁹ Islam mystique (*tasawuf*) easy to be accepted because Javanese ideas, Hindu, and Buddha are domination by mystique. So, Islam mystique easy to be expanded in Aceh and in Java. See Dhanu Priyo Prabowo, *Pengaruh Islam dalam Karya-karya R.Ng. Ranggawarsita*, (Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2003), pp. 20-21.

Islam since childhood.³⁰ This fact indicates that the Paku Buwana IV tried to build power based on the balance between political and social powers.

It could be said that Islam dragged into political conflicts in Java in positive and negative meanings. The positive means Islam by normative-doctrine that have never put in the creativity of the followers to develop the Islamic doctrines and teachings, is against al-Quran and al-Hadits. All developments are depended on Muslim mind abilities. Meanwhile negative means the existence of different interpretations in Islamic teachings are easy to become a conflict in a wide range, those will bring the political disintegration. Generally, conflict among Muslims tends to be negative, because different vision in comprehending Islamic doctrines in many occasions are dragged toward political fields. In connection with Karl Marx political philosophy, conflict was dialectic, because the differences encourage the Muslim to develop the creativity of mind toward modern society phase.³¹

On the contrary, Ann Kumar looks into the political changes in the palace of Kasunanan as an effort of PB IV to form political alliance. Political alliance could alter becoming association that acted to strengthen the Islamic spirit among Javanese political elites, and that actions represent a signal oppose the political existence of the Dutch colonial.³² The arguments of Ann Kumar needed to be observed, because opposing the Dutch has to have the equivalent weapons as the opponent, while division of Mataram cause military troops to weakened. They served Paku Buwana III, Hamengku Buwana I and Mangkunegoro I. The Kasunanan military is limited because empire military were divided into two groups, which are professional army and farmer conscript. Professional military relatively small, while the biggest amount resides in farmer conscript. At some condition farmer conscript cannot be depended upon, whether in time or military skill. In plant season the farmer conscript return to countryside fulfills the obligation to plant the paddy. The structure of military alliance in Kasunanan indicates that the farmer conscript has a function to serve the professional army, and in season plant they disappear and cannot be used.³³

³⁰ Supriadi, *Kyai dan Priyayi di Masa Transisi*, (Surakarta: Pustaka Cakra, 2001), pp. 146-159.

³¹ M. Rusli Karim, "Konflik Islam Kontemporer di Indonesia, Berbagai Variasi dan Kerumitannya", *Prisma*, No.5, Mei 1995, pp. 43-61.

³² Ann Kumar, *The Diary...*, p. 3.

³³ Willem Rummelink, *Perang Cina dan Runtuhnya Negara Jawa 1725-1743*, a.b. Akhmad Santoso, (Yogyakarta: Jendela, 2002), pp. 1-25.

Opponent term in Ann Kumar's paradigm has a contrary meaning, showing the desperateness of king and noble toward the Dutch colonial rule. An effort to redevelop the power only can be done by erecting *l'esprit de corps*, solidarity, and society awareness at social fact and politics which they overcame. Henk Schulte Nordholt looks into the collapse of Mataram generate a change from "the state of military contest" changing into "the state of theatre".³⁴ The definition of the state of theatre is Javanese empires which do not have a political authority, and tend to present ceremony, religious ritual, and luxury costume usage. Through this way was the identity and greatness of Javanese empire reclaimed, so that political bases of Javanese empire put down at its cultural context.

As long as XIX century the political condition of *Vorstenlanden* as a tangled thread because king and noble are unable to fight the Dutch rule. This matter pushed Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani to sent a letter from Mekkah to Paku Buwana III, Hamengku Buwana I, and Mangkunegoro I to launch a holy war against the Dutch colonial government.³⁵ The ambition to fight was a form of anti Dutch colonization, and this attitude was a cause of Dutch intervention toward Java's political life and monarchic economics. Dutch intervention was deep and harsh, has entered the core region of empire. According to Karel Steenbrink, the colony's action was a form of subordinate policy, so that the colony's strength progressively established, and no need to worry toward the action.³⁶ Superiority attitude cause the Dutch look upon themselves as teacher, and nation supervisor which not yet literate.³⁷

Paku Buwana IV disappointed for his failures in introducing Islamic political thought of *din-dawlah*. To eliminate the discontentment, Paku Buwana IV allowed Kiai Jamsari to build a *pesantren* around keraton, and named Jamsaren. Every year Paku Buwana IV gave a money donation to *Pesantren* Jamsaren to develop the Islamic education in Surakarta.³⁸ A lot of aristocrat's children learnt at *Pesantren* Jamsaren.³⁹ New order government gave charity to a *pesantren* as a mean to obtain

³⁴ Henk Schulte Nordholt, "Pendahuluan", dalam Henk Schulte Nordholt (ed.), *Outward Appearances: Trend, Identitas, Kepentingan*, a.b. M. Imam Aziz, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005), p. 18.

³⁵ Ricklefs, *The Seen...*, p. 212.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Ann Kumar, "Javanese Court Society and Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Record of Lady Soldier. Part I: The Religious, Social, and Economic Life of the Court", *Indonesia*, No. 29, April 1980, p. 30.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-35.

the political legitimating from *pesantren* society. During the rule of Paku Buwana IV up to Paku Buwana VI it could be find big role of *pesantrens*, even at Java warfare 1825-1830, *Pesantren* Jamsaren linked between Paku Buwana VI and Prince Diponegoro. That involvement brought negative impact toward the existence of *pesantrens*. *Pesantren* Jamsaren which was destroyed after war, caused stagnation of Islam education Surakarta for more than 40 years.

Pesantren Jamsaren reopened by Paku Buwana IX (1861-1893) to counter the secularism and the discrimination problem in education colonial system. The reopened of *Pesantren* Jamsaren represents the political symbol to that will improve the legitimating power of Paku Buwana IX. The existence of Western education, the reopening of *Pesantren* Jamsaren, and Surakarta resident consists of Arab, Chinese, Europe, Java, Madura, Bali, and Kalimantan ethnics creating a compound atmosphere. This situation influences the color of Islam growth in Surakarta. There are three reasons why Muslim in Surakarta is back in old construction (Islam mystique). First, political construction of *din-dawlah* that was introduced by Paku Buwana IV had faded Second, Javanese political elites took a fancy to Islam mystique rather than trans-national Islam. Third, wide political pressure of Dutch colonial for introducing secularism to the Javanese political elite. But nowadays in South Surakarta emerge the idea of *din-dawlah*, plan to rebuild Islamic state, according to Islamic doctrine based on either al-Quran or al-Hadits, in addition to both al Qur'an and al Hadits.

In the year of 1905, Paku Buwana X with the help of Kiai Muhammad Idris from *Pesantren* Jamsaren and other Muslim scholars built on an Islamic school named *Madrasah* Mamba'ul Ulum. This *madrasah* was disputed in Dutch Parliament assumed that is equal to university, so that parliamentarians asked to the Minister of Dutch Colonial to investigate it. The investigation of Governor General Idenburg has ascertained to Dutch parliament that *Madrasah* Mamba'ul Ulum is *pesantren* so it remains permitted to continue the education activity. Even the graduates of this *madrasah* are able to continue the education to al-Azhar University, Cairo.

D. Concluding Remark

Political, economical, and social pressures as an impact of division of Matarm have pushed Paku Buwana IV to apply Islamic politics *din-dawlah* with trans-national bureaucratic characteristic in Kasunanan. It aimed to extend the political network with the Islamic community. That action worried Sultan Hamengku Buwana I,

Mangkunegara I, and Dutch colonial rule. As a result, Keraton Kasunanan besieged by those three troops of political elite, and forced burning punishment to political advisor Muslim scholars. Then, the political idea has changed, and the ruler would be focus on the Islamic educations and Javanese traditions.

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