

The Network of Kiai and Rulers of Surakarta Palace in Islamic Education and Literacy in the 20th Century Ad: A Study of the Wiryadiningrat al-Qur'an Manuscript

Islah Gusmian

Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Mas Said Surakarta.
Jl. Pandawa, Pucangan, Kartasura. Sukoharjo. Jawa Tengah. Indonesia.
islah@staff.uinsaid.ac.id

Mustaffa Abdullah

Department of al-Quran and al-Hadith. Academy of Islamic Studies.
Universiti Malaya. 50603. Kuala Lumpur. Malaysia.
mustaffa@um.edu.my

doi: <https://doi.org/10.22452/usuluddin.vol51no2.5>

Abstract

This article examines the network of Kiai (the priest in Islam) and rulers of Surakarta palace in the early 20th century AD, under the leadership of Pakubuwono X, in the world of Islamic education and literacy. So far, studies of the Surakarta palace have been limited to social, historical and political studies. In fact, the palace has a network with Kiai, not only in the political context, but also in Islamic education and literacy. The entrance used to analyze this issue is the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript. This manuscript is chosen because it is not only a religious text, but also part of historical, social and cultural representations as well as relations between subjects that have a social and political basis. Evidence is revealed that Wiryadiningrat, the owner of this Qur'anic manuscript, is a palace official and political adviser to Pakubuwono X. Pakubuwono X, with his authority, has initiated the birth of a modern madrasa (Islamic school) called Mamba'ul Ulum, encouraging the Kiai in this madrasa and the Head of the palace to write Islamic religious texts as learning materials. Moreover, he also provides financial assistance in the operation of the modern madrasa and Islamic literacy. This article shows that the involvement of Kiai in the Surakarta palace in the early 20th century AD is not only in the interest of political legitimacy, but also in the context of developing Islamic education and literacy.

Keywords: Education; Surakarta Palace; kiai; the Quran; Islamic Boarding School

Introduction

Since the 14th century AD, Kiai (as holders of religious authority) and rulers (as holders of political authority) in Java have had a close

and dynamic relationship¹. Although in some cases, the two have had disagreements, as experienced by Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin during the reign of Amangkurat IV², until the early 20th century AD, their relationship was closely related due to political factors, such as in the era of Pakubuwono IV (1768-1820)³ and Pakubuwono VI (1807-1849)⁴. In the early 20th century AD, the era of Pakubuwono X's leadership (1866-1939), the relationship between the Kiai and the rulers of the Surakarta palace entered a new era with a wider spectrum, not only in the field of power politics but also Islamic education and literacy. Because, in this era, the Surakarta palace carried out some strategic policies related to aspects of socio-political movements, education, religion and culture⁵.

However, studies on Pakubuwono X's leadership have been limited so far to the issues of authority⁶, the dynamics of religiosity⁷, the social life⁸, and the spirit of nationalism in Surakarta palace⁹, as well as general issues about the political movement in Surakarta in the early 20th century AD¹⁰. Matters related to his concern for education and Islamic literacy movements in Surakarta have never become the focus of a particular study. In fact, the Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa was established on the initiative of Pakubuwono X, and the Kiai worked in the palace and the teachers at the madrasa were not only given space to carry out learning practices but also write Islamic texts used as teaching materials.

¹ Anasom Naili Inafah, Ismawati, *Sejarah Kasultanan Demak-Bintoro* (Semarang: Takmir Masjid Agung Demak dan Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo Semarang, 2020), 81-84.

² S. Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolek* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), 81-84; Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Syekh Mutamakkin, Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat* (Jakarta: Pustaka Compass, 2017), 103.

³ Yasadipura, *Babad Pakepung*, trans. Endang Saparinah (Surakarta: Fakultas Sastra UNS, 1989), 24-37.

⁴ Ann Kumar, *The Diary of Muslim: Religion, Politics, and the Pesantren 1883-1886* (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies ANU, 1985), 37

⁵ Darsiti Soeratman, *Kehidupan Dunia Keraton 1830-1939* (Jakarta: Yayasan Indonesia, 2000), 35.

⁶ Hermanu Joebagio, "Biografi Politik Paku Buwana X: Studi Gerakan Islam dan Kebangsaan Di Keraton Surakarta" (Disertasi, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2010).

⁷ Supriyadi, *Dinamika Kehidupan Religiusitas Kasunanan Surakarta* (Jakarta: Litbangdiklat Press, 2013), 272-284.

⁸ Ma'mun Puspongoro, *Kauman: Religi, Tradisi, dan Seni* (Surakarta: Paguyuban Kampung Wisata Batik Kauman, 2007), 10.

⁹ Joebagio, *Biografi Politik Paku Buwana X*, 123.

¹⁰ Takhasi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), 48.

This article examines the network of Kiai and rulers of Surakarta palace in the 20th century AD, under the leadership of Pakubuwono X, in Islamic education and literacy in Surakarta. This theme is important to be studied further to reveal that the Kiai and rulers in the early 20th century AD had a strong network and a broad spectrum compared to the previous era. Both collaborate and benefit each other and have a strategic role in Islamic education and literacy in Surakarta. In this era, it also thrived on the movement of nationalism, the spirit of nationalism, and the world of education and Islamic literacy grew dynamically in Surakarta. Historical facts related to this problem, this article are analyzed not only chronologically, but also in terms of changes, struggles and interrelated dynamics¹¹, as well as the symbiosis between the two with their social and political bases.

One of the entrances to uncover this issue is the Qur'an manuscript belonging to Raden Mas Tumenggung Wiryadiningrat—later on referred to as the Wiryadiningrat Al-Qur'an manuscript. There are four reasons why the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript is chosen. First, the treasures of Islamic manuscripts in the archipelago were born in a certain historical context. It has a relationship with the importance, the historical context of ownership and the place where the manuscript is stored. Through manuscripts, according to Ricklefs, we can also know the thoughts and daily lives of the authors, copyists, or owners and the environment in which the manuscripts are located¹². Based on this perspective, the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript is positioned not only as a religious text but also as a social and cultural identity in the context of the history of Islamic education and literacy in Surakarta.

Second, apart from being an official at the Surakarta palace, Wiryadiningrat was an advisor of Pakubuwono X in the social and political fields. He was often given the task of solving various political problems in the territory of the Surakarta palace. This role is documented, for example, in R.V.E Document of 5 December 1877 No. 59 Verponding No. 295 and in *Babad Pasanggrahan*

¹¹ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methode and Directions in the Study of Modern History* (London: Longman, 1984), 19.

¹² M.C. Ricklefs, "Babad Giyanti: Sumber Sejarah dan Karya Agung Sastra Jawa," *Jumantara* 5, no. 2 (2014), 11.

*Madusita*¹³. His position and role as well as his Qur'anic manuscripts are the entrances to explore further about the network of Kiai and rulers in Islamic education and literacy in Surakarta.

Third, the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript is stored at the Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) Al-Manshur, Popongan, Klaten. This pesantren is located in the territory of the Surakarta palace. At that time, it became one of the centers of Islamic education and *tarekat* organizations having extensive networks with Kiai and other Pesantren in Java as well as with the power of the Surakarta palace¹⁴. It is important to explore this fact further, to reconstruct the facts about the network of Kiai and rulers of the Surakarta palace in the world of Islamic education and literacy in Surakarta.

Fourth, the study of the Qur'anic manuscripts, in general, has not touched on aspects of education and dynamics of Islamic literacy. The study conducted by Frantz Chaigne and Mathilde Cruvelier in Delhi in the 14th century AD, for example, was limited to the ornamental aspect of the Qur'anic manuscripts¹⁵. Another aspect is the beauty of calligraphy on fragments of the Qur'anic manuscripts, as Gillian Furlong did in the era of the Mameluk kingdom in the 14th and 15th centuries AD¹⁶. In the context of the Archipelago, the existing studies are also merely similar. The study conducted by Annabel Teh Gallop focused on the illumination of the Qur'anic manuscripts¹⁷ and Ali Akbar focused on the calligraphy of the Qur'anic manuscripts¹⁸. Hassan did the same

¹³ Moelyono Sastronaryatmo, *Babad Pasanggrahan Madusita* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, n.d.), 16.

¹⁴ Martin Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia* (Mizan: Bandung, 1992), 163; Islah Gusmian, "Manuskrip Keagamaan di Masjid Popongan: Kajian Kodikologi dan Pemetaan Isi," *Dinika Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 4 (2019), 250-274.

¹⁵ Frantz Chaigne and Mathilde Cruvelier, "The Ornamentation of the Gwalior Qur'an, Between Diachro Nic Legacies And Geographic Confluences," in *Le Coran De Gwalior: Polysemie d'Un Manuscrit à Peintures*, Editions D. (2016), 17-25.

¹⁶ Gillian Furlong, "Islamic Art in the 15th Century: Fragment of the Holy Qur'an," in *In Treasures from UCL, 60-61* (London: UCL Press, 2015), 60-61.

¹⁷ Annabel Teh Gallop, "An Acehnese Style of Manuscript Illumination," *Jurnal Archipel* 68, no. 68 (2004), 193-240; Annabel Teh Gallop, "Malay Manuscript Art: The British Library Collection," *The British Library Journal*, 17, no. 2 (1991), 167-189.

¹⁸ Ali Akbar, "Kaligrafi dan Iluminasi dalam Mushaf Al-Quran Kuno Nusantara," in *Keindahan Mushaf Al-Quran Kuno Nusantara* (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2015), 10-17; Annabel Teh Gallop and Ali Akbar, "The Art of the Qur'an in Banten: Calligraphy and Illumination," *Archipel* 72, no. 1 (2006), 95-156; Ali Akbar, "The Influence of Ottoman Qur'ans in

thing, who studied the Terengganu Qur'an manuscript stored in the Malaysian Islamic Arts museum¹⁹. The historical approach has been carried out by a number of researchers, for example by Asep Saefullah²⁰, E. Badri Yunardi²¹, Munawiroh²², and Harisun Arsyad²³ when studying the Qur'anic manuscripts in the Archipelago, but limited to an inventory of manuscripts.

History of the Wiryadiningrat Al-Qur'an Manuscript

Evidence of the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript ownership is found on the first page of the manuscript. It is stated directly: “*punika Qur'an kagungan ndalem Kanjeng Bendara Raden Mas Tumenggung Wiryadiningrat Surakarta* (this Qur'an belongs to Kanjeng Bendara Raden Mas Tumenggung Wiryadiningrat Surakarta)”. This sentence is written using the Pegon script with a simple *khat*, different from the *khat* used in the text of the Qur'an. It seems that this ownership information was written by Wiryadiningrat, not by a copyist of the Qur'an.

There is no data regarding the name of the copyist, place and year of copying. However, referring to Russell Jones' theory²⁴, because the paper chain line used has no shadow, the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript is thought to have been copied in the early 19th century AD. There are two other elements used to trace the origin of this Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript, namely the

Southeast Asia Through the Ages,” in *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock and Annabel Teh Gallop (London: Oxford University Press, 2015), 311-334; Ali Akbar, “Tradisi Lokal, Tradisi Timur Tengah, Dan Tradisi Persia-India,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 4, no. 2 (2006), 242-261; Ali Akbar, “Kaligrafi dalam Mushaf Kuno Nusantara: Telaah Naskah-Naskah Koleksi Perpustakaan Nasional RI” (Universitas Indonesia, 2005), 39.

¹⁹ Hasnira Hassan, “Integrasi Seni dan Sains dalam Teknologi Pembuatan Manuskrip Al-Quran Kilau dari Kesultanan Terengganu,” in *Isu-Isu Sains & Teknologi di Alam Melayu* (Malaysia: Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu (ATMA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2014), 78-97.

²⁰ Asep Saefullah, “Ragam Hiasan Mushaf Kuno Koleksi Bayt Al-Qur'an dan Museum Istiqlal Jakarta,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 5, no. 1 (2007), 39-62.

²¹ E. Badri Yunardi, “Beberapa Mushaf Kuno dari Provinsi Bali,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 5, no. 1 (2007), 1-18.

²² Munawiroh, “Mushaf Kuno di Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 5, no. 1 (2007), 19-36.

²³ Harisun Arsyad, “Menelusuri Khazanah Mushaf Kuno di Aceh,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 4, no. 2 (2006), 214-241.

²⁴ Russell Jones, “European and Asian Papers in Malay Manuscripts: A Provisional Assessment,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Manuscripts of Indonesia* 149, no. 3 (1993), 474-502.

calligraphy²⁵ and the character of the illumination²⁶. These two elements are used as a reference, because, in the tradition of copying the Qur'anic manuscripts, it is a representation of the artistic and cultural traditions of the community where the manuscripts originate²⁷

Referring to the two elements, the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript was not copied in Surakarta or other areas in Java. This is because the calligraphic characters are different from the calligraphic characters of the Qur'anic manuscripts in Java in the 19th century AD, such as the Qur'anic manuscripts stored in the Great Mosque of Surakarta and the Sonobudoyo museum in Yogyakarta. Both of the Qur'anic manuscripts, the characters of the script are stiff, less stable, and not symmetrical. Meanwhile, in the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript, the script is neat, stable, and smooth. In terms of illumination, the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript also has no resemblance to the two Qur'anic manuscripts copied in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. It applies a floral pattern that fills the the page area and is dominated by gold, while the Quran manuscripts in Surakarta and Yogyakarta are simple, and have less variety of colors.

Besides, from the character of the two elements, the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript is precisely similar to the Qur'an manuscript from Terengganu Malaysia—later on referred to as the Terengganu Qur'an manuscript. Ali Akbar explains the characteristics of the Terengganu Qur'an manuscript equipped generally with recitation signs, and the illumination is very detailed, beautiful, with floral motifs that fill the page, and is dominated by gold²⁸. For example, the Terengganu Qur'an manuscript stored in the Bayt Al-Qur'an, the Istiqlal Museum in Jakarta and the Malaysian Islamic Art Museum²⁹. All of these characteristics are found in the Wiryadiningrat Qur'anic manuscript. Based on this

²⁵ Mircea Eliade, *The Encyclopaedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 24-25.

²⁶ Akbar, "Kaligrafi dalam Mushaf Kuno Nusantara: Telaah Naskah-Naskah Koleksi Perpustakaan Nasional RI", 39.

²⁷ Islah Gusmian, "Kaligrafi Islam: Dari Nalar Seni Hingga Simbolisme Spiritual," *Jurnal al-Jami'ah* 41, no. 1 (2003), 115.

²⁸ Akbar, "Kaligrafi dan Iluminasi dalam Mushaf Al-Quran Kuno Nusantara"; Akbar, "The Influence of Ottoman Qur'ans in Southeast Asia Through the Ages", 311.

²⁹ Riswadi Azmi, "Mushaf Al-Qur'an Terengganu Kajian Terhadap Manuskrip IAMM 2012.13.6," *Suhuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Qur'an dan Budaya* 11 no. 1 (2018), 29-54.

fact, it is concluded that the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript comes from Terengganu.

How did Wiryadiningrat have the copy of the Terengganu Qur'an manuscript, and why was it stored in the Pesantren Al-Manshur Popongan? The Terengganu Qur'an manuscripts have been widely copied since the time of Sultan Mansor II (1831-1836) and the Sultanate of Sultan Omar (1839-1876) in the Terengganu kingdom. The two sultans were known as rulers who were close to the Islamic scholarly tradition. They also appointed ulama as main advisers in administrative and religious matters as well as court politics³⁰. At the beginning of the 19th century AD, the Qur'an manuscripts which were typical of Terengganu were widely copied and then spread throughout the archipelago, especially among palace officials. An official in the kingdom of Pontianak, for example, has the Terengganu Qur'an manuscript, and now the manuscript is stored in the Jakarta Bait Al-Qur'an museum³¹. Meanwhile, in Malaysia, now it is stored in several places, for example in the Islamic Arts museum of Malaysia that there are two pieces with the code IAMM 2012.13.6 and IAMM 1998.1.3427 and in the State Library of Malaysia with the catalog code MSS 4136.

In addition to having beautiful illumination and *khat*, the existence of complete punctuation marks, symbols for the *tajwid*, and explanations of the *qira'at* (the science of the procedures and diversity of reading the Qur'anic text) are the superiority elements of this Terengganu Qur'an manuscript. Therefore, naturally, the palace officials at that time collected a lot of them with such quality; of course, the price was expensive. These various advantages are useful not only in the context of beauty but also as reference material in teaching the procedures for reading the Qur'an correctly and deepening the *qira'at*. As a palace official having great concern for education and Islamic literacy, Wiryadiningrat righteously collected the Terengganu Qur'an manuscript. Because of that superiority, he then ordered specifically the Qur'an to the copyists in Terengganu.

As for the manuscript's presence at the Pesantren Al-Manshur, it can be explained in terms of the context of the relationship

³⁰ Riswadi, "Mushaf Al-Qur'an Terengganu", 19-54.

³¹ Ali Akbar (Manager of Museum Istiqlal and Bayt Al-Quran Jakarta) in discussion with the author, Jakarta, 13 December 2019.

between the Kiai of Pesantren and the rulers of Surakarta palace. Pesantren Al-Manshur is one of the Islamic boarding schools located in Surakarta palace. It was founded by K.H. Muhammad Manshur (1858-1955)—later on, called Kiai Manshur—in 1926 and was given the name Pesantren Popongan. In its development, to commemorate the services of Kiai Manshur, half a century later, on June 21st, 1980, the name was changed into Pesantren Al-Manshur Popongan³².

In addition to teaching Islamic sciences, this Pesantren also became the center of the *Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah* congregation in Java in the early 20th century AD. This is because Kiai Manshur was a *mursyid* of the *Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah* congregation whose lineage came from his father, Shaykh Muhammad Abdul Hadi Giri Kusumo³³. By this socio-religious base, Kiai Manshur then had a wide and strong scientific network and social movement with Kiai and officials in the Surakarta palace, including Raden Muhammad Qamar also known as Tafsir Anom V (Head at the Surakarta palace), Raden Muhammad Adnan (teacher at the Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa), Kiai Ahmad Umar (founder of Pesantren Al-Muayyad, Surakarta).

In addition, Kiai Manshur had ever studied at Pesantren Jamsaren in Surakarta, under the tutelage of K.H. Idris, and owned a house in the Surakarta palace. Assisted by his student, Nyai Muharromah or Soelomo Resoatmodjo, this house was used to teach the *Naqsyabandiyah* to the Muslim community in the Surakarta palace³⁴. By his social base, Kiai Manshur's network with politicians and other Kiai was strengthened, both from inside and outside the Surakarta palace.

Referring to the facts above, we can conclude that the manuscript of the Qur'an Terengganu by Wiryadiningrat was presented to Kiai Manshur, as a symbol of respect and at the same time showing the strong relationship between the Kiai and the rulers of the Surakarta palace at that time. Kiai Manshur's social and religious base was an important and strategic aspect for the rulers at that time in building social, cultural and political movements in

³² Atina Sabila Farkhatin (One of Care Givers of Pesantren Al-Manshur Popongan) in discussion with the author, Klaten, 8 May 2019.

³³ Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Indonesia*, 166.

³⁴ Gusmian, "Manuskrip Keagamaan di Masjid Popongan: Kajian Kodikologi dan Pemetaan Isi," 250-274.

Surakarta. By utilizing this kind of political base, consolidation in education and Islamic literacy was one of the cultural strategies in resisting the Dutch colonialism.

History and Socio-Political Role of Wiryadiningrat

Wiryadiningrat lived in the early 20th century AD. He died on July 30, 1917. This information is revealed in the Supreme Court Document Number of 3249-K-Pdt-2012 concerning the Cassation of Raden Tumenggung Wiryadiningrat Family Regarding Inheritance Land. He has a kinship with Pakubuwono X, because he married the fourth daughter of Pakubowono IX, Gusti Bendoro Raden Ayu Rahmadiyah. Besides, he is also politically close and has leadership vision, namely as an official of the Regent and an advisor to Pakubuwono X with the title Kanjeng Bendara Raden Mas Tumenggung³⁵.

Wiryadiningrat Wiryadiningrat is known as an official having concern for literacy, socio-national movements, and religion. During his lifetime, he managed a plot of land with an area of 99,889 m² located in District Laweyan, Sriwedari Village, Surakarta. At that time, this land was used as a resting place for his family and in its development, by the Surakarta Municipal government; it was used as the Radya Pustaka Museum, People's Amusement Park, Sports Stadium, and Sports Monument³⁶. Although the status of ownership of this land is currently a dispute between the Surakarta government and the Wiryadiningrat family³⁷, but from the beginning, in terms of its use, it shows the concern of the authorities in the literacy and the social interests of the community.

In a number of archives, it is explained about the role of Wiryadiningrat in solving social and political problems. For example, he was the seventh Regent of Gunungkidul, with a fairly long leadership period, in 1901-1914. He has successfully led in this

³⁵ Sastronaryatmo, *Babad Pasanggrahan Madusita*, 15-17.

³⁶ Karina Rayie Windazani, "Sengketa Tanah Taman Sriwedari Surakarta dalam Perspektif Hukum Tata Usaha Negara" (Skripsi, Fakultas Hukum Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2010), 33.

³⁷ "Sengketa Sriwedari Solo, dari Gugatan Ahli Waris 1970 hingga Putusan MA 2022", accessed on December 26 2023, <https://soloraya.solopos.com/sengketa-sriwedari-solo-dari-gugatan-ahli-waris-1970-hingga-putusan-ma-2022-1444000>.

highland-filled region³⁸. He has also succeeded in resolving political chaos in Ponorogo area. As soon as after Raden Tumenggung Surodiningrat 1 has authority as Regent of Ponorogo, replacing his father, Tumenggung Surabrata, political instability occurred. One of the reasons was that Surodiningrat 1 did not use his power to improve the welfare of the people, but instead to enrich himself. By his power, he had 23 wives and 135 children. After he died, the political situation became more chaotic and there was a power struggle, one of which was due to the large number of wives and children. To overcome this situation, by Pakubuwono X, Wiryadiningrat was appointed as the interim Regent in Ponorogo. For a year, he was able to resolve the case, and after the political situation in Ponorogo stabilized, he handed over the Regent's power of to Tumenggung Suroloyo³⁹.

In the R.V.E document on December 5, 1877 No. 59 Verponding No. 295, revealed that Wiryadiningrat is an official having great concern for literacy and social movements. These roles are also recorded in the *Babad Pasanggrahan Madusita*. This states that he was an official given the responsibility for managing the *Madusita Pasanggrahan*; the resting place of Pakubuwono X in Ampel. The entire *pesanggrahan* contents and Wiryadiningrat's duties towards *Madusita* are fully explained in the *Babad*⁴⁰.

In the national political movement, Wiryadiningrat actively supports the vision and political steps of Pakubowono X in developing Islam in the palace area as well as the underground movement against the Dutch colonial government through education, literacy and socio-political organizations. This commitment and role was passed on to one of his children, Puspodiningrat. Puspodiningrat was not only as Pakubuwono's advisor but also active in social and national movements. At the second congress of *Serikat Islam* (SI) organization in 1912, Puspodiningrat was elected as Chairman of this organization in Central Java, and at that time he was a Regent of Nayoko in the

³⁸ "Laporan Raden Tumenggung Wiryadiningrat, Bupati Distrik Wonosari, tentang adanya Orang Sakit", December 26 2023, <https://portainer-arsip.jogjaprovo.go.id/index.php/laporan-raden-tumenggung-wiryadiningrat-bupati-distrik-wonosari-tentang-adanya-orang-sakit>

³⁹ Ingrid Kristiana Ratna Dewi, "Nilai-nilai Moral di dalam Babad Ponorogo" (Skripsi, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, UI Jakarta, 2011), 54.

⁴⁰ Sastronaryatmo, *Babad Pasanggrahan Madusita*, 15-17.

palace⁴¹. The position of the son of Wiryadiningrat was very beneficial for the palace in carrying out consolidation and political strategy against the Dutch colonials.

Apart from his role in the political field, from a socio-cultural perspective, his Terengganu Qur'an manuscript is a sign that cannot be separated from the habitus of social and religious life. Its existence implies Wiryadiningrat's closeness to the Islamic texts and the users (Kiai), the Pesantren and the society in general. This closeness is normal, because as an adviser to Pakubuwono X, he should support the palace's vision of developing Islamic education and literacy in Surakarta⁴². Information of the manuscript ownership that he wrote in Pegon script is also a reflection of his habits and skills in using the Pegon script. In a cultural context, this expresses Wiryadiningrat's closeness to the Pesantren tradition. Because, at that time, the Pegon script was a medium generally used in learning and all forms of recording, and is still used today.

Pakubuwono X, Surakarta Palace and Islamic Education

The history of Wiryadiningrat's socio-political role and his closeness to the Pesantren's tradition cannot be separated from the vision of Pakubuwono X's leadership. During his authority in 46 years, from March 30, 1893 to February 20, 1939, Pakubuwono X had shifted and created a new pattern of resistance against the Dutch colonials in Surakarta; from physical resistance to socio-cultural movements. In his leadership era, various activities in the fields of social, cultural, religious education and Islamic literacy were given adequate space, so that each grew dynamically. Although politically and economically Pakubuwono X was ressured by the Dutch, even though the court's territory was stripped through the Decentralization Act of 1903, he was able to mobilize the community with various strategic socio-political policies⁴³.

Pakubuwono X actively visited various areas in East Java and West Java for a long time in order to consolidate politics and strengthen his power base in Java. Although supervised by the Dutch colonial government, he managed to evade that surveillance.

⁴¹ Joebagio, *Biografi Politik Paku Buwana X*, 16.

⁴² Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1984), 108.

⁴³ Joebagio, *Biografi Politik Paku Buwana X*, 10.

In 1912, when the *Serikat Islam* (SI) organization held a congress in Sriwedari, he was secretly in close contact with the activists of this organization. The goal was to include people from the palace and who share the same vision to be active in the *Serikat Islam* organization. Of the eleven leaders of the *Serikat Islam* organization in Surakarta at that time, four of them were high court officials including KGPH. Hangabehi (protector of SI), H. Samanhudi (chairman), Cokroaminoto (vice chairman), and Puspodiningrat (Chairman of SI Branch in Central Java)⁴⁴.

In the field of education, Pakubuwono X provides space for the growth of modern schools. At the beginning of his reign, adaptation to colonial education in Surakarta was slow, and generally limited to the children of officials and aristocrats, and some of the schools carried a Christian mission. This mission school was not approved by the Surakarta palace, but was accepted by the Duchy of Mangkunegaran. Therefore, in the Mangkunegaran area there are many Christian schools and public schools with European patterns, while in the Kasunanan area there are schools have grown up with classical patterns and Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School)⁴⁵. Pakubuwono X developed educational institutions by establishing a number of modern schools and madrasas, such as Madrasa of Mamba'ul Ulum (1905)⁴⁶, Hollands Inlandsch School (HIS) Kasatryan (1910), Frobel School Parmadi Siwi (1926), and Hollands Inlandsch School (HIS) Pamardi Putri (1927). Not only giving permission to establish these schools, Pakubuwono X also provided subsidies and scholarships to his students, especially those from poor families⁴⁷.

Policies in the education development, especially the establishment of the modern Mambaul Ulum madrasa, the Kiai in Surakarta do not only provide political support but are also directly involved in its management. In the political context, the involvement of the Kiai in the establishment and management of the Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa is not easy. Because, since the end of the Java war in 1830, they were closely monitored by the Dutch colonial government, due to their involvement in the war. In fact,

⁴⁴ Joebagio, "Islam dan Kebangsaan di Keraton Surakarta dari PB IV Hingga PB X", 16.

⁴⁵ Soedarmono, "Sejarah dan Morfologi Kota Konflik Solo: Dari Periode Kolonial-Orde Baru," in *Makalah Seminar* (Surakarta: Solo Heritage Society, n.d.), 14-15.

⁴⁶ Joebagio, "Islam dan Kebangsaan di Keraton Surakarta dari PB IV Hingga PB X", 15-35.

⁴⁷ Boedi-Oetomo, *Majalah Narpawandana*, Surakarta, 1929, 62.

Snouck Hurgronje accused the Kiai who became the Head and managers of mosques in Surakarta as initiators of radical movements⁴⁸.

Snouck Hurgronje's statement certainly complicates the involvement of the Kiai in the establishment of modern madrasas and various palace political policies. However, cleverly, to the Dutch colonial government, Pakubuwono X conveyed the reasons for the establishment of the madrasa in a bureaucratic context, namely in the context of regenerating mosque and *langgar* (another name of mosque) managers in Kasunanan, because many of them died⁴⁹ and also to prepare the Head working in the High Court related to the Islamic religion in the royal bureaucracy and the Dutch Colonial bureaucracy⁵⁰. The scarcity of the Head officials had actually occurred for a long time, and was deliberately allowed by the Dutch colonial government as a way to suppress radical movements in Java. For these two reasons, the Dutch colonial government finally issued a permit for the establishment of the madrasa on 6 March 1906⁵¹.

The establishment of Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa was then followed by the establishment of other madrasas initiated by Kiai outside the political authority of the palace. In 1928, through the al-Rabithah al-Alawiyah Foundation, families of Arabic descent; Habib Husin bin Alwi Shahab, Habib Ibrahim bin Agil Assegaf, and Habib Alwi bin Ali Al-Habsyi, founded the Arabiyah Islamiyah madrasa. In 1931, the Nahdlatoeel Moeslimat Institute established an all-girls school. In the same decade, Kiai Imam Ghazali (1887-1969), one of the modernist thinkers, founded the Madrasa of Al-Islam in Sorosejan. KH Dimiyathi al-Karim, an alumnus of Pesantren Tremas Pacitan, managed Madrasa of Salafiyah, a madrasa managed with a modern system by referring to the education pattern in Cairo and using Arabic as an introduction⁵². These madrasas, apart from teaching Islamic sciences, socially also gives birth to new elites outside the palace and becomes the

⁴⁸ Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 108.

⁴⁹ Soeratman, *Kehidupan Dunia Keraton 1830-1939*, 342-344.

⁵⁰ G.F. Pijper, *Beberapa Studi Tentang Sejarah Islam di Indonesia 1900-1950*, ed. Tudjimah & Yessy Augusdin (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1985), 73-74.

⁵¹ Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern*, 108.

⁵² Saifuddin Zuhri, *Berangkat dari Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2013), 152-157.

epicenter of the development of intellectual, Islamic, and national visions.

Centers for Islamic studies, such as the *Mardikintoko* association, also thrived in Surakarta, and progressive Kiai took part among them, such as Bagus Arafah, Muhammad Adnan, Jauhar Laweyan, Masyhud Keprabon, and Imam Ghazali. In addition to these formal institutions, the practice of Islamization in Surakarta is also carried out by preachers who are members of the *Sidik Amanah Tableg Vatonah* (SATV) association lead by Misbach. This association is supported by young santri (student) such as Koesen, Harsoloemekso, and Darsosasmito, batik traders in Surakarta. The existence of this association was welcomed positively by the palace because of its good purpose and helped the palace in regulating society to be structured, having moral and not plunged into the black world⁵³. In subsequent development, those intellectual elites became important actors in the struggle for the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. Syaifuddin Zuhri, a santri studied at Al-Islam and Mamba'ul Ulum Madrasa in 1937-1938, was actively involved in the national revolutionary movement through a network of Kiai and pesantren in Java⁵⁴. For his services and roles, after a decade of Indonesia's independence, he was appointed as Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia (1962-1967). Raden Muhammad Adnan as the fourth son of Tafsir Anom V (the Head of the Surakarta palace) studied at the Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa was directly involved in the efforts for Indonesian independence and the growth of Islamic educational institutions. During the Japanese occupation, he became a member of the *Tokubetsu Si Kai* (City Council). He also contributed to the establishment of the Indonesian Islamic College⁵⁵.

Another figure played an important role in the education and political movement was Kiai Imam Ghazali (1887-1969). In addition to actively teaching at the Al-Islam madrasa, he was a Member of the Central Indonesian National Committee (1946-1950), an Advisor to the Central Committee of the Masyumi Party (1953), and in 1945 he was one of the founders of the Islamic Higher

⁵³ Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java 1912-1926*, 48.

⁵⁴ Zuhri, *Berangkat Dari Pesantren*, 157.

⁵⁵ Abdul Basit Adnan, *Prof. Dr. Raden Muhammad Adnan: Untuk Islam dan Indonesia* (Surakarta: Yayasan Mardikintoko, 2003), 38.

School in Yogyakarta, along with other members from NU, Muhammadiyah, and other Islamic organizations. He also took part in the fusion of two Islamic Universities in Solo and Yogyakarta, in 1959⁵⁶.

The opening of these modern private schools and madrasas provided space for the underclass and the *abdi dalem* (faithful caretakers of the royal households) as well as the general public, who were not accommodated in the colonial education system, to obtain a proper and adequate education. Socio-politically, this issue then grew a new elite in society, and at the same time, political power grew not only inside but also outside the palace, so that political life in Surakarta became more dynamic. National and Islamic movements began to grow inside and outside the palace. The establishment of the Serikat Islam, for example, was supported by many elite groups, apart from inside the palace as well as from outside the palace, namely Muslim intellectuals from the Pesantren Jamsaren, the Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa, and the Arabiyah Islamiyah madrasa⁵⁷. Pakubuwono X's involvement was politically an effort to generate a wider mass base, to consolidate, and to unite the nationalist political forces inside and outside the palace.

Pakubuwono X, Surakarta Palace and Islamic Literacy

Apart from developing Islamic educational institutions, Pakubuwono X also encourages various activities in the field of Islamic publications and literacy. During his authority, various mass media publications grew dynamically and partly as a medium for political propaganda and religious missions. At the end of the 19th century AD, Surakarta was a very dynamic area for the growth of the world of newspapers and mass media. In 1855, the first Javanese newspaper, Bromartani, was published in this city. In this newspaper, Ronggowarsita (1802-1873), a poet of the Surakarta Palace during the Pakubuwono VII era, was one of the editors. The growth of this mass media was cared for and developed by Pakubuwono X by providing broad freedom and the growth of Islamic religious literacy. In 1912, Hadji Oemar Said

⁵⁶ Retno Wulan Fitri Mei Asari, "Sejarah Perkembangan Yayasan Perguruan Al-Islam di Surakarta Era Reformasi (1998-2015)" (Tesis, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2016).

⁵⁷ Joebagio, *Biografi Politik Paku Buwana X*, 12.

Tjokroaminoto founded and at the same time became the leader of the Oetoesan Indies Newspaper, as the mouthpiece of the Serikat Islam struggle. In 1915 the newspaper of *Darmo Kondo* was published bought by Boedi Oetomo. Muhammad Misbach, a leftist Islamic activist, founded the *Medan Moeslimin* newspaper in 1915 and published the magazine of *Islam Bergerak* in 19.⁵⁸

In the era of Pakubuwono X's rule, the Kiai in Surakarta gained broad space and freedom in developing Islamic literacy traditions, both inside and outside the palace. They wrote about various fields of Islamic knowledge taught in madrasas and pesantrens, such as hadith, fiqh, interpretation, and other fields of science. Muhammad Muqri bin Kafrawi, son-in-law of Kiai Manshur, caretaker of the Pesantren Al-Manshur Popongan, copied various religious texts for the benefit of his studies at Pesantren Tremas and Mamba'ul Ulum. For example, *Naẓam 'Imriti* by Sheikh Syarafuddin Yahya bin Shaykh Badruddin Musa bin Ramaḍan bin 'Umairah which was copied in 1923, *Sullam Al-Taufiq* by Al-Shaykh Salim bin 'Abdullah bin Sa'ad bin 'Abdullah bin Sumair Al-Hafirami', *Manẓumah Al-Suja'i*, *Matn al-Juzuriyah* by Muhammad ibn Jazuri Al-Syafi'i, and *Wizarah al-ma'arif al-'Umumiyah* by Syekh Mustafa al-Suḩṩi. Besides, Muhammad Muqri also wrote his own book. For example, *Masa'il Jam'iyyiah al-Ṭulabah* and became the scribe of the book of *Lawami' al-Burhan wa Qawaṩi' al-Bayan* by Muhammad Dimiyati bin Abdul Karim Surakarta, which was written in 1925. These manuscripts are stored together with the manuscripts of Al-Qur'an Wiryadiningrat at Pesantren Al-Manshur Popongan.

Previously, KH Muhammad Salih bin Umar al-Samarani (1820-1903), a teacher from Tafsir Anom V of the Head at the Surakarta palace also wrote a lot of religious texts with a variety of knowledges, such as: *Faiḩ ar-Rahman fi Tarjumah Kalam Malik al-Dayyan* (tafsir), *Majmu'ah al-Syari'ah al-Kafiyah li al-'Awam* (fikih), *Laṩa'if al-Ṭaharah wa Asrar al-Salah* (fikih), *Book of Pasolatan* (fikih), *Sabil al-'Abid 'ala Jauhar al-Tauhid* (tasawuf) *Al-Mursyid al-Wajiz* (the science of Qur'an), and *Matan Hikam*

⁵⁸ Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java 1912-1926* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), 48; Nor Hiqmah, *H.M. Misbach: Sosok dan Kontroversi Pemikirannya* (Yogyakarta: Litera, 2000), 1.

(tasawuf)⁵⁹. These books, among others, were printed by Haji Muhammad Amin's printery in Singapore and Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi wa Auladihi Publisher in Egypt.

The tradition of Islamic literacy was then also developed by his students. In Surakarta, one of them was carried out by the Head of Tafsir Anom V. In order to bring the Qur'an closer to Muslims, he interpreted the Qur'an in 30 chapters. This work was written in Pegon-Javanese script in 6 volumes and printed by Al-Karimi publisher in Bombai at the expense of Sheikh Salim bin Nabhan and Ahmad bin Nabhan, the owner of the Nabhaniah bookstore in Surabaya in 1927⁶⁰. Bagus Ngarpah, a colleague of Tafsir Anom V and former head of the Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa⁶¹, also wrote and translated a number of Islamic texts, such as: a commentary on the Qur'an entitled *Kur'an Jawi Kur'an Jawi*⁶² and he translated the book of *al-Gayah wa al-Taqrīb* by Qaḍi Abu Suja' into Javanese and written in *Carakan* script.

Responding to the various translations and interpretations of the Qur'an thrived in Surakarta, Sayyid Usman bin Yahya (1822-1914), an informant for the Dutch colonial government living in Betawi, issued a *fatwa* (a legal pronouncement in Islam) regarding the prohibition of translating the Qur'an into the local language. (*ajam*)⁶³. Then, because of the *fatwa*, there was a polemic among Muslims. Responding to the *fatwa*, Bagus Ngarpah explained that he was just doing interpreting⁶⁴. Syaikh 'Abd al-Hamid bin Muhammad 'Ali Kudus (1863-1915 AD), a scholar of Javanese descent living in Mecca, also gave a *fatwa*. According to him, interpreting the Qur'an into the local language is permissible, while translating it is not allowed. The reason is, translating means replacing one word with another word that is equivalent in terms of

⁵⁹ Ghazali Munir, *Warisan Intelektual Islam Jawa* (Semarang: Walisongo Press, 2008); Taufiq Hakim, *Kiai Sholeh Darat dan Dinamika Politik di Nusantara Abad XIX-XX M* (Yogyakarta: Institute of Nation Development Studies, 2016), 147-150.

⁶⁰ Raden Penghulu Tafsir Anom, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-'Azīm* (Bombay: Penerbit Al-Karimi, 1927), 1.

⁶¹ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia*, 286.

⁶² Raden Bagus Ngarpah, *Kagungan Ndalem Kur'an Jawi Karaton Surakarta* (Surakarta: Tim Lembaga Dewan Adat, 1905), 8.

⁶³ Sayyid Usman, *Hukum Al-Rahman Bi Al-Nahyi 'an Tarjamah Al-Qur'an* (Batavia, 1909), 1-4.

⁶⁴ Nico J.G. Kaptein, *Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age in the Netherlands East Indies: A Biography of Sayyid Uthman (1822-1914)* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill nv, 2014), 197-199.

meaning, and this will eliminate the miracle of the Qur'an in terms of the composition of the text and the vocabulary used. He wrote this *fatwa* in a manuscript entitled, *Al-Tuhfah al-Mardiyah Fatawa fi Jawazi Tafsiri al-Qur'an al-'Azim bi al-'Ajamiyah* (1323 H/1905 AD).

Apart from the polemics above, Islamic literacy in Surakarta continues to grow dynamically through the hands of the Kiai. Imam Ghazali, a teacher at Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa and Al-Islam Surakarta madrasa wrote many Islamic texts, such as: *al-Tijan fi Syu'b al-iman*, *al-Fiqh al-Nabawi*, *Ruh al-Islam wa Usul Qawa'id al-Ahkam*, *al-Qur'an wa al-Muhdas*, *al-Fiqh al-Nabawi*, *Islam wa al-Muslim*, *al-Adab wa al-Akhlaq al-Nabawiyah*, *Book of al-Jum'ah*, *al-Azkar*, *Asas Panuntun Islam*, *Kitab Nikah*, *Tafsir al-Fatihah*, and *Tafsir al-Balagh*. The Mardikintoko Institute in Surakarta, of which Raden Muhammad Adnan (1898-1969) was a member, also published a commentary entitled *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azim*. This interpretation is written in Pegon-Javanese script and published by Al-Aminiyah publisher in Singapore⁶⁵. In addition, he also wrote a number of books in various knowledges, including *Hidayatul Islam*, a book on morals written in Javanese Pegon script (1941); *Syarh 'Aqidah al-Awam*, the field of *akidah* (faith), was written in Javanese Pegon script (printed in Singapore in 1923), and *Tuntunan Iman dan Islam*, a summary book on Islamic studies at Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta delivered in 1962 and published by the Djajamurni Jakarta publisher.

The teachers at Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa, in particular, also wrote Islamic texts used as teaching materials at the madrasa. Some of these texts are still in manuscript form and are now stored in the library of the Great Mosque of Surakarta. From these manuscripts, we know that the copying and writing of the text consisted of various knowledges, and it was dedicated to the ruler of the Keraton by the copyists and writers. For example, in the manuscript copy of the book *Ihya al-'Ulum al-Din* by Imam al-Ghazali, it includes a statement that: " *Kitab Ihya 'Ulum al-Din jilidan ingkang kaping sekawan kagengan Dalem Inggang Sinuwun ing Surakarta Hadiningrat ingkang anyerat abdi dalem Kiai Ahmad ing Karang*"

⁶⁵ Islah Gusmian, "Tafsir Al-Qur'an di Indonesia: Sejarah dan Dinamika," *Jurnal NUN* Vol. 1, no. 1 (2015): 15; Adnan, *Prof. Dr. Raden Muhammad Adnan: Untuk Islam Dan Indonesia*, 2.

(Kitab *Ihya al-'Ulum al-Din* volume 4 of Ingkang Sinuwun [Pakubuwono X] in Surakarta copied by *Abdi Dalem* of Kiai Ahmad in Karang⁶⁶.

This information is also found in other manuscripts kept in the library of the Great Mosque of Surakarta, and in a certain case, specific information is included, namely the manuscript of learning material at Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa⁶⁷. From these two records, it is revealed that the writing and copying of religious texts was part of a program related to the establishment of Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa which the Palace paid the costs needed.

Mahmud Yunus recorded the books' names taught at Mamba'ul Ulum madrasa. These books are the main texts of various fields of science, for example *Fath al-Mu'in* by Zainuddin Ahmad al-Malibari, *Sahih Bukhari* by Abu 'Abdillah Muhammad bin Ismail al-Bukhari, *Tafsir al-Jalalain* by Jalaluddin al-Suyari and Jalaluddin al-Mahalli, *Minhaj al-'Abidin* and *Ihya' al-ulum al-Din* by Imam Ghazali⁶⁸.

The existence of the Wiryadiningrat Qur'an manuscript is one of the important clues about the network of Kiai and rulers of the Surakarta palace in the development of Islamic education and literacy in Surakarta in the early 20th century AD. The growth of madrasas and pesantren as well as the role played by Kiai in Islamic literacy in Surakarta received support from the palace authorities socially, economically, and politically. This study does not only show the role of the palace as one of the agents of Islamization in 20th century AD Java⁶⁹. Moreover, this study reveals the intense network between the Kiai and the rulers of the Surakarta palace in the growth of education and Islamic literacy in Surakarta.

The practice of Islamic learning carried out by the Kiai, through pesantren and madrasas, is also a cultural strategy. By utilizing a strong teacher-student network, they strengthened the social base of Islam and instilled the spirit of patriotism, nationalism, and independence in the midst of Dutch colonial political pressure. In this way, it is easy for them to mobilize the

⁶⁶ Kiai Ahmad, *Terjemah Kitab Ihya, Kagungan Ndalem Pakubuwono X*, 2.

⁶⁷ Islah Gusmian, "Karakteristik Naskah Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Pegon Koleksi Perpustakaan Masjid Agung Surakarta," *Suhuf* 5, No. 1 (2012), 54.

⁶⁸ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, 286.

⁶⁹ Merle C. Ricklefs, "Islamising Java: The Long Shadow of Sultan Agung," *Archipel* 1, no. 56 (1998), 469-482.

masses and carry out regeneration. Syekh Muhammad Salih ibn Umar al-Samarani (1820-1903), for instance, succeeded in cultivating movement figures in Java in the early 20th century AD through a teacher-student network. Kiai Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923), the founder of Muhammadiyah, Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari (1871-1947), the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama, and Tafsir Anom V or Raden Muhammad Qamar (1854-1933), the Head of the Surakarta palace, were three students of Kiai Muhammad Salih succeeded to have an important role in social and political transformation in Java in the early 20th century AD⁷⁰. Although they have different roles, their vision is the same; developing Islamic and national values. In addition to utilizing the teacher-student network, they also collaborate in the development of Islamic da'wah and socio-political transformation within and outside the Surakarta palace.

Conclusion

This article reveals new things in the network of Kiai and rulers of the Surakarta palace in the early 20th century AD. Apart from political interests, under the leadership of Pakubuwono X, the palace encouraged and provided space for Kiai to play an active role in the establishment of modern Islamic educational institutions and literacy. The Kiai, whether they have a direct political relationship with the rulers of the Surakarta palace or not, because of their political position in the palace, are free to develop educational institutions and pesantren as well as the world of Islamic literacy. These institutions became the basis of social and political movements in building Islamic civilization through learning and science.

Through the madrasas and Islamic boarding schools they founded, the Kiai became one of the political forces outside the control of the Surakarta palace in the 20th century AD. In addition to being actively involved in the Islamic education, the Kiai also had an active role, and at the same time they became the driving force in the national movement and love for the homeland. All of

⁷⁰ Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "The Pesantren Architects and Their Socio-Religious Teachings (1850-1950)" (University of California Los Angeles, 1997), 35-57; Taufiq Hakim, *Kiai Sholeh Darat dan Dinamika Politik di Nusantara Abad XIX-XX M*, 147-150.

these explanations illustrate the wide spectrum of the network of Kiai and rulers of the Surakarta palace as well as the dynamic socio-political changes handled by the Kiai in Surakarta which are not only related to palace politics but also education and national movement.

References

- Adnan, Abdul Basit. *Prof. Dr. Raden Muhammad Adnan: Untuk Islam dan Indonesia*. Surakarta: Yayasan Mardikintoko, 2003.
- Akbar, Ali. "Kaligrafi dalam Mushaf Kuno Nusantara: Telaah Naskah-Naskah Koleksi Perpustakaan Nasional RI." Universitas Indonesia, 2005.
- . "Kaligrafi dan Iluminasi dalam Mushaf Al-Quran Kuno Nusantara." In *Keindahan Mushaf Al-Quran Kuno Nusantara*. Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2015.
- . "The Influence of Ottoman Qur'ans in Southeast Asia Through the Ages." In *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia.*, edited by A.C.S. Peacock and Annabel Teh Gallop. London: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- . "Tradisi Lokal, Tradisi Timur Tengah, dan Tradisi Persia-India." *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 4, no. 2 (2006): 242–261.
- Anom, Raden Penghulu Tafsir. *Tafsir Al-Quran Al-'Azim*. Bombay: Penerbit Al-Karimi, 1927.
- Arsyad, Harisun. "Menelusuri Khazanah Mushaf Kuno di Aceh." *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 4, no. 2 (2006): 214–241.
- Asari, Retno Wulan Fitri mei. "Sejarah Perkembangan Yayasan Perguruan Al-Islam di Surakarta Era Reformasi (1998-2015)." Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2016.
- Azmi, Riswadi. "Mushaf Al-Quran Terengganu Kajian Terhadap Manuskrip IAMM 2012.13.6." *Suhuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Qur'an dan Budaya* 11 no. 1 (2018): 19–54.
- Bizawie, Zainul Milal. *Syekh Mutamakkin, Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat*. Jakarta: Pustaka Compass, 2017.
- Boedi Oetama. *Narpawandana*. Surakarta, 1929.

- Bruinessen, Martin. *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 1992.
- Cruvelier, Frantz Chaigne and Mathilde. "The Ornamentation of the Gwalior Qur'an, Between Diachronic Legacies and Geographic Confluences." In *Le Coran De Gwalior: Polysémie d'Un Manuscrit à Peintures*. Editions D., 2016.
- Dewi, Ingrid Kristiana Ratna. "Nilai Moral di dalam Babad Ponorogo." Skripsi, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, UI Jakarta, 2011.
- Eliade, Mircea. *The Encyclopaedia of Religion*. New York: Macmillan, 1987.
- Furlong, Gillian. "Islamic Art in the 15th Century: Fragment of the Holy Qur'an." In *In Treasures from UCL, 60-61*. London: UCL Press, 2015.
- Gallop, Annabel Teh. "An Acehese Style of Manuscript Illumination." *Jurnal Archipel* 68, no. 68, (2004): 193-240.
- . "Malay Manuscript Art: The British Library Collection." *The British Library Journal*, 17, no. 2 (1991): 167-189.
- Gusmian, Islah. "Kaligrafi Islam: Dari Nalar Seni Hingga Simbolisme Spiritual." *Jurnal al-Jami'ah* 41, no. 1 (2003): 108-132.
- . "Karakteristik Naskah Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Pegon Koleksi Perpustakaan Masjid Agung Surakarta." *Suhuf* 5, No. 1 (2012): 51-75.
- . "Manuskrip Keagamaan di Masjid Popongan: Kajian Kodikologi dan Pemetaan Isi." *Dinika Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 4 (2019): 250-274.
- . "Tafsir Al-Qur'an di Indonesia: Sejarah dan Dinamika." *Jurnal NUN* Vol. 1, no. 1 (2015): 1-32.
- Hassan, Hasnira. "Integrasi Seni dan Sains dalam Teknologi Pembuatan Manuskrip Al-Quran Kilau Dari Kesultanan Terengganu." In *Isu-Isu Sains & Teknologi Di Alam Melayu*. Malaysia: Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu (ATMA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2014.
- <https://portainer-arsip.jogjaprovo.go.id/index.php/informationobject/browse?topLod=0&sort=relevance&query=wiryadiningrat&repos=>

- Joebagio, Hermanu. "Biografi Politik Paku Buwana X: Studi Gerakan Islam dan Kebangsaan di Keraton Surakarta." Disertasi, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2010.
- . "Islam dan Kebangsaan Di Keraton Surakarta Dari PB IV Hingga PB X." Disertasi UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2010.
- Jones, Russell. "European and Asian Papers in Malay Manuscripts: A Provisional Assessment." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Manuscripts of Indonesia* 149, no. 3 (1993): 474–502.
- Kumar, Ann. *The Diary of Muslim: Religion, Politics, and the Pesantren 1883-1886*. Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies ANU, 1985.
- M.C. Ricklefs. "Babad Giyanti: Sumber Sejarah dan Karya Agung Sastra Jawa." *Jumantara* 5, no. 2 (2014): 11-25.
- Mahmud Yunus. *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1984.
- Mas'ud, Abdurrahman. "The Pesantren Architects and Their Socio-Religious Teachings (1850-1950)." University of California Los Angeles, 1997.
- Munawiroh. "Mushaf Kuno di Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara." *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 5, no. 1 (2007): 19–36.
- Munir, Ghazali. *Warisan Intelektual Islam Jawa*. Semarang: Walisongo Press, 2008.
- Naili Inafah, Ismawati, Anasom. *Sejarah Kasultanan Demak-Bintoro*. Semarang: Takmir Masjid Agung Demak dan Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo Semarang, 2020.
- Nico J.G. Kaptein. *Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age in the Netherlands East Indies: A Biography of Sayyid `Uthman (1822-1914)*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill nv, 2014.
- Nor Hiqmah. *H.M. Misbach: Sosok dan Kontroversi Pemikirannya*. Yogyakarta: Litera, 2000.
- Pijper, G.F. *Beberapa Studi Tentang Sejarah Islam di Indonesia 1900-1950*. Edited by Tudjimah & Yessy Augustin. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1985.
- Pusponegoro, Ma'mun. *Kauman: Religi, Tradisi, dan Seni*. Surakarta: Paguyuban Kampung Wisata Batik Kauman, 2007.

- Ricklefs, Merle C. "Islamising Java: The Long Shadow of Sultan Agung." *Archipel* 1, no. 56 (1998): 469-482.
- Saefullah, Asep. "Ragam Hiasan Mushaf Kuno Koleksi Bayt Al-Qur'an dan Museum Istiqlal Jakarta." *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 5, no. 1 (2007), 39-62.
- . "Ragam Rasm dan Hiasan Pada Mushaf Kuno dari Pulau Sumbawa NTB." ASTON Palembang Hotel, Palembang: Temu Riset Keagamaan Tingkat Nasional IV" Badan Litbang dan Diklat Depag di ASTON Palembang Hotel, Palembang, 26-29 Juni 2006, 2006.
- Sastronaryatmo, Moelyono. *Babad Pasanggrahan Madusita*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, n.d.
- Sayyid Usman. *Hukm Al-Rahman Bi Al-Nahyi 'an Tarjamah Al-Quran*. Batavia, 1909.
- Shiraishi, Takashi. *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java 1912-1926*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Soebardi, S. *The Book of Cabolek*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975.
- Soedarmono. "Sejarah dan Morfologi Kota Konflik Solo: Dari Periode Kolonial-Orde Baru." In *Makalah Seminar*, 14-15. Surakarta: Solo Heritage Society, n.d.
- Soeratman, Darsiti. *Kehidupan Dunia Keraton 1830-1939*. Jakarta: Yayasan Indonesia, 2000.
- Steenbrink, Karel A. *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam Dalam Kurun Modern*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994.
- Supriyadi. *Dinamika Kehidupan Religiusitas Kasunanan Surakarta*. Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur Keagamaan Badan Litbang Agama dan Diklat Keagamaan Departemen Agama RI, 2013.
- Taufiq Hakim. *Kiai Sholeh Darat Dan Dinamika Politik Di Nusantara Abad XIX-XX M*. Yogyakarta: Institute of Nation Development Studies, 2016.
- Teh Gallop, Annabel, and Ali Akbar. "The Art of the Qur'an in Banten: Calligraphy and Illumination." *Archipel* 72, no. 1 (2006): 95-156.
- Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methode and Directions in the Study of Modern History*. London: Longman, 1984.

- Windazani, Karina Rayie. “Sengketa Tanah Taman Sriwedari Surakarta dalam Perspektif Hukum Tata Usaha Negara.” Skripsi di Fakultas Hukum Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2010.
- Yasadipura. *Babad Pakepung, Alih Aksara Endang Saparinah*. Edited by Endang Saparinah. Surakarta: Fakultas Sastra UNS, 1989.
- Yunardi, E. Badri. “Beberapa Mushaf Kuno Dari Provinsi Bali.” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 5, no. 1 (2007): 1–18.
- Zuhri, Saifuddin. *Berangkat Dari Pesantren*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2013.
- “Sengketa Sriwedari Solo, dari Gugatan Ahli Waris 1970 hingga Putusan MA 2022”. <https://soloraya.solopos.com/sengketa-sriwedari-solo-dari-gugatan-ahli-waris-1970-hingga-putusan-ma-2022-1444000>.
- “Wawancara Dengan Ali Akbar, Pengelola Museum Istiqlal dan Bayt Al-Quran Jakarta,” 2019.
- “Wawancara Dengan Atina Sabila Farkhatin, Salah Seorang Pengasuh Pesantren Al-Manshur Popongan,” 2019.

Attachment



