

KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION AND KYAI-SANTRI NETWORK IN PESANTREN IN JAVA ISLAND DURING THE 20th CENTURY: A STUDY ON POPONGAN MANUSCRIPT

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Abstract

The article examined the knowledge transmission and the network of *kyai-santri* in *pesantren* in Java in the 20th century. Both of these aspects were studied through Popongan manuscripts kept at Popongan Pesantren, Klaten, Central Java. The Popongan manuscript was derived from the study notes and a copy of the text referenced in the study at the *pesantren*. A large number of manuscripts were written and copied by Kyai Muhammad Muqri, one of the *kyai* at Popongan Pesantren. Through this study, Popongan manuscripts were positioned as social and cultural products, so that interactions, social relationships, and interests in them can be properly expressed. The research showed that the fields of knowledge studied in *pesantren* were diverse, including *fiqh*, grammar, theology, Sufism, and history. This diverse field of knowledge was well transmitted through *kyai-santri* networks. In addition, the *kyai* also criticized religious views that were inconsistent with Islamic principles. For example, the rejection of Wahhabi's teachings by Muḥammad Dimyaṭī in the book *Lawāmi' al-Burhān*. In terms of

socio-culture, this study also revealed that through knowledge, the relationship between *kyai-santri* as well as between *kyai-rulers* in Surakarta was interconnected from time to time. Through this kind of education, *pesantren* played an important role in building a comprehensive religious tradition.

Keywords: Manuscripts; *pesantren*; *kyai*; *santri*; Popongan.

Khulasah

Makalah ini mengkaji perkembangan keilmuan dan rangkaian *kyai-santri* di *Pesantren* di Jawa pada abad ke-20. Kedua-dua aspek ini dikaji melalui manuskrip Popongan yang disimpan di *Pesantren* Popongan, Klaten, Jawa Tengah. Manuskrip Popongan berasal dari nota pembelajaran, salinan teks yang dirujuk dalam kajian di *pesantren*. Sebilangan besar manuskrip ditulis dan disalin oleh *Kyai* Muhammad Muqri, salah seorang *kyai* di *Pesantren* Popongan. Menerusi kajian ini, manuskrip Popongan diletakkan sebagai produk sosial dan budaya, supaya interaksi, hubungan sosial, dan kepentingan di dalamnya dapat dinyatakan dengan betul. Kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa bidang ilmu yang dipelajari di *pesantren* adalah pelbagai, termasuk *fiqh*, *tatabahasa*, dan *teologi*, *sufisme*, dan *sejarah*. Bidang ilmu yang pelbagai ini dikembangkan dengan baik melalui rangkaian *guru-pelajar*. Di samping itu, *kyai* juga mengkritik pandangan agama yang tidak konsisten dengan prinsip Islam. Sebagai contoh, penolakan ajaran *Wahabi* oleh *Muhammad Dimyaṭi* dalam kitab *Lawāmi' al-Burhān*. Dari segi sosio-budaya, artikel ini juga mendedahkan bahawa melalui ilmu pengetahuan, hubungan *kyai-santri* dan juga antara *kyai-penguasa* di Surakarta saling berhubungan dari semasa ke semasa. Melalui proses pembelajaran ini, *pesantren* memainkan peranan penting dalam membina tradisi agama yang komprehensif.

Kata kunci: Manuskrip; pesantren; kyai; santri; Popongan.

Introduction

Pesantren is an Islamic educational institution in Indonesia that was established long before Indonesian independence. The teacher is called *kyai* and the students are called *santri*. In general, *pesantren* has several special buildings such as mosques as a place of worship, a dormitory where students live, a classroom, and a residence for *kyai*.¹ The education comprises various fields of knowledge such as *fiqh*, *tawhīd*, Arabic grammar, theology, and the Qur'an learning. Most of the literature for the study is derived from the work of Middle East scholars.²

Despite a plethora of studies pertaining *pesantren* had been carried out by researchers with various perspectives, and until the last two decades, most of the research had been historical and anthropological in nature, such as the work of Steenbrink, Bruinessen, Dhofier, Azra, and Mas'ud.³ In the 1970s, Horikoshi studied the dual role of

¹ Mohamad Muzammil Mohamad Noor, "Pengaruh dan Pemikiran Muhammad Natsir (1908-1993) Dalam Pendidikan Islam Zaman Kolonial Belanda di Indonesia," *Afkar: Journal of Aqidah & Islamic Thought* 23(2) (2021), 90-94. <https://doi.org/10.22452/afkar.vol23no2.3>

² Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kiai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), 54; Riswadi Azmi and Mustaffa Abdullah, "Manuskrip al-Qur'an di Alam Melayu: Kajian Terhadap Manuskrip al-Qur'an Terengganu," *Jurnal Usuluddin* 45(2) (2017), 18-54.

³ Karl. A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986; Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995); Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2004);

the *Kyai* as the leader of the *pesantren* as well as the agent of changes outside the *pesantren*.⁴ In the 2000s, the study of *pesantren* developed towards the context of relevance to the social dynamics in Indonesia such as the role of *pesantren* in shaping the future of Muslims, the involvement of *pesantren* in electoral politics,⁵ the dynamics of *pesantren* as religious authority holders,⁶ and *pesantren* in the dynamics of change in Indonesia.

As an Islamic educational institution, studies had been silent on the research of the Islamic knowledge taught in *pesantren*. To date, the study of knowledge in *pesantren* is limited to two aspects. First, the *kyai*'s thought, which is associated with social, political, and religious dynamics. The study is not directly related to the learning of Islamic knowledge in *pesantren*. For example, the thoughts of *Kyai Sahal Mahfudh* and *Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari*, and the Qur'an interpretation model of *Kyai Saleh Darat*. Second, the description and search of Islamic manuscripts in *pesantren*. This study was carried out by *Amiq*, yet he did not explain the knowledge transmission in *pesantren*, the network of *kyai-santri*, and the dynamics of the Islamic knowledge at the *pesantren*.⁷

Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Intelektual Pesantren: Perhelatan Agama dan Tradisi*. Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2004.

⁴ Hiroko Horikoshi, *A Traditional Leader in a Time of Change: The Kijaji and Ulama in West Java* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1976), 300.

⁵ Abdul Gaffar Karim, "Pesantren in Power: Religious Institutions and Political Recruitment in Sumenep, Madura", *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 42(1) (2008), 157-184.

⁶ Wahyuddin Halim, "Young Islamic Preachers on Facebook: Pesantren As'adiyah and Its Engagement with Social Media", *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46(134), 2018, 44-60.

⁷ *Amiq*, "Islamic Manuscript Culture in the *Pondok Pesantren* of East Java in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" (Ph.D. Thesis, Universiteit Leiden, Leiden, 2015).

Martin van Bruinessen once conducted a survey on literature used as learning material in *pesantren*. The literature he studied was general in nature, including copies of the works of Middle East scholars as well as those written by *kyai* in *pesantren*. He classified and categorized the literature. However, the literatures studied were not those kept in the *pesantren* or generated from learning in the *pesantren*, but from the bookstore.⁸ Bruinessen had contributed to revealing Islamic literature in *pesantren*, but because of its focus on books sold in bookstores, the literatures authored by *kyai* and *santri* in the teaching and learning process in *pesantren*, however, were invisible and marginalized due to their focus on books sold in bookstores.

Literacy tradition has grown in *pesantren* prior to the use of printing technology. This growth was driven by learning practices and systems in *pesantren*. Since the past, students had taking notes on the *kyai*'s explanations in a systematic way, copying texts from the Middle East as references, or even writing independently. The manuscripts in the *pesantren* came from this tradition.⁹ Manuscripts in *pesantren* were thus cultural representations of the context and reality in which the texts were composed. The texts written in these manuscripts were the main and important data for revealing the tradition and transmission of knowledge in *pesantren*. It was closely related to the aspects of knowledge and traditions in the *pesantren*. Apart from their different contents and origins, these texts were taught to reflect the Islamic knowledge tradition that flourished in the *pesantren*.

⁸ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 132.

⁹ Mohd Noh Abdul Jalil, "The Discourse of Islam and Other Religions by Early 'Ulamā' in the Malay World," *Afkar: Journal of Aqidah & Islamic Thought* 23(2) (2021), 311–338. <https://doi.org/10.22452/afkar.vol23no2.9>

The Popongan Islamic Boarding School in Klaten, Central Java, was one of the *pesantren* in Java that stores religious literature in manuscript form. The manuscript stored in the Popongan *Pesantren*¹⁰ played an important role in presenting how the transmission and development of Islamic knowledge in *pesantren* in Java, the network and relations between *kyai-santri*, and the response of *kyai* to the dynamics of social and religious life. These three factors must be investigated to understand the dynamics of Islamic scholarship at Islamic boarding schools in Java towards the end of the twentieth century.

Because of its strategic location, the Popongan manuscript was chosen as the object of study. First, geographically, the Popongan *Pesantren* is close to Surakarta. Surakarta is one of the centres of power in Java. In the early 20th century, it became the centre of a national socio-political movement where various social movements emerged, such as Sarekat Islam. Second, the Popongan *Pesantren*, under the tutelage of Kyai Manshur in the early 20th century, was one of the *pesantren* that had a strong network with other *pesantren* in Java. Due to the leadership and role of Kyai Manshur, it became the centre of the Naqshabandiyah Sufi order (*tariqah*) in Central Java.

The Popongan manuscripts had been made into digital form and uploaded to the website of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. There were twenty pieces and had been coded with a catalog number. These manuscripts generally represented the entire Popongan manuscripts that has not been digitalized. To analyse the three aspects mentioned earlier, the Popongan manuscript was observed from a socio-cultural context by relating to its existence, origin, use, themes, and ownership. It also important to study the aspects

¹⁰ Hereinafter referred to as the *Popongan* manuscript.

related to the language and characters used and the types of materials used in its writing. The study was aimed to investigate the social and cultural context, origin, existence, and function of the manuscript.

***Pesantren* and the Heritage of Islamic Manuscripts**

Islamic manuscripts are one of the cultural heritages owned by the Indonesian people. There are a lot of them all over the place. In the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia, there are at least 931 manuscripts related to Islam.¹¹ In the Library of the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, there are 14 manuscripts in the field of Islam.¹² In five institutions in West Java, there are at least 546 manuscripts on Islam.¹³ In the Pura Pakualaman Library in Yogyakarta, there are 14 manuscripts related to Islam while in Dayah Tanoh Abee, there are also many Islamic manuscripts from various fields of science¹⁴. In addition, there are many Islamic manuscripts from the archipelago stored abroad. They did not include manuscripts kept in the community, places of worship,

¹¹ T. E. Behrend, *Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1998), xiv.

¹² T. E. Behrend & Titik Pudjiastuti, *Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara Jilid 3-A Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia & Ecole Francaise D'extreme Orient, 1997), 449-455.

¹³ Edi S. Ekadjati and Undang A. Darsa, *Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara Jilid 5A Jawa Barat Koleksi Lima Lembaga* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia & Ecole Francaise D'extreme Orient, 1999), 233-649.

¹⁴ Sri Ratna Saktimulya, *Katalog Naskah-Naskah Perpustakaan Pura Pakualaman* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor & The Toyota Foundation, 2005), 58-66; Oman Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Dayah Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar* (Jakarta: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Penerbit Komunitas Bambu, Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara, PPIM UIN Jakarta, & PKPM Aceh, 2010).

educational institutions, and *pesantren*. Some of them had been recorded but some have not been preserved properly.

As the oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesia, *pesantren* stores many Islamic manuscripts. In East Java, there are 315 manuscripts kept in the Pesantren Langitan Tuban, Pesantren Tarbiyyah al-Talabah Keranji, and Pesantren Tegalsari Ponorogo. The manuscripts had been digitized through the Endangered Archives Project (EAP061).¹⁵

Apart from these three pesantren, East Java also has *pesantren* that serve as both a repository for manuscripts and a venue for *kyai* to create religious texts, namely Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang and Pesantren Tremas Pacitan. In Pesantren Tebuireng, there are manuscripts written by Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari (1871-1947). As the founder of Pesantren Tebuireng and the Islamic organization of Nahdlatul Ulama, he wrote a wide variety of religious texts in the field of education, theology, worship, and ethics. The manuscripts had been edited and compiled by M. Ishom Hadziq and published in a book entitled *Irshād al-Sārī*.

In Pesantren Tremas, the manuscripts were written by Sheikh Mahfuzh. Pesantren Tremas was founded by Kyai Abdul Manan (1866-1896) in 1830.¹⁶ In the era of the third generation, there were two *kyai* in this *pesantren* who wrote many religious texts. They were Sheikh Mahfuzh (1863-1920) and Kyai Ahmad Dahlan (1861-1911). Sheikh Mahfuzh wrote religious texts with various fields of knowledge, including *'ilm al-Qur'ān* and *qirā'āt*, *ḥadīth* and *'ilm al-ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *aqīdah*,

¹⁵ The digital version of the manuscript can be accessed at <https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP061>.

¹⁶ Muhammad, *Mengenal Pondok Tremas* (Tremas: Majelis Ma'arif Press, 2001), 22.

taṣawwuf, and bibliography.¹⁷ Kyai Ahmad Dahlan wrote texts related to *falak* (astronomy, namely *Tadhkirah al-Ikhwān fī Badli Tawārih wa al-A'māli al-Falakiyyah*, *Natījah al-Mīqāt*, and *Bulūgh al-Watar*). Apart from astronomy, he also wrote texts in the field of *fiqh*, namely *Faṭḥ al-Majīd*, *Nuzhah al-Afhām fī mā Ya'tari al-Dukhān min al-Ahkām*, and *Tadhkirah al-Ikhwān fī Bayān al-Dukhān wa al-Qahwah*.¹⁸

At *Pesantren* Sumberanyar in Pamekasan, Madura, there are Islamic manuscripts with various fields of knowledge, including *fiqh*, *tawḥīd*, and grammar. The manuscripts were mostly copies of Arabic texts from the Middle East that were used as learning materials in *pesantren*. For example, the *Kitāb Jurumiyah* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Sīdi Muḥammad bin Dāwūd, *Kitāb Ṣarf* by Imām Mas'ūd ibn 'Umar, *al-'Awāmil* by Shaykh Amad bin Muḥammad Zayn bin Muṣṭafā al-Fatānī, and *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* by Imam Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and Jalāluddīn al-Maḥallī. In addition, there are manuscripts in the Pegon script (Arabic script used to write local languages of Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese) derived from the notes of the students while studying at the *pesantren*.¹⁹

In Central Java, Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i (1786-1870), the educator of a boarding school in Kalisalak, Kendal, bequeathed many Islamic manuscripts. Rifā'i had lived in the *pesantren* tradition since childhood. He lived in Makkah for eight years to study Islam from scholars, such as Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Shaykh Abū 'Ubaydah,

¹⁷ Dwi Ratnasari, *Sejarah dan Tradisi Intelektual Syaikh Mahfuz At-Tarmasi* (Yogyakarta: Bildung, 2020), 153-188.

¹⁸ Ahmad Muhammad, *Manuskrip Tremas, Jejak Peradaban, Tradisi Keilmuan, dan Khazanah Intelektual Masyayikh Pondok Tremas* (Tremas: Pondok Tremas, 2019), 15-35.

¹⁹ Umi Musfiah, *Katalog Naskah Keagamaan Madura* (Semarang: Balai Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama Semarang, 2020), 1: 235.

Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Sheikh ‘Uthmān, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Mālik, and Shaykh ‘Īsā al-Barawi.²⁰ He wrote many religious texts in the Pegon script in the form of *naẓam* (rhyme). The themes he wrote related to various fields of science, such as *fiqh*, Sufism, and ‘*aqīdah*.

The History and Role of Pesantren Popongan

Pesantren Popongan is located in Popongan village, Tegalgondo, Wonosari, Klaten, Central Java. This village is located on Jalan Raya Solo-Yogyakarta, KM 8 Delunggu. The people work as farmers and traders. Pesantren Popongan was founded in 1926 by Kyai Muḥammad Maṣṣūr (1858-1955).²¹ Its establishment coincided with the construction of a mosque in the *pesantren*. The year of establishment was written in the inscription of the *mihrab* of the mosque.

Five decades later, on June 21, 1980, the name of the Pesantren Popongan was changed to Pesantren al-Maṣṣūr. This replacement was made to commemorate Kyai Maṣṣūr’s services in education and *ṭarīqah* in Java. However, the general public still calls it Pesantren Popongan. The name Popongan refers to the name of the village where the *pesantren* is located. This kind of mention is a habit of the people in the past. The same thing happened to some other *pesantren*. For example, Pesantren Tebuireng, Pesantren Tremas, Pesantren Ploso, and others. All mentions by the name referred to the place where the *pesantren* was first established.

Kyai Maṣṣūr was the son of Syekh Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Hādi Giri Kusumo. His father was a *murshid* of the Naqshabandiyyah Khālidiyyah *ṭarīqah* in Giri Kusumo, Mranggen, Demak, Central Java. Referring to the documents kept at the Pesantren Popongan, he was

²⁰ Abdul Djamil, *Perlawanan Kiai Desa: Pemikiran dan Gerakan Islam KH. Ahmad Rifa’i Kalisalak* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2001), 14.

²¹ Hereinafter referred to as Kyai Maṣṣūr.

born at 15.00 Western Indonesian Time, Wednesday, 17 Maulid, 1292H (December 3, 1858) and died at 04.25 Western Indonesian Time, Sunday, August 1, 1955.

Before living in Popongan, he studied at Pesantren Jamsaren in Surakarta under the tutelage of K.H. Idris. The location of this *pesantren* was about 18 km from the city of Klaten. He moved to Klaten after his marriage to Nyai Maryam, the daughter of K.H. Fadlil, a *kyai* and a wealthy merchant in the village in 1918. As a young *santri* who had long studied various religious studies at the pesantren, K.H. Fadlil asked Kyai Manşūr to teach Islamic religious knowledge to the people in Popongan. Since then, the *pesantren* learning had begun. The fields of knowledge taught included Arabic grammar, *fiqh*, *tawhīd*, and *tafsīr*. Eight years later, since their marriage, Pesantren Popongan was officially established.²²

In addition to teaching various fields of Islamic religious knowledge, Kyai Manşūr was also a *murshid* of the Naqshbandiyah *ṭarīqah* continuing the spiritual role of his father. As a *murshid*, Kyai Manşūr had shown an extensive teacher-student network in various regions in Java. Many of his students had become substitutes (*badal*) and *murshid*. Among them were Kyai Arwani (Kudus), Kyai Abdul Mi'raj (Demak), and his own grandson, K.H. Salman Dahlawi (Klaten).²³ In the Solo area near Popongan, Kyai Manşūr built a house specifically used to serve followers of the Naqsyabandiyah order. In this city, he was assisted by Nyai Muharramah (Nyai Soelomo Resoatmodjo), one of his students in the *ṭarīqah*.

²² Umul Hidayati, "Pondok Pesantren al-Mansur Popongan Klaten: Alternatif Model Pelayanan Pendidikan Agama Bagi Masyarakat", *Edukasi, Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan* 6(2) 2018, 26.

²³ Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 163.

After Kyai Manşūr passed away in 1955, the management of *pesantren* was continued by his children and grandchildren. The *ṭariqah* was continued by K.H. Salman Dahlawi (1936-2013), the son of the couple K.H. Muhammad Muqri bin Kafrawi from Tegalsari, Solo and Hj. Masyfu'ah, the daughter of Kyai Manşūr. Kyai Salman was elected to continue this role, because he was in the *ṭariqah*, while none of the sons of Kyai Manşūr were in this field.²⁴

Before becoming a *murshid* of the *ṭariqah* to replacing his grandfather, Kyai Salman studied religion at various *pesantren* in Java. Among them, Pesantren al-Muayyad Mangkuyudan in Surakarta under the tutelage of K.H. Ahmad Umar Abdul Mannan, Pesantren Bendo of Pare, Kediri, East Java under the tutelage of K.H. Khozin, Madrasah Manba'ul Ulum and Madrasah Sunniyah Keprabon Surakarta, and to K.H. Ahmad Dalhar, Watucongol, Magelang, Central Java specifically in the month of Ramadan. In addition, Kyai Salman also studied with Sayyid Muḥammad al-Malikī al-Ḥasanī, a charismatic ulama, when he was in Mecca to perform the pilgrimage.

After Kyai Salman passed away in 2013, Pesantren Popongan was managed by the extended family of Kyai Manşūr. Pondok Sepuh (a place used for *zawiyah* of the Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah *ṭariqah*) and Pesantren Al-Mansur Putra were managed by Kyai Multazam al-Makki. Pesantren Al-Mansur Putri was managed by K.H. Achmad Djablawi, Kyai Salman's brother-in-law. Pesantren al-Mansur Putri II was managed by K.H. Nashrun Minallah, the younger brother of Kyai Salman.

Long before Kyai Salman died, in Popongan Pesantren, formal schools had been established. In 1966, Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic senior high school) was

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 163.

established and in 1982 Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (elementary school) was established²⁵. Thus, apart from being one of the centers of the *Naqsyabandiyah Khālidiyah ṭarīqah*, Pesantren Popongan manages traditional pesantren and formal educational institutions.²⁶

The Popongan Manuscript: Its Origin and History

The Popongan manuscript is kept in the back of the mosque room in Popongan *pesantren*. In 2016, fifty manuscripts were digitized by the Archipelago Islamic Manuscript Study Centre, Surakarta, in collaboration with the Centre for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage, Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. Twenty of them had been uploaded on the website of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia. On this page, all manuscripts had been assigned a catalogue code of NKK SLO2016 NSR01. SLO is an abbreviation of the city's name of Solo; NSR is an abbreviation of the name K.H. Nasrun Minallah, a *kyai* and teacher at Pesantren Popongan; 2016 refers to the year in which media digitalized was carried out; and 01 is the serial number used to mark each manuscript.

The Popongan manuscript is in good condition. There are two types of paper used to write the text. First, the European paper was produced in Europe (Germany, Netherlands, England, and Italy). In Southeast Asia, this European paper was used for writing religious texts in the 17-19th century.²⁷ There is also Dluwang paper, which is paper made by people in the archipelago with the raw

²⁵ Interview with Yassirlana, one of the family from Kyai Salman's lineage, 2021.

²⁶ Umul Hidayati, "Pondok Pesantren al-Mansur, 26.

²⁷ Saktimulya, *Katalog Naskah-Naskah Perpustakaan*, 57.

material of Saeh tree fronds.²⁸ This type of paper was not found in the Popongan manuscript. The second one is lined paper with horizontal stripes. Its function is to make it easier for writers to write characters on paper. This second type of paper was widely used in the archipelago in the early 20th century. In the Popongan manuscript, the lined paper was used to copy Arabic texts that were used as teaching materials and student notes in *pesantren*.

One way to know the history of the Popongan manuscript is to identify the watermark, countermark, and illumination in it. Watermarks and countermarks are codes from paper mills about the time of paper manufacture. By referring to both, we can make hypotheses regarding the year of manuscript writing or copying. Among the watermarks in the Popongan manuscript are the Pro Patria type, while the countermarks include the words GIW PANNEKOEN. From this identity, it is estimated that the European paper used was produced in the 1600s.

The second way is through research on illumination and illustration models. Illuminations are decorations on manuscript pages. Usually located on the first, middle, and last pages. In the writing tradition in Java, it is known as the art of *sungging* or *renggan wadana*. While illustrations are decorations or images that support or explain the text. Both can be used to trace the origin of the manuscript. For example, manuscripts copied by court officials and for the benefit of the palace usually have beautiful and luxurious illumination of colour and shape. Meanwhile, manuscripts copied or written by ordinary people or students to study at *pesantren* use simple or without illumination.

In general, the Popongan manuscripts are lack illumination and illustrations and of the twenty

²⁸ Edi S. Ekadjati, *Pembuatan Kertas Tradisional di Kampung Tunggilis Kecamatan Wanaraja Kabupaten Garut* (Jakarta: Fakultas Sastra Unpad and Yayasan Pustaka Wina, 1994), 30-46.

manuscripts, only two have illumination. First, on the *muṣḥaf* manuscript (NKK SLO2016 NSR01). In this manuscript, the type of illumination is very complicated, beautiful, and luxurious. On one full page, it is dominated by gold and red. Referring to the written information in it, this *muṣḥaf* manuscript belongs to Raden Mas Tumenggung Wiryadinigrat, adviser to the Surakarta court during the Pakubuwana X era (1866-1939). The second one is the illumination on the manuscript entitled *Matn al-Sanūsiyyah* copied by Muhammad Muqri (LKK_SLO2016_NSR08). It is very simple and without colour combinations. Referring to the information written in it, this manuscript was copied when Muqri studied at Pesantren Tremas, Pacitan.

In terms of language and script, the Popongan manuscript uses three languages of Arabic, Javanese, and Dutch. Manuscript copies of the work of Middle East scholars are written in Arabic, such as *al-Qurrah al-‘Aynī Sharḥ Faṭḥ al-Mu‘īn* (NKK SLO2016 NSR05), *Fann al-Rasm* and *Manzūmah al-Suja‘i* by Muḥammad al-Māliki (NKK SLO2016 NSR11), and *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta‘wīl* by Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd al-Bayḍāwī (NKK SLO2016 NSR14). Javanese language and Pegon script are used to write texts in pesantren such as *Ilmu Kalam* (NKK SLO2016 NSR04), *Nadham Naṣīḥāt* by Muhammad Rashīd (NKK SLO2016 NSR02), and *Fiqih Haji* (NKK SLO2016 NSR03). The Dutch language is solely used as a supplement in texts and does not take precedence, such as in the manuscript entitled *Pembagian Harta Warisan* by K.H. Muhammad Muqri (NKK SLO2016 NSR17). In this manuscript, apart from Arabic, Dutch is used when explaining the meaning of *lā ilāha illallāh*.

The Popongan manuscript does not come from a single owner or location, according to the copyist and the owner of the book. The name of the copyist which is

explicitly written in many manuscripts is Muhammad Muqri bin Kafrawi. He was the son-in-law of Kyai Manshur from Tegalsari, Surakarta. The name of Muhammad Muqri was found in the *Naẓam 'Imritī* manuscript by Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā bin Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Mūsā bin Ramaḍān bin 'Umayrah which was copied in 1923 (LKK_SLO2016_NSR08), *Sullam al-Tawfīq* by al-Shaykh Sālīm bin 'Abd Allāh bin Sa'ād bin 'Abd Allāh bin Sumayr al-Haḍramī al-Shāfi'ī (LKK_SLO2016_NSR09), *Manzūmah al-Sujā'i*, *Matn al-Juzuriyyah* by Muḥammad ibn Jazūrī al-Shāfi'ī (LKK_SLO2016_NSR11), and *Wizārah al-Ma'ārif al-'Umūmiyyah* by Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Suṭfī. Apart from copying texts of Middle East scholars, Muhammad Muqri also wrote his own book. For example, *Masā'il Jam'iyyah al-Ṭullābah* (LKK_SLO2016_NSR18) and copied the work of another *kyai*, namely the book *Lawāmi' al-Burhān wa Qawāṭi' al-Bayān* by Muḥammad Dimyaṭī bin 'Abd al-Karīm Surakarta in 1925 (LKK_SLO2016_NSR13).

In addition to the manuscripts written or copied by Muhammad Muqri, there are two manuscripts copied or owned by other *kyai* outside the Popongan Pesantren in the Popongan manuscript. First, the *Fath al-Mu'īn bi Sharḥ Qurrah al-'Ayn bi Muhimmah al-Dīn* manuscript by Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Zayn al-Dīn bin 'Alī bin Aḥmad al-Ma'barī al-Malibarī al-Hindi (LKK_SLO2016_NSR05). On the first page of this manuscript, it was stated that the owner is K.H. 'Abdullah Ringin, Kediri. While on the last page there was a statement that the owner was K.H. Muḥammad Salman. Predictably, K.H. 'Abdullāh was the first owner and then the manuscript was given to K.H. Muḥammad Salman.

The second is the *muṣḥaf* manuscript (NKK_SLO2016_NSR01). Referring to the written information in it, this *muṣḥaf* manuscript belongs to Raden Mas

Tumenggung Wiryadiningrat. He was an adviser to the Surakarta palace during the Pakubuwana X era (1866-1939) who ruled from 1893-1939. Referring to the type and character of the illumination, this manuscript is from Terengganu, Malaysia. It is assumed that Wiryadiningrat ordered it from a *muṣḥaf* copyist in Terengganu, which in the late 19th century, Terengganu was famous for copying *muṣḥaf* with very good quality. This manuscript was later presented by Wiryadiningrat to Pesantren Popongan.²⁹

Various Fields of Knowledge in the Popongan Manuscript

The fields of knowledge written in the Popongan manuscript are diverse. In general, the dominant ones are *fiqh*, *usūl al-dīn*, *tafsīr of al-Qur'ān*, *akhlāq*, Arabic grammar, *taṣawwuf*, and history. In some cases, one manuscript consists of more than one field of knowledge. For example, the manuscript NKK_SLO2016_NSR09 contains morality, theology, and *fiqh*. First, in the field of *fiqh*, the themes discussed were very diverse. The theme specifically discussed in one manuscript is the procedures for *ḥajj* and the pleasures of performing the *ḥajj* (NKK_SLO2016_NSR03), the distribution of inheritance (*'ilm al-farāid*) (NKK_SLO2016_NSR17 and NKK_SLO2016_NSR20), and the law on marriage and adulterers (NKK_SLO2016_NSR15).

In addition to the specific written themes, there are also copies of *fiqh* books containing various themes. This is found in two manuscripts. The first manuscript is coded NKK_SLO2016_NSR05. This manuscript is a copy of the book *Fath al-Mu'in* by Zayn al-Dīn Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Malibari. This book is a *sharḥ* from the book *Qurrah al-'Ayn bi Muḥimmah al-Dīn*

²⁹ Abdul Mustaqim, "The Epistemology of Javanese Qur'anic Exegesis: A Study of *Ṣāliḥ Darat*'s *Fayḍ al-Raḥmān*", *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 55(2) (2017), 263-286.

and is a standard book in the field of *fiqh* of the Shāfi'ī school and has become a reference in *pesantren* in Java until now.

The manuscript coded NKK_SLO2016_NSR 09 is a copy of the book *Sullam al-Tawfīq* by 'Abd Allāh bin Ḥusayn bin Ṭāhir Ba'alāwī al-Tarīmī al-Haḍramī. This book was written concisely. In addition to the field of *fiqh*, it also discussed *'aqīdah* and *taṣawwuf*. The legal aspects discussed include procedures for *ṭahārah*, prayer, *wuḍū'*, *zakāt*, fasting, pilgrimage, *mu'āmalah*, buying and selling, and marriage. This book is very popular and becomes an important reference in *pesantren* in Java. Hence, it was formulated in the form of *naẓam* by K.H. Abdul Hamid Pasuruan (1914-1982) entitled *Manzūmah Sullam al-Tawfīq* and in the form of an explanation (*sharḥ*) by Imām Nawāwī al-Bantānī (1813-1897) entitled *Mirqat Ṣu'ūd al-Taṣdīq fī Sharḥ Sullam al-Tawfīq*.

Second, the field of Arabic grammar comprises of various themes including how to write Arabic script (*'ilm al-rasm*) (NKK_SLO2016_NSR11), syntax (*naḥw*), *balāghah* (rhetoric), *ṣarf* (inflection), and Arabic dictionaries (NKK_SLO2016_NSR07, NKK_SLO2016_NSR08, NKK_SLO2016_NSR12, and NKK_SLO2016_NSR19). These areas are quite dominant in the Popongan manuscript and of the twenty manuscripts, there are five manuscripts that specifically contain themes related to Arabic grammar. This is understandable since, in the *pesantren* tradition, the science of *naḥw*, *ṣarf*, and *balāghah* are the major parts of the field of knowledge being taught that must be mastered by students from the start to understand Arabic books.

Third, the field of *tawḥīd* and *uṣūl al-Dīn* knowledge. The themes discussed in this field include the basic core of faith in Islam, the attributes of Allah, the meaning of apostolate and prophethood, as well as the main tasks carried out by the Prophets. These themes are contained in

the manuscripts coded NKK_SLO2016_NSR04 and NKK_SLO2016_NSR09. In addition, there is also an explanation of the basics of the theological views of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah in the manuscript coded NKK_SLO2016_NSR17. Still, in the realm of faith, some writings reflect criticisms on the Wahhabi sect and Muslim opposition to it. The book entitled *Lawāmi' al-Burhān wa Qawāfi' al-Bayān* was written by Muḥammad Dimiyāṭī bin 'Abd al-Karīm Surakarta (NKK_SLO2016_NSR13).

Fourth, the field of knowledge of the Qur'an and interpretation of the Qur'an. This field consists of three categories. First, the manuscript copies of the *mushaf* al-Qur'ān (NKK_SLO2016_NSR01). The owner of this manuscript was Raden Mas Tumenggung Wiradiningrat, an official at the Surakarta palace.³⁰ Second, *tafsīr* al-Qur'ān, which is a copy of the interpretation of *Anwār al-Tanzīl* by al-Imām al-Qādī al-Baydāwī (w.1292) (NKK_SLO2016_NSR14). This book was copied by Muḥammad Muqri bin Aḥmad Kafrawi bin Maḥmūd. Third, related to *'ilm rasm* al-Qur'ān and *tajwīd*. In this section, there is a manuscript copy of the book *Matn al-Jazāriyah* by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Jazāri (NKK_SLO2016_NSR11), a text written in *naẓam*. In the *pesantren* community, this book is used as a reference in learning *tajwīd*.

Fifth, the field of *akhlāq* and *ṭarīqah*. In this category, there is a discussion on moral education for teenagers in the book of *Naẓam Naṣīḥāt* by Muḥammad Rashīd, which was written in Javanese with the Pegon script (NKK_SLO2016_NSR02). There is also a discussion related to the *ṭarīqah* about the *sanad* (link) of

³⁰ Islah Gusmian, "Relasi Kiai dan Penguasa di Surakarta: Kajian Sejarah Sosial atas Mushaf Al-Qur'an Koleksi Pesantren Almansur, Popongan, Klaten, Jawa Tengah," *Suhuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Qur'an dan Budaya* 10(2) (2017), 281-282.

the *ṭarīqah* entitled *Sanad Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (NKK_SLO2016_NSR06). There are *sanad* and *ijāzah* (permission from a *murshid* to his students in *ṭarīqah*). This *ijāzah* was owned by K.H. Salman Dahlawi in carrying out the contents of the book of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, which he obtained from K.H. Muḥammad Dimiyathi bin Haji Muḥammad Amin Banten. This manuscript was written in Kediri in 1958. Thus, manuscript was assumed to be written by Kyai Salman, as the grandson of Kyai Manshur, to continue his role as *murshid* of the Naqshabandiyah *ṭarīqah* in Java.

In addition to mentioned fields, there are also manuscripts of prayers and *Primbon*. From the information of the manuscript, the prayer was the work of Shaykh Hasyim Asy'ari Jombang, the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama (NKK_SLO2016_NSR18). Referring to the process of copying, this book became one of the references taught at Pesantren Tremas, Pacitan. As one of the students at the Pesantren Tremas, Muhammad Muqri copied the book when he was studying at the Tremas Pesantren. This book became one of the books taught at the *pesantren*. There is also a manuscript entitled *Primbon* (NKK_SLO2016_NSR10). It does not include an explanation of the author or copyist. It contains the text of the *sūrah Yāsīn*, *ṣalāwāt*, and prayers for salvation.

Various fields of knowledge, writers, copyists, and the origins of the Popongan manuscript are important to show diverse and complex knowledge developed in *pesantren* in Java during the 20th century. *Fiqh* is the dominant field of knowledge studied in *pesantren* since *fiqh* was first taught in *pesantren* and became the practical basis for the Muslim community in worshipping. After *fiqh*, Arabic grammar, the science of the Qur'an, theology, *akhlāq*, *ṭarīqah*, and prayer became the main subjects in *pesantren*.

The teaching techniques as described in the Popongan manuscript, showed that in 20th century, *pesantren* carried out the learning thematically based on the field of knowledge by referring to selected books. These books were standard works by Middle East scholars and taught by the *kyai* from generation to generation. The books of *Fath al-Mu'īn*, *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, and *Sullam al-Tawfīq* are among the books that have been used as references in *pesantren*. Bruinessen surveyed uncovered that the selection of a book title for a field of knowledge has become an established tradition in *pesantren*.³¹ This tradition has continued in the Popongan manuscript. This occurs because the intellectual relationship between teachers and students living in *pesantren* has continued from generation to generation.

In addition to *fiqh*, Arabic grammar is one of the dominant fields studied in *pesantren*. It has become one of the defining characteristics of the scientific tradition in *pesantren* since Arabic grammar is a provision for students in understanding Arabic books properly and correctly. These two fields of knowledge are included in the Popongan manuscript. A diary of Saifuddin Zuhri provided a straightforward account of this tradition.³²

Another tradition that continues to be maintained in the *pesantren* is the thorough teaching concerning one book. Word for word in the book was translated by the *kyai*. The meaning of each paragraph was explained. With the guidance of the *kyai*, the students neatly recorded each translated word in their books.³³ This method is known as the *maknani* (in Java) or *ngalogat* (in Sundanese).³⁴ In this

³¹ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 139.

³² Syaifuddin Zuhri, *Berangkat dari Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2013), 156-160.

³³ *Ibid.*, 159.

³⁴ Iip Dzulkifli Yahya, "Ngalogat di Pesantren Sunda: Menghadirkan yang Dimangkirkan," in *Sadur, Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia*

way, students can master a lot of vocabulary from each book they studied. This method makes it easier for them to understand the contents of the books referred to comprehensively and completely. This learning model started the *khataman* tradition, which is the moment when the book of learning has been completed.

The book was completed with a chain of teacher-student relationships that were intellectually connected. In the *pesantren* tradition, these links are usually written down and given to students from generation to generation. This is where the term *sanad* is formed for each field of knowledge being taught. Because they are viewed as having the accurate comprehension of the content of a book and the ability to explain and teach it, the relationship developed based on these learning processes gives each *santri* a unique scientific authority. This practice, apart from being one of the hallmarks of the scholarly tradition of the scholars in Indonesia³⁵ is also the basis that Islamic scholarship in *pesantren* is built with a solid and sustainable tradition.

Knowledge Transmission and *Kyai-Santri* Network

The above-mentioned roots of the Popongan manuscript are an important map of knowledge transmission and the network of teacher-students or *kyai-santri* who lived in *pesantren* in Java from time to time. Muhammad Muqri's identity as a *santri* was written in almost every book he wrote or copied. This is an important marker of the tradition of scientific transmission and teacher-student networks in Islamic boarding schools. Of the twenty manuscripts stored at the Pesantren Popongan, thirteen of them were identified by the name of the copyist, which is Muhammad Muqri. Three manuscripts did not explicitly

dan Malaysia, ed. H. Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2019), 363.

³⁵ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 230.

mentioned the name of the copyist. However, referring to the character of the script used, the copyist is Muhammad Muqri. These manuscripts were references and notes when he studied at Pesantren Tremas. The remaining four manuscripts, namely 1) the manuscript from Terengganu, Malaysia, belonged to Raden Mas Tumenggung Wiryodiningrat, an official at the Surakarta palace; 2) the manuscript collection of Kyai Muḥammad Salman, containing the *silsilah* and *ijāzah* of the book *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from Muḥammad Dimyaṭī, Banten, copied in Kediri; 3) the book *Fath al-Mu'in* by Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Malibari belonging to Kyai 'Abdullāh Ringin, Kediri which was given to Kyai Muḥammad Salman; and 4) the book of *Naḥw* by Abd al-Salām al-Syāfī' al-Salīlī from the collection of Muḥammad Dimyaṭī, Bonang, Rembang.

In addition to affixing his name to every manuscript he copied, Muḥammad Muqri occasionally mentioned his position as a *santri* while studying at the *pesantren*. In this regard, there are two important contexts for mentioning the name and identity. First, he mentioned himself as a *santri* at Pesantren Tremas, Pacitan, East Java. For example, when he copied the book *Lawāmi' al-Burhān wa Qawāṭi' al-Bayān Lizujr al-'Awām min al-Huzbān* by Muḥammad Dimyaṭī bin 'Abd al-Karīm Surakarta (NKK_SLO2016_NSR13). He finished copying this manuscript in 1925. Second, he identified himself as a student at Madrasa Manba'ul Ulum Surakarta. He did this when he copied the book *Nazam al-Imriṭī* by Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā bin Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Mūsā (NKK_SLO2016_NSR08). He finished copying this manuscript in 1923. In this manuscript, he also included a note about *ijāzah do 'ā' Sulaymān*, which he obtained from Kyai Rafīqī Muḥammad, Kaliwungu.

From the data, there were two main roots of knowledge transmission obtained by Muḥammad Muqri.

First, from the *Madrasah Manba'ul Ulum* Surakarta, a modern *madrasah* in Surakarta founded in 1905 by Raden Hadipati Sasro Diningrat and Raden Penghulu Tafsir Anom V (1854-1933). The *madrasah* was funded by the Surakarta palace. From the bureaucracy, this *madrasah* was managed in a modern and professional manner, while from the intellectual, it was managed by scholars who have an established scientific capacity. Referring to the data collected by Mahmud Yunus, there are thirty-one titles of Arabic books that served as sources of reference and teaching materials, consisting of various fields of knowledge. In the first period, the head of *madrasah* was K.H. Bagus Ngarpah. Then, in 1919, it was continued by K.H. Jamhur, and in 1946 shifted to K.H. A. Jalil Zamakhsyari.³⁶ Referring to the calendar he put in the *Naẓam al-Imriṭī* manuscript, Muḥammad Muqri studied at the *madrasah* in 1923. Thus, he studied at this *madrasah* during the leadership of K.H. Jamhur.

Second, the main root of knowledge transmission obtained by Muḥammad Muqri was from *Pesantren Tremas*, Pacitan. This *pesantren* was pioneered by K.H. Abdul Manan Dipomenggolo in 1820. He led *Pesantren Tremas* from 1820 to 1862. After his death, his leadership was continued by his son, K.H. Abdullah (d 1894) from 1862 to 1894. After K.H. Abdullah died in Makkah, his three sons, who studied in Makkah, were asked to return to Tremas to continue the leadership of *Pesantren Tremas*. *Kyai Dimiyathi* (1879-1933) and *Aburrazaq* led *Pesantren Tremas* from 1896 to 1934, while *Kyai Ahmad Dahlan* (1861-1911) helped teaching at *Pesantren Kyai Ṣālih ibn 'Umar al-Samarani* (1820-1903) in Semarang.

During the leadership of K.H. Muhammad Dimiyati, *Pesantren Tremas* was in its golden age. In this era,

³⁶ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1984), 286-287.

Muhammad Muqri studied at the *pesantren*. This can be seen in the explanations he put in *Lawāmi' al-Burhān* book by Muḥammad Dimyaṭī, as well as in the records of alumni of *Pesantren Tremas* under the leadership of K.H. Dimyathi. In the list, besides Muhammad Muqri, there were other names who later became influential scholars from Surakarta and other areas such as Kyai Dimyati Abdul Karim, Kyai Umar Abdul Manan, Muhammad Adnan, and Daris. All four scholars from Surakarta and Kyai Maksun, Kyai Mahfudz, and Kyai Zaini that all three from Rembang.³⁷

Apart from scientific networks and *Kyai-Santri* relationships, the Popongan manuscript also revealed networks between *kyai* and officials in the Surakarta palace. This can be seen in the *muṣṣhaf* manuscript belonging to Raden Tumenggung Wiryadiningrat (d.1917). He was an adviser to Pakubuwono X (1866-1939) with the title Kanjeng Bendara Raden Mas Tumenggung. He was a Surakarta palace official who played an intense role in national and religious movements and had close relations with the *kyai* in the *pesantren*. Information about his role is stated in the R.V.E Document dated 5 December 1877 No. 59 Verponding No. 295, regarding Building Use Rights. Wiryadiningrat was the Regent of Gunungkidul from 1901 to 1914, as the seventh Regent. He had also resolved political chaos in the Ponorogo, East Java.³⁸ He had a relationship with Pakubuwono X since he married Gusti Bendoro Raden Ayu Rahmaniyah, the fourth daughter of Pakubowono IX (1830-1893).

The *muṣṣhaf* manuscript of Wiryadiningrat at *Pesantren Popongan* was one of the confirmations of the

³⁷ Ahmad Muhammad, *Manuskrip Tremas*, 51-53.

³⁸ Ingrid Kristiana Ratna Dewi, "Nilai Moral di Dalam Babad Ponorogo," (PhD Thesis, Jakarta: Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia 2011), 54.

social history and relations of the *pesantren* and the rulers in Surakarta. In history, until the early 20th century, *pesantren* in Surakarta had played an important role in the fields of Islamic education, social, cultural, and political life. *Pesantren* also had a close relationship with the palace, as in the era of Pakubuwono IV (1768-1820), and Pakubuwono VI (1807-1849).³⁹ In fact, in the early 20th century, under the leadership of Pakubuwono X (1866-1939), when the Popongan manuscript was written, *pesantren* had a wider important role. During this time, the relationship between *kyai* or *pesantren* and the palace was not only in the context of education but also in social and political movements against Dutch colonialism.

Conclusion

The Popongan manuscript was an important marker of the tradition of knowledge transmission, the *kyai-santri* network, and the *kyai*-ruler network in Java during the 20th century in the form of the Shāfi'ī school and Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah theology. In addition to this confirmation, through the book *Lawāmi' al-Burhān* in the early 20th century, academically, *kyai* in *pesantren* had criticized Wahhabism. A year before the initiative of Kyai Abdul Wahab Chasbullah (1888-1971) formed the committee in January 1926, Kyai Muḥammad Dimyaṭī had submitted this written criticism.

In the cultural context, the Popongan manuscript provides two cultural identities in the *pesantren*. First, literacy culture has been growing and developing in *pesantren* for a long time, along with learning and knowledge. Students' taking notes and recording what they learn had resulted in a strong literacy tradition, particularly in the field of Islamic knowledge. Polemics

³⁹ Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Jejaring Ulama Diponegoro, Kolaborasi Santri dan Kesatria Membangun Islam Kebangsaan Awal Abad ke-19* (Jakarta: Pustaka Compass, 2019), 292.

and criticism were discussed academically in written form. Second, *kyai* in the *pesantren* did not only act as agents of knowledge by transmitting the religious texts to the students but they were also actors in literacy culture and at the same time guardians of morality and religion. The *kyai* contested and at the same time countered discourses on traditions and understandings that are deemed to be contrary to the Islamic principles.

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