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The Movement of Postcolonialism by Kiai Sholeh Darat Against the Dutch Colonialism (Study of Social-Religious Decolonization in Java 19th and 20th Century)

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Abstract

This study discusses the postcolonial movement of Kyai Sholeh Darat in fighting against Dutch colonialism at the end of the 19-20 centuries. This study is interesting because so far there has been a physical resistance movement against colonial figures. This study finds Kyai Sholeh's postcolonial movement through his cultural approach. Methodologically, this research is included in the library research category to produce historical research studies based on postcolonial movements carried out by Kiai Sholeh Darat. From this it was found that the movement culture of Kiai Sholeh Darat in post-Java War 19th and early 20th century Java was seen as a postcolonial spirit and identity, with evidence showing a tendency towards a series of domination colonial regimes in various lines of life of the Javanese people. Cultural movement made by Kiai Sholeh Darat reflects the identity of the postcolonial movement through movement literacy manifested into publishing writings in the pegon script and translating the Qur'an into Javanese as a form of resistance against the colonial project seeking to separate Java from Islam. Kiai Sholeh also carried out kyai regeneration as a form of forming religious cadres and nationalist and conducts education for the Javanese people with da'wah from village or city in Java. This research contributes to the development of research related to the Kiai Sholeh Darat's movement in preparing militant and religious cadres

Keywords: Kiai Sholeh Darat, Postcolonial, Social-Religious, Movements

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INTRODUCTION

Since the 16th–17th centuries (1509–1602) Western nations including Spain and Portugal expanded into Indonesia in order to expand their territory. After the Napoleonic wars (1811-1816) the British subdued the Archipelago in the Maluku and Java regions. The

series of expansions were then dominated by the Dutch colonialists who wanted to establish a Dutch East Indies government. Under this government, *Pax Neerlandica's political policies emerged* which gave birth to various oppressions for indigenous people, both from politics, the economy, to legal justice. These policies then inspired the massive resistance movement of the Indonesian people in the 19th to early 20th centuries from various walks of life, from farmers, traders to local community leaders, in order to realize the ideals of independence (Jamalie, 2017), (Imadudin, 2015), (Arrovia and Sapto, 2020), (Arfi, 2017).

In Java, many resistance movements were pioneered by Kiai as figures who provided solutions and directed all forms of socio-religious activities of the Javanese community (Nurani, 2018). It was this resistance from the kiai and community leaders that later gave birth to the Java war (1825-1830) (Carey, 2012). The Java War was led by Prince Diponegoro and ended in 1830. The end of the Java war was part of the story of the defeat of the Javanese people against the Dutch Colonials (Ricklefs, 2012). After the defeat of Java, the resistance movement was then developed with cultural resistance. This is similar to the resistance movement of Kiai Sholeh Darat which tends to carry out the Postcolonial Movement as a form of critical resistance movement against colonialism and decolonization practices on the cultural heritage of colonialism (Hack, 2008). Meanwhile, colonialism is the practice or policy of domination by one person or power over another person or area, often by building colonies and generally the goal of economic domination. (Kohn, 1963). The spirit of Kiai Sholeh Darat's postcolonial identity can be seen from the spirit of the times (*zeitgeist*) which reflects the tendency of postcolonial identity (Bagus, 2005).

Since returning to his homeland from his long adventure of studying in Mecca and then settling in Darat, Semarang, in 1870 or 1880, Kiai Sholeh Darat immediately plunged into the arena of struggle and preaching in a society that at that time was in the grip of colonialism. Returning to his homeland during this quiet period after the Java War, Kiai Sholeh Darat dealt with the situation in carrying out his struggles and preaching. He was aware that the colonial regime at the end of the 19th century was undergoing establishment, so that the Javanese people at that time had not been able to build new forces to carry out revolutionary resistance against the colonialists because they were still traumatized by their defeat in the Diponegoro War (Dzahir, 2003), (Bizawie, 2006).

It was in such a situation that Kiai Sholeh Darat carried out a non-physical movement, alias a cultural movement, bearing in mind that at that time it was not yet possible to carry out a physical-revolutionary movement. After settling in Darat, Kiai Sholeh Darat founded an Islamic boarding school known as the Pesantren Darat as the center of his struggle. There are a number of important roles played by Kiai Sholeh Darat, as part of his cultural movement in responding to the current situation in Java after the defeat of the Java war (Taufiq Hakim, 2016). This condition is evidence of the strong socio-political influence of Islam in Java in influencing the repertoire of the socio-religious history of Muslims in political dynamics in Indonesia (Luhtitiantui and Arifin, 2021). In this case, the cultural movement of the kiai Sholeh Darat reflects religious movement, but is also oriented towards resistance and efforts to decolonize the agendas of the colonial regime in Java.

The role and struggle of Kiai Sholeh Darat at the end of the 19th century can be called a postcolonial spirit and identity, because what Kiai Sholeh Darat showed explicitly or implicitly could be said to be his attempt to do cultural decolonization. So, from this explanation and background, this paper will read the history of Kiai Sholeh Darat from a postcolonial perspective. This research is part of historical research on past events that discuss the struggles and resistance movements of Kiai Sholeh Darat and is examined through postcolonial theory.

In previous research, Kiai Sholeh's studies included several previous studies discussing history and dynamics, as was done by Taufiq Hakim (Hakim, 2016) and Amirul Ulum who tended to examine it from the side of their scientific traditions (Ulum, 2015). In the study of his work, several studies were carried out by Abdul Mustaqim (Mustaqim, 2018), (Mustaqim, 2017), Muhammad Zaenal Arifin (Arifin, 2018), Lilik Faiqoh (Faiqoh, 2018), M. Ulil Abshar (Abshar, 2018), Agus Irfan (Irfan, 2017), and Fatur Rohman (Rohman, 2016). In the study of Islamization and social religious movements of Kiai Sholeh Darat, there are Muhammad Abdullah (Abdullah, 2020), Saiful Umam (Umam, 2013), Muhamad Jaeni (2020), and Muhammad Abdullah (Abdullah, 2018).

This research is qualitative research on the study of the Postcolonial Movement of Kiai Sholeh Darat which is included in the category of library research. This type of research allows researchers to collect data or information related to the research through various literatures library (Zed, 2008). In looking at aspects of the Postcolonial Movement of

Kiai Soleh Darat, this study uses a historical approach to trace events in the past (*historical explanation*) based on the ongoing postcolonial resistance movements carried out by Kiai Sholeh Darat. Then in writing history, it is necessary to have a characteristic object of research, because this research is based on exploring data on the history of postcolonial resistance carried out by Kiai Sholeh Darat, so this is related to the context of the socio-political situation at that time. So, it is necessary to use a sociological approach to see the social context at that time (Kartodirdjo, 1992). The sociological approach is an approach to analyze and understand the process of social change in various dimensions. In terms of methodology, the historical sociology approach functions to understand the subjective and objective meaning of social behavior, including the social aspects of the life and struggle of Kiai Sholeh Darat (Abdurahman, 2007). Because the sociological approach serves to increase the ability to explore the social phenomena of society, including the history of the Kiai Sholeh Darat movement (Kartodirdjo, 1992).

The purpose of this research is to produce historical writings, so it is necessary to make efforts to reconstruct the past for an object of research based on historical methods. The historical research method consists of four stages, namely Heuristics, Criticism, Interpretation and Historiography (Abdurahman, 2007). The historical method is part of the process of testing and analyzing history in an effort to find authentic, reliable data (Sulasman, 2014).

DISCUSSION

1. Postcolonial Movement

Movement is a collective action capable of encouraging or hindering changes in society, and becoming part of that society (Jurdi, 2010). In the context of social movements, it was born as a result of the support of an idea and ideals from an idea inventor so that it gave birth to a movement itself (Umar, et.all, 1985). Because thanks to an idea, it will be able to attract the masses to join in a movement and arouse the enthusiasm of followers in running the movement (Cohen, 1992).

In Wiktorowicz's view, social movements are an approach to take a closer look at mass behavior, based on societal demands and institutional accommodations, with the aim of producing policies (Wiktorowicz, 2004). Therefore, a social movement is an image related to the cause of the birth of a movement, in response to a collective action in a situation (Porta, 2006).

Postcolonial is a theory that was born from Edward Said through his work *Orientalism* (Al-Saidi, 2014). Said tried to criticize and dismantle the discourse of thought that was built by Western (European) intellectuals at the end of the 18th century in that it was closely related to the manifested colonial ideology. Said's concept is also known as "orientalism" which emphasizes cultural representation in the form of a West-East binary relationship in social construction and mutually constitutive cannot exist independently of one another, because each exists on the basis of the other (Said, 1978). It is the narrative construction of the western orientalist about the East as backward and inferior, making the West feel that it has the legitimacy or basis for empowering the East, in the sense that the East must be brought into the modern world (S. Kahn, 1995).

The important message echoed by Said through his *Orientalism* is that oppressed people need to fight against what the West has constructed of them, because for Said, by referring to Michel Foucault about the relationship of knowledge and power, the discourse that is built by the West towards the East (oppressed people) is their strategy to dominate and rule the East. The practice of thinking discourse that is closely related to the spirit of power, this is an attempt by the West to define their version of the East, so that the East must act according to the command of the West; The East must be oriented to the West. Western values which are claimed to be advanced, civilized and superior, then become standards that are universalized and enforced in various parts of the world, including in the East. Consequently, the East is forever inferior under the authority of the West.

Said's critical discourse then inspired the growth of postcolonial theory and discourse in various parts of the world. However, from a conceptual point of view, Sanjay Seth emphasized that the word "post" in *postcolonial theory* does not denote the time or era 'after' colonialism ended, instead it denotes the entire historical period after colonialism began. Therefore, through the term 'post', the 'postcolonial' theory provides an understanding that we are now not living in a "post" (end) colonialism era, with the implication that the post-colonial era is part of the past, but rather shows the understanding that the world has been truly shaped by colonialism, because of that one cannot understand the contemporary situation if the fact of colonialism is not recognized, understood and explored in all its branches. The 'post' in postcolonial theory does not signify the period or era 'after' colonialism came to an end, but rather signifies the entire historical period after the beginnings of colonialism (Seth, 2013).

Concept-definitive theory or postcolonial discourse in general is then seen as a critical academic study of the legacy of colonialism and its impacts on the human life of the colonized people and their natural and cultural environmental conditions. However, this kind of understanding actually reflects more general understanding and description, because when referring to the definition, there are various definitions and definitions of postcolonial theory from each expert with their respective accents.

Among the experts who offer the postcolonial concept is Frantz Fanon, who describes the postcolonial as the praxis of resistance of indigenous peoples to all forms of colonial subjugation (Fanon, 1963). Fanon's postcolonial understanding emphasizes the psychological and mental dimensions of colonized society. In his book *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon first presents a medical analysis and description of the destructive nature of colonialism. The destructive nature of this colonialism had a social impact in the form of subjection to a group of people, thus endangering the mental health of the native population who were subjugated to a colony. Fanon also emphasized that the essential characteristic of colonialism is the systematic rejection or denial of all the attributes, nature, uniqueness and "originality" of humanity from colonized people or subjugated peoples.

The process of dehumanization by the colonialists was carried out through mental and physical violence, because the colonizers intended to give birth to the mentality of slaves for the natives. Therefore, the praxis and postcolonial spirit that Fanon emphasizes is resistance, even by using violence, against the practice of colonialism in order to achieve mental catharsis, which cleanses the tendencies of colonial slavery for, and restores the dignity of the conquered indigenous peoples. This understanding has consequences for Fanon to actively support and participate in the Algerian Revolution (1954–62) to win the nation's independence from French colonialism as a member and representative of the Front de Libération Nationale (Fanon, 1963).

Meanwhile, Gayatri Spivak, in articulating the notion of postcolonial, focuses more on what is referred to as *subaltern* (groups that are marginalized or subordinated). In an interview with Leon de Kock, Spivak stated that *subaltern* is not just a word that denotes an "oppressed" class, *The Other*, or a party of people who don't get a piece of the pie. In post-colonial terms, continued Spivak, *subaltern* is defined as everything to which cultural imperialism "projects" have limited access, so Spivak interprets *subaltern* as a *space of difference* (Kock, 1992, p. 29-47). However, Spivak underlined the need for caution using the term

'subaltern'. The term subaltern is not solely measured by who or what group is being oppressed, but also how the mechanism of the oppression is carried out. According to Spivak, people who are part of the hegemonic discourse cannot be called subalterns even though they experience discrimination.

In addition, Spivak's postcolonial thinking also introduced the concepts of *essentialism* and *strategic essentialism*. Essentialism, for Spivak, shows more of the dangers of perception or narrative which inherently can resurrect *subaltern voices* that tend to lead to simplification of heterogeneous social group identities, resulting in stereotypical representations of different identities from the formation of certain social groups (Sharp, 2008). Meanwhile, strategic essentialism shows that essential group identity is temporary in nature to be used in discourse praxis in society. The important difference between the two is the tendency of strategic essentialism which actually shows the diversity of identities (ethnic and cultural) in a social group. But in practice, it tends to minimize inter-group diversity (supporting essential group identity) (Sharp, 2008).

Homi K. Bhabha in his conception of postcolonial places more emphasis on the spirit of *hybridity*. In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha offers the concept of postcolonialism as a human view that views the world as a separate and unequal culture, such as "Christianity" and "Islamic World", or about "First World" and "Third World". For Bhabha, this is part of reality reductionism based on the praxis of linguistic discourse, so as to overcome the process of language reduction and sociological aspects, practically, postcolonial philosophical values give birth to hybrid intellectual spaces. In this position, single truth and originality are broken by ambiguity, so that hybridity for Bhabha is the most substantively challenging philosophical condition against the ideology of colonialism which is often positioned as the only valid one (Bhabha, 1994).

From the various definitions above, postcolonial is a study in which the requirements are criticism and resistance to the dominant (colonial) group carried out by the oppressed (colonized) group to challenge the value system, cultural forms, and colonial thoughts as the only valid and universal, for the growth and sovereignty of cultural diversity (hybridity) of postcolonial identity of subaltern groups.

Postcolonial theory is also very susceptible to being transformed as an ideology: postcolonialism. Joel S. Kahn in his book, *Culture, Multicultural, Post Culture*, views that postcolonialism (postcolonialism as an ideology) is not just a criticism of the knowledge

system or colonial (western) culture. As an ideology, postcolonialism can also position itself as a discourse (counter-colonialism), which is able to destabilize the system of meaning about the otherness *which* is seen as a universal thing so that it transforms into a new singularity with a pluralistic pattern. Therefore, continued Kahn, this postcolonial theory itself raises a number of puzzles that have not been satisfactorily resolved (Kahn, 1995). In this case, the postcolonial perspective is an attempt to borrow Kahn's term in viewing the movement of Kiai Sholeh Darat in an effort to challenge the dominant discourse carried out by the dominant Dutch East Indies government at that time.

2. Background of Kiai Sholeh Darat

The presence of Kiai Sholeh Darat also colored the intellectual movement of the archipelago. His name had sunk due to several factors, but now it is starting to fly again thanks to the lovers of Kiai Sholeh Darat who tirelessly hunt, research, and examine his legacy works (Hakim, 2016). Kiai Sholeh Darat lived at the time with Sheikh Imam Nawawi al-Bantani (Banten) (Ulum, 2015). Regarding the place of birth, some say that Kiai Sholeh Darat was born in Bangsri Village, a village in the Jepara Regency. While another opinion says his birth was in Kedung Jumbleng, Mayong District, Jepara Regency. Of these two opinions, the second opinion is more accurate. This is reinforced by information obtained by Kiai Fakhur al-Razi from Kajen, Margoyoso, Pati, based on direct information from Kiai Abdullah who is in the same village as Kiai Sholeh Darat (Masrur, 2012).

Regarding the date of his birth, it is not known for certain. However, what is clear is that the year Kyai Sholeh Darat was born coincided with the birth of the charismatic cleric from Madura, Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan, in 1820 M/1235 H. He died in Semarang on Legi Friday, 28 Ramadan 1321 H/18 December 1903 AD was buried in Bergota, Semarang. Until now, many people from various regions make pilgrimages to his grave (Masrur, 2012).

Kiai Sholeh Darat's father was named Kiai Umar, he was a warrior and Kiai, as well as an adviser to Prince Diponegoro during the Java War (Hakim, 2016). The mother of Kiai Sholeh Darat was Nyai bint Kiai Singopadon. He still has a blood relationship with Sunan Kudus. His full name is Nyai Umar bint Kiai Sangapadon (Prince Khatib) ibn Prince Qodir bin Prince Palembang ibn Sunan Kudus (Syaiikh Ja'far Shodiq) (Faiqoh, 2018).

Sholeh Darat is the popular nickname of Kyai Sholeh Darat after returning from Makkah, he himself has the full name Muhammad Sholeh bin Umar As-Samarani ibn Umar

ibn Tasmin. The name "Land" is the nisbat of an area in Semarang (*Kampung Melayu Darat*) in the West Semarang region. The name "Land" is said to be due to the fact that this area is the landing place for people from outside Java. The addition of "Land" to the name Kiai Sholeh is part of the habit of characterizing a big and well-known person in society as a form of designating a character's birth name or place of residence (Faiqoh, 2018).

The education of Kiai Sholeh Darat began with studying religion with his father, Kiai Umat. He started by studying the Qur'an from the short letters of al-Fatihah and studied tajwid as a science that must be learned in reading and reciting the Qur'an. Then Kiai Saleh continued his education at several Islamic boarding schools in Java, starting from Pati, Kudus, to Semarang (Munir, 2007). After studying at Pati, Kudus and Semarang Islamic boarding schools, Kiai Sholeh was then taken by his father to Makkah. The reason his father brought him to Mecca was because at that time, his father, Kyai Umar, was a fighter and religious adviser to Prince Diponegoro during the Java War. However, after the arrest of Prince Diponegoro from the Dutch colonial. Kyai Umar realized that he was in an unsafe condition, so he and his family migrated from Java to Mecca, including Kiai Sholeh Darat (Hakim, 2016).

In Makkah Kyai Saleh studied with Shaykh Muhammad al-Muqri al-Misri al-Makki, Shaykh Muhammad bin Sulaiman Hasbullah, Sayyid Muhammad bin Zaini Dahlan, Al-'Allamah Ahmad an-Nahrawi al-Mishri al-Makki, Sayyid Muhammad Salih az-Zawawi al-Makki, Kiai Zahid (Zaid), Shaykh Umar ash-Syami, Shaykh as-Sanbulawi al-Misri, and Shaykh Jamal (Munir, 2007). So, it is natural that Kiai Sholeh Darat during his lifetime was known as a lover of knowledge. The importance of seeking knowledge is expressed in one of his books, *Minhajul Atqiyah*. In the book, Kiai Sholeh explains the importance and honor of studying (Hakim, 2016).

After the death of his father in Makkah, Kiai Sholeh then left Mecca and continued his journey to Singapore for a while, then Kiai Sholeh returned to Java. In Java, Kiai Saleh was married to Sofiyah, the daughter of Kiai Murtada, who was a comrade of Kiai Umar during the Java War. After his marriage took place with Kyai Murtadha's daughter, Kiai Saleh continued his studies in Semarang and settled there until later he founded a boarding school known as Pondok Pesantren Darat (Dzahir, 2001).

3. The Decolonization Movement of the Land of Kiai Sholeh in the 19th and 20th Century

If referring to Sanjay Seth's concept at the beginning that the era referred to as "postcolonial" is the period when the colonialism project has begun, and not when the colonialism project has ended so that it plays a major role in constructing the world order, then in terms of time it is very relevant when the historicity of the Kiai Sholeh Darat is understood through a postcolonial approach. Because, the post-Java War period (*the silent*), the era when Kiai Sholeh Darat lived and fought in Java, was part of the world picture that had been shaped by colonialism. The post in postcolonial theory does not signify the period or era 'after' colonialism came to an end, but rather signifies the entire historical period after the beginnings of colonialism (Seth, 2013).

Throughout that era, it was clearly exposed how the colonial regime defined Java, giving rise to what Said called a binary social relation *between* the West and the East, where Java, which was seen as part of the East, needed to be controlled, determined and reconstructed in such a way. in accordance with the reason, ideology and interests of the colonialists. Through their collaboration with Javanese priyayi groups, the colonialists attempted to design and implement a new colonial-style order over Java. Political and economic policies, value systems, socio-religious order in the colonial style were constructed in such a way and tried to be standardized to become a universal and single order throughout Java.

The emergence of Kiai Sholeh Darat with all his cultural movements in the quiet period after the Java War was a reflection of what Fanon calls 'mental catharsis', an effort to purge colonial influences that were dominant at that time, also reflects what Spivak calls the Islamic movement. *subaltern* in the midst of cultural imperialism of the colonialists, as well as a manifestation of what Bhabha calls an awareness of hybridity in the midst of the colonialists' efforts to institutionalize their colonial standards as a single and universal phenomenon in Java.

What was done by Kiai Sholeh Darat with all his cultural movements was the result of his critical reading or reflection on the times and their social environment which had been constructed by colonial reasoning and standards. How then was the form or form of the cultural movement of Kiai Sholeh Darat during the quiet times that inspired the spirit and identity of the postcolonial. The post-Java War (1825-1830 AD), according to Ricklef,

was the actual colonial period in Java. This was because at that time the royal elites in Java had already been removed from political issues. Royal authority was replaced by the Dutch colonial government system with various regional elites spread across Java (Ricklef, 1992).

On the other hand, the impact of a series of wars involving the Dutch, such as the Napoleonic Wars, the Belgian War, the Banten War, the Java War, the Banjar War, the Padri War and the Aceh War caused the Dutch Protestant Kingdom and the Dutch Colonial Government to experience an economic crisis, including the deepening of Dutch debt to the *East Indian Company* (EIC). So, the Netherlands decided to give birth to a tax system through Governor General van den Bosch to indigenous Muslim farming communities. With the aim of burdening indigenous people as a solution to the critical condition of the Dutch government's finances. Muslim farmers in Java are required to grow tea, coffee, tobacco and sugar cane so that the products are marketed in Europe, and Muslim farmers in Java are required to pay rent taxes on their crops and plantation products (Suryanegara, 2013).

During its heyday (19th to early 20th century), the Dutch colonial government wanted to separate Java from Islam. We can see this, for example, in the annual report of a resident colonial official of the Keraton Surakarta city to his superiors in Batavia in 1886. He wrote, "In terms of religion, the inhabitants of this city only have a thin layer of Muhammad's teachings on the basis of Buddhism and Nativism, and it's just really a pity that thanks to his gullibility and stupidity. They (the natives) are tame prey for people who wear religious masks to hide their evil intentions." (Florida, 2020).

By the 1880s, when a series of self-conscious (seemingly unrelated) Islamic uprisings swept through the interior of Java, the colonial authorities began to raise the alarm about the subversive potential of Islam in Java. However, at the same time, their "imperial eyes" were unable to see the political Islam that this rebellion seemed to embody as part of the Javanese people who joined it as rebels. Instead, they saw this political Islam as pollution from outside, a foreign import that was brought back to Java by hajjis from the Holy Land, they were tainted with fanaticism and anti-colonial hatred (Florida, 2020).

The radical political Islam that was brought home from the pilgrimage was considered to contain an "arid" and "foreign" (Arabic-Turkish) form, which was naturally "foreign" or incompatible with the peaceful essence of the inhabitants of tropical Java as the subject of their colony. Even so, there is still a real threat of its transmission: there is

always a danger that the indigenous "souls" whose bodies only look Islamic, will be infected with this desert foreign fanaticism. For the colonial authorities, such Islam was a "supernatural force" that threatened to infiltrate its Javanese subjects, namely a "supernatural force" that wanted to turn "benign natives" into "dangerous revolutionaries" (Algemeen Verslag der Residentie Soerakarta over het jaar, 1886).

Because of this, the efforts made by the kiai, including Kiai Sholeh Darat, were to no longer carry out physical resistance with weapons against the Dutch colonial government. But with enlightenment of thought, through the movement to educate indigenous people with Islamic teachings with the concept of local acculturation. The cultural movement of Kiai Sholeh Darat rests on the strength of the civilian people, armed with the construction of knowledge and moral strength. The methods used by Kiai Sholeh Darat in carrying out this cultural movement were through literacy, cadre of clerics and students, and conducting public education.

a. Literacy Movement

Since his arrival from Mecca, the condition of Javanese society at that time was still dominated by ordinary people. Even though Islam has been present in Java for a long time, in reality the understanding of the indigenous Muslim community towards Islam is still very low. Moreover, the situation at that time, the colonizers had restricted indigenous peoples from understanding Islam. In fact, if at that time there was a political element in Muslim society, then all Islamic activities would be eradicated by the Dutch colonial government (Hakim, 2021). Therefore, many Islamic societies are not free to understand Islam in depth. Moreover, at that time, Javanese people rarely mastered Arabic, that's when it seemed as if Islam had become foreign. Coupled with the existence of official rules issued by the Dutch government, regarding the prohibition of translating the Qur'an both in the form of Javanese and Latin script. If that was done, the Dutch colonial government would openly burn it. On this basis, Kiai Sholeh Darat then gave birth to his ideas by writing Islamic teachings in the form of Arabic pegon (Hakim, 2016). By using the Arabic pegon script, the tomb of Kiai Sholeh Darat could still spread Islamic teachings without having to worry about being suspected by the Dutch.

The spread of Islam by means of Kiai Sholeh Darat later gained sympathizers from RA Kartini, so that Kartini then asked Kiai Sholeh Darat to translate the Qur'an, because for him reading the holy book without knowing its meaning seemed to be in vain. Even

though at that time, the Dutch colonial government officially banned the translation of the Qur'an. However, thanks to RA Kartini's advice, Kiai Sholeh Darat violated the colonial government's rules by translating the Qur'an which was presented in pegon Arabic letters, so that the colonial government did not suspect anything. After completing his commentary work, Kiai Sholeh Darat named his interpretation *Kitab Faid ar-Rahman*, as the first interpretation in the archipelago presented in the Arabic pegon model (Masrur, 2012).

Then Kiai Sholeh Darat continued several of his works with the same model, including the birth of the book *Lathaiif al-Thabarab wa asrar al-Shalah Fi Kaifiyat Shalat al- Abidin wa Al-Arifin* which contains how ordinary Muslim people understand Islam easily, also the work of *Al-Mahabbah wal Mawaddah fi Tarjamah Qouli Burdah* is a translation of Imam al-Bushiri's sholawat sholawat poems, *Syarab Al-Hikam.*, which was made based on the adaptation of the work of Ibn Atha'llah al-Iskandari then Kiai Sholeh Darat wrote it in pegon Arabic letters, and *Munjiyat*, who teaches about moral education, in this book Kiai Sholeh Darat takes some of the contents from the book *Ihya' al-Ulum al-Din* by Imam al- Ghazali. Some of these works were created by Kiai Sholeh Darat so that the Javanese people could easily understand Islamic teachings, because they corresponded to the everyday language of the Javanese people. This aim and purpose, he emphasized in one of his books entitled *Hidayat ar-Rahman*:

“... Lamun kita awam butuh marang ilmu tasawuf mangka biya wis ana karangane kaya kang wus diarani (*Kitab Munjiyat*), lan butuh ilmu fiqh biya wis ana kitab *Majmu'*, lan butuh ajar sembahyang wis ana karangane kaya kitab *Mursyidul Wajiz*, lan bab haji Kiai ya wis ngarang kitab *Manasik Haji*, lan kepingin arep weruh ceritane *Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad Shallallahu Alaihi Wasallam*, biya wis ana kaya kitab *Syarab Burdah*, lan liya-liyane kaya2 nyukupi olehe gawe karangan tumerap butuhe para awame tanah Jawa kene” (As-Samarani, 1935).

Apart from that, Kiai Sholeh Darat chose the Arabic pegon script, not the Javanese script as a means of struggle, because Javanese letters were only understood by the royal family, aristocrats and priyajis. We can see this from Taufiq's writings, which stated that colonial scholarship in the 19th century was dominated by the discipline of philology. Because of this, language and literature, which are supposed objects of philology, can occupy the most important position in relation to the image of Javanese high culture that is being outlined. Because of the special treatment given both to literature and to the

Surakarta Palace, *the imagination* of philologists about the literary nature of the palace is an important factor in the framing of "Javanese culture". The impact of this framing is evident in the history of Javanese literature produced by colonial (and also postcolonial) philology (Florida, 2020).

Colonial philology teaches Javanese literature to reach the refinement and aesthetic value of the pre-Islamic period with the Hindu-Buddhist Kawi literary culture. Through philology, one can find out the description of a series of "Islamic conquests" part of a long period hidden in darkness, as well as the culture of Islamic literature that blossomed in areas along the north coast of Java. The poets around the North coast of Java in that period only produced works of heritage that were damaged and incomplete on Islamic topics (Florida, 2020). In addition, the use of the Latin script as part of the intervention of the colonialists meant that this literature could not touch the indigenous Muslim community, especially in areas along the north coast of Java where the santri were based. This, as stated by Kiai Sholeh Darat, in his work *Syarab al-Hikam*:

"Utawi iki kitab ringkesan saking matn al-Hikam karangan al-Allamah al-Arif Billah asy-Syaikh Ahmad Ibnu Athaillah. Ingsun ringkese mung sak perlune asal supaya kampangake ingtasay wong awam amsal inggun kelawan sun terjemah kalawan cara jawa supaya ingkal paham." (As-Samarani, 1442).

The condition of Java at that time was under Dutch colonial aggression both in the realm of economic politics to various aspects, including religion and culture. This condition made the santri community angry at the behavior of the Dutch colonialists, so that the Kiai, represented by Kiai Sholeh Darat, called for not following the lifestyle and culture of the colonialists. Everything that smells of the Netherlands is forbidden by Kiai Sholeh Darat, from clothing to other lifestyles (Hakim, 2016, p. 158-159). Kiai Sholeh Darat's call not to imitate the clothes of the infidel (colonialists) was a manifestation of and part of strengthening postcolonial identity at that time. Kiai Sholeh Darat confirmed his call in his book, *Majmu'at Al-Syari'at Al-Kafiyah Li Al-'Awam*:

"... lan dadi kufur meneh wong kang nganggo panganggone liyane ahli Islam, panganggo kang wus tertentu marang liyane ahli Islam kabeh serta atine neqodake baguse iki panganggone serta demen atine maring iki panganggo. Lan baram ingatase wong Islam menyerupai panganggone wong liya agama Islam senajan atine ora demen. Angendiko setengah ulama muhaqqiqin, sapa wonge nganggo panganggone liyane ahli Islam koyo klambi, jas, utawa topik, utawa dasi, maka dadi murtad, rusak Islame senajan

atine ora demen. Alhasil, haram dosa gede ingatase wong Islam tiru tingkah polabe liyane abli Islam ing ndalem perkarane nganggo utawa tingkah polabe mangan senjata atine ora demen. Anapun lamun demen sak bal dadi murtad senjata ora nganggo panggonane keroni wong kang demen kufur yo dadi kufur, wong kang demen maksiat yo dadi maksiat, senjata ora nglakoni maka ati-ati yo ta sira...” (Darat, tt, p. 24-25).

The movement through arab pegon carried out by Kiai Sholeh Darat seemed to show Kiai Sholeh Darat's anti-certain attitude towards the Dutch colonialism. Because, at the same time the Dutch colonial also forcibly spread the Latin script to the indigenous people. On the other hand, the Arab Pegon movement also illustrates the attitude of Kiai Sholeh Darat who does not want to follow colonial culture. Even though in his book, Kiai Sholeh Darat only forbade various clothing and styles of Dutch colonial attributes. However, the Latin script at that time was part of Western culture. The grave of Kiai Sholeh Darat uses pegon arabesque as an effort to forbid the Javanese Muslim community from following colonial culture, including the Latin script which is considered *Londo writing* (Hakim, 2016). Through his movement, Kiai Sholeh Darat gave birth to significant developments for the knowledge of the Muslim community in Java, and liberated them (indigenous people) from the intervention of the understanding of slavery which was the vision of the colonialists in shaping the decline of Islamic society in Java (Hakim, 2016).

In addition, colonial philology which discussed ancient Javanese literary culture as a 'divine' cultural product also taught that this highest Javanese cultural achievement had been marginalized along with the arrival of Islam in the 15th century (Florida, 2016). Implicitly, this colonial philology built a narrative that Islamic literature which was born along the northern coast of Java had given birth to a dark era for Javanese culture. Mid-period coastal Muslim authors, said the colonialists through their narratives, produced adaptations that were not original and sometimes damaging or incomplete, by bringing up Islamic topics that were foreign to the ears of the Javanese people (Florida, 2016).

The Kiai Sholeh Darat literacy movement, which was carried out using the pegon script, is very possible as a narrative counter to discourse that tends to corner the coastal Islamic literacy tradition as revealed in this colonial philology. Kiai Sholeh Darat as a cleric and a coastal Muslim figure (he was born in Jepara and lived in Semarang), seemed to be disturbed by the bias of the colonial philological narratives and instead he intensified

Islamic literacy which was packaged in the pegon script with a coastal style. This phenomenon can also be seen as an affirmation of postcolonial identity by Kiai Sholeh Darat through the world of literacy.

b. Kiai Cadre Movement

In fighting the Dutch colonial government, another effort made by Kiai Sholeh Darat was to cadre or instill a sense of anti-colonialism among the kiai and santri. Some of the great scholars who had attended and inherited the spirit of anti-colonialism from Kyai Sholeh Darat were Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari (founder of Nahdlatul Ulama), who later issued the "Jihad Resolution" as a form of struggle to defend the independence of indigenous peoples.

The spirit of anti-colonialism that was inflamed by Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari could not be separated from the role of Kiai Sholeh Darat who passed on a spirit of patriotism while studying at the university to him. We can see the spirit of fighting the invaders that was passed down by Kiai Sholeh to Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari, from the persistence of Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari who was never afraid to fight against the Dutch even though he was under pressure or threats. When inflaming the anti-colonial attitude, Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari was always under pressure and threats from the Dutch colonialists. As a result, in 1913, the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School became the target of the Dutch in carrying out repressive actions. The Dutch devised a cunning strategy by sending a thief to Tebu Ireng. However, the santri eventually found out about this and fought the thief to death (Misrawi, 2010, p. 86). Hearing this news, the Dutch became even more furious, so the Dutch colonials sent troops in quite a large number, to then destroy the Tebu Ireng Islamic Boarding School by burning the building along with the books in the Islamic Boarding School. Events like this occurred at the Tebu Ireng Islamic Boarding School until around the 1940s. Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari and his students at the Islamic boarding school were kept under surveillance by colonial intelligence, until Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari was about to be killed by the colonial government (Fadli and Sudrajat, 2020).

Even so, Kiai Hasyim's enthusiasm never subsided, he instead rebuilt his pesantren and remained tough on all forms of threats from the Dutch colonial government. Kiai Hasyim continued his activities with high morale. In fact, he actually kindled the fire of enthusiasm for the indigenous people with the phrase 'keep fighting until the last drop of blood', this statement then aroused Muslims to form paramilitary jihad movements such as

Sabilillah and *Hezbollah* in carrying out armed resistance movements against the invaders (Fadli and Sudrajat, 2020, p.124). The attitude shown by Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari towards the Dutch colonial government was strongly influenced by the nationalism of the teacher, Kyai Sholeh Darat. In fact, the tradition of writing the book of Kiai Sholeh Darat in the Arabic pegon script was later preserved by Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari, as in his work *Risale Ashl al-Sunnah Wal Jamaah and Adab al-Alim Wal Muta'alim* (Tohari, 2021).

Apart from Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari, Kiai Sholeh Darat also passed on his fighting spirit against the Dutch colonial government to his other students, so that later on his students became pioneers of the movement against colonialism. These figures, among others: Kiai Ahmad Dahlan (founder of Muhammadiyah), RA Kartini (woman emancipation figure from Jepara), RA Kartini, nyantri to Kiai Sholeh Darat when Kiai Sholeh was teaching the meaning of the interpretation of al-Fatihah. In fact, after that, RA Kartini asked Kiai Sholeh to translate the Qur'an so that the Book of Al-Quran translation was born which was later named the Book of *Faid ar-Rahman*, which became the first interpretation in Java with the Arabic letter pegon (Masrur, 2012).

Then there were other students such as Kiai Abdul Syakur ibn Muhsin, Kiai Idris (Solo, who revived the Jamsaren Islamic Boarding School), Kiai Wahab Hasbullah (Jombang), Kiai Abbas Djamil (Buntet, Cirebon) (Dzahir, tt, p. 13). The founder of the Watucongol Muntilan Magelang Islamic Boarding School, (Kyai Dalhar), Kyai-Kyai Tremas Kh Dimiyati, Kyai Raden Dahlan and Kiai Mahfudz, from Kasingan Rembang against Kyai Kholil Harun, and who came from Kudus there was Kiai Raden Asnawi (Munir, 2008). The founder of Pesantren Sambang Kulon Kiai Amir (including the son-in-law of Kiai Sholeh Darat who married his daughter Zahroh), (Mas'ud, 2004).

Kiai Abdul Hamid Kendal, Kiai Sya'ban Ibnu Hasan, Kiai Sahli, Kiai Ridwan Ibnu Mujahid, Kiai Ali Barkah, and Kiai Anwar Mujahid from Semarang, successor to the Mangkang Islamic Boarding School in Semarang Kyai Tahir, Kiai Yasin Rembang, the head of the Surakarta Palace (Penghulu Tafsir Anom), in Kudus there were Kiai Muzakki and Kiai Yasir, as well as Kyai Mudzakir Demak, Kiai Siroj Payaman Magelang, founder of the Kempek Cirebon Islamic Boarding School Kiai Harun, and founder of the Sendangguwo Islamic Boarding School in Semarang Kyai Sajad. There is also Kiai Ihsan Jampes who is known as a prolific figure in his various works. However, when Kiai Ihsan attended, at that time the pesantren was already under the auspices of Kiai Dahlan who was the son-in-law

of Kiai Sholeh Darat and also the younger sibling of Kiai Mahfudz at-Tirmidzi Termas, because at that time the condition of Kiai Sholeh Darat was already old (Hakim, 2016).

c. Education Movement for Javanese Society

The preaching movement of Kiai Sholeh Darat presented the most important meaning for the indigenous Javanese at that time. After the defeat of Prince Diponegoro in the Java War, the indigenous people seemed to be a marginal group with various *stereotype labels* from the Dutch colonial government. So that the condition of knowledge of the Javanese people at that time was in such a low condition. Seeing this reality, Kiai Sholeh Darat arranged various strategies to bring about acculturation of da'wah related to local culture, so that his da'wah movement would not encounter opposition from the Dutch colonial government. It was from here that Kiai Sholeh Darat preached by developing teachings in various Islamic boarding schools and carrying out literacy da'wah movements in several areas, including from the southern regions such as Bulus Purworejo Regency to the coastal areas to the north of the Java coast, both in Semarang, Kudus and in the Hall of Demak Regency.

There is an interesting note from the story of RA Kartini, when Kiai Sholeh was carrying out da'wah activities at the Demak Hall. Kiai Sholeh Darat explained the translation of the meaning of surah Fatihah. Kartini, who at that time was also present at the lecture by Kiai Sholeh Darat, was impressed by the interpretation of Surah Fatihah explained by Kiai Sholeh Darat. Because during that time, Kartini could only read the Qur'an, but did not know its meaning after recitation (Munir, 2008), Kartini met her grandfather, Tjondronegoro IV, and asked him to help Kartini meet Kyai Sholeh Darat. Then Kartini was brought together with Kiai Sholeh Darat by asking the question, why the Kiai have not interpreted the Qur'an into Javanese? Isn't the Al-Quran itself a life guide for humans to achieve prosperity and happiness. Since then, then Kiai Sholeh Darat translated the Qur'an into Javanese, from verse by verse to produce a translation of the 13th juz al-Quran, which was named *Faidh al-Rahman*, this book later became Kartini's wedding gift (Munir, 2008).

Since her meeting with Kiai Sholeh Darat, Kartini then studied Islam from verse by verse in the Qur'an. Until finally Kartini found a verse that she liked, namely *Min al-Dhulmat ila an-Nur* in QS. al-Baqarah: 257. This verse is used as a word often used by Kartini in her letters sent to the Dutch woman Estelle Zeehandelaar. Kartini translated the

verse into Dutch, "*Door Duisternis Tot Licht*", in turn this word after Kartini's death became a motto "After Darkness Comes Light" thanks to the translation from Armijn Pane (Masrur, 2012).

The missionary journey of Kyai Sholeh Darat to the Pendopo Demak shows that Kyai Sholeh Darat's preaching reached the aristocracy. However, this fact explicitly contradicts the opinion of Kiai Sholeh Darat himself (Masrur, 2012). As in a statement in the book *Minhaj al-Atqiyah*, Kiai Sholeh forbade teachers to teach at the head of state's place:

"Lan maleh sayogya keduwe wong kang dadi guru arep ojo nek wani marang sawijine panggonan kerana arab wuruk marang wong sawiji ing dalem iku panggonan senjata khalifah tegese kepala negara utawa sak pengisare iyo ojo, kerana dadi ina ilmune Quran." (As-Samarani, 1317).

In fact, Kyai Sholeh Darat emphasized that students should be themselves, and not associate with the unjust government environment at that time. Text-wise, it seems as if there is a conflict with what was done by Kiai Sholeh Darat himself, because he preached at the Demak Hall, which incidentally is part of the government. However, in the context of the Islamic da'wah movement, what Kiai Sholeh Darat did was part of showing his flexible attitude to the community. This is as explained by him in the book *Minhaj al- Atqiyah*:

"...wajib ngreksa sikil karone mareng lumaku mareng haram utawa mareng sultan zalim, maka lumakune yen ora ana darurat iku maksiat". (As-Samarani, 1317).

The statement above shows that what Kiai Sholeh Darat did in the context of preaching was "emergency" because he carried out the vision of Islamic da'wah to the Demak government at that time. Based on Pradjarta Dirdjosanjoto's point of view (Dirdjosanjoto, 2013), what Kiai Sholeh Darat did was part of a strategy to maintain *the status quo* to play a role in order to bring about social change in Islamic society which at that time was still under the shadow of duping the colonial.

CONCLUSION

Based on the description and analysis above, it can be concluded that the cultural movement of Kiai Sholeh Darat during the post-Java War of the 19th and early 20th centuries in Java can be seen as a postcolonial spirit and identity, because what became the movement of Kiai Sholeh Darat showed a tendency towards a decolonization spirit towards a series of determination and domination. colonial regime to various lines of life of the Javanese people, so that the spirit of decolonization of Kiai Sholeh Darat

represented a subaltern group (colonized group) by offering cultural hybridity in order to clean up the penetration and spread of the "virus" and the influence of colonialism which at that time was running stably and dominantly in the social structure and Javanese culture.

The cultural movement of Kiai Sholeh Darat, reflecting the postcolonial spirit and identity, is a literacy movement manifested in the publication of writings in the pegon script, as well as translating the Koran into Javanese as a form of resistance to the colonial project which seeks to separate Java from Islam through the movement colonial literacy and philology; and cadre of kyai with religious and nationalist spirit such as Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari (founder of NU) and Kiai Ahmad Dahlan (founder of Muhammadiyah) through Islamic boarding schools, where the ulemas he taught later became the spearhead of the 1945 independence movement; as well as conducting public education, in the form of da'wah from village to village or from city to city in Java, including to *priyayi* in Java so that from his preaching many Javanese officials or *priyayi* were interested in deepening Islam, one of whom was RA. Kartini. This research contributes to the development of research related to the Kya Sholeh Darat movement in preparing militant and religious cadres.

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