

Transforming Islamic Education against Colonial Secularism: Invention, Diffusion, and Consequences in the Tegalsari and Jamsaren Pesantren of Java (1742–1942)

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Abstract

This study evaluates the historical educational practices at the Tegalsari *pesantren* in Ponorogo and the Jamsaren *pesantren* in Surakarta, which aimed to transform educational management and diffusion during the Dutch Islamic political era. This study employs a hybrid grounded theory and case study design, assigning 23 research participants including *kiyai*, descendants of *pesantren* founders, and history experts. Data were analyzed using thematic analysis, constant comparison analysis, and sensemaking. ATLAS.ti version 9.1.3 was used to integrate the thematic analysis and constant comparison analysis. The study's results indicate that the transformations in the Tegalsari and Jamsaren *pesantren* were facilitated by a scientific chain of kinship and blessings. This was found in both *pesantren* because Kiyai Muhammad Besari, the founder of Tegalsari, and Kiyai Jamsari, the founder of Jamsaren, had scientific chain of kinships to the *Walisongo* as descendants of the Prophet Muhammad SAW through the king of Majapahit. The educational transformation of both *pesantren* used almost the same model, namely acculturating to the Dutch model of education and combining it with *pesantren* education. New ideas in the Dutch educational model—such as teaching methods, curricula, teaching materials, secular politics, and the separation of Islamic teachings from politics—were successfully transformed by both *pesantren* through gradual invention, diffusion, and consequences.

Keywords: *Tegalsari, Jamsaren, Invention, Diffusion, Transformation*

Introduction

This study examines the historical evolution of Tegalsari and Jamsaren *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) in relation to the secularization of Dutch–Islamic politics as part of a dissertation on Islamic education management. It centers on how the secularization imposed by Dutch–Islamic politics sought to restrict *pesantren* to Islamic matters and limit them from culturing potential rebels against the Dutch colonial government. In the Dutch East Indies colony (now Indonesia), Tegalsari *pesantren* had a strong reputation as the largest center of Islamic education during the era of Islamic political persecution, while Jamsaren had a history of participating in the independence movement.

Secularization during the Dutch–Islamic political era (1899–1942) and the resistance of Tegalsari and Jamsaren *pesantren* have received scholarly attention (e.g., Dhofier, 2015; Riyadi & Rokamah,

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2022; Multazam, 2018; 2016; Harda et al., 2023; Rifki, 2021). Attention to historical and spiritual matters, the roles of the *Walisongo* (nine Islamic saints in the Demak Era), and the Islamic kingdom are shared by native and foreign scholars (e.g., Hasyim, 1979; Kartodirdjo, 1966; deGraff, 1986, 1987; Fokkens, 1877, 1886; Guillot, 1985; Ricklefs, 1986; Rinkes, 1986). Dutch secularization imposed a tough inner and outer struggle, and some formidable Islamic thinkers backed the modern era. Dutch orientalist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, as the founder of Dutch–Islamic politics, encouraged Islamic scholars to conduct research to clarify the history and impact of Islamic education in the modern era (Aksoy, 2026; Essabane et al., 2026; Khuserov et al., 2026; Kollars et al., 2026).

The Dutch colonial administration of the Netherlands East Indies regarded political Islam doctrine as a direct threat. To neutralize it, the colonial authorities systematically suppressed Islamic political movements and restricted Islamic law to minimize religion-based anti-colonial resistance (Harda et al., 2023; Guillot, 1985; Lombard, 2005; Rifki, 2021). Hurgronje, the primary architect of this strategy, advised the colonial government to separate Islam into three distinct categories for better population management (Burhanudin, 2014; Harda et al., 2023). First, ritual worship was freely tolerated. Second, Islamic social traditions were recognized but subordinated to customary law (*adat*) to diminish Islam’s legal authority (Miftahuddin, 2011; Kitching & Gholami, 2023). Third, and most critically, political Islam, including Pan-Islamism and any movement potentially inciting jihad, was strictly outlawed and subjected to intense surveillance (Hasnida, 2017; Hurgronje, 2024; Syukri, 2021).

Rooted in the perspective that Islam represented rebellion, Dutch–Islamic politics were implemented through four interrelated strategies. Responding to anti-colonial rebellions, the colonial government recognized that armed resistance was fundamentally fueled by Islamic unity against non-Islamic rulers (Kartodirdjo, 1966; Ricklefs, 2001). Alarmed by the Pan-Islamism and anti-colonial ideologies brought back by Hajj pilgrims, the Dutch imposed strict regulations on pilgrimages to Mecca (Rifki, 2021, Harda et al., 2023; Syukri, 2021; Toron & Durham, 2010). Drawing directly on Hurgronje’s advice, the administration rigidly separated religion from politics: Islam as a religious practice was permitted freedom, but Islam as a political doctrine was treated as a serious threat (Harda et al., 2023; Rifki, 2021; Syukri, 2021; van den Doel, 2023). The Dutch co-opted moderate indigenous leaders, particularly *penghulu* (religious judges), into the

colonial orbit, thus redirecting Islamic movements toward cultural activities rather than anti-colonial resistance (Miftahuddin, 2011; Rifki, 2021; Sya'ban, 2023; Woodward, 1998).

Previous research on Tegalsari has predominantly relied on historiographical and library-based approaches focused on textual analysis of manuscripts and the biographical narratives of *pesantren* leaders. Fokkens (1877) documented that during the golden era under Kiyai Hasan Besari, Tegalsari hosted approximately 3,000 students from across the archipelago and earned the title “*Tegalsari Pendeta School*” but did not explain how its educational system fit with Dutch–Islamic politics. Similarly, Makhrus (2020) examined Islamic education and Javanese mystical values (*Kejawen*) at Tegalsari during the leadership of Kiyai Ageng Muhammad Besari (henceforth, KAMB) (1743–1773) by analyzing specific texts and manuscripts used but without addressing educational management transformation.

Research on Jamsaren is even sparser. Founded in 1750 by Kiyai Jamsari on the order of Paku Buwono III, Jamsaren experienced a 53-year absence (1825–1878) after its kiyai and students joined the Diponegoro War (1825–1830), so the Dutch disbanded the institution (Hasnida, 2017). Revived in 1878 by KH Idris, Jamsaren later became an epicenter of Islamic education and resistance. However, existing studies contain chronological inaccuracies that erroneously attribute Jamsaren’s foundation to Paku Buwono IV (1788–1820) and fail to examine the transformation of its educational management (Carey, 2008; Syukri, 2021; Yudha, 2015).

This study addresses these gaps by analyzing how both *pesantren* transformed their educational management to resist Dutch–Islamic politics through the lens of invention, diffusion, and consequences, a theoretical framework drawn from Rogers' (2014) diffusion of innovations theory that has not previously been applied for studying colonial-era *pesantren* resistance (Rogers, 1985). The resistance perspective, including how *pesantren* countered Dutch educational policies that expanded into associational politics, has also remained under examined (Latif & Latif, 2018; Nurdianto et al., 2018). Without addressing these historical and educational transformational gaps, a full understanding of *pesantren* resistance to Dutch–Islamic politics will remain wanting. Accordingly, this study formulates two research questions:

1. How did the Tegalsari *pesantren* in Ponorogo and the Jamsaren *pesantren* in Surakarta transform educational management against Dutch–Islamic politics?
2. How did the Tegalsari and Jamsaren *pesantren* transform against Dutch–Islamic politics through invention, diffusion, and consequences?

Theoretical Framework

This study is relevant to DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) seminal paper, "The Iron Cage Revisited," which describes how enterprises tend to gradually converge based on their organizational settings. More specifically, it examines how two *pesantren* transformed educationally in response to Dutch–Islamic politics. Dutch–Islamic politics, particularly that of Snouck Hurgronje, separated religion and politics to discourage resistance (e.g., Pan-Islamism). Sectoral consequences for Muslims included a drastic reduction in the authority of religious courts, marginalization of traditional Islamic education, and the stigmatization of pure religious teachings (Juwita, 2005). The Dutch colonial implementation for Islamic politics and *pesantren* was largely driven by a three-pronged strategy: separate "pure worship" from sociopolitical Islam, closely supervise *pesantren* leaders (*kiyai*), and undermine *pesantren* by funding competing secular Dutch–Christian schools (Burhanudin, 2014; Ricklefs, 2001).

The political framework stipulated that the Dutch colonial administration required all Islamic educators and *pesantren* leaders to secure formal permits from local regents and colonial authorities to conduct their teachings. This enabled the administration to significantly limit the activities of any *kiyai* accused of possessing anti-colonial views (Hurgronje, 2024, 1996). Moreover, the Dutch established Islamic religious tribunals, partly to oversee and restrict the institutional growth of *pesantren* and Islamic law. The government strongly promoted the establishment of public "native" schools to diminish the impact of the *pesantren*'s traditional curriculum. It aggressively sponsored these Western-style schools while often depriving traditional *pesantren* of resources and public funding (van den Doel, 2023).

Dutch–Islamic politics had many consequences, such as limiting religious justice. The colonial authority used the *Receptie Theory* to limit religious courts, and Islamic law required customary law to institutionalize it (Kollar, 2026; Rifki, 2021). Thus, inheritance and *waqf* were removed from the religious courts' jurisdiction, so they were intentionally weakened in favor of Dutch civil courts (Rifki, 2023). Islamic education faced discrimination and marginalization as the Dutch discriminated against Islamic schools like *pesantren* and *madrasahs*. The Dutch applied associational politics and ethical politics to limit the Hajj, teaching, and school ordinances (Yudha, 2015), which inhibited *pesantren* development. To counteract anti-colonial indoctrination, Islamic religious teachers required licenses and were supervised (Syukri, 2021). Western-style secular

schools for the *priyayi* class received most of the education budget, leaving Islamic schools behind and struggling to develop (Shiddiq, 2022).

Moreover, the Dutch associational politics sought to exclude Muslims from active politics and integrate their culture into Western norms. The primary effects were the marginalization of religious courts, the suppression of traditional Islamic education, and systematic endeavors to diminish the authority of Islamic law to facilitate colonial dominance (Kitching & Gholami, 2023). The associational politics were executed for the domestication and de-politicization of religion and encourage Christianization. Religion was forcibly segregated from social and political matters (Harda et al., 2023; Burhanudin, 2014; Syukri, 2021).

This policy altered governance and education, thereby establishing a shift from religious dominance to rationality. The secular education system was implemented initially, followed by an educational program of secular Western education (Arifia, 2025; Aksoy, 2026). Rationalism, humanism, and non-religious knowledge were encouraged in colonial institutions. Indigenous scholars acquired novel perspectives (Kollars et al., 2026). The separation of religious and colonial politics resulted in the perception that religion was private and public issues belonged to contemporary colonial law and bureaucracy (Rifki, 2021; Sya'ban, 2023; Kusherov, 2026). Despite the emergence of a new educated elite rooted in traditional religious knowledge and modern philosophy through ethical education (Miftahuddin, 2011), early nationalist movement organizations like the *Indische Partij* and *Boedi Oetomo* employed secular nationalism to challenge colonial control (Bakri, 2022).

To counter Dutch–Islamic politics, the Tegalsari and Jamsaren pesantren transformed their education through acculturation and assimilation. Laseau (1980) explained transformation as a gradual process of change toward an ultimate state. It occurs in response to influence from external and internal elements that direct changes through a process of repeated duplication or multiplication (Budiwibowo & Sudarmiani, 2018). Transformation can occur intentionally or unintentionally. The former is characterized by clear planning and management, such as through programs and clearly expected changes (Rogers, 2014).

The transformation process happens over time as sociocultural changes in society emerge through a lengthy process that always relates to current activities (Latif & Latif, 2018). The transformation process occurs through invention, diffusion, and consequences. Invention involves changes within society due to new discoveries that slowly bring about change. Diffusion happens through the

communication of ideas, new concepts, or efforts to change society more broadly (Rogers, 2014; Budiwibowo & Sudarmiani, 2018). Consequences are when the adoption of new ideas or concepts manifest changes in society (Rogers, 2014). Analyzing these using Everett Rogers' diffusion of innovations theory requires looking at how a new idea is developed, how it spreads through a social system over time, and its ultimate impact on society.

Rogers' (2014) first core framework is invention and development, with this phase creating a new idea or technology and recognizing its potential value. It then evaluate target users' perception of five fundamental attributes that dictate its adoption potential: relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability, and observability. The second framework is diffusion, whereby the innovation is communicated through specific channels over time among a social system. Rogers (2014) offered three analytical pillars: (1) the innovation–decision process, (2) adopter categorization, and (3) communication channels. The final stage is consequences, which related to the changes in an individual or social system as a result of adopting or rejecting an innovation. Analyzing this phase requires looking beyond the immediate, intended use of the invention and focusing on its systemic, long-term impacts, namely desirable vs. undesirable, direct vs. indirect, and anticipated vs. unanticipated.

Methods

Study Design

This study employs a hybrid grounded theory and case study design, combining grounded theory's inductive approach to theory development with a case study's in-depth contextual analysis (Creswell, 2012; Eisenhardt, 1989). Grounded theory was used because no prior study has systematically examined *pesantren* educational transformation through the lens of invention, diffusion, and consequences in response to Dutch–Islamic politics. A case study was chosen to evaluate the transformation processes of Tegalsari, Ponorogo and Jamsaren, Surakarta, which were specifically selected for their historical significance as centers of Islamic resistance during the colonial era (Stake, 1995). Toer and GoGwilt (1996) coined the phrase “history from below,” to characterize an approach to history that contests the dominant power's narrative by integrating historical facts with imaginative storytelling.

Participants

The study involved 33 participants selected through purposive sampling based on their knowledge of *pesantren* history and educational management. They included a current kiyai from each *pesantren*, four descendants of *pesantren* founders, ten foundation staff members, two senior kiyai serving as key informants, five professors specializing in *pesantren* studies, and ten local historians (Bryman, 2012; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Morse & Field, 1995). Data saturation was achieved after no new information emerged from successive interviews (Gentles et al., 2015; Mason, 2010).

Data Collection

Data were collected through three methods: Participant observation took place at both *pesantren* over three separate visits (morning, afternoon, and evening sessions) to document daily activities, teaching methods, and institutional routines (Hays, 2004; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). In both *pesantren*, Islamic activities are still conducted according to the traditions of the Dutch colonial era. Students pray together at the mosque five times a day: dawn (*subuh*), midday (*dhuhur*), afternoon (*ashar*), evening (*maghrib*), and night (*isyak*). Students recite the Quran and perform *wirid* prayers between sunset and nighttime. They also meditate from nighttime until dawn while visiting the grave of the *pesantren*'s founder. The three observation times provided insight into how rituals are performed at the *pesantren*. Face-to-face interviews lasting 60–95 minutes were conducted with all 23 participants using open-ended questions that addressed *pesantren* history, leadership, curriculum changes, and resistance strategies (Kvale, 1996; Robson, 2002).

Primary documents including *babad* (chronicles), manuscripts, Dutch colonial records, and previous research reports were critically examined (Hatch, 2002; Yin, 2003). The primary manuscripts about Tegalsari included an article by Fokkens (1877) describing the ulama school of Tegalsari in the Dutch language. Tegalsari's *kitab kuning* (classical yellow book) in Javanese Arabic, the lineage of Tegalsari, and Javanese chronicles in the library of Surakarta Kingdom were evaluated. Some documents that had been translated into Indonesian or published in journals were critically evaluated to establish their validity and reliability. Other documents solely in Dutch, Arabic, or Javanese were translated into Indonesian by experts, so the researchers could fully understand their contents. In addition, all five experts involved in this research could read Arabic and Javanese manuscripts. For the purposes of discussion, the five experts contributed criticisms of the sources. For Jamsaren *pesantren*, two primary documents written in Arabic and Javanese

were digitally available in the library of *Masjid Agung Karaton* Surakarta. The documents covered the history of Jamsaren and the kitabs that were used by the kiyais.

Data Analysis

Analysis followed three sequential steps: *First*, thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012) involved familiarization, coding, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining themes, and identifying recurring patterns across the data. *Second*, constant comparison analysis, the core analytical tool in grounded theory, iteratively compared new data with existing codes and categories until theoretical saturation was achieved (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). *Third*, sensemaking interpreted how participants constructed meaning from their historical experiences and how these insights shaped institutional transformation (Weick, 1995). ATLAS.ti version 9.1.3 was used to manage coding, track code co-occurrence, and generate network diagrams to visualize relationships among themes (Frieze, 2019).

Trustworthiness

Following Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria, credibility was ensured through triangulation (sources, methods, investigators), member checks, and peer debriefing. Transferability was achieved through thick descriptions of both *pesantren* contexts. Dependability and confirmability were established through audit trails and reflective journaling (Merriam, 1998). Research ethics were maintained through informed consent, confidentiality, and voluntary participation.

Results

RQ1. How did the Tegalsari pesantren in Ponorogo and the Jamsaren pesantren in Surakarta transform educational management against secular Dutch–Islamic politics?

Data were gathered through observation, interviews, and a literature review to address RQ1. Data on laws and education from the Dutch era were studied in order to provide historical context for the secularism philosophy. The Dutch government prioritized policies related to the imposed Dutch–Islamic politics and Dutch education practices while enforcing secularism. Three topics emerged from our analysis that address the first research question: the types of Dutch secular goals,

the regulations pertaining to Dutch education, and the evolution of *pesantren* leadership in opposition to Dutch secularism. The findings of expert interviews and peer-debriefings strongly suggest that Dutch secularism covers the six political ideologies mentioned in paragraph (1).

- (1) *The Dutch secularization policy implemented six targets, namely Separation of Political Islam and Worshipful Islam, Implementation of the Receptive Theory, Establishment of Secular Schools, Strict Control of Islamic Education, Religious Neutrality, and Restrictions on Islamic Figures and Ulama. (S-I-I-sekuler)*

Based on paragraph (1), we elaborate on the description of Dutch secularization in relation to the *pesantren* in Table 1.

Table 1
Secularism practices in Dutch–Islamic Politics

No	Secularism type	Policy to act
1	Separation of political Islam and Islamic worship	Muslims were given full freedom to practice ritual worship but strictly prohibited from linking Islamic teachings with political doctrine or resistance movements. Any form of “Political Islam” or Pan-Islamism was considered a major threat.
2	Implementation of the receptive theory	The Dutch government implemented legal policies that diminished the power of Islamic law. Islamic law only applied to society when accepted and merged into local customary law.
3	Establishment of secular schools	The Dutch built a secular Western education system to distance natives from pure religious education and create a new elite class that was more subservient to colonial culture.
4	Strict control of Islamic education	Through the Teacher Ordinances (1905 and 1925) and Wild School Ordinance (1932), the Dutch required permits and curriculum supervision for institutions like <i>pesantren</i> and madrasas to limit the activities of religious figures.
5	Religious neutrality	The colonial government was neutral toward religion and avoided direct intervention other than to supervise and control religious activities and prevent them turning into political actions that could threaten colonial power.
6	Restrictions on Islamic figures and Ulama	People who had just returned from the Hajj pilgrimage were strictly supervised because they were often considered carriers of revolutionary ideology from the Middle East that could endanger colonial stability.

The Dutch had previously mandated Islamic and association politics prior to implementing the secularization of education. Supported by kiyai (Islamic scholars) and santri (students) from nearly every *pesantren* in Central Java, Islamic politics were instituted in response to the Dutch's traumatic experience with the Diponegoro War (1825–1830). See paragraph (2).

- (2) *It is clear from the documents that Dutch–Islamic politics and association politics were established after the Dutch first implemented liberal politics. The regulations used were the Economic Liberalization Law, the Islamic Political Ordinance, the Teachers' Organization, and the Illegal School Ordinance.*

The adoption of Regeringsreglement (R.R.) or Citizenship Law (1854), Staatsblad No. 42 on Hajj legislation (1859, 1903, 1916), School legislation (1882, 1905, 1925), and Wild School Ordinance (1913, 1932) all contributed to the second theme of transition. Citizenship was separated into three categories: first-class Europeans, second-class Chinese and Arabs, and third-class indigenous people with no right to a high-quality education, unlike the Europeans. Indigenous people were divided into aristocrats, *prijayi*, and commoners. In educational matters, the aristocracy and *prijayi* were given preferential treatment like the Dutch, but commoners were not.

The Dutch also curtailed *pesantren* growth and controlled teachers to discourage Islamic influences. Receptive theory regulated Islamic law through associational politics by requiring it to accept customary law. Hajj pilgrims were monitored because they engaged with international scholars and formed networks with experts in Mecca and Medina, and the Dutch feared them building a caliphate, Pan-Islamist network, or rebel network that could jeopardize Dutch colonial rule. The Tegalsari and Jamsaren *pesantren* fought the secularization dogma and colonial association politics using a strategy centered on culture and morals. The primary strategies were indigenizing *da'wah*, enhancing intellectual traditions (e.g., yellow books), and establishing a network of moral leadership. Both *pesantren* created centers of movement through alumni networks that opposed colonial cultural absorption.

- (3) *In 1900, the number of first-class schools, schools for the priyayi or native elites, was 238, increasing to 313 in 1905. Second-class schools for the commoners in 1900 were recorded at 82, increasing to 109 in 1903.*

A Dutch survey from 1885 listed 14,929 pesantren and other religious study institutions in Java with an estimated 222,663 pupils. Hurgronje stated in 1899 that once KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, the founder of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), returned from his Hajj and established the Tebuireng pesantren in 1899, the number of pesantren grew by around 20,000 to 25,000, with over 300,000 pupils in the archipelago. This certainly alarmed the Dutch, so following the installation of Islamic politics in 1899, the strategy of association and ethical politics was reinstated, resulting in a more thorough secularization campaign.

The third theme concerns the Tegalsari and Jamsaren leadership. Leadership changes pesantren education according to the founder's lineage. The pesantren preach that good learning is blessed and pleasurable, and following death, these blessings benefit you, your family, and the community. Sanad, or support, is a genealogical chain that links knowledge or instruction to its source, such as Rasulullah SAW. This is genealogical list of people (*rawi*) who reported and relayed a hadith from the beginning (note taker/*ulama*) to the Prophet Muhammad SAW, proving its authenticity and legitimacy.

KAMB and Kiyai Jamsari, the founders of Tegalsari and Jamsaren respectively, have a proven lineage and knowledge transmission that traces back to the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Additionally, Kiyai Jamsari served as an advisor to King Paku Buwono III, thus having connections with both the Walisongo lineage and the Majapahit royal line. The pedigree of KAMB, his mentor, and his father-in-law traces back to Walisongo and the King of Majapahit, as delineated below.

Lineage of Kiyai Ageng Danapura, Guru KAMB:

- Sheikh Jumadil Qubro, son
- Sheikh Ibrahim Assamarkondi, son
- Sunan Ampel, son
- Sunan Hamzah, son
- Sunan Tembayat (and Sayyid Kalkum/Panembahan Agung Kajoran), son
- Panembahan Jiwo (Tembayat), son
- Panembahan Minangkabul (Tembayat), son
- Panembahan Masjid Wetan (Tembayat), son
- Panembahan Sumendi I (Tembayat), son
- Prince Sumendi II (Setono, Jetis, Ponorogo), son
- Prince Kabo or Raden Wongsopuro (Setono, Jetis, Ponorogo), son
- Raden Ratmojo (Setono, Jetis, Ponorogo), six sons

Kiyai Ageng Danapura (2. Kiyai Ageng Noyopuro; 3. Nyai Mukminah (wife of Kiyai Nursalim; in-laws of KAMB). 4. Kiyai Ageng Singonoyo; 5. Raden Abdul Ghoni; 6. Nyai Donomijah)

Lineage of Kiyai Ageng Nursalim, KAMB's father-in-law:

Brawijaya V, son
 Bondan Kejawan, son
 Getas Pendowo, son
 Kiageng Selo, son
 Kiageng Henis, son
 Kiageng Pemanahan, son
 Panembahan Senopati, son
 Prince Joyonegoro, Gading Rejo, younger brother of Hanyakrawati Mataram, son
 Prince Buntoro or Ki Ageng Buntoro, Sumoroto, son
Kiyai Ageng Nursalim, older brother of Kiyai Ageng Basyariyah, son
 Nyai Ageng Muhammad Besari (KAMB's wife)

KAMB' lineage:

Brawijaya V (Bhre Kertabumi or Prabu Wijaya Parakramawardhana), son
 Sultan Patah, son
 Sultan Trenggono, son
 Sunan Prawoto, son
 Raden Panembahan Wirasmoro, son
 Prince Jalu/Prince Demang I Setonogedong, son
 Prince Demang II, Ngadiluwih, son
 Syekh Mursyad, Kediri, son
 Kiyai Anom Besari, Caruban, son
KAMB (Kiyai Ageng Muhammad Besari), Tegalsari Ponorogo

In the kingdom era, Tegalsari became an independent center of religious instruction and a hub of politics, culture, and literature, spawning the Dutch East Indies' contemporary pesantren curriculum system. Tegalsari pioneered the first structured (i.e., curriculum-based) education system, which eventually inspired the current pesantren model. Tegalsari's link with the Islamic Mataram Palace and the center for Islamic–Javanese values raised his pesantren's renown, attracting thousands of students from around Java. Palace *batik* and local paper-making (*dluwang*) were brought to Tegalsari under Kiyai Hasan Besari, transforming the community's social, economic, and literary landscape and renewing its culture. Institutionally, Tegalsari *pesantren* adapted to colonial secularization and modernization, adding a secular curriculum, classical management (*madrasah*) and sociopolitical modernity that made the *pesantren* a national movement leader. The modifications included integration of the classical system, curricular modernization, social adaptability and independence, and leadership transformation. Tegalsari

switched from *sorogan* and *bandongan* to become a madrasah, or formal school, so graduates could compete with Western educated graduates.

The leadership transformation in Jamsaren pesantren was characterized by political–cultural and mystical–spiritual leadership akin to that observed at Tegalsari. Kiyai Jamsari was appointed by King Paku Buwono III (1749–1788) to serve as a royal clergyman and a cleric in the Surakarta region. In 1750, Kiyai Jamsari was directed to found a pesantren some 2 km from the palace. Kiyai Jamsari also aided Paku Buwono III in building the Grand Mosque of Surakarta Palace from 1763 to 1768. This implies that the Jamsaren pesantren was established by Kiyai Jamsari during the tenure of Paku Buwono III (1749–1788). The Jamsaren pesantren was further established by Paku Buwono IV (1788–1820) and Paku Buwono V (1820–1823). During the Diponegoro War (1825–1830), the Jamsaren pesantren was led by Kiyai Jamsari II, the progeny of Kiyai Jamsari, while the Surakarta kingdom was governed by Paku Buwono VI (1823–1830). Being a *waliyullah* gave Kiyai Jamsari legitimacy.

The origins of Kiyai Jamsari are unknown, but document searches reveal that both he and Kiageng Gumelem Banyumas are descendants of Kiageng Selo, the ancestor of Islamic Mataram, whose lineage is linked to Prabu Brawijaya V. Javanese people believe that transformation is legitimate if they can trace their heritage to the monarchs, saints, and Prophet Muhammad SAW. Kiyai Jamsari grew up with Kiyai Ilyas (1773–1800), son of KAMB (1742–1773) from the Tegalsari Ponorogo, and Kiyai Hasan Yahya. Kiyai Jamsari II succeeded his father, who died between 1800. Kiyai Jamsari II left the Jamsaren pesantren and his students in 1825 to fight in the Diponegoro war. Kiyai Idris, a Diponegoro war comrade of Kiyai Jamsari II, rebuilt Jamsaren in 1878 after 53 years.

In 1878, Kiyai Idris rebuilt Jamsaren as a center of Islamic instruction in Kasunanan while Paku Buwono IX ruled Surakarta. In 1905, Paku Buwono X (1893–1939) recreated Jamsaren as a religious learning dormitory by combining pesantren with ideas from Surakarta’s first modern madrasah, Mambaul Ulum. Jamsaren’s modernization peaked in 1913 when a more structured class system replaced the traditional teaching method, adding religious studies, Arabic, Dutch, general knowledge, graduation diplomas, and life skills to the yellow book curriculum. Jamsaren built a preacher network, fostered Islamic academics, fought Dutch secularization, and resisted Dutch military pressure through preaching and theological study. Resistance to the Dutch centered

on Jamsaren. This victory was driven by Kiyai Jamsari's political-cultural-mystical-spiritual leadership.

RQ2. How did the Tegalsari and Jamsaren pesantren transform against Dutch-Islamic politics through invention, diffusion, and consequences?

Responding to this requires analyzing the evolution of education in the Tegalsari and Jamsaren pesantren through the lenses of invention, diffusion, and consequences of Rogers' (1983) framework. Thus, we examined how the concept of Dutch secularism undermined Islamic education in the pesantren through the imposition of Dutch Islamic policies alongside association politics.

Dutch-Islamic politics viewed pesantren and Islam through five aspects: (1) colonial neutrality that permitted Islamic religious rituals but barred any political participation; (2) vigilant supervision that barred religious educational institutions and figures from forming state-threatening political parties; (3) the separation of Islam from local customs in favor of customary law and resistance against Pan-Islamism in the pesantren; (4) strict control over pesantren education by regulating curricula and political training; and (5) manipulation of the clergy. To silence dissent, the Dutch appointed cooperative Islamic bureaucrats to help remove religion from governmental matters.

New ideas, their dispersion within a social system, and their effects on society must be examined through Rogers' diffusion of innovation theory. Reactions occur in the three phases of invention, dissemination, and consequences. The invention stage involves creating a new idea or technology and recognizing its potential. Researchers examine how relative benefit, compatibility, complexity, trialability, and observability affect adoption potential. They then study how innovations spread through established or new channels during the diffusion stage, concentrating on the innovation-decision process, adopter categorization, and communication routes. In the consequences stage, they discuss how an invention affects individuals or social systems over time, focusing on planned versus unintended, direct versus indirect, and anticipated versus unanticipated outcomes.

The results from the interviews with the kiyai and descendants of kiyai in Tegalsari and Jamsaren, as well as data obtained from the pesantren and teaching material books of Tegalsari Pesantrens

and Jamsaren pesantren from 1899 to 1905—which covers the Dutch–Islamic politics of 1899, ethical politics of 1901, and associational politics of 1905—were used to derive the following facts.

Invention included:

- Transforming the curriculum of sorogan and bandongan learning to a classical one;
- Promoting teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and natural sciences;
- Strengthening Islamic moral teachings by studying relevant examples from the Quran, hadith, and stories of the Prophet, companions, saints, and prominent scholars;
- Providing graduation certificates;
- Translating Arabic texts into Javanese; and
- Practicing daily conversations among *santri* and *uztas* in Arabic, Malay, and Javanese.

Diffusion included:

- Standardizing certain books and rituals (e.g., the texts of solawat, wirid and certain prayers according to scientific *sanad*) for distribution to congregations and pesantren clerics studying at Tegalsari or Jamsaren;
- Forming a network of pesantren alumni and ulama;
- Forming Islamic organizations like prayer groups, religious study groups, or pesantren; and
- Writing historiography books, such as kiyai histories, and other books to be distributed among congregations.

Consequences included:

- Providing additional Islamic guidance to strengthen moral values at a practical and in-depth scientific level;
- Teaching students practical political examples and the political nature of the colonial power;
- Exchanging students between pesantren to gain further knowledge and experience about opposing the Dutch colonials;

- Establishing alumni networks with Tegalsari, Jamsaren, Tremas, Tebuireng, and other pesantren, as well as Islamic scholars in Mecca and Medina and the wider Middle East; and
- Building networks with nationalist political figures, rulers, fighters, and sympathetic Dutch individuals.

The results of interviews and discussions with pesantren expert sources in this research concluded as follows:

(1) The Tegalsari and Jamsaren pesantren faced similar political constraints from the Dutch colonial hegemony. Dutch–Islamic policies monitored and regulated the preaching of ulama (Islamic scholars), putting pressure on the pesantren. In the Tegalsari palace and pesantren archives, we uncovered nuanced and terrible experiences.

(2) The Dutch were careful with the Tegalsari pesantren because it was on free land and protected by the Surakarta Palace. The pesantren leaders were awarded positions as colonial officials, such as regents, *wedono*, *penghulu*, or government employees. The Dutch government did not believe the Tegalsari pesantren’s activities presented a threat, so the study of Javanese through books of wisdom was allowed to grow.

(3) Tegalsari and Jamsaren pesantren connected with ulama. Selected students visited Jamsaren and other pesantren to discuss the struggle and political strategies. The network was established in stages: santri, ustadz, and junior and senior kiyai. The convergence on senior kiyai created Islamic fighters with close ties to the Surakarta king.

(4) To accommodate more pupils, the classical method was combined with the *sorogan*, *bandongan*, or *wetonan* learning systems at the Tegalsari and Jamsaren pesantren. The yellow book alongside mathematics, reading and writing in Latin letters, Arabic, Malay, Javanese, and a touch of Dutch were among the subjects covered. Politics and the fight against colonialism were interwoven throughout such studies, which had traditionally focused on studying the Quran and Hadith.

(5) Jamsaren pesantren translated Arabic into Javanese. Javanese was taught for preaching and public speaking, with some Arabic taught in morning lectures or through memorization. Pupils demonstrated their preaching skills to the ustaz and other pupils using the sorogan method. The talk covered various Quranic or hadith verses related to the topic. Students showed their memorizations to senior kiyai after mastering them.

(6) Seniority in religious knowledge and kiyai-approved graduation were used to assign madrasa teachers. Dutch colonial school graduation certificates were used to signify students' graduation. The curriculum was built and linked with the daily instruction schedule, listing subjects for each level and time period. The final exam now came depending on a student's ability to understand the curriculum after 5–12 months, 1–3 years, 5–10 years, and 20 years.

The transformation in education management at Tegalsari and Jamsaren pesantren was analyzed as outlined below.

Transformation of Tegalsari Pesantren in the Kingdom Era

Vision

During the kingdom era, the Tegalsari pesantren became a center for developing Islam based on local Javanese wisdom to produce national leaders and scholars with spiritual integrity and moral resilience. The mission included:

1. Producing national leaders through holistic education to equip students with religious and state administration knowledge, such as King Pakubuwana II, the poets Yasadipura and Ranggawarsita, and the movement figure H.O.S. Cokroaminoto.
2. Maintaining autonomous regions (*perdikan*), such as Tegalsari Village as a special region, so pesantren could be centers of independent government, sharia justice, and protection for the community.

3. Aligning Islamic values with Javanese/palace traditions, thus creating harmony between religion and culture.
4. Making pesantren complexes of economic activity to facilitate socioeconomic development.

Purposes

During the kingdom era, the educational aim at Tegalsari pesantren was to produce Islamic scholars to spread Islam, equip future leaders and nobles with religious knowledge, and strengthen the spiritual stability of the kingdom. This included:

1. Training ulama and spreading Islam by equipping students with knowledge of monotheism, *fiqh*, and Sufism for dissemination among the wider archipelago community.
2. Shaping the moral and spiritual development of future nobles, poets, and courtiers so they had a strong spiritual foundation for leading government.
3. Serving as a cultural bulwark and spiritual advisor to the Kingdom to support its stability, with the Tegalsari kyai acting as mediators to maintain peace and provide moral support to the ruler.
4. Maintaining Tegalsari Village's status as a *perdikan* free from royal taxes.

Transformation

Tegalsari pesantren transformed from a small-scale educational center into the largest center of Islamic civilization in Java, producing great leaders and national figures.

1. **Pioneering Period (1742):** The curriculum focused on basic religious knowledge (Sufism, Islamic jurisprudence) through the *sorogan* and *bandongan* systems, becoming a sanctuary and center of spiritual education amid the political turmoil of the Kartasura Kingdom.
2. **Golden Period (1800–1862):**
 - Under the supervision of Kyai Hasan Besari, Tegalsari transformed into a modern pesantren for the time with over 3,000 students from across the archipelago.

- The curriculum was expanded to include literature, state administration, and leadership. The pesantren became an intellectual magnet, educating important royal figures like Pakubuwono II, the great poet Yasadipura, Ranggawarsita, and Sheikh Basariyah Sewulan.
3. **Integration of Islamic Values and Royal Culture:** Tegalsari pesantren successfully connected Islamic values with palace culture, and Tegalsari was recognized as an educational center for producing bureaucrats, religious scholars, and even palace writers.
 4. **Center for the Formation of National Figures:** As the pesantren entered the modern era, it produced pioneering figures in the national movement, such as H.O.S. Cokroaminoto, and developed the Gontor pesantren from a religious missionary institution into an incubator for national thinkers and champions.

How Tegalsari Countered Secularism

Tegalsari pesantren countered secularism in the era of Dutch–Islamic and associational politics through education and economic empowerment rather than directly opposing the Dutch political entity. Tegalsari applied four strategies: (1) enhancing spiritual character (Sufism and Morals) to balance intellectual and spiritual knowledge against secular ideologies that isolate religion from daily life; (2) promoting community economic independence to reduce dependence on political powers and maintain independent perdikan villages; (3) prioritizing deliberation, tolerance, and a peaceful cultural approach within the community to exercise pragmatism in secular politics and avoid radical Islamic politics; and (4) using the social role of kiyai to position ulama as unifying figures bridging religion and governmental norms and reducing disputes between secular and religious nationalist parties through local wisdom.

Finally, educational transformation was viewed through invention, diffusion, and consequences theory.

Tegalsari pesantren transformation through invention (foundation), diffusion (dissemination of teachings), and consequences (sociopolitical impact), as evident in its bridging role between Islamic traditions and the contemporary dynamics during the transition from the hegemony of traditional Islamic kingdoms to the colonial political era.

The Tegalsari pesantren resisted secularism by instilling monotheism (*tawhid*) and combining sharia and Sufism to create a worldview that positioned spiritual values as the primary foundation for facing life and the afterlife, thus rejecting the separation of religion and state:

Invention (foundation)	1. KAMB created a comprehensive pesantren model, integrating yellow book teaching, Sufism, and local wisdom and balancing worship and social interactions to counter the secular view that limited religion to private matters. 2. The pesantren combined Islamic propagation with Javanese palace culture, so its teachings were easily accepted by the community, nobility, and ruling elite of the time.
Diffusion (dissemination of teachings)	1. A massive alumni network formed as thousands of students came from all over the archipelago. Graduates even established new pesantren or became religious scholars or royal officials. 2. In the pre-colonial Islamic political era, Tegalsari became the epicenter for the spread of Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah Islam, an independent institution with strong political influence. Kyai served as spiritual advisors and educators for kings and nobles. 3. The Tegalsari alumni established many new pesantren in various regions, such as the Gontor and Tremas pesantren, as centers for moral transmission and served as bulwarks against Dutch materialism and secularism.
Consequences (socioeconomic impact)	1. The association policy of adopting Western culture and suppressing Islamic fanaticism through secular schools was countered by maintaining autonomous religious education to produce intellectuals critical of colonialism. 2. The emergence of great national figures, such as King PB II, the poet Yasadipura, Ronggowarsita, and the founder of the Sarekat Islam, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto. 3. Tegalsari alumni became agents of change who rejected Dutch secularization.

Transformation of Jamsaren pesantren

Vision

Jamsaren pesantren's vision during the royal era was to create a society with noble morals who understood Islamic teachings in depth, as well as produce a generation of Muslims devoted to Allah SWT while maintaining cultural and spiritual values in the royal environment.

Mission

The educational mission of the Jamsaren pesantren was to foster community morals because the pesantren was founded in 1750 AD by Kyai Jamsari at the request of the Surakarta king, Susuhunan Paku Buwono III. Jamsaren's educational mission included:

1. Spreading Islam throughout Surakarta and surrounding areas through recitation and study of the yellow book;
2. Creating ulama by educating *faqih* students (i.e., who understand religious knowledge) to become community leaders, kiyai, and other community figures.
3. Building character by instilling morals, ethics and spiritual discipline through strict dormitory life and strengthening the spirit of the Kingdom as a center of moral and spiritual defense by bridging Islamic values with Javanese society.

Purposes

Education at Jamsaren pesantren aimed to spread Islamic teachings, produce religious scholars, and shape community morals. These goals included

1. Spreading Islam as a center for Islamic preaching and propagation in Surakarta and surrounding areas at the request of the palace.
2. Preparing students to become religious leaders, kiyai, and preachers with in-depth knowledge of Islam.
3. Instilling noble morals, ethics, and Islamic values in daily life.

Transformation

Jamsaren pesantren resisted Dutch secularism by replacing its traditional religious study system with a classical system in 1913 and integrating with the educational institution established by Kasunanan Palace (i.e., *Mamba'ul 'Ulum Madrasah*). This was achieved in three ways:

1. Education system reform (1913): The sorogan (one-by-one) and bandongan (group) study systems changed to a structured (tiered) classical system to compete with Dutch-established schools.
2. Integration with the *Mamba'ul 'Ulum Madrasah* employed a cultural strategy: The pesantren collaborated with Surakarta Palace to counter the influence of Dutch secular schools by

awarding formal diplomas. The curriculum incorporated yellow books to strengthen monotheism, Sufism, and Islamic jurisprudence to counter the imposed secular culture.

3. Becoming a center of national movement by becoming a basis for physical and ideological defense, with kiyai and students often actively fighting Dutch military pressure.

The invention, diffusion, and consequences of Jamsaren pesantren fighting secularism in the era of Dutch–Islamic and association politics are analyzed below.

Transformation against Secularism

Jamsaren pesantren countered secularism through an integrative transformation combining mastery of the yellow texts and general knowledge to produce graduates characteristic of competent ulama who were protected from the separation of religious and general knowledge. This included:

- | | |
|---|--|
| Invention
(foundation) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The classical system was modernized in 1913 by replacing the traditional sorogan/bandongan method of Islamic study with a class (<i>madrasah</i>) system. 2. In 1908, the wooden prayer hall was replaced with a permanent stone mosque that became a center for community consolidation. 3. In 1926, alumni and administrators established the Al-Islam Education Foundation, which integrated Islamic education with modern educational institution management. |
| Diffusion (spread
of teachings) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In addition to rigorously teaching classical Arabic texts, the pesantren disseminated general knowledge and life skills, such as learning English, sewing, engineering, and journalism. 2. The dissemination of knowledge at Jamsaren aimed to strengthen students' critical awareness of their Islamic identity and nationalism, making graduates immune to colonial cultural indoctrination. |
| Consequences
(impact on the
political period) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The pesantren did not produce secular colonial bureaucrats but rather prominent national figures, such as the Minister of Religious Affairs Prof. Munawir Syadzali and the national figure Prof. Amin Rais. 2. The pesantren succeeded in instilling a strong Islamic outlook on life, thus preventing the community and students from being influenced by the de-Islamization efforts of colonial schools. |

Discussion, Conclusion, and Recommendations

This study's findings reveal that Tegalsari and Jamsaren pesantren reacted to the secularization doctrine enforced by Dutch–Islamic and associative politics (Faturangga et al., 2024). The Dutch secularization policy comprised six initiatives: separating Islam from politics; implementing receptive politics, establishing secular educational institutions; tightly overseeing pesantren,

practicing religious neutrality, and regulating ulama and pesantren leaders (Sya'ban, 2021). Four of these directly influenced the activities of kiyai and pesantren. The other two factors indirectly influenced them by making Islamic law subject to acceptance by customary law and maintaining the stance of religious neutrality (Miftahuddin, 2011).

Though ideologically similar, Tegalsari and Jamsaren pesantren took different approaches to secular politics. Tegalsari held legitimacy for two reasons: First, it was founded by an Islamic figure with a mixed lineage of saints and Javanese rulers. We can be sure that Tegalsari's scientific sanad derives from the Prophet Muhammad because the saints' lineages are linked. Thus, studying at Tegalsari pesantren was thought to provide life and afterlife blessings (Sunyoto, 1994; Multazam, 2016; 2018). Second, Tegalsari was a free-land pesantren with socioeconomic autonomy and independent leadership. Only the Surakarta king could command Tegalsari pesantren, so the Dutch were unwilling to interfere. For the monarch, royal officials, the Dutch, and the people, Tegalsari's political-cultural leadership had highly credible spiritual mystical qualities (Ryadi & Rokamah, 2022; Makhrus, 2020; Fokkens, 1877; Rinkes, 1996).

Three powerful lineages—Majapahit (through Batoro Katong), Demak (through Sultan Patah and Sultan Trenggono), and Mataram (through Panembahan Senopati)—converged in Tegalsari's foundation. This was not a coincidence but rather a political marriage to establish spiritual and political legitimacy through the saints and nobility (Makhrus, 2020). The kiyai leaders of Tegalsari and Jamsaren were also revered. Cultural political leaders offer mystical-spiritual political power and wisdom, according to de Graaf (1987) and Rawson (1973). Tegalsari established its leadership authority using this dual legitimacy pattern that Ricklefs (1986) called "mystic synthesis" (i.e., a fusion of Islam, Hinduism/Buddhism, and animism) reflecting the immense spiritual-political authority inherited by pesantren leaders like KAMB and Kiyai Jamsari.

This study determined that the historical validity of Tegalsari and Jamsaren pesantren—formed by royal lineages, saintly networks, and political unions—propelled their development through innovation, dissemination, and consequences (John & Senith, 2013; Rogers, 2014). In pesantren, innovation arose when kiyai reacted to colonial constraints, societal transformations, and desires for modernization by instituting internal changes (Laseau, 1980). Diffusion transpired when novel concepts propagated via teacher-student interactions, alumni networks, and affiliations with palaces and sovereigns. Consequences from the innovation's adoption included enhancing institutions and inciting tensions (John & Senith, 2013; Rogers, 2014). The transformation's

success was contingent upon the beliefs, values, and attitudes embraced within a leadership who converted Islamic values into adaptive institutional structures.

Jamsaren transformed quickly under VOC and Dutch pressure, unlike Tegalsari, which had protected perdikan status and an isolated location (Darokah, 1984; Mukhlis, 2018). As Dutch pressure increased, Jamsaren innovated its curriculum, teaching methods, and organizational structure faster. Political pressure, not existential peril, spurred innovation (Chaer, 2017). The pesantren's personal kiyai-santri educational system promoted rapid value transmission, making it adaptable. Future-thinking kiyai, such as Kiyai Hasan Besari in Tegalsari and KH Idris in Jamsaren, read the situation and devised adaptive measures. Athoillah and Wulan (2019) noted that these pesantren did not fight the Dutch, although some participated in the Diponegoro War, but rather built a cultural powerbase through continuous education to maintain an Islamic identity despite colonial secularization.

Tegalsari adapted to the Dutch colonial education system through curriculum changes, student intellectual orientation changes, and social restructuring through modern ideas and Islamic-European acculturation (Untung, 2013; Yudha, 2015). In response to colonial schools (HIS/MULO), the classical madrasah system was adopted with general knowledge and the Dutch language being integrated into the curriculum (Faturangga et al., 2024; Azis, 2021). Tegalsari's students absorbed Islamic modernism and nationalism through ethical policy education; the spread of reformist ideas by alumni to national movement organizations like Sarekat Islam; and the foundation of modern pesantren in East Java, including Gontor and Tremas. Social mobility enabled graduates to enter colonial bureaucracy or become modern intellectuals. Educational dualism fermented competition between traditional pesantren and Dutch secular schools, and social status changed as kiyai descendants became national movement figures, bureaucrats, and the new *priyayi* class.

Jamsaren pesantren persevered through invention, diffusion, and consequences while upholding Islamic ideals (Darokah, 1984; Rogers, 2014). Jamsaren changed curriculum, teachers, leadership, and management in three phases. In response to Islamic education modernization in Java, the curriculum switched from salaf teaching of classical Islamic literature to one incorporating general knowledge (Mahanani, 2020; Mukhlis, 2018). KH Idris's early reforms emphasized religious and social skills for graduates. Instructors and leaders promoted Kiyai Jamsari's charm and saintly knowledge through a Palace-ulama partnership (Carey, 2008; Rinkes et al., 1996). Regeneration

added senior teachers to the single kiyai leader, creating a teaching hierarchy (Hasnida, 2017; Syukri, 2021).

Islamic scholarship flourished in Jamsaren, advancing Islamic education and spreading religious principles across Java (Darokah, 1984; Mukhlis, 2018). Jamsaren adapted, resisted, and modernized during Dutch colonialism. It adopted the classical madrasah system, merging religious and general education to counter Dutch secularization (Mahanani, 2020; Yudha, 2015). In 1913, the traditional sorogan method was overhauled and graded classes were introduced; Mambaul Ulum Madrasah (1905), where students studied general knowledge in the morning and yellow books in the afternoon, established strategic synergy with Surakarta Palace, and KH Ali Darokah organized institutional modernization. Jamsaren's further transformation followed Indonesian political dynamics in four ways: (1) It became an indirect forum for the Kasunanan kings of Surakarta with Kiyai Jamsari as an advisor. (2) Palace political changes were immediately accessed by Jamsaren, enabling rapid sociopolitical adjustment. (3) Jamsaren became a scientific mecca as a model modern pesantren, as exemplified by former student Kiyai Zarkasyi's foundation of Gontor. (4) Jamsaren became a channel for struggle and resistance, producing many great colonial and pre-independence figures (Aziz, 2021; Dhofier, 2015; Syukri, 2021).

This research consequently establishes a conceptual model called the "Pesantren Gutters Theory" (*Talang Air Pesantren*). This originates from the Islamic principle of acquiring knowledge through a flow of wisdom and blessings through the "gutter" of lineage. The Tegalsari and Jamsaren lines of knowledge originate from the *Wali Songo*, the Prophet Muhammad, and the Majapahit rulers, facilitating the smooth transition of both pesantren.

In conclusion, Tegalsari's and Jamsaren's educational reforms have solid historical foundations. Since their founding, invention, dissemination, and consequences have transformed the pesantren into bastions of Islamic resistance against sociopolitical forces. Tegalsari's political-cultural-mystical-spiritual leadership had credibility. It navigated forced cultivation, open door policy, Islamic politics, association politics, and ethical politics by adapting independently as a perdikan, resulting in Pondok Gontor. Jamsaren was legitimized by Paku Buwono III's (1750) and KH Idris's (1878) renewals with support from Paku Buwono VII to Paku Buwono X. Due to its proximity to the Surakarta palace, Jamsaren adopted a pesantren curriculum, rejected association and secularization, and became a beacon of Islamic education more rapidly. We recommend further testing the Talang Air Pesantren theory, correcting historical data for the Tegalsari and

Jamsaren chronologies, and using grounded theory and case study approaches to reduce religious romanticism in library research.

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