

# The Politics of Legitimacy: The Accounts of Pakubuwana IX and Kiai Abdul Qohhar on Kidung Sesingir

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## The Politics of Legitimacy: The Accounts of Pakubuwana IX and Kiai Abdul Qohhar on Kidung Sesingir

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**Abstract:** This study aims to determine the relationship of Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng and Pakubuwana IX in Javanese poem, Kidung Sesingir. Using the literature study method and field interviews, it was found that the relationship of ulama and political ruler in Java always had ups and downs from the time before the emergence of Islam until the establishment of Republic of Indonesia. There are many factors in the background, but legitimacy is the dominant one. Several stanzas in Kidung Sesingir show the importance of Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng to Pakubuwana IX, particularly regarding political legitimacy. Even though the existence of the ulama is fading, Pakubuwana IX still uses the existence of the ulama as a form of legality. The legitimacy is in the form of a sentence that Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng knows the history of the genealogy of the Prophet Muhammad until Pakubuwana IX. For a Muslim Mataram king in Java, it is essential to show that the king is also a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. Meanwhile, Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng is a descendant of Tembayat network from Sunan Pandanaran, who, together with Sunan Kajoran, were then the counter-elite for the Mataram dynasty.

**Keywords:** Javanese Islam; Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng; Kidung Sesingir; legitimacy; Pakubuwana IX.

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## Introduction

The relationship between political and religious rulers as spiritual rulers in Indonesian Islam, especially in Java, always has ups and downs. Since religions entered the archipelago and then encouraged the formation of formal government institutions in the form of a kingdom, they always placed the king (as a knight) under the Brahmanas or the clergy. Its existence can be seen in ancient records in local kingdoms in the archipelago before Islam entered. With a format that is not much different, religious people's existence was still crucial after Islam entered the archipelago. One of them can be seen in the presence of the Walisongo Council with the Sultanate of Demak Bintara.<sup>1</sup>

Before the emergence of Islamic political institutions in Java, the ulama became the leaders of the santri community, often called the Islamic boarding school. However, it was not as formal as the pesantren nowadays and led the surrounding Muslim community. Its existence can be seen in Ampel, Giri, Gunungjati, and other places where Walisongo members live. Giri is a Muslim enclave area in the Majapahit area, a pesantren that later developed into a small kingdom.<sup>2</sup> An enclave is a country/state surrounded by another country's territory.<sup>3</sup> The position of the Muslims at that time with the Majapahit rulers who had not yet embraced Islam was very harmonious. In addition, Islamic religious leaders came from the Majapahit nobility and got positions in the government of the Majapahit Kingdom, such as Ali Murtadho, who was appointed *Ratu Pandhita*.<sup>4</sup> However, some manuscripts that appeared later (the Dutch colonial era) disregarded Walisongo's role in the Majapahit period.

In the era of Demak, the king venerated Walisongo very much. Then, in the Pajang era, it venerated Sunan Pandanaran. The evidence is that Sultan Hadiwijaya from Pajang *mulyakaken* (glorifying or restoring) the tomb of Sunan Pandanaran in 1556 AD.<sup>5</sup> However, the relationship between the king and the Ulama experienced a decline in the Islamic Mataram era. Even though it is more of a political orientation, the Sultanate of Mataram, in the age of Sultan Agung, once conquered Giri Kedaton. Giri Kedaton's position as Mufti, Ulama, Guardian of Sunan Giri's successor (a Walisongo), and the place of inauguration of kings and even kings of Islam in Eastern Indonesia are his pupils or his followers. There is a tendency for Mataram to be the only political, economic, military, cultural, and religious ruler in Java. This can be seen with the titles of the kings of Mataram *Senapati ing Alaga Abdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama Kalifatullah*, which means the king of Mataram is a king who is also a warlord and a religious leader, also is the God's representative.

The conflict between Mataram and Giri Kedaton cannot be interpreted as friction between the knights and the ulama. The Mataram attack on Giri Kedaton itself was commanded by Prince Pekik, a descendant of Sunan Ampel (leader of the Walisongo). After the death of Sultan Agung, the ruling was Susuhunan Amangkurat I or Sunan Amangkurat Agung or Sunan Tegalarum. Java

<sup>1</sup> Agus Susilo dan Ratna Wulansari, "Peran Raden Fatah Dalam Islamisasi di Kesultanan Demak Tahun 1478–1518," *TAMADDUN: Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Sastra Islam* 19, no. 1 (2019): 70–83, <https://doi.org/10.19109/tamaddun.v19i1.3401>.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Adaby Darban, "Ulama Jawa Dalam Perspektif Sejarah," *Humaniora* 16, no. 1 (2004): 27–34.

<sup>3</sup> Dewa Gede dan Sudika Mangku, "Kepemilikan Wilayah Enclave Occussi Berdasarkan Prinsip Uti Possidetis Juris," *Jurnal Advokasi* 8, no. 2 (2018): 150–64.

<sup>4</sup> Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo, Pustaka IIMaN dan LESBUMI PBNU*, 2016.

<sup>5</sup> "Menelisik Sejarah Islam antara Tembayat dan Majastho," *NUTV Klaten* (Klaten, 13 Juli 2020).

entered an era of war involving clergy and knights, beginning with the tragedy of the massacre of around 6000 ulamas. Amangkurat I was then attacked by Trunojoyo, who was supported by Panembahan Rama Kajoran (descendant of Sayyid Kalkum and Sunan Pandanaran), Panembahan Giri (Giri Kedaton), Kraeng Galengsong from Makassar and the crown prince (later titled Susuhunan Amangkurat II or Sunan Amral).<sup>6</sup>

Later, kings continued to involve the role of the ulama in government affairs. As in the *Babad Pakepung*, Sunan Pabukubuwana IV was besieged by Mangkunegara I from Pura Mangkunegaran Surakarta, Sultan Hamengkubuwana I from the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate and the Dutch just because they wanted to apply the breadth of Islam and the independence of the Surakarta Hadiningrat Kasunanan Palace. However, there were also rumors that the Dutch had blown against the successors of the Islamic Mataram dynasty. The last revival of the Santri and Knights occurred during the Java War when Prince Diponegoro fought. Princes, Dukes, Hajji, Habaib, Kiai, and Lurah-Demang supported and helped prepare supplies and "distributors" of intelligence code to destroy the Netherlands.<sup>7</sup>

The relationship between the Ulama and the King after the Diponegoro War was less discussed in books and writings. After the War of Java in 1830, Java became more of a commodity for the Dutch as "compensation" for its bankruptcy against Diponegoro. Entering the atmosphere of forced cultivation and Ethical Politics, the people were busy working on Dutch lands. There is a shift in land ownership and capital owners,<sup>8</sup> especially the Dutch and Chinese private companies competing to rent the widest possible land.<sup>9</sup> The archipelago people began receiving Western education<sup>10</sup> even though the hidden reason for holding an Ethical Policy (*Politik Etis*) is to reduce people's resistance.<sup>11</sup> The ulama and knights then spread throughout Java and established educational institutions, which are currently known as pesantren.<sup>12</sup> The resistance no longer uses physical or hard power but soft power, including cadres' preparation through pesantren education.

The political sovereignty of the kings of the Islamic Mataram dynasty began to be castrated by the Dutch. The Javanese kings, especially the successors of the Islamic Mataram dynasty, no longer had political sovereignty, only as rulers of cultural routines and symbols. The era of Pakubuwana X from Surakarta, Java, became glorious, and the Dutch became reluctant. Pakubuwana X ruled since 1893-1939,<sup>13</sup> is the son of Pakubuwana IX, the previous king of

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<sup>6</sup> Minardi, Samidi, dan Yulinar Aini Rahmah, "Menelusuri Jejak Kuliner Tembayat dalam Serat Centhini" 11, no. 1 (2021).

<sup>7</sup> Peter Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2019).

<sup>8</sup> Santi Muji Utami, "Pengaruh Politik Pintu Terbuka terhadap Masyarakat Pedesaan di Jawa," *Paramita* 21, no. 1 (2011): 14-24.

<sup>9</sup> Rhoma Dwi Aria Yuliantri, *Pertanian di Kulon Progo dalam Cengkeraman Kolonial*, 2013.

<sup>10</sup> Dhimas Ranga Galih, "Penerapan Politik Etis Di Surabaya Tahun 1911-1930," *Avatara e-Journal Pendidikan Sejarah* 5, no. 3 (2017): 751-65.

<sup>11</sup> Agus Susilo dan Isbandiyah Isbandiyah, "Politik Etis Dan Pengaruhnya Bagi Lahirnya Pergerakan Bangsa Indonesia," *HISTORIA Jurnal Program Studi Pendidikan Sejarah* 6, no. 2 (2018): 403, <https://doi.org/10.24127/hj.v6i2.1531>.

<sup>12</sup> Agus Sunyoto, *Fatwa dan Revolusi Jihad* (Jakarta: Pustaka Ilmi dan Lesbumi PBNU, 2017).

<sup>13</sup> Banyu Aryoningprang, "Pakubuwono X: Politik Oportunisme Raja Jawa (1893-1939)," *ISTORIA: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Sejarah* 17, no. 1 (2021).

Surakarta Sunanate.<sup>14</sup> The reign of Pakubuwana X was in an atmosphere of the rise of the National Movement, and Pakubuwana X took on the role of supporting the National Movement,<sup>15</sup> even behind the scenes. Narrated by Syamsul Bakri in *the Surakarta Islamic Communism Movement from 1914-1942* and previously by Takashi Shiraishi in *Zaman Bergerak: People's Radicalism in Java 1912-1926* about the atmosphere in Surakarta and the National which was so heavy because the faucet for freedom of speech and association was opened. Pakubuwana X was a clever king who managed to trick the Dutch by taking opportunities from the Dutch for the welfare of his people.

Pakubuwana X's charisma and spirit of nationalism cannot be separated from the role of the figure *Rama Ndalem* or father, namely Pakubuwana IX from Surakarta. Pakubuwana IX was a king who was religious and proficient in various skills. If Pakubuwana IV has the title of *Sinuhun Inggang Hambangun Topo*, then Pakubuwana IX has the title of *Sinuhun Inggang Hambangun Kedaton*. Pakubuwana IV is the father of Pakubuwana IX who left Pakubuwana IX while still in the womb. He was sentenced to exile to Ambon for his involvement in supporting the struggle of Prince Diponegoro. The father prepares his mind, called *Hambangun Topo* or Often Imprisoned. In contrast, the Son prepares the container or the technical part called *Hambangun Kedaton* or Building the Palace.

*Hambangun Kedaton*, or building a palace, is not only meant to build a palace physically, but it means to build a solid structure and system. Most of the physical construction of the palace was carried out by Pakubuwana X, his son, who was nicknamed Sunan Sugih. The father's arrest, namely Pakubuwana IV, became a lesson for the young Pakubuwana IX. The match against the Netherlands had to continue but had to be in a more innovative way. One of them had to prepare the cadres so that the relay of struggle would continue to be inherited. This cadre prepares not only for the sons and daughters but also for his wife, relatives, courtiers, and the people of Surakarta. The preparation is in the form of macapat songs written into several serat or books. The songs are arranged in beautiful literary works because their poetic abilities are skillful. Conditions at that time were relatively peaceful; there was no war, so the friendly climate encouraged poetry, literature, and art to develop rapidly. At that time, there were at least three great poets, namely Pakubuwana IX from the Surakarta Sunanate, Mangkunegara IV from Pura Mangkunegaran, and Ronggowarsito, a Surakarta Sunanate Poet.

During his lifetime, Pakubuwana IX was a prolific poet of multi-serat art. The word *ayasa* can be interpreted as "instructing," or it can be "making it yourself" or "initiating." One of his works is *Kidung Sesingir* which is a *wulang* or *piwulang serat*.<sup>16</sup> Of the many *padha* (verses) in *Kidung Sesingir*, three verses mention the figure of Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng. In the *padha*:

*Kasmarane ingsung eling, Wuwulange guruningwang, Ngabdulkahar wisma  
Ngruweng, Alim tlaten yen memulang, Kuwat umure dawa, Nora sah ibadahipun,*

<sup>14</sup> Siti Zulhaida dan Anis Fuadah Zuhri, "Memperkenalkan Sejarah Pahlawan Nasional Pakubuwono X Bagi Peserta Didik Mi/Sd Di Indonesia," *El Banar: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Pengajaran* 3, no. 1 (2020): 67–77, <https://doi.org/10.54125/elbanar.v3i1.46>.

<sup>15</sup> M Mulyanto, "Peran Pakubuwono X Dalam Pengembangan Dakwah Islam Di Surakarta 1893-1939," *Mamba'ul 'Ulum* 17, no. 1 (2021): 24–36, <https://doi.org/10.54090/mu.10>.

<sup>16</sup> Lindawati, "Pamilihane Tembung lan Lelewane Basa Sajrone Kidung Sesingir Anggitane Pakubuwana IX (Tinting Stilstika)," 2014, 1–11.

*Suprandene sugih garwa. (Kidung Sesingir, pupuh Asmarandana).*<sup>17</sup> Free translation: I am remembered in love, my teacher's advice, Ngabdulkahar Ngruweng's house, knowledgeable, patience while teaching, strong and long life, no need (questionable) to worship, even though has many wives. The figure of Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng was significant to Pakubuwana IX.

There is a special relationship between Pakubuwana IX and Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng. Pakubuwana IX, when he had not ascended the throne, often traveled long distances and made pilgrimages or visited scholars, including Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng, at least, as Serat Jatno Hisworo noted. Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng can be considered a representative of the Tembayat Ulama who lives in Bayat. After Sultan Agung, the Tembayat people tended to be the counter-elite of the Islamic Mataram dynasty, but the opposite happened in the Pakubuwana IX era. Unfortunately, only a few old *serat* tell about the character of Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng and his relationship with Pakubuwana IX. However, *Kidung Sesingir* provided important information on why Pakubuwana IX was close to Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng.

Political legitimacy becomes essential in every power, therefore it is important that many people try to achieve and maintain it. While in the Eastern culture, the legitimacy is more physical and mystical, the Western tends to be logical and non-mystical. But in ancient times, there was a wedge between the East and the West in viewing political legitimacy, namely descent. A person can be legitimate and strong as a king if he still has blood ties to the previous kings. This research is more inclined to local political dynamics. Although it is rarely associated with ancient and historical *serat* literature, many records of power's ups and downs are less attractive to study in Indonesia.

## Method

This research uses qualitative methods, including library research. Research objects and references are obtained through written sources. This study does not measure statistical data, use mathematical logic, or generalize research data, so this research is classified as a qualitative research type.<sup>18</sup> The data collection technique used in this research is a literature study technique. This research is preliminary, there has been no previous research on Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng. The literature used is *Serat Wira Iswara* which contains the *Kidung Sesingir*. *Serat Wira Iswara* has been translated and translated while is still on the original Javanese script. The original manuscript written in Javanese script was obtained by visiting the Surakarta Mangkunegaran Palace Library on the private collection of Sariyono, an *abdi dalem* (palace servant) of the Kasunanan Surakarta Hadiningrat Palace, under the collection of the University of Indonesia library, written by NV Albert Rusche in Soerakarta 1924. The translated manuscript comes from the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture in 1979, from Dahara Prize & Effhar Offset 1996. In addition, interviews were also conducted with descendants of Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng and Ngruweng community leaders, courtiers of Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta Hadiningrat, as well as other scholars and descendants of students of Kiai Abdul Qohhar

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<sup>17</sup> Pakubuwana IX, *Kidung Sesingir* (Semarang: Effhar & Dahara Prize, 1996).

<sup>18</sup> Noeng Muhadjir, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin, 1998).

Ngruweng. The literature explored is related to the study of the manuscript, while the analysis used in this research is content analysis (content analysis) from Kidung Sesingir.

### **Kiai Abdul Qohhar and the Dynamics on Islamic Mataram**

The title of Wali is given to high-level scholars with extraordinary abilities.<sup>19</sup> The title Sunan (order: the place of invoking) is used to call the saints as well as the kings. Meanwhile, Panembahan title is also given to scholars who have spiritual excellence. In addition, this title is also given to scholars who are old or *awune tuwa* (old in lineage). This is to show that the ulama has high spiritual power.<sup>20</sup> Kiai is a title as an honor for scholars in general. In addition, the title Kyai is used for a village cleric with significant influence. They are often called Kiai Ageng (Ki Ageng/Ki Gedhe).<sup>21</sup> In Java, there is respect for both religious leaders and state politics. The ulama included in the traditional bureaucratic circle is given the titles: *Penghulu*, *Ketib*, *Modin*, *Kaum*, *Abdi Dalem Kaji*, and so on.

Reviewing Kiai Abdul Qohhar cannot be separated from the past relationship between the Tembayat Ulama and the Islamic Mataram Sultanate. Kiai Abdul Qohhar lived and is buried in Ngruweng Hamlet, Wiro Village, Bayat District, Klaten Regency, the eastern neighbour of Yogyakarta in the Central Java province of Indonesia. His grave complex consists of a mosque and spring, and his tomb is in the middle of a public cemetery. Bayat was formerly known as Tembayat, which comes from the word Patembayatan, taken from Sunan Pandanaran's teachings on cooperation and deliberation. Kiai Abdul Qohhar is also a descendant of Sunan Pandanaran, buried in Bayat. The lineage: Kiai Ngruweng or Punjul or Kiai Abdul Qohhar bin Raden Jaenal Arif Rahman or Guno Tengoro bin Ali Mustopo bin Raden Mukmin bin Raden Abdul Sofi bin Raden Nur Ali bin Raden Abdul Rahman bin Panembahan Curen II bin Panembahan Curen I bin Sunan Pandanaran.<sup>22</sup>

Hamlet Ngruweng is an old village that has existed since Ancient Mataram's days. Ngruweng had been appointed as a *sima* (or a kind of fief) since 881 AD in an inscription in the form of a phallus *tribhaga*.<sup>23</sup> Another phallus and stone fence was found to be in year 804 Saka or 882 AD, to be precise during the reign of Rakai Kayuwangi.<sup>24</sup> There is no further information as to why Ngruweng was so crucial to Ancient Mataram that he has appointed a *sima* or the era of the Islamic Kingdom in Java called the land or the village of *perdikan*. It is possible that Ngruweng became a center of worship, a funeral center (*perabuan*), an education center, or all of

<sup>19</sup> Darban, "Ulama Jawa Dalam Perspektif Sejarah."

<sup>20</sup> Sutjipto, "Panembahan dalam Sistem Titular Tradisional," *Buletin Fakultas Sastra & Kebudayaan UGM* (Yogyakarta, 1969).

<sup>21</sup> Darban, "Ulama Jawa Dalam Perspektif Sejarah."

<sup>22</sup> The genealogy of Ki Soeradiharjo bin Saleh bin Amat Sanawi and Ki Harjo Kemi the son of Ki Soeradiharjo bin Saleh bin Amat Sanawi's older brother, 1974. This genealogy is similar to that of Tino Suharjo, a descendant of Kiai Abdul Qohhar who lives in Ngruweng.

<sup>23</sup> Muhamad Alnoza dan Agus Aris Munandar, "Upaya Pemberian Makna Pada Prasasti Berbentuk Stambha Dari Jawa Tengah (Abad IX-X Masehi)," *Paradigma: Jurnal Kajian Budaya* 11, no. 1 (2021): 1, <https://doi.org/10.17510/paradigma.v11i1.437>.

<sup>24</sup> R. P. Soejono, *On Prehistoric Burial Methods in Indonesia*, *Bulletin of The National Research Centre of Archaeology of Indonesia*, 2008.

them were indeed in Ngruweng. No solid source mentions that the concept of fief land in the era of the Islamic Kingdom adopted *sima* in the age of the Hindu-Buddhist Kingdom.

There is an assumption that Kiai Abdul Qohhar is a Bayat native; even Ngruweng is the heir to the *sima* tradition in Ngruweng. There is no information that Kiai Abdul Qohhar is from Ponorogo, but he may have a wife from Ponorogo, a regency in the east of Klaten, now part of the East Java province.<sup>25</sup> The assumption comes from the proximity of the *sanad* (lineage) of the santri of Kiai Abdul Qohhar to Nglawu and Tegalsari in Ponorogo.<sup>26</sup> Thus, even though there is no solid information yet, but at least the conclusion can be drawn that Kiai Abdul Qohhar had a relationship with Ponorogo; Kiai Abdul Qohhar is a descendant of Sunan Pandanaran, and he married to a wife from Ponorogo. Furthermore, Ngruweng is the only area in Bayat and even Klaten, where there is a *sapodilla* tree in every yard of the residents, which is similar to several regions of Ponorogo.

In the family records of the students, Kiai Abdul Qohhar is a practitioner of a certain *tarekat*. The main clue came from Kyai Mustojo from Ponorogo, a santri of Kiai Abdul Qohhar. Recorded in an old manuscript without a cover. Thus the knowledge of Kyai Mustojo:

*Kanjeng Rasulullah sallallahu ngalaih wasalam yang mulia wa huwa ya arsala mina al-Madinati Mu'zimati yang diutus ke kota Madinah yang agung, maka diilhamkan kepada Tuwan Shah Zainal Ngabdina Tarhir di Madinah, kemudian mengajarkan kepada Tuwan Haji Ngabdul Qohar di Tembayat, kemudian mengajarkan kepada Bagus Hasan Ngali, yaitu Ngali Hasan, yaitu Jaya Muhammad di Panaraga dan pindah ke Jombang, lalu mengajarkan kepada Bagus Muhammad Tayi di Panaraga, maka kemudian mengajarkan kepada Muhammad Kardi di Panaraga, maka kemudian mengajarkan kepada Muhammad Aluwi Panaraga.*<sup>27</sup>

There is a tendency that Kyai Mustojo is a practitioner of the Tarekat Syatariyah, or it could be the Tarekat Akmaliyah/Kamaliyah. In his congregation or the affinity of his tarekat knowledge, Kyai Mustojo mentions the name of Tuwan Haji Ngabdul Qohhar in Tembayat. The possibility is Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng. The name Ngabdul Qohhar or Abdul Qohhar or Ngabdulkahar in Tembayat or Bayat District today only exists in Dukuh Ngruweng, Wiro Village is included in Bayat District. This presumption is not without reason because, both in terms of records and artifact evidence, the name Ngabdul Qohhar was not found other than in Ngruweng. More information on the oral speech of the community if Ngabdul Qohhar has a relationship with Ponorogo. Folklore tells us that if Kiai Ngadul Qohhar has a wife in Ponorogo if he wants to visit his wife, he can disappear to get to Ponorogo.

It is appropriate to say that Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng is the “closest to the present day” cleric from the Bayat ulama. The author does not dare to say the last ulama because, after Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng, there is still a chance for qualified scholars’ birth after repeated rebellions and purges against the Bayat clerics. From the Massacre of 6000 Ulama, followed by the Trunojoyo War to the Diponegara War, Bayat was involved in the resistance against the Dutch. Bayat (and Kajoran) indeed proved to be the center of opposition to Mataram's power.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Ishaq Pawiro Sentono, a descendant of Kiai Abdul Qohhar and an elder of Ngruweng, 17 November 2021.

<sup>26</sup> Muhammad Masroiqli Maulana, a descendant of the santri of Kiai Abdul Qohhar, Desember 2021.

<sup>27</sup> Sutjipto, “Panembahan dalam Sistem Titular Tradisional.”

<sup>28</sup> Kuncoro Hadi, *Urip iku Urub* (Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, 2018).



For more than 200 years, the Kajoran-Tembayat breed has colored the political upheaval of the elite of the Mataram Palace and its successors. Sartono Kartodirdjo mentions the Kajoran breed, including Tembayat.<sup>29</sup>

Sultan Agung tried to soften Bayat by visiting (pilgrimage) and restoring the tomb. The stories told by the people in Bayat are not only restoring but also moving the tomb of Sunan Pandanaran from Dadaptulis Hill (behind the Golo Mosque) to Cokrokembang Hill, its current location. De Graaf in the *Puncak Kekuasaan Mataram* notes that Sultan Agung restored the tomb complex of Sunan Pandanaran in 1633, after the raid on Batavia in 1628 and 1629. Patih Singaranu was tasked with heading the restoration project for the tomb complex of Sunan Pandanaran. Stones and bricks from Mataram, which at that time were in Kerto (Bantul), were transported to Bayat (Klaten), not using horses or carts, but people were sitting cross-legged and sticking them. It is estimated that 300.000 people were mobilized to work.<sup>30</sup>

The relationship of the Muslim king with the Ulama was also concerned with legitimacy. For a Muslim king, Islamic symbols are needed in a Muslim kingdom where the majority of the population is Muslim. Thus, for example, thanks to the leaders of Tembayat, the king of Pajang gained power while also asking Sunan Prapen and Giri for help. The rulers of Mataram, apart from the ulama king from Giri, also owed a debt to Sunan Kalijaga from Kaliwungu for their majesty (Graaf, 1986: 204). Perhaps what Graaf meant here was not Kaliwungu but Kadilangu because Sunan Kalijaga was buried in Kadilangu. Prince Puger, who later had the title Susuhunan Pakubuwana I, seems to have taken a different action. In contrast to the previous Mataram dynasty kings who "tried to soften" Bayat, Pakubuwana I announced that the main Mataram heirlooms were the Great Mosque of Demak and the Tomb of Sunan Kalijaga in Kadilangu.

This attitude is reasonable because the previous king, Amangkurat III, had been exiled by the Dutch and brought all the heirlooms. Another possibility could be related to Bayat and Kajoran, who was once respected by Sultan Agung and later involved themselves in various upheavals in Islamic Mataram after Sultan Agung. The further possibility that Pakubuwana I is also a descendant of Kajoran, who automatically is also a descendant of Bayat, seems unethical to mention because of his ancestral origins and wants to seek wider sympathy from the santri on the coast because the previous king, Amangkurat III, had been exiled by the Dutch and brought all the heirlooms. Another possibility could be related to Bayat and Kajoran, who was once respected by Sultan Agung and later involved themselves in various upheavals in Islamic Mataram after Sultan Agung.

The previous genealogy states that Kiai Abdul Qohhar is a descendant of Sunan Pandanaran. Sunan Pandanaran, who domiciled in Bayat, later became the node of the major genealogies in Java, such as Giring and Kajoran. The founder of the Kajoran dynasty was named Maulana Mas or Panembahan Agung Kajoran. He is the son of Panembahan Wotgaleh or Sayyid Kalkum, Sayyid Kalkum himself is the second Duke of Ponorogo and the son-in-law of Bathoro Katong and is also buried in Sentono Katongan. Maulana Mas or Panembahan Agung Kajoran married

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<sup>29</sup> Minardi, "Dinamika Deradikalisasi: Merajut Kompromi Dua Lembaga Negara," *Governabilitas* 2, no. 2021 (2021): 60–80.

<sup>30</sup> De Graaf, *Puncak Kekuasaan Mataram: Politik Ekspansi Sultan Agung* (Jakarta: Grafiti Pers, 1986).

two daughters of Sunan Pandanaran, namely Nyai Ageng Panembahan Agung and Nyai Ageng Biting (the widow of Ki Ageng Biting).<sup>31</sup>

The Giring breed originated from Retno Mundri, the daughter of Brawijaya IV who married Aryo Bubaran or Aryo Pandoyo in Pengging. He has a son named Sri Mangkurung Prabu Handayaningrat, whom the son-in-law of Brawijaya V took by marrying Retno Pembayaran. When Majapahit fell, Sri Mangkurung Prabu Handayaningrat and Retno Pembayaran fled toward Gunungkidul. Sri Mangkurung Prabu Handayaningrat and his wife then took a different path, Sri Mangkurung Prabu Handayaningrat continued the journey to Gunungkidul and was taken by Ki Ageng Guwocoko's son-in-law. Sri Mangkurung Prabu Handayaningrat changed his name to Ki Ageng Wuking I. The first son was Ki Ageng Wuking II, the second son was Ki Ageng Giring I, and the third son was Ki Ageng Giring II.<sup>32</sup>

Bayat, Giring, and Kajoran then formed a large and strong network. New breeds have emerged from these three breeds with colored histories, such as Jatinom, Kunang, Wonokusuma, etc. The knots are connected because of the scientific relationship, then tied up with the marriage relationship. The Bayat breed became famous and the center of the legitimacy of the king's power at that time, as evidenced by the visits of Sultan Hadiwijaya from Pajang and Sultan Agung from Islamic Mataram. The descendants of the two kings married Bayat's descendants, such as Prince Sindusena, son of Prince Benawa (son of Sultan Hadiwijaya), who married Princess Kajoran. In addition, Raden Ayu Mataram from Kajoran married Panembahan Senopati. The marriage relationships continued until the time when the Kajoran breed gave rise to the name Panembahan Romo.

### Kidung Sesingir and Political Legitimacy Efforts

Pakubuwana IX is the son of Pakubuwana VI of the Surakarta Hadiningrat Sunanate Palace. Pakubuwana IX was born on December 22, 1830 AD,<sup>33</sup> when his father was sentenced to exile by the Dutch to Ambon for helping Prince Diponegoro since young Pakubuwana IX liked to travel to gain knowledge and penance (meditation), including *sowan* (visit) to the Ulama to listen to his advice to Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng, Ahmad Ilham, and so on.<sup>34</sup> Every Friday, he performed Friday prayers in various ancient mosques such as the Kayuapak Mosque, Wringin Pitu mosque, Kyai Ageng Cinde Amoh's petilasan mosque, and others. Many mosques and prayer rooms in the Surakarta area have witnessed his wanderings.<sup>35</sup> Literary works are written in the political atmosphere and tend to be used to gain legitimacy.

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<sup>31</sup> The Ancient Book of Prince Kajoran 1677, KitabAncient Sunan Tembayat 1443 Saka, Book of Sujarah Giring, Ranji Genealogy of Prince Kajoran 1677, Ranji Lineage of Pajang, Chronicle of Cirebon and Cirebon Ancient Manuscript, Serat Tjandrakanta by Ngabehi Tjandrapradanta poet of the Surakarta Kasunanan Palace 1926, notes Padmosusastro, the poet of the Surakarta Kasunanan Palace in 1898.

<sup>32</sup> Sujarah Giring Gegajutan Sujarah Mataram

<sup>33</sup> Serat Jatno Hisworo. 1952. Pangetjapan "Djawa Timoer". Hlm. 2

<sup>34</sup> Serat Jatno Hisworo. 1952. Pangetjapan "Djawa Timoer". Hlm. 20

<sup>35</sup> "Republika," diakses 14 Maret 2021, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/noozo618/raja-jawa-nan-shalih-dan-kuasa-al-quran>.

Political legitimacy is related to the recognition and acceptance of the people towards the authorities and policies taken by the government in the administration of the state.<sup>36</sup> A leader needs this legitimacy because by getting this legitimacy, he can gain power by exercising his influence easily. Where does this political legitimacy come from? Of course, the answer is from the people. The involvement of Ulama in gaining legitimacy did not only occur in ancient times but also today. The role of the MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council) is strategic in winning the sympathy of the Indonesian people, who are predominantly Muslim.<sup>37</sup> In the past, legitimacy in the form of descendants, heirlooms, revelations, or certain tangible symbols and how to achieve them had to be through meditation or certain rituals with the support and guidance of the clergy.

Serat Wira Iswara, one of Sunan Pakubuwana IX's works, mentions Kiai Abdul Qohhar as his teacher. The book, Serat Wira Iswara, consists of more than one text/manuscript. The first text is entitled Wira Iswara, the following texts are: Gandrung Turida; Wulang Raja Putra; Wulang Putra; Wulang Putri; Serat Jayengsastra, by Kangjeng Ratu Kencana, the wife of Susuhunan Pakubuwana IV, was merged with Wulang Putri; Serat Dharmaduhita, become one with Wulang Putri; Darmarini serat; Warayatna serat; Chinese Menak serat; Jayengsari banner serat; Wulang Dalem Swargi Sinuhun Pakubuwana VII Dhumateng Prameswari Dalem Kangjeng Ratu Pakubuwana kanggilaken (integrated) with Wulang Putri.<sup>38</sup>

Serat Wira Iswara was created by Pakubuwana IX in 1898 and included the periodization of Anyar Javanese literature. Pigeaud classifies that the beginning of the literature of the southern part of the Central Java court was in 1726-1749; it experienced development in 1788-1820; reached the peak of development in 1830-1858, and its final development occurred in 1858-1881 (Pigeaud, 1967: 45). Indeed, in Java, various types of literary works have developed, ranging from Babad, Serat, Kidung to puppetry works. Serat Wira Iswara contains several foundations (sponsored or ordered) from Pakubuwana IX. Perhaps they are Pakubuwana IX's works or initiators, but several previous works were put together for specific reasons.

The author collected at least five manuscripts and writings of Kidung Sesingir. The manuscript is in the form of the parent book, Serat Wira Iswara, and its sub-section, Kidung Sesingir, or by another name, Serat Wulang Putra (Figures 1-5).

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<sup>36</sup> Nilna Fauza, "Legitimasi Politik Tokoh Agama: Kajian Interpretatif Masyarakat Multiagama di Kabupaten Nganjuk," *19* (2020): 143–61.

<sup>37</sup> Mohamad Baihaqi, "Legitimasi Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Dalam Kontestasi Islam Politik Mutakhir," *Politea: Jurnal Politik Islam* 2, no. 2 (2019): 19–48, <https://doi.org/10.20414/politea.v2i2.1477>.

<sup>38</sup> "Galeri," diakses 15 Maret 2021, <http://lontar.ui.ac.id/opac/themes/libri2/detail.jsp?id=20187908&location=lokal>.



Figure 1 The cover page and the front page of Serat Wira Iswara collection of Pura Mangkunegaran

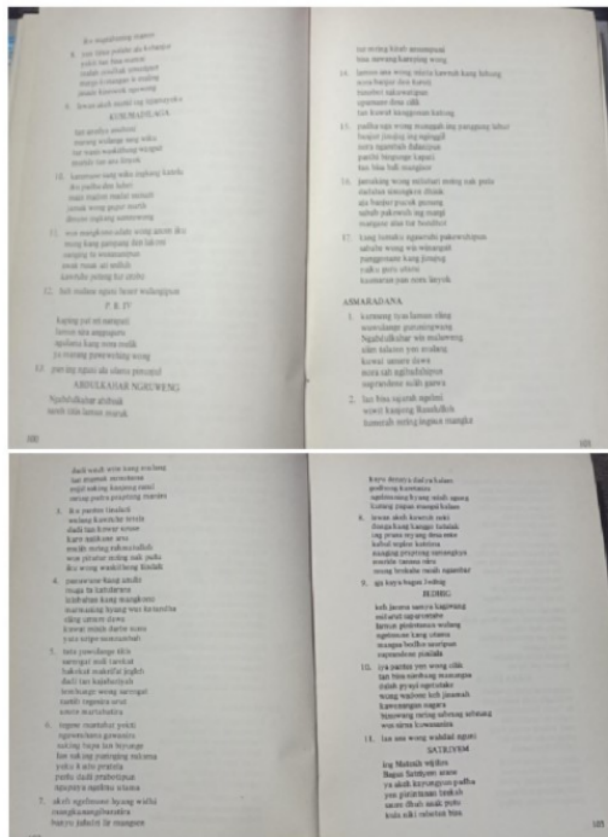


Figure 2 Serat Wulang Putra (sub of Serat Wira Iswara) from the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1979, which mentions the name of Kiai Abdul Qohhar

**The Politics of Legitimacy: The Accounts of Pakubuwana IX and Kiai Abdul Qohhar on Kidung Sesingir**  
 Minardi, Kanita Khoirun Nisa

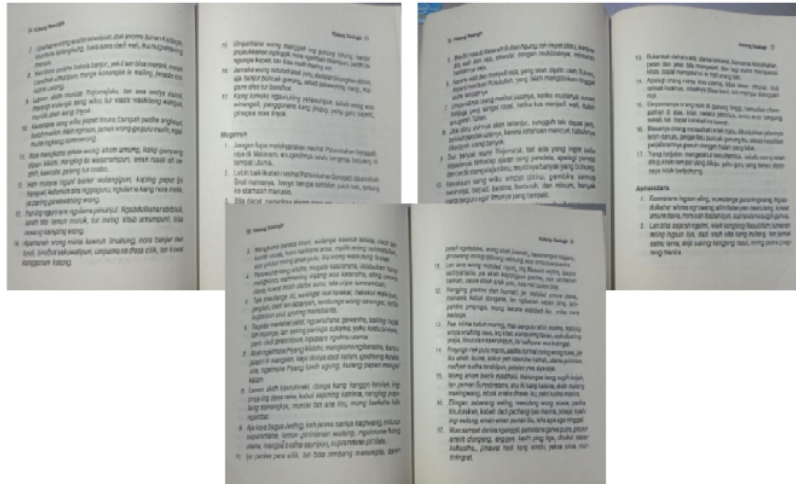


Figure 3 Kidung Sesingir from Dahara Prize & Effhar Offset 1996 which mentions the name of Kiai Abdul Qohhar

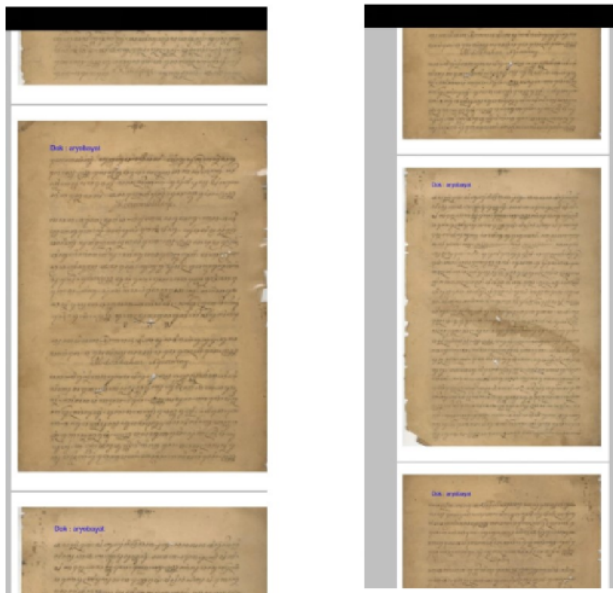


Figure 4 Serat Wira Iswara, private collection of Sariyono, courtier of the Surakarta Kasunanan Palace, which mention the name of Kiai Abdul Qohhari

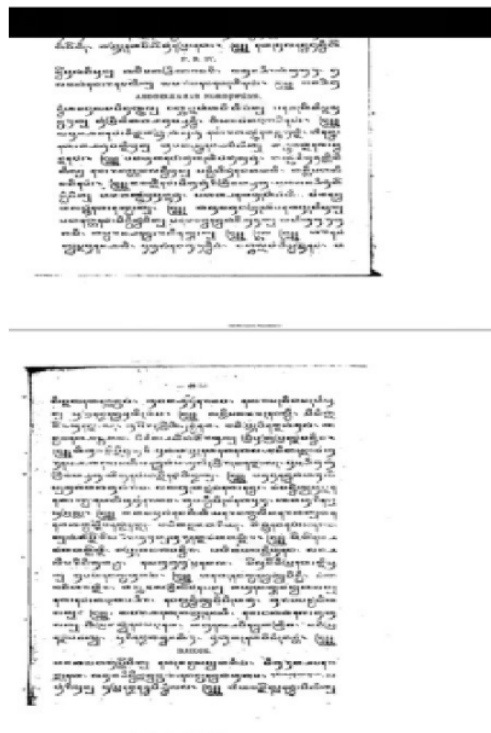


Figure 5 Serat Wira Iswara collection of the University of Indonesia library, written NV Albert Rusche, Soerakarta 1924, which mentions the name Kiai Abdul Qohhar

Kidung Sesingir has another name, or it may be named differently or used with another serat script, namely Serat Wulang Putra. It is called sesingir because, at the beginning of the serat, there is the word mangripta kidung sisingir. Serat Wira Iswara could be included in the scope of leadership because, in Serat Wira Iswara, there is a serat of piwulang to teach the sons of the dalem (the sons and daughters), the family, the courtiers, and the people. Serat Wira Iswara is a form of resistance from Sunan Pakubuwana IX against the political and economic undermining of the Dutch. Apart from Kidung Sesingir or Serat Wulang Putra, Pakubuwana IX's activities were later recorded in Serat Jatno Hisworo. Serat Jatno Hisworo is a short biography of Pakubuwana IX written by the next generation. In Serat Jatno Hisworo, Pakubuwana IX's journey before his birth, searching for revelation and his teachers, is written. In Serat Jatno Hisworo, the character's name, Abdulkahar or Abdul Qohhar in Ngruweng, is recorded as a teacher. It was also mentioned in his serat, namely the Song of Sesingir and the oral speech of the Ngruweng community.

*Kasmarane insung eling, Wuwulange guruningwang, Ngabdulkahar wisma Ngruweng, Alim tlaten yen memulang, Kuwat umure dawa, Nora sah ibadahipun, Suprandene sugih garwa. (Kidung Sesingir, pupuh Asmarandana).*<sup>39</sup> Free translation: I remember in love, my teacher's advice, Ngabdulkahar Ngruweng's house, Alim, patience when teaching, a strong and long life, and no need (questionable) to worship, Even though there are many wives.

<sup>39</sup> Pakubuwana IX. Reprinted 1996. Kidung Sesingir. Semarang: Effhar & Dahara Prize. page. 57

The people of Ngruweng and Bayat generally rarely know about the kidung. It's just that the oral speech of the Ngruweng community states that the Queen of Solo knew that she was mentoring myang gone Mbah Kohar Ngruweng, diwejang ning pulo was in blumbang, or that the King of Surakarta had studied with Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng, diwejang on the island in the middle of the lake. But there needs to be further information on who is the King of Surakarta or which king. Only then did the researchers and the youth of Ngruweng try to explore the king in question further.

Pakubuwana IX expressed love when he remembered the words of his teacher, namely Ngabdulkahar or Abdul Qohhar. These words show that Pakubuwana IX and Kiai Abdul Qohhar had met in person. Kiai Abdul Qohhar is pious, very patient in teaching, strong, and has a long life. Tell the story in this song, Kiai Abdul Qohhar is a devout Muslim and diligent in worship. There can be no education without exemplary. Even though his wife is more than one, it does not reduce his piety and obedience to Allah. There is a tendency for people to be lazy for reasons of thinking about their family or being too carried away by their wife's beauty. It is recorded that Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng has four wives: Ponorogo, Gabutan, Pingkol (in Pedan District, Klaten), and Jatinom (Klaten).

Then, why did the candidate for Pakubuwana IX meet Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng? When discussing the concept of Eastern power, we will not forget Benedict Anderson. Anderson said that a person who wants to become a king or a leader at a level below him must have the power, through a special set of rituals, to get what is called "revelation" from God.<sup>40</sup> A person can be considered a loss of authority or revelation marked by the loss of soil fertility, many pests, riots, and people's suffering. Then, seeking and maintaining the revelation required rituals such as fasting, meditating, or performing certain ceremonies. A candidate or leader needs auspicious objects to become sacred to get a revelation or to keep his dynasty alive. Finally, a candidate or leader must contact the saints to be in his section, as did Adipati Anom (candidate of Amangkurat II) to Panembahan Father Kajoran and Prince Diponegoro, who were kind to Kiai Ngabdani and Kiai Anom.

It seems that the latter is what Pakubuwana IX did to Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng. It appears implicitly in this stanza:

*Lan bisa sejarah ngelmi, Wiwit kangjeng Rasulullah, Tumerah mring ingsun liye,  
Dadi wruh wite kang mulang, Tan jamak esmu tama, Mijil saking kangjeng rasul,  
Mring putra prapteng manira. (Kidung Sesingir, pupuh Asmarandana).<sup>41</sup>* Free translation: And can the history of science, Starting from Kanjeng Rasulullah SAW, Procreate until I am, Became to know the tree that teaches, No doubt this is a virtue, knowledge that comes from the Messenger of Allah, passed down to his children and reaches us.

That Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng was able to tell the story of the Prophet Muhammad. It is described that Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng was so clear and precise in telling the story that the genealogy of the kings in Java from the Prophet Muhammad to him, Pakubuwana IX:

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<sup>40</sup> Roibin, "Mitologi Religius dan Toleransi Orang Jawa," *MITOLOGI dan TOLERANSI ORANG JAWA* 10, no. 1 (2016).

<sup>41</sup> Pakubuwana IX. Reprinted 1996. Kidung Sesingir. Semarang: Effhar & Dahara Prize. page. 57

Pakubuwana IX, son of Pakubuwana VI, son of Pakubuwana V, son of Pakubuwana IV, son of Pakubuwana III, son of Pakubuwana II, son of Amangkurat Jawa (IV), son of Pakubuwana I or Prince Puger son of Amangkurat I with wife from Kajoran named Ratu Wetan or Queen Labuhan, daughter of Raden Ayu Prince Raden, daughter of Prince Raden, son of Maulana Mas or Panembahan Agung ing Kajoran (founder of the Kajoran dynasty) son-in-law of Sunan Pandanaran ing Tembayat, son of Sayyid Kambyah or Prince Lamongan, son of Sunan Ampel or Raden Rahmatullah. Sunan Ampel bin Sheikh Maulana Ibrahim Asmorokondi or Sheikh Samsu Tamres bin Sheikh Jumaladil Kubro bin Sayyid Ahmad Shah Jalal bin Sayyid Abdullah Al-'Azhomatu Khan bin Sayyid Amir 'Abdul Malik Al-Muhajir (Nasrabad, India) bin Sayyid Alawi Ammil Faqih (Hadhramaut) bin Muhammad Sohib Mirbath (Hadhramaut) bin Sayyid Ali Kholi' Qosam bin Sayyid Alawi Ats-Tsani bin Sayyid Muhammad Sohibus Saumi'ah bin Sayyid Alawi Awwal bin Imam Ubaidillah bin Ahmad Al Muhajir bin Isa Naqib bin Sayyid Muhammad An Naqib bin Imam Ali Uraidhi bin Imam Ja'far Sadiq bin Imam Muhammad Baqir bin Imam Ali Zainal Abidin bin Sayyidina Husein son of Fatimah Az-Zahra daughter of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.<sup>42</sup>

For the king of The Islamic Kingdom in Java, where the majority of the population is Muslim, it is essential to acknowledge the origins of the holy people. These methods are still valid today, even after the reformation. Admitting that Pakubuwana IX was a descendant of the Prophet of Islam would strengthen the bargaining power of the political contestation in Surakarta then. The identity of the Guru is then made clear in the next stanza that the Guru is truly a holy and sacred person. Even approaching the ulama is now considered a holy candidate, even though he has not shown his family tree.

*Mangkono pantes linuri, Wulange kawruh tetela, Dadi tan kowar uruse, Karo nalikane arsa, Mulih mring rahmatullah, Wus pitutur mring anak putu, Iku wong waskiteng tindak. (Kidung Sesingir, pupuh Asmarandana).*<sup>43</sup> Free translation: Thus it should be preserved or imitated; his teaching of knowledge is very clear, So it will not mislead his affairs, And when he was about to return to Rahmatullah, Had given a will to his wife's children, This shows that he has acted cautiously (by understanding vague things) [(clairvoyant = watchful)].

Indeed, then Pakubuwana IX did not just seek acknowledgment from a qualified saint about his lineage. However, as an educational gem, Pakubuwana IX considers Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng qualified and worthy to be preserved. Tembayat's position still seems essential for Pakubuwana IX to seek recognition. Recognition of saints from sacred areas such as Tembayat is essential to increase spiritual power. The climax is when the revelation comes down and one feels at home in a person. In this modern era, revelation is a legitimacy given by the people to their leaders. If someone is trusted, then the people provide them with the trust to lead. Likewise, with Pakubuwana IX, more precisely, the candidate for Pakubuwana IX when he was young, he accumulated a lot of spiritual capital to gain legitimacy. Apart from coming to the Ulama, he

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<sup>42</sup> Processed from various sources, among them: Silsilah dari Ki Soeradiharjo; Kitab Kuno Pangeran Kajoran 1677, Serat Tjandrakanta karya Ngabehi Tjandrapradanta pujangga Keraton Kasunanan Surakarta 1926

<sup>43</sup> Pakubuwana IX. Reprinted 1996. Kidung Sesingir. Semarang: Effhar & Dahara Prize. page. 58.



likes to make pilgrimages to several places, including the miracle of the Ki Ageng Giring III head tree, which had not been bearing fruit for a long time, and then suddenly began bearing fruit and drinking it.

## **Conclusion**

Kidung Sesingir is a *serat* or book made in the era when Pakubuwana IX was still alive. Among several books or threads by Pakubuwana IX, Kidung Sesingir is the only *serat* that specifically mentions a character's name, Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng. Although Serat Jatno Hisworo also mentions Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng's name, it was made after Pakubuwana IX died. At least three verses specifically mention the name of Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng. The verse in the song begins with Pakubuwana IX's longing for Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng. Furthermore, Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng's ability is mentioned as an expert in genealogy. Lastly, about the qualifications of Kiai Abdul Qohhar Ngruweng regarding the religious chapter and the holiness of Kiai Abdul Qohhar, who knows when he will die? Both now and in the past, a leader is capturing and perpetuating the need for legitimacy from the people. In Eastern culture, the legality of power comes from descendants, heirlooms, and tangible revelations or certain tangible symbols, and how to achieve them must be through meditation or certain rituals with the support and guidance of the clergy. The legality of lineage was seen when Pakubuwana IX mentioned that Kiai Abdul Qohhar had succeeded in mentioning his genealogy to the Prophet Muhammad. The position of Kiai Abdul Qohhar, apart from being a supporter of his legitimacy as king, is also a teacher who guides him to become king. Despite all that, Pakubuwana IX is the king of the Islamic Mataram dynasty who still contacts and asks for Bayat's support, as did his ancestor, Sultan Agung.

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