

The Mosque of Kagungan Dalem Sulthony Rejodani: Navigating Tradition Preservation and Ideological Contestation

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Abstract

Yogyakarta Sultanate until recent days has quite a number of mosques, namely Kagungan Dalem Mosques. Each mosque records some historical accounts on the concern of Yogyakarta Sultanate to Islam and also faces modern values. The mosque of Kagungan Dalem Sulthony which is located at Rejodani Sleman is an interesting site to study. Its history traces back to the period of Prince Diponegoro and extends to the period of Indonesian Independence. Furthermore, its significance is underpinned by its location in Rejodani, renowned as a religious village with strong cultural ties to the moderate Muhammadiyah movement. Today, this mosque has encountered intriguing challenges that transcend cultural and ideological dimensions. To strengthen the cultural identity of Muhammadiyah in the Rejodani village within an increasingly pluralistic society, it grapples with ideological contestation emanating from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Salafis, and various other groups. This article seeks to delve into the abovementioned issues through an anthropological lens, employing participatory and ethnographic research methods. Additionally, this article examines the conflict between conservatism and modernism within the Kagungan Dalem mosque.

Keywords: *Yogyakarta Sultanate, Kagungan Dalem Mosque, culture, moderate*

Abstrak

Kesultanan Yogyakarta hingga saat ini memiliki cukup banyak masjid, yaitu Masjid Kagungan Dalem. Setiap masjid mencatat beberapa catatan sejarah tentang kepedulian Kesultanan Yogyakarta terhadap Islam dan juga nilai-nilai modern. Masjid Kagungan Dalem Sulthony yang terletak di Rejodani Sleman merupakan salah satu situs yang menarik untuk dikaji. Sejarahnya dapat ditelusuri kembali ke masa Pangeran Diponegoro dan berlanjut hingga masa kemerdekaan Indonesia. Selain itu, signifikansinya didukung oleh lokasinya di Rejodani, yang terkenal sebagai desa religius dengan ikatan budaya yang kuat dengan gerakan Muhammadiyah yang moderat. Saat ini, masjid ini telah menghadapi tantangan menarik yang melampaui dimensi budaya dan ideologi. Untuk memperkuat identitas kultural Muhammadiyah di desa Rejodani dalam masyarakat yang semakin majemuk, masjid ini harus bergulat dengan kontestasi ideologis yang berasal dari Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Salafi, dan berbagai kelompok lainnya. Artikel ini berusaha untuk menggali isu-isu di atas melalui lensa antropologi, dengan menggunakan metode penelitian partisipatoris dan etnografi. Selain itu, artikel ini juga mengkaji konflik antara konservatisme dan modernisme di masjid Kagungan Dalem.

Kata Kunci: *Kesultanan Yogyakarta, Masjid Kagungan Dalem, budaya, moderat*

INTRODUCTION

Sulthony Rejodani Mosque is one of the Kagungan Dalem mosques in the Sultanate Palace of Yogyakarta. Compared to the other mosques in the area, this particular mosque holds the

northernmost position and is prominently aligned with the sacred Merapi Mount, the Sultan's Palace, and the Southern Sea. It is situated along the legendary Merapi-Kraton-*Laut Kidul* axis. It is in the Rejodani neighborhood,¹ Sariharjo Village, District of Ngaglik, Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta Province, about one kilometer north of the Monument of Medan Laga Rejodani. As one of the cultural heritages of the Sultanate Palace of Yogyakarta, this mosque has a profound historical significance in Indonesia, particularly during the Diponegoro War (1825-1830) and the Indonesian struggle for Independence (1945-1949).

Historically, the mosque of Sulthony Rejodani was recognized as part of the Kagungan Dalem mosques by the Sultanate Palace of Yogyakarta in 1941. As generally known, the Sultanate Palace of Yogyakarta has two types of mosques. The first is *Masjid Gedhe Kauman*, situated within Yogyakarta's central government complex, west of the Northern Square (*Alun-alun Utara*). The second one is Kagungan Dalem mosques, including the well-known *Masjid Pathok Negero*, which consists of four mosques. Other than these, many Kagungan Dalem mosques are dispersed throughout various regions of Yogyakarta. According to records from the *Kawedanan Pengulon* within the Sultanate Palace of Yogyakarta in 1981, the number of Kagungan Dalem mosques reached a total of 78.. However, out of the documented Kagungan Dalem mosques, a total of 35 exist, and the Sulthony Rejodani Mosque is one of them.²

Masjid Gedhe Kauman and the Kagungan Dalem mosques were built to emphasize the Islamic identity of the Sultanate Palace of Yogyakarta.³ Based on historical records, *Masjid Gedhe Kauman* was built during the reign of Sultan Hamengku Buwono I (1717-1792) and became the center (*pancer*) of four Pathok Negero mosques, located in the four cardinal directions, such as the Mlangi Mosque in the west, Babadan Mosque in the east, Plosokuning Mosque in the north, and the Dongkelan Mosque in the south. These four mosques represent the philosophy of "*kiblat papat kalima pancer*" (the fourth qibla and the fifth center).⁴ Meanwhile, Pathok Negero Mosque, located

¹Administratively, Rejodani is divided into two distinct neighborhoods: Rejodani I and Rejodani II, each under the leadership of different community representatives. However, a unifying focal point of both neighborhoods is the Sulthony Rejodani Mosque. Thus, this mosque is technically run by both neighborhoods, including organizations such as *Remaja Masjid* (Mosque youth group), *Khoirun Nisa*, and more. The mention of Rejodani in this article refers to these two neighborhoods.

²Maryono Maryono and Muhammad Wakhid Musthofa, "MENYIBAK KEISTIMEWAAN MANAJEMEN MASJID KERATON NGAYOGYAKARTA HADININGRAT," *JURNAL MANAJEMEN DAKWAH* 2, no. 1 (September 7, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.14421/jmd.2016.%x>.

³Indri Astrina, "KOMPARASI TATA MASSA DAN RUANG PADA MASJID AGUNG SANG CIPTA RASA CIREBON DAN MASJID GEDHE KAUMAN YOGYAKARTA," *Riset Arsitektur (RISA)* 4 (January 13, 2020): 50–65, <https://doi.org/10.26593/risa.v4i1.3686.50-65>; Ajeng Kusuma, "Kajian Makna Saka Guru Di Masjid Gedhé Mataram Kotagede Yogyakarta (Sebuah Tinjauan Arsitektur)," *LINTAS RUANG: Jurnal Pengetahuan Dan Perancangan Desain Interior* 8 (April 20, 2021): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.24821/lintas.v8i2.5198>.

⁴Muhammad Nur Hakimuddin At-toyibi and Dyah Titisari Widyastuti, "Karakter Arsitektur Masjid Jawa Pada Masjid Pathok Negero," *JURNAL ARSITEKTUR PENDAPA* 4, no. 2 (October 11, 2021): 23–32,

in Wonokromo, Bantul, was established around 1819.⁵ The Kagungan Dalem mosques, on the other hand, were built geographically quite far from the Yogyakarta Palace, i.e., from around 15 to 30 km away from the current location of the Keraton. It is important to note that the establishment of these mosques serves as a reaffirmation of the Islamic Mataram Keraton's power and at the same time as a territorial control strategy due to the Dutch expansion of plantation and sugarcane farming in the Yogyakarta area.⁶

The representation of Islam by the Palace of Yogyakarta in the Kagungan Dalem mosques is manifested in the spatial layout and ornamentation of the mosque buildings. According to Abror, Pathok Negoro Plosokuning Mosque, which belongs to Kagungan Dalem mosques, still retains the distinct characteristics of a palace mosque.⁷ The authenticity of this mosque as a representation of a palace mosque is evident through symbols, such as *mustaka gada sulur*, leveled roofs (*tumpang*), ponds, drum, sapodilla trees, *lawang endek* (lower door), *waloh*, poles made of teak wood, gates, steps, and tombs. These physical characteristics are not merely ornamental; instead, they are imbued with specific symbolic significance. They represent the authority of the Palace of Yogyakarta. Meanwhile, other Kagungan Dalem mosques have removed some of these traditional features, including Sulthony Rejodani Mosque.

Several research on Yogyakarta Sultanate or prominent mosques have been conducted by some scholars. Imam Sopyan's thesis (2018) *Dari Dakwah Normatif Ke Dakwah Transformatif: Dinamika Kaum Muda Masjid Syuhada Yogyakarta, 1980-an* clearly states the role of the mosque in shaping activists having good social responsibilities. E. Setyowati et al. (2018) in their work *Pathok Negoro mosque as the form of territorial defense region of Mataram Kingdom of Islam Java in Jogjakarta* underline the Pathok Negoro mosque serves as a unique territorial defense concept for the Javanese Islamic Kingdom, with characteristics based on location, building orientation, landscape, area pattern, and building shape. Finally, Indal Abror's work (2016) entitled *Aktualisasi Nilai-nilai Budaya Masjid*

<https://doi.org/10.37631/pendapa.v4i2.467>; Sriti Sari, "Makna Simbolik Nilai-Nilai Budaya Jawa Pada Masjid Pathok Negara Yogyakarta," October 9, 2009, https://www.academia.edu/88933516/Makna_Simbolik_Nilai_Nilai_Budaya_Jawa_Pada_Masjid_Pathok_Negara_Yogyakarta.

⁵ Fahrur Fauzi, Misnal Munir, and Rizal Mustansyir, "Symbolism in the Aesthetics Architectural of Plosokuning Mosque Yogyakarta," *Research, Society and Development* 9, no. 11 (November 19, 2020): e41491110058–e41491110058, <https://doi.org/10.33448/rsd-v9i11.10058>; R Aris Hidayat, "Masjid sebagai Pelestari Tradisi," *Analisa* 18, no. 2 (December 16, 2011): 228, <https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v18i2.135>; Desy Ayu Krisna Murti, "Langgam Arsitektur Masjid Pathok Negoro Sebagai Akulturasi Arsitektur Dari Masa Kedatangan Hindu Budha, Islam Hingga Belanda," *Jurnal Arsitektur Dan Perencanaan (JUARA)* 3 (February 7, 2020): 21–33, <https://doi.org/10.31101/juara.v3i1.1121>.

⁶ Maryono and Musthofa, "MENYIBAK KEISTIMEWAAN MANAJEMEN MASJID KERATON NGAYOGYAKARTA HADININGRAT."

⁷ Indal Abror, "Aktualisasi Nilai-Nilai Budaya Masjid Pathok Negoro," *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 17, no. 1 (April 1, 2016): 63, <https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v17i1.1279>.

Pathok Negoro reveals that the mosque's heritage value can be better understood by understanding its historicity and material symbols, which can be applied to the current context of Yogyakarta. This very article, however, attempts to unveil the history of the Sulthony Rejodani Mosque and shed light on its contemporary challenges. Furthermore, this article tries to narrate the efforts of the *takmir* (mosque committee) to preserve its traditional identity as a palace mosque and to adapt to the contemporary religious ideologies' contestation.

METHODS

This research is qualitative research with a socio-anthropological approach. Qualitative research is appropriate to know people's lives, history, behavior, as well as organizational functionalization, etc. Referring to Denzin and Lincoln, qualitative research is quite dependent on the use of field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, etc.⁸ The data collected is field research data and additional library research data. Field data collection tools are observation and documentation. Observations were carried out to directly observe the activities of the Sulthony Mosque in Rejodani. Therefore, this research employed an ethnographic method to explore the dynamics of ideological contestations at the Sulthony Mosque of Rejodani Yogyakarta. As Christine Hine⁹ states, 'Ethnography is a way of seeing through participants' eyes: a grounded approach that aims for a deep understanding of the cultural foundations of the group.' Hence, data for this paper were collected by conducting interviews with the Sulthony Mosque Caretakers, attending and observing several religious events from January to October 2023, and watching several videos from its YouTube account. However, to confirm numerous data points, the researchers cross-referenced them with other sources, particularly local newspapers and websites. Finally, the researcher analyzed the data that had been obtained from various data collection methods and then displayed it in descriptive-analytical form.

DISCUSSION

History of Sulthony Rejodani Mosque

According to oral traditions that have evolved within the local community, the construction of the Sulthony Rejodani Mosque was attributed to Kyai Sentot Ali Basya's followers, one of Prince Diponegoro's commanders in 1827. Contrastingly, alternative sources, drawing from KH. Achyadi Efendi, a respected elder from Rejodani, asserts that the construction of Sulthony Rejodani Mosque

⁸ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Fifth edition (Los Angeles London New Delhi Singapore Washington DC Melbourne: SAGE, 2018).

⁹ Christine Hine, *Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, Embodied and Everyday* (London: Routledge, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003085348>.

in 1827 was attributed to Kyai Kasan Besari (some sources mention Hasan Basori), a distinguished commander serving under Prince Diponegoro.

Kyai Kasan Besari or Kyai Hasan Basori is believed to be one of the figures who supported the struggle of Prince Diponegoro. Through our current inquiry, Kasan Besari was not on the list of commanders or main assistants to Prince Diponegoro during the Java War (1825-1830). Another possibility is that Kyai Kasan Besari was an Islamic scholar in Yogyakarta named Hasan Besari, who was listed as a royal courtier (*abdi dalem*) leading the Pathok Negoro Dongkelan Mosque. He was one of the sons of Kyai Nur Iman Mlangi, an Islamic scholar leading the Pathok Negoro Mosque located in Mlangi.¹⁰ It seems inappropriate to assume that Kasan Besari is the founder of the Pesantren Tegalsari, Ponorogo, one of the oldest Pesantren in Indonesia.

Currently, Sulthony Rejodani Mosque occupies a land area spanning 1,017 square meters, encompassing a building space of approximately 408 square meters. Initially, it was only a prayer room or *langgar* (a small mosque) located in the middle of the cemetery complex during the Java War (1825-1830). Its original purpose was to serve as a refuge for Prince Diponegoro's supporters, shielding them from the Dutch army's relentless pursuit. As the war ended in 1838, the mosque structure was relocated to the eastern side of the cemetery complex, approximately 75 meters from its original location. Furthermore, in 1900, a mosque porch was built at the initiative of local ulama (Islamic scholars), such as Kyai Haji Ahmad Darumi, Kiai Citrowihardjo, and Kiai Ahmad Dasuki.

The cemetery, also part of the Sultan Ground, is an important aspect of Sulthony Rejodani Mosque's history. This cemetery dates to a time very close to that of Sulthony Rejodani Mosque. It is not categorized as a Muslim cemetery despite no non-Muslims being buried there. It can be confirmed that several graves belong to independent figures who perished in the Palagan war. However, it remains uncertain whether any ulama (Islamic scholars) or notable public figures found their resting place in these graves during the Diponegoro War.

Considering this historical aspect, in 1941, Sulthony Rejodani Mosque was redesignated as part of the Kagungan Dalem mosques, bearing the name Sulthony Rejodani Mosque. The word "Sulthony" implies that the mosque was a sultanate mosque (Yogyakarta), similar to other Kagungan Dalem mosques, such as Sulthony Mosque in Plosokuning and Sulthony Wotgaleh Mosque. Then, the Palace appointed seven royal courtiers, who served as mosque committees and received salaries from the Sultanate Palace of Yogyakarta. The seven courtiers were KH Abdurrohman, KH Muhammad Fadhil, Kyai Muh Khawas, Kyai Namrun, Kyai Citro Wihardjo,

¹⁰ Abror, "Aktualisasi Nilai-Nilai Budaya Masjid Pathok Negoro."

Kyai Abu Dharin, and Kyai Moh Fakih. The appointment of these courtiers was the idea of Kyai Johar, a kyai in Kauman Yogyakarta, proposing to the Palace (*Tribun Jogja*, July 25, 2014).

In the next stage, the architectural development of the mosque retained the defining features of a Kagungan Dalem mosque. The current mosque resulted from a renovation project carried out in 1999 with assistance from General Bahrul Ulum. He was known as a close relative of the Rejodani residents. Several sources inform that the current size of the mosque was not much different from the previous one, such as the area of the main building and its porch being similar to the new ones. Several public figures emphasize that several main characteristics of the Kagungan Dalem mosque were still preserved. They state that the mosque pillars in the main building, roof, and drum were made from teak wood from the old building. A distinct feature is the use of a *joglo*, a traditional Javanese architectural element, for the main building, with a porch adorned with wooden ornaments. It conveyed the classical ambiance of Sulthony Rejodani Mosque, which was not a modern mosque. The most recent renovation in 2019 expanded the porch's width to nearly double its previous size. Those renovations did not diminish the traditional characteristics of the Kagungan Dalem mosque.

Sulthony Rejodani Mosque and the War for Independence

The presence of Sulthony Rejodani Mosque in the heart of the Rejodani community transformed this area into what resembled a “kauman village” (Muslim village) for the Ngaglik community and its neighboring regions. Rejodani neighborhood can be considered one of the foundational “santri villages” (villages of Islamic students) in central Sleman. During the Independence War, the community group was classified as Santri. Santri was a minority group amidst the dominant abangan group (Muslim Javanese who practice syncretic activities). Several villages in the central Sleman, known as santri villages, included Plosokuning, Rejodani, and Jongke.¹¹ In addition, the mosque was the center for religious activities, and there was TPA (Quran education center for children), KB (playgroup), and a religious kindergarten, adding Islamic characteristics to this village.

The Rejodani community's economic sector outperformed that of its surrounding neighborhoods. Thus, many students came from this place. In the pre and post-independence eras, the residents of Rejodani were not solely engaged in farming but also in business and trade. This trend extended to other nearby areas like Ngetiran and Bantarjo. Within Rejodani, a bustling market served as the commercial hub for the residents of Sariharjo Utara village. Historical records show

¹¹ Tashadi, *Peranan Desa Dalam Perjuangan Kemerdekaan : Studi Kasus Keterlibatan Beberapa Desa Di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Periode 1945-1949* (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, 1992).

that this market was built during the Independence Revolution period. One of the initiators of market development was Haji Harun. He owned a grocery store and rice mill in this new market area and was known as the landowner.¹² It is said that Haji Harun was the most successful entrepreneur in the area of Sleman Tengah from the Japanese Colonial period until the 1960s.

It is essential to consider that the presence of this market resulted in the development of residents engaging in the trading sector. Generally, they sold one type of commodities, such as rice and tobacco. At a smaller level, there were small merchants, better known as *bakulan*, who sold commodities such as vegetables, rice, and sugar.¹³ This firm economic sector influenced the education level of the youth. Some of these educated youth joined the Student Army (*Tentara Pelajar*) troops, where they were involved in the Independence War of the Republic of Indonesia from 1945 to 1949.

Due to the involvement of many youths in defending Indonesian Independence, the Rejodani community considered their neighborhoods a freedom fighter village. KH. Soeparjo said at least seven young men died in several battles. Two died in 1947 in the Battle of Ambarawa, and five others died in 1949. They were Suhadi (Soeparjo's older brother), Suharno, Baidhowi, Vanudrus, Gunandi, and Iskandar. Later, their names were enshrined as the names of the streets and alleys around Rejodani.

One of the heroic battles occurred on May 29, 1949. It was famously known as the Battle of Rejodani. As the unit responsible for operations in central Sleman, the Student Army frequently engaged in armed encounters with Dutch troops during ambush, attack, and defense. The Student Army unit fighting in the central Sleman was divided into three platoons. Darsono, Arief, and Aliadi led each platoon. Armed contact took place between the Dutch and the Republican army at Ngetiran, Sariharjo, and Ngaglik in Sleman Regency. The Dutch forces were met with determined resistance, and this fierce engagement occurred on Sunday, May 29, 1949, around noon. It was decided a day before that the Student Army troops would leave Dukuh Ngetiran because they had been based there for four days.

Unfortunately, the Dutch launched an unexpected attack. The Student Army members who stayed in Ngetiran were part of Platoon III under the leadership of Second Lieutenant Aliadi. The news came and was delivered by a woman named Parinah. She said that a group of Dutch soldiers were approaching from the south, and the Commander of the Team Sgt. Suwono would take over the troops. The news of the advance of a group of Dutch soldiers immediately spread to all Student

¹² Tashadi, 14.

¹³ Tashadi, *Peranan Desa Dalam Perjuangan Kemerdekaan*.

Army members, who scattered in several residents' houses. Sgt. Suwono immediately left Ngetiran to welcome the arrival of the Dutch soldiers. Sgt. Suwono and his men took up fighting positions around the hut, a few meters at KM 10, north of the Yogyakarta – Pulowatu route. Then, they headed south to attack while defending fortified irrigation ditch embankments. Meanwhile, the Dutch soldiers, who were several hundred men strong and came from the Dutch post in Beran, moved more freely. According to eyewitnesses, the Dutch arrived between 9 and 10 o'clock. Before reaching the location of the gun battle, specifically at the Poton intersection, some Dutch soldiers separated and proceeded to the battlefield.¹⁴

The Student Army troops received reports from residents about the arrival of the Dutch soldiers, who would patrol from the south. Student Army I of Platoon III consisted of Sgt. Suwono, the squad commander; Cpl. Harsono, the deputy commander; and Supanoto, Sukapdi, Wuroyo, Sunaryo, Daryono, Ali Basyah, and Haryono, the members who were on standby to fight the Dutch. The Student Army took cover in irrigation embankments in launching attacks on the Dutch soldiers. In this battle, the first member of the TP to be struck by Dutch gunfire was Supatono, followed by others such as Suwono, Harsono, Sukapdi, Suroyo, Sunaryo, Daryono, and Ali Basyah. Nevertheless, it had been reported that the casualties among Dutch soldiers were around 21 men, including their leader, Colonel van Muller.

In the evening, residents took their bodies, performed cremation, and offered prayers at Sulthony Rejodani Mosque before the final burial at the Rejodani Cemetery. Later, their remains were relocated to the Kusumanegara Heroes cemetery. This event was the cause for the establishment of the Palagan Rejodani Monument in 1968. It was to commemorate and honor the services of the Student Army, who died while fighting against the Dutch Army. The word “Palagan” on Jalan Palagan Tentara Pelajar means a battlefield borrowed from the Javanese language.

Culturally, the existence of this mosque influenced residents. After the Independence, the Rejodani neighborhood was renowned as a religious village or Kauman for the Ngaglik community. During the Old Order, most Rejodani people were fanatic about the Masyumi party and shifted to Parmusi. In the New Order era, this neighborhood was recognized as a village with a political affiliation to the United Development Party (PPP). In the reform era, the Rejodani neighborhood was closer to the National Mandate Party (PAN) and several other religious parties.

The Role of Palace and Political Influence

¹⁴ Tashadi.

As a patron (in the concept of patron-client), the Ngayogyakarta Palace had a significant role and influence on the Kagungan Dalem mosques.¹⁵ The authorized authority was *Kawedanan Pengulon Kraton*, who also served as the ministry of religious affairs of Yogyakarta Palace—his responsibility included maintaining relations with various client mosques. Though there was no mosque committee appointed as a royal courtier (*abdi dalem*), communication and coordination between Kawedanan Pengulon Kraton and the Pathok Negoro Mosque and Kagungan Dalem mosques ran smoothly, especially regarding mosque management and Islamic holiday worship. Currently, based on Article I of Law No. 11 of 2010, the buildings of Gedhe Mosque, Pathok Negoro Mosque, and Kagungan Dalem mosques have been designated as cultural heritage (BCB), which are preserved and protected.¹⁶

The Palace held multiple Islamic religious gatherings or assemblies to sustain this patron-client relationship. For instance, at the Pathok Negoro Plosokuning Mosque, various religious activities showcased the essence of Javanese Islam, such as Javanese *shalawatan*, *wiwitan*, *mitoni*, *tahlilan*, *tingkeban*, cemetery pilgrimage, and other activities, which were inherited from generation to generation. According to Setiawan,¹⁷ these religious activities depicted moderate and tolerant Islam. One particularly renowned activity was the *Majelis Bukhoren* forum, convened every seventy days in the Gedhe Mosque or other Kagungan Dalem mosques. One informant stated that Majelis Bukhoren had been established since Sultan HB I and reactivated by Gusti Joyokusumo. This forum was attended by the *ulama* (Islamic scholars) or *kyai* (Islamic leaders) in Yogyakarta and the *takmir* of Kagungan Dalem mosque. Its purpose was to facilitate preaching and gathering of *ulama* (Islamic scholars), mosque activists, and mosque *takmir*. In 2007, the Sulthony Rejodani Mosque was the place for establishing the Majelis Bukhoren forum. Sri Sultan HB X attended the specialty of this event.

Kawedanan Pengulon Kraton also created several recitation forums both at Kawedanan Pengulon and at Panepen Mosque in the vicinity of Yogyakarta Palace. This forum was significant for the Palace to socialize its official agenda to the public via its client mosques. Sometimes, Kawedanan Pengulon visited Kagungan Dalem mosques and discussed some issues regarding mosque management. In this forum, Kawedanan Pengulon provided funds to mosques to support

¹⁵ Maryono and Musthofa, “MENYIBAK KEISTIMEWAAN MANAJEMEN MASJID KERATON NGAYOGYAKARTA HADININGRAT.”

¹⁶ Umi Masfiah, “Arsitektur Dan Peran Masjid Ghede Kauman Yogyakarta Dalam Lintas Sejarah,” *INFERENSI: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 6, no. 1 (2012): 23–48, <https://doi.org/10.18326/infsl3.v6i1.23-48>.

¹⁷ Rahmadi Agus Setiawan, “KAWASAN RELIGIUS DAN PRODUKSI RUANG DI LINGKUNGAN MASJID PATHOK NEGARA PLOSOKUNING YOGYAKARTA,” *Religi: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 13, no. 1 (2017): 21–37, <https://doi.org/10.14421/rejusta.2017.1301-02>.

electricity bills or mosque activities. However, not all issues could be addressed within this forum, particularly those related to uncertified mosques (Letter C certificates), since they were under the purview of other institutions or services, such as the village government or the National Land Agency (BPN).

The palace group also required the Kagungan Dalem mosque network, which was against the Sultan's official policy. Some policies of Sultan HB X related to succession and practical politics in the Palace sometimes became an issue. The mosque committee (Kagungan Dalem) was often contacted, visited, and added to the WhatsApp Group (WAG) as a forum for grassroots political communication. While there was initial enthusiasm from various stakeholders for this mode of communication, the forum required sustained interest and ultimately faded away. It indicates that the grassroots acceptance of the Sultan was still quite significant. Also, the issue was related to the Palace's "internal politics" policies. However, it depicts that the grassroots did not care about the Palace's internal politics because it was not directly related to their daily lives.

The Preservation of Moderate Tradition and Ideological Contestation

Although Rejodani is better known as a religious village affiliated with Muhammadiyah, some residents claim that, in the past, this village was also closely related to Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) traditions. This statement may be valid because many religious practices were conducted at the Masjid Sulthony Rejodani, such as collective *zikir*, praying, and *nyadran* (a tradition of cleaning and praying at the ancestor graves). It included the tradition of *tablilan*. The *community* still practiced *tablilan* and *nyadran*, although they were conducted in diverse formats. However, some traditions of religious practices, such as 23 rak'at of *tarawih*, reading *qunut*, *dzi'ba'an*, and *sholawatan*, relatively synonymous with NU, did not exist in this village. Therefore, the authors still believe that the mosque in Rejodani village, such as the Masjid Sulthony, was closer to the Muhammadiyah religious variant than Nahdlatul Ulama. This is consistent with the dynamic changes in Muhammadiyah ideology and religious practices that occur over time.

With the passage of time and advancements in technology, the Rejodani community has grown more diverse and pluralistic. What was once a village predominantly dominated by specific families, Rejodani Village has evolved into a place characterized by its increasing diversity, embracing residents from a wide array of backgrounds. Some of the newcomers, mostly educated middle class, have played a significant role in the religious dynamics of the Sulthony Mosque's community. The cultural and ideological variants of the community were not only *Muhammadiyah* and NU but also followers of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and Salafists. As far as the author has observed, there were no followers of the more conservative or extremist variants of the above

variants, such as the Islamic Defender Front (FPI) or Hizbut Tahrir (HT), before the government disbanded them.

An intriguing aspect to note is that in this village, which holds a relatively strong Muhammadiyah cultural influence, there also exists an NU-affiliated Islamic boarding school, such as the Zuhriyah orphanage and pesantren (PAPP). Furthermore, within Rejodani village, the Aisyiyah Bustanul Athfal Kindergarten was established as early as 1986, and the Aisyiyah Rejodani Play Group has been operational since 2008, with official recognition granted in 2019. The Rejodani community and the surrounding villages requested this kindergarten and playgroup. The presence of Zuhriyah PPAP added to the religious dynamics in this village, though it did not influence either culturally or ideologically.

The buildings of Zuhriyah PPAP and Sulthony Mosque faced each other, but they did not compete significantly. Notably, the Islamic boarding school had only a limited number of students and did not offer formal education. However, Zuhriyah PPAP enlisted several *takmir* or mosque committees of the Sulthony Mosque as Ustaz (religious teachers) at its institution. The NU-affiliated Islamic boarding school and the Muhammadiyah-affiliated Sulthony Mosque did not compete with each other; instead, they respected each other. Every day, ustaz and Zuhriyah PPAP students prayed five times together in the Islamic boarding school, which technically did not have its own mosque. The tradition of the *haul* and grand recitation held by Zuhriyah PPAP was also welcomed and celebrated vibrantly by the Rejodani community.

The mosque *takmir* had a significant role in determining the direction and orientation of mosque activities. As a role model mosque in the Sariharjo area, the Masjid Sulthony often held activities, both for the internal community of Rejodani village and for the outsiders, such as *Padang Bulan* recitations, hadith studies, *tahsin*, and Arabic studies. Mosque facilities were also continuously added and expanded to ensure the comfort of all worshippers. The Sulthony Mosque, which was legally and culturally strong, became a role model for other mosques and was referred to as the mecca for the people of Sariharjo village, including in determining the start of Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr or Eid al-Adha.¹⁸

The internal dynamics of the Masjid Sulthony committee were also interesting subjects. Some efforts to improve congregational services continuously increased to maintain the psychological aspects of the community. Various religious gatherings were held to facilitate all demands and wishes of the people, including inviting speakers, lecturers, or Ustaz from various

¹⁸ Sari, "Makna Simbolik Nilai-Nilai Budaya Jawa Pada Masjid Pathok Negara Yogyakarta."

religious groups. For this purpose, the *takmir* of the Masjid Sulthony developed the amil zakat infaq sedekah (LAZIS) institution for various interests of the people and the general public who were not involved in the mosque congregations. Several physical innovations were held to accommodate the interests of all people. Additionally, the Sulthony Mosque introduced a foot-washing pool, following the tradition of NU mosques, to facilitate ablutions before entering the mosque. However, the practice was discontinued after about a year because a member of the congregation community slipped. Then, the *takmir* agreed that the small pool was eventually removed and replaced with a faucet. Perhaps the joke of a mosque *takmir* was true that "becoming NU is hard."

The Sulthony Mosque has experienced intriguing developments and dynamics in this modern and contemporary era. It was not only physical but also ideological. Concerns raised by certain elders of the Sulthony Mosque and community leaders in Rejodani regarding a shift in the mosque's religious orientation led to a form of "engineering." It included the stipulation that the chairperson of the *takmir* must be a member of the Muhammadiyah organization. Through active lobbying and mobilizing the voices of the *takmir* and residents, it was decided that the chairman of the *takmir* for the 2017-2022 term was a Muhammadiyah figure. His main task was to maintain the practices and ideology of the Muhammadiyah-inclined Sulthony Mosque. Nevertheless, the religious dynamics in this village mosque remained intriguing. For example, the selection of the *takmir* for Eid al-Fitr or Eid al-Adha was made per the government's directives or the Muhammadiyah association. Also, some requested to replace Muhammadiyah Tarjih Council's practice of tarawih prayer which includes 4-4-3 raka'ah with Salafi's version of 2-2-2-2-3.

The varied congregation at Sulthony Mosque, comprising individuals affiliated with Muhammadiyah, NU, and the Persis, presented a formidable challenge for the *takmir* in their quest to cater to everyone's needs without causing any disappointment. Despite varying interpretations and practices related to tarawih and holiday prayers, they managed to ensure a harmonious execution of these religious activities. In recent years, a new, interesting trend emerged at the Sulthony Mosque, such as a group of people's refusal to pray in the row between the two pillars. Their decision is rooted in their adherence to the hadith of the Prophet. However, these individuals did not pose a threat to the mosque *takmir* and others.

Modernism of the Sulthony Rejodani Mosque

Ideological contestation at the Sulthony Rejodani Mosque was quite prevalent. While the present ideological contests are more intricate, the earlier disputes primarily revolved around the clash between Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) or the ideological interpretation of Muhammadiyah versus its cultural aspect. The presence and attitudes of various community leaders

in Rejodani implied these distinctions. Based on the author's extensive observations of this community since 2000, it is evident that this mosque provides an inclusive atmosphere, embracing followers with a wide range of religious beliefs. Ultimately, the researcher contends that the Sulthony Rejodani Mosque can be categorized as a moderate mosque, as it consistently strives to accommodate the aspirations and needs of its community. The following paragraphs present several cases and potential friction between people, which the mosque *takmir* could accommodate adequately.

Around the beginning of 2005, there were plans to establish a dormitory for prospective priests on the outskirts of the Rejodani neighborhood. It all began with the acquisition of land from a non-Muslim resident, which was sold to Yayasan Sanata Dharma. This land was intended to be developed into a dormitory for prospective priests, colloquially called a "brotherhood" by the residents. However, some people were worried that the building might serve as a missionary center aimed at converting the surrounding population to Christianity or Catholicism. This issue sparked a heated debate in the area, with some perceiving it as a form of "jihad" to safeguard the religious identity of Rejodani from the influence of other religions, particularly missionaries. It was worsened by leaflets containing the issue that Java would be Christianized within the next 70 years. There was a collection of mass signatures to reject the construction of the dormitory. In this context, the *takmir* of the Sulthony mosque behaved maturely and accepted the construction of the brotherhood as long as it was only a dormitory and not a place of worship or part of missionaries. It was grateful that it had been almost 20 years since the construction of the brotherhood dormitory. The relationship between the community and the brotherhood residents was good, and there had been no cases of Christianization or residents converting to Catholicism.

The question of the qibla direction was also an interesting issue for Muslims. In line with the increasing enthusiasm of Indonesian Muslims, some tried to perfect their worship by reviewing the direction of the mosque's qibla, which happened at the Sulthony Mosque. Although some of the mosque construction committee initially believed that the mosque was in the direction of the qibla, several people provided input that the mosque was still not tilted slightly to the right. This issue of the qibla direction became a long debate, resulting in several changes in the direction. Some *takmir* also objected to this change, so it had to return to the original direction. Finally, the *takmir* and some people agreed to invite the Ministry of Religion, and Sleman Regency's qibla team as mediators. Around 2013, the qibla direction of the Ministry of Religion's version was eventually agreed upon, which is used until this day.

The difference between the start of Ramadhan, Eid al-Fitr, and Eid al-Adha, as often happening nationally, also impacted the Sulthony Mosque. Although, generally, the members of the Rejodani community were culturally Muhammadiyah, a few of the people at the Sulthony Mosque were more willing to follow the results of the government's decision (*hisab*). Once upon a time, when many people disagreed with Muhammadiyah's decree to pray Eid al-Fitr a day earlier in the field, some of the people requested the mosque *takmir* to hold Eid al-Fitr prayers in the mosque. The Sulthony Mosque committee had already planned to conduct the sunnah prayer at the mosque, and the community finally decided not to hold the Eid al-Fitr prayer at the mosque to maintain togetherness and avoid any significant differences.

Differences of opinion also occurred regarding the implementation of the *qurban* (a sacrificial slaughter). On Eid al-Adha 1443H (2022 M), most people performed prayers according to the Muhammadiyah Declaration on Saturday, dated July 9, 2022, and some followed the government, such as on Sunday, dated July 10, 2022. In the implementation of the *qurban*, some people objected to all animals for the *qurban* being slaughtered on the first day because some of them had yet to celebrate Eid al-Adha. It caused some friction in society. Even though this could finally be resolved when some people gave in, and all animals of the *Qurban* were slaughtered on the first day, the potential for this difference would continuously exist in society. In this case, the committee of Sulthony Mosque had to prioritize harmony over favoring any particular party.

The last aspect was related to the women's recitation group of the Sulthony Mosque. This group was named Khoirun Nisa and was active in organizing recitation. During Ramadan recently Khoirun Nisa hosted a special group recitation with external speakers for women, most of whom happened to affiliate with Salafi. While this might have been viewed as somewhat unexpected, it was noteworthy that the *takmir* of the Sulthony Mosque remained open to welcoming speakers from diverse backgrounds. It suggests that the Rejodani community and the Sulthony Mosque's congregation placed a higher emphasis on cultural aspects of religion rather than strict ideology.

CONCLUSION

Straddling the line between upholding Muhammadiyah traditions and meeting the needs of religious diversity in the modern age. This phenomenon is a recurring theme in numerous mosques, not only in Kagungan Dalem but throughout Yogyakarta and Indonesia. On the one hand, the Sulthony Mosque must preserve its cultural traditions, particularly the architectural features, physical state, and activities affiliated with the Sultanate Palace of Yogyakarta. The Rejodani neighborhood, which has had a long-standing affiliation with Muhammadiyah, aligns with the

cultural aspects of the Sulthony Mosque, which bears similarities to the worship style of Muhammadiyah.

On the other hand, in line with the modernization processes, the influx of numerous new residents, and the rapid advancement of information technology, the Rejodani community and the Sulthony Mosque congregation have become increasingly diverse. This mosque primarily attracts individuals affiliated with Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, PKS, and Salafi. Given this situation, the mosque committee should adapt moderately to the shifting demographics, evolving religious beliefs, and changing ideologies. Furthermore, in the present day, their focus should be directed toward the mosque's well-being and the welfare of its congregation. They should exhibit flexibility in policymaking. A stringent approach to mosque management can undermine the mosque's future and relationship with the congregation.

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