

## The Islamic Policies of the Dutch Colonial Government in Madura at the End of the 19th Century: Kiai Semantri Movement in Sampang Madura in 1895

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### Abstract

The colonial government had the notion that if the Madurese did not get special attention, one day there would be an upheaval of resistance. Starting from this, most of the Dutch policies implemented in Madura were based on religious considerations (Islam). It can be said that since the second half of the 19th century the Dutch government showed suspicion towards religious teachers who were considered to be the instigators of various rebellions in various parts of the Dutch East Indies. This is because the indigenous leaders have experienced a decline, so that people who usually live in rural areas turn to new trusted leaders, namely the kiai and hajj. They opposed the authority and leadership of not only the traditional indigenous elite, but also the colonial government and consequently felt the need to keep a close eye on the actions of the new leaders. The Kiai Semantri resistance movement in Prajan village in 1895 appeared strangely in the form of a religious rebellion in Sampang. There is an opinion that the events of 1895 should be seen as the most potential manifestation of direct rule. The end of traditional government in Madura resulted in a loss of socio-political balance and direct encounters between colonial rulers and the newly emerged Madurese kiai. However, considering what happened mainly based on colonial reports, it becomes clear that the Sampang incident erupted more because of a misunderstanding on the part of colonial agents than because of the armed resistance led by Kiai Semantri in Prajan, Sampang, Madura.

**Keywords:** Kiai Semantri, religious, movement, Prajan, Sampang, Madura, Dutch East Indies

### 1. Introduction

Before the arrival of the VOC, the system of government in Madura which in this case was the territory of the Mataram kingdom under the rule of Sultan Agung since the 17th century, was a government directly under the rule of the vassal kings. The relationship between Madura as a vassal and the Mataram kingdom as a leader had consequences for Madura. The consequences of this are the obligation to pay tribute and the marriage bond between Prasena, who later holds the title Cakraningrat I and a Mataram princess. This also resulted in Madura functioning as a fortress of the Mataram kingdom (Van den Broek, 1893: 23,50). Thus, the traditional government structure in Madura is to imitate the government structure of the Mataram kingdom so that the ruling kings in Madura get the titles *Panembaban* and *Sultan*. The administration of government in Madura also uses a central government pattern, namely the Mataram kingdom. Because Madura only has a small area, it is impossible to organize a wide bureaucracy so that various royal affairs such as in the fields of government, economy and religion are directly handled by *Panembaban*. (Bramantyo, 1981:32).

The traditional government bureaucratic system in Madura by placing the role of *panembaban* is the same as the sultan in Mataram who is considered to have a central position both politically, socially and culturally and religiously. This kind of social organization consists of two complex relationships, the first is a production relationship that forms a tribute system that regulates the production process and the distribution of various surpluses. The second complex relationship is the administrative relationship which in this case forms a bureaucratic system that deals with the state and the village. The two networks met at the lowest level of social organization, namely villages and farmers (Kuntowijoyo, 1993:62).

*Panembaban* has a central and top position in the social construction of the Madurese community and is also considered to be the owner of everything that is in his *panembaban* territory. Based on this assumption, fertile lands in villages are controlled by *Panembaban* as the owner.

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These lands are referred to as *Tanah Daleman*. The infertile agricultural lands in the form of wetland or paddy land or dry land or upland land were given to *panembahan* families as their livelihood and to their officials as compensation for salary or substitute for their efforts in carrying out their duties. These lands are referred to as *percaton* or coercive land. Besides that, there are still lands which are given by certain people who have special tasks. These lands are named as *perdikan* land. This *perdikan* land is still grouped again into *mutiban perdikan* land which is managed directly by a *kiai* and *pakuncen perdikan* land which is managed by the caretaker of the *panembahan* family grave. Furthermore, *daleman* and *percaton* land holders entrusted the village heads called *lurah* or *kelebon* to manage their lands. These farmers are classified as *daleman* and *percaton* land holders as subordinate officials in the *panembahan* bureaucratic structure in Madura (Kuntowijoyo, 1993: 65-68).

Government organizations in village governance are closely intertwined with the dependence of *panembahan* life on rural communities. Thus the production organization and government organization are united into one single unit whose implementation is borne by the farmer. Based on this, there are three kinds of village settings namely *daleman* village, *percaton* village, and *perdikan* village. To get an idea of the three types of village settings, it is necessary to briefly mention the arrangements of each of these village types.

Since the mid-19th century on the part of the Dutch East Indies government there have been indications of realizing the change in the bureaucratic system which was patrimonial to rational. The only thing that can be used as a tool for action, is the existence of a constitutional policy of the Dutch kingdom regarding the management of colonies, namely the issuance of *Regeerings Reglement* or Government Regulations in 1854. Particularly what strengthens the position of regents is article 67, which is still maintained the title of regent is hereditary and article 69 which contains that the regent is elected by the governor-general based on the consent of his people (Touwen-Bouwsma, 1981:16). With the issuance of Government Regulations in 1854 in its development was a sign that the native government in this case the regent would be directed to be rational to accompany the Dutch government. Nevertheless other indigenous officials, namely the governor, *wedono*, and *asistenwedono* remained important and even controlled in their territories, so that they were more likely to interact with Dutch officials.

The government found the right moment to reorganize the bureaucracy was in 1873 because this year Panembahan Noto Kusumo was seriously ill. After Panembahan Noto Kusumo died on May 26, 1879, the reorganization of the bureaucracy in Sumenep was approved by the Minister of Colonial Affairs. The Dutch government appointed Prince Ario Mangku Adiningrat to become a regent in Sumenep in 1881 but on the condition that he could not carry out tradition because he was only a government official (Sutherland, 1983:42-47). At the same time, the highest government in The Hague determined that Sumenep and Bangkalan were under the direct control of the Dutch East Indies government. With the Decree of the Governor General on October 18, 1883. No.8, the kingdom of Sumenep was abolished.<sup>2</sup>

Compared to other Madura districts (*afdeeling*), the Dutch government seems to have deliberately slowed down the reorganization of the bureaucracy in Bangkalan. A good opportunity to reorganize the bureaucracy in Bangkalan was when Panembahan Cakra Adiningrat died in 1863. As his successor was Prince Suryonegoro and later he was titled Pangeran Cakra Adiningrat. The Dutch demanded that the Sampang district be separated from Bangkalan and be placed under the direct power of the resident Pamekasan. At first Panembahan rejected the demand but because it could not resist strong pressure then an agreement was reached. The Sampang District and part of the Bangkalan city district located north of Sampang were made sub-districts and was headed by a *Ronggo*. Regionally, the Sampang sub-group is under Panembahan Bangkalan, but administratively under the *asisten resident* of the Netherlands.<sup>3</sup>

Panembahan Bangkalan died in 1882, he had no descendants so the one who had to replace him was his uncle, Prince Suryonegoro and Prince Cakra Adiningrat. With the death of Panembahan, the Dutch could control Bangkalan and take over under the direct authority of the Dutch government.

The success of the Dutch government in reorganizing the bureaucracy in Madura by dividing it into four districts, namely Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep is a short-term strategy. Along with the realization of the concept of *Beambtenstaat* (Civil servant state) the division of the territory still entrust the regent as the organizer of the government. Slowly but surely a change towards a rational bureaucracy is not something that stops and continues to be pursued, so that in its development the position of regent must meet OSVIA (*Opleiding*

<sup>2</sup> ANRI, Besluit van de Gouverneur Generaal, 22 Oktober 1881, No.1 Geheim.

<sup>3</sup>ANRI, Staatsblad. No. 242. 1883, Verbaal 19 Desember 1883 No. 54.

*School voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*=Civil Service Training School for Indigenous People) level education (Massink,1880: 15).

## 2. Dutch East Indies Colonial Government Policy

Basically, the situation and conditions that existed in the indigenous community in the Dutch East Indies in the 19th century gave rise to caution from the colonial government, especially related to the problem of existing security and order (*rust en orde*). In this case the situation and conditions found in the Madurese population in a religious context can be compared to those found in the people of Aceh and Banten. The colonial government's approach to Aceh was inspired by Snouck Hurgronje's opinion on the future of the Dutch East Indies. He explained his vision in one of the lectures delivered in 1911 at the Dutch East Indies Civil Servants College (*Nederlandsch-Indische Bestuursacademie*) in The Hague. There he impressed his audience that 'the only real' of the Islamic question was 'the association of the Muslim population in the Dutch East Indies with the Netherlands' (Van Dijk, 2010: 410). The traditional traditions and habits of Madurese people are strongly rooted in religion so that as a result it is not easy to make a distinction between traditional customs and religion. The colonial government had the assumption that if Madurese people did not receive special attention, there would one day be an upheaval of resistance. Starting from this, most Dutch policies implemented in Madura were based on religious considerations (Islam). The consideration that Madura is considered to have the potential for religious fanaticism is based on the report of the Consul Jeddah H. Scheltema to C. Snouck Hurgronje regarding a significant increase in the number of Madurese pilgrims.<sup>4</sup>

The Dutch government in anticipating the existence of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies, was to place an Orientalist named K.F. Holle. This figure in 1871 was appointed by the colonial government as *Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken* (advisor for the cases of indigenous people). At the same time in other formations the position as *Adviseur voor Oosterse Talen en Mohammedansche Recht* (Counselor for matters relating to the language of the Eastern population and Islamic law) was entrusted to L.W.C. Van den Berg. As an advisor K.F. Holle helps deal with issues related to Islam. He is always active, careful and shows a high level of concern. One of the things he did was to seek approval from the governor general to encourage all regent officials to obey and implement regulations in accordance with State Gazette (*Staatsblad*) 1867 No.14, Article 17 which states that all religious activities must be carried out with supervision. In addition, all regents must be diligent in compiling a list of clerics, Koran teachers, and princes in their area (Kartodirdjo, 1984:243). Previously, when he was still a clerk in the plantation office in Garut, he had thought about the above and criticized the position of chief who was always held to be a fanatical Muslim and generally as a follower of the *tarekat*.

Starting from that, he wants to be associated with the position of headman is someone who is close to the people, so he understands the problems of the needs of the population such as improving agriculture, irrigation, eradicating pests, and helping the population's health. In essence, K.F. Holle wanted that the position of the headman did not have to be held by a person of the Islamic faith, so that the office which was generally a religious office or head of the mosque was made one with a position that handled the judiciary or the head of the *landraad* (government court) (Steenbrink, 1984:216). He argued that a revival of religious life was manifested by the increasing number of *pesantren* and people who went to perform the pilgrimage. Also with the increasing number of *langgar* buildings and mosques erected as a sign of increasing observance of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. The government knows that someone who has a Hajj title will get respect from the people and many of them are willing to become followers or students (Steenbrink, 1984: 53; Berg, 1886).

It can be said that since the second half of the 19th century the Dutch government showed suspicion of Muslim preachers who were considered to be instigators of various rebellions in various regions of the Dutch East Indies. This is because traditional rulers have experienced a decline, so that people who usually live in rural areas show new trusted leaders, namely the *kiai* and *haji*. With the strengthening of the community every year on the pilgrimage and placing Mecca as the center of Islam, also affects the context of opposition to something that is considered infidels. They opposed the authority and leadership of not only the traditional indigenous elite, but also the colonial government which consequently felt the need to continue to observe the actions of these new leaders (Suryanegara, 1995:130).

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<sup>4</sup>ANRI, Algemeene Secretarie, Grote Bundels Besluiten 1891-1942, No. 555; C. Snouck Hurgronje, Kumpulan Karangan, Translated by Sutan Maimun dan Rahayu, S. Hidayat. Jakarta: INIS, 1994.

An inquiry into the general development of pan-Islamism and religious revivalism showed that during this period it was conspicuous and marked by characteristics which were essentially anti-Western. The conquests carried out by Western imperialism are making great progress in this crucial period. Various Muslims signify fully that the Islamic world is in danger of growing danger of falling under Western domination. Faced with this threat from the West, Muslims in large parts of the Crescent show the militant fanaticism that arises and a feeling of hatred towards the heathen conquerors (Stoddard, 1966: xiii).

The important position of Islam in the life of the community which is identified by the natives is to function as the most powerful expression to ask loyalty to the motherland in opposing foreign invaders. It was natural that the colonial government was very suspicious of Islam and treated them specifically, namely Islam was seen not only as a threat to security and public order policies (*rust en orde*), but also to the future of colonialism in the Dutch East Indies. Starting from this, the Dutch colonial government tried to reduce the emergence of resistance by closely monitoring all activities of Muslims both pure worship and truly political. Supervision is not only carried out on devout Muslims, but also ordinary people. The colonial government considered all indigenous Muslims to be dangerous and had to watch out for.

Action in the form of supervision and emphasis was carried out by the Dutch government, by means of military and political operations *divide et impera* apparently overcome it. Factors made easy to anticipate, because these resistance movements have local and radical capacity. In general, the movement model is revivalism, millennialism and messianism. This movement first occurred in Madura, was the Kiai Semantri movement in the village of Prajan, *Afdeeling* Sampang in 1890.

Starting from applying *divide et impera* politics and strong emphasis, it turns out that in the view of the central government in the Netherlands after the victory of the liberal party was deemed inappropriate. Realizing the mistake of looking at Muslims in the Dutch East Indies due to special advisers on Islam and the natives who were charged by K. F. Holle at that time, were lacking in mastering Islamic knowledge and had to find a suitable replacement. The policy which was considered to be able to save and change the values of an ethical liberal understanding, was able to save the ongoing colonialism in the Dutch East Indies. At that time in the West was the rise of inspiration that is believed, that to destroy Islam, is the Orientalist way (Said, 1996, 10 ;Jakub,1988: 560). In this concept, in the beginning there was a clash between Christianity and Islam, both as a religion and as an ideology. An example of a Crusade is to ignite Western motivation to study Islam and its traditions (Ismail, 1994:78). They are studying Islam, not to get the truths contained in it, but to look for the weaknesses of Islam that will be used to attack Islam.

Awareness of the mistakes in political policy towards Islam, then came the figure C. Snouck Hurgronje, one of the supporters of ethical flow in the Netherlands, submitted a letter to the minister of colonialism on June 2, 1889 to help solve the problem in the Dutch East Indies (Gobee and G. Adiaanse, 1990:xxiv-xxv). One year later C.Snouck Hurgronje came to the Dutch East Indies with his main task was to conduct research on the Acehese tribe, and only settled in Batavia in 1892. In work activities to think of this policy, in 1899 a place had been agreed to think about indigenous issues or the so-called *Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken* (Office for Native Affairs). even though the physical office was only established in 1918. In this case Snouck Hurgronje was the main advisor and assisted by advisers consisting of one for Arab affairs namely Sayyid Usman bin Abdullah Nawawi and two regional linguists in the Dutch East Indies, namely Haji Hasan Mustofa and Raden Abubakar. Based on the advice of Snouck Hurgronje, the Dutch colonial government distinguished between Islam in terms of worship and from Islam as a socio-political force. Wisdom towards Islam is divided into three categories, namely the socio-religious field, the socio-cultural field, and the socio-political field. In terms of policy in the social religious field, C.Snouck Hurgronje strongly supports religion and is neutral towards religion.

In relation to supporting explicitly, it is intended to convince Muslims, especially for those who are still lay, and the Dutch government is not hostile to Islam. However, it actually protects and encourages Muslims in the Dutch East Indies, as well as by supporting many mosques (Suryanegara, 1995:140). In Madura, Snouck Hurgronje only needs to increase, because since 1871 the total number of mosques has reached 13,474 for the public, then there are 2,559 private ownership of *surau* or *langgar*. Besides that, it is also supported by 3,490 people who work in the religious field (Kuntowioyo, 2002: 329-330).

Then be neutral towards religion, which means not taking sides and not interfering at all, even trying to help everyone to be balanced without having to mix it (Benda, 1989:132). Policies that are religious neutral, are considered to reassure Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. This policy can be ascertained if with a note of origin Muslims promise to abandon political propaganda. This goal allows the Dutch government to hope to improve its reputation in the eyes of Islamic countries.

In Madura in terms of actions that show neutrality towards religion or at least conflict for religious reasons, as in that period it was not possible because the majority of the population was Muslim.

In the field of social culture, is to encourage the implementation of religious teachings (encouragement of religion), according to Snouck Hurgronje this step is only to implement living elements in the Indies community that lack religious enthusiasm (Suminto, 1985:15). At the same time Snouck Hurgronje also proposed association politics which was intended to turn Muslims towards Western culture which he believed to be the most noble. Association politics also aims to strengthen ties between the Netherlands as a central and Dutch East Indies as a peripheral, so that through means such as culture and education, is the main target (Suryanegara, 1995:137). Policies related to encouraging the implementation of religious teachings, can be proven when the Dutch government gives the opportunity to the population for the pilgrimage, in fact shows that the number of pilgrims in Madura reached a high number. The increasing number of hajj also affected the spread of religious education practiced in Madurese *pesantren*, so there was a significant relationship between the pilgrimage community and the *pesantren*.

Related to the rise of education in Islamic boarding schools, in this case Snouck Hurgronje still continued the F.K.Holle policy, which is about supervision of the activities of the pilgrimage and boarding schools, so that the formation of the Teacher's Ordinance in 1905 (Kernkamp, 1941:197). Actually related to the supervision of pilgrimage and various activities the Dutch government has repeatedly changed and renewed, among them starting from, *Staatsblaad* No. 201 in 1880. The core of all these regulations Snouck Hurgronje still strengthened the *Staatsblaad* in 1905, which required every Islamic religious teacher to ask for and obtain permission from local officials, before carrying out his duties (Suminto, 1985:51). In reality for *pesantren* that have organized organizations, such as religious teachers who are able to manage professionally, including administration, is not a problem. In Madura most of the *pesantren* teachers in that period were unable to manage, even those who could write in Latin letters were also limited, so they had to teach without salary. In connection with obtaining students who studied religion at the *pesantren* in Madura in 1893 there were 2,494 and there were 52,421 violations in the place of a kiai. Then in 1910 it rose to 2,706 in Islamic boarding schools and in the breach of kiai houses there were 52,566 people.<sup>5</sup>

With the teacher ordinance, because it emphasizes the obligation of religious teachers to have a permit from the government, so this is felt by Muslims is nuanced political. This teacher ordinance is considered by Muslims to be a policy that does not merely limit Islamic education, but also erases the important role of Islam in the Dutch East Indies. In many cases, the existence of Islamic religious teachers is often disputed, for example when faced with the Christianisation movement on the grounds of order and security. In the social political field, Snouck Hurgronje applies to oppose certain religious groups and oppose religion as a political force. In this case C. Snouck Hurgronje, actually wants to devote all his thoughts in order to weaken Islam. Understanding politics in this case, is part of the concept of Pan-Islamism which in the course of its history is always marked by war. In Madura this policy was fully poured out when Sarekat Islam held resistance and resistance, so it seemed as if his attention had been sucked up in various ways to overcome it. Something that should be understood, that in the geopolitical map is actually the Madurese population is receiving special attention related to religious fanatics.

With the application of association politics, the attempt to neutralize the indigenous population is to reduce religious bigotry and change the fate of its social status. This policy was to take the role of the ranks that had existed since the traditional bureaucracy to be recruited became mandatory for the Dutch government militia.

### 3. Impact of Dutch Government Policy in Madura

The practice of colonialism carried out by the colonial government in Madura in the 19th century actually took place uniquely, especially with regard to handling and maintaining security at the local level. At the time the colonial government implemented an indirect government system in Madura, it seemed that the colonial government was still referring to the conditions and situation with Java. As it is known that at that time in many regions of Java there were often riots which caused the government to take actions to overcome them by means of violence. Methods like this are considered as the source of the problem because the government system is dualistic as reflected in the provisions of Article 67 of the Government Regulations, namely the government is required to cooperate with indigenous authorities. This resulted in the government implementing half-hearted policies, especially in terms of handling security at the local level.

<sup>5</sup>ANRI, Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch-Onderwijs in Nederlandsch Indie 1893 t/m 1901, and ANRI, Algemeen Verslag van het Inlandsch-Onderwijs in Nederlandsch Indie 1910 t/m, 1913, p. xviii

Inspired by the rise of liberalism in the Netherlands, what was done in the context of a liberal government in the Dutch East Indies was the carefulness of Dutch officials in expressing criticism about the problem of maintaining security in the Dutch East Indies which was very bad. One of the policies that could be implemented by the Dutch colonial government was only in the context of maintaining and maintaining security and order (*rust en orde*), which in this case was only for the implementation of Article 72 of the Government Regulations which in general contained regulations (verifications), *verorderingen* (regulations), and regulations (provisions), so that in this case it seems to reinforce that those who commit violations must be subject to criminal sanctions.

A serious consideration, especially in implementing the rust en-order policy, is to adjust to the condition of Madura, especially with the threat of religious political movements. In this case the Dutch government must ensure that Madurese are categorized as followers who are very fanatical about Islam, so this must be appropriate in dealing with it. After careful study, based on the association's applied political policies, it is estimated that these movements are predicted to be local and global. Local movements were immediately dealt with by suppressing them and the global one was giving special policies as in the political mission of the association in the Dutch East Indies. This particular consideration is due to the global movement in the long run, which is related to the issue of pan Islamism, so that in handling it there is a tug of war especially in the case of the pilgrimage policy. Politics of the association is also used to be persuasive towards the Madurese community, especially in terms of opportunities to have a guarantee of welfare and at the same time be involved in the field of Madura's local security and resilience. In connection with this policy, it can be proven by events such as when facing the Kiai Semantri movement, handling the pilgrimage, and recruiting *Barisan* troops in Madura.

The presence of the teachings of Sufism, namely the effort to get closer through inner purification and increase worship accompanied by the institutions of teaching called *tarekat*. Some of the *tarekat* that can be known at least, were the first to spread, for example the first Qadiriyyah order to carry was Shaykh Hamzah Fansuri and apparently still developing until the 20th century in Indonesia (Al-Attas, 1966:43). Then, related to the Rifa'iyyah *tarekat*, it is based on the life history of Nuruddin Ar-Raniry who had studied with Basyaiban in Gujarat and was appointed caliph in the *tarekat* to be trusted to spread to the Aceh region, the Archipelago. Likewise, in relation to the Satariyyah order, his arrival was brought by Abdurr Rauf As-Singkili, whose followers still have a large influence in Ulakan, West Sumatra, which was once developed by his pupil Shaykh Burhanuddin and some in Java, namely in Takeran, Nganjuk, East Java (Dhofier, 1982:142).

Related to the tarekat that until now developed in Madura according to Bruinessen there were three, namely Qadiriyyah, Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah, and Tijaniyyah. However, according to Schrieke, it is suspected that Syatariyyah tariqah is in contact with local belief traditions, so that it was once influential although not so large (Bruinessen, 2012: 422). Meanwhile, according to Bouvier, starting from the development of a performance art called *rateb*, or from the Arabic *Ratib* which has similarities with *Debus* performances in Banten and Aceh, then it is suspected that the Samaniyyah congregation in Madura has been developing since the 18th century (Bouvier, 2002: 219). The Qadiriyyah Order is founded by Abd al-Qadir Jilani or known as Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani al-ghawwts or qutb al-awiliya. In addition he also got the title *Muhyiddin* or religious generator. It was told that when he got this title, because Shaykh Abd al-Qadir al Jilani was able to heal someone who was on the edge of the road after being given food and drink immediately looked fresh and healthy, so he was always given praise and the *Muhyiddin* blossom which meant to revive religion (Schimmel, 1986:253).

According to Wirjoasmoro, the Qadiriyyah order in Madura is thought to have developed earlier than the others, even though it was stated that there were no clear instructions or even were spread in secret (Wirjoasmoro, 1926:252). Kuntowijoyo reinforced that with the still strong tradition of festivity every Friday night until now is to commemorate Abd al-Qadir Jailani (Kuntowijoyo, 2002 :332). In particular the Naqsabandiyah order that occurred in Madura was not related to those in Java, so the Madurese preferred the Naqsabandiyah Muzhariyyah order. According to Bruinessen the congregation developed in Madura was brought by *Kiai* Abdul Azim Bangkalan, a person who had long lived in Mecca and became caliph Muhammad Shalih who at that time often taught the *tarekat* to Madurese who were performing the pilgrimage (Bruinessen, 1992: 176). What is interesting about the Naqsabandiyah Muzhariyyah tariqah in Madura, is that in particular the *murshid* was a woman who was not found in other regions.

Then related to the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah tariqa is a combined *tarekat* of the Qadiriyyah and Naqsabandiyah (IQN) orders. This *tarekat* may have originated from the archipelago, which was founded by Ahmad Khatib ibn Abd Al-Ghafar Sambas who at that time settled in Mecca in the mid-19th century. With his book *Fathal-Arifin* this teaching was revealed to his students including Ma'ruf al-Palimbani and Abd al-Rahim al-Bali.

After Ahmad Khatib Sambas died in 1878, the position of the leader of the *tarekat* was replaced by his caliph, namely Shaykh Abdul Karim Banten which caused the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqshabandiyah order to develop rapidly especially in the Banten area, even to the regions of West Java, Central Java, South Sumatra, and Lombok (Bruinessen, 1992: 176).

According to Bruinessen the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqshabandiyah order has also been developing in Madura since the 1920s. It is also said that a caliph from Shaykh Sambas from Madura, Ahmad Hasbullah bin Muhammad, was declared successful in developing the *tarekat* in the Madurese community (Sujuthi, 2001:54). Even according to Mulyati, who had interviewed one of the descendants of Kiai Kholil Bangkalan, Kiai Haji Abdullah Sahal, stated that many leaders of the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqshabandiyah *tarekat* had learned and received diplomas from their father Kiai Kholil Bangkalan (Mulyati, 2004; Bruinessen, 1992: 427). Kiai Kholil Bangkalan's fame although there is no clear source on whether to follow the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqshabandiyah order, but there are strong suspicions of participating in it. This is reinforced by his experience studying Sufism, Arabic grammar, and fiqh to Shaykh Nawawi Banten, and Shaykh Mahfud Termas, is ushering in his spiritual achievements and always appearing to be called Kiai Kholil Bangkalan as a *tarekat* expert and also regarded as someone who is sacred (Zulkifli, 2002:26).

#### 4. The Kyai Semantri Movement

In Bangkalan it is known that in the second half of the 19th century local ulama acquired relatively sophisticated religious knowledge compared to their Javanese counterparts. When a Sufi teacher from Central Java carried out religious and social activities in Bangkalan, the local religious teacher responded differently from the Sufi order by taking the opposite attitude and supporting his teachings. Others are less impressive. Kiai Abu Bakar is also known as Kiai Khalil who comes from Pademangan which is the most famous religious center. He advised Sufis to stop their activities that incite the community, including in this case religious practices in caves. Seen from the warm reception towards Sufis, it clearly shows that religious syncretism is increasingly under suspicion by newly trained clerics such as Abu Bakar from Pademangan (Pangerangan).

The increasing religious tendency among scholars in West Madura during the second half of the 19th century can be seen from the increasing number of pilgrims to Mecca and the foundations of religious centers. The increasing influence of the *ulamān* the Madurese community who were captured under direct colonial occupation even made an impact on the aristocracy. The spread of Sufi teachings through eloquent scholars in major Sufi works led to the publication of holy books in his region. Although the aristocracy was generally welcomed, or at least not openly opposed, by the increasing presence of the Dutch, some members of the ruling family were displeased. The religious leaders, with their stronger religious contacts with other Islamic centers, including in the Middle East, must have shown hatred towards colonial interference in local affairs.

In Sampang, a major shift in religious sophistication brought new changes through the introduction of the *tarekat*, perhaps the Naqshbandiyah order in the last quarter of the 19th century. Madurese may have known and adopted several aspects, or even followed the practice, of the *tarekat* much earlier. It is possible that they were more interested in the magico-mystical elements than the tarekat. Indeed, after having direct contact with the Naqshbandi sheikh in Mecca, the Madurese. Abd al-Azim was appointed as his representative in Madura. According to Kumar's study of the Islamic movement in West Madura in the 1880s, a religious teacher in the area named Kiai Zainal Abidin was famous for his mystical practices. In fact he was one of Abd al-Azim's students and assistants. Relevant to the general development and religious patterns of Naqshbandiya, it is almost certain that Naqshbandi teachers in Madura advocated stricter adherence to formal Islamic teachings. In other words, through teachers and students Naqshbandi, a hajj pilgrim who is highly educated and returns Madurese students from Mecca, the more emphasis on the ratification of Islamic holy teachings is increasingly gaining the support of local kiai in West Madura, including Sampang.

Madura during the colonial period, especially during the transition to the 20th century, was indicated not to be a suitable area for mass mobilization in large numbers. This is due to the fact that the majority of the population lives separately from one another, as a result of the dispersal of human settlements and the scarcity of natural resources. In general, the formation of settlements of Madurese inhabitants with a series of long cutting board houses is causing the relationship between one village to another to be mutually isolated. In addition, around the settlement is usually planted with various trees and lush plants that function as a fence around, so it is called by the name of the *kampung Meji* (Wiyata, 2002: 28). In addition, the colonial government also considered Madura not as an area of exploitation by implementing the culture system as was done in Java.

Thus the only reason that the colonial government could carry out its various activities easily in Madura was with the full support of its people who were known to be devout in the religious field. One thing that can be applied in the penetration of capitalism includes the introduction of an irrigation system and the development of transportation, making it easier for residents of Madura to be integrated.

Starting from this matter, it is difficult for Madurese people to interact when there is a threat. Then the other factor, is religion as a social glue because when someone motivates, it is easy to lead to a resistance movement. In Madura the hierarchy of religious officials is part of the state class. Including in this case paramedics and servants, is a religious functionary not part of staff employees, but has an important role in society. In contrast to the position of the kiai in Madura, whether they have been on the pilgrimage or are performing worship in Mecca, is to have students who study religion. They are the ones who take care of religious life only and do not play a role as bureaucratic implementers like the headman or *modin*.

Kiai is not displayed on the list because kiai is a title given to someone who is knowledgeable in religion and who is a service to the community and even is a type of work. In Madura the title of a kiai also refers to a person's position in the indigenous bureaucracy, such as a courtier or paramedic, or their descendants.<sup>6</sup> A kiai will live with his wealth or else he will live through alms from his people. The kiai is sometimes called a person who is in the past a title dedicated to the sultan. It can be said that after the abolition of the empire in Madura by the Dutch colonial government, the kiai became their spiritual heirs. Not all clerics due to the influence of each type varies. Nevertheless the influence remains and many have the potential to master the power of ideology and economics.

A cleric is someone who is known and respected for the knowledge and teachings of his religion. Kiai whose influence as religious experts may be small and limited are in hamlets or villages called Kiai Langgar. There are also those who call it Kiai Morok and Kiai Kobungan. For the daily life of this kiai gives lessons in the basic level of a village. Once a week or several nights a week they lead religious meetings for adults (Jordan, 1985: 117). In short the kiai are village elites who specialize in handling religious rituals. Their knowledge of Islam makes them the most educated people in the villages. Some clerics always convey their expertise in matters of religion, they can also predict fate, heal the sick and teach sports. Although a cleric may have two religious and non-religious skills, a distinction can be made between religious clerics and non-religious clerics (Atmosoedirdjo, 1952:15). Clerics can be grouped into three types namely the Koran teacher, who teaches the Koran, the Koran teacher who teaches various types of religious books, and *tarekat* teacher or leader of the *tarekat*. These three are found in Madura, but their distribution is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

Starting from the rise of the role of the kiai in Madura indicates a healthy patron-client relationship, so the presumption of Madurese is difficult to interact because it is only a factor of residence. Because when there is a latent threat, it allows them to make a fight. Based on existing estimates, the occurrence of fragmentation in political events that are very complicated and casuistic at the local level, is when religious political movements occur in Prajan village, Darmacamplong sub-district, Sampang, led by Kiai Semantri a local pesantren teacher. As is known Prajan village is included in the village of *perdikan* which at that time was led by Haji Mohammad Alimudin, he was appointed head of the village with a population of 754 people based on the Assistant Resident decree dated October 16, 1886 No. 6, with the main task being to guard the tombs of the kiai and care for a total of eight *pesantren*.<sup>8</sup>

In the village of Prajan, before this incident, it was known as a village that had several large *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), including those led by Kiai Langgartamah, Kyai Langgargenteng, Kiai Langgar Sumber and Kiai Langgar temor.<sup>9</sup> In the 1890s there was an internal competition between the two leaders of the pesantren, namely Kiai Mochamad Zain from the village of Prajan Selatan and Kiai Langgar Tanah from the village of Prajan Utara. Kiai Mochamad Zain is known as a spy for the Dutch government, on the other hand Kiai Langgar Tanah has the support of local residents and Islamic scholars (*ulama*) including Kiai Langgar Timur Cungkup Timur, Kiai Langgar Cungkup Barat, and Kiai Langgar Sumber Barat. When a horizontal dispute resulted in the killing of Kiai Langgar Tanah, then followed by the fury of villagers who ended with the killing of Kiai Mochamad Zain (Lelono, 1947: 1-59).

The incident was allegedly caused anger and hatred by Kiai Semantri who at that time had a large following, even seeping out of the Sampang district. Kiai Semantri or often mentioned by his students known as Kiai Lanceng, was the son of Kiai Cungkup who succeeded his brother named Kiai Bungso to become the head of the family break.

<sup>6</sup> ANRI, Mailrapport 2766/1929. Verbaal 16 Agustus 1938. No. 2

<sup>7</sup> ANRI, Verbaal. 16 Maret 1906. No. 43 (Nota over het Mohammedansch en Arabische Zaken Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje).

<sup>8</sup> ANRI, Algemeene Secretarie Grote Bundel Besluiten (BT) 1891-1942. N0. 433

<sup>9</sup> ANRI, Algemeene Secretarie, Grote Bundel Besluiten (BT) 377. 1896-G2-27/3



After an internal conflict between the kiai in Prajan village, as mentioned until the death of Kiai Langgar Tanah and Kiai Mochamad Zain, made the Dutch government even more suspicious. The anxiety was followed by the appearance of a figure, namely Kiai Semantri who was expected to defend and continue the Kiai Langgar Tanah to hold resistance against the Dutch government. In this case the Assistant Resident of Sampang, W.F.H. Van Amerom collected data on what Kiai Semantri was doing to report to the Madura resident.

Reports of Resident Assistant W.F.H. Van Amerom to the Madura resident based on the results of espionage practices in the actions and activities of Kiai Semantri, was related to the rebellion plan. On November 2, 1895, Kiai Semantri announced to his students to remain steadfast in obeying Islam. If disobedient, the neck will be beheaded with the "Sword of Doelfakar" and those who are obedient will get blessed and safe. All white Dutch and Europeans will be attacked by spirits called jinn and will be sucked into a very deep well. In addition, Kiai Semantri will become king with the help of his loyal servants, namely Puwas and Ario Sumo Winoto. A servant named Puwas will be appointed as governor with the title Patih Jelantik and Ario Sumo Winoto will be appointed a warlord. In the near future, the exact date has not been announced, Kiai Semantri and his family are preparing their supporters to carry out a rebellion against the infidels, which in this case are Dutch people and officials.<sup>10</sup>

Starting from the report and it was already known, that Kiai Semantri would hold a fight, then on November 4 the Assistant Resident had ordered the Sampang regent to immediately call Kiai Semantri to be willing to come to Pamekasan, but that was not carried out. By not responding to the call from the assistant resident, Assistant Wedono Darmacamplong came again to the house of Kiai Semantri who at that time was only met by his followers named Abdul Muin and Pa Mustari to give a warning not to bring people from the Pamekasan, Bangkalan, Sumenep, and some even went from Java to Prajan village. However, Pak Mustari always protects by giving answers, that they come only asking for treatment and eliminating bad luck.<sup>11</sup> As it is known that Pa Mustari is a feared figure from the Pandean village. Initially he was a *kelimon* or a farmer who was fired, while still on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He joined Kiai Semantri, because by chance there were still kinship as brother-in-law.<sup>12</sup>

After repeated attempts and no changes in Kiai Semantri's compliance with the government, the Patih held negotiations with the regent then went to Prajan to deliver a final message. *Patih* noted that while he was there he saw approximately 200 to 300 people who visited the kiai every day for advice or medicine. Kiai will usually give betel and a piece of paper as a talisman. Instead he received money up to one silver, banana or oil in return for services. During their meeting, it was said to the governor that rumors that he had supernatural powers were not true, and only God knew how to determine one's good and bad fortune. One of the excessive issues is as reported by espionage from Wedono Sampang, that Kiai Semantri can disappear unseen by people. In addition, if every Thursday night Friday he can change his appearance, sometimes in the form of a woman and turn into a man and can speak loudly.<sup>13</sup>

When it was confirmed to Kiai Semantri's students, they reported to the *patih*, that it was voluntary to give gifts to the kiai. He told the governor that he could not understand why the guests were considered to be disturbing the government, and he would not stop the people from arriving, but he promised to crack down on illegal activities. *Patih* was of the opinion that the people who spent money when visiting the kiai could be arranged, and he had asked to stop the activity.

The *Regent* then reported the case to the Dutch assistant resident with a recommendation to urge the government to close the violation and forbid people to visit it. The assistant resident instructed the regent to take the kyai to the assistant resident's office in Sampang, and Assistant Wedono Darmocamplong was entrusted with the task. Predictably, the messenger failed and the kiai declared his violation had broken away from Sampang, and he then isolated himself in his circle surrounded by a stone wall.

An attempt to bring the kiai back to the city was made by *Wedono*. It was reported that the clerics were furious when *Wedono* asked him to come with him to Sampang. The kiai ordered his students to come out of the *langgar* to perform *ziker*. When *Wedono* asked for the ritual to be terminated, he was surrounded by students, the police who accompanied him immediately intervened.

<sup>10</sup> ANRI, Civiele Wachtgelden (en Onderstanden). Het Ontslag van de Assisten Resident van Sampang wegens de Onlusten te Pradjan 1895-1896

<sup>11</sup> ANRI, Algemeene Secretarie, Grote Bundel Besluiten (BT), Geheim, No. 4152/G. 1895

<sup>12</sup> Anonim, "Het Opstalje te Sampang", De Locomotief, 17 Desember 1895. No. 297: 2-3.

<sup>13</sup> ANRI, Algemeene Secretarie, Grote Bundel Besluiten (BT) 377. 1896-G2-27/3

Wedono then reported to the regent and asked assistant wedono, village chief *perdikan* and police to stand guard in the village of Prajan to supervise the clerics and prevent him from running away.<sup>14</sup>

Another attempt to approach the Kiai Semantri was carried out by the Assistant Resident by instructing the village head of *perdikan*, Haji Zainal Abidin, apparently someone close to the kiai to bring the kiai to the city, but that did not bring results. The Regent recommended holding the village head of *perdikan* and kiai families to pressure him to surrender to the government. A few days later, Wedono reported that the kiai still did not want to give up. The expected assistance from the Sampang leader also did not bring results. The *Regent* instructed *Wedono* to use force to prevent the guests from approaching the violations. However, local police forces were unable to deal with the problem, and the guests still came. Finally, the regent asked the government to use force to blockade the village, but the number of guests visiting the *langgar* increased and the police patrol was unable to contain it. The police found no evidence of the distribution of talismans.

Police stationed around the village were attacked by students and clerics' families. Also reported, the Prajans and visitors of the violation joined in attacking the police with sharp weapons and clubs. The women took part in the attack. Meanwhile, *Wedono* who brought a message from the Dutch Resident who wanted to meet with the clerics was met with resistance. He suffered injuries and the *keris* is missing. *Wedono's* Assistant and the other entourage who accompanied him did not try to fight. The police force was pulled back to the city, to be replaced by a unit led by Captain J.J. Schneider.

On December 9, 1895 at 22:00 a danger signal was sounded in the barracks of the *Barisan* troops in Pamekasan. The troops was immediately gathered and at 11:30, with 40 *Barisan* troops and an officer using 15 horse-drawn trains leaving for Darmocamplong, which is approximately 4 kilometers (2.5 *paul*) from Prajan. The group was then followed by another unit of 56 *Barisan* troops and 2 officers who left the barracks that night. At 6:00 in the morning the Madura resident and the Dutch captain, the troops coach arrived at Darmocamplong. From this place, people heard the cry of holy war with a sling (barrels, drums from perforated wood) which indicated that the Prajans were ready to fight.

After breakfast, two *Barisan* troops moved towards Prajan, away from the main road, then moved down the village through the middle of the rice fields. Barrels and poles (a kind of barrels) continue to be heard in that distance. A group of 150 *Barisan* troops arrived at a road in the village of Prajan, carrying spears, *keris*, *kewang* and batons. They blockaded the road. One man with a spear in his hands kneels on the road, and the others spread left to right in the fields, they wait while sitting or squatting. A watch was formed: two people on the road and one in the fields. A person dressed in white with a sword in his hand. The head of this war, known as *Bendara Purwa*, dances (*nglono*), *dhiker*, and shows the traditional movements of war art. in the past, about 150 meters from the village boundary, people stood guard and waited.

At exactly 7:15, at a distance of 40 meters *Barisan* troops were intercepted. Half an hour later the resident, captain and regent of Sampang asked people to lay down their weapons and promised to forgive them. In general, they refused every time officials called for them to surrender. Attempts to meet the rebel leader were unsuccessful. The rebels continually recited the *dhiker* whose voices became louder and frightening, while the rebels became more avid and began to scatter left to right around the troops in positions ready to attack. At 07.45, at a distance of 28 meters, the first shot was fired by the resident. Some people were constantly pressing, but were intercepted by a second shot 5 or 6 seconds later. After the second shot the rebels were difficult to control. In the fourth shot, at 07.55 there were 29 villagers dead and 12 others seriously injured. The Prajans left the battlefield, but continuous fire was heard in the rice fields, some victims still falling. It was reported that blood had colored the ground. The injured were also arrested.<sup>15</sup>

A platoon of *Barisan* troops led by Captain R.A. Sumoputro moved to the village of Prajan at 8.40, but no one was found there. The resident ordered the head of the nearest village to call the village head of Haji Zainal Abidin, who came with three of his subordinates. The resident ordered Haji Zainal Abidin to order those who hid out and put down their weapons. Some people, mostly women and children, still live in the village. Some men obey the residents' orders, and surrender. At 9.15, accompanied by three surrendered people, the *Barisan* troops moved to the place of Kiai Semantri in one of the small hamlets in Prajan. Rocky hill roads and low wall fences surround fields and houses. Fifteen minutes later the *Barisan* troops arrived at the Kiai Semantri *langgar* which was guarded by 15 people. After a fierce divorce, a cleric hiding behind a mat, a woman, and 4 students can be arrested at 9:45.

<sup>14</sup> ANRI, Algemeene Secretarie Grote Bundel Besluiten (BT) 1891-1942. N0. 433

<sup>15</sup> ANRI, Algemeene Secretarie Grote Bundel Besluiten (BT) 1891-1942. N0. 433

At 11:30 the Barisan troops returned to Darmacamplong with the prisoners. The *Barisan* troops and their officials suffered no losses and no one was injured. The prisoners were guarded by *Barisan*, transported by *cikar* to the prison in Pamekasan, while the injured were taken to Sampang for treatment. The people who died the next day were buried by the villagers. Police units were constantly stationed in Prajan village and around the village until security was restored.<sup>16</sup>

During the Prajan incident, the city of Sampang which was 7.5 kilometers (5 *paal*) from Darmacamplong and 11 km (7.5 *paal*) from Prajan was like a city of death, foreigners were horrified. The Chinese closed their shops, while the Europeans stayed indoors and closed their houses, but there was nothing.

## 5. Conclusion

During the 19th century, Madurese, excluded countries, were burdened with several economic and social obligations. If they had previously been willing to give the rulers their shares, under the arms of the Dutch Madurese suffered more and therefore sought several alternatives, including migration to East Java. At the micro level, the exploitation of agricultural resources by taxes causes a decrease in village income, uncultivated land and farmers' cultivation. More specifically, the suffering of the people worsened by the increasing number of parasitic classes, including the rulers, the colonial government, appanage holders, tax farmers and their agents. Poverty causes an increase in the number of crime, violence and riots in the villages. The biggest beneficiaries of whatever is left in Madura are tax farmers who are not interested in local production, let alone the welfare of Madurese.

After the reorganization, more villagers in Madura increasingly looked out of their local niche. The improvement in the village economy was noted when villagers gained direct access and control over agricultural production, although limited, provided support to pursue broader interests. Indeed, the development of the number of pilgrims and the foundation of the new religious education center developed more significantly around the turn of the 20th century.

In the next development, there was a reorganization of the bureaucracy or *Bestuurs Hervorming Wet* (Governance Reform Act), as a renewal to improve the decentralized system in 1922. In essence, the resort locale raden are areas that are under direct government and included in the legal unit. This region is authorized to manage its own state funds specifically to meet the needs of the region. The district council, in this case, is a representative body consisting of community groups, indigenous traders, intellectuals, and community leaders. Some members are elected and others are appointed by the Governor-General with a term of four years. The authority and duties of the district council, are to manage and regulate district households, determine the district budget and make *verordening* or legal decisions both general and at the district level and regulate the composition of the village bureaucracy.

Political changes and improvement in socio-economic conditions on Madura Island provide an environment conducive to the development of socio-religious activities. Indeed, the rapid growth of religious centers in Madura can be found shortly after this period. All major religious centers, especially the *pondok* (education center) and local religious scholars (*kiai*) of Madurese in the 20th century, trace their roots and origins to simple institutions that were started by pioneering *Kiai* after the 1880s.

The main upheaval of security in 1895 appeared oddly in the form of a religious uprising in Sampang. Touwen-Bouwsmas argues that the events of 1895 must be seen as the most potential manifestation of direct rule. The end of traditional governance in Madura resulted in the loss of socio-political balance and a direct meeting between the colonial rulers and the emerging Madura *kiai*. However, given what has happened to us mainly through the colonial report it becomes clear that the Sampang affair erupted more due to a misunderstanding on the part of the colonial agents than because of the armed resistance led by *Kiai Semantri* in Prajan, Sampang.

Never before, in the nineteenth century the population was well organized to take the fight. Madurese who seem to be individualistic and difficult to mobilize, display other characteristics, aggressive and fanatical. The Prajan incident suddenly revealed a clash of ideas between charismatic authorities and rational bureaucracy and was closely related to Islamic revival movements in various places in the Dutch East Indies during XIX. The name Prajan is remembered as a symbol of popular resistance and religious resistance to the Dutch colonial government. *Kiai Prajan*, who was registered as an adviser at the Sarekat Islam in Sampang in the XX century, apparently intended to keep alive the spirit of resistance.

<sup>16</sup> Javasche Courant, 13 Desember 1895, No. 99

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