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CUTTING IN THE FOLD: KIAI PROTEST MOVEMENTS IN EAST JAVA AT THE END OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

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أبستراك

أرتيكيلى إينى ميمبهااس تينتاغ كيراكان فروتيس كياهي دي جاوا تيمور فادا أخير أباد XIX دان أوال أباد XX, ديغان فوكوس فادا كيماثقوان كياهي سيباكاى ايليت سوسيال دالام ميمائفااتكان فوسيسيا دالام فيزلاوانان تيرهاداف كولونياليسي بيلاندا. كياهي سيباكاى توكوه اكاما دان اينتيليكتوال دي فيسانترين ميمقوپاي فيغاروه سوسيال ياغ سيكنيفيكان دالام مشاركات جاوا تيمور. أرتيكيلى إينى مينجلاسان باكامانا كياهي ميغكوناكان فيغاروه دان ويوناغيا اونتوك ميممقين كيراكان فروتيس دان انتي-كولونياليسي. ديغان ميغاناليسيس باكامانا كياهي ميغكوناكان ستاتوس سوسيال ا اونتوك ميلاوان بيلاندا. أرتيكيلى إينى ميمبيركان فيماهامان ياغ ليبيه ميندالام تينتاغ فيران كونجي كياهي دالام كيراكان فروتيس دان انتي-كولونيال دي جاوا تيمور. هال إينى جوكا ميغوغكاف كومفليكستاس ديناميكا سوسيال دان فوليتيك فادا ماسا تيرسيوت, ديمانا ايليت اكاما سيفيرتي كياهي ميمائكان فيران فينتيغ دالام فيزجوانان ميلاوان كولونياليسي اسيغ.

Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas tentang Gerakan Protes Kiai di Jawa Timur pada akhir abad XIX dan awal abad XX, dengan fokus pada kemampuan Kiai sebagai elite sosial dalam memanfaatkan posisinya dalam perlawanan terhadap kolonialisme Belanda. Kiai sebagai tokoh agama dan intelektual di pesantren mempunyai pengaruh sosial yang signifikan dalam masyarakat Jawa Timur. Artikel ini menjelaskan bagaimana Kiai menggunakan pengaruh dan wewenangnya untuk memimpin gerakan protes dan anti-kolonialisme. Dengan menganalisis bagaimana Kiai menggunakan status sosialnya untuk melawan Belanda. artikel ini memberikan pemahaman yang lebih mendalam tentang peran kunci Kiai dalam gerakan protes dan anti-kolonial di Jawa Timur. Hal ini juga mengungkap kompleksitas dinamika sosial dan politik pada masa tersebut, di mana elit agama seperti Kiai memainkan peran penting dalam perjuangan melawan kolonialisme asing.

Kata Kunci : *Kiai, Pesantren, Perlawanan, Hindia Belanda.*

Abstract

This article discusses the Kiai Protest Movement in East Java in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a focus on the ability of the Kiai as a social elite to utilise their position in resistance to Dutch colonialism. Kiai, as religious and intellectual figures in pesantren, had significant social influence in East Javanese society. This article explains how the Kiai used their influence and authority to lead protest and anti-colonialism movements. By analysing how Kiai used their social standing to resist the Dutch, this article provides a deeper understanding of the key role of Kiai in protest and anti-colonial movements in East Java. It also reveals the complexity of the social and political dynamics of the period, in which religious elites such as Kiai played a pivotal role in the struggle against foreign colonialism.

Keywords: *Kiai, Pesantren, Resistance, Dutch East Indies.*

A. INTRODUCTION

Discussing the history of kiai and pesantren in episodes of Indonesian resistance to Dutch colonialism is important because it presents several key aspects of the Indonesian struggle for independence. First, the role of kiai and pesantren in the anti-colonial resistance highlights the importance of the religious dimension of the movement. The Kiai, as religious leaders, played a central role in motivating and coordinating the community to resist Dutch colonialism. This shows how religion can be a powerful tool to inspire and mobilise the masses.

Kiai and pesantren play an important role in education and the formation of national identity. Pesantren are traditional centres of education that teach not only religion but also the values of nationalism and Indonesian culture. Education in pesantren helped shape national consciousness among the younger generation, which in turn strengthened the spirit of the struggle against colonialism.

Inevitably, when mentioning resistance, an analysis of how it happened is formed. Kiai and Pesantren created extensive networks in the anti-colonial movement. They acted as intermediaries between different groups of society, including farmers, merchants, and intellectuals, enabling effective collaboration in resistance against the colonisers. This reinforced the idea of unity and solidarity among the diverse layers of society.

The history of kiai and pesantren demonstrates the complexity and adaptability of anti-colonial movements in different parts of Indonesia. Kiai and pesantren in East Java may have different approaches to those in other regions, given different historical and cultural contexts. The study of their role allows us to understand variations in anti-colonial resistance movements across the country.

Revealing the history of kiai and pesantren helps to present voices that may be overlooked in the official historical narrative. They are local heroes who contributed greatly to the struggle for independence, but are often not recognised in proportion to their role. Understanding their roles more deeply allows us to appreciate the rich and diverse legacy of the struggle.

Research on kiai and pesantren is also relevant to the current Indonesian context. The position and role of kiai in society is still highly influential, especially in religious and political issues. Understanding their history can provide valuable insights into the social and political dynamics in Indonesia today.

The story of kiai and pesantren in the anti-colonial struggle also strengthens Indonesia's sense of national identity. They are an integral part of Indonesian history that demonstrates the spirit of struggle, unity and diversity that is the foundation of this country. As such, talking about their history is an important step towards understanding and celebrating Indonesia's independence and national identity.

B. METHOD

Historical research on the "Kiai Protest Movement in East Java at the End of the 19th and 20th Centuries" involves a number of stages that need to be followed carefully. The first stage is the identification and collection of relevant primary sources. This involves searching for historical documents, newspapers of the era, pesantren records, and kiai writings relating to the protest movement. These sources will form the basis of the data needed to explore the history of the movement.

After collecting primary sources, the next step is to analyse the historical context. Researchers need to understand the social, political, economic, and cultural conditions of East Java during this period. This includes an understanding of Dutch colonisation, local community dynamics, and the factors that influenced pesantren and kiai in their struggle.

The third stage involves the biographical study of key kiai who played a significant role in the protest movement. This includes an examination of their backgrounds, education, thoughts, and political activities. Researchers should delve deeper into kiai as individuals and religious leaders.

Furthermore, research should focus on analysing the role of pesantren in the protest movement. This includes understanding the curriculum, teaching methods, and the role of pesantren in motivating, organising, and coordinating Muslims to participate in anti-colonial protests.

The fifth stage involves an in-depth literature review on the role of pesantren in Indonesia's historical and religious context. This includes an understanding of how pesantren influenced religious and national identity in Indonesia, as well as kiai thinking in Islamic theology and politics.

The next stage is an analysis of the role of kiai in local or national political organisations and anti-colonial movements. This includes research on how Kiai worked with organisations such as Sarekat Islam or Muhammadiyah to strengthen resistance to colonialism.¹

Finally, the research will reach the data interpretation stage. The researcher will analyse and combine all the information that has been collected to understand the impact of kiai and pesantren activities in the protest movement in East Java during this period. This will make it possible to reveal more insights into the history of the protest movement, the role of kiai as leaders, and the influence of pesantren in mobilising the anti-colonial struggle in the region.

C. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

There were a number of cases of kiai resistance in East Java between the 19th and early 20th centuries. Usually, Kiai will respond to colonial policies that are considered counterproductive to the lives of pesantren or the surrounding community. The following will describe in a structured manner the kiai resistance that occurred in Madiun, Nganjuk, Kediri, and Blitar as a sample of the resistance.

¹ M. Dien Madjid and Johan Wahyudhi, *Ilmu Sejarah Sebuah Pengantar* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2014) h. 120-130.

The Madiun residency was a large area where there were a number of pesantren who dared to express their disagreement with colonial policies. The movement patterns in these pesantren are indeed diverse, because Kiai did not always choose violence as a decision to respond to colonial regulations. Usually, they considered many circumstances at stake to resist, including the impact that might lead to a worse direction for the development of the pesantren and its community.

One of the areas included in the Madiun Residency is Ponorogo, where there is one of the most influential Islamic boarding schools in East Java, the Tegalsari Islamic Boarding School.² This pesantren is known under the leadership of Kiai Kesan Besari, who became the teacher of a number of important figures in Java, such as Raden Ngabehi Ronggowarsito³, Kiai Dharmojoyo Nganjuk, and later HOS Tjokroaminoto. If you examine the histories of the three of them, they have different backgrounds. This is certainly motivated by differences in mindset and resistance strategies put forward against colonial measures.

Raden Ronggowarsito is known as the last Javanese writer. This term refers to his expertise in composing a number of authentic literary works and has had a great influence on the development of Javanese literature. No colonial records have been found that show this figure physically resisting the colonials. His movement was more of a cultural movement that sought to fortify the Javanese intelligentsia or nobility, or society in general, from the onslaught of

² Dawam Multazam, "The Dynamics of Tegalsari (Santri and Descendants of Pesantren Tegalsari Ponorogo Kiai's in 19-20th)", in *Qalamuna*, Vol. 9, 2017, p. 91-110.

³ Dawam Multazam, "The Dynamics of Tegalsari (Santri and Descendants of Pesantren Tegalsari Ponorogo Kiai's in 19-20th)", in *Qalamuna*, Vol. 9, 2017, p. 91-110.

westernisation from both Christianity and Theosophy (Freemasonry) that was infiltrating the rooms of the Javanese palace.⁴

The modernization of Western education and lifestyles practised in the Javanese court soon changed the mindset of the Javanese elite, who believed that what constituted progress was Western education and technology. The emergence of a number of European experts, encouraged by the Dutch East Indies Government, immediately redirected the role of kiai, penghulu, and Javanese elites, who were concerned with the development of Javanese intellectuals who had previously been a tool that provided intelligence to the nobility.⁵ The colonial model of education was seen as shaping the intellectual space of the real Javanese man, and religious studies were only considered complementary.⁶

Ronggowarsito was present to sharply criticise the chronic problem above. Through his works, such as those contained in *Serat Kalatidha*, he warned of the woes of humans who have turned away from the path of truth. They prefer to attach themselves to pseudo-worldly pleasures that are nothing more than deceptions installed to slowly eliminate the authority of the Javanese sultanate. He represents people who can only work and do their duties, as *wong kang lali*, who actually only enjoy false joy. The stanza *Wong eling lan waspada* is intended for those who are faithful to the path of truth inherited from the old wisdom, including from the teachings of Islam.⁷

Unlike Ronggowarsito, Kiai Dharmojoyo's role in the social protest scene was more physical. He cast himself as the Queen of Justice, who would one day save the Javanese from decline and from

⁴ Nadia Yolanda et al. "Pengaruh Gerakan Teosofi dalam Terciptanya Nasionalisme dan Kemunculan Elit Modern Indonesia", dalam *Palapa: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Pendidikan Sejarah*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2022, p. 1-11.

⁵ See Nancy K. Florida, *Jawa-Islam di Masa Kolonial: Suluk, Santri dan Pujangga Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Buku Langgar, 2020)

⁶ See Robert Van Niel, *Munculnya elit modern Indonesia* (Jakarta: Dunia Pustaka Jaya, 2009)

⁷ Zuminati Rahayu, "Javanese Asceticism in *Serat Kalatidha*", in *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2018, p. 9-17.

backwardness due to the colonial system that had milked the people's welfare. In contrast to Ronggowarsito, who immediately returned to the heart of Javanese power, namely within Surakarta Sunanate, Kiai Dharmojoyo preferred to choose the path of wandering to gain inner richness and a deep vision that Javanese society had indeed been truly sickened by the colonial system.

Near the beginning of the twentieth century, estimated to be between 1900 and 1906, he had settled down and established a modest Islamic boarding school in Dukuh Bendungan, Nganjuk Regency. His students came from around his home. Initially, he attempted to run for village head but was defeated. Amatroji, his victorious opponent, reported to the Warujayeng subdistrict office that Kiai Dharmojoyo had anti-colonial views that troubled the villagers. This report was the beginning of colonial attention to the movements of the Kudus-born kiai. The story of Kiai Nganjuk's resistance will be discussed further in the next chapter.⁸

HOS Tjokroaminoto is known as one of the great orators who developed Sarekat Islam in East Java and beyond. He was known for his fascinating insights, which combined the ideas of Islam and socialism. Not many people know that Tjokroaminoto spent his youth in Tegalsari. Here, he recited a number of Islamic books that provided an intellectual foundation that was later developed during his later political activities in Surabaya.⁹ Unfortunately, there is no solid and rich data on how the figure who became Soekarno's teacher studied at this pesantren. Of course, this still requires further research.

Judging from the three cases above, Pesantren Tegalsari is an Islamic educational institution that has played an important role in promoting cultural resistance to Dutch East Indies colonialism. This resistance model is manifested through the education provided to their

⁸ Radin Fernando, "In the Eyes of The Beholder: Discourses of a Peasant Riot in Java", in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 1999, p. 263-285.

⁹ Aji Dedi Mulawarman, *Jang Oetama: Jejak dan Perjuangan HOS Tjokroaminoto (Edisi Revisi)*, (Malang: Penerbit Peneleh, 2020) p. 14-15.

santri. The pesantren encourages students to be highly dedicated in their respective fields, be it religious knowledge, art, literature, or other disciplines. This approach creates a younger generation that has a deep understanding of Indonesian culture and identity, which is an important foundation for resisting colonialism.

Then, there is also Pesantren Takeran, which is known for its Syattariyah tarekat movement. Pesantren Takeran, located in Magetan, was a pesantren that played an important role in the social protest movement against the Dutch East Indies Government through Islamic cultural channels. One of the strategies they developed was the use of the Syattariyah tarekat as a tool to convey the message of social protest and garner support from the Muslim community. The Syattariyah Order is one of the Islamic orders that prioritises the values of spirituality and ascetic life.

In Pesantren Takeran, the Syattariyah Order is used as a spiritual framework to teach the principles of social justice, freedom, and unity in society. The santri in this pesantren are taught to apply these values in their daily lives and play an active role in efforts for better social change. The Tariqah became a means to raise social and political awareness among the Muslim community.

KH Hasan Ulama, the founder of Pesantren Takeran, seems to have realised that fighting the Dutch East Indies government by using the potential of Santri was a decision that, in the case of his pesantren, was still not possible. For this reason, he repositioned the resistance movement by strengthening the power base of the community, with unity, through the path of tarekat ties. Thus, the vision of the population of Takeran and its surroundings became more conditioned and easier to coordinate.

In the context of resistance to the Dutch East Indies Government, the Takeran Pesantren, Magetan, managed to create a strong social protest movement through the development of the Syattariyah tarekat and the use of Islamic art and culture. They helped shape political and social awareness in the Muslim community and became an important part of the struggle against the colonisers. In this

way, these pesantren became proof that Islam can be an effective tool in cultural and social resistance to colonial oppression.¹⁰

Nganjuk is an area with a large number of Prince Diponegoro's followers. Nganjuk's location in the middle of the Surabaya-Surakarta route made it relatively safe to develop Prince Diponegoro's network through the pesantren route. The kiai and tarekat teachers who came to this regency could freely choose a place to develop their pesantren without worrying about simultaneous observation from the colonial camp.

The traces of Diponegoro's followers can be seen in the graves of the followers of the warrior prince located in the Wilis Mountains. Former supporters of Prince Diponegoro spearheaded the resistance movement in Berbek (Southern Nganjuk) and its surroundings. It is reported that in the Berbek area, there are a number of graves of Prince Diponegoro's followers scattered on the slopes at the foot of Mount Wilis. Among them are the graves of Mbah Hiro Hito, Mbah Hiroguno, and Mbah Hironadi in the Hargojali cemetery complex in Salam Judeg (now in Ngetos Sub-district, Nganjuk Regency), which are the graves of the commanders of Diponegoro's troops and his soldiers. They are thought to have arrived in the Berbek area under the banner of Raden Tumenggung Sosrodilogo, the Regent of Bojonegoro. They passed through Kertosono, Mount Wilis, and the Kendeng Mountains.¹¹

It is mentioned by PJF Louw and ES De Klerck that Tumenggung Sosrodilogo made a hideout in Berbek. De Kock, an officer, was assigned to find him. Tumenggung Sosrodilogo and KRT Sosrokusumo II, the Regent of Berbek at the time, were accused of conspiring. As a result, he was summoned to answer questions regarding Sosrodilogo's troop movements in his region. Raden

¹⁰ Moh Ashif Fuadi et al. "Pesantren Tradition and the Existence of Tarekat Syattariyah in the Java War of 1825-1830 ", dalam *Tsaqafah*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2022, p. 165-188.

¹¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c_3MTpyzviM, accessed in 24 April 2022.

Prawirokusumo was a commander of Tumenggung Sosrodilogo who was hated by the colonial army.¹²

As mentioned in the Madiun Residency section, in Nganjuk, there was a kiai who aggressively resisted the colonials, Kiai Dharmojoyo. He was known as a landlord who owned large rice fields and even a number of horses. He also had his own blacksmith, where he made farming tools and weapons used for resistance. In 1907, after his dispute with Amatroji ended with a complaint to Kawedanan Warujayeng, colonial and native troops began preparing for Dharmojoyo's residence.

For the record, Amatroji's complaint was not just about Kiai Dharmojoyo's defeat in the village head election. Referring to a colonial report on Kiai Dharmojoyo's resistance released by the Dutch East Indies Government, it is stated that Kiai Dharmojoyo reportedly gathered his santri and students in his large house, where he appointed himself Queen of Justice. He would establish the Kingdom of God to replace the Dutch East Indies government.¹³

Despite his rural life, Kiai Dharmojoyo spun threads of anti-colonialism connections with a number of his colleagues elsewhere in Central and East Java. Colonial authorities also believed that guidance and moral support from various sources contributed to the courage to defy colonial authority. These were prominent members of the local community who had vowed to oppose the colonial authorities. They included religious leaders and Javanese aristocrats.

One of them was Raden Bagus Suradi. He was of princely rank and a Javanese nobleman. He was the heir to a plot of land in Kadilangu, Demak, which had been a civilised land since the reign of Sunan Kalijaga. The colonial government took over the land in a conflict. Bagus Suradi became disillusioned with the power of the

¹² PJF Louw and ES De Klerck, *De Java-oorlog van 1825-30* (s'Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1894) p. 427.

¹³ See ANRI, Laporan mengenai Pemberontakan Kiai Dharmojoyo pada tanggal 29 Januari 1907; lihat juga Tim ANRI, *Laporan-Laporan tentang Gerakan Protes di Jawa Pada Abad XX* (Jakarta: ANRI, 1981)

company. Next, Kiai Mochammad Umar from Klaling Pati village is mentioned. From the tracking results, the grave of this kiai is located in Klaling Village, Jekulo District, Kudus Regency. His local name is Mbah Umar Taliworo. In addition, this kiai allegedly helped strengthen Kiai Dharmojoyo's determination to oppose the Dutch. Kiai Dharmojoyo studied under both men when he was young.

Kiai Umar is thought to have been one of Prince Diponegoro's soldiers in the Java War. He is also known by the name of Sheikh Haji Muhammad Umar Klaling. He began teaching the Naqsyabandiyah Kholidiyah Tarekat in Klaling village after the war and eventually became a religious leader. After that, 29 of his disciples—Kiai Hasan Marhaban from Lasem, Bandang Kidul village, Wirosari sub-district, Grobogan regency, and Kiai Sarido Bonang from Lasem—were awarded diplomas to teach this tariqah (some versions mention Rembang). His tomb is located behind the Sunan Bonang Mosque.

Mbok Mukminah was the messenger of the two religious leaders mentioned above to Kiai Dharmojoyo. She was the daughter of Kiai Maruwah, who had studied under Ki Bagus Suraji and Kiai Mochammad Umar and was Kiai Dharmojoyo's companion.

Kiai Maruwah served Raden Mas Adipati Haryo Sugondo, father of the next Regent of Pasuruan, Raden Mas Tumenggung Darso Sugondo, during his lifetime. Mbok Mukminah and her sister Mbok Muktohirah worked for the Regent of Pasuruan after their father's death. Kiai Dharmojoyo's resistance received moral support from the Regent of Pasuruan himself.

Raden Mas Tumenggung Darso Sugondo met Kiai Dharmojoyo when he was Wedono Wirosari Grobogan, and Kiai Dharmojoyo taught him religious knowledge. He also became a member of the brotherhood of Kiai Dharmojoyo and Kiai Maruwah. When he was Wedono of Kertosono, his father, Raden Mas Adipati Haryo Sugondo, recognised Kiai Dharmojoyo as a respected religious leader. For the record, Raden Mas Brotodiningrat, the former Regent of Madiun who was dismissed for opposing colonial rule, was a brother-in-law of

Raden Mas Tumenggung Darso Sugondo. Those who disagreed with Dutch rule included this Madiun regent.¹⁴

Although he managed to destabilise the colonial position in Nganjuk Regency, even as far as Surabaya, Kiai Dharmojoyo's resistance could not be considered successful. After his death, his students and family fled, and his pesantren did not resume operations.

In contrast to the case in Dukuh Bendungan, there was another kiai who focused more on developing the pesantren than carrying out armed resistance against the colonials. This pesantren is called Pesantren Miftahul 'Ula, which is located in Nglawak Village, Kertosono, Nganjuk Regency.

The Kertosono area has been one of the most vibrant areas since the Dutch East Indies occupation. Therefore, the work and human activities there are also increasingly complex. Unlike other areas in Nganjuk that are far from the bustle of the city, Kertosono has become the prototype of a small Javanese town that is reaching for modernity. Therefore, it is not surprising that the security sector is one of the areas to be enhanced.

The news reported on rampant criminal activity in a number of cities in East Java, where bandits appear to have information that is accurate enough to rob successfully. Allegedly, they have spies who provide them with information. Some instances include the sale of illegal liquor by a local resident who ended up being the victim of a robbery. Authorities, including schouts (a type of police officer) and police officers, have had difficulty apprehending the perpetrators of these crimes, as the criminals rarely leave a trail for the police to follow.

Fear and panic have started to spread among the local population, especially in smaller areas. There have also been reports of attacks on the European population, which have yet to be confirmed. This situation has made locals reluctant to deal with the

¹⁴ ANRI, *Laporan mengenai Pemberontakan Kiai Dharmojoyo pada tanggal 29 Januari 1907*.

police, as often interacting with the police only creates additional problems and costs.

In addition, there was news of illegal activities in the coffee trade. It is suspected that stolen coffee is being marketed in the region, with some even selling raw coffee openly. There may be a possibility that stolen coffee is also imported from elsewhere. Several people who tried to smuggle coffee through Gresik Gate were also arrested by the police.

Another headline-grabbing story was the arrest of a fake silver syndicate in Kertosono. A Chinese national, known as "Hendrik," has long been a suspect in the manufacture of counterfeit money. The arrest involved arrest, investigation, and a raid on Hendrik's house. Although the number of counterfeit notes found was limited, it was estimated that Hendrik had produced a large number of counterfeit quarters that had been circulating in the community.

The success of this arrest is credited to the hardworking police officers and a resident who was diligent in uncovering the case. However, the news also created questions about the fate of the arrested criminals, as well as a reminder of the need to set an example of strict punishment to curb crime in the city.¹⁵

On December 15, 1899, there was a reported theft of a beverage warehouse in Kertosono. This warehouse was of great importance to the Dutch East Indies government. The warehouse stood not far from Kertosono Station. As a result of this incident, a foreman, a European officer, and a native night watchman were dismissed. In their place, station security guards were given the additional task of guarding the warehouse day and night.¹⁶

Although it may not be heard directly, the above crime case was one of the driving forces that made KH Abdul Fattah decide to build a

¹⁵ *De Nieuwe Vorstenlanden*, 23 March 1887, p. 2

¹⁶ *De Locomotief*, 15 December 1899, p. 3.

pesantren in the Kertosono area, solely with the intention of taking care of the behaviour of the Muslims there. KH Abdul Fattah, whose real name is Kiai Ahmad Djalalain, is the founder of Miftahul Ula Islamic Boarding School. His mother, Ibu Sriatun, was the daughter of Kiai Hasan Muhyi, who founded Kapurejo Islamic Boarding School and was the founder of the village. Kiai Abdul Fattah himself was born in Banyakan, Kediri.¹⁷ Kapurejo Islamic Boarding School had an influence on the development of KH Abdul Fattah's personality and character. Kapurejo Islamic Boarding School was a place of learning for many students from Kediri and surrounding districts.

Around 1932, Kiai Abdul Fattah studied at Tebu Ireng Jombang. There, he had the opportunity to study under KH Hashim Asy'ari. Kiai Abdul Fattah completed his education at Tebu Ireng after seven years and then returned to Kapurejo, Kediri. He married Siti Nur Aini in the same year. He was thirty years old at the time. Kiai Abdul Fattah began to consider where his future pesantren would be located and where he would build a house after seeing signs of his wife's pregnancy. He drove through Kertosono and its surroundings, entered the settlement he had envisaged, and then, tired from the journey, returned to Kapurejo, Kediri.

Kiai Hashim Asy'ari insisted that, because of the strategic location of the Brantas River, Kiai Abdul Fattah should establish a pesantren there. Kiai Abdul Fattah then prayed to Allah for guidance. He also prayed istikhoroh and tahajud at night so that Allah would show him a suitable place to establish a pesantren. In addition, Kiai Abdul Fattah sold the land he inherited in Banyakan, Kediri, with the agreement of his brothers to buy land for the location of the pesantren with his own money. The land was in the location of what is now the Miftahul Ula' Islamic Boarding School, north of the Madiun-Surabaya Highway.

KH Abdul Fattah established Miftahul 'Ula Islamic Boarding School in Nglawak Kertosono on January 1, 1940. The first step in

¹⁷ See Zuhul Ma'ruf. *Al-Maghfurlah KH.Abdul Fattah Hidup dan Perjuangannya* (Nganjuk: IKAMU, 2010) p. 29.

establishing the Miftahul Ula' Islamic Boarding School was to build a bamboo surau measuring 10 x 4 metres as a place to study, worship, and rest for the students. After the surau was completed, Kiai Abdul Fattah's students moved from Kapurejo to Nglawak and began their pesantren studies there, using the sorogan method for reading the yellow classical books. There were only six students enrolled in the surau when the pesantren was first established.¹⁸

In the beginning, Pesantren Miftahul 'Ula used the curriculum and techniques referring to Pesantren Tebu Ireng. The traditional Kitab Kuning teaching methodology was used for instruction. Given that Kiai Abdul Fattah studied under Kiai Hashim Asy'ari, this makes sense. In fact, Pesantren Tebu Ireng was the mecca of salaf pesantren around 1932. The granting of public school status to this pesantren in 1965 was an important event in the long history of Pondok Pesantren Miftahul 'Ula.

Although Kiai Abdul Fattah's madrasa has been granted state status, his health does not allow him to lead his educational institution. His only activity is teaching, which is sporadically hampered by his condition. He tends to put aside health problems and entrust everything to Allah.

After Kiai Abdul Fattah's son-in-law, Gus Jamal, had a wedding in mid-1967, he told Kiai Abdul Fattah what he thought would happen to Pesantren Nglawak. Gus Jamal believed that gaining public school status for the madrasah was the only way to expand and develop the pesantren so that it could function as an Islamic educational institution. He claims that once the teachers have this status, they will also be granted public teacher status. Thus, even if they do not live on the premises of the pesantren, the teachers who have been teaching

¹⁸ Siti Miftakhul Khoiria, *Sejarah Perkembangan Yayasan Pondok Pesantren Miftahul Ula' Desa Nglawak Kecamatan Kertosono Kabupaten Nganjuk Jawa Timur (1968-2017)*, Skripsi (Surabaya: Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2018) p. 20-23.

will continue to fulfil their obligations. The welfare of the teachers in these pesantren will improve as a result of this action.

Santri will receive a certificate of completion or diploma recognised by the state after they complete their education. This document can be used to apply for jobs and pursue higher education. If all goes according to plan, this madrasah will attract santri to study there, ensuring that the pesantren will continue to thrive and survive even if, say, Kiai Abdul Fattah passes away.¹⁹

The subtle resistance in the form of community education methods adopted by Pesantren Miftahul 'Ula under Kiai Abdul Fattah and the resistance mobilised by Kiai Dharmojoyo are two different approaches to achieving social and educational change in the community.

Pesantren Miftahul 'Ula, under the leadership of Kiai Abdul Fattah, adopted a subtle resistance approach. They emphasise Islamic values, religious education, and morals in the education process. Education in this pesantren is focused on developing students' character and spirituality. They also try to build harmonious relationships with the government and the surrounding community. This approach aims to influence social change through improving the quality of individuals.

On the other hand, the resistance mobilised by Kiai Dharmojoyo was more political and active. Kiai Dharmojoyo is known as a figure who was active in political and social movements in the past. He led resistance to government policies that were considered detrimental to society. His methods included demonstrations and open protests to voice their demands. This approach aims to achieve social change through political pressure and resistance to policies deemed unjust.

Both approaches have the same goal, which is social change and better education. However, the difference lies in the way to achieve these goals. Pesantren Miftahul 'Ula prioritises education, morals, and cooperation with the government, while Kiai Dharmojoyo uses political action and open resistance. In different historical and social

¹⁹ Siti, *Sejarah*, p. 24.

contexts, both tried to influence positive change in society according to the approaches they believed to be most effective.

Approaching the era of Dutch Military Aggression, also known as *Het Politie-ele Actie*, which, in the perception of Dutch historians, is called the Age of Preparedness. At that time, the Santri and Kiainya were involved in all acts of state defence in all places to defend the country from the re-colonisation efforts of the Dutch, who were accompanied by the Allied Forces. At that time, Pesantren Parakan Temanggung was known as a suwuk pesantren, where KH Munasir was asked to pray for the pointed bamboo that was used as a weapon by the students and the surrounding population. That's what happened in the West. Then, in the East, this task was carried out by Kiai Abdul Fattah.

Before working as a suwuk kiai, there was a message from Bung Karno to Kiai Hashim Asy'ari asking the kiai to create a base for people's defence. Kiai Hashim also instructed his favourite student, Kiai Abdul Fattah, to carry out this profession in his hut. After this order, Pesantren Miftahul 'Ula improved to become a base for the santri and people's army, some of whom were also members of the Hizbullah ranks. Later, the fighters in this pesantren will be assigned to the Surabaya Front to ward off the enemy.

Young people always came to Kiai Abdul Fattah's house and pesantren to ask for suwuk (*jampi-jampi*) asma' on the bamboo sticks and pebbles they carried, asking for prayers and physical strength. Kiai Abdul Fattah always reminds them that they should never think of weapons of war as pistols or rifles. There are asma' stones that can be used to throw projectiles instead of gunpowder. These 'bullets' are alleged to have brought down a Dutch aircraft.

Kiai Abdul Fattah brought one by one the sacks of gravel brought by the Hizbullah troops to the room for prayer. After the incident was prayed for, a new spirit emerged among the Hizbullah soldiers. Armed with this weapon from Kiai Nglawak, water was believed to be a weapon to bring down opponents. When water known

as Kiai Abdul Fattah's asma' was spread on the Dutch route, enemies who passed through it would soon perish.

Young men are told to bring rice or mung beans and some sugar to test their physical strength. All three can multiply the body's strength and make it bulletproof after being consumed and prayed over by Kiai Abdul Fattah. Anyone who comes intending to fight can be fed with just a few handfuls of rice. While some disciples prepared for battle, others did the cooking. Hizbullah troops never left the house or the pesantren. Their increased strength during this period allowed them to hamper the Dutch forces in the east.

The Dutch felt as if they were facing ghosts when using guerrilla tactics. They found the countryside quiet during the day but showed suspicious movements at night. Hizbullah forces often troubled them with unexpected attacks. The enemy forces began to move in search of Hezbollah military bases to defeat them.

When word got out that the Dutch were advancing on Kertosono with their troops, the situation escalated.

Together with forty other kiai from East Java, Kiai Abdul Fattah sought divine guidance on behalf of Bung Karno through Kiai Hashim. The Kiai prayed to God for a way out through a 40-day uzlah (meditation) ritual in a cave close to Ngliman's tomb on Mount Wilis to seek victory over the Dutch. Two santris, who were in charge of providing food to break the fast during the hermitage and guarding the food, followed them.

During the hermitage, Kiai Abdul Fattah and his followers practised fasting and dhikr. They prayed to Allah for guidance day after day. Not everyone was able to withstand this test of endurance. Kiai, one by one, resigned due to the difficulties they faced. Every day, in addition to physical tests, one must face supernatural tests in the form of disturbances from invisible creatures.

The only people who managed to survive until the last days were Kiai Abdul Fattah and the cooks, but not until the end. Believe it or not, the result of Kiai Abdul Fattah's self-imposed exile led to a miraculous event: when Dutch troops entered Kertosono, they did not

find Nglawak Hamlet. Their vision was obscured by the fog that enveloped Kertosono and the surrounding area. The Dutch never found the Hizbullah headquarters until the end of the battle.²⁰

The various sporadic attacks launched by the ulama and the people of Nganjuk above were also found in Kediri. It is reported that in 1888, the Dutch East Indies Government received information about resistance actions carried out by kiai and hajj from Tulungagung and Kediri. Initially, the node of communication centred on hajjis and kiai in Tulungagung but soon spread to urban areas such as Kediri. The Dutch East Indies government suspected that the kiai of Tulungagung also corresponded with a number of Javanese aristocrats in Klaten.

The Dutch East Indies government immediately inspected a number of places in Tulungagung and arrested a number of people suspected of the resistance movement. A total of 100 people were arrested. From these inspections, they also learned that the Dutch position was not really accepted in Tulungagung, as a number of ulama and hajj had expressed their disapproval and were ready to fight back through the guerrilla nodes that had been formed.

Upon further research, the group of fighters had become accustomed to switching roles and loci in the area between East and Central Java. The fighters often dressed up as vagrants or people of unsound mind in order to deceive colonial military operations. It was reported that such vagabonds used to move from Tulungagung to Sragen as spies and conveyors of information to other fighters.

During a search of a house in Tulungagung, several white shirts worn by Muslims and a banner with Arabic script were found. In colonial eyes, such findings were used as evidence of the formation of a Muslim line that would fight back. Of course, this allegation is still very early and unfounded, considering that in a Muslim family's house

²⁰ Nidaus Sa'adah, "K.H.Fattah Jalalain : sosok kiai pejuang", in <https://www.tambakberas.com/artikel/khfattah-jalalain-sosok-kiai-pejuang/>, accessed in 20 November 2023.

there will certainly be various Islamic ornaments such as sarongs, caps, or calligraphy.²¹

In another statement, it is mentioned that the *pesantren* in Tulungagung were a resistant group of indigenous people to Dutch policies. They are dynamic entities who often carry out correspondence or connect resistance networks to Klaten, even Madiun. This step was taken to detect the circulation of colonial troops as well as as a means of exchanging information about the political steps to be taken by the company.²²

The fighters from Kediri are known to have not only fought in their area but also in other places. In a news report in 1914, it was rumoured that there was resistance from the Samin people in one of their villages on the edge of Bengawan Solo. Around 500 Samin people were involved in the resistance. After further investigation, the Samin people who turned out to be relatives of the prominent Samin figure, Samin Surontiko, came from Kediri and Madiun. They helped their brothers, who were fighting the company troops there.²³

One of the fighters from the *pesantren* who was known in Blitar and its surroundings was Kiai Mochammad Muchiar. He was a respected figure by Dutch troops at the end of the 19th century, as his movements were not tracked. He allegedly established a *pesantren* in one of the places in Blitar that taught various Islamic sciences, including Javanese mysticism. His students were quite numerous and loyal. They would defend their teacher if threatened by the Dutch.

The colonial press tried to undermine Kiai Mochiar's prestige by bringing up his past. It was said that in the past, Kiai Muchiar was a clown by profession. How could a clown become a respected cleric? The move was made to unravel the *kiai's* popularity in the eyes of colonial newspaper readers. On the other hand, the effort was far from successful. Kiai Muchiar continued to have great influence there.

²¹ *De Locomotief*, 16 August 1888, p. 3.

²² *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, 17 August 1888, p. 1.

²³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 15 April 1918, p. 2.

Despite living in Blitar, Kiai Muchiar is known to have moved frequently from Kediri to Yogyakarta. In that city, he allegedly had political connections with a number of anti-colonial Javanese aristocrats. In Yogyakarta, Kiai Muchiar is thought to have been involved in protests that sought to prevent the expansion of private plantations into areas outside the Vorstenlanden. As a result of this protest movement, a number of his political connections were arrested and exiled by the company to Manado.

Kiai Muchiar was known as a figure who persisted in spreading colonialism. To strengthen his position, he is said to have established a kingdom in Lodoyo, a forest area in southern Blitar. His daily life is known to be filled with recitations while distributing amulets for the struggles of his students. The allegation that he wanted to establish a kingdom in Lodoyo was often attributed by the colonial government to Kiai Muchiar's resistance movement, which was messianic or promoted the idea of Ratu Adil.

Colonial troops were soon sent to arrest Kiai Muchiar. He was then placed in Blitar prison. Previously, there was a discourse that the kiai would be executed in public. However, considering that the number of Muchiar's santri was still very large and fanatically defended their teacher, the intention was abandoned.²⁴

The kiai and pesantren movements in Blitar are still connected to scholars in Kediri and elsewhere. Therefore, when talking about kiai resistance in Blitar, it actually also intersects with other places because the pattern of their struggle took the form of guerrilla-sporadic, that is, in a silent but effective way to create fear on the part of the opponent.

D. CONCLUSION

There are at least three reasons why the ulama from the four regions fought back, either through education or physical resistance.

²⁴ *De Locomotief*, 25 August 1888, p. 2.

Firstly, there was the uncertainty of security experienced by small communities. Farmers and factory workers often suffered unfavourable fates due to colonial policies. Therefore, they often complained about their fate to Kiai to find solutions for their lives. For Kiai who chose the path of resistance, of course they could be invited to join the fight. However, for Kiai, who chooses the path of gentle struggle, it is not impossible that people who are victims of the company will become his students and continue to study so that they can become knowledgeable people in the future.

Second, kiai resistance was based on colonial suspicion of Islam. In the case of Kiai Muchiar, important information was found about the colonial forces' hatred of Islam. During a search, they found a red flag with a crescent moon and Arabic writing (calligraphy). This signalled that the house was a den of Islamic rebels. This is a sign that the Dutch East Indies government was always wary of Islamic symbols in the past. This is not to mention their editorials in the newspapers, which often mentioned the chaos in Tulungagung, which was motivated by Muslim figures with the title of Hajj.

Third, the kiai became the backbone that produced the nation's fighters. It is undeniable that Kiai's desire to establish Pesantren is certainly not only a place to study religion. More than that, they have hopes of preparing a generation of fighters who are more modern, knowledgeable, and inclusive. This can be seen in the case of Pesantren Tegalsari in Ponorogo. Raden Ngabehi Ronggowarsito and HOS Tjokroaminoto were two alumni who chose a path of resistance that did not merely rely on physical attacks. Ronggowarsito fought through Javanese literature, and the second name was active as an agitator and propagandist for Sarekat Islam in the early 20th century.

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چوتنغ این فولد: کهای فروتستت موقیمینتس این
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قایروز ادلویته دان شهادا

یکلیم اورکاتیسانی دان کوئسیف اکلیم اورکاتیسانی:
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فوکیمباغان کاجیان حدیث دی اینتونیسیا: سیجراه
دان ماسا دیقان
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داکواه دیکیتال سیباکای سارانا فیغواتان مودیرای
براکاما
ریتنا دوی ایستونیتیتاس