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Islamization in Madura and the response of the Dutch East Indies colonial government until the 19th century

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Abstract: *The study of Islam in Indonesia, particularly concerning local historical studies, remains a fascinating field of study if sources for reconstruction are found. This research examines the Muslim population of Madura in their response to various policies of the Dutch colonial government. This research begins with the assumption that Madura is geo-religiously identified with Islam. Many authors have argued that if Aceh is the veranda of Mecca, then Madura is the veranda of Medina. A characteristic of Madura that has often received significant attention in previous studies is the dominant Islamic behavior in various forms and activities of its people. Nearly 100 percent of the population is devout Muslim. Therefore, everything related to Islam is viewed as truth and holds high value in the eyes of the community. The barren natural conditions shape the character of the Madurese, making them tenacious and firm in their principles. This attitude is also applied to their religion, resulting in a strong adherence to religious teachings. Based on this, it is possible that activities throughout their historical journey are inseparable from their religious environment, including various activities. This study is interesting because of the unique patterns associated with the religious practices of the Madurese people, starting with the arrival of Islam in Madura and continuing through the emergence of socio-political and religious movements. Madurese, who live in villages, maintain a close relationship between religion and daily life.*

Keywords: *Islamization, Sunan Giri, Madura, Dutch colonial government, Islamic boarding school*

I. Introduction

Madura during the Dutch East Indies period was fertile ground for studying Islamic political movements for several reasons. First, Madura was one of many places where capitalist penetration in the 19th century affected the daily lives of the people. Madurese rulers were accustomed to renting their appanage lands to loan sharks, often ethnic Chinese. Second, Madura suffered from the remnants of a strict social stratification system that concentrated power and privileges solely in the hands of the ruling class. Third, Madura was known for its religious devotion, a practice that reflected the religious practices of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies at the time. Fourth, the complexity of Madura's social structure reflects the contrast between the society of the former Dutch East Indies and the present-day Indonesia.

This research begins with the assumption that Madura is geo-religiously identified with Islam. This was once stated by Amin Rais, who said that if Aceh is the "veranda of Mecca," then Madura is the "veranda of Medina" (Rais, 1996: 244). A characteristic of Madura, often highlighted in many previous studies, is the predominant Islamic behavior in various aspects of its society. Nearly 100 percent of the population is devout Muslim. Therefore, anything related to Islam is viewed as truth and holds high value in the eyes of the community.

The barren natural environment has shaped the Madurese people's character, making them tenacious and firm in their principles. This attitude is also applied to their religion, resulting in a strong adherence to its teachings. Based on this, it is possible that their activities throughout their history are inseparable from their religious environment, including their various activities. One interesting piece of evidence is the rise of Madurese people

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going on the Hajj to Mecca in the 19th century, despite the high costs involved. Mien Ahmad Rifai, for her part, also confirms that, compared to Javanese, Madurese, although somewhat naive, are generally more devout in their religion (Rifai, 2007: 145).

Even the Madurese's devotion to religion, even to various activities carried out in their diaspora, indicates a cohesiveness with Islam, always incorporated and carried out to the best of their ability (Syamsudin, 2007:150). The assumption that accompanied the strong Muslim community in Madura led the Dutch East Indies government to ratify Staatsblad No. 152 in 1882, which placed Islamic religious court law in Madura in more detail and formally integrated it with Javanese law (Susanto, 1953:7).

Various Dutch government policies implemented since Madura was made a directly governed territorial unit at the end of the 19th century also had an impact that could shape Madura's history. On the one hand, although Madura is not a promising area for natural resources in the agro-industrial sector, it still holds promise. This is especially true in relation to the recruitment of security personnel, such as the Barisan, which provided significant support for Dutch military expeditions to help suppress other unrest in other regions. One of the food exploitation resources is estimated to be only salt supplies, thus confirming that the Dutch government was very concerned about the conditions and situation in Madura.

Another policy that required careful consideration by the colonial government concerned the religious aspects of Madurese society. This was due to the rise of Islam, which was widespread in the 18th and 19th centuries, which also spread to Madura. The Madurese's devotion to Islam is undeniable. The process of Islamization, particularly in Madura from a local perspective, is thought to have coincided with the growth of trade that began in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.

The end of the Majapahit kingdom and its replacement by the Demak kingdom had a major impact on the political influence of the Madura island region. It is speculated that Islam had already entered Madura before the Majapahit collapse, brought by Sunan Giri. The process of Islamization occurred at the local level, played by local elites, so the Madurese people always respected them. After their deaths, the tradition of visiting their graves continued for a very long time. In addition to sacred graves, the land grants, originally offered to religious leaders, were also transformed by the rulers into customary institutions. However, the Dutch government, due to its implementation of a rational, modern bureaucracy, decided to abolish the land grants in Madura for certain reasons in the 19th century.

Regarding Islamization at the global level, the frequent arrival of Hadramaut people in Madura is evident, especially after being welcomed by the ruler of Sumenep, Sultan Paku Nataningrat, since the 19th century. Sultan Paku Nataningrat even placed these scholars to teach Islam in Islamic boarding schools specifically for his family, but eventually expanded beyond the palace. The development of these Islamic educational institutions has inspired the emergence of religious figures in Madura, producing various standardized religious works to be preserved as learning materials in these Islamic boarding schools.

Likewise, part of what strengthened the religious building was after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1879, which had an impact on the increasing number of Madurese people who went on the Hajj to Mecca. This thus contributed to the narrative that Islam in Madura in its development was also shown by the activities of the Hajj community as it coincided with the growth of the number of Islamic boarding schools in Madura from the 19th to the 20th century. Evidence of the Hajj community is even now detected by the increasing number of manuscripts distributed which contain teachings of the Salaf or pure religion as reflected in the yellow books from various Islamic boarding schools in the Madura region.

Madura Island was categorized as a marginalized region at the time, but the Dutch government, through its pacification policy, maintained its status as an area requiring peace. To this end, the Dutch government also had to resolve the issue of pan-Islamism. As is well known, this issue initially spread through news reports about the Russo-Japanese War, which idealized the Turkish Empire as the victor. This news was brought by the Madurese Hajj community returning from Mecca. Based on this, the Dutch government immediately implemented policies to monitor the Hajj pilgrimage, the number of mosques, Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), the activities of Islamic scholars, and religious leaders in Madura.

In the second half of the 19th century, the Dutch government displayed suspicion, particularly of Muslim preachers, whom they considered instigator of various rebellions in the Dutch East Indies. These Muslim preachers emerged as new, trusted leaders in rural areas, typically consisting of kiai (Islamic scholars) and hajj

(pilgrims). Their teachings and ideology consistently opposed the Dutch government and the indigenous elite, fostering a high level of fanaticism and hatred of those considered infidels. Consequently, the Dutch government began implementing new tactics by developing specific policies toward Islam. Research, particularly on the issue of pan-Islamism, has consistently linked it to anti-Western sentiments.

Islam's crucial position in the lives of indigenous communities served as the strongest expression of loyalty to the homeland in opposition to foreign invaders. It was therefore understandable that the colonial government was highly suspicious of Islam and treated it with special regard. Islam was viewed not only as a threat to security and order (rust-end order) but also to the future sustainability of colonial practices in the Dutch East Indies.

II. The Spread of Islam in Madura

Discussions about Islamization in the Indonesian archipelago generally connote the issue of religious conversion. Numerous studies have been conducted, both covering a broad area, such as Islamization in Southeast Asia, including the Indonesian archipelago, and within a narrower context, such as Java. This discourse seems to be incomplete due to the lack of consensus. However, this is particularly interesting because numerous and meticulous experts have provided indications and interpretations from various disciplines. However, the signals used as benchmarks for Islamization in Southeast Asia are generally based on assumptions based on three major theories, which are considered too crude and representative.

The theory considered too crude is that the first stage began with the arrival of Islam, which saw the decline and eventual collapse of the Majapahit Empire in the 14th and 15th centuries. The second stage was marked by the arrival of Western nations, including the Dutch, British, and Spanish, in the 19th century. Similarly, the third stage began around the 20th century, when the Dutch colonial government's policies in the Dutch East Indies liberalized (Azra, 1989: vi-xiv).

In this regard, the first theory considered representative states that Islam arrived from Arabia, specifically from the Hadramaut region. This is based on similarities with followers of the Shafei school of thought. Hamka expressed his agreement with this opinion. At a seminar on the arrival of Islam in Indonesia held in 1962, he stated that Islam arrived in the archipelago in the first century of the Hijriah, or the 7th century AD.

The second theory states that Islam came from India, as proposed by Pijnafel in 1872. It is further stated that the Arabs of the Shafi'i school from Gujarat and Malabar, India, were the ones who brought Persian terms that were often communicated to the population around port cities in the Indonesian archipelago. In subsequent developments, this theory, up to 1951, was also believed by Snouck Hurgronje and Morison, who said that Islam came from the Coromandel Islands and that those who brought it were mostly traders. The third theory is that Islam came from Bengal (now Bangladesh). This theory was developed by Fatimi based on the Suma Oriental notes by Tome Pires, which showed that prominent people who played a role in Samudra Pasai were of Bengali ethnic descent. In addition, this theory is also supported by the similarity of letters on the inscriptions located in Trengganu, Peninsular Malaysia, with the inscriptions located in Leran, East Java.

Based on the second and third theories, there is a suspicion that this is related to the role of Sufis, along with their Sufi movements and Sufi teachings. This representative theory suggests that, regarding the method of dissemination, first, the process of Islamization carried out by traders through trade routes was carried out peacefully. Second, the spread of Islam by preachers and holy men (wali) who came from Arabia and India was carried out deliberately to convert non-believers to Islam or to strengthen their faith. Third, the spread of Islam was carried out through power or by declaring war against pagan nations, but in this context, this did not occur in the Indonesian archipelago.

Based on the segmentation between the overly crude and representative theories, does this support the timing of the Islamization process, particularly in Madura? If so, this theory seems too crude and more local in nature, meaning it is always linked to surrounding events, such as the fall of the Majapahit Empire to the Demak Kingdom or the conversion from Hinduism and Buddhism to Islam. This was originally based on the fact that all activities that occurred in Madura were an extension of Javanese history or that Madura was still dependent on Java.

Regarding the process of Islamization, particularly in Madura, from a local perspective, it is suspected to coincide with the growth of trade that began in the late 15th to 16th centuries. The end of the Majapahit Empire

and the simultaneous rise of the Demak Kingdom, supported by cities on the north coast of Java, had an impact on the island of Madura, as this region began to intersect with trade traffic and was even used by the Demak Kingdom as a defensive fortress for political interests. Although there are also speculations that before the Majapahit Empire collapsed, Madura had actually been introduced to Islam through Gresik and Surabaya, with their figure named Sunan Ampel. However, after Sunan Ampel's death, the religious orientation was continued by Sunan Giri (Charpenier "Sadjarah Madoera Proza", Manuscript, Sanabudaya Library, Yogyakarta, Collection No. A.13, 12; Aboebakar, 1957:41-42).

It is also said that at the same time as Sunan Giri was spreading Islam in Madura, traders from Gujarat also frequently stopped off at Madura's beaches, particularly in Kalianget. This undoubtedly had an impact on interactions, as they not only engaged in trade but also spread Islam. This is based on a story that tells of a visit by an Arab named Usman Haji to the village of Parsanga, Sumenep. He was the son of Raja Pandita and brother of Sunan Ampel. However, he claimed to have a Javanese name, Raden Bandara Diwiryapada.

In the activity of spreading Islam among the people of Sumenep, when it was considered perfect, the person who had been converted to Islam was always bathed with water mixed with fragrant flowers or in a way called edudus. As a result, the village was known as Padusan village. In addition, it is also said that Sunan Padusan's residence, which was originally in Padusan village, later moved to the Batuputih palace. The spread of Islam continued to expand not only around the coastal areas of Madura Island, but also to remote villages. This is evidenced by the many folk arts that were influenced by the Middle East, such as hadrah, gambus, and samrah (Abdurrahman, 1971: 17; Bouvier, 1989: 222-223).

HJ. de Graaf and TH. Pigeaud stated that Islamization in Madura developed through two processes: West Madura and East Madura, both of which were driven by the aristocratic elite. The Islamization process in West Madura occurred through the Arosbaya duchy, which would later develop into Bangkalan and Sampang. This process began with a king named Lembu Peteng. He was a descendant of King Brawijaya of the Majapahit kingdom, who married Princess Cempa, a Muslim. A story circulating among the Madurese community states that Princess Lembu Peteng came from Sampang and later married the son of Maulana Ishaq. According to Islamic legend, the saints in Blambangan are said to be descendants of the Arab nation, namely Maulana Ishaq, who was actually the father of Sunan Giri. In this view, it can be estimated that in the second half of the 15th century in West Madura, the Javanese rulers were estimated to be aristocrats and also Muslims who came from across the ocean who were thought to have established friendly relations (De Graaf, Pigeaud, 2001: 190-191; Pa' Kamar, 1926: 231).

De Graaf further explained that, based on oral tradition among the Madurese, it is said that the crown prince of West Madura converted to Islam in 1450 AD (Javanese year) or 1528 AD, although there is some doubt regarding this date. This seems plausible because the city of the old kingdom, in this case none other than the Majapahit kingdom, was indeed conquered by Muslims in 1527 AD. According to de Graaf, this is not impossible, as the ruler of West Madura, considered a vassal of the Majapahit kingdom, then in 1528 AD decided to recognize the new Islamic king ruling in Java as his superior.

The possibility of a link between the arrival of Islam in West Madura and the collapse of the Majapahit kingdom is plausible, as the Babad Demak Bintoro also relates that the arrival of Islam in West Madura is linked to a dream of a crown prince named Pratanu, who was born in Arosbaya. Based on this dream, Pratanu's father, Pragalba, ordered his prime minister, Empu Bagna, to travel to Central Java to learn the truth. It is said that upon his arrival and meeting with Sunan Kudus, they engaged in a dialogue about the meaning of Prince Pratanu's dream, which was a sign that he wished to convert to Islam.

It is very likely that Prince Pratanu already knew and realized that his superior king, Gusti Adipati Kediri, had been successfully subdued by the Demak kingdom, so there was no longer any point in maintaining his old religion. Therefore, he immediately sent an envoy to meet Sunan Kudus and asked for his guidance in accepting Islam. Then Prince Pratanu invited his father, Prince Pragalba or Ki Ageng Palakaran, who was at that time already old and in a sick condition, to convert to Islam. With his son's guidance, Pragalba imitated reading the shahada sentence as a sign of his conversion to Islam and also responded with a nodding motion of his head. This nodding motion made by Pragalba resulted in him often being called Prince Ongguk (Charpenier "Sadjarah Madoera Proza", Manuscript, Sanabudaya Library Yogyakarta, Collection No. A.13, 18; Pa'Kamar, 1926: 234).

After succeeding his father, Prince Pratanu changed his name to Panembahan Lemah Duwur. Panembahan Lemah Duwur then became the ruler of Madura and built his palace in Arosbaya, which was marked

by the candrasengkala: sirnaning buta suciningrat (1450 Saka or 1528 AD). The book "Sadjarah Madura" (Sadjarah Madura) states that since 1528 CE, Panembahan Lemah Duwur, the ruler of Madura, considered himself king, and his power encompassed all of Madura. Sumenep, the easternmost region, also recognized his authority and became his vassal (Babad Tanah Madura, Manuscript, No. Ml. 550, National Archives Jakarta collection: 15-16).

The process of Islamization in East Madura was also carried out by the Demak kingdom. This is based on the existence of an ancient tomb in the village of Pasar Pajhinggha'an, dated 1582 CE. This tomb is thought to be the tomb of Adipati Kanduruwan, an important figure in Sumenep in the second half of the 16th century. It is said that Adipati Kanduruwan was actually a brother of Sultan Trenggana's mother, who ruled the Demak kingdom. The Babad Soengenep relates that Kanduruwan died in battle against the non-religious King Gelgel of Bali. Islam. This story suggests that the Demak kingdom used the East Madura region as a fortress and defense base in its efforts to expand its power to the east (De Graaf, Pigeaud, 2001: 190).

By the 19th century, Islamization in Madura was progressing rapidly. A factor contributing to this process was the increasing influx of ethnic Arabs, particularly those from Hadramaut, to the Madurese region. This was likely due to the invention of the steamship in 1870 and the subsequent opening of the Suez Canal in 1879, which facilitated easier movement between Saudi Arabia and the Dutch East Indies. They came to the Dutch East Indies not only to engage in trade as traders, but also to Sufis, experts in Sufism. Many of these individuals claimed to be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, often working as religious teachers and holding the title Sayyid or Sheikh.

Regarding the number of Arab immigrants in Madura, the data is starting to become somewhat clearer thanks to statistical data compiled by the colonial government. It is stated that in 1885 the number of Arab residents in the Madura region, although still confused with Bengalis or other foreigners who are Muslim, was 1,388 people, with details in Pamekasan 206 people, Bangkalan 98 people, Sumenep 57 people, and Kangean and Sapudi islands 7 people (Van den Berg, 2010: 96-97). The arrival of Arabs from Hadramaut to the Dutch East Indies until the 19th century occurred increasingly rapidly and they then established colonies in cities as settlements, including in seven large cities: Batavia, Cirebon, Tegal, Pekalongan, Semarang, Surabaya, and Sumenep. Sumenep was made the center of the Arab ethnic colony on the island of Madura due to the great interest of Sultan Paku Nataningrat who ruled there from 1812 to 1854 to study the holy book of the Koran with Sayid Abd ar-Rahnan al-Baiti and Sayid Syaikh bin Ahmad Bafakih.

These two men taught religious sciences using books as their teaching materials. These textbooks consisted of Fiqh, Usul, Nahwu, and Tafsir, respectively. In the field of Fiqh, they included Fath Al-Muin, Safinah, Sullam Al-Taufiq, Al-Masa'il Al-Sittin, Muhtasar, Jawahirul Kalamiyah, Fat Al-Qarib, and Minhaaj-Al Qawim. In the field of Usul, they included: Al-Samarqandiyah, Bajat, Al-Durrah, As-Sinusi, Tilmisani, Al-Miftah fi Sharh, Jauharat Al-Tauhid, and kipayat Al-Awam. In the field of Nahwu, among them are: Sulam Al-Taufiq, Al-Jurumiyah, Mu'taminah, Al-Fiyah, Syarah Imriti, Tuhfatul Atfhal, Ta'lim Al Muta'lim, Qatran Nada, Minhaaj Al-Malik, Ibn Agil, Innola., Tamrin, Kapiyah, Al-Hisam, and Arul. In the field of Tafsir, among them are al-Jalalalain, Hidayatul Adzkiya, Min Hajul Alidin, Syarkawi, Bidayatul Hidayah, Ihya Ulum Al-din, Tuhfah Al-Mursalah, and Syo'ah Al-Iman (Van den Berg, 1886: 519-547; Bruinessen, 2012: 149).

After mastering Arabic, Sultan Paku Nataningrat frequently communicated with Abd ar-Rahman bin Ahmad al-Misri, Abd Allah bin Somair, and Sayid Umar Bahrun in Batavia, providing them with astronomical insights. He also specifically addressed Sayid Syaikh bin Ahmad Bafaqih as an educator for the Sultan's family. Sultan Paku Nataningrat considered this figure to have a reputation as a "sage" or "ahl al-khasyf," meaning an expert in predicting one's fate (Van den Berg, 2010: 149).

Subsequently, after Snouck Hurgronje was appointed as advisor on indigenous affairs in 1889, he established the Office of the Inlandsche Zaken (Office for Inland Affairs) as his workplace. In dealing with Islam, he distinguished between its meaning as a form of worship and as a political force. In implementing Islamic policies in Madura, Snouck Hurgronje was also very careful and avoided making any mistakes that could have disastrous consequences. Snouck Hurgronje also relied on previous information sources on Madura obtained from missionaries and observers who had lived in Madura, including Van den Berg, Clarenbeck, and Esser. They were always meticulous in making notes and reports about Madura, even writing articles for colonial or neutral magazines, as observers in the Dutch East Indies. In his commentary on Islam in Madura, Snouck Hurgronje also

suggested that special attention be paid, not unlike that on the island of Java. In addition to the increasing number of followers, if not balanced with a critical perspective, Madura would face a serious threat (Hurgronje, 1994: 50).

According to Van den Berg, Islam in Madura once proposed two alternatives: granting full authority to religious leaders and preserving local customs still deeply rooted in community life. At that time, the Madurese assistant resident successfully approached the rulers of Sumenep, Pamekasan, and Bangkalan to take over as ulama. Various religious activities were carried out, for example, during Friday prayers in congregation at the Jami' mosque or the large mosque in the district towns of the three regents, namely Sumenep, Pamekasan, and Bangkalan, a preacher was always present, with Arabic reading materials brought by people from Hadramaut. The regent of Sumenep, in particular, was nicknamed the "Turkish Sultan" by his people. The impact of this initiative could be said to be successful, because if his people did not attend congregational prayers, they felt burdened by sin, so the mosque was always full.

Furthermore, regarding local traditions, such as customary law, the Dutch government attempted to integrate them with Islamic law and colonial government regulations. When there was confusion between these three laws, matters related to religion would be delegated to the Ulama Council. An example of this occurred in the village of Blega, where, due to its remoteness from the city, the management of the mosque and the residents was taken over by the village head, who often even acted as a judge (Van den Berg, 1882: 29). By granting such honorable status to the ulama, local authorities in Madura demonstrated that they were also successfully carrying out their duties, as stipulated in Article 17 of Government Regulation (Regering Reglement) No. 114 of 1867, namely the supervision and regulation of the ulama.

The source of information indicating this conducive situation is the Claerenbeck report, which is considered representative of Islam in rural Madura. It is said that a man named Man Barmidin was a wealthy man in the village of Raun in the Sumenep afdeeling region. He had two children, one named Mesi, who became the wife of Mr. Haverveld, a tobacco plantation supervisor, and one son named Sarim. Initially, Man Barmidin was not religious and even became an opium smoker and gambler. However, with his wealth, he eventually became close to the ulama, so he hated the Dutch because they considered him infidels. The Hajj pilgrimage was an option only a matter of time, while with his son-in-law, Mr. Haverveld, who was Dutch, he continued to look after him well for the sake of his family. His only great hope was for his son, Sarim, who was always persuaded to study religion with a cleric named Kyai Mas so that he would become a good Muslim.

Initially, Sarim idealized studying science with his brother-in-law, Mr. Haverveld, so it seemed he did not want to become a cleric according to his father's hopes. When the opportunity arose because Mr. Haverveld was transferred by the assistant resident to Bangkalan, Man Barmidin was able to take over as a large tobacco plantation entrepreneur, thus becoming the richest man in his village. Furthermore, Man Barmidin also partnered with several Arab traders in Madura, so that his appearance changed to always wear a turban, grow a beard, and increasingly his religious insight. Sarim was always persuaded to immediately study religion with Kyai Mas, because he was promised that after reading the Koran, he would immediately be circumcised by his father, Man Barmidin. As is known, the tradition of circumcision is a source of pride for Madurese boys, because they are considered adults and have the hope of soon being able to marry the girl he loves, namely Kansina, the daughter of Pa' Mor who happened to be Man Barmidin's laborer (Claerenbeck, 1882: 390-393).

In addition to reports and information written by several Dutch observers regarding the development of Islam in Madura, which were not particularly concerning in nature, there were also comments deemed negative, particularly regarding the quality of religious practices. According to Esser, while on duty treating Madurese, he once asked the villagers about the existence of God or Allah, but they were generally unable to explain. Even the word "Allah" was considered a commonplace word, seemingly devoid of any significance. It is also said that Madurese still believe that after death, their spirits wander around as cats. Female spirits are depicted as having very large breasts and are used to hide small children. Another depiction of an evil spirit is a large white flame emitting a sound like leaves rustling in a strong wind. Another spirit is depicted as having a human body but no back, an ape-like face, and a head with two horns.

Meanwhile, another image of a monster feared by the Madurese is that of two dragons that frequently move from place to place and then return after three months (Esser, 1882: 29-30). As is known, Esser was a Dutchman who deliberately came to Madura as a missionary and missionary officer. Such a statement is something reasonable because conversion to Christianity is impossible on this island. It is also possible that this report was

also insignificant because Snouck Hurgronje considered the Islamic policy in Madura to be quite conducive, based on events before his appointment as a native advisor in the Dutch East Indies, especially Islam in 1889.

III. The Impact of Dutch Colonial Government Policies and the Existence of Islamic Educational Institutions

A central discourse in the history of the colonial period, particularly in the Dutch East Indies, was the significant relationship between the expansion of colonial powers and pan-Islamism (Van den Berg, 1900: 228-269; Hurgronje, 1931: 244-245). The first valve, related to colonial interests, was when the Dutch government implemented a policy of pacification, namely preparing policies that could encompass all interests. Generally, it was divided into three departments, each with its function adjusted to its geographical location. The first was the parent government, headquartered in The Hague, whose status focused on legislative matters. The second was the central government in Batavia, which combined legislative and administrative functions, although in carrying out its functions it had to comply with general regulations outlined by the central government in the Netherlands. The third was the administrative department at the local level, run by officials located throughout the Dutch East Indies.

The second valve is related to the issue of pan-Islamism, which at that time many people studied the story of the war between Russia and Turkey or in the archipelago known as the Rus war. This story had a big influence on the minds of Muslims living in countries with Islamic populations. Even the people of the archipelago were eager to know the developments and every victory on the side of the Sultan of Rum was always remembered and celebrated accompanied by prayers and alms (Kartodirdjo, 1984: 209). He acknowledged that the Sultan of Turkey, who was said to be the legitimate ruler, was able to steadfastly defeat the infidels and Muslims were called to pray for him, allegedly because since the 1880s many scholars who preached using the book entitled Majmu al Khatab written by Abdul Rakhman bin Ismail bin Nabatah al Miri had a big influence on pan-Islamism in the Dutch East Indies (Hurgronje, 1931: 258). Besides the seeds of pan-Islamism, what seems to have made a real contribution was the establishment of a broad communication system within the Islamic world, fostered through the Hajj pilgrimage. The rise of the Hajj has been compared to the Islamic Renaissance, fueled by the spirit of Wahhabi puritanism and further influenced by the reforms brought by Sheikh Muhammad Abduh during the 19th century. This meant that news about the Islamic community could reach even the most remote places.

The impact of Dutch government policy, particularly in Madura, was divided between bureaucratic reform and Islamic religion. Dick Van Hogendorp, the founder of bureaucratic reform in 1803, sought to emulate the British government's direct government system in India. In this regard, the indirect government system implemented by the VOC was ineffective, as it required regents to pay tribute. Despite the direct government system, the role of regents was still necessary to reach the people and maintain the traditional bureaucracy they belonged to (Furnivall, 2009:60). In fact, the government recognized that each had different interests in its policies toward Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. On the one hand, the Dutch government strove to strengthen and maintain its power, while on the other, Muslims sought to break free from the grip of that power. In maintaining its power, each colonial government always sought to understand the circumstances of the indigenous population under its control, so that policies toward the indigenous population were crucial for its own interests.

The Dutch East Indies government's policy in dealing with Islamic issues, often referred to as Political Islam, is seen as its foundational principle. Prior to this, the Dutch East Indies government's policy toward Islam was based solely on fear and unwillingness to intervene, as the Dutch had little knowledge of Islamic issues. Thanks to his experience in the Middle East and Aceh, Snouck Hurgronje, as a scholar deeply involved in Islam, played a significant role in resolving the Aceh War and subsequently developed a basic model for policy in dealing with Islam in the Dutch East Indies. This model remained the official guideline for the Dutch East Indies government, although not entirely implemented in subsequent years. This model served as the working guideline for subsequent administrators of the Adviseur Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken in carrying out their duties as advisors to the Governor-General on all matters concerning indigenous people.

Snouck Hurgronje served as the primary advisor, assisted by advisors including one for Arab affairs and two experts in regional languages in the Dutch East Indies. Based on Snouck Hurgronje's advice, the Dutch colonial government distinguished between Islam in the sense of worship and Islam as a socio-political force. This policy toward Islam was divided into three categories: socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-religious.

In the socio-cultural realm, Snouck Hurgronje developed the idea of association politics, which essentially focused on a strategy for transforming the Muslim faith toward Western culture, considered the most

noble (Suminto, 1985:39). This policy was believed to be a long-term goal of the colonial government, particularly in striving to modernize the Dutch East Indies population, close to the West. Association politics also aimed to strengthen ties between the colonial state and the central government in the Netherlands through Western-style culture and education (Benda, 1965:47). Association would eliminate the stark political and social differences between the native population and the Dutch and would also strip the ideal of Islamization of all its power.

Regarding the presence of Islam in Madura, Snouck Hurgronje drew on the work of Dutch missionaries and observers who had come before him, including Van den Berg, Fokken, Claerenbeck, and Esser. They were meticulous in their notes and reports on Madura, even writing articles for colonial or neutral magazines, serving as observers in the Dutch East Indies. In his commentary on Islam in Madura, Snouck Hurgronje also suggested that special attention be paid, similar to that on the island of Java. Besides the increasing number of followers, if not balanced with a critical perspective, Madura would face a serious threat (Hurgronje, 1994: 50).

Their conclusion points back to the importance of understanding the kiai in Madura. Many researchers have studied and researched the figure and role of the kiai, such as Hiroko Horikosi, who differentiates kiai from ulama and views kiai as agents of social change, thus playing a significant role at the cultural level. Ultimately, kiai are positioned as system maintainers, not system creators, and kiai act as intermediaries (brokers) in connecting modern society with the defense of traditional defense systems. In this case, kiai serve as a benchmark in demonstrating vigilance towards the principle of authority, so that if a decline occurs in any aspect, it is the Kiai who acts as a pacifier (Horikosi, 1987: 242).

As evidence of the Islamic renaissance, particularly in Madura, the positive impacts of the increasing number of pilgrims and the development of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) and similar religious schools are evident. Pesantren are uniquely indigenous educational institutions and are found in abundance in Madura. Their model appears to follow the Javanese model. Since the arrival of the Dutch, Islamic boarding schools, originally located in urban areas, have shifted to rural areas. By the mid-19th century, the government had successfully controlled the entire coastal region of Java and successfully exploited maritime trade, resulting in the Dutch dominating urban life. The relocation of Islamic boarding schools to rural areas resulted in the isolation of their teaching materials. The limited subject matter offered by these Islamic boarding schools is understandable, given the strict isolation that limited Muslims at that time from sufficient opportunities to interact with the outside world.

It seems that the life and development of Islamic education depended on the materials provided by its teachers. Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) represented the Islamic education system that existed at that time. Only when maritime connections between Europe and Asia expanded due to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1879 did a renewed spirit and motivation for religious life emerge among the population of the Dutch East Indies. This was due to the increasing number of pilgrims, Quran teachers, and students in Islamic boarding schools, as well as a growing awareness of challenging government authority (Asifudin, 1994: 56).

The increasing growth of the Hajj and its important role in the late 19th century contributed to the refinement of the educational system among the Muslim population and its local character, as it effectively demarcated communication between Islamic boarding schools and the international community, particularly Mecca, the center of Islamic civilization (Geertz, 1959-1960: 232). Many young people from the Indonesian archipelago settled and studied in Mecca and Medina, not just for the purpose of performing the Hajj. Many of them became renowned scholars and teachers there. They also played an active role in the development of thought and spiritualism centered there, which in turn influenced and shaped the development and changing characteristics of Islamic understanding in the Indonesian archipelago. Thus, teaching in Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in the Dutch East Indies was heavily influenced by the educational system in Mecca (Asifudin, 1994: 56).

Similarly, in Madura at the end of the 19th century, the number of kiai (Islamic scholars) increased along with the increasing number of pilgrims. The economic surplus experienced by the rural population helped religious leaders provide religious education in a more organized and orderly manner. Religious figures, especially those directly involved in organizing education and religion, seemed to gain the sympathy of the villagers as potential independent leaders. Although the kiai were generally never independent in gaining support, they managed to position themselves as internal critics who could counterbalance foreign powers that did not want kiai to be pilots of change. The rural population recognized and patterned their personalities as symbols of independent character, even until the following period, the role of kiai in Madura could be categorized into four types: kiai pesantren (Islamic boarding school), kiai tarekat (Islamic order), kiai politik (Islamic political), and kiai platform (Sukamto, 1992: 76-77).

The categorization of the role of the kiai reflects the group of hajj pilgrims in Madura who succeeded in forming an important social stratum within society. Although only a small proportion of these hajj pilgrims actually studied Islam more systematically, their increasing numbers strengthened this religious elite (Mansurnoor, 1990:55). Regarding the development of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) where kiai played a role, especially in Madura, all kiai were considered descendants of Sunan Giri, thus gaining them very strong legitimacy (Aboebakar, n.d.: 41-42). For example, several Islamic boarding schools considered to be old Islamic boarding schools in Madura include the Banyuanyar Pamekasan Islamic boarding school founded by Kiai Haji Itsbat ibn Ishaq in 1788, the Demangan or Syaichona Kholil Islamic boarding school founded by Mohammad Kholil in Bangkalan in 1861, and the An-Nuqayah Islamic boarding school in Guluk-Guluk Sumenep founded by Kiai Haji Mohammad Syarqowi in 1887 (Syamsul Arifin, 1991: 10-12; Syaiful Bakhri, 2006: 39; Effendy, 1990: 8).

These old Islamic boarding schools can inherit the growth of subsequent Islamic boarding schools, both Salafi and Kalafi, so that until now Madura has been nicknamed "Island of a Thousand Islamic Boarding Schools". Soebahar said that by tracing data through the Educational Management Information System (EMIS) located in the head of the religious education and Islamic boarding school section (Kasie Pekapontren) in each Regency Department of Religious Affairs office, data on the number of Islamic boarding schools were obtained as follows: 258 Islamic boarding schools in Bangkalan Regency, 181 Islamic boarding schools in Sampang Regency, 462 Islamic boarding schools in Pamekasan Regency, and 224 Islamic boarding schools in Sumenep Regency. The number of Islamic boarding schools in the four Madura regencies is 1,125 Islamic boarding schools (Soebahar, 2008: 45).

The inheritance system provided to Islamic boarding schools, which has remained strong over time, primarily encompasses all classical Islamic texts, which can be grouped into six categories (Dhofier, 1982:50). These include language, the Quran, Hadith, monotheism, jurisprudence, and tasawwuf. This can be further explained as follows:

a. The language components for Arabic include nahwu material (imriti and Nahw al-Wadih), sarraf (Amtsilat al-Tasrifiyyah, Matnulbina, Kailani, Alfiyah Ibn Malik, Mutammimah), balaghah, and mantiq.

b. The components of the Koran consist of: qiraat (tajwid, Hidayatus Sibyan, Tuhfatul Aftal, Hidayatul Mustafid, Mursyidul Wildan, and Syifaur Rahman), tafsir (Jalalain Maraghi, translation, and Ulum al-Quran.

c. The hadith component consists of: matan hadith (Arbain al-Nawawi, Mukthar al-Hadits, Bulugh al-Marqam, Jawahir al-Bukhair) and Ulum al-Hadith (Minhaju al-Mughits).

d. The monotheism component consists of: aqaid 50 and kalam knowledge taken from the books Kifayatul 'Awam, Aqidah Islamiyah, Jawahir al-kalamiyah, Tuhfatul Siswa, and Husn mal-Hamidiyah

e. The fiqh component consists of: fiqh, ulus fiqh and qawaid al-fiqh which are taken from the books of Safinah al-Najah, Matan Taqrib, Minhaj al-Qawim, kifayah al-Akhyar, Sullam, Fath al-Muin, and Waraqat.

f. The components of Sufism consist of: behavioral Sufism, scientific Sufism, and organizational Sufism (tareqat) which refer to the books al-Wasaya al-Abna, Ta'lim al-Muta' allim, Minhajul 'Abidin, Irsyadul 'Ibad, and Risalah al-Mu'awanah wa al-Mudaharah wa al-Muwazarah.

Learning the yellow texts in all Islamic boarding schools in Madura is thought to have been practiced since the process of Islamization using the Javanese-Kitabi language. This language was pioneered by three previous scholars: Sheikh Muhammad Khalil Al-Maduri from Bangkalan, Sheikh Nawawi Al-Bantani from Banten, and Sheikh Saleh Al-Samarani from Semarang. As preservers of the Javanese-Kitabi language, traditional Islamic boarding schools in Madura, categorized as salaf, also continue to use the typical Javanese classical teaching methods called sorogan and bandongan for teaching the salaf Islamic texts. The tradition of writing the works of salaf books as classical Islamic books written in Javanese emphasizes the use of the Pegon script as a medium. This cannot be avoided, the possibility of using the Carakan script (Javanese) as a medium for writing texts. Furthermore, the texts of Islamic boarding schools in Madura are categorized as non-standard in their grammatical patterns and Javanese language varieties. The use of variety in Islamic boarding school texts using Javanese-Kitabi language is to provide deep meaning (Imran, 1998: 86).

IV. Conclusion

This paper begins with the assumption that Madura is geo-religiously synonymous with Islam. This has been stated by many authors, saying that if Aceh is the veranda of Mecca, then Madura is the veranda of Medina. A characteristic of Madura that has often received significant attention in many previous studies is the dominant Islamic behavior in various forms and activities of its people. Nearly 100 percent of the population is devout Muslim. Therefore, anything related to Islam is viewed as truth and holds high value in the eyes of the community.

Another policy that required careful consideration by the colonial government concerned the religious aspects of Madurese society. This was due to the rise of Islam in the 18th and 19th centuries, which also spread to Madura. The Madurese's devotion to Islam is undeniable. The process of Islamization, particularly in Madura, is thought to have coincided with the growth of trade that began in the late 15th and 16th centuries. The end of the Majapahit Empire and its replacement by the Demak Kingdom had a significant impact on the political influence of Madura. It is speculated that Islam had already entered Madura before Majapahit's collapse, brought by Sunan Giri. This Islamization process occurred at the local level, played a role in the local elite, and the Madurese people consistently respected them.

Regarding Islamization at the global level, the frequent arrival of Hadramaut people in Madura is evident, especially after being welcomed by the ruler of Sumenep, Sultan Paku Nataningrat, since the 19th century. Sultan Paku Nataningrat even placed these scholars to teach Islam in Islamic boarding schools specifically for his family, but eventually expanded beyond the palace. The development of these Islamic educational institutions has inspired the emergence of religious figures in Madura, producing various standardized religious works to be preserved as learning materials in these Islamic boarding schools.

Madura is a fertile ground for studying Islamic political movements for several reasons. First, Madura was one of many places where capitalist penetration in the 19th century affected everyday life. Madurese rulers were accustomed to renting their appanage lands to loan sharks, often ethnic Chinese. Second, Madura suffered from the remnants of a strict system of social stratification that concentrated power and privileges solely in the hands of the ruling class. Third, Madura was renowned for its religious devotion, a practice that reflected, to some extent, the religious practices of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies at the time. Fourth, the complexity of Madura's social structure reflects the contrast between the society of the former Dutch East Indies and the present-day Indonesia.

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