

# Religious Nationalism of *Kèaè* Pesantren: K.H. Zainal Arifin Together with *Oreng Kenek* Builds Nationality and Curbs Colonialism in Sumenep

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## Keywords:

K.H. Zainal Arifin,  
Religious  
Nationalism,  
*Oreng Kene'*,  
Sumenep.

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## Abstract

The spread of Islam brought by K.H. Zainal Arifin, one of Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan's students who born in Sumenep, has a unique scheme because it intersects with Islamic preaching on the one hand, and fighting colonialism on the other. This article aims to describe the religious nationalism of K.H. Zainal Arifin was recorded in his movement defending the interests of "oreng kenek"(common people). This research located in Sumenep, East Java, focusing K.H. Zainal Arifin as research subjects which a local figure of Sarekat Islam and Nahdlatul Ulama. The method of research is qualitative with a historical approach. The finding explain that the nationalism of K.H. Zainal Arifin's religious nationalism originates from his interpretation of Islamic teachings. The first one, K.H. Zainal Arifin founded the Islamic Boarding School in Terate to combat illiteracy which befell the "oreng kene'" because they couldn't study in schools founded by the Colonial Government. The second one, K.H. Zainal Arifin mobilized followers of the Naqshbandiyah order and Laskar Sabilillah to support Sarekat Islam's struggle to break the colonial hegemony. As a result, K.H. Zainal Arifin not only succeeded in activating strong ulama-santri (teacher-student) resistance nodes in stemming colonialism but also made Islam accepted by the local community peacefully. K.H. Zainal Arifin's legacy is strong evidence of how religious leaders in a pesantren (Islamic boarding) practice religious nationalism.

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## Kata kunci:

K.H. Zainal Arifin;  
Nasionalisme  
Religius; *Oreng Kenek*;  
Sumenep.

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## Article history:

Received: 15-07-2024

Revised 13-01-2025

Accepted 08-02-2025

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## Abstrak

Penyebaran Islam yang dibawa oleh K.H. Zainal Arifin, salah satu santri Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan asal Sumenep, memiliki corak yang unik karena beririsan dengan dakwah Islam di satu sisi, dan melawan kolonialisme di sisi lain. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan nasionalisme religius K.H. Zainal Arifin yang terekam dalam gerakannya membela kepentingan "oreng kene'". Penelitian ini dilaksanakan di Sumenep, Jawa Timur, dengan subyek penelitian K.H. Zainal Arifin, tokoh kawakan Sarekat Islam dan Nahdlatul Ulama di wilayah tersebut. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan sejarah. Hasil penelitian menjelaskan bahwa nasionalisme K.H. Zainal Arifin adalah nasionalisme religius yang berasal dari penafsirannya terhadap ajaran Islam. Dalam satu waktu, K.H. Zainal Arifin mendirikan Pesantren Terate untuk memerangi buta aksara yang menimpa "oreng kenek" karena tidak mendapatkan akses pendidikan di sekolah milik Pemerintah Kolonial. Dalam satu waktu yang lain, K.H. Zainal Arifin juga menggerakkan pengikut tarekat Naqsyabandiyah dan Laskar Sabilillah untuk mendukung perjuangan Sarekat Islam memutus hegemoni penjajah. Hasilnya, K.H. Zainal Arifin bukan hanya berhasil mengaktifkan simpul-simpul perlawanan ulama-santri yang kokoh dalam membendung kolonialisme, tetapi juga membuat Islam diterima oleh masyarakat setempat tanpa penolakan berarti. Teladan yang dicontohkan K.H. Zainal Arifin tersebut menjadi bukti nyata tentang bagaimana praktik nasionalisme religius kiai pesantren.

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## INTRODUCTION

After Walisongo (nine of clerics), the spread of Islam in Indonesia continued by kiai (Islamic teacher) in the pesantren (Islamic boarding school). They not only introduce Islam but were also involved in the resistance to expel the invaders. Historically, the resistance clearly recorded, such as Diponegoro's leadership in the Java war, the role of Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan in providing national political education with his famous teaching "*hubbul wathan minal iman*", up to the fatwa on the Jihad Resolution of 22 October 1945 which was spearheaded by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari. (Zainul Milal Bizawie, 2016). All of this comes from the kitab kuning (yellow book) which was the teaching material for the Islamic boarding school community which was initially based on Sufistic jurisprudence (Abdurrahman Wahid, 1984). One of the Islamic boarding school figures involved in this struggle was K.H. Zainal Arifin (hereinafter written Kèaè Zainal) from Sumenep, East Java.

Interestingly, the Sufism values of the pesantren's community are not rigid and outdated teachings but are living teachings, which have been contextualized in real life. This understanding gave birth to religious nationalism which then translated into real action by Kèaè Zainal to defend the interests of the *oreng kenek* in Sumenep. However, not all Islamic boarding school communities use the kitab kuning (yellow book) with Sufistic jurisprudence as a reference for Islamic practice. The group was noted by Masdar F. Mas'udi as 'traditional' Islamic community that uses the kitab kuning as a guide to life. It's that differentiates between 'traditional' Islamic society and 'modern' Islamic society. 'Modern' Islamic society tends to make its own interpretations of Islamic teachings and no longer refers to the yellow book, the intellectual legacy of previous scholars (Masdar F. Mas'udi, 1984).

We find research on local history infrequently, especially on figures who are considered peripheral like Kèaè Zainal, even though the national and religious contributions have the most impact. Abdul Gaffar Karim calls this condition a phenomenon of inequality between local and national historiography (Abdul Gaffar Karim, 2009). This argument can be found to be like Purwanto's opinion, which states that Indonesian history should be built not only based on awareness of Indonesianness that comes from the center or a handful of people labeled national, but also from the perspective of regional or local awareness (Bambang Purwanto, 2006).

The disclosure of religious nationalism from figures who are considered peripheral, such as Kèaè Zainal will not only complete the writing of the history of Islam in Madura but also perfect the historiography of Islam in Indonesia. It's because the spread of Islam in Indonesia which was developed through peaceful processes cannot be separated from the role of the Santri's network of Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan. As part of this network, Kèaè Zainal is trying to activate this network in Sumenep. The network forms like a puzzle if put together will be a strong network of ulama. This network was so strong that it not only spread Islam but was also involved in confrontation against colonialism. Therefore, apart from enriching the body of historical studies of local figures, the uniqueness of this research lies in the fact that it is the first

research to raise a narrative about religious nationalism from a figure who is considered peripheral, named *Kèaè Zainal*.

This research stands on the hypothesis that *Kèaè Zainal*'s various role such as founder of the pesantren in Terate, President of Sarekat Islam, Mursyid (leader) Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah, Couching of Kanuragan Laskar Sabilillah, and Ra'is Syuriah of Nahdlatul Ulama Sumenep become mediation for embodying religious nationalism which originates from his interpretation on moderate Islam towards teachings and action to defend the interests of ordinary people. *Kèaè Zainal*'s heritage is evidence of the religious nationalism by Kiai of the pesantren, which originates from the kitab kuning (yellow book) as a source of knowledge and practice of the teachings of the pesantren's community.

## RESEACH METHODS

This article is qualitative research using a historical method that effort to synthesize data to obtain a reliable historical story (Hugiono & P.K. Poerwantana, 2002) and can be interpreted as an investigation of a problem in research using a historical perspective (Dudung Abdurahman, 2007). This method allows researchers to reveal how *Kèaè Zainal*'s religious nationalism is manifested in defending the interests of the *oreng kenek*.

The location of research was carried out in Sumenep Regency, East Java, focusing on *Kèaè Zainal* as a subject. This research takes data from oral and written sources. Oral sources were obtained through structured interviews with two of *Kèaè Zainal*'s grandchildren and the family of pesantren Terate, namely Nyai Hajjah Aqidah Usymuni and K.H. Rahem Usymuni. Meanwhile, written sources were obtained from documents, government archives, notes, biographies, photos and other important historical relics related to *Kèaè Zainal*. Finally, the data obtained was analysed using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana formulation consisting of data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion. (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013).

After the generalization of data, the researcher began describing *Kèaè Zainal*'s religious nationalism by referring to the steps formulated by Kuntowijoyo, including topic selection, source collection, verification, interpretation and historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2005). As a result, this research is structured in the form of a historical narrative that follows the applicable principles of historical writing.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Results

#### **The Ins and Outs of *Kèaè Zainal*'s Religious Nationalism: Reflections on the Social Context of Sumenep**

*Kèaè Zainal*'s national preaching was caused by the socio-political conditions surrounding him, namely the occurrence of colonization on the one hand, and the responsibility of preaching Islam on the other. As is known, since 1910 almost the entire territory of the Nusantara—some of which are now Indonesia—was successfully controlled by the Dutch East Indies colonial government (M.C. Ricklefs, 2008). However,

the kings were still allowed to run their own system of government, known as *zelfbestuur* or *swapraja* (self-governing government) (G.J. Resink, 1987). Although allowed to govern themselves, the colonial government still interfered in the government system run by local kings. One of the regions with this autonomous status is Sumenep.

When *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) arrived, the Sumenep Palace continued to run a government system with autonomous status (*swapraja*). However, the king's power was no more than a formality, because the real holder of power was the Colonial Government. Kuntowijoyo describes the position of authority of local kings in Madura, including the king of Sumenep, with the term "contract state". This means that local rulers must submit by fulfilling the conditions given by the Colonial Government. One of the conditions given by the colonial government to the kings in Madura was to pay tribute in accordance with VOC regulations, guarantee salt supplies for the Netherlands, and establish a military body called *Barisan* (Huub de Jonge, 1989a). So even though they had the status of autonomous kingdom, the kings of Madura never had full authority to run the government in their territory.

The opportunity to maintain the status of self-governing did not last long. The local kings were unable to run the government conductively. There was a lot of theft, violence, and lawlessness. According to Kuntowijoyo, at that time there were around 95 murder cases from a total population of 222,528 people. All these incidents could not be handled by the kingdom's legal apparatus. So that it continued to ignite various other criminal cases and disobedience to the law (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). The situation worsened with the health condition of the King—who was then led by Addition Natakusuma II—making the wheels of government in Sumenep not run optimally. This reason initially inspired the plan to abolish the royal government system in the Madura region, including Sumenep.

This abolition effort invited various strong rejections from local kings and religious figures in the local area. Among the kings who strongly rejected the abolition were Cakraningrat, Bangkalan and Bindara Saod, Sumenep. The rejection was because the authority of the local kings could hinder the efforts of the Colonial Government to exploit natural resources and human resources in the Madura region (Mien Ahmad Rifai, 1993). In their view, by eliminating the authority of the local king, it was the same as giving the colonialists the red carpet to control Madura.

Rejection did not only come from local kings, but also from religious figures and other groups. One of the religious figures who vigorously rejected the abolition was Kèaè Zainal, the son of Kiai Thalabuddin who had studied under Syaikhona Muhammad Kholil Bangkalan. His role in mobilizing the santri community to protect every inch of Sumenep land from the threat of colonizers became a priceless *legacy* that can still be felt today. Together with his fellow students at the Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan Islamic Boarding School in Sumenep, Kèaè Zainal activated and built a very strong santri network to expel the colonizers. For example, in the Sumenep City area there were K.H. Zainal Arifin and K.H. Abdi Sudjak. While in the West Sumenep area, there were K.H. Ali Wafa and K.H. Imam Karay. Then in the South area, there were two kiai from

Annuqayah, namely K.H. Ilyas Syarqowi and K.H. Abdullah Sajjad. They were the brains and actors behind the success of the Sumenep community in fighting the invaders.

However, the attempt to block the attempt to abolish the status of the self-governing kingdom was unsuccessful. In 1873, the self-governing kingdom was completely revoked at the request of the Madurese Resident Vander Kaa to the Governor General by changing the status of Sumenep to *afdeeling*. *Afdeeling* is an administrative area at the district level under the authority of the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government led by an Assistant Resident. Then in 1883 the Governor General issued a policy stating that Sumenep was under the authority of the Colonial Government, although the process of change only occurred when Panembahan Natakusuma II died in 1879.

Since losing its autonomous status, the colonial government began to seek profits from its colonies, including Sumenep (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). This region does not have a type of land that is agriculturally profitable but has promising economic potential in terms of salt production. The easternmost region on Madura Island is even the largest contributor of salt in the archipelago. Even 1918 was a golden year for salt farmers in Sumenep. Around 3,000 hectares of salt ponds managed by residents produced 216,000 tons of salt which was sold for 1.2 million Guilders (Sartono Kartodirdjo, 1997). Unfortunately, this is not directly proportional to the welfare of the salt farmers. Instead of being prosperous, the salt farmers are just factory workers with worrying conditions. The conditions worsened after the salt monopoly system was implemented by the Colonial Government.

Another impact of Sumenep's fall into the hands of the Colonial Government was on the aspect of education. Schools became a kind of commodity intended for certain social classes, namely the children of European nobles and palace officials, including the children of kings. This can be seen, for example, from Panembahan's attitude who did not want his children to mix with native children, especially in terms of education (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). Meanwhile, indigenous children could not get free access to education, as children of European noble descent and the Sumenep Palace families had. Among the schools at that time were the *Europeesche Lagree School* (ELS) and the *Holland Inlandsche School* (HIS). Both were schools owned by the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government, although the funding for these schools came from funds collected from villages with small populations and small tax revenues (J.W. Meyer Ranneft, 1976) which is then managed by the district (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1978).

This is the reason that moved the students of Syaikhona Kholil to participate in the struggle to expel the invaders from the land of Sumenep. The values of national jihad obtained from the Karay, Loteng, and Kademangan Pesantren underlie every struggle. His understanding of holistic Islamic values led him to the belief that his faith is not perfect if it does not bring about change in his surroundings. Based on this belief, Kèaè Zainal then founded the Terate Pesantren, was active in the Naqsyabandiyah and Laskar Sabilillah Tarekat movements, and helped give birth to the Nahdlatul Ulama Sumenep to defend the interests of the common people.

### **Kinship (Nasab) and Education: Places to Sow Nationalism Kèaè Zainal**

There is not much data that talks about Kèaè Zainal's childhood and education process, except for his strategic roles in building the nation and his struggle to prevent colonial control over Sumenep through his participation in the organizations he joined.

In terms of lineage, Kèaè Zainal inherited the blood of a tough Islamic fighter and a great politician. From his father, Kiai Thalabuddin, Kèaè Zainal is still recorded as a descendant of Sunan Giri through the Sunan Cendana, Bangkalan line. Meanwhile, from his mother, Nyai Aisyah, Kèaè Zainal inherited the blood of the last ruler of the Majapahit Kingdom, namely Brawijaya V (Isqomar, 2022).

If we trace his lineage upwards through his father's line, then the genealogy of Kèaè Zainal is as follows: K.H. Zainal Arifin ibn K. Thalabuddin ibn K. Laisuddin ibn K. Tharifa ibn K. Abd Adil ibn Sayyid Abd Karim ibn Sayyid Zis ibn Sayyid Abd Alim ibn Sayyid Kunita ibn Sayyid Hasad ibn Sunan Cendana ibn Sunan Mufti ibn Pangeran Kulon ibn Maulana Agung (Sunan Dalem) ibn Sayyid Ainul Yaqin (Sunan Giri) (Tadjul Arifin R., 1996).

However, being born into a family with a high lineage is sometimes not a privilege but rather brings challenges. High lineage on the one hand will indeed bring glory, but on the other hand brings a heavy challenge, namely continuing the Islamic preaching. So, the first step taken by Kèaè Zainal was to free himself from the shadow of the greatness of his family lineage. The way to do this is by learning from one Islamic boarding school to another to free himself from ignorance. For him, knowledge is not an inheritance, like wealth, position, and other social statuses. But knowledge is a lantern of life obtained from a long journey of learning from one Islamic boarding school to another. He did this as a provision to continue the struggle of his father's preaching, Kiai Thalabuddin.

It is known that Kèaè Zainal left his bachelorhood behind by marrying the niece of Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan, named Nyai Hatijah (Isqomar, 2023). From this marriage, Kèaè Zainal was blessed with a pious, charismatic son and a strong preacher in spreading Islam throughout the land of Madura, namely K.H. Usymuni. Later, this son continued his struggle to develop the Terate Pesantren and Nahdlatul Ulama in Sumenep.

Kèaè Zainal's education began with his family in a pesantren, especially his mother and siblings. Their education has shaped Kèaè Zainal into a tough fighter who is anti-establishment. Since he was still in the womb, Kèaè Zainal had been left by his father, Kiai Thalabuddin. This situation forced him to be independent since childhood. However, the spirit to satisfy the thirst for knowledge to avoid ignorance continued to burn. His spirit was not without reason. On the one hand, the condition of the nation was being colonized, on the other hand, illiteracy was infecting the *oreng dume'*. This condition made Kèaè Zainal determined to release the grip of the colonizers not only from Sumenep, but even throughout the Indonesia.



Figure 1. Mosque of Zainal Arifin developed from a private family place of worship (surau). It's Surau is considered a place of learning from his mother and brothers.

Kèaè Zainal's childhood was not like *Lora* in general. She was born an orphan because her father died when *Lora* Zainal was still in the womb. This condition made *Lora* Zainal very dependent on her mother, Nyai Aisyah. The mother's figure really became the first madrasah that mediated *Lora* Zainal to know the teachings of Islam. In addition to her mother, *Lora* Zainal was also guided by her siblings, namely Kiai Shalahuddin, Nyai Syarifah and Nyai Shalehah (Isqomar, 2022).

After she was old enough, *Lora* Zainal was then taken by Nyai Aisyah to her uncle, Kiai Muhammad Imam Karay – son-in-law of Kiai Syarqawi, founder of the Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School, Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep – to receive a more in-depth religious education. There, *Lora* Zainal not only learned the basics of religious knowledge, but also behavioral knowledge (*adhab ashor*). It was proven, when *Lora* Zainal succeeded in solving the complex problems that befell society by offering religious knowledge as the solution, she did not claim it as her own success, but rather as the success of her teacher's education, Kiai Imam.

According to unwritten sources, *Lora* Zainal is said to have also received religious education at the Loteng Kota Islamic Boarding School, Sumenep. A boarding school located in the Sumenep Palace family environment. Historically, the oldest boarding school in the Keris City was a defense headquarters created as a place of protection from the threat of colonizers. But over time, due to the need for religious education in the palace environment, the headquarters metamorphosed into an Islamic boarding school (Pesantren) first established by Kiai Hasan Al-Mahzumi (w. 1919).

In this Islamic boarding school (Pesantren), *Lora* Zainal deepened the basics of religious knowledge together with her nephew, *Lora* Abi Sudjak. Not infrequently, because of the position of the Islamic boarding school, which was in the palace environment, *Lora* Zainal also gained knowledge about local political dynamics, including how local kings confronted the Colonial Government. Since studying at the Loteng Islamic Boarding School, *Lora* Zainal already had adequate political and governmental insight, even though she was relatively very young. Later, this provision

greatly helped *Lora* Zainal in leading the Sarekat Islam as a "spokesperson" for the people with the rulers.

After the Loteng Islamic Boarding School, *Lora* Zainal continued her scientific journey to the Kademangan Islamic Boarding School, Bangkalan, which was run by a charismatic cleric of his time who became the father of the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama, namely Syaikhona Muhammad Kholil Bangkalan (K.H. Rahem Usymuni, 2021). When he was a student of Syaikhona Kholil, *Lora* Zainal was known to have *sagaran* knowledge (versatile knowledge) (Isqomar, 2022). Because of that, he was not only able to solve religious problems, but also social problems around the Kademangan Islamic Boarding School. In this Islamic boarding school, *Lora* Zainal not only deepened her religious knowledge, but also received jihad education against the colonizers to seize independence.

After completing her education in Bangkalan, *Lora* Zainal returned to her hometown in Sumenep and began to fight to spread Islam through a small prayer house and became a defender of the interests of the *oreng kenek*. This was a form of manifestation of the love of the homeland that she received during her education in Karay and Loteng, and specifically from her teacher, Syaikhona Kholil Bangkalan. These values later became the seeds of the birth of the jihad resolution, which was proclaimed by one of Syaikhona Kholil's students, namely K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari on October 22, 1945.

The jihad announcement of the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama became an invaluable injection of strength for the Islamic boarding school community to repel the invaders, including *Lora* Zainal. His struggle began with trying to fulfill the educational rights for *orang kenek*, so that they could be free from illiteracy. The reason is to touch their hearts and open their eyes to the condition of a nation that is being colonized with the light of education. The aim is to touch hearts and open their awareness about the condition of colonized nations, which can only be liberated through the light of education. That's why *Lora* Zainal's first step was to establish an Islamic boarding school to provide access to education for *orang kenek*.

### **Terate Islamic Boarding School: Education for the Oreng Kenek**

Long before *Kèaè* Zainal founded the Islamic boarding school, his father, Kiai Thalabuddin, had cleared a forest to become a hamlet was named "Terate" at the request of Sultan Abdurahman Natakusuma I. It is said that the name was taken based on the condition of the area at that time which was filled with Lotus plants (Nyai Hj. Aqidah Usymuni, 2021). At first, the hamlet was just an uninhabited wilderness, but in the following years the hamlet became very busy with residents from within and outside Madura because of its strategic location. The increase in the population can be seen, for example, from the total Chinese population in Sumenep, which was 368 people, exactly one year after the end of the reign of Sultan Natakusuma I (Charles Illouz & Philippe, 2013). Unfortunately, this opportunity has not been realized because Kiai Thalabuddin died first on 18 Dzulhijjah 1293 H.



Meanwhile, as mentioned previously, after the self-governing status was abolished and Sumenep came under the control of the Colonial Government, one of the impacts was the emergence of an educational dichotomy based on social class. At that time, the social stratification system in Sumenep is divided into three social classes, namely: *rato* (king), *parjaji* (sentana, patih, etc.), and *oreng kenek* (common people) (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). However, only a handful of indigenous children were able to attend educational institutions owned by the Colonial Government, including the *Lagree School* (ELS) and the *Holland Inlandsche School* (HIS), except for children who had *privileges* because they were born into the palace nobility or wealthy merchants.

Therefore, there must be an alternative education for the *oreng-oreng kenek* to save them from ignorance and at the same time fulfill the need for religious education in the Terate hamlet founded by Kiai Thalabuddin. This means that education at that time had not spread evenly so that illiteracy became a serious problem that infected almost the entire Sumenep community. Such conditions were very beneficial to the colonialists because it would make it easier for them to perpetuate their power over Sumenep.

In addition to the need factor, the development of pesantren was also influenced by the ethical political policy issued by the Colonial Government. Long before the ratification of ethical politics, C. Th. van Deventer, a legal expert who had long lived in the Archipelago, in 1899 published an article entitled "een eereschuld" which means "a debt of honor." In this article, the main ideas were outlined stating that the Netherlands owed Indonesia because of the wealth they obtained from squeezing the Indonesian land. According to Deventer, this debt must be paid by giving top priority to the interests of the Indonesian people in the form of colonial policies. Finally, the Colonial Government formulated three principles that became the basis for the ethical political policy, namely: education, irrigation, and population movement (M.C. Ricklefs, 2008).

This reality was the main reason for Kèaè Zainal to establish the Terate Islamic Boarding School in 1898 in Pandian Village, Kota District, Sumenep Regency. At that time, in 1831, it was known that there were already 34 a Pesantren in the easternmost region of Madura Island (Zamakhsyari Dhofier, 1982). His concern for the fate of the education of the *oreng-oreng kenek*—at a time when schools owned by the colonial government did not provide free access for this social class—was a strong reason why he later founded the Terate Islamic Boarding School (Isqomar, 2023). It is no wonder that education at this Islamic boarding school is free for the indigenous people. Not only that, but the students are also exempted from food costs while studying at the Terate Islamic Boarding School.



Figure 2. A Manuscript was written by Kiai Thalabuddin, father of Kèaè Zainal, as the heritage of intellectuals in Terate Pesantren.

Uniquely, Terate education not only teaches Islamic sciences, but also anti-colonial education. Evidently, one of the activities of the students on certain nights is self-defense training. It is said that the training is intended as an effort to prepare the students as Laskar Sabilillah cadres. In fact, it is not uncommon for Kèaè Zainal to directly train martial arts for members of Laskar Sabilillah at the Bana Sokon Islamic Boarding School, Kebonagung, which is managed by KH. Abi Sudjak.

Under the care of the students of Syaikhona Kholil, the students of Terate are not only provided with religious education, but also entrepreneurship and community education. This is usually done in the form of *pakon* (orders) to plant and care for tobacco and direct practice in the Terate powder business under the guidance of Kèaè Zainal's wife (Isqomar, 2022). This finding is very interesting as a step by Kèaè Zainal in spreading Islam while also providing the Santri community with business knowledge to advance the economy and end the community's dependence on salt production which was under colonial rule.

Meanwhile, the rapid development of a pesantren invited the vigilance of the Colonial Government. Kuntowijoyo described the education of students at that time as "an apprenticeship for a kiai" (Kuntowijoyo, 2002) because they received in-depth kitab kuning (yellow book) teachings and anti-colonial education in the form of *kanuragan* (martial arts) and self-defense training. That is exactly what Kèaè Zainal did at the Terate Islamic Boarding School. On certain nights, Terate students received self-defense training from Kèaè Zainal at the Bana Sokon Pesantren. This was done to prepare students to become Laskar Sabilillah fighters, a militia formed to mobilize the masses and develop the mentality of students to fight against the occupation of the Allied forces assisted by the Dutch. It is strongly suspected that the anti-colonial education taught by Kèaè Zainal was obtained from his teacher, Syaikhona Muhammad Kholil Bangkalan.

Recently, this suspicion has become stronger after one of the manuscripts belonging to the person who gave his blessing for the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama was found, in which there was writing in pegon letters on a summary of a fiqh book that reads "حب الأوطان من الإيمان" which means "loving the homeland is part of faith" which was written in 1308 H or around 1887 AD.

Apart from Syaikhona Kholil, *Kèaè* Zainal is thought to have received anti-colonial education—in addition to Islamic religious knowledge of course—from the Loteng Sumenep Islamic Boarding School, which still inherits the values of the struggle of Sultan Abdurrahman, the King of Sumenep who received an *Honoris Causa Letterkundige* in the field of culture from the British Empire. The Loteng Islamic Boarding School, which became one of *Kèaè* Zainal's educational places, has a long history of nationalist values. During the independence era, the Loteng Islamic Boarding School was not only an educational institution, but also a hiding place and a place of struggle to fight the colonial army. That is why the Loteng Islamic Boarding School building was designed to have three floors so that it could observe the movements of the colonialists (Moh. Junaidi, 2022). Therefore, what *Kèaè* Zainal taught at Pesantre Terate, namely educating students with anti-colonial education, was not something completely new in pesantren. He only re-applied the knowledge he had gained from the Kademangan and Loteng pesantren, where he had studied before.

At that time, a Pesantren with their anti-colonial education did not develop well enough. This kind of education model invited serious concerns for the Colonial Government. The reason for the concern was the fear of a conspiracy to carry out a rebellion. This concern was not without reason, considering that based on the facts of the development of pesantren, it can be said that all pesantren in the archipelago have a great moral bond, namely having the same spirit in preaching and fighting to expel the colonizers from the land of the archipelago, including the Terate Sumenep Islamic Boarding School.

In its development, the Colonial Government also established a rival educational institution in the form of a school with a class system to balance the pesantren education model established by local *kiai*. There are significant differences between the two educational models. If the school education owned by the Colonial Government was prepared to produce employees and tax collectors, then pesantren education was more than that, it was an educational institution for religion, morality, and resistance to all forms of colonialism.

Under the guidance of *Kèaè* Zainal, the Terate Islamic Boarding School has produced militant and tough Islamic cadres. Comprehensive data has not been found regarding the students of Terate during the time of *Kèaè* Zainal, except for a brief note that mentions several, namely: *Kiai* Abu Yazid (Ambunten, Sumenep) *Kiai* Sair (Tamba Agung, Sumenep) *Kiai* Osman (Tamba Agung, Sumenep) and *Kiai* Suki (Duko, Sumenep) (Isqomar, 2022). The point is that after completing their education at the Terate Islamic Boarding School, they became pioneers in spreading Islam in their respective regions. They not only focused on spreading their religious beliefs through

prayer rooms, but also through religious studies that contained calls to join in fighting the colonialists.



Figure 3. The grave of *Kèaè* Zainal died in 1953 AD

## Discussion

### Leading the Tarekat, Building a Strong Anti-Colonial Network

In addition to education, the Islamic Sufi group called the tarekat was another vehicle for *Kèaè* Zainal's struggle. Under the command of the son of Kiai Thalabuddin, the followers of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat began their role by supporting the mission of the Sarekat Islam and Laskar Sabilillah (Hanifah, 2003). This finding is reinforced by the fact that during *Kèaè* Zainal's time, the followers of the Sarekat Islam were dominated by followers of the Naqsyabandiyah tarekat. This is exactly as stated by Schrieke, who said that the tarekat as a spiritual association had functioned as a tool to strengthen the struggle of the Islamic Association (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1975). Although some data explains that the support of the tarekat community to the Sarekat Islam was carried out covertly. Covert in the sense that the tarekat only played a role behind the scenes by providing magical training to obtain immunity (Martin van Bruinessen, 1992).

Interestingly, this group not only performs dhikr and afterlife practices, but also plays a role in fighting for independence. Behind the scenes, they become a place for mental and spiritual strengthening for the santri fighters in Laskar Hizbullah and Laskar Sabilillah. In Madura—including in Sumenep—this group is quite popular among the local community. This interest is due, among other things, to their belief that Islam is synonymous with the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah (Martin van Bruinessen, 1995).

*Kèaè* Zainal utilized this Islamic Sufi community to build a strong network of santri communities in fighting colonialism in Sumenep. Evidently, in the history of the development of the tarekat in the archipelago, facts were found regarding the confrontation between tarekat followers and the colonizers. Colonial archive data states that between 1800 and 1900 there had been 112 resistances from the indigenous people to the colonial government under the command of tarekat figures (Zainul Milal Bizawie, 2016).

Based on the scientific sanad lineage of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat, *Kèaè* Zainal was ordained as a murshid in 1921 by Syaikhuna Abdul 'Adhim al-Maduri with the title "al-Faqir Ilallah Sayyidina al-Shaykh Zainal Abidin R.A." (Isqomar, 2022). The initiation was carried out in Bangkalan, Madura at the same time as the initiation of Raden Aryo Abdul Gani Atmowijoyo, who is still listed as *Kèaè* Zainal's cousin. After that, the initiation of Kiai Jazuli from Tattangoh, Pamekasan followed. The genealogy of the murshids of the Naqshbandiyah Tarekat in Madura can be seen in the chart below:

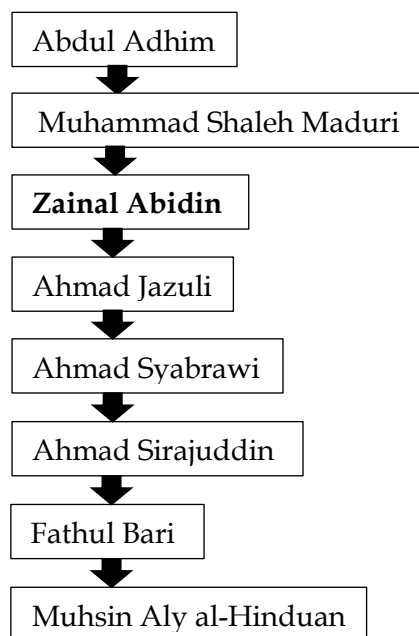


Figure 4. The Lineage of the Tarekat Naqshbandiyah in Madura (Martin van Bruinessen, 1992)

Based on the chart above, the name *Kèaè* Zainal is not listed in the list of mursyids listed. Regarding this finding, there are two possibilities: *first*, *Kèaè* Zainal has actually entered the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah lineage chart in Madura, only written with a slightly different name, "Zainal Abidin". This fact is in accordance with the findings obtained from family informants who said the name "Zainal Abidin" is more familiar to the ears of the older generation, while "Zainal Arifin" is generally more familiar to the current younger generation. Or the *second* possibility, Martin's research results have not fully documented the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah lineage in Madura, at least with the finding of the disappearance of the name *Kèaè* Zainal in the Naqsyabandiyah lineage in Madura in the book *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah in Indonesia*.

In addition to the differences in data, it is also not known for certain what year the tarekat entered the island of Madura. Most likely the tarekat first entered in the late 19th century. What is clear is that among the many tarekat schools in Madura, there are four schools that are widely followed by the local population, namely Naqsyabandiyah, Qadiriyyah, Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah, and Tijaniyyah (Martin van Bruinessen, 1995). The rapid spread of the tarekat in the region cannot be separated from the influence of its mursyid who have great influence during Madurese society.

Interestingly, the naming of the tarekat is generally based on the founder. The Qadiriyyah Tarekat, for example, bases its name on its founder, 'Abd Qadir al-Jailani (d. 1166) (Ajid Thohir, 2002). Likewise, the Naqsyabandiyah Order which owes its name to Muhammad Bahauddin al-Naqsyabandi (d. 1317). Even though they both sing prayers to the Prophet Muhammad, they were taught by two different people. The Qadiriyyah Order was taught by Ali, while the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah was taught by Abu Bakr (Martin van Bruinessen, 1992).

In practice, the eleven principles that form the basis of life for the followers of the Naqshbandiyah Tarekat are heavily influenced by Hindu Buddhist meditation techniques. Among the eleven principles are: *hush dar ham* (being aware while breathing), *nazar bar qadam* (keeping one's steps), *safar dar watan* (traveling in one's homeland), *khalwat dar anjuman* (being quiet in the midst of a crowd), *yad kard* (remembering, mentioning), *baz gasyt* (returning, renewing), *nigah dasyt* (being alert), *yad dasyt* (remembering), *wuqufi zamani* (checking one's use of time), *wuqufi 'adani* (checking one's dhikr count), and *wuqufi qalbi* (keeping the heart under control) (Martin van Bruinessen, 1992).

As the leader of the Naqsyabandiyah Order, Kèaè Zainal made this Islamic Sufi group a place for "spiritual provision" for the santri community to fight the colonialists. At its peak, thanks to Kèaè Zainal's encouragement, the Islamic Union received massive support from the followers of the Naqsyabandiyah Order. This support became invaluable capital for the Islamic Union in achieving its mission of struggle: controlling the selling price of salt and conducive to security around the production area. For this success, the Islamic Union received high appreciation from the local community. Since its success, the local community has given its trust regarding economic rights, especially regarding salt, to the Islamic Union.

The movement of followers of the tarekat accommodated by Kèaè Zainal—borrowing and modifying Fazlur Rahman's expression—is a form of Sufism that has been renewed (neo-Sufism), from what was originally merely spiritual metaphysics to being dominated by the principles of Islamic orthodoxy (Fazlur Rahman, 1979) and is a social movement. The term neo-Sufism is intended to map with previous Sufism, from isolative spiritualism that keeps its distance from society, to social spiritual Sufism that merges with the reality and dynamics of society (Azyumardi Azra, 1994). This is what Azra calls the concern of neo-Sufism lies in the socio-moral reconstruction of Muslim society. It is not surprising that Kèaè Zainal chose the tarekat as an alternative movement

to fight for change in the decline and backwardness of the Muslim community caused by colonialism.

The harmony between the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah and the Sarekat Islam succeeded in building a strong network of students who had a commitment to nationalism and jihad until they succeeded in preventing the colonizers from controlling Sumenep. The collaboration between the two was a path that united the strength of the students. The success of this collaboration was revealed by Huub de Jonge that between 1920 and 1934, there were no large-scale conflicts in the salt area, although the conditions could not be said to be peaceful (Huub de Jonge, 2011). *Kèaè* Zainal chose the tarekat as an alternative anti-colonial movement because the ties between Madurese people and the tarekat world were very easy to form, so it was easy to accommodate them as a resistance movement against colonialism.

### **Activating the Resistance Node of Ulama-Santri Through Laskar Sabilillah**

To maximize the resistance efforts in expelling the invaders, fellow students of Syaikhona Kholil in the Sumenep area shared the task of commanding the struggle of the santri community through Laskar Sabilillah. If in the West Sumenep area Laskar Sabilillah was under the command of K.H. Abdullah Sajjad, then in the Sumenep City area Laskar Sabilillah was led by *Kèaè* Zainal with his nephew, K.H. Abi Sudjak. This fact is interesting, because Syaikhona Kholil not only succeeded in producing religious santri figures, but also nationalists.

*Kèaè* Zainal's struggle with Laskar Sabilillah was centered at the Laskar Sabilillah headquarters located at the Bana Sokon Islamic Boarding School, Kebonagung, Sumenep City under the care of K.H. Abi Sudjak. The choice of this headquarters was not without reason. The Bana Sokon Islamic Boarding School, which was located on a hill, greatly benefited Laskar Sabilillah in avoiding the surveillance of the colonizers. This geographical advantage was often used by *Kèaè* Zainal to provide self-defense and kanuragan training for Laskar Sabilillah members at the Islamic boarding school.

Historically, long before the Indonesian National Army was formed, Islamic troops had already begun their role in maintaining the sovereignty of the country. These troops became the frontline pioneers in preventing the arrival of colonizers who wanted to control the archipelago, including Madura. In Sumenep, Laskar Sabilillah was led by K.H. Muhammad Ilyas, but for some reason, it was then handed over to his younger brother, K.H. Abdullah Sajjad. It is not surprising that at that time, Pesantren Annuqayah not only functioned as an educational institution, but also became a training ground for members of Laskar Sabilillah.

At first, the resistance of the followers of the tarekat was carried out haphazardly because it was not well planned, for example through the preparation of a well-established strategy and very limited weapons: sharpened bamboo, wood, sickles, keris and several other traditional weapons. However, as a society that has a high love for the country, the Madurese people never retreated, even one step in fighting the colonizers.

The local proverb is interesting to observe: "*bengo' poteya tolang kadhembang potè mata*" which means "better white bones (death) than white eyes (shame)."

This expression explains the spirit and nationalism of the Madurese people in defending every inch of land, even with very limited weapons. This blazing spirit certainly cannot be separated from the success of religious leaders in injecting the spirit of nationalism and the spirit of jihad into the local community. Among the santri figures who must be mentioned in commanding the resistance of the santri community in Madura are, Sheikh Kholil, Bangkalan, Sheikh Damanhuri Batu Ampar, Pamekasan, and Sayyid Yusuf Talango, Sumenep (Zainul Milal Bizawie, 2016).

The resistance of the Islamic soldiers entered a new phase in the military field after the formation of the Voluntary Army for the Defense of the Homeland (PETA). Armed with training provided by professional Japanese soldiers in PETA, the followers of Laskar Sabillah fought with more modern and well-planned methods. Armed with training from PETA, they succeeded in destroying the Dutch forces in the battle in the Java Sea in 1942. Not only at the national level, but modern resistance also had an impact on local Islamic troops, including Sumenep.

Under the command of the two students of Syaikhona Kholil, the students who were members of Laskar Sabilillah succeeded in making it difficult for the invaders to occupy the Sumenep City area. Both directed the students to be ready to guard every inch of their land from the invaders' targets. The peak of Kèaè Zainal's success in accommodating the struggle of the Islamic Union occurred during the revolutionary war in 1945. The troops consisting of the students managed to repel the invaders' troops. The success that year was one of the brilliant successes for the students in fighting for the independence of the homeland in the Madura region.

The success of the students in repelling the invaders received direct appreciation from President Soekarno when he visited Sumenep. During his visit to the salt island, Soekarno expressed his gratitude directly to Kèaè Zainal and the students who were members of Laskar Sabilillah. On one occasion, President Soekarno gave a speech in the north square of the Jamik Mosque in Sumenep City, the contents of which, among others: "for the abundance of blessings and guidance from Allah SWT. given to Kiai Tarate (Kèaè Zainal), and thanks to his struggle, Indonesia is now at peace (Tadjul Arifin R., 1996)."

In addition, the contribution of Laskar Sabilillah that must be immortalized in the golden ink of history is its success in thwarting the plans of the Colonial Government to form the State of Madura and the State of East Java through the Renville Agreement. Although the state of East Java remained standing in 1948, it managed to return to the bosom of the Republic of Indonesia in Yogyakarta on January 13, 1950. This success cannot be separated from the tenacity of the Islamic troops in guarding every region of the Archipelago. According to the data, this success was caused, among other things, by the seizure of weapons belonging to the Japanese secret police that were used during the war (Zainul Milal Bizawie, 2016).

Keae Zainal's participation in commanding Laskar Sabilillah was to consolidate the nodes of the ulama-santri network, such as networks in other regions in the



archipelago. Among these networks, among other, are the ulama-santri network of the Kademangan Islamic Boarding School, Bangkalan and the ulama-santri network of the Tebuireng Pesantren, Jombang. Both the pesantren succeeded in producing Islamic cadres who were established in terms of knowledge on the one hand, and tough in fighting on the other. They were the ones who took an important part in stimulating national jihad during society in the archipelago. As part of this network, Kèaè Zainal's role in Laskar Sabilillah contributed to activating and cementing the Nusantara ulama network in Sumenep.

His experience leading socio-political organizations that are of interest to the community, namely the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah and Laskar Sabilillah, has given Kèaè Zainal an extensive network. This network is an effective means of maintaining the mission of struggle. The heroic role of the santri community who are members of Laskar Sabilillah has explained the nationalism embedded in them. The growing nationalism is not only caused by their ties to their homeland, but also as part of their belief that love for their homeland is a manifestation of the perfection of faith.

Until one occasion, Kèaè Zainal said to KH. Ach Yasin, as follows:

*"Muroqabah reah sumberreh kabegusen, somber kaontongan, ben somber kasalametthen (Isqomar, 2022)."*

Meaning is:

*"Muraqabah is a source of goodness, a source of luck, and a source of safety."*

Kèaè Zainal's expression above is a logical consequence of the tarekat teachings that are embedded in him. One of them, the tarekat teaches its followers to *muraqabah* to Allah SWT. while trying to get luck and safety, especially since Sumenep was being colonized.

### **Kèaè Zainal and Sarekat Islam: Pioneers of the Nationalist Movement in Sumenep**

Data explains that Kèaè Zainal's leadership as President of the Islamic Union (hereinafter written as SI) Sumenep began from 1917 to 1928 (Isqomar, 2022). His participation in SI was a form of his concern for the economic and political decline of Muslims due to colonialism. Under the command of this student of Syaikhona Kholil, SI Sumenep moved to defend the interests of the economic and political rights of *oreng kenek*. Since its inception, SI has received high vigilance from the Colonial Government. This is due to the massive support given by the indigenous people to SI, not only from urban communities, but also rural communities. The massive support was described by Kartodirdjo as a "big flood" because SI received massive mobilization from the indigenous people to the point of being considered a threat by the Colonial Government (Sartono Kartodirdjo, 1999).

Historically, SI was the first social organization to enter Madura Island. This also marked a new chapter in the socio-political life of the local community. The association was brought by H. Syadzali, a teacher who worked as a rice trader, to Sampang Regency, Madura around 1913. His profession as a rice trader led him to become acquainted with SI through Cokroaminoto in Surabaya, East Java. In addition to being one of the largest trading centers on the island of Java, Surabaya was also the headquarters of SI at that

time. It was in Surabaya that H. Syadzali met the founder of SI, Cokroaminoto for the first time. Their meetings became more frequent because of their similar professions. Until finally, H. Syadzali was interested in learning SI ideology from Cokroaminoto (Huub de Jonge, 1989a).

After SI was first established in Sampang, Madura in 1913, three other districts then followed suit by establishing branches of the organization. One of the three branches was SI Sumenep which was legalized by the Colonial Government along with the legalization of several of its branches on April 3, 1915 (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). Although there is minimal data explaining the year SI Sumenep was founded, this association had already played its role in preventing the exploitation of the colonialists in monopolizing salt production long before 1917, when SI was under the command of the President of SI, Kèaè Zainal.

In 1914, SI Sumenep had 5,070 members. In 1916, the number increased by 7,000 members, so that within two years, SI Sumenep had succeeded in having 12,070 members. Meanwhile, SI Prenduan Branch in 1914 succeeded in recruiting 7,186 members (A.P.E. Korver, 1985). Two years later, in 1916, the number increased, although not significantly, to 7,477 members. The increase in numbers explains the significant position of SI during Madurese society as a forum for the struggle of Muslims in the political and economic fields.

However, the existence of SI Sumenep under the leadership of Kèaè Zainal did not immediately run smoothly like that. The Colonial Government often delayed in granting permission to establish SI Sumenep. This was done to supervise and control the development of SI. This fact is exactly as written by Kuntowijoyo, that to thwart the struggle of SI Sumenep, before issuing the permit, the Colonial Government gave conditions first. One of the conditions given was to ask Kèaè Zainal to resign from his position as President of SI Sumenep (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). The goal was to weaken the role of SI Sumenep by dismissing Kèaè Zainal as President of SI. Because, since SI was under the command of Kèaè Zainal, this group was very enthusiastic in resisting the colonizers so that its existence made the colonial government uncomfortable.

Not only that, Kèaè Zainal's position as President of SI Sumenep was not safe. When he became the number one person in SI Sumenep, Kèaè Zainal's position received resistance from the ranks of young SI who were unhappy with his leadership because they were considered too close to the officials of the Sumenep palace. This group became the opposition to Kèaè Zainal's leadership with plans to overthrow his leadership in SI Sumenep. At its peak, this group accused Kèaè Zainal of embezzling the organization's money that was used to go to the holy land of Mecca, so that Kèaè Zainal's position was successfully overthrown from the top leadership of SI Sumenep and replaced by Ario Cindrosisworo (Isqomar, 2022).

The existence of SI Sumenep orchestrated the struggle of Muslims, especially against the practice of salt monopoly. Initially, resistance against the salt monopoly was carried out using individual methods and was carried out secretly. However, the form of resistance changed since the beginning of the 20th century after the emergence of anti-

colonial and nationalist movements—including SI—became organized, collective, and open (Huub de Jonge, 2011). Under the command of *Kèaè Zainal*, SI Sumenep was actively fighting against all forms of exploitation, especially those related to salt production which was an important source of income for the people of Sumenep at that time.

In 1915, there was a protest from salt farmers which was shown by way of strike, passive resistance, and even burning of warehouses. The cause was the crop failure that occurred in 1909 to 1910 which resulted in many salt farmers being in debt. The protest did not produce any results because it was successfully suppressed through good negotiations by the Colonial Government (Huub de Jonge, 2011). The failure made the salt farmers realize that they needed a forum to channel their aspirations. Since then, the farmers have submitted their aspirations regarding their interests in salt matters to SI under the command of *Kèaè Zainal*.

Support for the SI Sumenep struggle did not only come from salt farmers, but also from followers of the Naqsyabandiyah Order. This is not surprising, considering that *Kèaè Zainal*, apart from being the President of SI, is also the Mursyid of the Naqsyabandiyah Order. *Kèaè Zainal's* leadership position provides mutual symbiosis, especially in supporting his struggle to stem the tide of colonialism in Sumenep. So it is not surprising that during his leadership, SI Sumenep members were dominated by followers of the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah.

In 1916, after the salt monopoly policy was implemented massively in salt production areas, salt farmers could not get decent wages. In response to this, *Kèaè Zainal* ordered SI Sumenep to investigate in the salt production areas. From the results of the investigation, the problem was found, namely the high cost of private salt production due to the intervention of salt officials, as well as the large amount that the monopoly had to deposit into the state treasury (Huub de Jonge, 2011). To overcome this problem, SI Sumenep demanded that the Colonial Government increase the purchase price of salt from *f*10 to *f*25 per *koyang* (Kuntowijoyo, 2002).

The problem was never resolved, because the Colonial Government did not agree to the wage increase demanded by SI Sumenep. The problem even attracted the attention of the central SI leaders, Tjokroaminoto. He visited Madura to meet with the Governor General to discuss the salt problem in the region. The meeting was held in three places, namely Duko, Prenduan, and Bangkalan. The figure who became the leader in the meeting was Hasan bin Semit (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). The salt issue is a complicated problem that befalls salt farmers, to the point of involving the central SI management. The cause is that the purchase price is too low and is not comparable to the production costs.

As a follow-up to the meeting, SI Sumenep remained in its original position, namely demanding the Colonial Government to increase the purchase price of salt. SI Sumenep held more and more meetings to discuss the demands so that they could be accepted by the Colonial Government. Under the direction of *Kèaè Zainal*, SI Sumenep held its first meeting on December 6, 1918, which was attended by 357 people from 29

villages. The Colonial Government could not prohibit the meeting because it always ran orderly (Parwata, 2010).

Not only through meetings, SI Sumenep also spread its calls for resistance against the salt monopoly through lectures and public meetings. Huub de Jonge said that the implementation of God's law was a means to convey feelings of dissatisfaction with the new regulations made by the Colonial Government (Huub de Jonge, 1989b). It is not surprising that after Friday prayers, the mosque in a village provides the facilities desired by the SI specifically to discuss salt (Hanifah, 2003).

In its movement, SI Sumenep continued to advocate the interests of salt farmers, not only concerning demands for price increases, but also security and order in salt production areas. At that time, SI Sumenep very often held meetings that were attended directly by almost all its leaders. This meeting was what had raised concerns among the Colonial Government that SI Sumenep would become a secret socio-political movement (Kuntowijoyo, 2002) which could threaten the power of the Colonial Government. This concern was expressed directly by the Resident of Sumenep who said:

*"That for the past 25 years, Sumenep has been completely calm, the people here not only need a strong hand, but will even appreciate this attitude, but they should not be given toys like SI (A.P.E. Korver, 1985)."*

Based on these concerns, the Colonial Government no longer had any reason not to grant the demands for an increase in the purchase price of salt requested by SI Sumenep, even though the granting of the amount was not the same as the nominal amount demanded.

Not only about salt, but other aspects also that became the aspirations of SI Sumenep's struggle were housing, livestock castration, prevention of heart disease, and education. SI Sumenep also helped establish several mosque worship facilities. However, except for economic and political matters, SI Sumenep was not much discussed. So, it is understandable that this association is better known as an economic and political association than a religious association. In the context of education, SI Sumenep succeeded in establishing the Dutch East Indies Teachers Association (PGHB) on April 30, 1917, in Sumenep (Kuntowijoyo, 2002).

In 1918, when the election of members of the *Volksraad*, a body like the Dutch East Indies People's Representative Council, had 38 members, 15 of whom were natives, SI Sumenep under the instruction of President Kèaè Zainal fully supported the appointment of Cokroaminoto as a member of the *Volksraad*. SI Sumenep's stance was very different from other SI branches in Madura, such as Sampang, Duko, and Bangkalan, which rejected the appointment (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). The reason for this support was to facilitate the elimination of the salt monopoly system in Sumenep by having a "mouthpiece" for the people like Cokroaminoto in the *Volksraad* Parliament.

However, the Colonial Government still had a way to achieve its goal: to control salt production. The Colonial Government did not only monopolize based on desire alone because at any time it could be opposed by salt farmers, but also legalized the practice into a law that was passed in 1882, the contents of which were as follows:

*“De aanmaak van zout, tenzij met vergunning en ten behoeven van het gouvernement van Nederlandsch-Indie, is behoudens de uitzom deringen in het volgend artikel ver meld, verboden (P.H. Van Der Kemp, 1894).”*

Meaning is:

*“Salt production, except with permission and for the benefit of the Dutch East Indies government, is prohibited with the exceptions mentioned in the following article.”*

With the existence of the above law, the Colonial Government wanted to strengthen its authority as the holder of full power over salt production in the Madura region. With this regulation, they could freely carry out monopolies which resulted in the decline of salt farmers.

In the same year, due to the many protests from salt farmers conveyed by SI Sumenep, the Dutch East Indies *Volksraad* parliament specifically held a discussion about salt in the Sumenep area. One of the discussions concerned the concerning conditions of salt farmers and workers. Huub de Jonge described the salt farmers at that time as like "sardines" who were forced to sleep on the floors of the barracks (Huub de Jonge, 2011). This happens because workers are paid small wages, even though they work long hours.

A heated debate between SI Sumenep and the Colonial Government was inevitable in the *Volksraad* parliament. After receiving support from several parties, SI Sumenep finally succeeded in delivering the acceptance of an amendment demanding the Colonial Government to raise the purchase price of salt from 5 guilders per *koyang* (Huub de Jonge, 2011). Some data mention that the Colonial Government had agreed to increase the price of salt from *f* 10 to *f* 15 per-*koyang*. However, because the SI's demand was not *f* 15 but *f* 25, *Kèàè* Zainal's struggle with SI Sumenep continued in the following years. The effort did not bear fruit until 1920, because the government still decided on the price of salt from 10 to *f* 15 per-*koyang*.

To advocate for the demands, *Kèàè* Zainal ordered SI Sumenep to focus on the struggle for equal wages between men and women working in salt areas. SI Sumenep also strongly condemned the inadequate accommodation facilities (resting places) for farmers who stayed overnight. However, SI Sumenep was considered excessive and unreasonable in its demands to equalize wages for men and women and improve accommodation facilities in salt areas. Finally, once again SI Sumenep's demands did not produce results.

In 1918, SI Sumenep was actively involved when farmers and the people of Sumenep experienced a crisis that resulted in famine. The conditions worsened, not only a crisis, but also spread to high levels of lawlessness. This incident caught the attention of *Kèàè* Zainal and the SI Sumenep leaders. *Kèàè* Zainal held a SI Sumenep meeting on March 24, 1918, to find a solution to the crisis. In one data, it is described that the crisis was so severe that it attracted the attention of SI throughout the Madura region.

Evidently, the meeting was attended by CSI for the Madura Residency, namely H Syadzili and Hasan bin Semit and all SI members from throughout the Madura region.

The meeting of all SI throughout Madura resulted in an agreement to find the cause of the crisis by appointing Sosrodanukusumo as the head of the investigation. From the results of the investigation, it was found that the cause of the crisis was crop failure (Hanifah, 2003). However, because it was more dominated by natural factors, SI Sumenep could not do much, even though they had to see the people starving.

Unhandled in SI Madura, the problem then invited the central SI management to intervene. Under the command of the central CSI President, Cokroaminoto, SI held a meeting to find a solution to the crisis in Sumenep on May 5, 1918, which was attended by 3,000 members. But again, even though it had been handled by the central SI, SI still could not find a way out of the crisis that had hit almost all Sumenep society. In addition to natural factors, the cause of the crisis at that time was also due to the debts of the palace nobles to Chinese loan sharks. Due to the inability of the palace nobles to pay their debts, they had to be replaced with land. However, the Colonial Government tried to solve this problem by providing financial and legal assistance to the palace nobles (Kuntowijoyo, 1993).

These various failures resulted in the prestige and public trust in SI Sumenep slowly fading. One of the reasons is that SI Sumenep often does not give its full attention to the problems it is handling. SI Sumenep in its meetings often talks at length from one problem to another, without having a clear political direction and goal. Kuntowijoyo said that this was evident from the ambition of the programs discussed in SI meetings (Kuntowijoyo, 2002).

Although he always failed to achieve his goals, *Kèaè* Zainal's struggle through SI Sumenep was an attempt to free himself from the misery caused by the colonizers. During *Kèaè* Zainal's time, SI Sumenep actively fought for the rights of salt farmers to end the colonizers' control over the livelihoods of the Sumenep people. What is clear is that the SI movement has fostered nationalist values among the Sumenep community.

However, the various failures of SI Sumenep resulted in their influence fading – and gradually – they began to be abandoned by their followers. Ultimately, SI Sumenep was disbanded, although its influence in some areas of Madura remained strong. The destruction of SI resulted in a vacuum of authority during society. Until finally, in the early 20th century, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama came to replace SI's position in the region.

### **Witnessing of the Birth of Nahdlatul Ulama Sumenep**

Nahdlatul Ulama was not born in a vacuum, but rather as a response to the religious and social conditions surrounding it. The need for an organization for local ulama in maintaining Islam Nusantara on the one hand, and the need for a forum – especially for the pesantren community – in seizing independence from the hands of the colonialists, especially after the absence of SI on the other side. According to Gus Dur, traditional Islam in Indonesia is reflected in two religious associations, namely

Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama which have the *Ahl As-Sunnah wa Al-Jama'ah* ideology. The characteristics of traditional Islam lie in the religiosity that is carried out by fostering pride in local traditions and culture (Abdurrahman Wahid, 1981).

In 1926, Nahdlatul Ulama was established as a counterbalance to Muhammadiyah in Surabaya. Nahdlatul Ulama grew quite rapidly, even surpassing the previous association, Muhammadiyah. This happened because the reformist group was difficult for villagers to accept because it forced too much change in traditions and culture that were already deeply rooted in society in a short time. At its peak, this group received public anger when it initiated replacing Islamic boarding school teaching with Western-style schools (Huub de Jonge, 1989b).

At the same time, since the beginning of 1910, almost the entire territory of the Indonesian archipelago fell under the control of the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government (M.C. Ricklefs, 2008). One of the areas that experienced this transfer of power was Sumenep. This condition made it easier for the colonizers to exploit human and natural resources by exploiting local communities to submit to their interests.

In short, there was a challenge to ground Islam Nusantara on one side, and the occurrence of colonization on the other side. These two reasons were the strong reasons why Nahdlatul Ulama was later founded. The history of the founding of the organization first began with the visit of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari who at that time was accompanied by his son, K.H. Wahid Hasyim to Pesantren Annuqayah to meet K.H. Ilyas Syarqowi, the son of Kiai Syarqowi. The purpose of the visit, among other things, was to provide a mandate to establish the same community organization in the barren area. Finally, the Nahdlatul Ulama organization was officially established in Sumenep in 1930.

After being officially established in Sumenep, the leadership of Nahdlatul Ulama was held by Kiai Ilyas as Rais Syuriah, the highest position in the community organization. From here the seeds of the birth of Nahdlatul Ulama began until it became the largest organization in the region. In fact, there is a local proverb that explains the position of Nahdlatul Ulama in the eyes of the local community, "NU is a religion for the Madurese people."

However, Kiai Ilyas' leadership did not last long. Only about three months, his position as Rais Syuriah was handed over to his colleague when he was studying with Syaikhona Kholil, namely K.H. Abi Sudjak, who was domiciled in Kebonagung Village, Kota, Sumenep. This handover was due to geographical and strategic reasons. The Annuqayah Islamic Boarding School in Guluk-Guluk was seen as less strategic to become the center of the *diniyah wa ijtimaiah* organization, especially to consolidate and restructure the new organization. To solve this problem, the domicile of K.H. Abi Sudjak who was in the city was seen as being able to solve these needs.

After receiving the mandate from Kiai Ilyas, K.H. Abi Sudjak then compiled the management structure of Nahdlatul Ulama under his leadership. The ratification of this new structure was carried out by Kiai Munif, one of the East Java NU consulates, who came to the Bana Sokon Kebonagung Islamic Boarding School, Kota District, Sumenep

Regency. Kiai Munif's arrival was to inaugurate the management of the Sumenep Branch of Nahdlatul Ulama under the leadership of K.H. Abi Sudjak (Tadjul Arifin R., 1996).

Before receiving the approval of the management, K.H. Abi Sudjak first asked for direction and blessings from his uncle, Kèaè Zainal. In addition to asking for blessings, the coordination was carried out to ask for Kèaè Zainal's political views, especially regarding SI, an organization that had controlled the area long before the birth of Nahdlatul Ulama. The plan to establish Nahdlatul Ulama was welcomed very well by Kèaè Zainal with the following statement:

*"If Nahdlatul Ulama is now established, then SI is no longer needed. Because SI's struggle is only about Islamic economics. So with the existence of Nahdlatul Ulama, now is the time for ulama to come forward...(Tadjul Arifin R., 1996)"*

Kèaè Zainal's view above shows that he is very open to all differences and changes. His acceptance was to set an example for other former SI members to put aside group egos and prioritize unity. Because the struggle to expel the colonizers is impossible to achieve if Muslims act alone. Therefore, Muslims must unite – especially SI and NU – to collaborate in building Sumenep, especially in the struggle to expel the colonizers.

Kèaè Zainal also helped KH. Abi Sudjak in developing Nahdlatul Ulama Sumenep. He was in the structure as Rais Syuriah, the highest position in the Nahdlatul Ulama management structure at the regional level. Meanwhile, the Chairperson of Tanfidziyah was held by K.H. Abi Sudjak, who at that time was still very young and energetic. The presence of K.H. Abi Sudjak greatly helped to develop this organization which was only a few months old, until it became an Islamic organization with the most followers in the region.

Kèaè Zainal's acceptance of Nahdlatul Ulama has explained the tolerance in him. The goal is to try to make SI and Nahdlatul Ulama work together in expelling the colonizers. This harmonious relationship is an open way to preach Islam in Sumenep. Under the guidance of Kèaè Zainal, the two often collaborate, especially in their commitment to fighting the colonizers. Thanks to the support and acceptance of Kèaè Zainal, it is easy for this organization to develop, because it has received the blessing of several senior Kèaè in Sumenep.

## CONCLUSION

This article found that the religious nationalism of figures who are considered peripheral such as Kèaè Zainal originates from his moderate interpretation of Islamic teachings. Interestingly, religious nationalism does not just stop at belief *an sich* but is contextualized into concrete action in the form of defending the interests of the *oreng kenek* (common people). That's why he then founded a pesantren to combat illiteracy in the *kenek* (common) community, mobilized the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah and Sarekat Islam network to fight for the rights of salt farmers, and helped give birth to the Sumenep Nahdlatul Ulama as a mediation for maintaining and disseminating the Islamic teachings of *Ahl As-Sunnah Wa Al-Jamaah* during the colonial period. All of this is Kèaè



Zainal's vehicle for spreading his religious understanding to society on the one hand and breaking the flow of colonialism on the other hand.

The results of the research introduce the implementation of religious nationalism typical of Kèaè Zainal as a figure of pesantren. These findings will enrich the treasures of national history with local historical studies, especially those related to the history of pesantren figures. By his initiative together with the *orang kenek* to build nationality and stem colonialism in Sumenep, apart from being able to activate strong ulama-santri (teacher-student) resistance nodes in blocking the colonialists' efforts to take over Sumenep, it also made the population on this salt island, in general, embrace the religion brought by the Prophet Muhammad voluntarily, without being motivated by any significant coercion.

Even though it contributes to minimizing the historiographic gap between local and national, this research certainly has limitations. As the first research on the role of the local elite regarding religious nationalism, having a gap of 72 years ago, data are limited. Therefore, it is possible that in the future new findings will be discovered that improve this research. Along with this, future research must continue to highlight local history to reveal its riches and other important things. Because, whether we admit it or not, national history is formed and stitched from fragments of peripheral events.

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