



FROM THE PALACE PENDOPO TO THE PESANTREN ROOMS: The Dynamics of Aristocrats and Kiai Relationship in Sumenep (1750-1950s)

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the dynamics of the relation between the *sentana* (aristocrats) and *kèaè* (ulama) in Sumenep during the colonial period. The topic is chosen because almost all research put the aristocrats and the ulama in Madura as historically opposed parties. The main question of the article is that how the relationship started and how far it had manifested until the early days of the independence. Collecting data from *babad*, manuscript, official reports from the colonial government and some informants who are the descendants of the aristocrats, this research applies a social-cultural approach to explain why their close relation with the *kèaè* have allowed the aristocrats to maintain their dignity in society. The result shows that the close relation between *sentana* and *kèaè* originated from the figure of Bindara Saod. Although it had been tenuous because the palace customs have made the aristocrats exclusive, the relationship between *sentana* and *kèaè* did not really break. A marriage between the Sultan Abdurrahman's granddaughter and a *kèaè* in the mid-19th century tightened the relationship, descending a generation of ulama with royal blood and manifested in a *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) in which the palace customs have been kept alive and survived until postcolonial era.

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini membicarakan dinamika hubungan yang terjalin antara kalangan *sentana* (bangsawan) dan *kèaè* (kiai) di Sumenep selama masa kolonial. Topik ini dipilih sebab hampir semua penelitian menempatkan bangsawan dan kiai di Madura sebagai pihak yang bertentangan secara historis. Pertanyaan utama dari penelitian ini adalah bagaimana hubungan itu bermula dan sejauh mana ia terejawantahkan hingga masa-masa awal kemerdekaan. Mengambil data dari babad, manuskrip, laporan-laporan resmi pemerintah kolonial, dan para informan yang merupakan keturunan kaum ningrat, penelitian ini akan menggunakan pendekatan sosio-kultural untuk menjelaskan mengapa kedekatan dengan *kèaè* membuat para bangsawan dapat menjaga muruah mereka di tengah-tengah masyarakat. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kedekatan antara *kèaè* dan *sentana* bermula dari sosok Bindara Saod. Kendati sempat merenggang sebab adat keraton mengeksklusifkan kalangan ningrat, jalinan *sentana* dan *kèaè* tidak benar-benar putus. Sebuah pernikahan antara cucu Sultan Abdurrahman dan seorang *kèaè* pada pertengahan abad ke-19 M. mempererat kembali hubungan itu, menurunkan generasi para kiai berdarah biru, dan mewujud dalam sebuah pesantren di mana adat dan budaya keraton tetap hidup dan bertahan hingga era pascakolonial.

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Introduction

Kuntowijoyo writes that the main theme of local historical research on Madura, including Sumenep, in the post-independence is the tug-of-war relationship between the *kèaè* (ulama) and the government.¹ Meanwhile, the *sentana* (aristocrats) are often forgotten as one of the social entities that still exist today. It is a bit unfortunate because Sumenep is anthropologically considered the center of Madurese culture and to some extent, the aristocrats who have been in power for centuries have also contributed to spreading the palace arts to the wider community.² On the other hand, due to the influence of the palace with polite language, Madurese with the Sumenep dialect has become the standard language used in government schools in Madura during the colonial period.³

From a historical perspective, almost all studies agree that the strengthening of the role of local religious leaders in Madura was caused by intervention of the colonial government and the declining influence of the aristocrats. Lik Arifin Mansurnoor, for example, notes that along with the strengthening of Islamic revivalism in the late 19th century and the proliferation of Islamic boarding schools in rural areas, the *kèaè* (religious leader) gradually gained charismatic authority from the community.⁴ Meanwhile, Abdul Gaffar Karim considered that the main strength of the *kèaè* compared to the aristocrats is their ability to change the basis of their authority from traditional to legal-rational, so that after the New Order, they could occupy executive and legislative positions in the district government.⁵ The *kèaè* who do not serve in the government, as stated by Yanwar Pribadi, act as political, economic, and cultural brokers who bridge the government and the society.⁶ It leads to a phenomenon that on the one hand the

¹ Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial dalam Masyarakat Agraris: Madura 1850-1940* (Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa, 2002), p. 587 and 599-600.

² Hélène Bouvier notes the possibility that *topeng dhalang* commonly found in Sumenep today, was first brought by Wiraraja and slowly spreaded among the people. He also sees that there are still *sinden* in Sumenep, who were concubines of the king, nobles, or mistresses of rich Chinese in the capital Afdeeling in ancient times. Hélène Bouvier, *Lèbur! Seni Musik dan Pertunjukan dalam Masyarakat Madura* (Jakarta: Indonesia Obor Foundation, 2002), p. 121 and 370-371.

³ E.M. Uhlenbeck, *A Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964), p. 174.

⁴ Iik Arifin Mansurnoor, *Islam in An Indonesian World: Ulama of Madura* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1990), p. 32-8.

⁵ Abdul Gaffar Karim, "The Pesantren-Based Rulling Elite in Sumenep in the Post-New Order Indonesia," *Jiis: Jurnal of Indonesian Islam*, vol. 03, no. 01 (June, 2009): 118, <https://doi.org/10.15642/Jiis.2009.3.1.97-121>.

⁶ Yanwar Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura; Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture," *AlJami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 51, no. 1 (2013): 28, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.511.1-32>.



kèaè could maintain social harmony in the society, on the other hand, it also has the potential to drag some of them into intolerant narratives, violence,⁷ and Islamism with an authoritarian style.⁸

This article will place two social groups, *sentana* and *kèaè*, in their historical journey for two centuries from 1750 to the first decade of the Indonesia independence. The main question is why the Sumenep *sentana* do not lose their status and pride even though the traditional form of government had long been abolished. At first, this article will reveal that the *sentana* actually has a pedigree that stems from a figure of *kèaè*. Then, marriage bond between the *kèaè* and *sentana* in the mid-19th century colored the dynamics that took place between the two groups and gave birth to a generation of *kèaè* with noble blood who led a *pesantren* in Sumenep. The persistence of the traditional palace in the *pesantren* until the independence period, hypothetically, proves that the close relationship between *sentana* and *kèaè* makes some of the first groups still have an honorable place in society

Genealogy of Sumenep Aristocrats

In the 19th century, there were two most prominent noble breeds in Sumenep, namely the Raden Tumenggung Anggadipa breed and the Raden Tumenggung Tirtanegara breed.⁹ Anggadipa is the son of the Regent of Jepara who was sent by Sultan Agung to rule in Sumenep after Mataram conquered Madura in 1624.¹⁰ Meanwhile, Raden Tumenggung Tirtanegara is the title of Bindara Saod. This figure became a king after he was married to Ratu Tirtanegara in 1750. The Bindara Saod breed is better known because it was from him the rulers of Sumenep up to 1929 was born. Ratu Tirtanegara herself is the great-grandson of Tumenggung Yudhanegara who ruled Sumenep from 1673 to 1684.¹¹

According to Luc Nagtegaal, Yudhanegara was probably someone from among the common people. His career began as a hamlet head in Ambunten, and was later promoted to a *mantri* in

⁷ Ahmad Zainul Hamdi, "Radicalising the Traditionalists: A Contemporary Dynamic of Islamic Traditionalism in Madura-Indonesia," *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman*, vol. 15, no. 1 (June 2020): 17-18, <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2020.15.1.1-21>.

⁸ Abd A'la, et. al., "Islamism in Madura: From Religious Symbolism to Authoritarianism," *Jiis: Journal of Indonesian Islam*, vol. 12, no. 02, (December 2018): 188-189, <https://doi.org/10.15642/Jiis.2018.12.2.159-194>.

⁹ A.B. Cohen Stuart, *Perengatan dari Hal Titel-titel (Gelaran) Asal jang Tepakei Sekalijan Orang Djawa di Bawah Keraton Djawa* (Semarang: G.C.T. van Dorp & Co., 1894), p. 47.

¹⁰ Mien A. Rifai, *Lintasan Sejarah Madura* (Surabaya: Yayasan Lebbur Legga, 1993), pp. 33-4.

¹¹ Wedisastra, *Babad Sumenep* (Pasuruan: PT. Garoeda Buana Indah, 1996), p. 284.



the palace. He was really taken into account when he helped Trunajaya's military campaign in Madura. For his assistance, Yudhanegara was appointed as a ruler in Sumenep. Only after Trunajaya suffered defeat because Mataram was assisted by the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), in 1680, Yudhanegara met a VOC commander named Jacob Couper, to whom, Yudhanegara confirmed that he was a descendant of the last Sumenep ruler before being conquered by Mataram.¹²

Meanwhile, *Babad Songenep* did provide information that Yudhanegara was the son of Raden Abdullah who was in power until the first quarter of the 17th century. Raden Abdullah himself is the son of Raden Rajasa who holds the title Pangeran Lor II, the grandson of Tumenggung Kanduruwan, the son of Raden Patah who ruled in Demak.¹³

It is said that Yudhanegara, whose first name is Raden Bugan, was evacuated from Madura after his father and grandfather died. What is interesting is that, in the *Babad Songenep*, the incident of Mataram's conquest of Madura is not told. Instead, the cause of the death of Raden Abdullah and his father, Raden Rajasa, was because they were attacked by robbers in Sampang on their way to Demak.¹⁴

After the "robbery", Raden Bugan was rushed to Cirebon to be raised by the Sultan of Cirebon. When he grew up, he returned to Sumenep and served Raden Ario Jaengpati, the successor of Raden Tumenggung Anggadipa.¹⁵ It was during the period of Jaengpati that Trunajaya began his struggle against Mataram. By 1673, Sumenep had been conquered. Jaengpati fled and Trunajaya appointed Yudhanegara as ruler of Sumenep.¹⁶ Since then, until the mid-18th century, those who held the reins of power in Sumenep were descendants of Yudhanegara.

With regard to the figure of Raden Tumenggung Tirtanegara, *Babad Songenep* provides information that his first name is Mohammad Saod, but is better known as Bindara Saod. He

¹² Luc Nagtegaal, "The Legitimacy of Rule in Early Modern Madura," in Kees van Dijk, et. al., (ed.), *Across Madura Strait: The Dynamics of an Insular Society* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995), pp. 58-9.

¹³ Wedisastra, *Babad Sumenep*, p. 213.

¹⁴ At a glance, there seems to be an anachronism in the *Babad Songenep*. Demak as a political power in Java has weakened since the mid-16th century, but this name is used to refer to events occurred in the early 17th century. Regarding this, de Graff gives his assessment that this chronicle was a way for the Sumenep people to show their loyalty to Java. It was the Sampang people who were later made scapegoats. H.J. de Graff, *Puncak Kekuasaan Mataram: Politik Ekspansi Sultan Agung* (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1986), p. 89-90.

¹⁵ Wedisastra, *Babad Sumenep*, pp. 271-7.

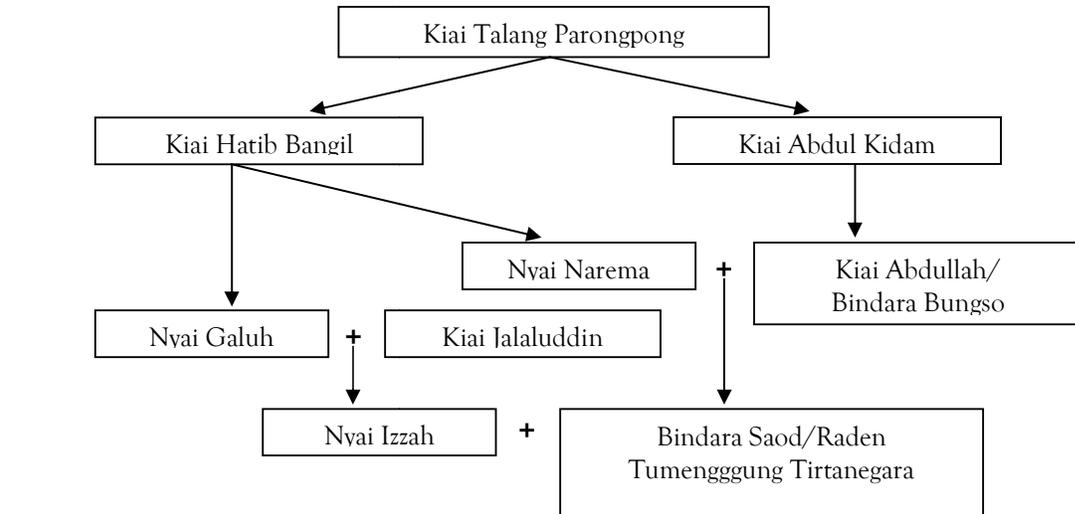
¹⁶ Aminuddin Kasdi writes that when Trunajaya had been pushed down in Kediri by Mataram and the VOC, Yudhanegara took this opportunity to take side with the VOC, and at the same time break away from the rule of Mataram. Aminuddin Kasdi, *Perlawanan Penguasa Madura atas Hegemoni Jawa: Relasi Pusat-Daerah pada Periode Akhir Mataram (1726-1745)* (Yogyakarta: Jendela, 2003), p. 247.



is the son of a religious leader named Kiai Abdullah, who is better known as Bindara Bungso. Bindara Bungso is the son of Kiai Abdul Kidam, and Abdul Kidam is the son of Kiai Talang Parongpong.¹⁷ This information is different from the version adopted by some Sumenep aristocrats. A manuscript containing genealogies written in 1989 states that Abdul Kidam is the son of Raden Rajasa. If this version is correct, it means that he is the brother of Raden Abdullah and the uncle of Yudhanegara, and when traced upwards, the line will also reach Tumenggung Kanduruwan, the son of Raden Patah.¹⁸

On the other hand, there is no different version with regard to the mother of Bindara Saod. The woman named Nyai Narema or Nuriyam is the daughter of Kiai Hatib Bangil. Kiai Hatib Bangil is the son of Kiai Talang Parongpong.¹⁹ Both the *Babad Songenep* and the genealogy owned by the royal family mention that Kiai Talang Parongpong is the great-grandson of Kiai Astamana.

This kiai is the son of Pangeran Bukabu and Nyai Purnama. When traced upwards, this couple are descendants of Sunan Kudus.²⁰ If this is true, then Bindara Bungso and Nyai Narema are cousins. In Madura, it is common to marry a cousin.²¹ Bindara Saod's wife, Nyi Izzah, is his cousin. Nyai Izzah's mother is Nyai Galuh, Nyai Narema's younger sister.



¹⁷ Wedisastra, *Babad Sumenep*, p. 329.

¹⁸ R.P. Abdul Fattah, *Silsilah Keturunan Sultan Abdurrahman Pakunataningrat Sumenep*, Manuscript, 1989, p. 8.

¹⁹ Parongpong is hamlet which is now included in the Dasuk District, Sumenep Regency.

²⁰ Wedisastra, *Babad Sumenep*, pp. 325-7; and Fattah, *Silsilah Keturunan*, p. 8. In the genealogy book, it is written that Sunan Kudus has four sons. Two of them are Panembahan Kalijogo Bluto and Panembahan Perkaos. Panembahan Kalijogo Bluto has a son named Pangeran Mandaraga, a father of Pangeran Bukabu. Meanwhile, Panembahan Perkaos has a son named Pangeran Katandur. He has a son named Kiai Hatib Paranggan. This kiai is the father of Nyai Purnama.

²¹ Mohammad Adib, *Etnografi Madura* (Surabaya: Departemen Antropologi Universitas Airlangga, 2011), p. 46.



Figure 1
Genealogy of Bindara Saod²²

The different versions of the genealogy of the Sumenep rulers from the beginning of the 17th century to the middle of the 18th century may be due to political upheavals. The tug-of-war relationship between Mataram, the VOC, and Madura (Bangkalan), directly influenced the succession in Sumenep. In addition, the boundaries between Sumenep and Pamekasan at that time were not very clear. Many marital relations took place between the nobles of these two regions.

In the case of Bindara Saod itself, it seems that the version of *Babad Songenep* is more reliable than the genealogy written recently. Both the *Babad Songenep* and the manuscript acknowledge the figure of Purwanegara, a *Patih* of Sumenep who did not approve of the marriage of Bindara Saod and Ratu Tirtanegara. The reason was simple, he fell in love with the queen and saw that Bindara Saod was someone who had no royal blood. In the *Babad Songenep*, Purwanegara called Bindara Saod as a “mountain man”.²³ If Bindara Saod is a descendant of Raden Rajasa, there would be no protest from Purwanegara.

Bindara Saod, who is later known as Raden Tumenggung Tirtanegara, ruled Sumenep from 1750 to 1762. Surprisingly, his successor was not the son of Ratu Tirtanegara, but the son of Bindara Saod from his previous wife, Nyai Izzah. This means that from 1750 until the last decades of the colonial period, the rulers of Sumenep were descended from an entirely new breed. Successively, the kings (and later regent) after Bindara Saod were Panembahan Somala (1762-1811), Sultan Abdurrahman (1811-1854), Panembahan Mohammad Saleh (1854-1879), Pangeran Pakunataningrat (1879-1901), Pangeran Ario Pratamingkusumo (1901-1926), and finally Tumenggung Prabuwinoto (1926-1929). The king's breed ended in 1929 because Raden Tumenggung Ario Prabuwinoto died without having a son. The successor regent was Raden

²² Wedisastra, *Babad Sumenep*, pp. 325-7.

²³ Ibid., p. 347. In the spoken language of Sumenep, the words “mountain people” or “*orèng ghunong*” are commonly used insult to refer to someone who is considered backward and has no manners. Synonyms with similar tone, for example, are *orèng dhisa* (village people), *orèng kèné* (little people), *orèng tane* (farmers), or *orèng malarat* (poor people). These terms are usually contrasted with *orèng kotta* (city people), *orèng dhâlâm* (court people), or *orèng andi* (rich people). Bouvier, *Lèbur! Seni Musik*, pp. 425-6.



Ario Samadikun Prawotohadikusumo. He is a descendant of the Kanoman palace in Surabaya and since 1925 has been appointed as Patih of Sumenep by the colonial government.²⁴

Two Centuries of the Dynamics of the *Sentana-Kèaè* Relationship

The above review shows that the Sumenep noble breed, according to the *Babad Songnenep* version, has a close relationship with the *kiai*. The word 'bindara' in the name of Bindara Saod is a local term to refer to a *santri* or a son of a *kiai*. However, as time passes, the descendants of Bindara Saod themselves were closer to the palace culture than the culture of *kiai*, so that the status of '*sentana*' was more attached to them than '*kèaè*'. In this section, we will see how the *sentana* status attached to the descendants of Bindara Saod actually brings its own consequences to how they are positioned in the society.

As descendants of the king, the *sentana* have the right to attach titles before their names. Tjiptoatmodjo writes that there are similarities between Central Java, East Java, and Madura.²⁵ Their symbols of greatness can also be seen in clothing, umbrellas, and special funerals.²⁶ In Sumenep, the burial complex is called Asta Tinggi, which is located on a plateau about 3 kilometers from the palace. As for the choice of art, the nobles liked *tandâ'*, a dance and song performance accompanied by *gamelan* and carried out in response. The Javanese element, which is strong, in *gamelan* and *gending* in *tandâ'*, makes it distinctive with the more populist Madurese art form, the *saronen*, a wind instrument that sounds rougher and is usually played when accompanying *karapan sapi* (bull race) or holding rituals at sacred tombs.²⁷

The characteristics mentioned above, namely the special burial in the highlands, the embedding of titles, a more refined form of art, as well as the symbolization in umbrellas and clothing, indicate the main characteristics of the aristocrats who are higher than the common people. Some various speech stories summarized by Zainalfattah also give an understanding

²⁴ Zainalfattah, *Sedjarah Tjaranya Pemerintahan di Daerah-daerah di Kepulauan Madura dengan Hubungannya* (Surabaya: Paragon Press, 1951), p. 78; and *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indie 1929, Tweede Gedeelte: Kalender en Personalia*, p. 336.

²⁵ The titles are, for example, 'pangeran', 'ario', 'panji', and 'bagus' for men and 'ayu' or 'ajeng' for women. In front of these titles, except for the 'Pangeran', the term 'Raden' is generally attached. Fransiscus Assisi Sutjipto Tjiptoatmodjo, *Kota-kota Pantai di Sekitar Selat Madura (Abad XVII sampai Medio Abad XIX)* (Dissertation, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, 1983), pp. 374-80.

²⁶ Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial*, p. 226.

²⁷ Bouvier notes that *tandâ'* is similar to *ronggeng* found in Central Java and West Java. Bouvier, *Lèbur! Seni Musik*, pp. 55-6, 164-5, and 169.



that a nobleman should have good character reflected in their attitude and behavior.²⁸ This is what might become a kind of ideal type of Sumenep aristocrats,²⁹ that they are always required to behave in accordance with the noble and respected breed etiquette.

Until 1883, Sumenep had the status of an autonomous region. The economic resources of the aristocrats up to that time, like other palace officials, were *percaton* lands. As de Jonge writes, during the autonomous government there has been a form of local political proliferation. The native government became more stable and the state classes, in which Panembahan and the nobles were in the first rank of this class, grew more and more prosperous.³⁰ In that convenience, the number of aristocrats is increasing. The problem of a feudal state was immediately apparent, namely the increasing number of people who had to receive *percaton* lands was not in proportion to the fixed area of agricultural land. In the early 1880s, there were 11 children and 79 grandchildren of Sultan Abdurrahman, 27 children and 122 grandchildren of Panembahan Mohammad Saleh, and 87 people from the relatives of the two kings' wives, who had to receive *percaton*.³¹

The colonial government took advantage of the deteriorating *percaton* system by abolishing Sumenep's autonomous status and making it a direct area at the *afdeeling* (district) level in 1883. All the palace officials, from the regent to low-ranking staff, were paid cash by the colonial government.³² The aristocrats automatically lost their rights to the *percaton* lands and only received compensation from the colonial government which could be revoked at any time when the person concerned had a job.³³ As a result, the *sentana* refrain from working fearing of

²⁸ For example, the story of Sultan Abdurrahman who called an old *mantri* to tell him about what successes the Sultan had managed to do instead of his parents. The old *mantri* said that he could not answer the question. He could only be grateful that the Sultan's parents can give birth to a son like him. Immediately, the Sultan went down from his throne and apologized to the old *mantri*, for exalting himself above his ancestors. Zainalfattah, *Sedjarah Tjaranya Pemerintahan*, pp. 75-6.

²⁹ The ideal type is formulated by Max Weber as an abstract construction of a concept from which empirical reality can be compared in terms of its similarities or differences. Weber defines ideal type as "a mental construction of a careful and systematic characterization of the basic individual patterns that are important in their uniqueness." Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1949), p. 43 and 100.

³⁰ Huub de Jonge, "Pembentukan Negara dengan Kontrak: Kabupaten Sumenep Madura, VOC dan Hindia Belanda, 1680-1883," in Huub de Jonge (ed.), *Agama, Kebudayaan, dan Ekonomi: Studi-studi Interdisipliner tentang Masyarakat Madura* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1989), pp. 27-9.

³¹ Edy Burhan Arifin, *Peran Priyayi Madura dalam Proses Transformasi Budaya: Suatu Kajian Historis* (Jember: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, Universitas Jember, 1991), p. 16.

³² For details on the salaries of the regent and his subordinates in Sumenep, see *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie*, 1883, no. 242.

³³ *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie*, DEEL XLVI. No. 7471-7668 (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1912), pp. 420-3.



losing the money so they become lazy. A journalistic report in 1927 went so far as to explain that their living conditions were pitiful: their residence was uninhabitable and many of them were in debt.³⁴

The prestige of the *sentanas* faded as a new class, the *parjaji* (*priayi*), more and more emerged. To enhance the administrative duties of the *parjaji*, the colonial government granted them aristocratic titles like royalty.³⁵ It reached the climax, when Raden Ario Samadikun Prawotohadikusumo succeeded the last descendant of Bindara Saod in 1929, the bureaucratic and social status of the *parjaji* had outperformed the *sentana*. At the same time, the *kèaè* have become new patrons for the community. Throughout the 19th century, the number of *pesantren* in Sumenep increased rapidly, from 34 in 1831 for this area only to 2,212 in 1888 for the entire Residency of Madura.³⁶ The *sentana*, who also lost clients along with the abolition of the *percaton*, seemed to have nothing to proud of except the titles in front of their names.

However, the relationship between *sentana* and *kèaè* did not just fade away. The ideal type of the *sentanas* that has been mentioned previously share common characteristics with religious leaders. Mansurnoor, who makes a comparison between the two groups, notes that a *kèaè* must maintain his leadership not only through morality and religious activities, but also by his prudent actions in society.³⁷ The *sentanas* share this character with the figure of *kèaè*. A report from the colonial government in 1889 stated that the aristocrats in Sumenep were very religious.³⁸ Throughout the colonial period, there were at least two historical realities that confirmed the report, namely the *waqf* will declared by Panembahan Somala and a marriage between a noble woman and a *penghulu* (a muslim leader), which eventually led to the generation of blue-blooded *kiai* in Sumenep.

At the end of 1785, a son of Bindara Saod, Panembahan Somala, donated the palace and surrounding buildings for the benefit of the needy and poor in Sumenep. An inscription was

³⁴ “Verarmde Adel,” in the *De Indische Courant*, September 22, 1927, p. 5.

³⁵ Kuntowijoyo, *Radikalisasi Petani: Esei-esei Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Benteng Intervisi Utama, 1993), p. 77.

³⁶ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Atas Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011), p. 65, and *Koloniaal Verslag van 1888*, p. 127. In the report, the number of students reached 42,413 people. Considering the area of Sumenep among other afdeelingen in Madura, it is not impossible that most of the *pesantren* are located in Sumenep.

³⁷ Iik Arifin Mansurnoor, “Rato and Kiai in Madura, Are They Twins?,” in Kees van Dijk, et. al. (ed.), *Across Madura Strait*, pp. 35-6.

³⁸ Kuntowijoyo, *Radikalisasi Petani*, p. 77.



carved to confirm the status of the lands and the buildings.³⁹ Unfortunately, the map confirming the *waqf* lands including the palace and the surrounding buildings was just made by Regentschaps Werkenen Bedrijven in 1938,⁴⁰ after several lease agreements involving the colonial government itself were made. For example, when a railroad was built that used part of the *waqf* land in the north, which extended to the west until it passed the front yard of the *jamik* mosque. The land lease agreement for the rail was signed in 1914.⁴¹ In addition to the rent, the *waqf* administrator and his family also received free tickets to travel by train. The colonial government also leased a piece of land to the *waqf* for two other buildings, namely the Barisan barracks, a military organization formed by the colonial government consisting of Madurese,⁴² to the south of the *alun-alun*, and a piece of land where eventually a hospital for Barisan members was built on it. The latter land is located in the front of the Sumenep palace building.⁴³

Indeed, the colonial government could not immediately acquire *waqf* lands because from a legal point of view, *waqf* had been recognized as part of customary law. However, if the *waqf* comes into contact with written law, for example in leasing and so on, then a person who is responsible for the case must be appointed.⁴⁴ In Islamic law, the person in charge of *waqf* is called a *nadir*. In the case of Panembahan Somala's *waqf*, those who served as *nadir* were his own descendants, who also served as regents in Sumenep. When Prabuwinoto was replaced by

³⁹ The inscription, which is now stored in the museum of Keraton Sumenep, can be translated as follows: "The month of Muharam in the year of ba' 1200 Hijriyah. This building is a *waqf* from Pangeran Notokusumo (another title of Panembahan Somala), the king of the State of Sumenep, may Allah forgive him and his parents. This is a building that cannot be destroyed and inherited, because it is a *waqf* for the poor. I make a will to all descendants or to others if they are not able to, to fix, supervise and maintain the building. And whoever maintain the *waqf*, may Allah take care of him in the world in hereafter. Amin."

⁴⁰ This map, created by Regentschap Werken en Bedrijven, could not be found. Information that this map was produced by the agency is obtained from the notarial deed of establishment of the Panembahan Somala Waqf Foundation in 1953. Anonymous, "Jajasan Wakaf Panembahan Soemolo," Deed dated June 8, 1953, No. 51, Notary Office Th. R. W. Vermeulen, Surabaya, p. 2.

⁴¹ In fact, the railway line that stretches from Kalianget Port in Sumenep to Kamal Port in Bangkalan has been operating since 1901. M. Masykur Ismail, *Kereta Api di Madura Tahun 1896-1929* (Thesis, Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya, 2007), pp. 47-8.

⁴² The colonial government formed Barisan in 1831 after realizing the fighting power of the Madurese and preventing veterans from turning professions into bandits. At the beginning of its formation, Barisan consisted of a rifle infantry battalion, a spear infantry battalion, an artillery company, and a cavalry company. Jurrien van Goor, "Salt and Soldiers, Madura and the Dutch in the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century," in the Dutch and Indonesian Steering Committees of the Indonesian Studies Program, *Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference* (Leiden: Bureau of Indonesian Studies, 1978), p. 197; and de Jonge, "Pembentukan Negara dengan Kontrak," pp. 20-22.

⁴³ R.P. Mohammad Mochtar Mangkuadiningrat, *Sejarah Berdirinya Waqaf Panembahan Somala Sumenep*, Manuscript, 1975, p. 5-6.

⁴⁴ B. Ter Haar, *Asas-asas dan Susunan Hukum Adat* (Jakarta: PT. Pradnya Paramita, 1994), pp. 136-7.



Raden Ario Samadikun, the position of the *nadir* of *waqf* successively passed to R.A. Barmawi Suryowijoyo (1929-1931), R.A. Abdurrachem Suryowijoyo (1931-1935), R.A. Sudibyingprojo (1936-1943), and R.A. Gondosubroto (1943-1950). All these *nadirs* come from the *kelir* party.⁴⁵ It was these *nadirs* who were then responsible for managing the *waqf*, collecting the rent while at the same time interacting with the colonial government in the construction of infrastructure in Sumenep, and distributing the proceeds to the poor.

In addition to the preservation of *waqf* wills throughout the colonial period which emphasized the piety of the *sentana*, the close relationship between the nobility and the *kiai* in Sumenep also manifested in the marriage bond. In the mid-19th century, a grandson of Sultan Abdurrahman, R. Aj. Zuwaidah, married a *kiai* named Muharrar Miftahul Arifin. This *kiai* is a *penghulu* in Kalianget District. A manuscript of genealogy traces the origin of the *kiai* to Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri.⁴⁶ As will be explained later, some of the descendants of this couple, beside serving as *penghulu* in the colonial bureaucracy, they also continuously lead a pesantren in Sumenep which still existed until the independence period.

After the colonial government implemented direct government in Sumenep and gradually the *parjaji* replaced the *sentana* in the government administration, the *kèaè* were also involved in the colonial bureaucracy as *pangolo*. In fact, some *pangolo* also have kinship with the *sentana*. The district *pangolo* who served until 1923 was R.P. Miftahul Arifin. Based on searches in the manuscript of genealogy, this figure is one of the sons of *Kiai* Muharrar mentioned above.⁴⁷ His successor, R. Mohammad Toha, was a son of a *pangolo* in Pamekasan. He married R.Aj. Zainab, great-granddaughter of Sultan Abdurrahman. The son of this couple, R.P. Mohammad Rasul, then became a *pangolo* in the North-West District about a decade before the Japanese began occupying Sumenep.⁴⁸

The *penghulu* and their staffs in the colonial period were the ones who were on the thin line between *parjaji* and *kèaè*. Muhamad Hisham states that the *penghulu* at the *afdeeling* level is a *priyayi* with a high position. They got paid from the government and were expected to attend with the regent in ceremonial activities, especially those related to religious matters. However, they are required to maintain their piety in carrying out their duties. This situation made their

⁴⁵ Mangkuadiningrat, *Sejarah Berdirinya Waqaf*, p. iv.

⁴⁶ Fattah, *Silsilah Keturunan*, p. 26.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 10, 13 and 21.



position so dilemmatic: as *kadi* (judges in religious court) who were responsible to God, as employees under the colonial government, and as religious leaders before the people.⁴⁹ In Sumenep, as explained above, this became more complicated due to the ties of kinship between the *pangolos* and *sentanas*, either through descent or marital ties.

These facts show that the marital relationship between a *kèaè* and a female *sentana* is able to give birth to the figures holding the administrative positions in the *afdeeling* government. It means that the status of a person who holds the titles of *sentana* and *kèaè* at the same time is able to make him survive as a religious elite in the colonial bureaucracy.⁵⁰ It means also that the kinship between *sentana* and *kèaè* is never completely lost. In a more cultural example, the religious elites descended from *kiai* Muharrar Miftahul Arifin and R. Aj. Zuwaidah then also played the role as a leader of a *pesantren* where the palace culture was strong even after the independence of Indonesia. The next section will discuss the world of the *pesantren*, Pesantren Loteng.

The Loteng Islamic Boarding School: From Kawula-Gusti to Santri-Kiai

The Loteng Islamic Boarding School complex is located about 600 meters from the palace. Initially, the *pesantren* was the residence of Pangeran Mohammad Nawawi, the son of Sultan Abdurrahman who served as a Barisan officer. The terraced (loft) house was built around the first half of the 19th century.⁵¹ R.B. Hasan Alim, one of the sons of *Kiai* Muharrar and R. Aj. Zuwaidah mentioned above, married the granddaughter of Pangeran Nawawi named R. Aj. Rukayah. Since then, about the end of the 19th century, R.B. Hasan Alim started living there and opened Quranic activities for the students. These blue-blooded *kiais* provide a different picture between the Sumenep aristocrats and other nobles in Madura, especially Bangkalan, where no one of aristocrat descendants became religious leaders and founded *pesantren*.⁵²

⁴⁹ Muhamad Hisyam, *Caught between Three Fires: the Javanese Pangulu Under the Dutch Colonial Administration* (Jakarta: INIS, 2001), pp. 70-1 and 213-5.

⁵⁰ Sartono Kartodirdjo defines the 'elite' as "the leading social group". In the history of Indonesia, Kartodirdjo views that the traditional elite and the religious elite were slowly being eliminated by the bureaucratic elite and the intellectuals. Sartono Kartodirdjo, "Kata Pengantar", in the Sartono Kartodirdjo (ed.), *Elite dalam Perspektif Sejarah* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1981), p. vii-iii.

⁵¹ Zein M. Wiryoprawiro, *Arsitektur Tradisional Madura-Sumenep dengan Pendekatan Historis dan Deskriptif* (Surabaya: Laboratorium Arsitektur Tradisional, 1986), pp. 76-7.

⁵² Abdurachman, "Sekelumit Cara Mengenal Masyarakat Madura," in *Proyek Penelitian Madura, Madura I* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, 1977), p. 21.

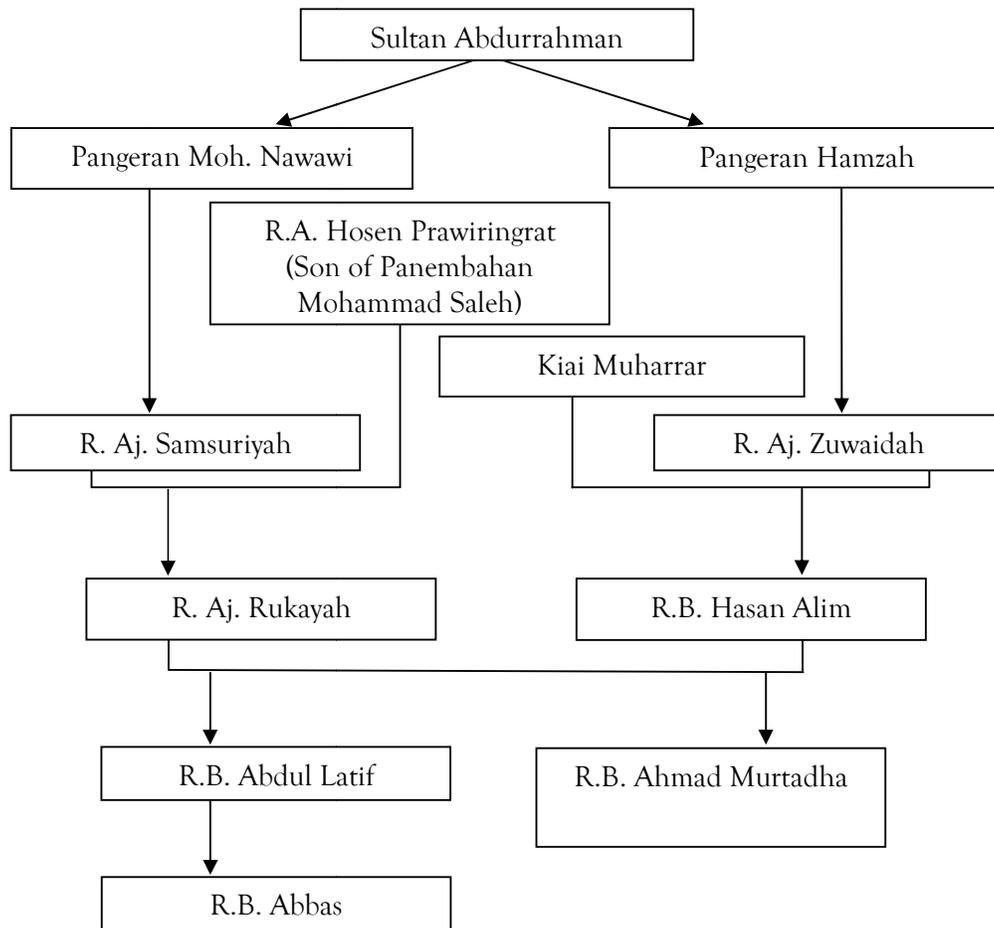


Figure 2
Geneology of R.B. Hasan Alim⁵³

At the beginning of the independence period, the leader of Pesantren Loteng was the son of R.B. Hasan Alim, R.B. Ahmad Murtadha, and his grandson, R.B. Abbas. Since R.B. Hasan Alim era, the *kèaèsentana* in the Loteng learned only from their own parents, to then teach it to the students who study the Quran there.⁵⁴ One of his descendants said that when he was young R.B. Murtadha intended to study with K.H. Muhammad Kholil in Bangkalan. Arriving there, the request of R.B. Murtadha was rejected by Kiai Kholil. The reason is that because R.B. Hasan, according to Kiai Kholil, has enough knowledge to teach his own son. In addition, from the male line, R.B. Murtadha is a descendant of Sunan Ampel, while Kiai Kholil is a

⁵³ Fattah, *Silsilah Keturunan*, P. 10, 19, 23, 26, and 34.

⁵⁴ R.B. Ahmad Ramadhan, *Interview*, Tuesday, February 12, 2019.



descendant of Sunan Kudus. Sunan Kudus used to study with Sunan Ampel, so Kiai Kholil felt that it is inappropriate to teach the descendants of a teacher who taught his ancestors.⁵⁵

R.B. Murtadha is thought to have been born at the turn of the century, while Kiai Kholil died in 1925. So, in terms of time, the story makes sense. However, regardless of whether the story is true or not, at least there are mental facts that can be obtained from the story, namely the belief about the legitimacy of a famous *kiai* regarding the figure of R.B. Hasan Alim.⁵⁶ For this reason, the *kiai* in the Loteng strongly believed that the knowledge they get from their father and grandfather is sufficient for teaching the students.

The students who live in the Loteng studied the classical Islamic books. For new students, the first books to be studied were *Safinah al-Najâh* and *Sullam al-Taufiq*. These two books are a dual series, so that sometimes the Madurese call them *Sullam-Safinah*. The roots of the tradition of studying these books have been going on for a long time. A researcher at the end of the 19th century said that both of them are the basic books for someone who wants to study *fiqh* and worship procedures.⁵⁷ After completing these two books, a *santri* will usually turn to studying other books, for example *Umm al-Barâhîn* (aqîdah), *Aqîdah al-'Awwâm* (tawhîd), *Bidâyah al-Hidâyah* (adâb), *Minhâj al-'Âbidîn* (sufism)), *Fath al-Qarîb*, and *Fath al-Mu'în* (fiqh).⁵⁸

The teaching method used in the Loteng was *sorogan*, a popular method used in traditional Islamic boarding schools,⁵⁹ in which each student came to a teacher one by one. The teacher read several sentences from a book as well as their meanings, then the students imitated them. After the pronunciation of the students was thought perfect, the teacher would explain the text. No one took notes during the learning process and there was no question and answer session between the *santri* and the *kiai*. The students memorized the text from the book along

⁵⁵ R.B. Ali Rahmat, *Interview*, Saturday, January 27, 2018.

⁵⁶ This reminds us of a similar story. Kiai Kholil once suggested a student named Wahab Hasbullah to study with KH. M. Hasyim Asy'ari in Tebuireng, Jombang. Kiai Hasyim studied with Kiai Kholil when he was young. With his advice to Wahab Hasbullah, added with the fact that he was noted to often attend lectures held by Kiai Hasyim, there was a hint that Kiai Kholil gave legitimacy to someone who had been his *santri*. Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, pp. 50-1.

⁵⁷ The researcher was a Dutch scholar named L.W.C. van den Berg. In 1886, he compiled a list of the classical Arabic books taught in Islamic boarding schools in Java and Madura. *Sullam al-Taufiq* and *Safinah al-Najâh* occupy the first list of the basic books taught. Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 114.

⁵⁸ R.B. Ahmad Ramadhan, *Interview*, Saturday, February 16, 2019.

⁵⁹ Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Suatu Kajian tentang Unsur dan Nilai Pendidikan Pesantren* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994), p. 61.



with its meaning and explanation.⁶⁰ For this reason, the students who have studied in the Loteng for a long time thought that the knowledge at the pesantren is *dhulāngan* one, knowledge that is fed by a teacher to his students.⁶¹

At a glance, this description shows that the Loteng Pesantren was not different from other *pesantrens* in Sumenep at that time. However, one thing that should be underlined is the relationship pattern that occurs between the *santri* and the *kiai* in the *pesantren*, especially as can be seen in the call of a *santri* to his *kiai*. In Sumenep, the leader of a *pesantren* is usually referred to as “*kèaè*” or sometimes abbreviated as “*kè*” in front of his name. On the other hand, the *sentana* have a more diverse nickname. People used to call “*tè arjhâ*” (abbreviation of “*ghustè arjhâ*”) or “*jhâ*” for *raden arya*, “*jhi*” for *raden panji*, “*gus*” for *raden bagus*, “*dhin aju*” for *raden ayu*, and “*jeng*” for *raden ajeng*. A village head in Batuampar in the early days of independence named Raden Arya Jakfar Sadik was usually called by the community as “*Tè Arjhâ Jakfar*”.⁶² Meanwhile, Raden Arya Mohammad Saleh Gondodiwiryo, a teacher of the Naqsyabandiyah *tarekat* (path of mystics to follow) who often holds a lecture in Batang-Batang Laok Village, is usually called “*Jhâ Ganda*” by his followers in the village.⁶³ In the neighborhood where they live, noble children are called “*gus*” by the people.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, the *kèaè* in the Loteng were called ‘*gus*’, but it is not an abbreviation for ‘*bagus*’, but ‘*ghustè*’ (lord). The students in the Loteng used very soft and polite language when talking to their *ghustè*, while the *ghustè* will respond with low speech level.⁶⁵ Every *santri* and even alumni who enter the Loteng Pesantren complex must take off their shoes near the gate. They would go to their rooms, which in the 1950s were semi-permanent structures made of bamboo, *gedek* (woven of bamboo slats for house walls and so on), and thin planks, barefoot.⁶⁶ From the way they call the *kiai* and the description of the manners, we can see that the palace customs are indeed preserved in the Loteng Islamic Boarding School.

⁶⁰ R.B. Ahmad Ramadhan, *Interview*, Saturday, February 16, 2019.

⁶¹ KH. Muhammad Hafidz, *Interview*, Tuesday, December 18, 2018.

⁶² R.B. Ahmad Ramadhan, *Interview*, Tuesday, February 12, 2019.

⁶³ KH. D. Zawawi Imron, *Interview*, Wednesday, April 3, 2019. Zawawi also reveals that this Raden Arya was known as a warrior in his youth, and therefore he was also known as “*Jhâ Ganda Carok*” to distinguish him from other Gondodiwiryo. While studying the *tarekat*, his behavior changed drastically.

⁶⁴ R.B. Abdul Muthalib, *Interview*, Sunday, March 3, 2019.

⁶⁵ KH. Muhammad Hafidz, *Interview*, Tuesday, December 18, 2018.

⁶⁶ This semi-permanent building for the students’ rooms is located in the southwest corner of the Pangeran Nawawi residence complex and was built by the students who studied there. R.B. Ali Rahmat, *Interview*, Saturday, January 27, 2018.



There were rules for sitting cross-legged. When the students were cross-legged, his right foot must be in front, covering the tip of the left foot. If the position of the foot was reversed, it would be considered impolite and challenging because the left foot is the leading leg used in the opening of the *silat* stances. A person who cross-legged with his left foot covering the right leg, would be considered a person who was ready to fight.⁶⁷ The students' feeling of respect to the *ghustè* was so great that if the *ghustè* left his house, the students would immediately go to their respective rooms. In another example, based of deep servitude, the tradition of giving *zakat fitrah* to the *ghustè* and his family was still maintained by the students. Even after they finished studying in the boarding school, their reverence to the *ghustè* did not diminish. Alumni of the Loteng Pesantren would continue to give their *zakat fitrah* to *ghustè* or his children.⁶⁸

A person who had studied at the Loteng Islamic Boarding School for several months explained how different the respect of the *santri* to the *kiai* at the Loteng Pesantren from the *santri* in other *pesantrens* were. This student, Muhammad Hafidz, is from Gili Genting, an island about 5 kilometers south of the mainland of Madura Island. He began living in Loteng in mid-1956 after graduating from SR while enrolling at the Teacher School B (SGB) in Sumenep. After he was rejected by SGB for suffering from tuberculosis, his father wanted Hafidz to continue studying at Loteng. However, from the start, Hafidz did not feel comfortable living at the pesantren. The study of *Safinah al-Najâh* and *Sullam al-Taufiq* there was not different from what he had learned from his father, who was also an alumnus of the Loteng Islamic Boarding School.

He asked his father to move to another pesantren. He was then taken to An-Nuqayah Islamic Boarding School in Guluk-Guluk Village by his father, Southwest District. On the way there, about 500 meters before entering the courtyard of the *pesantren*, Hafidz's father got off and started walking even though the road conditions were muddy, while Hafidz was still on a horse drawn buggy. When entering the courtyard of KH. Muhammad Ilyas's house, the *kiai* of the An-Nuqayah Islamic Boarding School, Hafidz's father took off his sandals. *Kiai* Ilyas who saw this immediately went down to the courtyard. He approached Hafidz's father, took his sandals, and forced him to wear his sandals. In the guest room, Hafidz's father was surprised to

⁶⁷ R.B. Ahmad Ramadhan, *Interview*, Saturday, February 16, 2019.

⁶⁸ KH. Muhammad Hafidz, *Interview*, Tuesday, December 18, 2018.



find many books and newspaper sheets there. In his view as an alumni of the Loteng Pesantren, newspapers were considered forbidden reading.⁶⁹

From the narratives above, we can see that the Loteng Pesantren can be categorized as a ‘*salafiyah*’ pesantren, which means “in line with the previous generation”. In van Bruinessen’s narrative, *salafiyah pesantren* are *pesantren* that carry out traditional curriculum and teaching methods.⁷⁰ The *ghustè* in the Loteng themselves can be included in the category of scripturalist *kiai*, namely *kiai* who emphasize the orthodoxy of a teaching, where the reality must be adjusted to the text they study, so that when there is a phenomenon that deviates from the text taught, it must be straightened immediately.⁷¹ One of issues that can explain it is a term commonly accepted by the nobles at that time: ‘*syakk Allāh*’. This Arabic phrase literally means ‘to doubt Allah’ and was used to define the word ‘school’.⁷² Hafidz also admitted that when he studied there, he often heard the term ‘*syakk Allāh*’.⁷³ This proves that the *ghustè*’s distrust of formal educational institutions was very strong.

In fact, at the same time in the 1950s, several *pesantren* in Sumenep had adopted the madrasa system with a classical teaching system. The Raudlatul Islam Pesantren in Rubaru, for example, had opened a *madrasah dīniyah* in 1950 and then a *madrasah dīniyah* a few years later. The Hidayatul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Ganding, which was founded in 1900, had also opened a *madrasah ibtidā’iyah* in 1957. Another Islamic boarding school, Matlabul Ulum in Saronggi, also started to implement this system by opening a *madrasah dīniyah* and *madrasah ibtidā’iyah* simultaneously in 1958.⁷⁴ The widespread adoption of the classical system in various *pesantren* in Sumenep can not be separated from the recommendation of the Ministry of Religion in 1950 to implement the system, include a fixed curriculum, and also teach general sciences.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ van Bruinessen also explains that the term often overlaps with the term ‘*salafi*’, a movement inspired by Saudi Arabia to restore Islamic teachings as adopted by the first three generations of Islam, namely the generation of the Prophet Muhammad, the companions, and the *tābi’in*. Martin van Bruinessen, “Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia,” in Farish A. Noor, et. al. (ed.), *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), p. 222.

⁷¹ Mohammad Jazuli, “Orientasi Pemikiran Kiai Pesantren di Madura”, *Karsa: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Keislaman*, vol. 23, no. 2 (December, 2015): 348-350, <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v23i2.732>.

⁷² R.B. Fulan bin Fulan, *Interview*, 2019. For this information, he asked to be anonymous.

⁷³ KH. Muhammad Hafidz, *Interview*, Tuesday, December 18, 2018.

⁷⁴ Masdar F. Mas’udi, et. al., *Direktori Pesantren I* (Jakarta: Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat, 1986), pp. 269-70, 294 and 320-1.

⁷⁵ Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, dan Sekolah* (Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES, 1986), pp. 96-7.



The persistence of the teaching system and etiquette in the Loteng Pesantren implies that devotion and morals are prioritized here over the knowledge being taught. An informant said that the *ghustè* in Loteng believed that the knowledge taught would not be captured without the good character of a *santri*.⁷⁶ Therefore, while many other *pesantrens* in Sumenep tried to update their educational institutions, Loteng remained on the path of *salafiyah* with its emphasis on moral education. Even though the system was maintained, not a few people still sent their children to study at this *pesantren*. In the 1950s, there were 60 students studying in Loteng.⁷⁷ An informant said that a decade later, the number of *santri* has increased, although not significantly, to 80 people.⁷⁸

Conclusion

The above description has provided an understanding that the close relationship between *sentana* and *kèaè* in Sumenep originated from the figure of Bindara Saod, a descendant of a *kiai* who married Ratu Tirtanegara. From this figure, a new ruling dynasty of Sumenep was born and lasted until 1929. Because Bindara Saod had become king, his descendants then also held the status of nobility with all the privileges they received. The palace costumes have placed their status above the common people with various titles, special funerals, and some art forms that are closer to Javanese culture. Such a situation gives the impression that the aristocrats lived in their own world and were separated from the wider community, including the *kèaè*.

However, this separation does not eliminate the religious image of the *sentana*. There are two things that can prove this, they are the *waqf* will issued by Panembahan Somala at the end of the 18th century and the marriage bond between Kiai Muharrar and R. Aj. Zuwaidah in the middle of the next century. The maintenance of *waqf* wills for centuries by kings after Panembahan Somala and his descendant nobles after 1929 shows the piety of the aristocrats and their obedience to the sharia. Then, a son of Kiai Muharrar and R. Aj. Zuwaidah apparently founded a *pesantren*, Loteng Pesantren, which was not far from the palace building since the late 19th century. The residence complex of a prince, a son of Sultan Abdurrahman, which was converted into a dormitory for the students, is another evidence to the *sentana's* concern for traditional Islamic education.

⁷⁶ R.B. Muhammad Idris, *Interview*, Tuesday, March 26, 2019.

⁷⁷ R.B. Ali Rahmat, *Interview*, Saturday, January 27, 2018.

⁷⁸ R.B. Ahmad Ramadhan, *Interview*, Tuesday, February 12, 2019.



Furthermore, the Loteng Islamic Boarding School with all its contents until the 1950s proved two things. *First*, in Sumenep, historically, the *kèaè* and *sentana* could not be placed generally as opposition groups to each other. The existence of pesantren with *kiai*-aristocrats leaders shows that there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between the two, in which the status of nobility and *kiai* are integrated within the *ghustè*. Second, the relationship between *santri* and *kiai* in Loteng Islamic Boarding School can also be seen as a form of transformation from the *kawulo-gusti* relationship in the palace realm to a more acceptable *kiai-santri* relationship in the *pesantren* environment. Therefore, the rejection of the *ghustè* in the Loteng against formal educational institutions can be interpreted as an effort not only for the sake of preserving orthodox Islamic traditions, but also to preserve the relationship pattern in the style of the palace itself.

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