RESEARCH ON RELIGIOUS PEOPLE'S REACTION TOWARDS DUTCH COLONIALISM IN JAVANESE VILLAGES
1870-1930's
Reaksi Keagamaan terhadap Kolonial Belanda di Pedesaan Jawa 1870-1930
Arif Akhyat dan T. Ibrahim Alfian
Program Studi Perbandingan Agama
Program Pascasarjana Universitas Gadjah Mada

ABSTRACT

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan sejarah, dalam arti bahwa penelitian ini bukan murni tulisan sejarah. Pendekatan sejarah digunakan untuk mencoba menelusuri berbagai ragam respon keagamaan secara prosesual dengan mengambil tema yang signifikan dalam spasial ruang yang signifikan pula. Tujuan utama tesis ini adalah mencoba merumuskan dan mempolakan dialog antarimana pada awalnya dengan menggunakan latarbelakang masyarakat desa Jawa zaman Kolonial.


1Tulisan Ilmu Budaya Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta.
The escalation of religious movements increased, especially in Western Java after the Krakatau volcano’s eruptions in 1883, and in rural Sumatera after the failure of harvest in the year of 1885 by the flood that flooded in the majority of cultivated land. The economic resources of villages was damaged and they began to move to other areas for economic opportunities. These phenomena escalated the religious consciousness and religious radicalism. It seems to me, that religious movements in Javanese villages can be posed at the level where ecological changes and social-economic exploration in the Colonial context are studied as part of religious understanding. In the following period, this movement spread to Javanese consciousness understanding and it emerged as a jihad ideology among some Muslim villagers against the Dutch “infidels” after the native haji came from Mecca and the universal laskat brotherhood involved the movements. Contact and the connection between universal religions and native understanding of religions needs more explanation.

The period will be restricted in the years of 1870-1930. The main aim is to describe and analyze the “dynamics” of the religious movement after the Liberal System introduced in the late colonial period. Through a historical explanation, this study will focus on special cases which relate to religious contact between Muslim villagers and Dutch Colonialists in Javanese villages. This period has achieved fame mainly because it is known as the beginning of the economic liberalism policy era and the emergence of popular radicalism of religious communities in Javanese village. This study also is limited to Javanese villages with the hope of getting more analysis of a series of religious movements among Muslim villagers against Dutch colonialists and the reaction of Javanese Christians in this region. As is known, Javanese villages are the main areas where the Sadrach Community and Samin movement had an opportunity to spread. Besides, there are no scientific works found, which specialize on religious movements relating to Muslim villagers, Dutch Colonialists and the reaction of Javanese villagers, namely Sadrach and Samin movements to universal religions such as Islam and Christianity in this region. The emergence of popular religious movements in Colonial Java, the rise ofativistic ideas on religions (Sadrah teaching and Saminism) are the most studied of religious movements in Java. For these analysis, it is impossible to describe and analyze the all religious movements in Java. Regarding to methodological argumentation, this thesis will select the significant religious movements and it will generalize in the Javanese villagers context including Sadrach and Saminism movement in general analysis.

According to the scope of the study above, the characteristics of re-
ligion in the Javanese villages needs further explanation. Religious movements in Javanese villages can not only be traced from the universal religions such as Islam and Christianity. Thus, the thesis will briefly define religious movement as two or more interacting religious groups. They react to another group as infidels in several villages. This scheme of the following problem of study can be considered.

1. The problem of socio-economical change in Javanese villages and how the people responded to them.
2. How socio-economical change functioned as a major force in religious movements and how the religious community reacted to this situation.
3. The problem of sharing common goals that stems from common problems and the desire to resolve them and how Muslims and Christians agreed to set norms to achieve their common goals.
4. The problem of identifying the group and express or exhibit some degree of commitment to the group and the others. The focus of problem is how native cultures involve religiosity among Muslim and Christian villagers.

Religion and Colonialism: Reaction from Villages

1. The Problem of Religion in Villages

In most cases ideological forms in the villages have been considered to be at the heart of research, but more stress is laid upon the structure of messianic beliefs. There are no pattern of development and dynamic of religious movement in limited social context.

Religious movement with that we are concerned have been labeled in a number of ways, namely as socio-religious movement. Sartono Kartodirjo called this definition as messianic, millenarian, nativism, prophetic, revitalization or revivalism movements. The terms of religious movements has not always been used throughout the same degree of precision. Many social movements including riots, rebellions, wars may be classified as religious movement since those phenomena generally tend to relate to movements which are religious inspired or which imply religious means in bringing about their supernatural goals.

In Colonial Java, for obvious reason there was much attention focused on dramatic types of movement. According to colonial views, it should be noted that colonial administration account of religious movements are distorted by ethnocentric prejudices and “Islamophobia” fears with the result that there was a dispositional tendency to equate religious movement with revolutionary, anti-foreign movements. The move-

ment can mainly be regarded as a process of internal dynamics of local society pertaining to detailed accounts of particular social groups. Furthermore, local or regional society, could be seen as the basic of the intricate understanding of social changes. Hence, several themes come to a most exciting confluence and a comprehensive account of religious movements should have its methodological implications.

Religious movements in the opening 1870's such as Njai Atjih Affairs 1870-1871, Atjih Ngisa and Kobra movements in 1871 used religion as a basic need to do justice. It is worthy of note that the extent and level exploitation in Javanese village had increased considerably after 1883, the days of Krakatau volcano's eruption, the landlords had sought to intensively production for the extra village market and the strengthening of local feudal out of undernourishing areas. In general, it would appear that economic and social deterioration must be counted amongst the principal reason for the occurrence of the revolt. Villagers need an ideal world, it means that when the time comes there will be no more conflicts, injustices and suffering. People will be freed from paying burdensome taxes and performing compulsory service. In eschatological perspective, they hoped that there will be no neither sickness nor theft, there will be abundance of food and clothes and everyone will live in peace.

With the growing impact of foreign rule during the colonial period there was a tendency for religious movements to be used as a cloak for political opposition. From the Sartono’s explanation, it is evident that millenial ideology incorporates eschatological elements which constitute an accelerator of the millenarian movement. The transformation from social situation to the millenarian ideology is conceived in radical and revolutionary terms. The faithful who wished to survive cataclysmic disaster were told to observe the prescription of the leader in undertakings rebellious or radical actions. The more significant aspect of religious ferment which has often agitated the people is the holy war ideas. What has been said so far may already indicate that rebellious movements pervaded Javanese during the 19th century and the early 20th century, has crossed the warp of the religious movement. It can not be denied that this idea considerably accelerated military among dedicated believers. Simultaneous attacks could be launched by the religious movement against the ruler of “infidels” or social “evils” which had come in the wake of foreign as well as indigenous rulers.

The true significant of the religious movements of Java can not be appreciated unless it takes into account their social boundaries. Neither can they be properly evaluated except in relation to social change brought about by the colonial domination.
It is also interesting to note that the recurrent disturbances in colon-
ial Java bear witness to the popular quest from socio-political unrest,
influenced by what might be termed the Islamic paradigm of Javanese
radicalism and the ideology of eschatology. This model for the histori-
cal understanding of traditional Javanese historian and social scientist alike. In outline, this amounts to the view of
Java which the Javanese derived from their origin became
majority of Javanese villagers suffered for generations in the form of
early 20th Century, those situation had been rising to a nascent chosen
religious people among villagers which were provided by much of the
prevent their identity.

The disenchantment of the world, according to Javanese villages,
does not necessarily mean that religion is to be abandoned, although this
restricting the domains of knowledge and action to which religion ap-
plies reducing the scope of religion. In general cases in colonial Java, re-
niculturalism both as social system explain the natural order in which the
political appeals for their goals using religious terms. They are often de-
dcidedly very different from that current in the colonial perspective.

The terms of eschatology, for instance, would be to use them as element
for a higher religious truth that is beyond ordinary human comprehen-
sion. The Dutch in infidel or social evils, as the Javanese formu-
It is indeed bad enough to have the infidel as enemies, it is worse to be
defeated by them.

The formulation of infidel for the Dutch means that a war or con-
ference against them can naturally be sacred, whatever the real main rea-
sons of the war or conflict might be. A history of religious conflict, wars
and rebellions or protest in the Javanese between the villagers are also the
Although the trade-off between relevance and intellectualism is hardly a
new one, the holy wars in Javanese villages raised the visibility of religion
and moved studied of it from the arcane to the superficial. The countless

On the other hand, since the Dutch needed the villagers to carry all
the burdens the people were urged to support his policy after liberal era,
the Javanese punglau and rural elites cooperated with the Dutch to build
the "social protection net" in the Netherlands-Indies. Many of them, were
promoted as an agent for Colonial exploration in village. This process is
gradually influenced on villages structure and it escalated to be an
crowded situation in regional level. These are but a few examples of the
ways the defeated villagers to cope with the unavoidable fate. The emer-
gence of rural violence in the long north coast Java, such as Bajawa
movement in Semarang in 1841, Haji Jenal Ngari case in Kudus in 1847,
the peasant radicalism in several villages of Semarang, Surakarta and
Tegei †, and the break down of rebellious Islamic radical movement in the
principalities (Surakarta, Yogyakarta) were experienced in rural level.
Too much attention has been given to the village as an isolated subject.
The struggle for the re-division of the religion in the form of Javanese
villagers should always be seen in the opened relation to the power of the
Colonial state and rural elite agents‡.

In the Javanese elite contexts, the Dutch were partners, they were
neither the illegitimate rulers nor the hated enemies. Ongkolhain reported that in Madura since the Cultivation System introduced, the Dutch officials interfered in choosing village hierarchy. Also, in the broader context, many local elites, butati, wadana influence to determine village affairs. The influence of butati or supra-village authority over village was tremendous. Butati not only gave small favors and protection to their village elites, but the relationship between butati and village elites placed village elites in a lofty position of power, sharing sacral and magical qualities among them with the main goals to build a close relationship with Dutch Colonialist.

Through butati and village elites, the Dutch could more easily enter the village especially to collect the tax from villagers. Within the village, the most important functionary aside from the village headman was the religious teacher. They had a function to protect the village from robbery and theft, but also as the people channel for complaints to the village elites, District officer and butati.

In the time of crisis, the position of religious teacher was as an organizer around the small power structure of the local radicalist and eschatological hopes. Almost the majority of resistance movement in Java in the long 19th Century and early 20th Century the role of religious elite cannot be doubted. Some of the response reflected the social critics of villagers to Dutch authority and their agent. Most of the leaders and participants of the resistance movements were the relatively well to interpret the villages conditions.

When the Dutch took over village Java, they found that villagers having lost their economic and political moorings as a result of Dutch consolidation process and the local elites powerless. The social crisis among Javanese villages caused by the alienation process escalated to the rise religious movement in a specific meaning. The Pan-Islamism movement was the one of necessary condition to build religious sentiment among villagers and they moved to be anti-Christianity for a long term. Many villages of Semarang such as Sonndul, Sigen Lor, Kendal, Kaliwungu, Trukka, Singen Kidul, Demak and Grobogan showed that religious movement spirited by haji and they against Dutch Colonialist.

The villagers in different regions try to solve the discrepancy between the villagers conception of themselves and the empirical hard fact of being subjugated by colonial rule. The foreign power, moreover, not only made itself visible but also demanded certain loyalties and concessions. With all these unending series of political and economical demands and pressures, the colonial and their agents along with their strange cul-

2. Dutch and Javanese Villagers: The Contact

In the process of Dutch consolidation in Javanese villages, that it was used to be a threat. began to occupy important position in create to a rational world. in 1901, the ethical policy which has the goals to increase the welfare of its colonial subjects in the Netherlands-Indies, was introduced. This program as whole, however, remains of great significance as the first sustained attempt to turn government policy in the Indonesian archipelago to the difficult task of increasing welfare. It seems to that the makers of the ethical policy relied on a small number of intensively executed programs to achieve their aims. Consequently, the Dutch business interest required a close attention to the welfare of the Javanese who provided both labor in the colony and increasingly a market for metropolitan manufactures.

The change of the nature of relationship and the increased knowledge about “the others” have changed the images about “the infidel” and social evils. Social mobility in this context accompanied with the course of change resulted in the plurality of response to the Dutch. According to the Muslim villagers in the grass-root and their Muslim scholar leaders, the Dutch were simply seen as the infidel, who had at one time occupied a crafted mythological and religious world of Javanese villagers. On the other hand, the village elites could take the Dutch as the representative of Western and modern culture.

This controversy over religio-cultural orientation took place in the late 19th Century and the early 20th Century when the one’s political stance may no longer reflect one culture attitudes. One can be a staunch anti-colonial movement towards nationalist radicalism, but at the same time the indigenous elites in the all of structural level accommodated to Colo-
nial schemes of policy.

The problem of the political images of the Dutch became more complicated when religious and cultural concerns were formulated in the ideology of resistance. A systematic strategy to achieve certain normative goals, ideology is also a way to make the world more understandable. As such ideology would not only motive action but also determined the course of action. Religious movement using eschatological ideology and holy wars motivation in the villages can be seen as a social critique when the jihad (holy wars) was considered as the disciples of equals. From a local Islamic perspective, Colonial intervention in the natural order of things is understood as a break in the normal course of casualty. The fact that cosmography mythology is not tied directly to the religious teachings but explicitly local Islam conduct the norm as a system of human being ensuring happiness in the world.

In the historical perspective, among several religious groups in Javanese villages is clearly showed an antagonism between sumpah and abang. According to Geertz, this antagonism has almost certainly increased markedly in the 20th Century. But it is by no means an entirely new phenomenon. In the late 19th Century for instance abang phenomenon was the phenomenon of agrarian society in general. This conclusion try to describe that the villagers were often with a fixed territorial attachment, recognized as an isolated community and reject the tradition of the enlightenment. The result is that peasants attempt to protect themselves with any traditional ceremonies such as slutan (the communal feast for a well being) and bersih desa (cleaning of the village) through religious rituals and it symbolizes the mystics and social unity of those participating villagers in it.

In the time of motion, religious radicalism based on an agrarian society became the more significant in advancing whatever pertinent knowledge of some religious upheavals in Javanese village. The participatory radicalism in the limited territorial, village context, has provoked fierce debates over questions of the meaning of social religious crises on plurality.

A desire for wholeness in this time of Colonial economic exploitation in the village after liberal era made millennial appeals and messianic images more attractive. To Dutch and native officials, this condition became the most serious threat. As the Dutch presence intensified, the villages pesantren (Koranic school) increased in number and injected with anti-colonial sentiments by kyai or haji, circulating through a network of peasants system, pesantren and tarekat. It gets the sense that popular participation in the movement was a way of restoring the harmony of agrarian society and Islam.

At September 5, 1886, K.P. Holle sent a letter to Governor General that consists the fear of Dutch among dangerous Tarekat emergence in the villages of West Java. According to Holle, the main problem of the rise of Tarekat movement in this area was the economic crisis since the early of 19th Century. Martin van Bruinessen noted that the spread of tarekat in the village areas in the late 19th Century was not determined by economic crisis. Furthermore, it is because the emergence of Arab dependent in Netherland-Indies using Pan-Islamist policy as their political motivation and the struggle of Islam against the Dutch kafir. Van Bruinessen claimed that the most of anti-foreign movement in the Javanese village directly to be a close to Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naghashendiyyah role.

In Banten, for instance, the rebellious movement in agrarian society directed by kyai or haji who were tarekat followers. The strengthened position of kyai or haji in the village with their full support from villagers appeared in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century. The conversion into Islam among peasants under the leader of kyai or haji gave rise to collective action in the villages. When hostilities broke out in Javanese villages the raggio rebat was composed largely of peasant disciples or devotees of the kyai who marched against superior government force, convinced that they were invulnerable in waging the holy war. Despite the indiscriminate persecution of kyai or haji, Islamic leaders and mystics continued to circulate serenously throughout the tarekat and pesantren networks. This kind of bands re-emerged from time to time threatening new insurrection.

The clearly classifying Javanese resistance to colonialism showed up in the Samin movement in 1890. The movement began to attract a following in Blora regency, Central Java. The movement led by Surondjo Samin, an illiterate villager. The Saminism tried to refuse to pay taxes or regarded payments as voluntary contribution. Samin's teachings were interpreted differently by his followers. It is clear that the Saminism rejected outside interference, government restrictions and demands, and the money economy. Furthermore, the Saminism believed that "God is within me" as they told. But although they did not amount an armed insurrection, their movement was plainly subversive. The priyayi, middle Chinese and Dutch officials were appeared become their target of movement. In wider sense they opting out of the whole social order based on the Islamized abang village with its normalized traditions and hierarchies. In the religious context, they refused the ritual mediation of Islamic official to pray their God. Beliefs in spirits, super-
natural causality, sacred geography and cosmology are all religious orders that they regularly sought aid and guidance from the spirits of the sacred center and their circumference. This sacred "canopy" of religious sentiment which is used as a vehicle of protest to "foreign" super-religious activities with background and interests different from those of religion. 

The most remarkable example of rural Javanese adaptation to Christianity and the latter became a Dutch Christian opposition were the Sadrach movement. Sadrach or "santri" Radin Abas who studied Islam, Dutch missionaries, Jellesma, and Jellesma Ever in the next years after he decided to convert to Christianity, Sadrach on Kristen jawa but on the other hand, he also could not receive the European Christianity which he called Kristen Londo. In the next future, Zending in Batavia. Shortly, in the 1871 Sadrach decided to built a Church.

From the Church, Sadrach widespread his Javanese Christianity in several pesantren in Java, try to understand Christianity through The were compelled to engage in a debate on the ultimate truth of religion. He denied Tungrup Wulung Christianity model that it was more concerned on Kristen jawa but on the other hand, he also could not receive the European Christianity which he called Kristen Londo. In the next future, Zending in Batavia. Shortly, in the 1871 Sadrach decided to built a Church.

From the Church, Sadrach widespread his Javanese Christianity in several pesantren in Java, try to understand Christianity through The were compelled to engage in a debate on the ultimate truth of religion. He denied Tungrup Wulung Christianity model that it was more concerned on Kristen jawa but on the other hand, he also could not receive the European Christianity which he called Kristen Londo. In the next future, Zending in Batavia. Shortly, in the 1871 Sadrach decided to built a Church.

Conclusion

The successive religious movements, especially in Javanese villages are considered to be manifestations of the incessant conflict in both doctrine and its socio-cultural construction. Within the frame of reference it is understandable that in analyzing religiously and religious movements among villagers as described, the socio-economic component is necessary. This thesis prove that the phenomena of religious movements during colonial period shows the religious people wanted to reconcile religious doctrine and ideal customs with what they considered as a deteriorating social order caused by colonialism and feudal native authority. The reaction and refutation towards colonialism according to religious villagers is not only how the Dutch colonialists were successfully expelled from their circumstances, but it more to be conditioned that colonialism had been threatening their "authority". The resistance movements are actually in effect among religious people.

Socio-religious movements, hence, as were manifested in religiosity among villagers can be defined as a critical attitudes that was constructed by religious people with the goal to maintain their socio-cultural boundaries. The involving secular issues as well as sacred ideas seem mostly to have arisen from social disorder and uneven economic development. Regarding the socio-economic explanation and its impact among religious villagers, the religious movements reach its critical moment to review various patterns of transformation in villages. Consequently, the reaction has powerful radical potential on the one hand, and on the other hand, religious people moved smoothly to reinterpret and review the conditions where they lived and believed. The traditional order was the main account of their motives.

Taking into account of this religious movements from 1870 prior to the 1930's, it might be regarded as a channel for a process of interfaith dialogue. It can not be denied that the process of the interfaith dialogue involved the secular elements such as fiscal and economic conflict as well as socio-cultural co-optation led by Dutch or native superiority. In reviewing the patterns of Sadrach rising, Samin movement and the emergence of religio-nationalism prior to the early 20th Century, it would not be hard to conclude that the interfaith-dialogue must be traced from the beginning, especially in the colonial period.

Religious people's reaction among Muslim villagers and Christians in Colonial Java under the Dutch dominant can be categorized as the triangular conflict of interests; customs authority (Javanese), universal religion influences (Islam and Christianity) and Colonialism. These triangular schemes of relationship move to express a moment in Javanese history in which the forces of modernization and archaism come together in same level in the villages. Anti-foreign movement for instance, may be partly considered in the terms of traditionalistic tendentious, but in the other world, it will be a modern ways to protect the villagers from any pressure groups. At the same time, the concept of "foreign" according to villagers is not direct to the Dutch, but more considered as exploiters and superiority holders in colonies.
The interfaith-dialogue framework requires understanding both religion and its context. It means that the realm of religiosity and human ties in the process of socioeconomic change such as what in this thesis simultaneously put upon, have produced a pastiche of conclusion that religiosity in the villagers of Colonial Java poses a significant epistemological challenge. It seems to me that the obviously dichotomy between what should be (religious doctrine) and what is (religious practice) still exist, but actually the case in both what should be and what is in the understanding of religiosity in villagers vis-à-vis Dutch Colonialist in Java were the understanding of each other with a reaffirmation of traditional values and ideals. The main focus is how religion people took the ideas of universal religions that was transformed into their cognitive understanding and they appreciate them through the socio-cultural boundaries and its dynamics.

This thesis concludes that the connection between religiosity and traditional ideals or values usually escalated to be dangerous for the status quo holders (Dutch Christian and/or native officer). Religious radicalism in the colonial villages of Java from the late of 19th century prior to the early 20th century, can be considered as a result of the process of socio-economic changes. The villagers want to know how the certain things happened in their circumstances and then they formulated the problem and overcame it with a cognitive understanding and a radical action on behalf of religion.

Hence, religious radicalism among Muslim villagers against the Dutch colonialism is as much as a product of historical and cultural development when their socio-cultural equilibrium was damaged by the multi-dimensional circumstances. The racial superiority of Dutch and their collaboration, the involvement of universal religion, namely Islam and Christianity, and the ecological and geo-political changes included ethnicity raising and social cohesion among villagers are the main design of religious movements.

Furthermore, since colonialism intensively occupied in the villages through the liberal and ethical policy application, the formulation of religious movements had been changed. The issue of exploitations, the spreading of Christianity in the villages and the emergence of secular nationalism are more seemingly that the interfaith dialogue faced the serious problem. The essence of colonialism became more debatable among the nationalistic excluded the religiosity one, on the other hand, it came to the question about the religiosity role in the process of socio-political change in the Javanese villages. The cases of Saninism and Sadrach movements were the most significant one of the religious problem among Muslim villagers as well as Christians. Religiosity, was not only became a force to defense the "foreigners", furthermore shared their common goals to resolve the cognitive spheres as well as the real things. This is the fact that religiosity is not only limited to establish the cognitive understanding of religions doctrine, but it is also appreciated the equilibrium world, even in the limited context, through searching identity to develop a "kinship ties" to defend from the others occupations. Entering the 20th century, this signs can be interpreted as a nationalism characteristics. All of purposes of the movement tend to be reduced into nationalism. But, in case, it still be questionable when the religious villagers in colonial Java in any ways failed to interpret the concept of nationalism. One of the unsuccessful efforts of SI in the early 20th century was to interpret the meaning of nationalism among villagers.

BACKNOTE


5 Sartono Kartodirdjo, Ratu Adil, (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984), pp. 37-85

6 Ibid.

According to Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, the subjective reality is one of "protorealism" construction among believers when they interpret the divine reality. See Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, Tafsir Sosial atas Keruatan: Risalah tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan (Jakarta: LIFSIES, 1990), pp. 185-233.

The Mas Tijlik movement in Tegal had shown that rural radicalist could be experienced how village transmitted their knowledge from religious understanding and mystical practices to strategic radical action. See Tine Ruiter, "The Tegal Revolt in 1861," in Dick Koonem, Otto van den Mulzenberg, Peter van der Veer, Conversion, Competition and Conflict: Essays on the Role of Religion in Asia (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij/Free University Press), pp. 88-94.

Djoko Suryo, loc. cit.


Karl Mannheim, Ideologi dan Utopia: Menyingkap Kaitan Pikiran dan Politik, Terjemahan Kanisius (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1991)


In exception, Al Habib Sayyid 'Uthman bin ‘Abd Allah bin ‘Aqil

Aff Aliyati, et al., Religious People's...


The Samin Movement or Geger Samin started by 1890 in Tapelan village, Ngrahom, Bojonegoro, East Java. At the same year, Saminism spread out to Klopobuweru village, Bola. Entering 20th Century, Saminism claimed that his followers at least reached 772 villagers who were shared in 34 villages of Rembang and Bojonegoro. By 1977, the saminism followers reached 5,000. Up to 1977, the Saminism influences reached Tuban and Medium (by Wongsores), Larangan village, Pati (by Samat), Kajen, Pati (by Kadio), Undsun village, Kudus and Grobogan (by Enggor), See Suripan Sadi Utomo, 'Samin Surontiko dan Ajaran-Ajarannya', Basis, January XXXIV (1), 1985, pp. 4-0.


Sadrach give the Church's name is mesjid.

---

BIBLIOGRAPHIES


Bruneissen, Martin van, Tarekat Nasyabandiyah di Indonesia, Bandung: Mizan, 1992.


