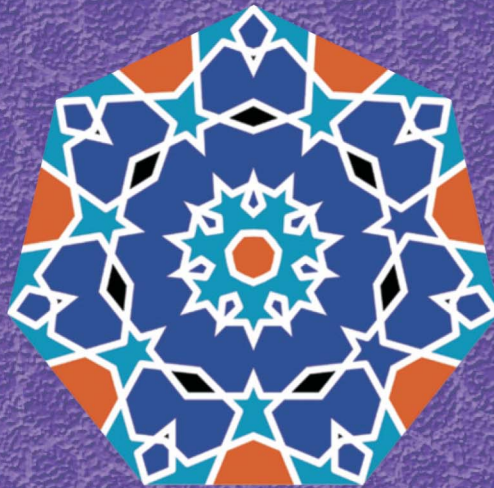


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Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat
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Split groups in Sumenep: Inter-Islamic violence in 1998

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Abstract

At the end of the New Order (Orde Baru) era, Indonesia was marked by inter-ethnic, inter-religious, or religious violence. In Sumenep, Madura, there was a violence between groups that both claimed to be Sunni Muslims. *Kiai Supardi*, an immigrant who quickly rose to fame, initiated a group called *Wali Songo Akbar* in the early 1990s. In 1998, the *Wali Songo Akbar* Islamic Boarding School was vandalized and burned by a mob, then *Kiai Supardi's* followers demanded responsibility by kidnapping a local kiai which led to clashes. This paper aims to describe the journey of the *Wali Songo Akbar* group that led to the violence that occurred in 1998. This article was written using the historical method; topics selection, heuristics, criticism, interpretations, and historiography. Sources used for this are newspapers, books, journal articles, and interviews. The *Wali Songo Akbar* group, better known as the tarekat, got the issue of heterodoxy that was occurred. The issue marked with a repression and was ended by clashes that left 4 dead people, and several *Wali Songo Akbar* followers lost their homes.

Keywords: Violence; Islam; Sumenep

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Introduction

Indonesia in the second half of the 1990s was marked by various types of violence. The violence in 1997 was described by Human Rights Watch as “*one of the worst outbreaks of communal violence in Indonesia in decades*” (Davidson & Kammen, 2002). The violence in the last years of the New Order became the emergence of a new pattern of violence compared to the previous one, namely the horizontal pattern. The violence occurred between communities,

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after previously occurring vertically involving the apparatus. McRae (2013) provided a sample of communal violence in Indonesia in the form of inter-ethnic (in West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan) and inter-religious (in Poso, Maluku, and North Maluku) violence.

Historically, before religious-based violence occurred more often in the 1990s, there were religious-involved acts of violence in Indonesia. For instance, the mass killings of alleged communists in 1965-66 and the Tanjung Priok incident in 1984. The mass killings in 1965-66 were mostly done by Muslims. In the Tanjung Priok incident, ABRI opened fire on the advancing crowd and killed at least 28 people. The Tanjung Priok affair grew from Islamist outrage about the *asas tunggal* policy, which stipulated that only Pancasila was permissible as a foundation for social organizations (Bruinessen, 1995a; Formichi, 2014; Hefner, 2007; Ricklefs, 2001).

In the pre-Reform era, religious-based violence occurred more often in Indonesia. van Dijk and Kaptein J.G. (2016) wrote about these conflicts and contrasts them with the concept of '*friendly Islam*' which is so well known and trusted in Indonesia. In particular, van Dijk & Kaptein J.G. also mentioned that the actual objects of violence were not only Christians and ethnic Chinese (which meant different religions and ethnicities), but also those who were Shia and Ahmadiyah. In looking at Shia and Ahmadiyah, Bruinessen (1992) saw both sociologically, then both of them were placed in the ranks of heterodox groups (sociologically separated) in Indonesia, separated from the orthodox group in Indonesia, the Sunni group. There is no doubt that various statements from various parties—starting from public officials to influential people in Islam in Indonesia—about Ahmadiyah only focus on religious harassment or deviant sects rather than discussing their rights (van Dijk & Kaptein J.G., 2016). These splinter groups are of course not just Shia and Ahmadiyah. Bruinessen (2015) mentioned various other examples, such as Baha'i, Bantaqiyah, Mufarridiyah, etc.

In 1998 at Sumenep, Madura, there was a violence between the community and the *Wali Songo Akbar* group led by Kiai Supardi. *Kiai Supardi* was rumored teaching heretical teachings, even though his group feels that they are part of orthodox Sunni Islam. This incident created casualties and material losses in the form of houses of followers of *Wali Songo Akbar* being burned by the masses.

This article discusses incidents of violence that occurred between the *Kiai Supardi* group and the community in Sumenep, Madura in 1998. And, it was greatly helped by various writings on violence and the sociology of religion, among others written by Welsh (2008) the routine beating and killing of alleged criminals by mobs (massa, Bruinessen (2013), and Formichi (2014). Of course, this article cannot be separated from the background of Madura and its people. Therefore, the writings on Madura written by de Jonge (2012) and Pribadi (2018) have lots of contributions to this article. Another literature review that contributes to

this paper is research on violent events themselves, which are those written by Wakid (2003) and Rasuki (2015). The last two articles discuss this violent incident from two different perspectives, Wakid discussed it from a legal perspective, while Rasuki examined and analyzed the struggle for authority between local kiai and *Kiai Supardi*. Both of them were written based on oral sources from several sources that were quite abundant. Unfortunately, both of these writings have the same two shortcomings, such as timeliness and details of events.

During the years filled with violence, it was marked as the worst mass violence in decades in Indonesia, *Kiai Supardi's 'aliran splinter'* incident became one of violence accompanied by heterodoxy as a motive, as is often the case in the early 21st century. The complexity of events and the limitations of the author makes this article only focus on two things, which are (1) the journey of *Kiai Supardi* and *Wali Songo Akbar*; and (2) the violence between the community and *Kiai Supardi's* group in 1998. This article will describe historical incidents of violence between community groups and *Kiai Supardi's* group, using sources from newspapers, photos, interviews, and some of the literature previously mentioned. Primary sources in the form of newspapers and oral sources will be criticized and interpreted with the help of secondary or tertiary sources.

This article elaborates on historical incidents of violence between community groups and *Kiai Supardi's* group. The method employs the historical approach of Kuntowijoyo (2003), which are topic selection, heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Heuristics produces sources from newspapers, interviews (primary), other research on similar objects (secondary), and other literature reviews that have been mentioned above (tertiary). These sources are criticized for verification and falsification with each other, with other primary sources, as well as with available secondary sources. Sources that have been criticized will be interpreted with the help of concepts that match what is in this research, namely the sociology of religion from Bruinessen (2015) and violence from Welsh (2008) the routine beating and killing of alleged criminals by mobs (massa and Formichi (2014). The interpretation ending in the final article is historiography, that is, the article itself.

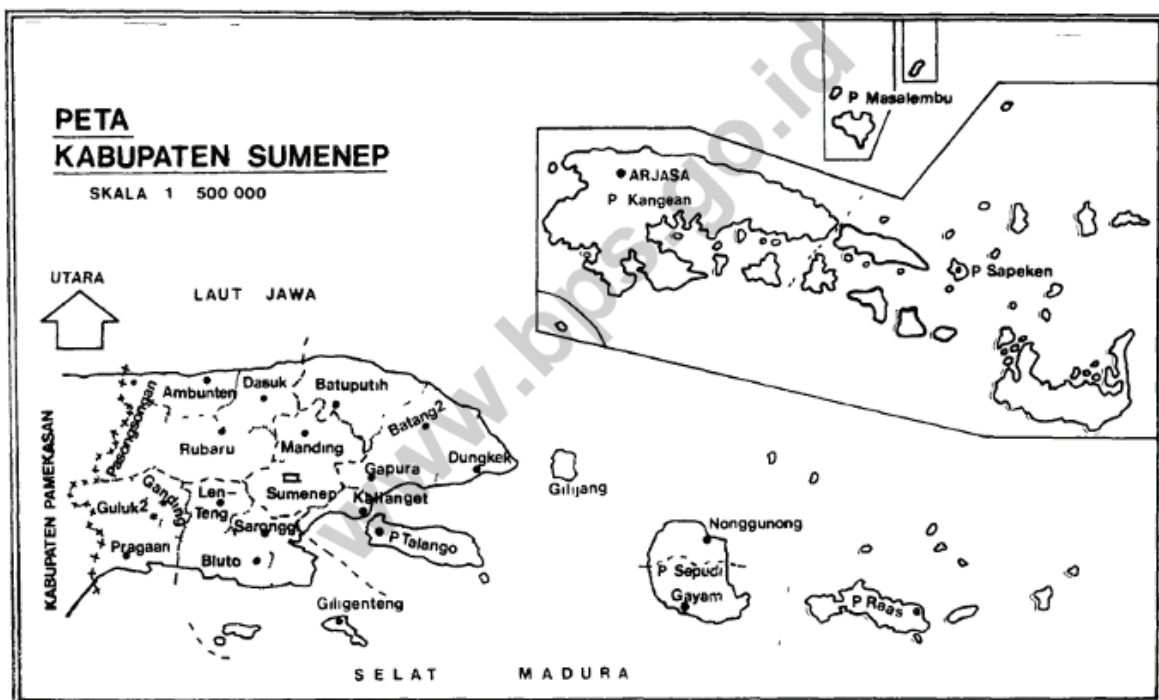
Supardi, teachings, and the adherents

Supardi: Master of kanuragan living on the piety island

Madura is an island of piety, in which people are obedient to religion. Most houses, especially in Sumenep, have a *langgar* (small mosque), and each village has at least one mosque. In every month (refers to the Hijri months) there is always an Islamic-customary celebration, children read *syahadat* before bedtime, and all life cycles (birth, marriage, and death) are accompanied by religious ceremonies (de Jonge, 1989; Pribadi, 2013). Islam is an

important factor for Madurese rejects the compromising behavior of the Javanese (Lombard, 2018).

Sumenep is located in the easternmost part of the island of Madura. Administratively, Madura is included in the province of East Java. Even so, the traditions and culture of Madura cannot be seen as traditions and cultures in other areas of East Java. Madurese people communicate using the Madurese language. Both Bangkalan and Sampang have coarser languages, while Pamekasan and Sumenep (on the eastern island of Madura) have more refined languages (Pribadi, 2018). Sumenep is an area that seems more autonomous than the area in the western of Madura. The area in the western hemisphere is part of Surabaya's sphere of influence (de Jonge, 2012)



Picture 1. Sumenep Regency (source: BPS, 1998)

Geographically, Sumenep Regency is located between $113^{\circ}32'54''$ East Longitude- $116^{\circ}16'48''$ East Longitude and between $4^{\circ}55'$ South Latitude-- $7^{\circ}24'$ South Latitude. In the north and east, the area is bordered by the sea of Java while in the south it is bordered by the Madura Strait. The western part of this area is bordered by the Pamekasan Regency. Sumenep Regency is divided into two parts, which are the mainland and islands. The land area consists of 1,147.24 km² which includes seventeen sub-districts. The archipelago of Sumenep Regency has an area of 851.30 km² consisting of 74 islands, both inhabited and uninhabited. The archipelago contains eight sub-districts, namely Giligenting, Talango, Nanggunong, Gayam, Raas, Arjasa, Sepeken, and Masalembu sub-districts (BPS, 1998).

There is less information about young Supardi in Sumenep. Supardi comes from Situbondo, East Java, who in 1986-1987 traveled to Sumenep. Previously, he lived a nomadic life, from one well-known sacred place to another, from one Islamic boarding school to another. This period of traveling was carried out since he left the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School in Situbondo led by KH. As'ad Syamsul Arifin (1897-1990). Overseas, he met "influenced people" like KH. Musta'in Romly (1931-1985, Jombang) and KH. Maksun Jauhari (1944-2003, Kediri). In 1989, his nomadic life was ended when he married Sumiyati, a woman from Bangselok, Sumenep City District, Madura. After marriage, he moved to Terate Hamlet, Pandian Village, Sumenep City District with his wife (Rasuki, 2015; Wakid, 2003).

Supardi's popularity spread quickly because he was soon known as a person who possessed kanuragan knowledge. Kanuragan is such a martial art to gain strength and immunity. At an advanced level, kanuragan aims to gain wisdom and spiritual elevation (de Grave, 2014). Kanuragan also played a role in Kiai Supardi's political position. In his early years in Sumenep, he got a position on the expert council of Pagar Nusa Sumenep (Rasuki, 2015). Pagar Nusa is a traditional martial art, which is well-known as pencak silat, that is an institution under Nahdlatul Ulama (the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia). Its official name is NU Pencak Silat (formerly the NU Pencak Silat Association), while Pagar Nusa is an acronym for 'the fence of NU and the nation' (Alawy, 2019). Pencak silat in Sumenep exists in several sub-districts (de Jonge, 1989), and BPS data from Sumenep District shows that there were 10 (in 1989), 9 (in 1990), and 8 (in 1991) pencak silat organizations respectively (Sumenep, 1991, 1993, 1994). However, this figure does not indicate the dominance of pencak silat in Sumenep, because other organizations (especially Islamic ones), such as hadrah and diba' have much higher numbers (25 and 55 organizations).

In social relations, Supardi maintains good relations with local kiai, such as KH. Said Abdullah (caretaker of the Mathaliul Anwar Islamic Boarding School), KH. Abd. Rahem (caretaker of the al-USymuni Islamic Boarding School), and KH. Busro Karim (caretaker of the al-Karimiyyah Islamic Boarding School) (Wakid, 2003). The relationship with these *kiais* cannot be taken lightly, because the *kiai* is one of the elites of the Madurese community. Moreover, the four *kiais* mentioned earlier are pesantren leaders, which puts them in the highest position in the kiai hierarchy (Pribadi, 2018). In this hierarchical perspective, Supardi might be put in the position of kiai langgar, given the fact that he has had several students come to him personally to study kanuragan or supernatural powers. Wafi (personal interview, pseudonym, 2 February 2021), one of Kiai Supardi's former followers who lives in Gapura District (about 18 kilometers east of Sumenep City District) illustrates that Supardi's Kanuragan knowledge was the main factor that attracted him to become Supardi's follower.

Kiai Supardi's teachings: From kanuragan to Wali Songo Akbar

Historically, supernatural things have been of interest to many people. Immunity and magic since pre-Islamic times are important and sought after by many people in the archipelago. The practice of all tarekat is used to develop this supernatural power and immunity. Many *pesantrens* have been centers of silat and magic lessons, in addition to *fiqh*, monotheism, and tasawuf (Bruinessen, 2015).

In the Madurese context, kiai, apart from demonstrating their capacity to teach religion, also perform mystical rituals, such as the future, treating the sick, and teaching self-defense (Pribadi, 2013). The supernatural power plays an important role in developing the power and authority of the kiai. Fatoni (2020) regretfully said that some kiai were willing to carry out the process of 'filling' spells into the bodies of potential perpetrators of violence, and they also became teachers of kanuragan science.

Kanuragan, which combines traditional martial art and spiritual things, as an advantage to attract many people does not only happen to Kiai Supardi. Nur Hasan Ubaidah, the leader of the Jama'ah Islamic Movement or Darul Hadith is known as an expert in kanuragan. Kanuragan is also the reason people are attracted to become adherents and are bound by the movement. His leadership is called Bruinessen (Bruinessen, 2013) as charismatic leadership, which means that Nur Hasan Ubaidah is a charismatic person, or his followers believe that their leader is endowed with karamah or supernatural powers. The same thing happened to Kiai Tamim, Rejoso, Jombang, who in his early days in Jombang taught so identically to what happened to Kiai Supardi. Kiai Tamim is from Madura, which in 1885 founded the Darul Ulum Islamic boarding school. Kiai Tamim is widely known as a master of *kanuragan*. One of his students, Muhammad Djuremi, came from Pare (about 30 kilometers from Jombang) to study at Kiai Tamim because he was interested in mastering kanuragan and mastery of Islam (Turmudi, 2006).

Supardi, since his arrival, has been known as a strange person (in a positive connotation). However, it is not clear since when he taught kanuragan to his students. What can be traced is that he has become a person who is well known for his kanuragan knowledge at least since 1993. In that year, Wafi (b. 1971), was moved to visit Supardi because news of his kanuragan knowledge had spread to where he lived (about 18 kilometers). From Aji, one of Kiai Supardi's relatives (personal interview, 16 February 2021), Kiai Supardi has had (a few) students since his marriage in 1989. Kiai Supardi taught them at home.

Gradually, followers of Kiai Supardi increased rapidly. The development of these followers was in line with Supardi who began to invite his followers to other things, such as joint remembrance, known as *tawassulan*. The activity was held once a week (Rasuki, 2015; Wakid, 2003). The group, named Wali Songo Akbar, held its activities on Thursday nights.

They read *salawat* and the sentence of monotheism. Apart from these weekly activities, members of Wali Songo Akbar are required to recite *salawat* a hundred times every day. Suparto, one of Kiai Supardi's former students states that the sentence of monotheism is read a thousand times every day (Rasuki, 2015). Another addition to it is reading *istigfar* as much as a hundred times, and pronouncing "Allah" as much as five thousand. In addition, Yazid (personal interview, 31 March 2021), one of Kiai Supardi's students, admitted that there was a reading of the *manaqib* of Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani—a holy man through whom he recited the recitation of the remembrance of the Qadiriyyah tarekat in continuation of the chain of events to the Prophet—in the meetings of Wali Songo Akbar.

This joint remembrance led by Kiai Supardi is unique compared to other remembrance assemblies, that there is an allegiance to his followers (Rasuki, 2015). Usually, allegiance is required in a *tarekat* (Zamhari, 2010). The proximity of the 'science of immunity' to the tarekat, the existence of allegiance, and the readings that show worship of Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani read by Wali Songo Akbar, it is important to identify this group, are they a *tarekat* (Qadiriyyah) group?

Wali Songo Akbar: Is it tarekat qadiriyyah?

According to Wakid (2003) and Wafi (personal interview, 2 February 2021), the Wali Songo Akbar group is considered as a tarekat group, with a negative tone. In general, *tarekat* in Madura is common sense. The *tarekat* has a long history in Madura, although it is hardly documented. The Naqsyabandiyah Order, Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah entered Madura in the early 20th century, followed by Tijaniyyah a few decades later (Bruinessen, 1995b). In the 19th century, *tarekat* kiai, boarding school of kiai, and several other religious figures were able to increase their position in the village. This is due to the community's need for them in the rituals that are carried out (Pribadi, 2013). In 1890, the government closely monitored tarekat activities, making lists of kiai, teachers, and students for fear that these religious leaders would interfere with the colonial rulers (de Jonge, 1989).

Wali Songo Akbar's 'closeness' to Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani through the worships he did turned out to have become a habit before. Wirjoasmoro stated that there is a monthly feast to commemorate the 'founder of the Qadiriyyah Sufi school', Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani (de Jonge, 1989). Elsewhere, Banten, West Indonesia, the reading of Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani's *manakib* is often held by followers of the *Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah tarekat* as well as people outside the *tarekat*. The reading of the *manaqib* is not part of the *tarekat* liturgy, but all followers of the *Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah tarekat* attend this reading several times (Bruinessen, 2015). Achdiat Kartamihardja, in his novel, *Atheis* (published in 1949) describes the main character listening to Shaykh Abdul Qadir's *manaqib*, plunging into the

cold waters of Cikapundung forty times in one night with full of remembrance (Lombard, 2005). In fact, the practice of *kanuragan* also has prayers attributed to Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani (de Grave, 2014).

Aji, also cannot (or doesn't want to?) provide information about what *tarekat* they follow. He said that the readings that read in *Wali Songo Akbar* came from *Kiai Sup'rdi's* teachers, such as *Kiai M'sta'in Romly* (Jombang, w. 1985) and *Kia' As'ad Syamsul Arifin* (Situbondo, w. 1990). The first name is a leader of the *Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah tarekat*. Van Bruinessen (1995b, p. 13) called him the most charismatic and influential *tarekat* kiai in EIndonesiaJava and Madura in 1970.

Without discussing the theological aspects, the terms of 'sociological 'plinter' and local tarekat from Bruinessen (2015), *Wali Songo Akbar* may be identified as a local *tarekat*, which is also an unorthodox *tarekat* (g'airu mu'tabarah, 'inconsiderate'). The reason is that the readings that they read do not have a lineage that is connected to the Prophet. Another example is Wahidiyyah, which is said to be not part of the *tarekat* orthodoxy because the founder of this tarekat received readings from the Prophet through dreams. This orthodoxy claim is based on a passage from Nahdlatul Ulama through Jam'iyyah Ahl al-Thariq'h al-Mu'tabarah (Bruinessen, 2015; Zamhari, 2010).

Followers of Wali Songo Akbar: Dynamics and issues of heterodoxy

According to Wafi (b. 1971), the followers of Wali Songo Akbar from Dungkek District, Sumenep in 1994-1995 reached 250 people. As one of the "senior" former followers, he contributed to the many numbers of followers. He invited many people to join Wali Songo Akbar. The person who claims to be *Kiai'Supardi's* right-hand man is also a teacher for the followers of Wali Songo Akbar in the Dungke" area.

"Untuk menjadi anggota (pengikut Wali Songo Akbar), ke sana (Kiai Supardi) dulu. Anggap saja di sana guru besar, di sini (saya, Wafi) gur" kecil." (Wafi, 2021).

Yazid, one of Wafi's subordinates, said that he participated in the gathering of Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani's *manaqib* reading which was led by Wafi. He confirmed whether *Kiai Supardi* was leading the reading of the *manaqib* or not and he explained:

"Bukan (Kiai Supardi yang memimpin). Di sini, 'kan, diwakili oleh Wafi, jadi dia yang m"impin." (Yazid, 2021).

In addition, he admitted that the *Wali Songo Akbar* association was led by Wafi, there were religious lectures from him. That was what differentiates from the gatherings held in Terate, Pandian, Sumenep, *Kiai'Supardi's* residence. He also commented that he preferred religious lectures.

The followers of *Kiai Supardi* are also scattered outside Sumenep. Many of his followers came from the isIndonesia of Java (especially from Situbondo). However, the greatest concentration is, of course, in Sumenep, particularly in Dungkek, Dasuk, and Gapura sub-districts. Although the exact number is unknown, Yazid said that the followers from the three sub-districts reached hundreds of people. Some followers of Gapura (including Yazid) even walked (about 13 kilometers) to attend the Wali Songo Akbar meeting at 'iai Supardi's residence.

After a smooth initial period, *Wali Songo Akbar* and his followers got into trouble with a deviant issue that began to develop. Wafi said that the issue was widely heard after 'he and'his 'senior' followers were expelled by *Kiai Supardi*. Through a letter written in red ink, *Kiai Supardi* opened with t'e sentence "*innallāha 'azīzun akīm*", then conveyed the decision to issue Wafi. Wafi himself forgot the reason why he was expelled, but i' Haji Ansari's chat with Yazid, there was a rumor that Wafi was expelled'because of 'cloth'ng problems'. On the part of *Kiai Supardi*, Wafi (while referred to by Aji as a hypocrite) was expelled from *Wali Songo Akbar* for abusing his authority by requiring followers to pay a certain amount of money. Wafi admitted that he dreamed of meeting the angel Jibril and was told to build a pesantren, and from that money, he could build his pesantren. Wafi also admitted that he heard rumors that he had been cursed by *Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani*.

Since the issue of heresy began to circulate, there have been disturbances in the development of *Wali Songo Akbar*. Externally, there is pressure from the police against them. Gapura police chief, Edi' asked *Kiai's* followers not to carry out their activities for a while (Wakid, 2003). After rumors of heresy began to rise, Yazid insisted on remaining in the *Wali Songo Akbar* section. According to Indonesian, he had no reason to leave *Wali Songo Akbar*, because he never found the allegations circulating. In the end, he left *Wali Songo Akbar* after being taken to the Sumenep Police Station (along with several other followers, including Suparto, Samsu, Masdawi, and Samsul) for questioning and signed a stamped letter containing a statement to leave *Wali Songo Akbar* and not participate. interfere with his teachings.

The labels of heterodox, deviant, or heretical against the *Supardi* and *Wali Songo Akbar* groups are based on various issues. The most consistent issue (down to the details) is that of Syarkawi. Wakid (2003), Rasuki (2015), Haji Ansari (personal interview, 31 March 2021), Yazid (personal interview, 31 March 2021), and Wafi (personal interview, 2 February 2021) tell the exact same story. On the d'y of Syarkawi's wedding, *Kiai Supardi* said that the water from the well in Lapa Laok Village, where Syarkawi was married, was unclean. This makes many guests cancel attendance at the wedding. After the incident, Wafi admitted that he was invited by Syarkawi to report *Kiai Supardi* to the police and the *kiai*, but Wafi refused the invitation.

Another accusation leveled against Kiai Supardi and *Wali Songo Akbar* relates to women. There are rumors that Kiai Supardi abused his female followers (Wakid, 2003). With the same issue, Rasuki (2015) quoted a statement from KH. Abd Rahem, said that Kiai Supardi was accompanied by a woman during the *tawassul*. In a larger scope, this accusation of heterodoxy and women is nothing new. Bruinessen (2015) wrote that accusations against minority groups are very common, and makes the accusations more clear to the accusers than to the accused. A case similar to that experienced by Kiai Supardi is perhaps the case with the Khalwadiyah Samman congregation in South Sulawesi. In the 1920s, they received oblique accusations through anonymous letters being circulated. The contents of the anonymous letter were accusations that Khalwadiyah Samman was a heretic and engaged in sexual activities at their gatherings. Furthermore, the accusers warned Dutch officials (also by anonymous letter) about Khalwadiyah Samman conspiring against the government. The accusers (other clerics) called Bruinessen (2015) were worried about the popularity of the Khalwadiyah Samman congregation and may threaten their own prestige. Rasuki (2015) was suspicious of local kiai (whom he refers to as traditional kiai) and ends up in the conclusion of a 'power struggle' between Kiai Supardi and local kiai.

However, not a single charge of sexual misconduct (in the context of Khalwadiyah Samman, even for the lightest) has been proven. Likewise in the context of Kiai Supardi, and for other accusations of heterodoxy that did not involve women, it was never proven. However, as Bruinessen (2015) points out, rumors still spread.

Violence in Sumenep 1998: Wa'i Songo Akbar's group and society clashes in Dungkek

In addition to being the name of the group, Wali Songo Akbar was agreed by the followers of Kiai Supardi to be the name of the Islamic boarding school. KH. Mustafa, KH. Zaini, KH. Abd. Rahem and several members of Banser along with the community visited the Wali Songo Akbar Islamic Boarding School. People came with sickles, machetes, clubs, torches, and other sharp objects. They called Kiai Supardi, but he never showed up. Finally, they damaged and burned the mosque and house of Kiai Supardi. Other facilities owned by Wali Songo Akbar were also damaged (Rasuki, 2015; Wakid, 2003).

Before the destruction of the Wali Songo Akbar Islamic Boarding School, Yazid, as one of the former followers of Wali Songo Akbar, received a warning from Umar, a friend of his who served as the Head of Man'ala Village.

"Zid (Yazid), kalau kamu ikut Kiai Supardi, sebaiknya untuk bulan-bulan ini harus menjauh (dari Kiai Supardi), karena saya dengar nanti akan diledakkan (terdapat kekacauan) dari" Kiai Supardi," Umar memperingatkan Yazid.

On Friday morning, August 14, 1998, two trucks from the *Wali Songo Akbar* group came to KH. Zaini and KH. Mustafa is at his house. Both of them were picked up by several followers of Kiai Supardi to be held accountable for the destruction of the pesantren that had occurred earlier (Kompas, 1998). Jawa Pos (1998) wrote that KH. Zaini and KH. Mustafa “often r’buked Supardi’s religious activities which he consider misleading.” As explained in the first paragraph of this subsection, KH. Zaini and KH. Mustafa were two of the several people present in the destruction of the *Wali Songo Akbar* Islamic Boarding School. So, the two statements from Kompas and Jawa Pos are not surprising. Another source, Surya, quoted the Military Commander V/Brawijaya, Maj. Gen. Djoko Subroto, assessed that the riots in Sumenep were caused by the practice of different religions.

Kompas interviewed KH. Said Abdullah as a resource person said, “*So, the fight was the result of an attempted kidnapping. I didn’t know it was a response after Supardi’s house was burned down by the mob a few days ago.*” Dramatically, Rasuki (2015) tells how KH. Zaini and KH. Mustafa is carried into the pickup with his hands tied with ropes. While in the pickup, both were tortured and hacked with sickles. However, miraculously, the stab could not injure KH.Indonesiaaafa.

The truck of the *Wali Songo Akbar* group was stopped by the police in front of the Dungkek Military District Command (Koramil), after hearing KH. Mustafa and KH. Zaini shouts. People who are trying to free KH. Mustafa and KH. Zaini clashed with Kiai Supardi’s followers. Contrary to the statements of Kompas and Jawa Pos, Rasuki (2015) wrote that the clashes did not occur immediately. There was a meeting that led to the agreement of KH. Mustafa compensated the *Wali Songo Akbar* group. However, before the statement letter was signed, a crowd outside the *Koramil* office stormed into the meeting place. This statement from Muhni (in Rasuki (2015) is consistent with the statement by Aji who stated that the incident in Dungkek was not a kidnapping at all. KH. Mustafa is picked up on good terms and aims to reach an agreement.

The clashes in Dungkek in 1998 resulted in the death of four people, namely Sughri, Mahuda, Ridawi, and Rahem. The first two names died on the spot, while Ridawi and Rahem died on the way to Sumenep General Hospital (Kompas, 1998). Although it provides different information from Kompas regarding the number of fatalities, Jawa Pos provides a relatively more complete chronology. One victim died at the scene, while two other “died ironically.

“Yang luka-luka parah dilarikan di Puskesmas Dungkek. ... Lucunya, begitu masyarakat mengetahui ada dua yang dirawat, ramai-ramai datang menyerbu dan memukul hingga mati di Puskesmas” (Jawa Pos, 15 Agustus 1998).

The chronology written by Wakid (2003) is no less ironic, as well as complements what is contained in Jawa Pos. When Sughri and Mahmudi were being treated at the Puskesmas,

both of them were dragged by the mob onto the highway before being tortured to death. Furthermore, the houses of Kiai Supardi's followers became the target of mobs.

The burning of the houses of Supardi's followers was written by Wakid (2003, p. 66). He found destroyed houses in Dungkek, Gapura, Ambunten, Batang-Batang, and Kota District. Indonesiaen though he was no longer part of the *Wali Songo Akbar*, Yazid had almost become the target of a mob and his house was about to be burned. Fortunately, the public soon learned that Yazid had left *Wali Songo Akbar*.

Violence: Little explanation

"We have met our enemy, and he is us," Pogo.

One of the stereotypes about Madurese society's a 'violent society'. Madurese are called quick-tempered and ready to kill their opponents (de Jonge, 1989). In addition, what is more famous is perhaps the carok habit of the Madurese (Wiyata, 2013). However, the author is not interested in drawing conclusions and mentions that the violence that occurred in Sumenep in 1998 was caused by the angry Madurese and their carok tradition. These statements and conclusions are too simplistic and seem lazy to carry out an analysis because they only focus on local traditions (especially stereotypes!) (Colombijn & Lindblad, 2002, p. 9).

Regarding carok, the events in Sumenep 1998 do not match the descriptions of de Jonge (1989) and Wiyata (2013) about carok. Carok does not occur in groups, and also rarely occurs spontaneously. In addition, the big difference between the violence in Sumenep 1998 and what Wiyata (2013) called carok is the motive behind it; Carok is based on self-respect, such as infidelity, seizing inheritance, and taking revenge on relatives.

In reporting on the incident of violence in Dungkek, Kompas and Jawa Pos both gave reasons why the incident occurred.

"Dua staf Koramil yang sedang bertugas tidak bisa mencegah perkelahian yang melibatk"n ratusan orang itu." (Kompas, 1998).

"Keamanan berupaya untuk melarangnya, tapi tidak mampu membendung emosi massa yang datang dari berbagai kampung itu." (Jawa Pos, 1998).

The two quotes in the previous paragraph have one thing in common, that people (who outnumber the security guards) are so angry that violent events are inevitable. Welsh (2008) the routine beating and killing of alleged criminals by mobs (massa wrote that most Indonesians are familiar with gang violence. Gang violence is an umbrella term for various forms of violence. The three core components in this 'ritual of violence' are the masses, the leaders of the masses, and the victims. Differences will be found in levels of brutality, targeting,

and social legitimacy. In the context of the clashes in Dungkek, all three core components can be found, except that there should be further discussion of who the identifiable 'mass leader' is.

The 'level of brutality' in the 1998 Sumenep inter-Muslim violence that occurred in front of the Dungkek Koramil can be described as lynching (killing without trial) by the masses. Sources from Jawa Pos and Rasuki (2015) indicated the presence of a mob that attacked people who were being treated at the Puskesmas. Borrowing the definition from Varshney (2008), lynching is an act to prosecute and punish, in which, society does not depend on the police to punish thieves, robberies, hit-and-run, rape, infidelity, or witchcraft. In the writings of Barron & Sharpe (2008) in Indonesia and elsewhere, requires an understanding of its distribution, forms, and impacts. In this article, we outline an attempt to use local newspaper monitoring to measure the levels and impacts of violent conflict during the period 2001-2003 in two Indonesian provinces (East Java and NTT, lynching has a revenge motive, which is in accordance with what happened in the violence in this study, namely people who want revenge for the kidnappings carried out by *Wali Songo Akbar's* people.

In another context, Formichi (2014), the anti-witchcraft campaign says that attacks have never been carried out by identified individuals. Attacks are always carried out by the masses, and because of this, they are brutal and irresponsible. The masses are so much of course can not be held accountable. After the clashes in Dungkek, several followers of Kiai Supardi, namely Khalik, Suparto, Samsuri, Samsul, and Masdsawi were subject to Article 328 of the Criminal Code (kidnapping) (Wakid, 2003). Rasuki (2015) mentioned a new name, Muhni' one of Kiai Supardi's loyal followers who was sentenced to 12 years in prison. Suparto and several others were jailed for seven to eight years. Apart Indonesiaom that, there are n' recor's of any other 'masses'. Bastiaan Scharpen (in van Dijk & Kaptein J.G., 2016) says that the law in Indonesia is not insIndonesiat, the law in Indonesia is meaningful, but for certain people and in certain situations.

Looking back at the sociological splinte' and heterodoxy of Kiai Supardi's teachings, the phases of the slanted accusations against Kiai Supardi and Wali So'go Akbar' can be said to be the 'othering' phaseIndonesiaades, Shia's people in Indonesia were 'alienated' before finally getting physical violence in 2000, then peaking in 2006-2013 (Formichi, 2014). The accusations against Kiai Supardi and Wali Songo Akbar mark the othering period they experienced, before this splinter group (or deliberately splinted group?) was physically abused in 1998.

Conclusion

Kiai Supardi and *Wali Songo Akbar* and their significant development had to come to a dead-end in 1998. The clashes in Sumenep in 1998 were the tip of the iceberg. Underneath, there are other big things, such as the service by calling the *Wali Songo Akbar* group a heterodox (deviant) group that makes them sociologically separated; and Indonesian society which is closely related to mass violence. The *Wali Songo Akbar* group is one of tIndonesiaer groups that (had) existed in Indonesia, although it may be a relatively short-lived splinter group.

This research has many flaws, of course. The challenge for research on this topic is that oral sources are less open. It can be said that there is still some fear or worry from some of the informants. One of the informants was afraid that research on the violence that took place in 1998 in Sumenep could create ‘haos and at least raiè suspicion becaus’ it was ‘picking up old wounds”

Gorky said that ‘people must know their history.’ With that, there is still a historical awareness of society that must be changed into how to view the past, present, and future as something that continue‘ to run ’nd develop, not a point in time that is ‘finished’ (Kurniawan, 2022, p. 162)

Hopes about ‘peace’ with an event can still be maintained. Therefore, research on this topic can be explored again through various perspectives, perhaps with more recent sources (meaning more recently discovered), or perhaps with sources that come out naturally from historical actors.

The author is aware of the lack of time and access to the field as well as to sources who have not been found (or do not wish to issue a statement). However, historians must always try to roam a middle path, between the heaviness of memory and the horror of erasing it (Gouda, 2007, p. 412).

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