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THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT OF SAMIN'S FOLLOWERS: A CASE STUDY OF THE MODONGSO ATTACK IN 1907

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ABSTRACT

In 1907, the Dutch East Indies government arrested Samin Soerosentiko and several of his followers through the Assistant District Head of Kedungtuban-Blora, who pretended to invite him to his residence. Afterward, Samin Soerosentiko and several of his followers were exiled to Padang, Sumatra. The incident involving Samin Soerosentiko's arrest and exile led to an attack carried out by one of his followers named Modongso. The purpose of this study is to analyze and interpret the case of Modongso's attack at the residence of the Assistant Regent of Kedungtuban, Blora. The research method employed is the historical research method, utilizing primary sources such as archival reports and newspapers from the Dutch East Indies government. The theories of interpersonal deception and manipulation and deception were used as analytical tools to examine the Modongso attack case. A comparison of sources shows that Modongso and his brother initially arrived unarmed, then obtained a blunt keris during the confrontation, causing injuries without immediate death. These findings complicate the notion that the attack was a fully planned assassination attempt. Modongso's attack is better understood as an unusual episode of violence within the Samin movement, which is generally associated with nonviolent resistance. This study tentatively and case-specifically proposes the concept of a "Samin manipulation strategy" to explain how indirect actions may have contributed to colonial misperceptions without assuming any conscious intention to deceive Modongso. Future research should conduct comparative studies of other Samin resistance incidents to test the relevance of this concept.

Keywords: *Saminis, Modongso Attack, Samin manipulation strategy, colonial resistance, indigenous resistance.*

INTRODUCTION

Samin Soerosentiko, also known as Raden Kohar, is a figure regarded as the "Ratu Adil" (Queen of Justice) or savior by the indigenous Javanese people, particularly in the Blora region of East Java. Furthermore, Samin Soerosentiko is regarded as the preacher of Saminism-a belief system known as the "Religion of Adam" which later became the ideological foundation for Samin Soerosentiko and his followers in their "Sikep" resistance movement against the exploitation and colonization by the Dutch East Indies government (Benda & Castles, 1969; Rosyid, 2018). The existence and influence of Samin Soerosentiko as a "Ratu Adil" or messiah during the late 19th and early 20th centuries had a significant impact on the Dutch East Indies government, particularly in

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the economic sector. The "sikep" resistance which opposed the exploitation of farmland and teak forests and refused to pay taxes-led to a decline in the Dutch East Indies government's revenue (Benda & Castles, 1969; Fadilla et al., 2026).

In 1907, the Dutch East Indies government lured Samin Soerosentiko and several of his followers into a trap by inviting them to the home of the Assistant Regent of Kedungtuban-Blora, who then arrested Samin Soerosentiko and several of his followers (Dienst, 1918). Because they were considered rebels and a threat, the Dutch East Indies government exiled Samin Soerosentiko and several of his followers to Padang, Sumatra, where he later died in 1914 during his exile (Boekhandel Visser & Co, 1911). At the time of the arrest of Samin Soerosentiko and several of his followers at the residence of the assistant regent of Kedungtuban, Blora, East Java, in 1907, there was a follower of Saminism named Modongso. At that time, Modongso attacked several people and the assistant district head, whom he held responsible for setting a trap and arresting Samin Soerosentiko (Benda & Castles, 1969).

The attack carried out by Modongso, a follower of Samin Soerosentiko, is a historical phenomenon and fact that has not been thoroughly examined in studies discussing Samin Soerosentiko or the social resistance movement of the Samin group (sedulur sikep). Some previous studies related to Samin Soerosentiko and the Samin group's social resistance movement during the colonial period include (Benda & Castles, 1969; King, 1977; Korver, 1976; Widyarsono, 1998).

Several previous studies have focused on topics related to autobiography and the influence of Samin Soerosentiko-who is regarded as the "Ratu Adil" by followers of Saminism-as well as on the Sikep resistance movement of the Saminist group (Fadilla et al., 2026; Shiraishi, 1990). They also examined the factors leading to the emergence of the movement and social resistance, analyzing them from linguistic, economic, political, and religious perspectives within Saminism; however, very few studies have addressed the 1907 attack carried out by Modongso (Benda & Castles, 1969).

Previous research increasingly indicates that the Saminist resistance movement and Saminism have been studied as forms of nonviolent and cultural resistance, as well as social movements. However, these studies have focused more on contemporary resistance, the general historical development of Saminism, social change, justice for indigenous communities, or resistance to development, rather than specifically on the Modongso attack of 1907 (Adam & Bagir, 2022; Arif et al., 2022; Asrawijaya & Hudayana, 2021; Melani, 2023; Nurdin & Adzkiya', 2021; Wahyudhi, 2024; Zarkasi et al., 2021). Thus, there is a historiographical gap: the Modongso attack has not been sufficiently studied as a distinct episode that could illustrate the relationship between individual actions, colonial perceptions, and the continuity of the Samin resistance.

The novelty of this study lies not merely in retelling the story of the Modongso attack, but in reconstructing the events through several contemporary colonial newspapers and interpreting the discrepancies between the apparent acts of violence, the colonial government's perceptions, and the subsequent development of the Samin resistance. Thus, this study situates the Modongso attack at the intersection of historical

source criticism, studies of the Samin resistance, and the conceptual distinction between deception and manipulation (Benda & Castles, 1969; Oktafia & Nasution, 2026). This position also responds to earlier studies on the Samin movement, which primarily addressed non-violent resistance, cultural resistance, indigenous justice, social change, and contemporary collective action (Adam & Bagir, 2022; Arif et al., 2022; Asrawijaya & Hudayana, 2021; Fadilla et al., 2026; Margana, 2019; Nurdin & Adzkiya', 2021; Sindhunata, 2024).

Based on the findings of previous research, this study examines and analyzes the Modongso attack at the residence of the assistant district head of Kedungtuban, Blora, East Java, in 1907 from a historical perspective, utilizing contemporary primary sources and applying the interpersonal deception theory by Buller & Burgoon (1996) and the manipulation and deception theory-Cohen (2018) to assist the researcher in analyzing and interpreting the historical phenomena related to the Modongso attack as the subject of this study.

These two theoretical perspectives are used at complementary levels of analysis. Interpersonal Deception Theory is used to examine how observable actions lead to misleading perceptions on the part of the recipient, particularly when the recipient interprets an action based on incomplete or erroneous assumptions (Buller & Burgoon, 1996). The theory of manipulation and deception is used to distinguish deceptive acts that convey specific propositions from acts that can lead to false beliefs without necessarily conveying a message directly (Cohen, 2018; Krstić, 2024). In this study, these two theories are not treated as evidence of Modongso's personal intent, but rather as analytical tools for interpreting how the attack might have been perceived by the colonial government.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research method used by the researcher is the historical research method, which involves the following steps: (1) topic selection, (2) source collection or heuristics, (3) source criticism or verification, (4) interpretation, and (5) historical writing or historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2018). Topic selection stage: In this stage, the researcher selected a topic concerning the 1907 attack by Modongso, a follower of Samin Soerosentiko, on the assistant district head of Kedungtuban-Blora. Therefore, this study has a temporal scope limited to the year 1907.

Source Collection or Heuristic Stage: In this stage, the researcher collects primary historical sources related to the research topic. The primary sources collected by the researcher include: Verslag Saminbeweging, Onderzoek Naar De Mindere Welvaart Der Inlandsche Bevolking Op Zavan En Madoer, the newspaper De relletjes in Blora "Soerabaijasch Handelsblad", March 28 (1907), De Locomotief, March 28 (1907), Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië, April 4 (1907), and De avondpost dagblad voor stad en land, April 15 (1915).

The source verification or critique stage: At this stage, the researcher verifies the validity of the historical sources used in the study through both internal and external

verification. External criticism is conducted by examining the identity, date, origin, publication context, and archival status of newspapers and administrative reports. Internal criticism focuses on the report's editorial content, the reporting institution's perspective, the chronology, the actors mentioned, the weapons used, the injuries sustained, and the consequences associated with the event. Even if colonial newspapers differ, the research does not automatically consider one account to be correct; greater weight is given to details that are corroborated by other sources or presented with a higher degree of contemporary specificity, while discrepancies are retained as part of the source problem.

The interpretation stage: At this stage, the researcher interprets historical facts through the process of reconstructing the primary sources used in the study. In addition, the researcher employs theories of interpersonal deception and manipulation and deception to assist in analyzing and addressing the issues and phenomena in the study-specifically, the 1907 Modongso attack, which did not represent the teachings of the Religion of Adam. At the historiographical stage, researchers then organized their findings into four analytical issues: source reconstruction; the tension between norms of nonviolence and episodes of violence; the limited use of the concept of manipulation; and broader implications for indigenous resistance under colonial rule. One limitation must be noted: no firsthand account from Modongso regarding this specific attack was found in the sources reviewed, so this study cannot definitively determine his personal intentions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The 1907 Modongso Attack Case

The attack carried out by a follower of Saminism named Modongso cannot be separated from the role and influence of Samin Soerosentiko, or Raden Kohar, who is regarded as the "just queen" or "savior" by the Samin group. Samin Soerosentiko's role and influence are rooted in the messianic ideology of the millenarian movement, which believes in the power of divine revelation or wangsit (Mangoenkoesoemo, 1918). The belief in the power of divine revelation or wangsit lends a charismatic aura to the figure regarded as the "queen of justice" or "savior"; consequently, followers of the millenarian movement strictly obey and devote themselves to this figure in the hope of achieving the prophesied or promised ideals (Kartodirdjo, 1984).

The charismatic element of the messianic figure leads to a belief in supernatural powers held by her followers. Followers of the millenarian movement believe that the "righteous queen" is a chosen individual who is "sekti" or possesses supernatural powers; in other words, this constitutes a religio-magical ideology. Therefore, the factors of charisma and the perception of "sekti" regarding this messianic figure, are believed by their followers to be capable of bringing salvation and fulfilling nativistic hopes and ideals-namely, the hope or ideal of breaking free from Western power and colonialism, as well as the restoration of freedom and glory for the indigenous people, once again led by the old dynasty (Berg, 1974; Kartodirdjo, 1984).

Based on charismatic and sectarian elements believed to lead to salvation and fulfill the nativistic hopes of his followers, Samin Soerosentiko regarded as the "just queen" and "Samin Anom" was deeply respected and obeyed. Consequently, when Samin Soerosentiko was arrested at the residence of the assistant district head in Kedungtuban, Blora, East Java, in 1907, it led to an attack by a Saminist follower named Modongso. Modongso was enraged by the arrest and imprisonment of Samin Soerosentiko, whom he regarded as a leader and savior, leading him to attack the assistant district head (wedana) of Kedungtuban and his secretary (Fadilla et al., 2024). As a result of the attack, Modongso was injured by the police; however, no one was killed during the incident (Benda & Castles, 1969). The attack on the residence of the assistant district head of Kedungtuban and his secretary by Modongso became a social phenomenon in 1907. This is evidenced by several news reports in Dutch East Indies government newspapers discussing the arrest of Samin Soerosentiko and the attack by Modongso. The following are some Dutch East Indies newspapers that reported on the Modongso case:

The newspaper De relletjes in Blora "Soerabaijasch Handelsblad," March 28 (1907)

"A man named Modongso, a disciple of Samin who lived in the village of Nglandjenan, was determined to become Sushunan. Together with his younger brother, Tarmonoemde, he (Modongso) claimed to be Gatotkaca, a character from Javanese wayang, and was determined to destroy Blora and Cepu. Modongso then continued his journey; as he drew closer to the assistant district head of Kedungtuban, he slashed him with a keris that was no longer sharp" ("De Relletjes in Blora," 1907).

The newspaper De Locomotief, March 28 (1907)

"A man named Modongso, a disciple of Samin who lived in the village of Nglandjenan, had resolved to become a sushunan. He summoned his younger brother, Tarmo, and claimed to be Gatot Koco, a wayang character, then set out to destroy Blora and Cepu. After Samin was arrested, Modongso apparently began to consider this course of action. On Tuesday morning, he ordered his younger brother to go with him to kill the assistant district head and his secretary, threatening to kill him if he did not go along."
"It is believed that Modongso had not planned the attack in advance, as he and his younger brother were unarmed when they went to the residence of the assistant district head of Kedungtuban. The blunt keris that Modongso used to injure the assistant regent was obtained by seizing it from one of the Kamitoewa who tried to stop Modongso and his younger brother. During the attack, no one was killed, but the assistant regent and several others sustained minor injuries. Meanwhile, Modongso was subdued by a police officer and suffered severe injuries as a result of his actions. Following the attack at the residence of the assistant district head of Kedungtuban, Blora, Modongso received medical treatment for his injuries at the home of a private doctor named Deggler. After receiving treatment, the police interrogated Modongso regarding the attack, and he was subsequently released" (*De Locomotief*, 1907).

The newspaper Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië, April 4 (1907)

"According to a statement by the Regent of Rembang on March 20, a local man named Modongso-a disciple of Soerontiko, also known as Samin went on a rampage in Kedoengtoeban on March 5. Modongso went on a rampage on the nights of the 1st and 16th of that month. As a result of these actions, Modongso was arrested by the police; later, while in prison in the Blora area, he died from injuries he sustained after inflicting them on himself" (*Het Nieuws van Den Dag Voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1907).

A systematic comparison of contemporary reports yields a more careful reconstruction. The report in the "Soerabaijasch Handelsblad" (28 March, 1907) emphasizes Modongso's intention to become a sushunan, his connection to the figure of Gatotkaca/Gatot Koco, and his use of a blunt keris when approaching the assistant district head. The newspaper "De Locomotief" (28 March, 1907) provided the most detailed account of the sequence of events, explaining that Modongso and his younger brother reportedly arrived unarmed, that the keris was obtained from a man named Kamitoewa who tried to stop them, that several people sustained minor injuries, and that Modongso was subsequently subdued and treated. Meanwhile, the newspaper "Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië" (4 April, 1907) provided a different account of the events and reported that Modongso later died from injuries he had inflicted on himself while in custody. Because the newspaper "De Locomotief" (28 March, 1907) provides the most detailed contemporary account of the attack's mechanics and can be compared with the details of the blunted keris in the newspaper "Soerabaijasch Handelsblad," that source is given greater weight in reconstructing the immediate mechanics of the attack, while differences in chronology and the final outcome are retained as source variations.

The 1907 attack by a follower of Samin Soerosentiko named Modongso at the residence of the assistant district head of Kedungtuban, Blora, was reported in several Dutch East Indies government newspapers. Based on this incident, the researcher interprets that Modongso had an implicit or actual motive at the time Samin Soerosentiko was arrested. The researchers' analysis, based on the reports in those newspapers, explains that Modongso and his younger brother initially were not carrying weapons on their journey to the residence of the assistant district head of Kedungtuban.

Therefore, Modongso's violent actions are believed not to have been premeditated, as the keris used to injure the assistant district head and his secretary belonged to Kamitoewa, who had attempted to stop Modongso; furthermore, the keris used by Modongso was blunt, resulting in no fatalities. Primary sources support several limited claims. One newspaper reported that Modongso and his younger brother were not initially armed; the keris was obtained during the confrontation; the weapon was blunt; and the attack caused injuries but resulted in no fatalities, as detailed in "De Locomotief" (28 March, 1907). Conversely, the conclusion that the attack was unplanned is an inference drawn from those details, not a fact that has been directly proven. Similarly, the claim that Modongso deliberately intended to mislead the colonial government or mobilize his followers cannot be proven based solely on newspaper reports. Therefore, that proposition is treated as a historical interpretation. Based on these historical facts sourced

from the Dutch East Indies newspaper, there is an issue and a phenomenon that require critical analysis by researchers. Therefore, in the following subsection of this study, the researcher will conduct a critical analysis using the perspectives of interpersonal deception theory and manipulation and deception theory to assist in interpreting and addressing the issues related to the 1907 Modongso attack

Analysis of the Modongso Attack Based on the Perspectives of Interpersonal Deception Theory and the Theory of Manipulation and Deception

The Samin resistance movement was influenced by the teachings and doctrines of Samin Soerosentiko, namely the "Religion of Adam"; therefore, these teachings became the principles and guidelines for life that are followed by adherents of Saminism (Fadilla et al., 2026). These teachings aim to restore the same laws that existed during the time of Adam, peace be upon him, in Paradise. At a time when every human being was permitted to take all the plants and fruits in the fields, the name "Agama Adam" became the teachings and doctrines followed by Saminism, as did the doctrine of taking all trees not planted by the Dutch East Indies government, as well as the prohibition against harming fellow human beings and the prohibition against trade (Mangoenkoesoemo, 1918).

The Religion of Adam teaches that all human beings are brothers and sisters that is, descendants of the Prophet Adam, peace be upon him. Therefore, brothers and sisters are not permitted to harm one another. This represents the resistance of the Samin group, which engages in nonviolent resistance through attitude and stance. Based on this, the attack by Modongso a follower of Saminism on the assistant district head of Kedungtuban, which resulted in injuries and involved both physical resistance and violence, can be considered a manifestation of this phenomenon.

Recent research on the Samin resistance underscores the importance of distinguishing these episodes of violence from the broader, nonviolent tradition of Samin resistance. Zarkasi et al. (2021) identify strategies of social resistance within the Samin community. Meanwhile, Nurdin & Adzkiya' (2021) emphasize cultural resistance. Asrawijaya and Hudayana (2021) demonstrate how Samin opposition can shift from passive resistance to active and organized action. Meanwhile, Arif et al. (2022) demonstrate how colonial pressures shaped patterns of social change. Adam & Bagir, (2022) also show that the Samin resistance cannot be reduced to a single political form because its cultural/spiritual and political-economic dimensions are intertwined. These studies allow Modongso to be interpreted as an extraordinary episode within a broader repertoire of resistance, rather than as a direct representation of Samin's doctrine.

Modongso's actions did not reflect the principles and doctrines upheld by the followers of Samin Soerosentiko, namely the Religion of Adam. According to the researcher's analysis, Modongso's attack cannot be interpreted as a violation of or disobedience to the teachings of Samin Soerosentiko. However, because no firsthand testimony from Modongso has been found, this study does not treat the attack as direct proof that Modongso consciously planned to mobilize Saminist followers or deceive the Dutch East Indies authorities. Rather, the attack is interpreted as an event whose effects

could be read as politically meaningful within the wider repertoire of Samin resistance. In this sense, the argument concerns the interpretive consequences of the attack within colonial perception, not a definitive claim about Modongso's subjective intention.

This interpretation is developed cautiously. After Samin Soerosentiko's exile and Modongso's arrest, some colonial observers and local communities believed the Saminist resistance movement would decline. The newspaper *De Avondpost Dagblad Voor Stad En Land* (15 April, 1915) stated that the Dutch East Indies government and the people in the Blora region believed that the Samin group's resistance movement and the teachings of the Adam Religion would come to an end and disappear. Furthermore, the attack can be seen as a strategy by Modongso to deceive the Dutch East Indies authorities, as evidenced by the fact that the attack resulted in no fatalities and involved the use of bladed weapons.

This strategy proved effective because, following Samin Soerosentiko's exile and Modongso's arrest, the Dutch East Indies authorities believed the Saminist resistance movement would come to an end. This is evidenced by the newspaper "De Avondpost Dagblad voor Stad en Land", April 15, 1915, which stated that the Dutch East Indies government and the people in the Blora region at that time believed that the Samin group's resistance movement and the teachings of the Adam Religion would come to an end and disappear (*De Avondpost Dagblad Voor Stad En Land*, 1915).

In reality, however, not all of Samin's followers were imprisoned, and they quietly developed the doctrines of the Religion of Adam, equality, and the hope of a struggle to end Dutch East Indies rule in Java. According to the theory of interpersonal deception, humans are poor at detecting lies; furthermore, manipulation and lies are spread by the sender to foster trust or false conclusions in the recipient. Recent research on deception supports a more nuanced theoretical discussion. Sprigings et al. (2023) show that deception can alter social expectations even when it is not immediately detected. Takeuchi et al. (2024) show that the impact of deception is highly dependent on the interactional context. Markowitz (2024) emphasizes that deception can be analyzed through the characteristics of the communicator and linguistic elements. Meanwhile, Krstić (2024) explains that deception and manipulation are not always identical categories. This research supports the findings of this article in distinguishing the observable consequences of Modongso's actions from claims regarding his personal intentions.

Effective manipulation or deception strategies can result in excessive cognitive and mental strain (Buller & Burgoon, 1996). This is evidenced by the mistaken assumptions held by the Dutch East Indies authorities and the general public regarding the Samin resistance movement, which was initially predicted to end when Samin Soerosentiko was exiled. However, the Modongso attack on the residence of the assistant district head of Kedungtuban served as a catalyst for Saminism followers in other regions, ensuring that the Samin resistance movement continued and expanded in the subsequent period.

Based on this, Modongso's actions succeeded in deceiving the Dutch East Indies authorities; furthermore, when Modongso and his younger brother were about to carry

out an attack on the assistant regent's residence, neither of them was carrying a weapon. Then, during the attack, Modongso struck with a dull keris, so he did not seriously injure the assistant regent or his secretary. In fact, the consequences of the attack fell more heavily on Modongso, who sustained severe injuries and was imprisoned by the police.

While in prison, Modongso attempted to harm himself and eventually died in custody. Therefore, based on these facts, the researcher suspects that Modongso's true intention was not actually to harm the assistant district head of Kedungtuban; thus, it can be concluded that the attack was a manipulative act on Modongso's part. In this case, the concept of manipulation is used with caution. The evidence points to an action that could have been interpreted by the colonial government based on its own assumptions regarding the waning of the Samin resistance. However, historical records provide no direct evidence that Modongso made a deliberately fabricated claim. Therefore, this concept is closer to manipulation through action than to conventional linguistic deception. This distinction aligns with recent philosophical discussions that view manipulation and deception as related yet analytically distinguishable phenomena (Krstić, 2024).

Modongso's attack at the residence of the assistant district head of Kedungtuban-Blora cannot be simply categorized as an act of deception or manipulation. According to the theory of manipulation and deception, deception and manipulation are distinct acts. According to the theory of manipulation and deception, deception is an intentional act to convince others to believe a lie and to instill a belief in a false perception. Deception can be divided into two categories: linguistic (language) and non-linguistic (actions) (Cohen, 2018).

Manipulation creates a false belief in someone regarding a particular matter and influences others to form a biased judgment, resulting in a false belief without conveying any message, such as through communication. Without the transmission of such a message, manipulation is categorized differently from deception, which tends to occur through interaction or communication between the parties involved; nevertheless, manipulation still leads to a false belief (Cohen, 2018).

Based on the researchers' analysis using the theory of interpersonal deception and the theory of manipulation and deception, the Modongso attack at the residence of the assistant district head of Kedungtuban, Blora, in 1907 constituted an act of manipulation because it was capable of creating false beliefs and biased judgments, as well as leading to erroneous conclusions, without involving direct communication or interaction, even though it was carried out intentionally. This is evidenced by the fact that Modongso and his younger brother consciously and intentionally carried out the attack at the assistant district head's residence, yet during the attack there was no interaction or communication between the two parties.

The attack succeeded in creating a false impression among the Dutch East Indies authorities because, in reality, Modongso's attack indirectly served as a stimulus and a strategy to encourage Saminist followers in other regions to continue their resistance even after Samin Soerosentiko had been exiled. However, the Dutch East Indies authorities failed to realize this; instead, they believed that once Samin Soerosentiko was exiled, the

resistance of his followers would end. Consequently, they treated Modongso's attack as a routine incident that caused no significant harm. The broader significance of these findings is that indigenous resistance should not be assessed solely based on the immediate physical outcomes of a confrontation. The Modongso incident demonstrates that colonial power relations are also shaped by interpretations, categorizations, and expectations regarding the failure of resistance. Recent research on Saminism shows that resistance can endure through cultural practices, communication networks, leadership, and collective strategies, even when open confrontation is limited (Adam & Bagir, 2022; Lestari et al., 2026; Pratama, 2021; Zarkasi et al., 2021). Thus, the Modongso case broadens our understanding of indigenous resistance by demonstrating that local confrontations that appear unsuccessful can take on broader significance within an ongoing movement.

The broader implication of these findings is that indigenous resistance should not be assessed solely based on the immediate physical success or failure of a confrontation. Recent comparative studies show that social resistance often persists through territorial claims, cultural survival, repertoires of communication, and alternative political imaginaries that challenge colonial or state-centric categorizations (Hesketh, 2025; Sindhunata, 2024; Lupien et al., 2024; Montón-Subías & Dixon, 2021; Stokes et al., 2025). Viewed from this broader perspective, the Modongso incident demonstrates how a local confrontation seemingly limited in scope or unsuccessful can nonetheless hold historical significance within the long-term continuity of a movement. Consequently, this case contributes to the history of resistance, studies of Indigenous resistance, and social movement scholarship by illustrating how colonial misperceptions, repertoires of indirect action, and the subsequent memory of the movement can transform a small-scale event into a meaningful episode of collective resistance.

The results of the researchers' analysis of the Modongso attack in 1907 can be described as the "samin manipulation strategy", that is, the act of deceiving the enemy in an invisible or unnoticed manner through one's actions. The aim is to oppose the enemy implicitly (indirectly), without the enemy realizing it. The term "Samin manipulation strategy" is proposed as an interpretive concept derived from the specific historical context of the Modongso case, not as a substitute for Interpersonal Deception Theory or Cohen's distinction between manipulation and deception. The scientific basis rests on three elements: first, observable actions that led to misleading interpretations by the colonial government; second, the discrepancy between the apparent immediate results and the subsequent development of the resistance; and third, the Samin's repertoire of resistance which was indirect and culturally embedded as documented by recent research (Fadilla et al., 2026; Nurdin & Adzkiya', 2021; Pratama, 2021). Therefore, this concept should be understood as a historical formulation specific to this case that still needs to be tested through other episodes of the Samin movement, rather than as a universal theory of resistance.

CONCLUSION

The Modongso attack of 1907 represents a significant social and historical phenomenon; documented in various Dutch East Indies newspaper reports, it raises critical questions within the historiography of the Samin movement specifically regarding how an apparently violent episode should be interpreted within the context of a movement generally associated with non-violent resistance. This study interprets the attack not as definitive proof of a deliberate plan to deceive Dutch East Indies authorities, but rather as an event whose impact is best understood through the lens of colonial manipulation and misperception. The concept of a "Samin manipulation strategy" is proposed as an interpretive framework derived from this case to explain how indirect actions could trigger erroneous colonial expectations while simultaneously holding significance for the continuity of Samin resistance. Thus, this study contributes to the historiography of Saminism, the study of indigenous resistance, and the analysis of social movements by demonstrating that local confrontations can carry meaning far beyond their immediate material impact, particularly when viewed within the long-term processes of colonial perception and collective resistance.

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