

## ISLAM IN MINANGKABAU FROM CONFLICT TO INTEGRITY

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### Abstract

This article explains how the development of Islam in Minangkabau acculturated with customs, until the emergence of Islamic reformers who had a major influence on the world of education in Minangkabau which previously had a conflict between the *tuo* and the *mudo* because of the differences in paradigms between them in understanding and implementing customs and religion. This study aims to determine the process of the entry of Islam and its development until it merged with customs in Minangkabau. This study uses a historical qualitative approach by looking at the social context that occurred in Minangkabau society by looking at library data related to Minangkabau and Islam. The development of Islam in Minangkabau was not as smooth as imagined. Although the Minangkabau people have accepted Islamic teachings as an official religion by looking at the Minangkabau proverb "*Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*", there are several customary practices that are not in line with Islamic teachings that give rise to conflict as evidenced by the Paderi War in Minangkabau. In the period after the Padri War, Islamic reformers were born who gave birth to integrity and had a big influence on the Islamic world in Minangkabau, especially in terms of education, which was proven by the birth of many madrasas and made Minangkabau a region that was strong in Islamic teachings, according to sharia.

Keywords: Conflict; Integrity; Islam; Minangkabau.

### INTRODUCTION

Religion and custom become the main foundation in Minangkabau, seen from the Minang proverb that reads "*Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah*" which from there explains that custom is an important thing for Minangkabau people, but it must be in accordance with the Islamic religious law that is believed in. Before the presence of Islam in Minangkabau, the Minangkabau people already knew the term religion, where they used to adhere to Hindu Buddhism brought by Indians in the process of trade. Besides, the Minangkabau people also uphold customs. The original animistic, dynamistic, and naturalistic customs that have been acculturated with Hindu-Buddhist elements become the guidelines for people's lives in Minangkabau. Because the Minangkabau people are accustomed to the existence of customary rules and religion, both of which become guidelines for them, when Islam entered the Minang realm with full rules and demands compliance with its teachings, the Minangkabau people did not object and actually accepted it well, because Islam at that time also entered in a peaceful and slow way (Bukhari, 2009).

Islam entered Minangkabau by two routes, firstly the Straits of Malacca, where the Minangkabau people had good relations with Malacca, they travelled through the Siak and Kampar Rivers. Once there the Minangkabau people embraced Islam and eventually when they returned to Minangkabau they spread the teachings of Islam. Secondly, Aceh at the end of the 16th century had taken control of the west coast of Minang and then travelled to Ulakan Pariaman which at that time became an important port in Minangkabau. And it was from there that Islam began to enter and develop in the Minangkabau community. Sheikh Burhanuddin Ulakan was one of the pioneers of Islam in Minangkabau, he made *surau* as a place to spread Islam whereas before Islam the kings made *surau* as a tool in organising the society. Because the Minangkabau people felt that Islam was a religion that was in line with the customs of the Minangkabau people.

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Although Islam has spread in the Minangkabau region, practices that are contrary to Islamic teachings such as superstition, *khurafat*, and gambling are still developing in the Minangkabau community. From there, Islamic reformers were born who were uncomfortable with what was happening, and began the process of purifying Islam carried out by Tuanku Nan Tuo in a peaceful and slow way. However, there was a radical Wahabi ideology coming from Mecca that wanted to purify Islam in Minangkabau quickly. This led to a war in Minangkabau known as the Paderi War. It ended with the arrest of Tuanku Imam Bonjol as the leader of the Paderi War. The defeat of the Paderi did not cause Islam to fade in Minangkabau, instead it made Islam even more popular in the community. After the Paderi, there were Islamic reformers who focused on education. Spearheaded by Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Al Minangkabawi who became a teacher for Islamic reformers in Minangkabau. *Surau*, which was originally used as a gathering place to discuss customary issues, then turned into a place to study religious knowledge, became the cause of the birth of formal Islamic schools in Minangkabau.

As far as the literature review related to this discussion, there are many that discuss the development of Islam in Minangkabau, such as the book authored by Irhash A. Shamad and Danil M. Chaniago entitled "Islam and Cultural Praxis of Minangkabau Society". The book discusses the development of Islam in Minangkabau from the pre-independence period to the post-independence period. The development of Islam in Minangkabau did not always run smoothly, there were conflicts that occurred in the development of Islam in Minangkabau (Chaniago, 2022). Then in another article entitled "Islamic Purification in the Paderi Movement in Minangkabau" by Haedar Nasher which discusses the purification of Islam in Minangkabau which is associated with wahabiism which causes conflict and violence in the process of Islamic renewal in Minangkabau (Nashir, 2008). And Rengga Satria's article entitled "From *Surau* to Madrasah: Modernisation of Islamic Education in Minangkabau 1900-1930 AD". The author discusses the modernisation movement of Islamic education that took place in Minangkabau in the 1900-1930 period, causing the 'extinction' of the *surau* function as a traditional Islamic education institution in Minangkabau. *Surau*, which was originally the centre of education in Minangkabau, switched to madrasah due to the modernisation process of education in Minangkabau (*Surau ke Madrasah*, Satria, & Kunci, 2019).

The purpose of this paper is firstly, to find out how the development of Islam in Minangkabau, which at the beginning was still influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism. Secondly, to analyse the customary practices in Minangkabau and their relevance to the teachings of Islam, because in essence Islam has become the official religion in Minangkabau as evidenced by the saying "*Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah*". Thirdly, to find out the process of Islamic renewal in Minangkabau which was the background of the Paderi War. Fourth, to find out the integrity of Islam in Minangkabau after the conflict with the occurrence of educational reforms starting from *surau* to the birth of many modern madrasahs in Minangkabau (Althafullayya & Akbar, 2023).

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses sociohistorical methodology by looking at the context of Islamic History in Minangkabau with the following steps; first, heuristics. At this stage the author searches, finds, and collects data related to the History of Islam in Minangkabau as well as conflicts in various ways and various forms to find out the events of Islamic history in Minangkabau that are relevant to the research. Second, verification or source criticism. At this stage the author seeks to obtain the authenticity and credibility of the source whether it is in accordance with social reality or not. Third, interpretation. By interpreting historical facts and assembling them into a coherent whole, the author can find research results that can be comprehensively understood. Fourth, writing or historiography. The author records everything that is recorded as study material. From the above methods that the author did, this paper can be produced.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### The Entry Process of Islam in Minangkabau

It is not certain when Islam entered Minangkabau. According to Ismail Ya'qub, Islam entered Indonesia by two routes, from the East and the West coast. In the 7th century AD Islam entered from East Minangkabau. Chinese and Arab traders had come to Minangkabau as a producer of spices. The most important means of transport were the rivers that emptied into the Strait of Malacca. From there it can be seen that the harbours that do the most trade are Muara Saba' and Muara Tembesi. Which at that time was under the rule of the Srivijaya Malay Kingdom. Then in the 15th century Islam entered through the West Coast of Minangkabau. The process is coming from Aceh into the West Coast of Minangkabau and then to Ulakan Pariaman. At that time Aceh's power was in the hands of Sultan Iskandar Muda and was at the peak of its glory and Islam became the main religion of the Minangkabau people. Islam entered through the urban areas of the west coast of Sumatra and then penetrated into the interior of Minangkabau (Sanusi, 2018).

The process of Islam entering Minangkabau was done through trade and indigenous marriage, where traders from Malacca or Aceh travelled to Minangkabau and spread the teachings of Islam. The spread of Islam by Acehnese merchants had a great influence on the Minangkabau people to embrace Islam. At that time, King Aditiyawarman who ruled Minangkabau was disturbed by the new Islamic teachings. Fearing the spread of Islam in Minangkabau, he boycotted the trade of the Acehnese into Minangkabau. Traditionalists believe that the first person to bring Islam to Minangkabau was Syaikh Abdur Rauf Singkili, known as Tuanku Siah Kuala. Syaikh Abdurrauf Singkili's influence in spreading Islam in Minangkabau caused many Minangkabau people to follow him in embracing Islam.

In the 16th century, the influence of Islam brought from Malacca and Aceh on the Minangkabau community was well received. Because the entry of Islam into the community was carried out in a peaceful and slow way. So that Islamic ideas are easily accepted by the Minangkabau people. Minangkabau people are accustomed to customary rules, when Islam enters with its rules, they do not really mind and feel that Islam is a tool to perfect their customs. So from there the term "*Adat Basandi Syara, Syara Basandi Kitabullah*" emerged. Where Islam provides rules, and these rules become the source of custom for the Minangkabau people, the saying shows the close relationship between religion and custom. There is even a term "*Syara Mangato, Adat Mamakai*" (Ritonga, Salma, & Bakhtiar, 2024).

Abdur Rauf Singkili's influence in the development of Islam in Minangkabau was continued by his students. The most famous of Al-Singkili's disciples in Western Sumatra was Syaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan. Syaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan Pariaman was not only Abdur Rauf Singkili's student in charge of spreading Islam, but he also received a mandate from Sultan Iskandar Tsani to become a ruler in the western region of Sumatra. In carrying out his mandate as a person who leads the region, he also spreads the teachings of Islam which has authority in the Syatariyyah Order (Sanusi, 2018). Syaikh Burhanuddin built a surau in Ulakan which became the centre of education and the spread of Islam in Minangkabau (Samad, 2003).

In the beginning, surau functioned as a tool in organising the structure of the community and as a place for boys to spend the night. Because in Minangkabau, boys who have reached puberty sleep in surau. Then, during the time of Syaikh Burhanuddin, surau became the centre of Islamic studies in Minangkabau (Syahril & Marjoni, 2021). *Surau* found its momentum as the centre of Islamic education and socialisation of lessons on the norms and values of Minangkabau culture. The Islamic preachers showed good morals so that the community could imitate the good behaviour of the preachers. Then also Syaikh Burhanuddin took a religious approach to children, where he taught *bismillah*, taught the greatness of Allah by playing with them. Until slowly the teaching of tawhid was embedded in their hearts and eventually reached their parents.

## Islam and Adat in Minangkabau

Minangkabau, a region located in West Sumatra, Indonesia, has a rich and unique history of Islamic civilisation and culture. As one of the centres of the spread of Islam in the archipelago, Minangkabau has witnessed the long journey of Islam and its influence on the lives of local people. Minangkabau (Minang) is an ethnic group in Indonesia that speaks and upholds Minangkabau customs. The principle of Minangkabau custom is summarised in the statement "*Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah*" If one is not Muslim, one is not part of Minangkabau society (W. Rahmat & Maryelliwati, 2019).

The geographical area of West Sumatra is about 18,000 square kilometres, which is no more than 11 per cent of the island of Sumatra and less than 3 per cent of the total area of Indonesia. Except for the coastal areas, most of Minangkabau lies at an elevation of about 1,500 feet above sea level. The territorial boundaries of 'Minangkabau' are classified into two areas called "rantau" and "pesisir". Rantau is the second cultural area of the Minangkabau tribe, the lowlands, starting from the east coast of Sumatra. To the north are the luhak of Agam: Pasaman, Lubuk Sikaping and Rao. Then the south and southeast of Tanah Datar luhak; Solok Silayo, Muaro Paneh, Alahan Panjang, Muaro Labuah, Alam Surambi Sungai Pagu, Sawah Lunto Sijunjung, to the border of Riau and Jambi. Then the Coast, this area is along the west coast of Sumatra, starting from the North to the South: Meulaboh, Tapak Tuan, Singkil, Sibolga, Sikilang, Aie Bangih, Tikur, Pariaman, Padang, Bandar Sapuluah (consisting of; Air Haji, Balai Salasa, Sungai Tunu, Punggasan, Lakitan, Kambang, Ampiang Parak, Surantiah, Batang Kapeh, Painan / Bungo Pasang).

Matrilineal is one of the main aspects in defining the identity of the Minangkabau people. Their customs and culture place women as the inheritors of property and kinship. The lineage is referred to the mother, known as Samandeh (se-mother), while their fathers are referred to by the community as Sumando (in-laws) and are treated as guests in the family (W. Rahmat & Maryelliwati, 2019).

Islam is a religion brought by the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) with rules to support peace and prosperity in life. The rules that exist in Islam are not merely based on coercion that suddenly enters and destroys the culture and customs that exist in society, but are brought in peacefully and slowly (Muslim, 2017). Islam is a universal religion or referred to as rahmatan lil 'alamin. The Prophet Saw spread the teachings of Islam not limited to the Arabs, but also to various parts of the world, such as the da'wah that the Prophet conveyed to the Persian king led by King Kisar and to the Roman king led by King Heraklius at that time by sending a letter as an invitation to accept Islam. Islam as a universal religion should provide peace in this world. Religion that is used as a goal of peace should not cause divisions between religious communities but should be a happiness for humans. Islam can adapt to local culture, including the Minangkabau culture.

Minangkabau is an area that has certain rules. The original animistic, dynamistic and naturalistic customs that have been acculturated with hindu budha become a guide to life for the Minangkabau people. However, the influence of Hindu Buddhism that existed before the arrival of Islam did not affect the Minangkabau people much because Minangkabau culture had found its integrated form and had a strong personality. So that new cultures that come from outside do not easily affect Minangkabau society. Acceptance of culture from outside will be selected and things that are contrary to custom will not be able to survive in Minangkabau (A. Rahmat, 2012).

Minang customs are based on deliberation and consensus. Many petatah petitih, pantun are the provisions of Minangkabau custom. They contain advice and rules in behaviour based on natural provisions. Here is an example of a traditional Minangkabau saying "Panakiak knife sirauik, ambiak galah batang lintabuang, silodang ambiak kanyiru. "*Nan satitiak make lauik, nan sakapa make gunuang, alam takambang jadi guru*". So before Islam entered Minangkabau, the Minangkabau people had made nature the basis of Minangkabau customs. What happens in nature is used as a teacher for life. Based on this natural law, customary provisions were made in the form of petatah petitih.

After Islam came to Minangkabau until the reign of Adityawarman (1347-1376), the kingdom of Pagaruyung (Minangkabau) still adhered to Buddhism. It was only during the reign of his son Ananggawarman who was titled Raja Alif, that Minangkabau became a region that embraced Islam. Gradually, the value system of Minang people's life was changed and perfected by the teachings of Islam. Islam did not come to abolish customs, but to perfect them (Abbas, 2007).

### **Conflict in Minangkabau**

Islam entering in peace does not mean that there is no conflict between Islam and Minangkabau customs. There were several conflicts that occurred in the process of pure Islamisation of the people in Minangkabau, including:

1. Paderi War

In Minangkabau, although Islam has entered and spread in the community, customary practices taken from Hinduism and Buddhism are still inherent. This is evidenced by the number of Minangkabau people who still believe in superstitions and khurafat which are contrary to Islamic law. Therefore, Tuanku Nan Tuo - a student of Sheikh Burhanuddin Ulakan who also spread the teachings of Islam in the surau he founded in Ampek Angkek with the practice of Tarekat Naqsabandiyah - wanted to purify and invite the community to practice the correct sharia and away from superstition and khurafat (Sanusi, 2018).

Tuanku Nan Tuo used a gentle and subtle approach in conveying his intentions, so as to avoid major conflicts among the community. Then his understanding was passed down to his best student, Sheikh Jalaluddin, who eventually founded a surau in Koto Lawas. The first thing he did was to invite the community to carry out the rules of Islamic law, namely the five daily prayers and the four pillars of Islam.

The revival of Islam with the motto of returning to sharia carried out by Tuanku Nan Tuo, which was initially relative and peaceful, turned into a more radical reform movement influenced by three reformers, namely Haji Sumanik, Haji Miskin and Haji Piobang in 1803 who had just returned from Mecca and were considered to have brought wahabi ideas to the Minangkabau community. They were disappointed with all the customary practices that were very contrary to Islamic teachings, so Haji Miskin burned down the hall near the pandai sikek market which was used as a centre of immorality. The people were angry and Haji Miskin fled to Kota Lawas and to the Kamang hills and asked for help from Tuanku Nan Renceh who was a proud student of Tuanku Nan Tuo.

Poor Haji invited his friends Haji Sumanik and Haji Piobang to carry out the Islamic movement evenly. Tuanku Nan Renceh asked for support from Tuanku Nan Tuo to participate in this movement, but Tuanku Nan Tuo refused and advised his students to continue to purify Islamic teachings in a peaceful manner so that there would be no conflict and civil war. However, Tuanku Nan Renceh continued to carry out his movement so that the purification of Islam would be carried out quickly (Akmal, 2014).

Tuanku Nan Renceh invited a number of figures from Luwak to join his movement, eight of them in total, or commonly called Harimau Nan Salapan. The aim was to fight for the establishment of sharia while eradicating all kinds of immorality that had begun to be carried out by the indigenous people. They consisted of Tuanku nan Renceh, Tuanku Bansa, Tuanku Galung, Tuanku Lubuk Aur, Tuanku Padang Lawas, Tuanku Padang Luar, Tuanku Kubu Ambelan and Tuanku Kubu Sanang. This movement is harsh, for Minangkabau people who do not implement Islamic law will be killed. This movement resulted in two groups in Minangkabau. The first group wanted the establishment of pure Islam in Minangkabau, the second group still upholds customs and understandings that are contrary to Islamic law. Which from there gave rise to disputes and upheavals in the centre of Minangkabau (Br. Tarigan, 2024).

In the early 19th century, in the Alahan Panjang Valley, there was a pious man who in his youth was called Peto Syarif, the son of Tuanku Rajanuddin. When he grew up, he received the title Malin Basa and later became known as Tuanku Mudo. At the age of 35, Tuanku Mudo moved with his family and followers to Pasaman. There, he built a mosque which was later protected by a fort. The area was called Bonjol. Tuanku Mudo was appointed leader and eventually given the title Tuanku Imam or now known as Tuanku Imam Bonjol.

In Alahan Panjang there was a figure named Datuk Bandaro who preached to the community, but there was a group that did not like and attacked him led by Datuk Satu. In the end Datuk Bandaro asked for protection to Tuanku Imam in Bonjol. There they were besieged and attacked, but the fort in Bonjol was strong, so it was difficult to knock it down. The siege grew weaker and weaker, and at the right moment, Tuanku Imam Bonjol led an attack that defeated the enemy lines. What is known as the Paderi movement.

Because the movement of the Paderi or commonly called white people was so strong, the indigenous people known as black people felt overwhelmed and finally asked the Dutch for help to mediate. However, the Dutch at that time favoured the indigenous people, so the arrest of Tuanku Imam Bonjol as the leader of this movement was carried out. Although the religious community was visibly defeated by the Dutch, the Paderi group had left a deep mark on society. Immorality, which was initially free after the movement emerged, became something that was strongly opposed by the Minangkabau people (Akmal, 2014).

Traditional and religious leaders met to declare a peace treaty and no longer interfere in the authority of the traditional groups' work. The community agreed to adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah as the basis for adat. If there was a problem with adat, it would be brought to the adat elders, and if there was a problem with Islamic law, it would be brought to the Islamic authorities. A Dutch colonial record reports that in 1837 there was a process of dissemination and acceptance of the formula Adat Basandi Syarak and Syarak Basandi Adat. The agreement reached between the Paderi group and the adat group was made at a place known as Bukit Marapalam near Batusangkar. The agreement established the position of adat chiefs and ulama and their functions in social life.

## 2. Conflict between the Old and the Young

Religious conflicts in Minangkabau society after the Paderi War did not end, people still adhered to religious customs that were even contrary to religious law such as gambling, drunkenness, superstition, and *khurafat*. This disappointed the religious leaders in Minangkabau, especially the youth. Young souls who wanted to reform and cleanse religion from customary practices that were contrary to religious law began to gnaw at the youth. Among them was Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Al Minangkabawi. He was the first scholar from the archipelago to be appointed by the ruler of Haramain to serve as imam and khatib at the Grand Mosque (Ilyas, 2017).

The *Kaum Mudo* movement in Minangkabau occurred because of the desire to make reforms in community life including in terms of education. There are groups that want to restore the true tradition of Qur'anic life. This effort received many challenges from a group that wanted to maintain the old tradition, namely the elders (Arnelis, Marjohan, & Syahniar, 2016). Sheikh Ahmad Khatib is known as a figure or ulama who rejects Minangkabau customary traditions, but he is still well received by traditionalists and modernists in Minangkabau (Akmal, 2014). He attacked established religious doctrines, laws of inheritance, and matrilineal inheritance customs as being contrary to the teachings of Islam.

The *Kaum Tuo* argued that what Shaykh Khatib did was too extreme and hindered the spread of Islam in Minangkabau. Syaikh Ahmad Khatib became the pioneer of the Mudo who had critical thoughts about the life of Minangkabau society. A critical attitude is the basic character that distinguishes *Kaum Tuo* and *Kaum Mudo*. Hence the term Modernist for the *Mudo* and Traditionalist for the *Tuo*. Many of the Minangkabau youth who went

overseas brought with them new ideas that were generally met with scepticism and opposition by the *Kaum Tuo*. Therefore, the debates were not only limited to fiqh issues, but also about various problems that were happening in the community (Akmal, 2014).

The difference in views between Traditionalists and Modernists was influenced by where they grew up. The Traditionalists were identified with the Minangkabau region, which they believed did not allow Islam to develop in a more rational and modern way. Hence it was the Syafi'iyah that developed in Indonesia, which emphasised loyalty to religious leaders such as ulama and kiai, rather than to the rational substance of Islamic teachings. From there the notion of taqlid spread among these people. They say that we must obey and submit to religious leaders because they know better. The religious teachings of the time, as conveyed by the ulama, were centred on a deep tolerance of ritualistic customs that were clearly contrary to Islamic law.

Whereas the Modernists tend to be more advanced and want to purify the teachings of Islam from customs or traditions that are contrary to Islamic teachings. This is because their thinking is advanced and full of science and adapted to the times. which still stands on *Ahl as Sunnah al Jama'ah* (Farah, 2016). There were four students of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib who had gained a lot of experience in Mecca, Egypt, Singapore and Makala determined to make reforms in the field of education, especially in Minangkabau. The four students of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib were Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Jambek, Sheikh Muhammad Thaib Umar, Sheikh Abdullah Ahmad and Sheikh Abdul Karim Amarullah. The four disciples were as forward-thinking as he was (Arnelis et al., 2016).

Some of the assumptions made by the *Tuo* are: first, they call themselves the old people who are very loyal to the mazhab and ulama. Second, they said that the young people had left the mazhab. Third, according to the elders, the door to *ijtihad* has been closed, whereas the *mudo* think that the door to *ijtihad* has never been closed and continues to be open to anyone who wants to do *ijtihad*. This is because Allah has given us the mind to use.

Although the presence of the Mudo gave birth to new conflicts, the movement they carried out was a renewal movement that had a positive impact on society in Minangkabau. Kaum Mudo tried to straighten out the worship practices of the Islamic community at that time. Their attention and studies did not only focus on criticising deviations in worship, but also developing methods of educational enlightenment. In their thinking, they wanted to reform society, because through education, society could progress and develop. (Azizah, Rahmat, Maijar, Alim Usman, & Zainal, 2022) The difference of opinion between the old and the young is not just about that, but indeed different perspectives, among other conflicts are:

1. Distribution of *Pusako* Property

High heirloom property in Minangkabau is inherited based on the mother's lineage (matrilineal), while the title of sako is passed down from *mamak* to kemenakan. In this case, the position of women in Minangkabau has a very strong role in the inheritance of high heirlooms where this has a starting point that is very opposite to the Islamic inheritance system where in inheritance men have a greater role than women (Murniwati, 2023). Meanwhile, according to the young people, it must be done in the manner of Islamic law with the science of *faraidh* (Fauzi, 2012).

Shaykh Ahmad Khatib is of the opinion that the pusako treasure is a Shubhat treasure so it is *haraam*. Shaykh Abdul Karim Amrullah is of the opinion that high heirloom property is waqaf or musabalah property, which may be taken but may not be transferred. From the thoughts of scholars in Minangkabau, it can be concluded that property is divided into two, firstly high heirloom property that cannot be contested. Secondly, livelihood property that should be faraidh-kan according to religious rules (Hamka, 1985).

2. *Surau* and School Conflict

Young people place a high value on education, if it is indeed something that can advance their thinking, they will not question wherever they will study and continue their education. The schools introduced by the Dutch would be very welcome at that time as an opportunity for formal education that is more structured and modern. So that their understanding is sharper and can compete and adapt to changing times. While the *Tuo* will feel worried about western education that will threaten their values and traditions. And considered that western education was not in accordance with the local Minangkabau culture.

### 3. Conflict over women's rights

Young people tend to be more open-minded about gender equality, championing women's rights and supporting women's access to education and careers that are equal to those of men. They argue that women have the same potential and ability as men to succeed in their careers and contribute to the development of society. Young people are more courageous to express their opinions and aspirations regarding issues related to women. Meanwhile, older people still hold traditional or patriarchal values that place women in more limited roles, for example as housewives or supporters of their husbands.

### 4. Lifestyle-related conflicts

Young people and old people may have different lifestyles, from consumption patterns, to different hobbies and interests. This difference can cause tension between generations in a family or community. Examples of modernity in Mudo and kaum tuao in terms of clothing: First, old people's clothing: *Destar/ saluak, sandang/ salendang/ Kaciak, baju, minsai, kris, belt and pending, cawek, sisampiang, tungkek, sarawa*. Second, *Mudo* clothing: cap, tie, suit, pants, shoes (Pramadila, n.d.).

## Integrity in Minangkabau

Education in Minangkabau started from *surau* to *surau*. Syaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan was the first ulama to spread Islam in Minangkabau in the form of *surau*. The *surau*, which was originally used to discuss nagari and customary issues in the period before the entry of Islam into Minangkabau, changed its function to become a place of religious education during the time of Shaykh Burhanuddin in Ulakan. When Islamic reformers emerged in Minangkabau, namely the youth *ulama*, the religious education system was moved to schools (madrasah).

The renewal in Minangkabau was spearheaded by Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Al Minangkabawi who felt uncomfortable with the development of Islam in Minangkabau, initially monotonous in *surau* with the *halaqah* system began to switch functions into modern madrassas such as Dutch schools. Shaykh Ahmad Khatib's students who studied with him in Mecca such as Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek, Shaykh Muhammad Thaib Umar, Shaykh Abdullah Ahmad, Shaykh Abdul Karim Amrullah, Shaykh Daud Rasyidi, Shaykh Abas Padang Japang, Shaykh Mustafa Paya Kumbuh, Shaykh Ibrahim Musa Parabek, Shaykh Sutan Darap. It was Sheikh Ahmad Khatib's students who, when they returned to Minangkabau, made Islamic reforms in the field of education.

The first reform of educational institutions was carried out by Abdullah Ahmad by establishing Adabiyah School in Padang Panjang by changing the *surau* system into a madrasa. This reform was also accompanied by an attitude of openness in accepting students from various groups. In addition, quality teachers were recruited, equivalent to those who taught in Dutch schools. By the 1930s, many madrassas had been established in Minangkabau, such as the Diniyah School in 1923. In addition, *Kaum Mudo* Minangkabau established communication with the Arab region so as to provide opportunities for students to continue their education to the Middle East, mostly to Mecca (Arnelis et al., 2016).

Education, which was originally only intended for the noble class and the government, was finally allowed for ordinary people who wanted to continue their education in madrassas. The first reform that was carried out was a change in learning methods. Learning methods that were



originally carried out by lecturing in *surau*, began to be added by giving assignments to students so that lessons that had been learned at school could be repeated and understood again. In addition to the lecture and assignment methods, there is also the discui method. The students speak out what they have learnt.

The change in the education system from *surau* to madrasah can be seen with the presence of Adabiyah School, which was originally established in Padang Panjang, but due to obstacles, the HIS was moved to Padang. In this Adabiyah school, teaching began to be carried out using various facilities such as tables, chairs and blackboards like those in Dutch schools. The change from Adabiyah School to HIS Adabiyah benefited the school's progress, namely by obtaining subsidies from the colonial government, namely in the form of funds and teachers. From the Adabiyah School madrasah, many Islamic educational institutions emerged afterwards, including: (Arnelis et al., 2016)

1. Diniyyah Puteri Padang Panjang.

Founded by Rahmah El Yunusiyah, Zainuddin Labai's sister, in 1923, it was the first all-girls school in Indonesia. In 1955 the Diniyyah Putri madrasah was visited by the Grand Shaykh of Al Azhar, Sheikh Abdurrahman Taj, who then inspired him to establish the Kulliyatul Lil banat or Women's Special Faculty in Egypt. Because there has not been in the history of Al Azhar women have a place as a student like male students. From there Rahmah El Yunusiyah received the title of Syaikhah which is equivalent to a doctorate degree where she was the first woman to get the title since Al Azhar was founded in 1100, for inspiring Al Azhar to make a special kuliyyah for women.

*Diniyyah* Putri as an all-girls school did not only teach how to study, read or write, but also taught Dutch, gymnastics, weaving, embroidery, as well as how to make speeches in front of a pulpit. Initially this school was referred to as a sorry school, because she was so determined she went to study with Abdul Karim Amrullah, Sheikh M Djamil Djambek, Tuanku Mudo Abdul Hamid Hakim, and her brother Zainuddin Labai. She travelled to Aceh and the Malay Peninsula. And eventually *Diniyyah* Putri was recognised in Malaysia and Indonesia (Rifa'i, 2010).

2. Sumatera Thawalib.

Sumatra Thawalib was originally a Quranic association in *Surau* Jembatan Besi led by Sheikh Abdullah Ahmad. He practised the knowledge he gained after returning from the hajj. In devoting his knowledge and thoughts, he was assisted by brothers, Sheikh Abdul Latif Rasyidi and Sheikh Daud Rasyidi. Eventually Abdullah handed over the entire leadership to Sheikh Daud Rasyidi. And when Sheikh Daud Rasyidi left for Mecca, the leadership of Jembatan Besi *surau* was handed over to his brother, Abdul Latif Rasyidi. Sheikh Daud Rasyidi also asked for help from his teacher Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah to teach at *Surau* Jembatan Besi. When Haji Abdul Latif passed away, all Padang Panjang Muslims agreed to ask Haji Rasul to stay in Padang Panjang and lead the *surau* of Jembatan Besi. With Abdullah Ahmad's permission, Haji Rasul became the sole leader of Jembatan Besi *surau* in 1912.

Because of the increasing number of students studying in Jembatan Besi *surau*, the students made an association called Persaiyoan, which changed its name to Thuwailib (small students). And finally this *surau* changed its function to become a formal school named Sumatra Thawalib. The system that was originally in the form of recitation began to be developed. The students were instilled with a new spirit, namely the spirit of discussion, free thinking, reading, understanding, and gathering or organisation. Books began to be read, understood and discussed. On the other hand, social, economic, educational, political and religious life was also undergoing changes. National struggles and movements began to intensify across the archipelago. This began with the establishment of organisations such as Jami'atul Khair, Budi Utomo, Sarekat Islam, Muhammadiyah, the Indonesian Communist

Party or PKI, Nahdatul Ulama, the Indonesian National Party or PNI, and others (Subagiya, 2020).

### 3. Surau Parabek

It was founded by Sheikh Ibrahim Musa Parabek. His reform of the education system was practised by using a school system that used classes. At first the students in the surau in *Parabek* created a study group called Mudzakarot Al Ikhwan. The main purpose of this organisation was to hold scientific discussions on all issues related to Islam, to practice dialogue, debate, train the speed of thinking, increase knowledge and give birth to new thoughts. Mudzakarot la-Ikhwan later changed its name to Thuwailib or what is now known as Sumatera Thawalib Parabek. Which was inspired by the Sumatera Thawalib in Padang Panjang (Abdul Gani Jamora Nasution, 2023).

### 4. Normal Islamic teacher education institution or Kuliah Mu'allimin al-Islamiyah (KMI), established in 1918.

The founders of this institution were Abdullah Ahmad and the Minangkabau scholars. The aim is to encourage the advancement of Islamic education. The term KMI was later adopted by Pondok Pesantren Gontor Ponorogo and its branches. The Islamic Teachers Association (PGAI) organisation, which was born from Normal Islam, also tried to suppress political power to the Dutch East Indies government.

## CONCLUSION

Minangkabau is an area that upholds customs. Before the existence of Islam, nature was the basis of the rules for the Minangkabau people. Islam entered Minangkabau peacefully and slowly so that the religious rules conveyed by the scholars were well received by the Minangkabau people. Islam did not come to destroy the customs, but Islam came to perfect the customs in accordance with the Sharia so that people's lives are more directed. The understanding of Islam in Minangkabau has begun to spread to the community, but practices that are contrary to Islamic religious law still occur. So that it raises the unrest of Minang scholars, especially the *Mudo* who are very opposed to conflicting customs. From there, there was a desire for religious leaders to purify Islamic religious studies in Minangkabau away from shirk. This gave birth to the Paderi who were strict in spreading Islam. Anyone who did not comply with the teachings of pure Islam would be killed. And from there came various conflicts between the old and young people who had different perspectives on life.

The Islamic Reform Movement emerged in Minangkabau after the Paderi War, especially in the field of education. Surau, which was originally the centre of religious education in Minangkabau, turned into a madrasa or formal school conducted in the classroom. Among the foal schools born in Minangkabau are, Adabiyyah School founded by Sheikh Abdullah Ahmad, Sumatra Thawalib Padang Panjang chaired by Sheikh Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Diniyyah* Puteri Padang Panjang founded by Syaikhah Rahmah El Yunusiyah. Where these madrassas were founded on the attention of young people, namely Islamic reformers in Minangkabau to education in Minangkabau to be more advanced and not left behind.

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