

The History of Islamic Education in Minangkabau: The Impact of the Paderi Movement on the Shift in Scholarly Orientation of Minangkabau Ulama

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Abstract

The Paderi Movement was a 19th-century Islamic purification initiative that emerged in Minangkabau, strongly influenced by Wahhabi thought. This study aims to explore the shift in the intellectual orientation of the Paderi Movement in relation to the broader development of Islam in Minangkabau, particularly within the context of social conflict, transformations in religious structures, and its contributions to the modernization of Islamic education. Data were collected through a literature review of manuscripts and written works by Minangkabau scholars from the 19th to the 20th centuries, considered essential historical documents. The analysis employed a historical methodology, encompassing heuristic steps, source criticism, interpretation, and historiographical writing, and was further enriched by a social science approach to facilitate an empathetic understanding of historical dynamics (*verstehen*). The findings reveal that the Paderi Movement had a substantial impact on the trajectory of Islam in Minangkabau. Despite the confrontational nature of its proselytizing methods, which led to conflict with traditionalist and Sufi groups, the movement succeeded in introducing a more Sharia-oriented interpretation of Islam and stimulated the advancement of modern Islamic education. Therefore, the Paderi Movement should not merely be regarded as a socio-religious phenomenon, but rather as a strategic force that significantly contributed to shaping the intellectual foundations of Islam in the Minangkabau region.

Kata kunci:

Sejarah Pendidikan Islam, Minangkabau, gerakan Paderi, ulama

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Abstrak

Gerakan Paderi merupakan sebuah upaya pemurnian ajaran Islam yang muncul di Minangkabau pada abad ke-19, dipengaruhi oleh pemikiran Wahhabi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menelusuri perubahan orientasi keilmuan dalam Gerakan Paderi seiring dengan perkembangan Islam di Minangkabau, khususnya dalam konteks konflik sosial, transformasi struktur keagamaan, serta kontribusinya terhadap proses modernisasi pendidikan Islam. Data dikumpulkan melalui kajian pustaka terhadap berbagai manuskrip dan karya tulis para ulama Minangkabau dari abad ke-19 hingga abad ke-20 yang dianggap sebagai dokumen sejarah penting. Analisis dilakukan dengan pendekatan historis melalui tahapan heuristik, kritik sumber, interpretasi, dan penulisan, serta diperkaya dengan pendekatan ilmu sosial untuk memahami dinamika sejarah secara empatik (*verstehen*). Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Gerakan Paderi memberikan pengaruh yang besar terhadap perkembangan Islam di Minangkabau. Meskipun metode dakwah yang digunakan menimbulkan pertentangan dengan kelompok tradisional dan tarekat, gerakan ini berhasil memperkenalkan interpretasi Islam yang lebih berlandaskan syariat dan mendorong lahirnya sistem pendidikan Islam yang lebih modern. Oleh karena itu, Gerakan Paderi tidak hanya merupakan fenomena sosial-keagamaan semata, tetapi juga memainkan peran strategis dalam membentuk struktur intelektual Islam di wilayah Minangkabau.

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INTRODUCTION

In the history of Islamic civilization, ulama (Muslim scholars) have played not only the role of guardians of religious authority but also that of socio-political actors endowed with theological legitimacy and broad influence within society. As Taufik Abdullah (2006) and Azra (2013) noted, ulama are regarded as the inheritors of the Prophet, possessing moral and spiritual authority in shaping social norms (Azra, 2006). In Minangkabau, the role of ulama becomes increasingly complex due to their intersection with the strong indigenous socio-cultural structure. Since the arrival of Islam, acculturation has occurred between Islamic values and local customs, as encapsulated in the principle "*adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah*." However, the dynamics of this relationship have not always been harmonious.

Toward the end of the 18th century, tensions emerged between the ulama and the adat (customary) elite as a reaction to various social practices perceived to deviate from Islamic teachings. The rise of Islamic reformist movements led by figures such as Haji Miskin, Haji Piobang, and Haji Sumanik marked a new phase in the history of Islam in Minangkabau. These movements were not only expressions of criticism toward moral decay but also represented efforts to reform society through a re-interpretation and enforcement of what was considered authentic Islamic principles. This tension culminated in major conflicts such as the Padri War, which symbolized the clash between religious ideals and the deeply rooted adat order and was eventually exploited by the Dutch colonial administration to expand their dominance.

Although the Padri movement was defeated militarily in 1838, its intellectual and spiritual legacy remained influential. One of the most significant historical impacts was the shift in the scholarly orientation of the Minangkabau ulama. Rather than continuing armed resistance, the subsequent generation of scholars opted for educational efforts and the dissemination of Islamic teachings both domestically and in Islamic learning centers such as Mecca. It reflects a transformation in the approach to da'wah and the formation of a Minangkabau Islamic identity that was more modern and open to global currents.

The urgency of this study lies in the need to understand the historical roots and internal dynamics of local Islam that have shaped the Islamic intellectual tradition in Minangkabau. Existing narratives surrounding the Padri War have often been dominated by political perspectives or the dichotomy between adat and religion. Yet, another dimension remains underexplored: how the Islamic purification movement contributed to the scholarly and educational orientation of Minangkabau Islam in the early 20th century.

The novelty of this research lies in its approach that emphasizes the connection between the Islamic purification movement and the transformation of educational orientation among Minangkabau ulama as an intellectual legacy of the Padri movement. Rather than merely analyzing conflict, this study traces the long-term impact of religious movements on local Islamic intellectual and educational traditions. By focusing on the intellectual consequences of the movement, this research offers a new contribution to the

historiography of Islam in Indonesia, particularly in understanding the link between religious-social movements and the development of Islamic scholarly networks in the Muslim world.

A considerable body of research has explored the transformation of intellectual orientation among Minangkabau scholars and the influence of the Paderi Movement on Islamic reform in the region. Graves (2009), for instance, emphasizes the Islamic purification efforts in relation to *fiqh* and the resistance of the *ulama* to Dutch colonial rule. Christine Dobbin (1992) offers an economic interpretation of the Paderi War, arguing that the conflict was driven by economic interests which were subsequently framed in religious terms.

Muhapril Musri (2002) explored the intellectual networks of Minangkabau scholars, particularly highlighting the role of Zainuddin Labay el-Yunusi in Islamic education—a theme later expanded in collaboration with Nelmawarni and Faisal (2017), especially within the framework of the nationalist movement. Azyumardi Azra (2013) examined the transmission of Islamic knowledge between scholars in the Malay Archipelago and the Middle East. Similarly, Firdaus (2014, 2018) and M. Sanusi Latief delved into theological disputes between *Kaum Tua* (traditionalists) and *Kaum Muda* (reformists). Meanwhile, scholars such as Oman Fathurrahman and Duski Samad have focused on the role of Sufi orders (*tarekat*) in responding to the modernization of Islam in Minangkabau.

Despite this wide range of studies, none has specifically investigated the transformation in the intellectual orientation of Minangkabau scholars as a result of the Islamic purification movement, particularly within the sphere of Islamic education. This research, therefore, aims to fill that critical gap.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research adopts a historical methodology, utilizing several standard techniques commonly employed in historical inquiry, such as heuristic analysis, source criticism, interpretation, and historical writing. To enrich the analysis and interpretation process, the study also integrates approaches from the social sciences, aiming to foster a more nuanced understanding of past events. Due to the singular and non-replicable nature of historical phenomena, a deep and empathetic comprehension—what Weberian theory terms *verstehen*—is essential for interpreting historical realities. Every historical occurrence, whether rooted in abstract concepts such as ideologies and worldviews or in tangible events, must be contextualized within its specific temporal and spatial framework. In line with the historical principle *storia è storia contemporanea*—that history must be understood within its own context—this study emphasizes that historical events should be examined according to the particular time and place in which they transpired. The primary data for this study consists of books written by Minangkabau ulama from the 19th to the 20th century, in both manuscript and printed forms. Additionally, secondary sources containing relevant information from non-contemporary scholars are utilized to complement the research. Additional historical sources, including primary

materials such as correspondence, official proclamations, and photographs directly pertinent to the research topic, constitute critical data for this study. These resources are acquired from both institutional archives and private collectors. Institutional sources comprise the Minangkabau Documentation and Information Center (PDIKM), the Institute for the Study of Minangkabau Cultural Values in Sumatra (covering West Sumatra, Riau, and Jambi), the West Sumatra Provincial Museum Library, the West Sumatra branch of the National Archives of Indonesia, and academic libraries at institutions such as UIN Imam Bonjol and Universitas Andalas. Meanwhile, privately held manuscripts and other non-official materials are obtained from individuals who own documents relevant to the scope of this research.

The final phase of the historical research process is historiography, where data and interpretations from various sources are integrated into a structured, chronological account that adheres to scholarly standards of academic writing (Gunawan, 2016).

RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

RESULT

The Historical Context of the Paderi Movement

In the mid-18th century, Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (1703–1787) launched the Wahhabi movement in the Arabian Peninsula with the goal of reviving Islamic practices based strictly on the Quran and Hadith. Initially directed at reforming the Bedouin tribes, the movement gained momentum through a strategic alliance with Muhammad bin Saud in 1741, which enabled it to challenge Ottoman dominance and enforce stricter interpretations of religious law. By the early 19th century, three Minangkabau scholars—Haji Miskin, Haji Sumanik, and Haji Piobang—had adopted Wahhabi teachings and brought those ideas back to their homeland. They believed that Islam in Minangkabau had become superficial and strayed from its original purity, prompting their efforts to introduce reform.

Haji Miskin, who hailed from a modest background, had studied Islamic teachings from a young age and was determined to instigate social transformation through religious propagation (Benda-Beckman, 2000). Although he initially promoted his ideas through peaceful preaching, he later adopted more confrontational methods, including burning cockfighting venues, actions that sparked tension with the local populace (Abdullah, 2009). Eventually, he aligned himself with Tuanku Nan Renceh in Kamang, which enabled broader dissemination of Paderi teachings across Minangkabau. The movement received strong backing from a group of Islamic scholars known as *Harimau nan Salapan* (The Eight Tigers).

The Paderi movement encountered strong opposition from the *Kaum Adat* (customary leaders), leading to prolonged conflict. While the Wahhabi movement adhered to the Hanbali school of jurisprudence, the Paderi followers in Minangkabau retained allegiance to the Shafi'i school, which remained dominant in the region. Nevertheless, they were firmly against the Syattariyah Sufi order, which they considered

heretical. Over time, the Paderi movement evolved into a powerful force that significantly transformed the religious and social fabric of Minangkabau society.

The Paderi demonstrated their resistance to the Syattariyah Sufi order by setting fire to Kampung Paninjauan, a key center for Syattariyah teachings in Minangkabau that housed numerous Islamic students. This act of aggression was followed by assaults on the regions of Empat Angkat and Koto Tuo, sparking a six-year-long conflict (Benda-Beckman, 2000). Although there was an attempt to establish a temporary truce to secure the support of Tuanku Nan Tuo, he firmly rejected the Paderi cause, which reignited hostilities until the movement eventually asserted control over the region. In areas such as Luhak Agam and IV Kota, Paderi ideology rapidly gained ground under the leadership of Tuanku Nan Renceh and Tuanku Mensiangan. However, opposition persisted in places like Peninjauan and Batipuh. Kampung Bonjol became the movement's central base, initially led by Datuk Bandaro and later succeeded by Peto Syarif, who became widely known as Tuanku Imam Bonjol.

The Paderi movement embraced Wahhabi doctrines, firmly rejecting religious practices that lacked foundations in the Quran and Hadith. Rooted in the ideas of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, Wahhabism emphasized monotheism (tawhid), while denouncing innovations (bid'ah) and polytheism (shirk). The Paderi were known for their religious zeal, strictly adhering to selected Islamic texts and legitimizing their attacks on other Muslim factions. Unlike their Wahhabi counterparts in the Arabian Peninsula who achieved territorial control, the Paderi faced major setbacks due to strong resistance from the Dutch (Nain, 1988).

The Paderi War is closely tied to the influential leaders who guided the movement. Before open conflict erupted, the Paderi solidified their base by developing a network of like-minded scholars and translating their reformist ideas into active da'wah (religious outreach). Despite the importance of several leaders, a lack of biographical documentation has resulted in Tuanku Imam Bonjol being widely regarded as the central figure. However, others – such as Tuanku Nan Renceh – also played key roles in the movement.

Minangkabau philologist Suryadi has undertaken efforts to reconstruct the biography of Tuanku Nan Renceh by consulting various sources, including the *Surat Keterangan Syekh Jalaluddin* (SKSJ) authored by Fakih Shagir. According to this document, Tuanku Nan Renceh was a student of Tuanku Nan Tuo, a highly respected Islamic scholar in Minangkabau. By the late 18th century, he was already actively involved in Islamic preaching alongside Fakih Shagir, predating the arrival of Haji Miskin in 1803 and the introduction of Wahhabi influence in the region.

Tuanku Nan Renceh became known for his uncompromising and militant stance, which established him as a central figure in the Paderi movement. Beginning in 1799, he actively preached and fully devoted himself to the Paderi cause. Although he never made the pilgrimage to Mecca, he was strongly influenced by the accounts of returning pilgrims. By the early 1820s, he had become a military commander overseeing five *nagari* (villages): Kamang, Bukik, Salo, Magek, and Kota Baru. His forces were both respected

and feared—not only for their combat effectiveness but also for their often brutal methods.

In 1825, Tuanku Nan Renceh participated in ceasefire talks with the Dutch, represented by Colonel H.J.J.L. de Stuers. However, the terms of the agreement were not fully realized, and hostilities resumed. Nevertheless, he remained one of the most respected and influential figures in the Paderi resistance (Nain, 1988; Benda-Beckman, 2000).

Tuanku Nan Tuo played a pivotal role during the early stages of the Paderi movement, collaborating closely with Tuanku Nan Renceh. As a renowned Islamic scholar, he was not only dedicated to teaching religious knowledge but also actively engaged in commercial activities, aiming to assist the local community in applying Islamic legal principles to their business transactions. By the end of the 18th century, *surau* (Islamic educational centers) in Minangkabau had developed into key institutions for the study of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), especially in relation to trade and economic affairs. These institutions also played a crucial role in resolving commercial disputes and social conflicts that fell outside the jurisdiction of customary law. Together with his students, Tuanku Nan Tuo shaped the economic behavior of the community by advocating for Sharia-based practices, establishing Ampek Angkek in Luhak Agam as a center of Islamic economic life. His efforts gradually increased the acceptance of Islamic law in Minangkabau society, contributing to a broader transformation of the social order toward one that was more deeply rooted in Islamic values.

Science-Oriented Approach Based on Sufism

The Sufi tradition in Minangkabau first established its presence in the coastal areas, with Ulakan emerging as a central hub for the initial dissemination of Islam. Over time, Sufism gradually extended into the highland regions, primarily through the *surau* system, which became instrumental in advancing Islamic education. In the early phases of Islamic reform, Sufism in the interior reached its zenith through a synthesis of Islamic ideologies from both coastal and inland traditions. Between the 17th and 19th centuries, Sufi orders—particularly the Shattariyah and Naqshbandiyah—played a crucial role in the religious development of the region. The Shattariyah order gained widespread influence through the students of Sheikh Burhanuddin, while the Naqshbandiyah order, though introduced earlier, left behind a more limited historical footprint.

In the upland regions, the Shattariyah order flourished and gave rise to new streams of Islamic thought through its engagement with the pre-existing Naqshbandiyah teachings. The form of Sufism that emerged in Minangkabau promoted a balanced integration of *shari'ah* and spirituality, deliberately distancing itself from pantheistic interpretations that had surfaced in 17th-century Aceh. The influence of these Sufi traditions is reflected in a wealth of Islamic manuscripts that address not only spiritual matters but also offer insights into social and economic issues. Prominent scholars like Jalaluddin, a student of Tuanku Nan Tuo, played a vital role in shaping the intellectual foundations of Islam in Minangkabau (Dobbin, 1992).

Historically, Islam had reached Minangkabau By the early 13th century, Islam had begun to enter Minangkabau, primarily via maritime trade routes along the Strait of Malacca. Influential figures such as Sheikh Burhanuddin Kuntu and Rajo Bagindo were instrumental in expanding the reach of Islam beyond Minangkabau to areas such as Mindanao and Negeri Sembilan. It is widely believed that the Naqshbandiyah order was introduced to Minangkabau earlier than the Shattariyah. Prominent scholars such as Sheikh Ismail Simabur, Sheikh Jalaluddin Faqih Shagir, and Sheikh Abdul Wahab Kumpulan were instrumental in the dissemination of Naqshbandiyah teachings. Several sources indicate that Jamaluddin, a Minangkabau scholar who studied in Pasai, was responsible for bringing Naqshbandiyah practices to the interior of Minangkabau, where he significantly contributed to their expansion (Firdaus, 2014).

Alongside the Naqshbandiyah and Shattariyah, the Samaniyah order also came into existence, although historical documentation regarding its presence in West Sumatra is relatively scarce. It is thought that this tradition was first studied by Sheikh Muhammad Said Padang Bubus in North Sumatra before eventually being introduced to the Minangkabau region (Wirman, 2019). The expansion of Sufism in Minangkabau played a pivotal role in shaping Islamic intellectual traditions, as well as influencing the region's social and economic dynamics. Although the 19th and 20th centuries were marked by various religious conflicts, these tensions also sparked intellectual discourse that contributed to the enrichment of Minangkabau's Islamic legacy.

From Sufism to the Implementation of Sharia.

The development of Sufism in Minangkabau underwent significant changes toward the close of the 18th century, particularly in the interior regions. A pivotal figure in this transformation was Tuanku Nan Tuo of Koto Tuo Ampek Angkek, who promoted religious reform by urging a revival of Sharia-centered teachings. He studied under several scholars, including Tuanku Nan Tuo of Mansiang, who was affiliated with the Shattariyah order. Nevertheless, most of his mentors emphasized Sharia knowledge, which meant that his involvement in advancing the Shattariyah order remained limited (Furoidah, 2019).

By the end of the 18th century, two major Sufi orders held prominence in Minangkabau: the Shattariyah, centered in Ulakan, and the Naqshbandiyah, based in Cangking Ampek Angkek. Divergent theological views—particularly regarding metaphysical concepts like the nature of existence—and differing ritual practices such as *dhikr* and *suluk* created friction between the two traditions. The Shattariyah embraced the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* (unity of being), whereas the Naqshbandiyah emphasized *wahdat al-shuhud* (unity of witnessing). In the highlands of Minangkabau, religious scholars generally prioritized the study of Sharia over mystical experience. Tuanku Nan Tuo, for example, was more widely recognized for his expertise in *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) than as a spiritual leader of a Sufi order. In addition to his religious instruction, he was actively involved in trade and economic development within the local community.

The divergent paths of Sufi growth in coastal versus inland areas were shaped not only by geographical factors but also by the dynamics of cultural exchange and the specific spiritual leanings of local populations. The interaction between the Shattariyah and Naqshbandiyah traditions in the interior likely fostered a new synthesis of Sufi thought—one more attuned to the practical and social needs of Minangkabau society.

Surau as The Epistemic Center of the Scholars in the Early Islamic Movement

The establishment of *surau* as centers for Islamic education and dissemination in Minangkabau was influenced by earlier Hindu-Buddhist traditions and later significantly shaped by the work of Sheikh Burhanuddin of Ulakan. Initially used for mystical and spiritual practices, these institutions eventually merged with Islamic values and evolved into important sites for religious instruction and communal activities. The word *surau*, which originates from the Malay-Indonesian language, initially denoted a place of worship (CBE, 2017) and is believed to have been established as early as the 14th century during the reign of King Adityawarman (Furoidah, 2019). Beyond their role as religious sites, *surau* also served as educational centers and communal living quarters for young unmarried men.

Over time, a variety of *surau* institutions emerged, each serving distinct functions: the *surau dagang* catered to traveling merchants, the *surau ulama* specialized in religious instruction, and the *surau ninik mamak* focused on teaching Minangkabau customary law. Sheikh Burhanuddin was instrumental in institutionalizing the *surau* as prominent centers of Islamic education (Nazirman et al., 2021). Upon his return from Aceh, he founded a *surau* in Ulakan, Pariaman, which became a nurturing ground for a new generation of Islamic scholars. Similar educational institutions existed elsewhere, such as the *meunasah* in Aceh and the *pesantren* in Java.

As time progressed, *surau* adapted to modernization while retaining their roles in education and religious practice. The *surau gadang* (grand *surau*) served as major centers of Islamic study, led by a sheikh and overseeing a network of smaller *surau* in surrounding communities. Many of these larger *surau* later transitioned into mosques, *madrasahs*, or *pesantren*. In addition to religious worship, *surau* also functioned as places for Qur'anic instruction and theological study, using methods such as repetition and religious chants to facilitate learning.

In addition, *surau* evolved into important centers for Sufi practices, especially for the Shattariyah and Naqshbandiyah orders, and functioned as venues for communal events, religious counseling, and the celebration of Islamic festivals (Bruinessen, 1992). Due to its multifaceted roles, the *surau* served a broader purpose than the mosque, acting as a central institution for religious instruction, education, and community life in Minangkabau society from the pre-Islamic era through to modern times (Dobbin, 1992).

Discussion

The Impact of the Paderi Movement on the Shift in the Orientation of Islamic Scholarly Movements in Minangkabau.

The Paderi Movement initiated major social transformations in Minangkabau, sparking conflicts between the *adat* (customary) community and the Paderi *ulama*, as well as with other Islamic groups, particularly the Sufi orders. However, as Dutch colonial pressure mounted and the influence of the Paderi began to decline, these tensions gradually diminished. Despite the waning of their political power, the religious teachings introduced by the Paderi continued to exert a lasting influence, and the intellectual network of Minangkabau scholars—many of whom were shaped by the Paderi movement—grew substantially. Two notable Minangkabau scholars, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib and Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin, emerged as key figures in the advancement of Islamic thought. Ahmad Khatib became the Imam of the Shafi'i school at the Masjid al-Haram in Mecca, while Tahir Jalaluddin, after studying in Mecca and Egypt, was influenced by Muhammad Abduh's reformist ideas and later became renowned as an expert in astronomy and served as the Mufti of Perak.

After the Paderi War, Minangkabau scholars showed increased enthusiasm for studying Islam in Mecca, continuing the tradition established by pioneers such as Haji Miskin, Haji Sumanik, and Haji Piobang. Prior to this period, Islamic learning had largely taken place within the Minangkabau region itself. The rise in scholarly travel to Mecca helped to disseminate reformist Islamic ideas that emphasized the rejection of *taqlid* (blind adherence), *bid'ah* (unwarranted religious innovations), and *khurafat* (superstitious beliefs). One prominent figure in this reformist wave was Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah—father of Buya Hamka—who opposed Sufi orders and advocated for modernist interpretations of Islam. He established the *Sumatera Thawalib* in Padang Panjang as a modern Islamic school and played an active role in introducing Muhammadiyah to the Minangkabau region (Muslim, 2021).

Haji Abdullah Ahmad further advanced the reformist agenda through the founding of the magazine *Al-Munir*, which became a key medium for spreading modern Islamic thought. He also implemented a new classroom model that utilized desks and chairs—a method that initially faced opposition due to its perceived similarity to colonial Dutch educational systems. Inspired by their experiences in Mecca, Minangkabau youth began championing rationalist interpretations of Islam, opposing *bid'ah* (religious innovation), and preaching in local languages such as Malay and Minangkabau. Islam became deeply embedded in their national identity and significantly influenced both intellectual and social development in Minangkabau.

Alongside mosques, *surau* functioned as centers for Islamic education. The transition from traditional *surau* or mosque-based learning to structured classrooms marked a significant innovation, reinforcing the *kaum mudo*'s (youth reformists) role in reshaping Islamic education. As noted by Deliar Noer, the early 20th century saw concerted efforts to modernize Islamic schooling. One notable reformist figure, Haji Latif Syakur—born in Air Mancur on August 16, 1881—pursued Islamic studies in Mecca

from 1888 to 1902. Following a brief stint as a *parewa* (vagrant), he began teaching in Biaro, Bukittinggi, in 1906, introducing the use of chalkboards and desks in his instructional methods. In 1912, he founded the *at-Tarbiyah al-Hasanah* school in Bukittinggi, which initially used low desks before transitioning to taller desks and chairs by 1915, mirroring the format of Dutch colonial education.

Although Haji Latif made significant contributions, the foremost pioneer of modern Islamic education in Minangkabau was the Adabiyah School, founded by Haji Abdullah Ahmad in Padang in 1909. Regarded as the first *madrasah* in Minangkabau – and possibly in Indonesia, as noted by Muhammad Yunus – this institution laid the groundwork for Islamic educational reform. In 1915, it was renamed *Hollands Inlandse School (H.I.S.) Adabiyah*, becoming the first H.I.S. to include a religious curriculum. Over time, the school transitioned into a *Sekolah Rakyat* (People's School) and eventually developed into a junior high school (SMP). However, once the colonial authorities assumed control in 1915 and appointed a Dutch headmaster, its focus on Islamic reform waned, religious instruction declined, and graduates became less equipped to address contemporary issues.

A similar transformation occurred at *Surau Jembatan Besi*, where the curriculum shifted to emphasize *fiqh* and *tafsir* (Qur'anic interpretation), particularly after the return of Haji Abdullah Ahmad and Haji Rasul from Mecca in 1904. The instructional content was expanded to include Arabic and linguistic sciences (*ilmu alat*), allowing students to engage directly with Islamic texts. In 1916, a tiered class system was introduced – elementary, intermediate, and advanced – although students still sat on mats rather than chairs. The elementary stage was later segmented into four distinct grades, each following a one-year curriculum, while the intermediate and advanced stages were structured into grades five, six, and seven. This organizational reform marked the transition of the traditional *surau* into a formal educational establishment known as Sekolah Thawalib.

In 1909, Haji Muhammad Thaib Umar established a madrasah in Batusangkar inspired by the Adabiyah School model. However, the institution did not last long. In the subsequent year, 1910, he founded another madrasah in Sungayang, near Bukittinggi, named the Madras School. This school operated with a single classroom, where advanced students studied classical Islamic texts using the *halaqah* method – a traditional learning system in which students sat cross-legged around the teacher to listen to the recitation and interpretation of classical religious literature. Due to space limitations, the school was temporarily closed in 1913. It reopened in 1923 under the new name *Diniyah School* and was later renamed *Al-Jami'ah Islamiyah* in 1931. Eventually, it attained the status of an Islamic Junior High School (SMPI) or PGAP (Primary Islamic Teacher Training School).

Around the same period, in 1915, another institution called *Madrasah Diniyah* was founded by Zainuddin Labay Al-Yunusi in Padang Panjang. The school was met with strong support from the Minangkabau community. In the years that followed, similar *madrasahs* emerged throughout Minangkabau and across Indonesia. Zainuddin Labay

Al-Yunusi was a self-taught intellectual whose studies extended beyond Arabic and Malay texts to include English and Dutch literature. His intellectual pursuits spanned various disciplines, including algebra, geography, chemistry, and Islamic sciences. Despite lacking a formal educational background, he introduced progressive ideas and played a key role in reforming Islamic education, inspiring a new generation of modern Muslim educators (Nelmawarni & Ilham, 2016).

Although Zainuddin emerged from a traditional *surau*-based educational background, he was widely recognized for his progressive mindset and reformist outlook. His groundbreaking ideas frequently challenged the prevailing cultural norms of his time. As a scholar, teacher, and reformer, Zainuddin played a pivotal role in reshaping the Islamic education system and revitalizing religious consciousness within his community. Through his intellect, commitment, and broad perspective, he was able to reform outdated educational frameworks and implement modern, forward-looking teaching methods. His intellectual development was significantly influenced by three prominent reformers – Haji Rasul, Abbas Abdullah, and Abdullah Ahmad had all been influenced by modern Islamic reformist thought during their studies in the Middle East. Zainuddin was both a student and a teacher in their *surau*, where he encountered reformist ideas more prominently than traditionalist teachings. Before founding his own educational institution, he spent six years teaching at traditional schools in Padang Jepang and later taught at Surau Jembatan Besi in Padang Panjang (Murni Djamal, 2002).

At the Diniyah School he established, Zainuddin introduced a structured, classroom-based education system and designed a formal curriculum. Alongside Islamic subjects, he included general education courses such as language, mathematics, history, and geography. He also formed a student music club to enhance extracurricular engagement. After Zainuddin Labay's passing, the school was led by his sister and former pupil, Rahmah Al-Yunusiyah. In Minangkabau, she became known as the "Kartini of Devout Muslims" due to her strong dedication to Islamic education and her advocacy for women's empowerment (Zulmuqim, 2015); (Furoidah, 2019).

Rahmah El-Yunusiyah's educational reform initiatives can be understood through Arnold J. Toynbee's Challenge and Response theory, which suggests that societal change arises in response to critical challenges (Graves, 2009). Within this framework, Rahmah confronted the systemic obstacles that limited women's access to Islamic education in Minangkabau, where their societal roles were frequently marginalized. She identified this inequality as stemming from the limited educational opportunities afforded to women, despite their vital role in nurturing future generations. By establishing her own school, Rahmah introduced a new paradigm that redefined traditional approaches to women's education. Prior to her efforts, women were primarily taught to recite the Qur'an and perform basic religious obligations, with minimal access to literacy in Malay or Dutch. Rahmah believed that a separate educational model for women was necessary – one that aligned with Islamic values and created a safe space for discussing women's specific needs and concerns.

Her ultimate goal was to uplift the status of women in society through a modern education firmly rooted in Islamic principles. Rahmah strongly believed that the advancement of women must come from within the female community itself, not be dictated by external influences. Through education, she aimed to empower women to shed outdated perceptions that diminished their potential, enabling them to carry out their responsibilities with independence and within the bounds of religious guidance. She frequently referred to the *hadith* stating that the pursuit of knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim – male and female – to stress the importance of female education. For Rahmah, schools were the ideal vehicle to fulfill this obligation.

The Diniyah School established by Rahmah El-Yunusiyah was inspired by Egypt's religious education model and incorporated the pedagogical ideas of prominent reformers such as Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida in the realm of general education. For advanced students, Arabic textbooks imported from Cairo were utilized. However, following the death of Zainuddin Labay in 1924, the school gradually declined and eventually closed in 1935. The spread of madrasahs throughout Minangkabau and other parts of the archipelago reflected not only the continuation of Islamic intellectual traditions but also served as a strategic response to the Dutch colonial education system. These institutions later became important platforms for Islamic reform movements, each shaped by distinct historical and ideological influences. According to Karel Steenbrink, four major factors contributed to the rise of Islamic reform in Indonesia: (a) a renewed focus on the Qur'an and hadith; (b) growing nationalist resistance to Dutch colonial rule; (c) internal efforts among Muslims to strengthen their roles in social, political, economic, and cultural arenas; and (d) a strong commitment to enhancing Islamic education (Steenbrink, 1984). This era also marked the expansion of Western-style education in Minangkabau, closely linked to the increasing reach of colonial power in the region.

The earliest school based on the Western education system was established in Padang in 1825, but it was exclusively intended for Dutch children. It wasn't until approximately 1843 that a school for native students was opened in Bukittinggi, classified as an elementary-level institution. Over the subsequent years, similar schools were founded in administrative hubs near coffee plantation areas, with funding and oversight provided by the local *nagari* (village) governments. By 1870, the colonial administration began implementing educational reforms. The primary aim of these institutions was to prepare Indigenous individuals for roles within the colonial bureaucracy, while also reducing illiteracy rates. These Dutch-style schools gradually gained popularity among Minangkabau families, some of whom enrolled their children to secure better career prospects. By the end of the 19th century, more Minangkabau parents were encouraging their children to pursue civil service careers. This rising interest led the Dutch to expand the number of schools. Many Minangkabau students who were unable to gain admission to schools in West Sumatran towns even sought education in Aceh (Amran, 1981).

Modern Islamic education differed significantly from colonial education in terms of goals and orientation. Graduates of modern Islamic schools were often more socially engaged, especially in religious reform, community leadership, and nationalist movements. In contrast, the colonial system primarily aimed to produce native bureaucrats loyal to the Dutch administration. While this path provided social status, it often disconnected individuals from the lived realities of their communities. In response to colonial schooling, modern Islamic institutions began incorporating classroom-based teaching methods, including desks and chairs, in an effort to raise educational standards and compete with Dutch schools. For the Minangkabau people, Islamic education remained the more favored option, as it emphasized religious instruction for their children. In contrast, Western-style education was frequently seen as a vehicle for colonial indoctrination. The colonial education system was designed to cultivate a generation of Indigenous elites familiar with Dutch sociopolitical norms. On the other hand, modern Islamic education in Minangkabau developed into a platform for critical and rational Islamic thought, adapting to the changing times while remaining rooted in Islamic values.

Table 1. Dynamics of the Roles of Ulama and Customary Leaders in Minangkabau

Period	Role of Ulama	Role of Customary Leaders	Conflict	Implications
Before the 18th century	Spiritual and moral leaders	Custodians of matrilineal traditions and social structures	Coexistence (<i>adat basandi syara'</i>)	Islam deeply rooted in local customs
Late 18th century	Criticized the moral decline of customary elites	Engaged in deviant practices (gambling, alcohol, etc.)	Value tension between <i>shari'a</i> and custom	Emergence of Islamic purification movements led by <i>haji</i> -returnees
Early 19th century (Padri War)	Promoted purification of Islamic teachings, influenced by Wahhabism	Rejected purification efforts, upheld traditional customs	Padri War: Ulama vs. Customary Leaders → Customary Leaders allied with the Dutch	Bloody conflict, colonial involvement, shift in proselytizing strategies
Post-Padri War	Focused on Islamic education (e.g., Sheikh Ahmad Khatib in Mecca)	Survived within the social structure, weakened ideologically	Transition from physical conflict to intellectual struggle	Shift in Minangkabau ulama's scholarly orientation toward transnational Islam

CONCLUSION

The results of this study highlight several important findings: (1) The Paderi Movement was sparked by the return of three Minangkabau scholars Haji Miskin, Haji Sumanik, and Haji Piobang who were influenced by Wahhabi reformist teachings during their pilgrimage to Mecca; (2) Before the emergence of the Paderi, the Islamization of Minangkabau progressed gradually through Sufi orders (tarekat) that adapted to and harmonized with local traditions. In contrast, the Paderi emphasized a more rigid interpretation of Islam grounded in Sharia, thereby diminishing the role of the Sufi tradition; (3) The movement significantly contributed to the rise of reformist scholars such as Sheikh Ahmad Khatib and Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin, who went on to establish modern Islamic educational institutions like Adabiyah and Sumatera Thawalib.

This research contributes by: (1) Reframing the Paderi Movement as a catalyst for Islamic intellectual development in Minangkabau, moving beyond its portrayal as solely radical or militant; (2) Analyzing the transition in Islamic scholarship from a focus on Sufi traditions to Sharia-centered interpretations as a major consequence of the movement; (3) Emphasizing the Paderi Movement's support for modern Islamic education as a counter-model to Dutch colonial schooling; (4) Enhancing scholarly discussions on the intersection of Islam, Minangkabau adat (customary law), and colonialism by examining the tensions between the Paderi, local adat authorities, and Sufi groups.

However, the study has several limitations: (1) It primarily addresses the intellectual impact of the Paderi Movement, without extensively analyzing its socio-economic and political effects; (2) It relies mainly on primary sources, including manuscripts and writings by 19th–20th century Minangkabau scholars, and would benefit from incorporating colonial or non-Minangkabau perspectives; (3) The role of Sufi orders in shaping Islamic intellectualism after the Paderi era and their influence on later Minangkabau reformists remains underexplored; (4) Comparative studies with other Islamic reform movements in the Indonesian archipelago are needed to more clearly position the Paderi within the broader narrative of Islam in Indonesia.

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