



## Surau Calau and Its Manuscripts: Dynamics and Influence on Post-Padri Adat-Islam Reconciliation in Minangkabau (1830–1869)

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### **Purpose**

This study delineates the intellectual history of Surau Calau and its manuscripts as central actors in the Minangkabau peace process (1830–1869). It primarily explores colophons in these ancient texts as guides for the community to integrate religious values with local wisdom.

### **Method**

This research employs a qualitative-descriptive historical approach. Primary sources include ancient manuscripts from Surau Calau and relevant historical documents. Historical analysis and reconstruction were conducted to trace the dynamics and influence of the Padri Movement on reconciliation practices at the surau.

### **Results/findings**

The study finds that Surau Calau served as a safe intellectual space mediating reconciliation between the Padri faction and the Customary faction. Its manuscripts functioned as a “textual peace curriculum” integrating Neo-Sufism into social structures and local wisdom. Manuscript vernacularization and visual diplomacy generated philosophical actions through the co-constitution of Islam and custom (adat) in Sijunjung.

### **Conclusion**

These findings confirm that Surau Calau possesses a bottom-up reconciliation mechanism. Future research should explore traditional leaders' responses to the acceptance of Islamic law in the reconstruction of Minangkabau identity following the Padri Movement.

### **Keywords**

Surau Calau, Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau, manuscripts, intellectual space, Padri War

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### Abstrak

#### Tujuan

Penelitian ini bertujuan menggambarkan sejarah intelektual Surau Calau dan manuskrip-manuskripnya sebagai aktor sentral proses perdamaian di Minangkabau periode 1830–1869. Fokus utamanya adalah mengeksplorasi kolofon pada teks-teks kuno tersebut sebagai pemandu masyarakat mengintegrasikan nilai religius dengan kearifan lokal.

#### Metode

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan historis kualitatif-deskriptif. Sumber primer meliputi naskah kuno Surau Calau arsip, dan dokumen historis relevan. Analisis dan rekonstruksi historis dilakukan guna penelusuran dinamika dan pengaruh Gerakan Padri terhadap praktik rekonsiliasi di Surau Calau.

#### Hasil/temuan

Penelitian menemukan bahwa Surau Calau berperan sebagai ruang intelektual aman yang memediasi rekonsiliasi Kaum Padri dan Kaum Adat. Koleksi manuskrip kuno surau digunakan sebagai “kurikulum perdamaian tekstual” yang secara praksis mengintegrasikan nilai religius neo-sufisme ke dalam struktur sosial dan kearifan lokal Minangkabau. Strategi vernakularisasi naskah dan diplomasi visual surau ini melahirkan tindakan filosofis melalui ko-konstitusi Islam dan adat di Sijunjung.

#### Kesimpulan

Temuan ini menegaskan bahwa Surau Calau dan manuskrip peninggalan Syekh Abdul Wahab Calau memiliki mekanisme rekonsiliasi yang bersifat dari bawah ke atas (bottom-up). Penelitian lanjutan yang direkomendasikan adalah eksplorasi respons kaum penghulu dan adat terhadap penerimaan syariat dalam pembentukan ulang identitas masyarakat Minangkabau pasca Gerakan Padri.

#### Kata kunci

Surau Calau, Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau, manuskrip, ruang intelektual, Perang Padri

### المخلص

#### الهدف

تستعرض هذه الدراسة التاريخ الفكري لـ "سوروا كالاو" (Surau Calau) ومخطوطاتها باعتبارها عناصر محورية في عملية السلام في منطقة "مينانغكاباو" (Minangkabau) خلال الفترة (1830–1869). وتُركّز الدراسة بشكل أساسي على الخواتيم النصية (colophons) في هذه النصوص القديمة، باعتبارها مرشداً للمجتمع نحو المواءمة بين القيم الدينية والحكمة المحلية.

#### الطريقة

يعتمد هذا البحث المنهج التاريخي الوصفي النوعي. وتشمل المصادر الأولية مخطوطات قديمة من "سوروا كالاو" ووثائق تاريخية ذات صلة. وقد أجري تحليل تاريخي وعملية إعادة بناء للأحداث لتتبع ديناميكيات وتأثير "حركة بادري" (Padri Movement) على ممارسات المصالحة في هذا المرفق الديني والتعليمي (السوروا).

#### النتائج

خلصت الدراسة إلى أن "سوروا كالاو" مثّلت فضاءً فكرياً آمناً لعب دور الوسيط في المصالحة بين فصائل "بادري" والفصيل المتمسك بالتقاليد والأعراف المحلية. وعملت مخطوطاتها بمثابة "منهج نصي للسلام" يدمج "التصوف الجديد" (Neo-Sufism) "في البنى الاجتماعية والحكمة المحلية. كما أدت عملية توطين النصوص (نقلها إلى اللغة المحلية) والدبلوماسية البصرية إلى توليد ممارسات فلسفية نابغة من التشكيل المشترك للإسلام والأعراف المحلية (adat) في منطقة "سيجونجونغ" (Sijunjung).

#### الخلاصة

تؤكد هذه النتائج أن "سوروا كالاو" تمتلك آلية للمصالحة تنبع من القاعدة الشعبية (من الأسفل إلى الأعلى). وتوصي الدراسة بأن تستكشف الأبحاث المستقبلية ردود فعل الزعماء التقليديين تجاه قبول الشريعة الإسلامية في سياق إعادة تشكيل هوية "مينانغكاباو" في أعقاب "حركة بادري".

#### الكلمات الرئيسية

سوروا كالاو، الشيخ عبد الوهاب كالاو، مخطوطات، فضاء فكري، حرب بادري.

## INTRODUCTION

The Padri War (1803–1837) served as a dialectical catalyst for the conception of co-constitutive Islam and adat—positioning the *Sharī‘a* as the soul that organically animates the body of custom (Junaidi, 2020). The conflict of the early nineteenth century was complex, not simply pitting Minangkabau matrilineal adat against Wahhābī-inflected Islamic reform, but also entangling colonial intervention (Hadler, 2010).

Prior to the arrival of Islam, matrilineal *adat* had already regulated the socio-religious life of Minangkabau, encompassing inheritance, kinship, and social structure (Al-hakim et al., 2024; Judiasih et al., 2025). As Islam spread, *surau* (based scholars) sought to replace *adat* with a strict application of Islamic law through the Wahhabi movement (Nurmalasari et al., 2024). Although the encounter between the two ignited intense social conflict, a co-constitutive norm was ultimately reached through the principle of Islam-adat (Farkhani et al., 2022), which affirms moderation (*wasatiyyah*), tolerance, and justice as characteristics of characteristics of an accommodationist, moderate strand of Islam in Minangkabau (Darajat, 2015). The *surau*, as an institution of Islamic education, played a crucial role in instilling values of interreligious and cultural harmony (Helmy et al., 2021).

A range of prior studies has examined this dialectic between Islam and local traditions. At the macro level, Tungkagi (2017), emphasizes the harmonization of formal law and the discourse of authority in the public sphere. In the Minangkabau context, research has highlighted the philosophy of Islam and *adat* as a product of post-Padri War historical negotiation (Benny et al., 2019), adaptive mechanisms for resolving matrilineal inheritance disputes through family deliberation (Putra, 2025), the integration of the *Ilmu Mukhtalif Al-Hadits* approach with the local wisdom of *Badamai* as a form of conflict resolution (Sagir et al., 2023), and the function of traditional rituals as “peace education” that preserves the value of forgiveness (Habur & Jehata, 2025).

Previous studies on conflict resolution in the Indonesian archipelago often overlook the micro-intellectual role of *surau* literature in fostering post-conflict social cohesion (Husairi et al., 2024), doctrinal moderation discourse (Thohir & Anjaina, 2022), and manuscript-based *adat-syarak* negotiation elsewhere in the archipelago (Inayatussalihah, 2017; Iqbal, 2021; Zubair, 2018)—yet the micro-intellectual role of *surau* literature in the specific case of Minangkabau's post-Padri reconciliation remains unexamined. This study addresses these lacunae by analyzing *Surau Calau* and its manuscripts as central actors in the Minangkabau peace process (1830–1869), specifically examining the function of colophons as a “textual peace curriculum” that integrates religious values with local wisdom (Rahmawati, 2020). These manuscripts span several genres—from devotional and ritual guides such as the *Kitab Hadarah* and *Dalail al-Khairat*, to Sufi-oriented texts reflecting the *sharia-tariqa*-gnosis continuum, to vernacular poetic works such as the *Syair Faqih Saghir*—collectively functioning as a curriculum binding the legal-formal, mystical, and communal dimensions of religious life. It served as a center of intellectual dialogue, pioneering reconciliation between Adat and Islam. Through the agency of its Tuanku, manuscript literacy mitigated post-Padri War trauma, while simultaneously establishing the historical foundations for a constitutive adat and Islam.

## METHOD

This study employs the method of critical history, which encompasses four procedural stages: heuristics, critique (verification), interpretation, and historiography—in which the heuristic and critique stages are operationalized through a philological approach: close reading of manuscript colophons and translation of the manuscript texts from the Surau Calau collection. In the heuristic stage, data collection focuses on tracing ancient manuscripts from the Surau Calau collection, with particular attention to the colophons and their socio-religious functions, in order to identify their significance within the socio-

religious context they document. The main sources for this study are the collection of ancient manuscripts preserved in Surau Calau. The primary objects of this study are the manuscript colophons and the Surau Calau manuscripts as a database. In its application, particular emphasis is placed on the colophon sections that provide information relevant to the research problems and objectives. Beyond this textual evidence, the study also analyzes the practical function of the manuscripts as guides for socio-religious rituals documented as having been performed by the Surau Calau community in the post-Padri War period (1830–1869), as later corroborated by Pistorius's (1869) account of the *surau*'s congregational visitation patterns. Meanwhile, within the analytical framework, the focus is on the dynamics of reconciliation between Adat and Islamic values in Minangkabau following the Padri War. Overall, this method aims to trace and analyze the historical role of Surau Calau's literary authority in the post-Padri reconciliation process in the region, achieved through a synthesis of textual data (philology) and historical context (history).

## RESULT/FINDING AND DISCUSSION

### Surau Calau and the Padri Conflict

Surau Calau is believed to have been established in 1830 by Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau (Calau, n.d.). The *surau* emerged within a context of profound socio-political tension in Minangkabau, marked by the rise of the Padri Movement (Dobbin, 2008). The Padri Movement, led by religious scholars (*ulama*), regarded traditional customary practices—administered by the *nagari* through the institutions of the *ninik mamak* and *penghulu*—as deviations from the pure teachings of Islam (Hati, 2018; Ramadhani et al., 2022). Accordingly, they sought to reform the Minangkabau social order along *Shari'a* principles, with the authority of the *ulama* serving as the center of moral and political legitimacy (Satnawi, 2023). This endeavor directly challenged the hegemony of the established customary structure, which perceived itself as a harmonious system fully compatible with Islam (Razi, 2016; Sanusi, 2018). The ideological conflict between these two visions was no longer merely a theological debate; it expanded into a struggle over symbolic and political authority, with far-reaching implications for the structure of *nagari* society (Dobbin, 1974). The Padri *ulama* subsequently launched a campaign of religious purification through destructive actions, such as burning customary halls (*balai adat*) and forcibly dispersing public activities like cockfighting arenas (Kratz & Amir, 2002). These acts not only engendered identity polarization but also became a catalyst for an escalation into armed conflict involving the colonial military.

Nevertheless, the Padri *ulama*'s failure to secure support from other scholars sparked an internal crisis within both the Muslim community and the *surau* network. When their own *surau* was burned by the Kaum Adat in retaliation for their radical actions, the Padri *ulama* interpreted this defeat not because of ideological misalignment with the broader society, but rather because of weak solidarity among the *ulama* and a lack of commitment from other *surau* networks to their puritan stance. This perception triggered a dual dynamic in the conflict: on the one hand, it intensified resistance against the Kaum Adat, and on the other, it prompted internal repression against fellow Muslim communities deemed deviant, such as those led by Tuanku Nan Tuo and Sheikh Faqih Saghir. Those *surau* still accommodated elements of custom within their religious practices (Kratz & Amir, 2002).

According to Saghir, the Padri faction's defeat at the hands of the Kaum Adat led to internal fragmentation, which, in turn, activated a scapegoating mechanism by the Tuanku Nan Salapan. This group sought to delegitimize the moderate *ulama*—Tuanku Nan Tuo and Faqih Saghir—through vulgar religious stigmatization, branding them “*Rahib Tuo*” (the Old Monk) and “*Raja Kafir*” (King of the Infidels) or “*Raja Yazid*” (Arlan A, 2024). Faqih Saghir condemned these acts as both an affront to his teacher and a betrayal of the essential values of religion, one that could theologically precipitate the perpetrators

into disbelief (*kufr*).

This phenomenon exemplifies ideological outbidding, a mechanism whereby an extremist faction preserves its legitimacy by escalating violence to affirm doctrinal commitment. The execution of a relative by Tuanku Nan Renceh for the minor doctrinal infraction of betel-chewing (*menyirih*) (Parve, 1996), and Tuanku Pasaman's assault on the Pagaruyung elite (Hull, 1830; Waal, 1844), marked a fundamental shift: the conflict was no longer concerned with moral reform but had become a systematic endeavor to dismantle Minangkabau's traditional power structure.

The exclusivist character of Padri teachings provoked existential resistance among the Kaum Adat, who forged a strategic alliance with the Dutch colonial government to defend their authority (Amran, 1981). The dynamics of the conflict thus metamorphosed from an internal dispute into a political rivalry that drew in external powers. A tragic historical paradox consequently emerged: the Padri campaign of religious purification produced the very structural disintegration that furnished a foothold for the consolidation of Dutch colonial hegemony after 1837.

In the post-conflict period, the potential for reducing tensions materialized through the initiative of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau. Grounded in a local epistemology that perceived conflict as an opportunity for integration—encapsulated in the proverb *Basilang kayu mako api bisa iduik* (When wood is rubbed together, fire can be kindled) (Abdullah, 1966)—*Surau Calau* was transformed into a safe intellectual space where the Padri and Kaum Adat could meet (Lansdovne, 2021). This mediation served as a transformative vehicle for aligning the dichotomy between Islamic *Sharī'a* and *adat* values, while simultaneously demonstrating the *surau*'s efficacy as an agent of peace in restoring social cohesion (Hartoyo et al., 2020; Kim & Kim, 2024).

*Surau Calau* evolved into a multicultural institution that promoted inclusivity, tolerance, and collective consciousness among a Minangkabau populace fractured by civil war (Yumnah et al., 2023; Zhong, 2022). Amid the conflict, the *surau* served as a mediator, providing a safe intellectual space for inter-group dialogue. In this capacity, it enabled the *urang Siak* (pious religious students) and the Kaum Adat to engage in conversation and build consensus peacefully (Ager et al., 2011; Erses et al., 2022), while also assisting in healing the collective trauma bequeathed by the prolonged war. The role of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau as a change agent confirms that inclusive religious leadership possesses considerable potential to facilitate reconciliation between the ulama and the customary authorities (Kousar & Bhadra, 2022).

Viewed through the lens of Giddens's theory of structuration (1984), amidst the liminal condition of Minangkabau society caught between the glorification of *adat* and the pressures of orthodoxy (Haggar, 2024), Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau succeeded in reshaping the *surau*'s social structure from a symbol of anti-*adat* sentiment into an integrative structure that fused the transcendent dimension of the *Sharī'a* with the immanent reality of *adat* (Giddens, 1984; Herry-Priyono, 2002; Ramberg, 2019).

### Manuscript of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau

Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau initiated a socio-religious transformation grounded in a neo-Sufi theological framework that was deeply responsive to the local Minangkabau context. He deconstructed the rigid dichotomy between *Sharī'a* and *adat* without condemning local traditions as *bid'ah*, doing so through a collaborative educational approach that aimed to build mutual respect. By engaging ulama and *penghulu* as equal partners, he turned his *surau* into a dialogical space where divine values could be integrated with the social structure of the nagari (Jackson, 2018). The egalitarian, participatory leadership of the *Shattāriyya* order reduced friction between the Padri faction and the Kaum Adat. It fostered sustainable social cohesion, demonstrating that inclusion is a far more effective catalyst for change than cultural repression.

In the pedagogical dimension, the devotional practices of prayer and dhikr constituted

the epistemological axis of instruction in the *Kitab Hadarah* (manuscript code CL-SJJ-2011-43). This authoritative manuscript reconstitutes the elastic interplay between Islamic ritual and the Minangkabau cultural ecosystem. The synthesis of *Sharī'a* and adat set forth within it came to serve as the cultural foundation of a social order articulated through the philosophy of *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah* (Benny et al., 2019). The manuscript corpus of Surau Calau, particularly the *Kitab Hadarah*, thus legitimates the operational harmonization of religion and tradition as a praxis that is institutionally enshrined in textual form.



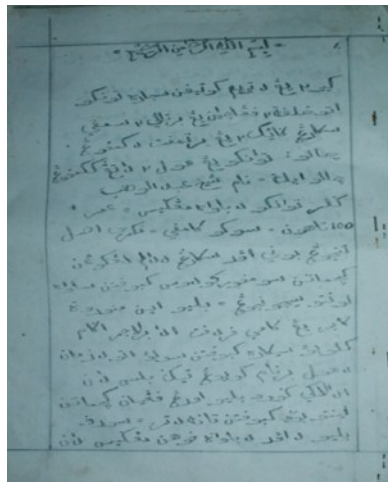
**Figure 1.** *Kitab Hadarah* and *Dalail al-Khairat* of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau  
 Source: Digital reproduction of the Surau Calau manuscripts (2011).

The image on the left shows the second page of *Kitab Hadarah* (manuscript code CL-SJJ-2011-43), whose colophon reads, “*Inilah surat Tuanku di Bawah Manggih di Aur nan bertempat di Surau Calau.*” The image on the right shows the opening page of *Dalail al-Khairat*, held at Surau Calau, manuscript code CL-SJJ-2011-98-c. This text is bound together with the poems *Syair Tasawuf* and *Makrifat al-Zat*. The colophon of *Kitab Hadarah* supplies crucial information about the manuscript’s origin and ownership—namely, Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau, also known as Tuanku Di Bawah Manggis (Manggih). Meanwhile, the opening page of *Dalail al-Khairat* points to a robust tradition of *wirid* and *dzikir* in Minangkabau religious practice centered on the *surau*; its inclusion in a composite volume with other texts is characteristic of the manuscript copying and storage tradition found in many *surau* across Minangkabau. This practice of binding multiple works together, evident in 99 other bundles at Surau Calau, can be read as reflecting a simple “learning curriculum”—one that integrates the dimensions of *sharia*, *tariqa*, and *gnosis*—tailored to the particular religious interests cultivated at Surau Calau. It further reveals that the organization of religious manuscripts was not merely an act of collection; it also mirrors the systematic and hierarchical structure of the *surau* master’s (Tuanku’s) religious thought. He deliberately placed Sufi teachings at the center of shaping the spiritual disposition of the *surau* congregation. The existence of these bundles thus provides concrete evidence that the Islamic scholarly tradition of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau bore a distinctive character, namely a syncretism between classical Islamic teachings and the living, dynamic local context of Minangkabau culture.

The strategic collaboration between Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau and the Kaum Adat in Sijunjung during the 1820s constituted a sociological response to the escalating Padri conflict in Minangkabau. Amid mounting tensions between the reformist movement and the customary-colonial alliance, the contextual Islam championed by Sheikh Abdul Wahab helped bridge social fragmentation. The invitation extended by the *ninik mamak* signified an institutionally grounded reconciliation. Surau Calau thus became a

social laboratory, adopting a moderate approach by synthesizing *tawhīd* with local values. This praxis manifested in the *basapa* ritual, the celebration of the Prophet's birthday (*Mawlid*), and the implementation of a calendrical system based on *hisab takwim* devised by the Sheikh himself (Amin, 2023; Kadrianto, 2013; Pramono et al., 2023). The manuscripts *Dalail al-Khairat* (CL-SJJ-2011-98-c) (Yahya, 2021) and *Syair Faqih Shaqir* (CL-SJJ-2011-67-f) (Alfida, 2015) further attest that this approach extended into the eschatological domain through mortuary rites. Surau Calau endured well beyond the Padri War, continuing to function from 1837 to 1869.

Physically, Surau Calau was established between approximately 1830 and 1837 in Sijunjung, standing as an antithesis to the vortex of violence. Together with the customary leaders Datuk Tan Marajo and Datuk Bandaro of Guguak—who are explicitly recorded in the manuscript *Martabat Tujuh* (CL-SJJ-2011-05-k)—this institution formulated an inclusive curriculum that transcended the mere transmission of Islamic knowledge. *Jawi* manuscripts document the active participation of Datuk Tan Marajo, the *ninik mamak* of Sungai Pinggan, in the construction of the *surau* alongside Tuanku di Bawah Manggis (Sheikh Abdul Wahab). This structural involvement and ideological commitment gave rise to a dialogical space that cut across conflicting interests. Surau Calau thus emerged as a distinctive prototype of traditional Islamic educational reform in Minangkabau, demonstrating that social cohesion and institutional continuity are best sustained through the negotiation of humane values rather than through destructive confrontation.



**Figure 2.** The Life History of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau.

Source: Digital reproduction of the Surau Calau manuscripts (2011).

The biographical manuscript of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau (Figure 2), held within the Surau Calau collection, serves as a valuable record that highlights the importance of preserving cultural and religious history. This single-text manuscript is written predominantly in *Jawi* script, with a concluding section in Latin script that outlines the genealogy of Sheikh Jalaludin, the successor at Surau Calau. Based on the inclusion of the name Sheikh Buya Fajruddin, also known as Kamaludin, as the last Tuanku of the *surau*, the text is estimated to date from the late 1980s. A chronological gap of this magnitude is entirely in keeping with the conventions of the *tariqa* tradition in Minangkabau, in which disciples bear a spiritual obligation to preserve their teacher's life story as an integral element of devotional practice and the transmission of knowledge. Through a careful historical-critical method—encompassing contextual analysis, source comparison, and an understanding of the conventions governing local historical writing—this manuscript furnishes information concerning the life of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau, even though certain passages exhibit complexities of periodization and potential anachronisms that call for further analytical attention.

The social transformation in Sijunjung through the intellectual activities of Sheikh Ab-

dul Wahab Calau was a testament to the power of collaboration between religious agents and customary structures. Surau Calau was not merely a symbol of reconciliation; it was the pioneer of a neo-*surau* movement—a structural transformation in Islamic education that adapted to the demands of the age without sacrificing local identity. Pages 2–4 record the cooperation between Datuk Tan Marajo, the *ninik mamak* in Sijunjung, and Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau in the founding of Surau Calau (Calau, n.d.).

The *Jawi* manuscripts of Surau Calau constitute significant historiographical artifacts for examining the reconfiguration of socio-religious relations in post-Padri War Minangkabau. These manuscripts offer empirical evidence of the collaborative mechanisms through which customary authorities and religious figures institutionalized Islamic education by founding Surau Calau. The textual narrative records the agency of Datuk Tan Marajo, the *ninik mamak* of Nagari Sungai Pinggan, who initiated the relocation of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau—also known as TuanKu di Bawah Manggis—from Muaro Kalumpai to Ranah Katimahar (Muaro). This initiative was pursued through deliberative customary instruments: Sheikh Abdul Wahab formally requested an allocation of land, as verified in the passage “he requested that place from the *ninik mamak* of the Muaro country,” which was subsequently ratified through customary consensus. The process indicates that religious legitimacy required the affirmation of customary institutions, with the *penghulu* functioning as a facilitator of social legitimacy. The text defines the function of the *surau* in dualistic terms—as a place of worship and a place of teaching, and simultaneously as the “property of the Muslim community”—demonstrating that the collective customary entity possessed sufficient flexibility to accommodate Islamic values through a diplomacy of cultural space.

Within the intellectual constellation of Islam in the Nusantara from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, the religious orientation of Surau Calau stood in marked contrast to the *sharī'a* puritanism of the Padri Movement (Laffan, 2003). Under the authority of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau, the institution developed an integrative paradigm rooted in the neo-Sufi tradition—a current of thought that synthesized the tension between legal-formal compliance and esoteric spiritual experience. Neo-Sufi practice did not undermine the foundations of Islam, but embraced them within an inclusive mystical framework, thereby forging a more fluid and contextual orthodoxy (Azra, 1998). This mode of religiosity proved more adaptive to Minangkabau society with its strong affiliation to customary constructions, because it did not generate a binary schism between *syarak* and *adat*, but offered a harmony that embraced both—an accommodative approach that functioned as a determining variable in smoothing the internalization of Islam without triggering cultural identity dislocation.

Public acceptance of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau did not rest solely on his theological formulations. His social capital and his agency as a multidimensional figure—teacher, scholar, and agent of social change—contributed significantly to communal cohesion in the Sijunjung region (Giddens, 1984; Supriyadi et al., 2023). Through the systematic transmission of knowledge, he engineered an acculturation that brought Sufi teachings together with Minangkabau customary wisdom. The concrete manifestation of this dialectic is reflected in the architecture of Surau Calau, built in the early 1830s: the building adopted the typology of the Rumah Gadang with its iconic *gonjong* as a marker of cultural identity, while simultaneously assuming the sacred mission of serving as a center for worship and Islamic intellectual transmission (Lukito & Iskandar, 2019). The intellectual dynamics of Surau Calau thus not only represented post-conflict reconciliation but also constituted a concrete *modus operandi* in which Islam entered into a dialectic with locality without being uprooted from its spiritual essence (Calau, n.d.).

This text offers an elaborated account of the acculturative strategy that reconciled Islam and Minangkabau custom, initiated by Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau through the architectural transformation of the *surau*. In substance, the initiative materialized in the adoption of the *gonjong*—the distinctive roof of the Minangkabau traditional house, which resembles buffalo horns—as both a structural element and a symbolic marker. For Sheikh

Abdul Wahab Calau, the presence of the *gonjong* did not merely reflect a superficial local aesthetic; rather, it embodied an integrative approach to disseminating Islamic teachings. This strategy fundamentally rejected the erasure of established cultural identities and, instead, pursued a symbolic Islamization of Minangkabau customary components. As a result, the approach enabled the community, including the *penghulu* (customary chiefs), to internalize Islam without being compelled to abandon their cultural roots.

The Surau Calau marked an architectural shift from a local-communal character toward a universal-institutional dimension, while retaining the *gonjong* as a revered marker of customary legitimacy. The acculturation process that ensued was neither linear nor substitutive; rather, it took the form of a coexistence that proved relatively successful in harmonizing religious authority—whether exercised in a neo-Sufistic capacity or as the Caliph of the Syattariyah order—with the deeply embedded cosmology of Minangkabau custom. Through a dialogue between revelation and tradition, religious legitimacy was constructed based on normative consensus rather than the hegemonic imposition of values. Furthermore, this dynamic did not halt at passive acceptance; the ongoing construction of *surau* by local Muslims signaled the internalization of acculturated values to the point of autonomous reproduction. The phenomenon reflects a process of religious indigenization, in which Islam was no longer perceived as a foreign entity but became integrated as an intrinsic part of the local order of life.

The appeal of the Surau Calau, which grew into an influential religious center drawing thousands of worshippers from various regions, was not determined by its physical grandeur alone but primarily by the quality and reputation of its pedagogical methods and rituals. The *surau*'s central role in determining the beginning of Ramadan (Rahmi & Akhimuddin, 2019) and ritual practices such as *basapa*—a pilgrimage to meet the *Tuanku Surau* in order to obtain *karamaik* (Alimin et al., 2023; Nugroho, 2020)—underscore its function in fostering communal cohesion and strengthening spiritual networks. These rituals transcend the purely devotional dimension, serving as social mechanisms that deepen collective identity while simultaneously extending religious influence (Ibrahim, 2018; Musa et al., 2012). Thus, the Surau Calau stands as a cultural artifact that bears witness to the dialectic between the universality of Islam and the particularity of Minangkabau socio-cultural structures. Within this dialectic, the interplay among architecture, ritual, and education forged an authentic and inclusive religious space within a sustainable local context.



**Figure 3.** Opening page of the Sharaf al-Anam manuscript from Surau Calau.

Source: Digital reproduction of Surau Calau manuscripts (2011). Sharaf al-Anam, manuscript code CL-SJJ-2011-29.

Another important manuscript held at Surau Calau is the *Sharaf al-Anam*. The Surau Calau collection preserves four copies of this text. The first copy, shelfmark CL-SJJ-2011-57c, is bound together with other works, namely a fiqh treatise, a text on

grave sins, and a tract on the etiquette of eating. At the end of this manuscript bundle a colophon reads, “*Zahir anak saya, Bakar yang beroleh surat pada tujuh hari bulan safar pada tahun Alif pada petang kamis malam Jumat*” (My child Zahir, Bakar, who received the letter on the seventh day of Safar, in the year Alif, on Thursday evening, the eve of Friday). The second copy, shelf-mark CL-SJJ-2011-59d, is bound with a collection of prayers and a compilation of sermons. Its colophon states, “*tamat surat ini pada negri Silago pada waktu duha pada hari Rabu bulan Dhu al-Qa‘da 13 tahun Ha bulan Hijrah Nabi 1210 (1796 M). Orang menyuratkan dalam negeri Sijunjung*” (This text was completed in the land of Silago at mid-morning, on Wednesday, the 13<sup>th</sup> of Dhu al-Qa‘da, in the year Ha, the year of the Hijrah of the Prophet, 1210 [1796 CE]. The scribe wrote it in the land of Sijunjung). The two remaining copies constitute a separate bundle, bearing shelfmarks CL-SJJ-2011-29 and CL-SJJ-2011-32. The first of these concludes with a colophon: “*Selesai pada hari Salasa nan manyurat dia anak urang Sijunjung nan bergelar Mali m-n-h-n-ng-h nan punya anak urang (Tanjung) Barulak, Jikalau barang nan mam-baca dia surat ini hendak diperbolehkan*” (Finished on Tuesday. The writer was a person from Sijunjung, titled Mali m-n-h-n-ng-h, who had a child from Tanjung Barulak. Should anyone read this text, may it be permitted). The second manuscript bears a *Pro Patria* watermark, suggesting that the paper was manufactured between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries; it is therefore possible that the *Sharaf al-Anam* was copied some decades later and subsequently entered the Surau Calau collection (Churchill, 1935; Saffitri et al., 2022; Yahya, 2016). The presence of this text indicates that Surau Calau served as a congregational center for commemorating the Prophet Muhammad’s Mawlid and reflects the profound influence of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau as a socio-religious authority for the Sijunjung region. Moreover, the *surau* served as an agent of social and spiritual transformation, integrating local dimensions with a broader religious cosmology. The heart of the celebration lay in the collective recitation of the *Sharaf al-Anam* (Pramono, 2015), a work composed of eulogies on the birth of the Prophet Muhammad.

The *Sharaf al-Anam*, recited collectively by the congregation of the Shattariyah Order in Sijunjung in the mid-nineteenth century, was far more than a verbal ritual; it was a complex and multifunctional theological-social instrument within the context of Minangkabau Sufism (Pramono et al., 2023). Theologically, the text reinforced the doctrine of *ta‘zīm*—exceptional veneration of the Prophet Muhammad—a central pillar of Sufi cosmology. The intensive repetition of salutations and blessings, exemplified by the phrase “*Keselamatan semoga tercurah untukmu... sebanyak turunnya tetesan hujan*” (May peace be upon you ... as numerous as the falling raindrops), not only conveys an affective dimension of love but also embodies an explicit practice of *tawassul* (supplicatory mediation). The plea “*Wahai Rasulullah, sayangilah hamba yang tertawan dengan dosa-dosa ini*” (O Messenger of God, have mercy on this servant held captive by these sins) reveals the Prophet’s spiritual intermediary function (*wasīlah*), a concept central to the order. Within the Sufi framework, the Prophet is understood not merely as a messenger but as *al-Insān al-Kāmil*—the Perfect Human—who serves as a spiritual medium for drawing near (*taqarrub*) to God. The depiction of the Prophet as “*sebaik-baiknya nabi*” (the best of prophets), “*setakwa-takwanya orang bertakwa*” (the most pious of the pious), and “*yang dibangkitkan pertama*” (the first to be resurrected) is rooted in the Sufi tradition that stresses the cosmic preeminence (*khāṣṣiyyah*) of the Prophet, while simultaneously affirming an inclusive doctrine of *tawhīd* in which veneration of the Prophet becomes a path toward acknowledging the oneness of God. Socio-religiously, the collective recitation of this text during the Mawlid ritual functioned as social glue. The rhythmic repetition and panegyric-laden poetic language generated collective effervescence (Borowik, 2024; Draper, 2014; Páez et al., 2015; Pizarro et al., 2022).

Through this ritual, the congregation not only experienced a transcendent dimension but also reinforced group identity (*jamā‘ah* identity) as part of a broader Sufi network. The Malay language in *Jawi* script used in the text, although rooted in Arabic tradition, underwent a strategic process of vernacularization. The use of the local language enabled

the internalization of Sufi values among Minangkabau commoners who did not master Arabic, while serving as a means of preserving local traditions within an Islamic framework. Thus, the *Sharaf al-Anam* played a dual role: as an expression of profound Sufi doctrine and as an instrument of social reproduction that bound the community in religious and cultural unity, especially in the post-Padri War context marked by social fragmentation.

The practice of reciting the *Sharaf al-Anam* and the *basapa* ritual at Surau Calau during Sheikh Abdul Wahab's time attests to the formation of a relatively cohesive congregation. The *surau* became a socio-religious institution that transcended the geographical and administrative boundaries of local communities, as evidenced by the mass arrival of devotees from various regions of Central Sumatra. Their journeys reflect the religious mobility of the community shaped by Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau. Furthermore, his *surau* functioned as a hub within a widely interconnected intellectual-cum-religious network. Pistorius' historical account describes the *Surau's* congregation after the Padri War. It provides a systematic overview of the migration patterns of itinerant groups hailing from areas such as Rantau Kuantan, Batang Hari, Tebo, Bungo, Singingi, Kerinci, and XII Kota. These intellectual-cum-religious pilgrimages involved small groups, typically comprising eight to twenty people, who traveled regularly between July and September, precisely after the rice harvest ended. The timing of these visits appears closely tied to the synchronization of the agrarian cycle with religious activity, the post-harvest period providing a momentum for communities to undertake spiritual journeys. Moreover, the activities of Surau Calau in the mid-nineteenth century demonstrate its additional function as a center for social, economic, and spiritual coordination for communities spread across Sijunjung and its environs (Pistorius, 1869).

The performance of the Mawlid ritual and the pilgrimage (*basapa*) to Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau significantly strengthened brotherhood (*ukhuwwah*) and forged the religious identity of the Shattariyah congregation in Sijunjung. The visitation to the Sheikh as an "urang siak" (pious figure) was not merely a spiritual practice but also served to enhance social relations among congregants from different *nagari* (village units) in Sijunjung. This practice transcended the individual dimension and evolved into a vehicle for cultivating a collective consciousness within the Shattariyah *ummah*. Meanwhile, the celebration of the Prophet's Mawlid through the recitation of the *Sharaf al-Anam* became a medium for transmitting Sufi values such as *zuhd* (asceticism), *tawādu'* (humility), and love for the Prophet, while simultaneously serving as a means of preserving local traditions that had been Islamized, thereby perpetuating customs in harmony with *tawhīd* (Ricci, 2023). Both rituals not only fostered individual piety but also cultivated a collective awareness of the importance of nurturing Islamic teachings in daily life, tangibly affirming Surau Calau's position as a dynamic and inclusive spiritual center.

In the post-Padri War context, Surau Calau transformed into a meeting point (*kalimatun sawā'*) between the Adat faction and the *surau* community, demonstrating its capacity as an inclusive and integrative educational institution. Historical evidence from the *surau* manuscripts, including those bearing the names of Datuk Bandaro and Khatib Hulubalang, attests to the active involvement of customary leaders (*tokoh adat*) in scholarly and educational activities at the *surau*. The identification of Datuk Bandaro as a Minangkabau customary chieftain through the title *Datuk*—an exclusive hereditary title within the matrilineal structure of Minangkabau society—affirms the social and cultural legitimacy of adat figures in the religious sphere (Navis, 1986; Toeah, 1989). Beyond mere participation, these figures contributed directly to the scholarly corpus, as seen in the reference manuscript left by Datuk Bandaro and recorded in the manuscript coded CL-SJJ-2011-05-k. This indicates that the boundary between the adat and religious domains was not dichotomous but mutually reinforcing in the formation of local religious discourse.

Moreover, the *Jawi*-language manuscripts collected and taught at Surau Calau played a crucial role in enhancing the religious literacy of Minangkabau society (Wade, 2000). The

use of the Arabic-Malay script infused with the spoken Minangkabau language enabled accessibility to Islamic teachings without requiring mastery of Arabic, which often posed a barrier for the lay population (Hashim et al., 2021). These *Jawi* texts served as an epistemological bridge connecting the community to the wealth of Islamic scholarship written in Arabic. In this context, Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau was not only a spiritual figure but also the architect of an innovative educational system that engaged an intellectual network across diverse backgrounds, including adat leaders and other *surau* figures. This inclusive teaching system not only deepened religious understanding but also strengthened the literacy skills of the *anak siak* (religious students), thereby positioning Surau Calau as a new center of religious literacy in Minangkabau that successfully accommodated the universality of Islamic teachings within the framework of Minangkabau cultural locality.

The copying of *Jawi* manuscripts by the Surau Calau community functioned not only as an educational activity but also as an important mechanism for the widespread dissemination of Islamic teachings, particularly in Sijunjung and its surrounding areas after the Padri War. The practice of manuscript copying created a multiplier effect, enhancing religious literacy, as each student who copied and comprehended a text subsequently became an agent of knowledge dissemination within his own community. This phenomenon demonstrates how the *surau* institution, particularly Surau Calau, served as an effective center for the production and distribution of religious knowledge, even under conditions of limited technology for reproducing texts (Isnaini & Ws, 2022). In this regard, manuscripts such as the *Syair Faqih Saghir* and *Hikayat Hasan Husein* serve as historical and cultural evidence of the successful integration of local Minangkabau traditions with Islamic values (Alfida, 2015). Such integration was not the product of passive acculturation but the result of deliberate efforts by religious scholars to contextualize religious teachings through media familiar to and valued by the community.

The Surau Calau manuscripts in the collection of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau, created during nineteenth century, serve as crucial instruments in the process of vernacularizing Islamic teachings, in which religious doctrine is inseparably embedded in culturally relevant forms of language, literature, and narrative. *Syair Faqih Saghir*, for example, is composed in the classical Minangkabau *syair* form. This oral tradition, rich in poetic diction and wisdom, facilitates the internalization of Islamic moral and spiritual values. Its poetic nature and ease of memorization allow religious messages to be disseminated both orally and in writing. This vernacularization thus rendered the *syair* an effective educational tool within a society that remained heavily reliant on oral tradition. Another Surau Calau manuscript, the *Hikayat Hasan Husein*, presents a religious epic narrative that not only strengthens Islamic identity but also enriches the local Minangkabau literary heritage with themes of exemplary conduct, martyrdom, and justice. Through the vernacularization process carried out through these manuscripts, Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau and his intellectual network forged a distinctive religious identity. He did not attempt to replace local culture—Minangkabau *adat*—in the manner of an Islamic reformist; rather, he subtly and profoundly Islamized it without compromising the integrity of the *sharia*. This approach is equally evident in funerary ritual traditions.

The presence of the *Dalail al-Khairat* manuscript in the Surau Calau collection further illustrates the integration of Islamic teachings with local traditions of the Sijunjung community, particularly in the practice of *melayat* (condolence visits) or *takziah*. Students and congregants of the *surau* routinely recite this text at the homes of bereaved families on specific occasions, such as *manujuah hari* (the seventh day after burial), *maampek puluah hari* (the fortieth day), and *manyaratuih hari* (the hundredth day) (Yahya, 2021). Clarify how these recitations serve both spiritual and social functions, reinforcing community bonds and religious identity. On one hand, this recitation offers spiritual solace to the grieving family; on the other, it reflects the deep empathy of the *urang siak* (religious students) for the emotional burden the family bears. More than a mere religious activity, this condolence tradition practiced by the *Urang Siak* of Surau Calau exemplifies an effective

method of Islamization. This approach did not provoke conflict with deep-rooted customary values; instead, it seamlessly wove Islamic teachings into the fabric of living traditions. Islam was thus not perceived as an alien element but became an integral, concrete part of daily life, harmoniously fused with local custom.

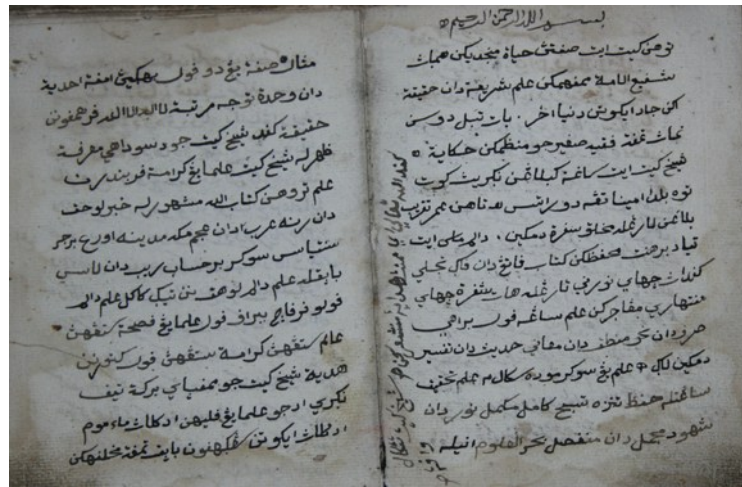


Figure 4. The Text of Syair Faqih Saghir, Surau Calau

Source: Digital reproduction of the Surau Calau manuscripts (2011). Manuscript Code CL-SJJ-2011-67-f.

Furthermore, the vernacularization of Islam within local culture is also manifest in the illustrations and illuminations of manuscript copies. In the image of the *Sharaf al-Anam* manuscript (code CL-SJJ-2011-29) below, the illumination features a root with tendrils spreading outward and a blooming flower. Such floral illuminations are relatively common in Minangkabau manuscripts (Zuriati, 2010). Plant motifs are frequently carved on the *Rumah Gadang* (communal house) of a clan or tribe in the *nagari*, conveying meanings linked to the Minangkabau matrilineal system (Shalika et al., 2020). In this image, the text is placed inside an open window frame decorated with plant motifs known in Minangkabau tradition as *aka cino*, which can be interpreted as “Chinese root” or “the ingenuity of the Chinese people.” Clarify how the *aka cino* motif symbolizes resilience and adaptability of Islamic law within local traditions, emphasizing its cultural significance. The deliberate inclusion of this motif amid the frayed relationship between Islam and *adat* following the Padri War was undoubtedly purposeful. Its use at Surau Calau signals a clear visual identity for Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau and the scholars within his *surau* network. Its presence in the *Sharaf al-Anam* manuscript confirms that this Minangkabau artistic tradition was permitted to “creep” into sacred religious texts. The supple, vine-like *aka cino* motif symbolically represents *syarak* (Islamic law) adapting without losing its “root.” In addition, the concept of *merantau* (migration) is closely tied to this motif. The *surau* implicitly consecrates itself as a new territory of migration—an intellectual and spiritual *rantau*. The extending, intertwined tendrils symbolize the networks of scholarly genealogy (*isnad*) and Sufi brotherhood (*tarekat*) that connected Sijunjung to the principal centers of Islam at the time, such as Aceh and the Haramayn. The depiction of this motif in the *Sharaf al-Anam* manuscript, which is filled with praises of the Prophet Muhammad, appears to symbolize “creeping *barakat*” (spreading divine blessing) through the roots that encircle the text. Just as these roots extend and creep far into the soil, so too can Islamic teachings permeate and take firm root in the life of Minangkabau *nagari* society.

The “visual diplomacy” enacted through this decorative motif in the Surau Calau manuscript fosters a feeling of shared identity, reinforcing the institution’s role as a bridge across the conflict between the Tuanku of the *surau* and the *Kaum Adat* (customary leaders) in Sijunjung. The *surau*’s Tuanku, initially aligned with the Padri movement and intent on “purifying” local elements of *nagari* life that they deemed incompatible with Is-

lamic law, had not only provoked open warfare but also engendered a profound psychological rift.



**Figure 5.** The *kaluak paku kacang balimbiang* motif

Source: Reproduction of *Sharaf al-Anam*, code CL-SJJ-2011-29.

At Calau, however, this dynamic met a counter-current in the form of the “indigenization of Islam” expressed through the motif. By incorporating distinctively Minangkabau carved ornamentation into the manuscript, Surau Calau signaled that becoming a devout Minangkabau Muslim did not require the erasure of one’s Minangkabau identity. The *aka cino* (intertwining root) motif thus became a bridge of adaptation, positioning Islam as the soul (*syarak*) and *adat* as its “body”. The two intertwine and sustain each other like creeping root tendrils. At the same time, amid the festive *maulid* celebrations and the recitation of *Sharaf al-Anam* in that period, the *nagari* inhabitants and *Kaum Adat* attending the sacred event saw a motif familiar from the walls of their *Rumah Gadang* (traditional longhouses) appear within a sacred text, and a sense of ownership took root. The people of the *nagari*, as the congregation of Surau Calau, came to believe that the teachings of Islam brought by Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau were an intrinsic part of their lives—neither alien nor imposed.

The integration of religious literacy and the preservation of *adat* at Surau Calau extended beyond the cultural sphere; it also had a significant impact on the social structure of Minangkabau society (Sunesti et al., 2018). The expanded access to Islamic manuscripts at the surau served as an important vehicle for building collective consciousness, particularly among the *anak siak* (*surau* students) and the congregation of the Shattariyah order. These groups formed part of an *ummah* united in belief and religious practice. The educational process that took place in the *surau* was not merely cognitive; it also served as a space for the socialization of Islamic values, emphasizing the consistent observance of religious teachings while simultaneously validating *adat* as the foundation of Minangkabau social life. In this context, both Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau and his *surau* were transformed into institutions that not only transmitted knowledge but also shaped a religious identity deeply rooted in Minangkabau custom.

The role of both, particularly Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau, as agents of social reconciliation becomes even more crucial when viewed against the historical backdrop of the post-Padri War period. That era was marked by ideological tensions between the *Kaum Adat* and the Padri faction, yet amid a horizontal conflict threatening social cohesion, the Islamic manuscript texts assembled at Surau Calau—which explicitly integrated the principles of *adat* and *syarak*—served as a pacifying instrument of ideological legitimation (Zubair, 2018). These texts, authored or endorsed by Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau, explicitly articulated the integration of Islamic law with Minangkabau customary values, thus serving as a conceptual bridge. They affirmed that *adat* and *syarak* are not mutually exclusive, demonstrating that sharia and *adat* can, in fact, complement each other within the philosophical framework encapsulated in the dictum *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah*. This theological-philosophical approach not only accommodated Minangkabau customary values but also placed them within a hierarchy of Islamic values grounded in the Qur’an. As a result, it defused conflict and built a sustainable social consensus, illustrating the leadership’s role in ideological reconciliation.

## CONCLUSION

By employing the critical historical method and a philological approach, this study identifies a bottom-up dimension of reconciliation operating alongside the broader political realignments of the post-Padri period. The integration of sharia and adat in Sijunjung was substantively shaped by the manuscript literacy tradition of Surau Calau—evident in the colophons of the Kitab Hadarah and Dalail al-Khairat, and in the aka cino illumination of the Sharaf al-Anam—even as this process unfolded in the shadow of Dutch colonial consolidation after 1837. Surau Calau functioned not merely as a religious educational institution but as a site where Sheikh Abdul Wahab Calau's leadership, its educational system, and its manuscript collection together mediated between Islamic reform and Minangkabau custom. This contextual approach balanced commitment to Islamic teaching with respect for local culture, offering a historically situated—if partial and contested—model of how a religious institution negotiated knowledge, culture, and spirituality in the aftermath of civil conflict.

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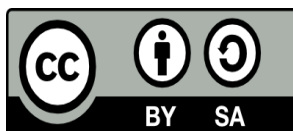
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