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Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and the Shattâriyyah Şûfî Order in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

Abstraksi: Memasuki abad ke-19, dalam tradisi intelektual Islam Indonesia terjadi perubahan corak keilmuan Islam yang sangat signifikan. Jika pada masa sebelumnya bidang keilmuan tasawuf terlihat sangat dominan, maka pada periode ini, yang lebih berkembang adalah gagasan-gagasan tentang pembaharuan pemikiran Islam. Berbagai gerakan pembaharuan Islam pun, di Indonesia khususnya, dan di Asia Tenggara umumnya, segera muncul seiring dengan semakin intensnya transmisi keilmuan dari dunia Islam di Timur Tengah ke berbagai bagian dunia lain, termasuk Dunia Islam Melayu-Indonesia.

Gagasan dan gerakan pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia ini semakin menemukan bentuknya menjelang abad ke 20, dengan lahirnya beberapa sarjana Muslim yang dengan konsisten menyuarakan angin pembaharuan. Hanya saja, gerakan pembaharuan Islam, yang antara lain dimaksudkan untuk "memurnikan" ajaran Islam dari pengaruh adat dan tradisi lokal ini, di beberapa tempat seringkali mendapat tantangan dari para ulama konservatif, yang bersikap lebih akomodatif dan toleran terhadap berbagai tradisi lokal tersebut.

Di dataran tinggi Sumatera Barat (darek) misalnya, pada paroh pertama abad ke-19, muncul gerakan pembaharuan Islam yang dikenal sebagai gerakan Paderi. Pencetusnya adalah tiga orang haji, yaitu Haji Miskin, Haji Sumanik dan Haji Piobang. Pada tahun 1803, gerakan itu resmi berdiri dan segera mendapat sambutan di wilayah darek. Misi gerakan Paderi adalah melakukan "pemurnian" agama dan memberantas praktek beragama yang dianggap bid'ah.

Artikel ini membahas gerakan Paderi di wilayah Pariaman, hampanan dataran rendah di sebelah barat wilayah darek. Dalam historiografi Minangkabau (tambo), wilayah ini disebut rantau barat Minangkabau yang lebih

dikenal dengan nama Rantau Pariaman. Sejak abad ke-17, jauh sebelum masyarakat darek memeluk Islam, agama ini sudah berkembang di Rantau Pariaman. Pusat pengajaran Islam itu terletak di Ulakan, sebuah desa pantai di sebelah selatan Pariaman, di bawah pimpinan Shaikh Burhanuddin. Selama berabad-abad, Islam yang berkembang di Rantau Pariaman menunjukkan ciri sinkretis dan tidak menolak eksistensi adat. Shaikh Burhanuddin juga mengembangkan tarekat Shattâriyyah di Ulakan yang pada prakteknya memang sinkretis.

Penyebaran ide gerakan Paderi ke kawasan pantai barat sejak 1820-an menyebabkan disharmonisasi kehidupan beragama di desa-desa tertentu di Rantau Pariaman. Dalam artikel ini pengaruh ide gerakan Paderi dicobatelusuri melalui biografi Shaikh Daud Sunur, seorang ulama yang berasal dari Rantau Pariaman sendiri.

Sejak awal keulamaannya, paham keagamaan Shaikh Daud sudah bersebrangan dengan ordo Ulakan. Shaikh Daud telah mengarang dua syair yang terkenal yaitu Syair Makah dan Madinah (SMMd) atau Syair Rukun Haji dan Syair Sunur (SSn). Kedua syair ini memberikan banyak informasi tentang perjalanan hidup Shaikh Daud dan pemikiran keagamaannya yang reformis.

Di dalam SMMd, Shaikh Daud banyak mengkritik kaum ortodoks "agama Ulakan." SMMd menjadi populer di kalangan kaum pembaharu di darek pada paroh kedua abad ke-19, karena di dalamnya mereka memperoleh landasan tekstual untuk menyerang pengikut ordo Ulakan.

Sudah lama diketahui bahwa kajian historis mengenai konflik agama di Minangkabau terlalu memberi penekanan pada darek. Hubungan antara darek dan Rantau Pariaman pada periode Perang Paderi masih kurang terungkap. Kisah hidup Shaikh Daud menggambarkan percobaan penetrasi dan perluasan ide "pemurnian" agama yang tercetus di darek ke wilayah Rantau Pariaman yang masyarakatnya kosmopolit, bersifat terbuka, dan sinkretis dalam menjalankan agama. Sejauh yang dapat dikesan dari kisah hidup Shaikh Daud, dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa sepanjang paroh pertama abad ke-19, ide "pemurnian" agama Kaum Paderi mengalami kesulitan menembus konservatisme beragama masyarakat Pariaman, bahkan tampaknya tidak pernah benar-benar berhasil. Walaupun selapis kecil ulama muda dari pantai (setelah belajar ke darek) mulai kritis terhadap "Agama Ulakan", tapi rupanya mereka belum cukup mampu meruntuhkan otoritas pusat tarekat Shattâriyyah itu. Sampai berakhirnya Perang Paderi, masyarakat Rantau Pariaman tetap teguh memegang "Agama Ulakan". Resistensi yang mereka tunjukkan terhadap ide Paderi membentuk enclave di pinggir sebuah wilayah yang luas di tengah Pulau Sumatera yang sedang dilanda euforia "pembaharuan agama."

Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and the Shattâriyyah Sûfî Order in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

خلاصة: فما أن استهل القرن التاسع عشر الميلادي حتى طرأ تغير كان له أهمية قصوى في طبيعة الفكر الإسلامي بإندونيسيا، فإذا كان التصوف فيما يبدو هو السائد من قبل فإن ما حدث في هذه الفترة انتشار الأفكار الداعية إلى تجديد الفكر الإسلامي، ولم يلبث أن نشأت حركات تجديدية في إندونيسيا خاصة وفي جنوب شرقي آسيا عامة مع كثافة نقل العلوم الإسلامية من العالم الإسلامي بالشرق الأوسط إلى مختلف مناطق العالم بما في ذلك عالم الملايو-إندونيسيا.

ولقد ازدادت الأفكار والحركات التجديدية بروزا في إندونيسيا بحلول القرن العشرين الميلادي، وذلك بميلاد عدد من المفكرين المسلمين الذين يلتزمون بنشر رياح التجديد، بيد أن حركة التجديد الإسلامية التي كانت تجاهد من أجل تنقية الإسلام من آثار الأحكام القبائلية والتقاليد المحلية قد تعرضت في بعض المناطق لمعارضة من العلماء والشيوخ المحافظين الذين يتخذون موقف التقبل والتسامح لتلك التقاليد المختلفة.

في مرتفعات سومطره الغربية، على سبيل المثال، نشأت حركة تجديدية عرفت باسم حركة بادري (Gerakan Padri)، ويرجع الفضل في نشوئه إلى ثلاثة شخصيات هم الحاج مسكين (Haji Miskin) والحاج سومانيك (Haji Sumanik) والحاج فيوبانج (Haji Piyobang)، وفي عام ١٨٠٣م أعلنت رسميا عن قيام الحركة واستجاب لها المجتمع في مناطق المرتفعات، وكانت تستهدف تنقية الإسلام من شوائب البدع.

يتناول هذا البحث حركة بادري في مناطق باريامان (Pariaman) وهي مناطق عرفت في جغرافية المينانجكابا (Minangkabau) وباسم منطقة المهاجرين وكان الإسلام قد انتشر في المناطق المحيطة بها من ولاية مينانجكاباو قبل اعتناق مجتمع هذه المرتفعات وعرفت باسم داريك (Darek) الإسلام بفترة طويلة منذ القرن السابع عشر الميلادي،

وكان هناك مركز إسلامي للتعليم يقع في قرية أولاك (Ulakan) على الجانب الساحلي من جنوب باريامان تحت إشراف الشيخ برهان الدين، وقد انتشر الإسلام في هذه المنطقة منذ قرون مصطبغا بالترعات التلقيفية ومتجنباً التعارض مع العرف السائد، فكان الشيخ برهان الدين يروج طريقته الصوفية الشطارية المتميزة بترعتها التلقيفية.

و لم يلبث أن أدى نزوح حركة بادري إلى الساحل الغربي من المنطقة منذ ١٨٢٠م إلى إحداث نوع من عدم الانسجام في الحياة الدينية لدى المجتمعات القروية في المنطقة، وفي هذا المقال محاولة من الكاتب إلقاء الضوء على آثار حركة بادري من خلال عرض حياة الشيخ داود سنور (Shaikh Dawud Sunur) أحد الأعلام من باريامان نفسها.

لقد نشأ الشيخ داود في حياته الدينية من موقف مخالف لما هو سائد في مركز أولاك، وكان يؤلف أبياتا من الشعر جمعه في كتابين اولهما بعنوان *Syair Mekkah dan Madinah* (أشعار مكة والمدينة) والثاني *Syair Rukun Haji* (أشعار أركان الحج) و *Syair Sunur* (أشعار سنور)؛ وفيهما معلومات شافية عن حياة الشيخ داود وأفكاره الدينية الإصلاحية؛ ففي الكتاب الأول يتوجه الكاتب بالنقد إلى العلماء التقليديين في أولاكلن مما جعله مشهوراً لدى المجددين في منطقة داريك في النصف الثاني من القرن التاسع عشر الميلادي لما وجدوا فيه من أسس نصية للجهوم على أتباع مركز أولاك.

وعلى الرغم من كثرة الدراسات التاريخية التي أجريت حول الصراع الفكري في مينانجكابو مع التركيز على منطقة داريك فإن العلاقة بين داريك ومنطقة المهاجرين في باريامان مازالت غامضة، وهذا البحث الذي يستعرض حياة الشيخ داود تكشف النقاب عن محاولة ترويج حركة تحرير الدين وتوسيع رقعتها من داريك إلى منطقة المهاجرين وهي منطقة يميل المجتمع فيها إلى الانفتاح والتفتح والتلقيق في ممارستهم الدينية؛ ويظهر من تاريخ حياة الشيخ داود أنه طوال فترة النصف الأول من القرن التاسع عشر الميلادي كانت حركة تنقية الدين التي يقوم بها أهل بادري تتعرض لصعوبات كثيرة للدخول في مجتمعات باريامان ذات التزعة المحافظة، بل ليس لهم نجاح يذكر؛ ولئن كان هناك عدد قليل من العلماء الشبان بدعوا بوجهون النقد إلى أولاكلن بعد تعلمهم في داريك إلا أنهم لم يستطيعوا فيما يبدو أن يقللوا من نفوذ الطريقة الشطارية؛ وإلى أن انتهت حرب بادري بقيت مجتمعات المهاجرين في باريامان متمسكة بالمذهب السائد في أولاك ولم يسع أهل بادري إزاء هذه المقاومة الفكرية إلا التمركز في مقاطعة منعزلة وسط ولاية شاسعة في قلب جزيرة سومطره التي تعاني من جنون فكرة التجديد الديني.

In the first half of the 19th Century, there once lived an *ulama* (religious leader) on the west coast of Minangkabau (modern day West Sumatra), named Shaikh Daud (not to be confused with Shaikh Daud Al-Faṭṭānî from Pattani, southern Thailand).² But many people do not yet know about this man. With the exception of Hamka (1967:34), researchers who have studied Islam in West Sumatra have almost never mentioned his name. Hamka only mentions him briefly, saying that Shaikh Daud is one of the *ulama* from the west coast of Minangkabau who left his birthplace rather than stay to watch the increasing power of the Dutch in his native land.

The aim of this article is to study Shaikh Daud in the context of the Islamic modernist movement in Rantau Pariaman in the first half of the 19th Century. What little we do know about this *ulama* is that his understanding of religion is quite the opposite of the doctrine of Ulakan, the center of the Shaṭṭāriyyah Sufi Order. In previous studies on the modernist Islamic movement in West Sumatra, there has been too much focus on the *darek* area (the hinterland of Minangkabau) because this is where the *Paderi War* took place (see for example, Steijn Parvé 1844; Steijn Parvé 1855; Radjab 1954; Schrieke 1973; Dobbin 1992).

On the contrary, there is not much we know about the religious life of the west coast, especially in Rantau Pariaman, in the same period. Furthermore, there is an image that the community of Rantau Pariaman and the area that was controlled by the Shaṭṭāriyyah Sufi Order did not experience internal dynamism in the sphere of religious life. (Ulakan is a village close to Pariaman entrepot, and being the center of the Shaṭṭāriyyah Sufi Order, is thus important for Minangkabau). Because of the unique and mutual relationship between the *darek* area and Rantau Pariaman³ in terms of the geopolitical concept of Minangkabau, it is hard to imagine that what happened in the *darek* area did not influence Rantau Pariaman and vice-versa.⁴ In this article, I wish to highlight the mutual relationship between the hinterland (*darek*) area and Rantau Pariaman, particularly in the context of religion and the role of Shaikh Daud.

The Works of Shaikh Daud

We know of the existence of this *ulama* because he wrote two *syair* (poems) which can still be traced today. The first was *Syair Makah dan Madinah* (The Poem of Mecca and Medina) or *Syair Rukun Haji* (Iskandar 1996:444-48; Wieringa 2001:5-9); the second was *Syair Sunur* (The Poem of Sunur).⁵ It is thought that Shaikh Daud wrote *Syair*

Makah dan Madinah (henceforth referred to as *SMMd*) while he was in Mecca in the 1830s (Snackey 1888:10-11). In this poem, Shaikh Daud describes the journey of the pilgrimage to Mecca, the religious situation in the Holy Land at that time, and the scenery of the city of Mecca and Medina and their surrounds. In this poem he also criticizes the doctrine of *Martabat Tujuh* (the theory of 'Seven Stages') (see Braginsky 1998b; Wieringa 2001:2-5; Suryadi 2001b: 203-15).

To date, no one is sure whether Shaikh Daud produced any other works.⁶ Although Shaikh Daud was not very productive, his two known poems were quite popular in Minangkabau. *SMMd* was widely known in the Minangkabau area in the 19th Century, at the height of the religious conflict in West Sumatra.⁷ The Minangkabau religious reformist group based in Cangking seem to have used *SMMd* as an approved text to legitimate their criticism of the orthodox group based in Ulakan as Shaikh Daud criticizes the doctrine of *Martabat Tujuh*, which was practiced by the *Shattâriyyah tarekat* (Sufi Order) followers, in this poem. Furthermore, *SMMd* was once one of the "guidebooks" used by *Jâwâb* people (that is, people from the Indonesian Archipelago) who undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca in the 19th Century. *SMMd* was published as a lithograph in *Jawi* (Arabic-Malay) script no more than 6 times in Singapore because it was so popular with potential pilgrims from the Archipelago.⁸ Before that, there were quite a lot of handwritten reviews (manuscripts) of *SMMd* signifying that this poem was popular in the Melayu world before printing technology was known in this area.⁹

Syair Sunur (henceforth referred to as *SSn*) was also popular at this time. It is thought that this poem was published after *SMMd*, perhaps in the 1850s (see the explanation at the end). Shaikh Daud wrote it at the time he was undertaking his *rantau*,¹⁰ living at Trumon on the west coast of Aceh (Snackey 1888:12; Suryadi 2001a; Suryadi 2001b). In this poem, Shaikh Daud describes his suffering of homesickness and the fact that he misses his daughter, whom he left in Sunur. The backdrop for this song is the west coast of the island of Sumatra (Sunur in Rantau Pariaman and Trumon in Aceh) (Snackey 1888:10; Al-Tanggari 1904:[i]; Iskandar 1996:448; Braginsky 1998a:21).

The texts of *SSn*, which have been preserved in one place together with other texts in a bundle of manuscripts, have usually been found together with *Syair Dagang* (The Poem of a Wanderer), *SMMd*, *Syair Martabat Tujuh* (The Poem of the 'Seven Stages') and *Syair Perahu* (The Poem of the Boat) (Iskandar 1999:165-67,176-77,299-301,582-83).

My study of the manuscripts of these poem shows that there are no less than seven handwritten reviews of *SSn* stored at Leiden University.¹¹ (My traces through the catalogue shows that the *SSn* manuscripts do not exist anywhere else). I also identified seven printed publications of *SSn*, printed in *Jawi* or Roman script.¹² This find is enough for us to draw a picture of the appreciation of the community for and popularity of *SSn* in Minangkabau in the past, and also the popularity of *SMMd*, which reached a greater audience than just Minangkabau, the place in which the author was born.

This article itself will not cover the philological study of both *SMMd* and *SSn*. As I have previously stated, this article will only focus on the discourse of the *ulama* Shaikh Daud and the role he played in the religious sphere in Rantau Pariaman. While I describe the situation of Rantau Pariaman in the first half of the 19th Century, I will also discuss the relationship between modernists and traditionalists in the religious life of Rantau Pariaman in that era. Of course, both works of this *ulama* (*SMMd* and *SSn*) are important source texts that will be often quoted in this article.

Sunur, Shaikh Daud's Village

Before the establishment of the regional system of government administration in Indonesia which was legislated for in the Constitutional Act No. 5/1979, Sunur (or *Sunua* in the dialect of the Rantau Pariaman people) was one of 543 *nagari* (traditional villages of Minangkabau) which then became part of the *Kecamatan* (district) of Nan Sabaris, the *Kabupaten* (Municipality) of Padang Pariaman in the Province of West Sumatra.¹³ In the Dutch colonial era, Sunur was part of the *distrik* of Ulakan.¹⁴ In the early 19th Century, Sunur was only a small village located between Ulakan and Rantau Pariaman, which was the major trading port (entrepot) for the area north of Padang. In the past however, this village was an important salt production center in Rantau Pariaman. Stuers (1849 [Vol.1]:13) mentions that Sunur produced salt since the beginning of the VOC (Dutch East Indies Company) era in 16th to 18th Centuries, and it became a coastal village which was often visited by people from the *darek* area to buy salt. Traditionally, Sunur was included in the west coast area of Minangkabau. Sunur will form the focus of this study as it is the birthplace of Shaikh Daud, as is evident by his writing in *SSn* (emphasis added by author):

*Jikalau ayah menjadi bayan,
 Terkembangkan sayap kedua tangan,
 Terbanglah ayah menyisi awan,
 Menjelang Sunur kampung halaman (SSn: bait 70)¹⁵*

If I became a parakeet,
 I'd spread the wings of my arm,
 I'd fly along the clouds,
 To Sunur, my childhood home

*Kalau terpejam mataku tidur,
 Serasa di dalam negeri Sunur,
 Tolan yang tadi lawan bertutur,
 Sukalah hati menerima syukur (SSn: bait 19)*

When I closed my eyes to sleep,
 I felt I was back in Sunur,
 For those friends with whom I chatted there,
 My heart delights and is thankful

The people of Sunur, as with people living in surrounding *nagari*, professed to be originally from Pagaruyung-Batusangkar in the hinterland of Minangkabau, believing that their ancestors settled the region around the year 1300 AD.¹⁶ The traditional village of Sunur consists of 15 *korong* (subsections of a *nagari*), including Kampung Kandang /Koto Gadis, Koto Rajo, Kampung Aur, Kampung Tengah, Taluk Nibung, Kampung Jambak, Pasir, Pasar Baru, Pintir Kayu, Padang Kalam, Olo, Pakotan, Kabun, Pautan Kabau, and Kampung Lintang.¹⁷ Some of the *korong* were located near the coast of the Indonesian Ocean while others were located a bit further back from the coast in rice paddy areas.

Previously, the formal leader and custom functionary in Sunur was the *penghulu*. There were 6 *suku* (clans) living in Sunur, namely the *Guci*, *Koto*, *Jambak*, *Sikumbang*, *Panyalai*, and *Tanjung*, each represented by a *penghulu*, amongst others Datuk Sutan Ameh, Datuk Tan Kuaso, and Orang Kaya Bendahara. The last mentioned seems to have been a minor king who had a large influence in Sunur as his name has been found in all parts of Rantau Pariaman over the centuries.¹⁸ A Dutch report noted that in 1730 Sunur was governed by three *penghulu*, namely Orang Kaya Besar, Maharaja Nadoe (Nanda), and Sri Maharaja. In 1760 the government structure of Sunur was changed to include a high official (*hoofdregent*) assisted by five subordinates (van Bazel in Kielstra 1887a:521-22). Around 1835 Maharaja

Nadoe (Nanda) became the high official for Sunur (see letter in Cod.Or.5554 [C], Leiden).

The Indonesian Ocean borders Sunur on the west and *nagari* Kurai Taji borders it on the east. The southern border of Sunur is *nagari* Ulakan — the center of Shattâriyyah Sufi Order in Minangkabau. On the northern border of Sunur is the village of Lubuk Ipuh, one of 21 *korong* in the area of the jurisdiction of *nagari* Kurai Taji. Eventually, Sunur and Kurai Taji united to become just one *nagari* named Sunur. However, conflict within the leadership resulted in the *nagari* of Sunur being split into two to become Sunur and Kurai Taji once more. It is not known when the conflict occurred.¹⁹

Currently in Lubuk Ipuh there remains a small prayer house, the place where Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh — the name mentioned by Snackey as the debating rival of Shaikh Daud in his book (1888) — taught his own Islamic religious doctrine influenced by the Shattâriyyah Sufi Order. Today, the authority of the prayer house of Lubuk Ipuh is still controlled by the descendants of the Tuanku Shaikh who bear the title *Ungku Kali*. It seems that the role of *tuanku* (religious leader) of the Lubuk Ipuh prayer house has been handed down according to family heritage, unlike in Sunur where the process for selecting the *tuanku* was more democratic.

Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the 19th Century

The focus of this discourse is restricted to the region of Rantau Pariaman from the last decade of the 18th Century through to the first half of the 19th Century.²⁰ Rantau Pariaman (now Padang Pariaman district, West Sumatra Province) includes the low land and coastal area spreading from Jambak in the south (near Padang) to Air Bangis in the north; from the west coast of the Indonesian Ocean (not including Mentawai Island) to the hill villages on the west coast of Lake Maninjau in the Minangkabau highlands. Shaikh Daud was thought to have spent the first half of his life in Sunur during this period (more or less between the 1790s and the 1830s). Although he spent half of his life outside of his birthplace — he went to Mecca in the Middle East and Trumon in Aceh — the course of his life was much influenced by his experience as a child living in the village. Sunur is a one and a half hour walk south of Pariaman city-port and about an hours walk north of Ulakan.

I will attempt to reconstruct the world of the villages of the coastal

communities around Rantau Pariaman in this period: politically, socially, as well as religiously. This will be useful in helping us understand the natural environment and socio-cultural setting in which Shaikh Daud grew up, and which also shaped his understanding of religion, which was critical of Ulakan. Of course the focus of our attention is not only the Pariaman port, but also the satellite villages such as Naras, Kurai Taji, Sungai Sarik, Sunur, Tapakis, Ulakan, Pauh Kamar, Toboh and Pakandangan.²¹

As the biggest port and biggest city in the area at that time, the economic activities of Pariaman certainly influenced the life of the surrounding communities. Rantau Pariaman played an important role as an entrepot, with all its fluctuations, in the flow of sea trade for the west coast of Sumatra. Amongst other things traded here were commodities from the hinterland of Minangkabau, stored at Pariaman port before being shipped off to be traded in other places. The second biggest port in Rantau Pariaman is Tikau, located in northern Pariaman. Long before the VOC officially entered this area through the *Perjanjian Painan* (Painansch Contract) of 1663, ships originating from Gujarat, Arabia, China, as well as ships owned by westerners²² had been docking at the Pariaman harbor.²³ The importance of Rantau Pariaman along the entire length of the west coast of Minangkabau in the geo-political context of Minangkabau is implicit in the phrase "*orang Rantau*" (meaning people who originate from Rantau Pariaman and its surroundings).²⁴

It is pertinent to take a quick look at the political situation in Minangkabau in this period. In 1795 the English entered Padang harbor as a result of the changing political map caused by the war in Europe: France occupied The Netherlands and the Dutch King, Willem V, fled to Kew in England. From exile he wrote to his colonial troops overseas commanding them to surrender their colonies to the English. As a consequence of the King's letters, the Dutch ruler in West Sumatra regretfully handed the area over to the English, who at that time were based in Bengkulu (Amran 1981: 350-83).

At the same time, in the hinterland of Minangkabau, the Paderi movement, which was proclaimed in 1803, was gaining greater influence. The slaughter of the family of the King of Minangkabau was carried out by the Paderi group in Kota Tengah in 1815, and was seen as a result of the interference of Europeans in this war. Pressured constantly by the Paderi group, the *kaum adat* (the adherents of traditional customs) sought military assistance from outsiders, in

this case, the Europeans. Thomas Stamford Raffles, the representative of England in Padang, decided to intervene in the internal conflict of Minangkabau. He protected the Royal family of King Alam Minangkabau who had escaped the slaughter, and permitted them to live in Padang. Raffles bestowed on the King the title of “Tuanku Suruaso”.

But Raffle’s plans were never implemented, again due to changes in the political policy of London concerning the colonies. In May 1819 the English were forced to surrender western Minangkabau (including Bengkulu) to the Dutch while the Dutch were required to hand the Malaka (in the Malay Peninsula) over to England.²⁵ Tuanku Suruaso and his sister remained in Padang to advise the Dutch of the daily activities of the Paderi movement in the hinterland. The Dutch Company representative, Kapitein der Infanterie Dienema, took over authority from the British Higher Commander in West Sumatra, and English troops withdrew from the hinterland of Minangkabau. Meanwhile, the Bengalezen (Bengali troops from India) and indigenous troops that were formerly under British military command fell under Dutch military command. In 1820, seventy-six *penghulus* from the hinterland who survive the Paderi group attack pledged their support for the Dutch.²⁶ Batavia (present day Jakarta) sent James du Puy as Resident for Sumatra’s west coast, based in Padang. In the years that followed the Dutch intervened militarily in the hinterland. Moreover, the Dutch were more aggressive than the English. James du Puy decided to fully engage in the conflict between the Paderi group and the *Kaum Adat*.²⁷ He mentioned: “It is necessary to occupy the hinterland using military power”.

In the meantime, the influence of the Paderi group in the hinterland had spread widely—to Agam, Tanah Datar, and Limapuluh Kota. As witnessed by Thomas Stamford Raffles during his journey to the hinterland of Minangkabau (from 16 July till 30 July 1818), in Tanah Datar, the center of *Kaum Adat*, as symbolized by the Pagaruyung Palace, the Paderi movement seemed to have influenced the life of the society. “On entering the country”, Raffles wrote to the Duchess of Somerset on 10 September 1818,

“We were struck by the costume of the people, which is now any thing but Malay, the whole being clad according to the custom of the *Orang Putis*, or *Padris*, that is to say, in white or blue, with turbans, and allowing their beard²⁸ to grow, in conformity with the ordinances of Tuanku Pasaman, the religious

reformer. Unaccustomed to wearing turbans, and by nature deficient in beard, these poor people make but a sorry appearance in their new costume. The women, who are also clad in white or blue cloth, do not appear to the best advantage in this new costume; many of them conceal their heads under a kind of hood, through which an opening is made sufficient to expose their eyes and nose alone".²⁹

On 21 February 1821 the *Kaum Adat* handed rule of the hinterland of Minangkabau over to the Dutch Company who willingly helped them fight against the Paderi group. Agreement between the two groups was reached in Padang in discussions attended by the Padang Commander, Sutan Raja Mansyur Alamsyah, and his deputy, Tuanku Bandaro Raja Johan. The *Kaum Adat* took an oath on the Koran that they were willing to hand over the hinterland to the Dutch Company and promised to support them in their fight against the Paderi group (Amran 1981:409). On April 1821 at the command of the Resident, Dutch troops under the leadership of Infantry Captain Goffinet and Captain Dienema attacked Sulit Air through Simawang, located on the east coast of Lake Singkarak. The Paderi group in Sulit Air was defeated, and as an unnamed Dutch soldier commented, "Thus, our war against the Paderi group just began!"³⁰

On 8 December 1821 a young and very ambitious soldier, Lieutenant Colonel Raaff, arrived at Padang harbor. He soon became a specter among the Paderi fighters of the hinterland. He was sent by Batavia to West Sumatra in order to lead large scale attacks on the Paderi fortresses in the *darek* area. On 21 December in the same year, assisted by Captain Goffinet, Lieutenant Lemlin, and Artillery Lieutenant Kluppel, he moved to Simawang. From there they attacked the Paderi fortresses in Tanah Datar and Agam. Another detachment was sent to Pariaman (7 hours walk from Padang). In the villages they passed through, they gathered the village chiefs and asked them to cooperate with them against the Paderi group. So it is apparent that from the beginning the Dutch tried to block the Paderi movement entering Rantau Pariaman. On 24 December the detachment occupied Kayutanam and the base of Ambacang Hill (12 hours walk from Padang), thus opening the way for the next operation in Rantau Pariaman. They cut a road through Padang to Jambak, Ulakan, Pakandangan, Kayutanam, "Tambangong" (Tambangan), and finally to Bukit Sipinang.³¹

As I mentioned above, this study will not focus on the Paderi movement in *darek*. But one important thing to remember is that in

the 1820s, early on in the Paderi War against the Dutch and *Kaum Adat*, a young man from a coastal village in Rantau Pariaman seems to have gone to a important religious school in *darek*. This man — the young Daud — witnessed the conflict while grasping an understanding of the new ideas spread by the Paderi reformers. Meanwhile, in his birthplace, the Dutch Company tried to strengthen its stranglehold. Coastal trade organized by the Dutch Company expanded as far as northern Padang. Along with the escalation of the conflict of the Paderi War in the highlands of Padang, there was a simultaneous expansion of coastal trade by the Dutch in conjunction with their military consolidation. This was designed to block the relationship between the Paderi group and the outside world, especially through the harbors of north Rantau Pariaman such as Tiku, Sasak, Air Bangis and Katiagan.

The Dutch leaders of Padang placed a permanent representative in Pariaman for the first time in 1821. Resident James du Puy delegated the task of *posthouder* (civil administrator) of the entrepot to J. Inveld, who held this post until 1824.³² In the following years the Dutch increased their political consolidation in the area of Rantau Pariaman. Administrative Area V Kota, VII Kota and Naras received particular attention because the communities there often rebelled against Dutch rule (these three areas are located back from the coast in the area of Rantau Pariaman and have direct borders with the hinterland where the Paderi group were influential). Dutch military detachments started regular inspections of the villages around the area of Rantau Pariaman. Starting in 1826, local leaders began to be included in the government. This was of course, aimed at gaining support from the community while at the same time controlling them. Also starting in 1826, an official *Regent* was appointed for the area of Rantau Pariaman. The first Regent of Rantau Pariaman was Tuanku Seriaman, and because of his obedience and because he was considered to be able to work together with the Dutch, he continued in that role for 12 years,³³ while at the same time in Padang, the resident official changed five times—from J. du Puy to H.J.J.L. de Stuers (1824), then for a short time to H. MacGillavry (1829), then to C.P.J. Elout (1831), then to E.M. Francis (1835), and then to A.V. Michiels (1838).³⁴

From 1826 an official acting as civil and military commander was also installed in Pariaman. Evidently, the Dutch considered it important to set up government administration and organize military personal in this entrepot to supervise the surrounding area. Second Lieu-

tenant Bergman first undertook this official role, but at the end of 1826 he, together with a group of 30 military personal, was attacked by a group of residents from the Administrative Area VII Kota, and Bergman and several of his followers (including one indigenous lieutenant) were killed. Residents of Administrative Area VII Kota and Naras had resented the Dutch for a long time. The attackers of Bergman's detachment were arrested by a detachment led by Engelbert van Bevevoorden. The attackers, including a man who appeared in Kurai Taji traditional bazaar and arrogantly said that he had killed the most "white people" (the Dutch) while showing a skull which was probably Bergman's, were then exiled to Java. It was also suspected that one of the inciters of the attack was a renown troublemaker named Baginda Te Namé (Bagindo [Su]Tan Ameh), originally from Pakandangan, who also disliked the Dutch. Although he was suspected of planning the attack on the Dutch patrol, they could not arrest him because they did not have enough evidence.³⁵ In 1827, J.W.H. Everts held the post of civil and military commander of Pariaman. In 1832 the post was handed over to E. van Bevevoorden, and in 1833/4 Second Lieutenant J.C. Boelhouver held the post. In 1833 a new military post was established in Tiku to control the Paderi movement in the north.³⁶

With increased political and economic expansion into the hinterland of Minangkabau, the Dutch were aware of the importance of reconstructing their government administration in the coastal areas. Starting in 1834, a large lowland area of northern Padang — spreading from Lubuk Alung to the area of Rao and the valley of Alahan Panjang in the hinterland — were included in a new *kabupaten* called *Regentschap Priaman, Bonjol en Rau*. But after three years the northern area bloomed to become a new district included in the areas taken by the Dutch after the fall of the defense of Paderi, which finally occurred in Bonjol in 1837. The new shape of the district of the former *kabupaten*, which for a long time was called *Priaman, Tikoe en de Danau Districten*, only included the area of Lubuk Alung, south to Tiku and north as far as Lake Maninjau in the hinterland. For smooth government and at the same time to control the flow of trade between the hinterland and the coastal harbor, the Dutch installed officials in important villages along the trade routes, amongst others, in Tiku, Kayutanam, Sicincin, and VII Kota. At the end of 1835, 12 village chiefs and 6 local royal leaders from Rantau Pariaman were heavily pressured by Tuanku Sarif Amal of Pariaman³⁷ and Maharaja

Nanda of Sunur to send a letter declaring their loyalty and “complaining about their luck” to the Dutch in Padang. (This letter was received on the 24th November 1835). These 18 local leaders hand signed the letter and declared themselves as representatives “of royalty and local chiefs represented all residents in Rantau Pariaman.” They sent the *Orang Kaya* Sutan Bakabut as their messenger, a village chief of Pariaman, together with three others: Tuanku Nan Elok from Dua Belas Kota, Tuanku Ulakan from Ulakan, and Orang Kaya Maharaja Lela, the village chief from Sekerat Hulu. They handed the letter to *I-y-w-sy*,³⁸ the Dutch leader in Pariaman, for him to give it to “Tuan Kumandur Besar” (The Highest Commander), the Official Resident in Padang, E.M. Francis.³⁹

In the first half of the 18th Century, politically, the entire area of Rantau Pariaman was almost entirely under Dutch control although trade activities, especially from and to the hinterland, were probably not yet fully organized due to the Paderi War. A report by Lieutenant Boelhouwer (1841) gives much information about the military expeditions of the Dutch in the villages in the *Distrik* Rantau Pariaman, Tiku and Danau (particularly at the time of the weekly market). The Dutch political consolidation certainly influenced life in the Rantau Pariaman community. The Dutch did not take very seriously the problems in Naras, which had a revolt led by Tuanku Nan Cerdik (Boelhouwer, *Ibid*: 40,70-1; Amran 1981: 612-23). Tuanku Nan Cerdik was accused of being a smuggler who inflicted losses upon the Dutch (Kielstra 1849 [Vol. I]:150). But other sources mention that he helped the Dutch attack Ulakan, but that the Dutch then betrayed him. The Dutch removed him from his position as *penghulu* in Naras and he was replaced by his nephew who was considered loyal to the Dutch. This is why Tuanku Nan Cerdik then crossed to the Paderi group (Amran 1997:89-96). The Dutch offered 1000 Gulden to anyone who captured Tuanku Nan Cerdik, dead or alive. In June 1831 the Dutch, assisted by Tuanku XII Kota’s followers, attacked Naras and VII Kota in a large scale assault. On 12 August 1832 Tuanku Nan Cerdik surrendered. He was then exiled to Cianjur, West Java and pass away there in 1851 (Boelhouwer *Op.Cit*: 40; Stuers 1849 [Vol. I]: 151-2; Amran 1997:89-100).

It is apparent that while Shaikh Daud was still young, Rantau Pariaman started to be affected by the currents of the religious movements that existed in the *darek* area. In the second decade of the 19th Century, the influence of the Paderi movement of the hinterland of

Minangkabau expanded significantly. The call to “return to *shari’at* (Islamic Law)” that was spread by the Paderi movement began to reverberated throughout Rantau Pariaman. However, the syncretic quality of the religious life of Rantau Pariaman, largely a result of the influence of the Shattâriyyah Sufi Order in Ulakan and also because of the heterogeneous composition of the residents, particularly in the harbor cities such as Pariaman and Tiku, caused the idea of change blowing in from the hinterland to be largely unacceptable to the coastal communities. However, evidently the idea of change was positively accepted by a group of *ulama*, particularly from rural villages, thus causing the breakdown of the relationship between two villages that embraced different religious understandings. The conflict between the two neighboring coastal villages, Sunur and Lubuk Ipuh, demonstrates that the idea of change was closer to the Shattâriyyah center of Ulakan, Sunur being only a one-hour walk from Ulakan.

One of the obvious differences between the methods of the *ulama* of these two villages was the way in which they determined the start of *Idul Fitri* (the day marking the end of the fasting month of Ramadan) every year. The people of Sunur always celebrated *Idul Fitri* (*Hari Raya*) one day before the people of Lubuk Ipuh. The Lubuk Ipuh prayer house and the Raya Sunur Mosque had different methods of determining the start of the Islamic month of Syawal after the 30 days of fasting. The *ulama* from Lubuk Ipuh (often considered by the people of Sunur to be conservative) strongly believed in the *ru’yah* method (watching the moon with the naked eye) while the *ulama* of Sunur strongly believed in the *hisab* method (mathematical calculation based on the calendar).⁴⁰ From this, we can catch a glimpse of the historical differences in doctrine or religious traditions between the *ulama* of Sunur and Lubuk Ipuh. This phenomenon is in line with the writings of Snackey that describe the differences in religious understanding between the two villages, and is also implicit in the debates between Shaikh Daud of Sunur and Tuanku Shaikh of Lubuk Ipuh (Snackey 1888:10). However, we cannot yet conclude whether these debates were more related to differences in *madhhab* (schools of Islamic law), to doctrinal misunderstandings (between differing Sufi order) or for other reasons altogether. This issue will be discussed further in a later section of this paper.

Ulakan, the neighboring village of coastal Sunur, played a very important role in the history of the Islamisation of Minangkabau as,

since the early 17th Century, this village was a center for the spread of Islam on the west coast under the leadership of Shaikh Burhanuddin or Tuanku Ulakan (1646-1704), who was buried in this village.⁴¹ Followers of Shaikh Burhanuddin commemorated his death (15 Syafar or 19/20 the of June 1704) through *Basapa* (pilgrimages to his grave in Ulakan). People from all over Minangkabau, both the highlands and the coastal area, still go to Ulakan and perform ascetic rituals for several days at the grave of Shaikh Burhanuddin or Tuanku Ulakan. They pray and repeatedly recite the Confession of [Islamic] Faith. According to van Ronkel, there is a belief in the community that seven devotional journeys to the holy grave of Tuanku Ulakan is as meritorious as undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca, thus the *Basapa* practices are still carried out annually.⁴²

Although Shaikh Burhanuddin was probably not the first *ulama* to introduce Islam to Minangkabau,⁴³ it appears that he was the *ulama* who founded the *surau* (prayer house) that taught Islamic religion in Minangkabau and moreover, he played a role in ensuring the empowerment of the Islamisation movement amongst the residents of Rantau Pariaman, which then spread to the *darek* area. Many students came from all over western Sumatra to study here. When they finished their studies in the Ulakan prayer house, they returned home to teach Islam in their own villages.⁴⁴ One of the first branches of Burhanuddin's prayer house in the *darek* area was in Pamansiangan, Kapeh-Kapeh, Padang Panjang.⁴⁵ In the 1870s, prayer houses in the *darek* area, particularly in the area around Kota Tua, certainly still followed the Shaṭṭāriyyah of Ulakan. This was before new ideas that were critical of the Ulakan prayer house were introduced by groups of reformist *haji* (returned pilgrims from Mecca) (Dobbin 1992:146-52).

There is a significant possibility that the *ulama* of Lubuk Ipuh, under the leadership of Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh or Ungku Kali already followed the Ulakan doctrine or at least were strongly influenced by the doctrine of the (Shaṭṭāriyyah) Ulakan prayer house.⁴⁶ The community of both villages were known as "people who fast after"⁴⁷ because of their continued loyalty to the *ru'yah* method in determining when to celebrate *Idul Fitri*. This practice had been followed for a very long time in Ulakan as well as in other *nagari* that shared the same philosophy (Shrieke 1973:26). On the contrary, the people of Sunur were known as the "people that fasted first."⁴⁸ This difference clearly indicates the historically different religious under-

standing between Sunur on the one side and Ulakan and Lubuk Ipuh on the other.⁴⁹ To date, the religious bonds between Ulakan and Lubuk Ipuh are still relatively strong so that the people of Sunur seem “squeezed” in between these two villages. The life story of Shaikh Daud informs us that in the first quarter of the 19th Century there appeared a group of *ulama* in Sunur with a new ideology that was removed from the Ulakan doctrine.

Shaikh Burhanuddin, who also embraced the *Madhhab* Shâfi’î (Shâfi’î school of Islamic law) is one of the foremost students of the well-known *ulama* of the Shaṭṭâriyyah Sufi Order in Sumatra (Aceh), Shaikh ‘Abd al-Raûf al-Sinkîlî⁵⁰ (Rinkes 1909:25; Hollander [ed.] 1857:5). His title of “Shaikh Burhanuddin” was bestowed on him by Al-Sinkîlî after he studied with this *ulama* of Aceh for 13 years. When he was young, he was named Pono.⁵¹ It appears that this student also contributed to the blossoming of the Sufi Order of Ulakan (Ronkel 1914b:281-4; Schrieke 1973:25). Burhanuddin brought this Sufi Order from Aceh to Minangkabau (Ulakan) at the end of the 17th Century, “and from there followed the trade routes to the villages of Kapas-Kapas and Mansingan, close to modern city of Padang Panjang, to Kota Lawas, and to the rich rice growing area of Agam, in particular to Kota Tua close to Cangking.” (Dobbin 1992:146).

Throughout the 17th and 18th Centuries, Rantau Pariaman became the center for the Shaṭṭâriyyah Sufi Order, consolidating along the west coast of Sumatra. Although in the following years several Sufi Orders with differing ideologies arrived in the area of Minangkabau, the Shaṭṭâriyyah doctrine certainly remained very strong in Rantau Pariaman. After the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi Order came to dominate Minangkabau in the second half of the 19th Century, Rantau Pariaman became the only area that was still dominated by the Shaṭṭâriyyah Sufi Order as a result of its enduring stronghold here since the time of Shaikh Burhanuddin.⁵²

Al-Sinkîlî’s particular teaching methods were taken up by his students including Shaikh Burhanuddin, as they were part of the *nyantrik* process. Al-Sinkîlî’s approach highlighted the reconciliation between *sharî’at* (human relations) and *tasawwuf* (Sufism) as in the teachings of Islam in Aceh, and these teachings were evidently also advocated by Shaikh Burhanuddin of Ulakan.⁵³ As in the quality of his teachers who used evolutionary methods in the development of Islam, Shaikh Burhanuddin also taught Islam using a tolerant cultural approach in Rantau Pariaman. This new religion was continually taught while

the local *adat* was not automatically forbidden. To date, there is still a popular myth in the community of Rantau Pariaman that the artistic basis for *Indang* (an oral narrative contest accompanied by small tambourines, the essence of the performance being “fighting with the tongue”), famous in the Rantau Pariaman region, originated from the style of Shaikh Burhanuddin’s teaching of Islam. It is said that he was often invited to eat at the houses of the local people. At this time, the community of Ulakan and its surrounds still held strong traditional beliefs (*adat*) that contradicted a lot of the new teachings of Islam that Shaikh Burhanuddin wanted to develop. Previously, the people of Rantau Pariaman usually served food for their guests with a *dulang* (a type of brass tray).⁵⁴ After he had finished eating, Shaikh Burhanuddin took the *dulang* tray that he had been served with and started to sing religious songs that contained the teachings and rules of Islam while at the same time accompanying his voice by striking the tray like a musical instrument. The community copied the habits of this Shaikh who tapped on the *dulang* tray while singing new religious songs, resulting in this activity becoming a famous artistic form in Rantau Pariaman.⁵⁵ Thus this practice – periodically calling the name of Allah, singing, moving the body to the rhythm of music – closely mirrors those of the whirling derives from villages in pre-Islamic times who achieved a state of ecstasy and loss of awareness through this method.⁵⁶ In other words, Shaikh Burhanuddin adopted pre-Islamic elements into his method of transmitting Islam into the community he wished to convert. It is said that eventually the art of *Indang* split giving birth to a new genre that was called *Salawat Dulang*⁵⁷ which was of a higher religious quality (usually demonstrated in religious programs in prayer houses and mosques) than the traditional *Indang*, which was evidently more temporal or had pre-Islamic inclinations.

The flexibility of the teaching methods used by Shaikh Burhanuddin was evident in the religious practices of Rantau Pariaman and its surrounds in that era, which were very tolerant. People were not forbidden from carrying out their *adat* customs while at the same time following the regulations of Islam. Moreover, they blended the two to form a syncretic belief system. The Rantau Pariaman community was very open-minded and became a landmark in the trading world, resulting in its rapid development in the 19th Century (Kato 1986:105-07). For the first time, their world was not shackled by geographical limits, unlike the culture of the *darek* area, which was more

agrarian and thus bound to the land. The mobility of the people of Rantau Pariaman to other ports, especially along the coast of west Sumatra, was very high.

The autobiography of Haji Muhammad Saleh Datuk Orang Kaya Besar, a prominent trader from Pariaman (1841-1922), is an indigenous source rich in information about the world of this coastal city. This autobiography, amongst other things, gives us a sufficiently clear picture of the life of prominent coastal traders and the rise and fall of the trade services along the length of the west coast of Sumatra. It seems that for a long time, the residents of Rantau Pariaman had an international flavor: there were people from India, China, and Arabia, from Bugis (in Sulawesi), and from Aceh, Nias, Batak, Mentawai and Bengkulu (in Sumatra) as well as people from Minangkabau itself.⁵⁸ One report states that in 1825 there were 25 Chinese residents in Pariaman entrepot. They specialized in the trade of coffee, which they sent abroad for export. In 1833 the number of Chinese residents in Pariaman had increased to 60.⁵⁹ By the end of the 19th century, it is reported that more than 500 foreigners, including Europeans, lived in this city, especially Chinese⁶⁰ (Stibbe, Wintgens, Uhlenbeck 1919:343).

For several centuries, Pariaman entrepot was considered a gateway for Minangkabau to and from the outside world. Perhaps because of this, differences of devotional, religious, and other practices were not a new experience in the daily life of the society of Rantau Pariaman. I suspect that the environment of this community was not conducive to puritanicalism and religious exclusivism. The worldly lifestyle of the entrepot is evident in this society.⁶¹ This also explains why the lack of internal conflicts or religious radical movements in the community of Rantau Pariaman which resulted in bloody battles like those that occurred in the *darek* area even though Islamisation had occurred in this area for over two centuries (if we count from the beginning of the activities of Shaikh Burhanuddin in the 1640s until the time of the start of the Paderi movement in the *darek* area in 1803). The religious attitude of Shaikh Daud was evidently inclined to the puritanical. He wanted to purify religious teaching and wanted to free it from the local cultural influences of Sunur. His idea for "purifying" the devotional practices of Sunur clearly constitutes an enclave in the middle of the community of Rantau Pariaman that in this era remained sufficiently syncretic in the practical teachings of Islam. It is interesting to explore why he would do such a thing par-

ticularly in light of the fact that previous studies of religious conflict in Minangkabau are too focused on the *darek* area and seem to ignore this phenomenon.

During the Paderi war, the Rantau Pariaman area did not experience the same turmoil as occurred in the *darek* area, and further, appeared free of tension. The reports of the Dutch, both civil and military, are far more focused on the conflict in the *darek* area, conflicts which were exacerbated by the clashes between the Dutch and the indigenous population in the era after the Dutch started interfering more strenuously in this area (Dobbin 1992:228). On the contrary, there is no evidence of bloody internal conflict within the indigenous community of Rantau Pariaman resulting from different religious understandings, as occurred in the *darek* area. It is rather surprising that both the previously mentioned biography of Haji Muhammad Saleh and the writings of Baginda Said Zakaria,⁶² both of them natives of Rantau Pariaman writing about their life histories and the situation in Rantau Pariaman in the second half of the 19th Century until the early 20th Century, did not mention the Paderi War at all or the causes of it in the Rantau Pariaman area. At the same time as the *darek* area suffered bloody conflict resulting from the religious purification movement by a puritanical group, the area of Rantau Pariaman was quite peaceful. The question remains: why did Shaikh Daud take a different attitude from the general inclination that existed in Rantau Pariaman at this time.

Sketching the Wanderer: Shaikh Daud

There are still many aspects of Shaikh Daud's personal life and life history that we do not yet know about. The difficulty for us in gaining knowledge about this *ulama* is because the writings about him are far fewer than the studies of his works. Thus we must think deductively and, to a certain point, make textual interpretations of his works in order to paint a picture of the author (as an author always leaves hints in his work, just as the handprints of the potter are left in his creations). Shaikh Daud originates from Korong Kampung Kandang /Koto Gadis, Sunur.⁶³ However, it is not yet clear when Shaikh Daud was born. Based on the information in Shaikh Daud's works, and particularly in Snackey's writings (1888) regarding this *ulama*, we presume he was born sometime between 1785 and 1790. This assumption is also based on pieces of information from the works of Braginsky (1998a:23) about the life time of this lonely

ulama and from secondary sources.

From the *SSn* text we get the impression that the young Daud had two siblings. His mother, Indo Dewi, probably died while he was still a child since his “height was the span of a hand” when she died. His father, Shaikh Badaruddin, was a local *ulama* in Sunur and Kurai Taji.⁶⁴ From the picture he paints of himself in *SSn*, I presume that his mother probably died before his father:

*Dagangku ini bukan seperti,
Tatkala kecil bunda 'lah mati,
Emaspun tidak di dalam peti,
Semuanya orang menaruh benci. (SSn: verse 54)*

Life was different for this outsider,
When still young my mother died,
The moneybox held not one piece of gold,
Everybody despised me

*Sudah begitu takdir Allah,
Mula sejengkal tinggi di tanah,
Kami bertiga suatu ayah,⁶⁵
Naik serumah turun serumah. (SSn: verse 47)*

This was how Allah decreed it,
Since my height was the span of a hand,
Our father had three children,
We faced our ups and downs together

*Untung takdir sudah begitu,
Di atas kepala dagang piatu,
Kami bertiga ibunda satu,
Ketiganya hanyut ke bandar satu. (SSn: verse 48)*

Our fate was destined to be like this,
Such is life for a rootless orphan,
We three children, of the same mother,
Were swept as one to the same destination

In the other verses of *SSn* we get the impression that the young Daud feels lonely in the home without the sympathy of his mother. But he seems close enough to his father (“*Our father had three children, We faced our ups and downs together*”). This experience in his youth most probably influenced the nature of his relationship with his daughter, Umi Salamah. On the one hand, the early loss of his mother perhaps explains his strikingly melancholic attitude of him-

self which is reflected in *SSn*.⁶⁶ Of course it was somewhat strange in Minangkabau in that era for a child to be “close” to his father, and then when he was an adult, for him to be “close” to his daughter.⁶⁷ In the community structure of Minangkabau it is of course ironic in a matrilineal family for a man not to have a mother. If there is no longer a woman in the family, it means that the “big house” (*rumah gadang*) no longer shines. Most ironic is the fact that if there is no woman in a family, it means that there is no longer a “harbor” from which men can sail (to the *lapau* [coffee shop], the *surau*, or to undertake their *rantau*) or to which they can return. The house becomes lonely because of course there are no female family members to return to:

*Di orang ada rumah dan tangga,
Tempat bermain bersuka-suka
Di dagang yatim hina dan papa
Segenap rumah tempat bertapa. (SSn: verse 46)*

For those who have a family home,
It's a place for fun and constant joy,
For the stranger, orphan, outcast and pauper,
From wall to wall it's a place of reflection

Braginsky assumes that between the 1810s and the early 1820s, Shaikh Daud is still young. As is the general custom for the sons of Minangkabau, after he was “initiated” in his local prayer house, possibly in his father’s *surau* following his mother’s death,⁶⁸ the young Daud probably left Sunur to undertake his *rantau*. Possible he went to study religious science at a famous prayer house in the *darek* area instead of going to Ulakan, which was only an hour’s walk from his village. We get a strong impression that his relationship with Cangking village in the following days was very close, and there are indications that the young Daud had possibly previously studied Islamic sciences there. One of Daud’s students from that time became an important person in Cangking, namely Shaikh Ahmad bin Jalaluddin or Tuanku Shaikh Cangking (Snackey 1888:12). Considering his battle with the Ulakan tradition of the *madhhab* Shâfi’î, it would be inconceivable that the young Daud studied Islamic religious science in the center of this Shattâriyyah Sufi Order. However, it is important to note the influential role of has been referred to by Christine Dobbin as “the first Islamic revival movement” that occurred at the time he was studying in Minangkabau, and more particularly in the *darek* area. There

was at that time a boost in profits from agriculture because of the increasing number of people from around Agam undertaking their pilgrimage to Mecca.⁶⁹ The newly returned pilgrims witnessed the new developments in Mecca, particularly in the understanding of *Wahabiyah*. On their return to Minangkabau, they wanted to apply more explicitly the Islamic teachings in the community as well as articulate their view that the attitude of the Shaṭṭāriyyah Order was too tolerant of traditional customs (*adat*) and needed to be completely reconstructed. As has already been noted in history, the culmination of this radical desire was the birth of the Paderi movement in 1803 and what became the bloody war against the Dutch.

In 1816 the young Daud, assumed to be in his 20s or 30s,⁷⁰ evidently showed signs of becoming a writer. We get this impression from the “great inspiration of youth” which is clearly evident in the songs that he wrote early on (as in *SMMd*). This song expresses the spirit of youth – an impression that is very different from the soul full of “wisdom” which at one time was “defeated” as expressed in *SSn*, written when Daud was old and living in Trumon. His early writings paint a picture of a young soul full of self-confidence resulting from his experience learning about religious science as part of his *rantau*:

*Datang kepada suatu zaman,
Seorang muda sangat budiman
Terlalu tahu khadis dan firman,
Masyburnya sampai ke dar al-Iman*⁷¹

Then one day the time arrived,
When he became a young man of great wisdom,
He knew too well ḥadīth and Qurān,
His repute stretched to the *Dâr Al-Imân*.

Shaikh Daud returned to Sunur after he completed his studies. This probably occurred sometime around the 1830s. However, it is not clear whether he had already made a pilgrimage to Mecca before returning to his village. Snackey (1888:11) states that Shaikh Daud “ran to do his pilgrimage” to Mecca after being embarrassed by Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh with whom he lost a debate over the issue of *madhhab*. This possibly means that he returned to Sunur first before going to the Holy Land. Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh embraced *madhhab* Shâfi’î while Shaikh Daud embraced *madhhab* Ḥanafî. According to Snackey, when the young Shaikh Daud returned to

Sunur, he tried to institute a religious “purification” movement in his village, opposing mystical religious practices and the use of *bid`ah* motifs that were too intertwined with the *adat* that was practiced by the followers of the Shaṭṭāriyyah Sufi Order. At the same time, he called for a return to religious teachings appropriate to the Sunnah of the Prophet, arguing that they should be implemented more strongly in daily life.

As has already been outlined, Shaikh Daud very possibly picked up the idea of religious “purification” during the time that he studied in the *darek* area. A story related to me while I was in Sunur told that Shaikh Daud, among others, criticized the minor King of Sunur, Maharaja Nanda, because he had 5 wives, as was legitimized by *adat*. However, in the eye of the reformist group this behavior needed to be abandoned. The King then satirically threatened Shaikh Daud, saying: “If one loves his /her king, then follow his regulations; if one does not love his /her king, please leave his kingdom.” Evidently Shaikh Daud’s beliefs were not well received by either the *ulama* or the *adat* ruler from his village. The new ideas that he brought with him were still somewhat foreign to the community of Rantau Pariaman, a community which had lived with the Shaṭṭāriyyah tradition, which was syncretic and very tolerant of *adat*, for almost 2 centuries. It was not easy for the community of Sunur and surrounding villages close to Ulakan, the powerhouse of the Shaṭṭāriyyah Order on the Minangkabau coast, to change and accept the invitation of Shaikh Daud to convert to this new understanding of Islam. His ideas quite quickly provoked a harsh response from one powerful *ulama* from a neighboring village, namely Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh. What followed was a high level theological debate⁷² between the two *ulama*. Snackey (1888:10-11) states that:

“Although the *tuanku*’s knowledge was substantial, he eventually lost a debate with a member of the Shāfi’i school, namely Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh. That was one of the reasons why Tuanku Shekh Daud fled to perform the pilgrimage, and wrote a well-known poem, namely the *Syair Makah [dan Madinah]*. He sent this poem to Pertja [Sumatra], and as time went by, it made the people there very diligent in undertaking the pilgrimage, and Tuanku Shekh Daud was much praised for this reason”.

Thus, what eventuated was that Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh defeated Shaikh Daud in this debate. He lost face in his own village. Because of the embarrassment this caused him, he left his village for the Holy Land. Based on the story heard from people from West

Minangkabau undertaking their *rantau*, Snackey estimates that Shaikh Daud left for the Holy Land before 1838 (Snackey, *Ibid*: 10).

If we are guided Snackey's estimate, Shaikh Daud must still have been relatively young when he went to Mecca for the first time. When the Paderi movement started in 1803, we estimate that Daud was no more than 20 years of age. If this is true then the debate between Shaikh Daud and Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh occurred before 1838, as mentioned by Snackey, when Daud was a relatively young Shaikh aged around 40 years. At the same time, the Paderi movement was in a strong position and the ideas of the movement were becoming increasingly wide spread in the Padang highlands. The echo of these ideas could be heard throughout the area of Rantau Pariaman on the coast. There is strong evidence to suggest that Shaikh Daud, influenced by the modernist ideas of the Paderi group, was an *ulama* originally from the Rantau Pariaman area who tried to spread those ideas to the coastal area of Minangkabau, the heart of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in Rantau Pariaman. But this modernist movement was "nipped in the bud" before it could bloom. Perhaps Shaikh Daud left for Mecca with a feeling of disappointment, and at the same time, resentment towards the group of conservative *ulama* in his village.

Shaikh Daud quite probably lived in Mecca for several years (as suggested by the oral history of Sunur which relates that Shaikh Daud spent a year isolated inside the Ka'bah). It was a common practice for pilgrims from the Archipelago to live in Mecca and several other cities in Saudi Arabia and Egypt for several years for religious observance and to study religious science. After this, they generally returned to their local villages to teach the Islamic religious sciences that they had learnt while abroad (Bruinessen 1995b:44-8). At the time he was living in Mecca, Shaikh Daud appeared to be active in studying the science of rhetoric and poetry, and he tried to persuade his compatriots to also join this study. He wrote:

*Dengar olehmu, ya ikhwani
Janganlah kurang ilmu ma'ani,
Bacaanmu manis, pabammu sani,
Ma'rifatmu tajam seperti duri.*

Listen, oh friends,
Do not neglect the science of verse,
If sweet in diction, high in understanding,
Your insight will be as sharp as a spine

*Badi' dan 'Arud tiga dengan Bayan,
Tuntut olehmu dan taulan,
Nazam dan syair nyata disanan,
Merwaznkan⁷³ syair pandaikan tuan.⁷⁴*

Figures, metrics and metaphor are a trio,
Pursue them, along with your friends!
Verse and poetry are both found there,
You will master the art of crafting verse!

Also while he was in Mecca, Shaikh Daud wrote *SMMd*. He starts the poem by describing the scenery of the Holy Land and the *hajj* procession, but ends it by criticizing the adherents of Shattâriyyah. This demonstrates that Shaikh Daud wrote *SMMd* at least in part, as a reaction to Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh. In other words, this poem was a form of counter-discourse produced by Shaikh Daud to his opponent who had defeated him in the former debate. Thus for example, in a verse in a copy of *SMMd* [Leiden manuscript Cod.Or. 12.161, p. 37] quoted from Braginsky (1998a:26), Shaikh Daud directed his criticism at the radical Shattâriyyah *Madhhab* followers who did not attend the Friday congregational prayer. To Sufis of the highest level—for whom the *Martabat Tujuh* is permissible though not without some reservations, and who “make slave and Lord one” in the process—Shaikh Daud remarks:

*Sungguhpun satu banginya firak,
Bukan ittihad pada segenap pihak,
Wahid-Nya dan kaim Jumaat tidak,
Mustahillah pulak dalam khalayak.*

Even though it is possible to unite the separated ones [human and the God],
Not all people can reach it,
Those attained unity and eternity, do not perform the Friday collective
prayer,
It is impossible to be reached by the commoners.)

This poem was sent to Sumatra and resulting in Daud's name being celebrated there (Snackey, 1888:11; Schrieke 1973:24).

In the years that Daud lived in Mecca, the Wahabi movement, renown for its negative attitude towards Sufism and religious mysticism and in particular of *wahdat al-wujûd*, the mystic notion of achieving oneness with Allah, was at its peak.⁷⁵ The Wahabi movement that was established by Muhammad Ibnu Wahhab, a Bedouin Arab

(born in 1691 in El Ayeneh, the Province of El Areh, and passed away on 1787 in Deraiah, Saudi Arabia). This movement followed the Hanbali school of Islamic Law, and resisted Turkish soldiers who colonized the Arabian Peninsular.

While studying in the *darek* area, it is thought that the young Daud already knew of the ideas of the Wahabi movement, which had been introduced by three returned pilgrims: Haji Miskin, Haji Sumanik, and Haji Piobang. With his trip to Mecca, he had the chance to behold the movement first hand in its place of origin, the Arabian Peninsular. This is perhaps why he was determined to see the ideas of the Wahabi movement followed more strongly in his village of Sunur.

In *SMMd*, Shaikh Daud tells us that in Mecca and its surrounds the mystic doctrine of *Martabat Tujuh* is already forbidden:

*Martabat tujuh masa sekarang,
Di negeri Makah sudah dilarang,
Be[be]berapa kitab[nya] sudah dibuang,
Ablinya tidak muftinya jarang.*

The 'Seven Stages', in current times,
Has been outlawed in Mecca,
Some of its books have been thrown out,
It has no supporters, its muftis are rare

*Mufakat Ulama Makah, Madinah,
Demikian lagi Mesir dan Kufah,
Martabat tujuh sekarang tertegab,
Menuntut dia akhbirnya salah.⁷⁶*

The Ulama of Mecca and Medina decided,
Along with those in Egypt and Kufah,
The 'Seven Stages' are now forbidden,
Those who pursue it end up astray

The *Martabat Tujuh* doctrine teaches what is referred to as the seven stages of the enlightenment of the Absolute (Allah); the argument being that Allah has a form, and this form can enter the real world and appear at each of the first six steps without change. This philosophy is the hallmark of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in the Archipelago,⁷⁷ which in the middle of the 19th Century became the subject of criticism by the Naqshbandiyyah order. However, Shaikh Daud was evidently not a person who strongly despised this doctrine. He only said that this doctrine was very difficult to learn; he reminded

people that those who were not yet mature enough in their soul to study this doctrine could suffer fatal results if they tried to practice it. Only highly qualified Sufis (those that have achieved the third level) are allowed to read books about *Martabat Tujuh*, while Sufis still at the elementary (*mubtadi*) or intermediate (*mutawassit*) levels are recommended not to read these books:

*Bahagi yang ketiga ilmu hakikat,
Kepada orang muntahi lebih manfaat,
[Di] orang mutawasit jadi mudarat,
Umpama racun bukannya obat.⁷⁸*

The third part is the science of essences,
It benefits the advanced student,
It can cause hardship for the middle student,
Like drinking poison in place of medicine

*Martabat tujuh setengah daripadanya,
Orang muntahi itu pakaiannya,
Aulia yang besar tinggi derajatnya,
hamba dan Tuhan disatukannya.⁷⁹*

Some of the contents of the ‘Seven Stages’,
Are used by the advanced student,
Sanctified nobles of lofty rank,
They unite themselves with God

Suspecting that he was already better known than his opponent, Shaikh Daud returned home to Sunur with stronger belief in his campaign for religious “purification” in Rantau Pariaman. But the influence of Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh was still strong. When Shaikh Daud arrived in Sunur, he found that his opponent, Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh, had married his daughter, Umi Salamah (Snackey 1888:11). Apparently, his wife’s family in Koto Gadis did not need or seek his confirmation of the marriage when they decided she would marry. This accorded with Minangkabau matrilineal society in which a father is subservient to his wife and her family, even concerning his children. Decision making power is held by *mamak* (his wife’s brother).⁸⁰ But in Umi Salamah’s case, this was probably also due to the fact that Shaikh Daud was so far away (in Mecca) when Umi Salamah married. It would have been almost impossible to seek his confirmation of his daughter’s marriage.

Whatever the reasons, Shaikh Daud experienced sorrow and hurt because Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh had married his daughter. It

seemed that his old foe really wants to destroy him psychologically, and Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh looked like succeeding. In this context, Shaikh Daud's resentment of Minangkabau *adat* increased significantly. Again he wanted to leave Sunur, and for a second time he experienced a loss of face in his own village. He wanted to go back to Mecca and again he embarked on this journey from Pariaman. Unfortunately, however, when he reached Trumon port on the west coast of Aceh, he became sick.⁸¹ He stopped in Trumon for medical treatment and was forced to stay there for several months, as his recovery was slow. The money he had allocated for the pilgrimage to Mecca was exhausted on medicines and treatment and thus he could not continue his (second) pilgrimage to the Holy Land (Snackey 1888:11).

Trumon (or Tarumon in the Minangkabau dialect) was one of the local kingdoms of southern Aceh, (north of Singkel), which was under the rule of the King of Aceh. This political reality was largely due to the existence of a large pepper industry on the west coast of Sumatra since the 18th Century. A long time before the arrival of the Dutch, King Trumon, better known as Raja Bujang (1814 - 1832 or 1833),⁸² together with his collaborators, grew to dominate the pepper trade of the west coast of Aceh (Barus, Singkel, Trumon and the surrounds. The Dutch referred to these ports as "*Atchinesche peperhavens*"). The ships of Raja Bujang carried pepper to Singapore, Penang, Bengali, and Batavia (Stibbe, Wintgens, Uhlenbeck 1919:441; Dobbin 1992:198). Two of Raja Bujang's brothers, Muhammad Arif (King Amaris) and Teuku Silikat became the Kings of Singkil and Bulu Sama respectively (Kielstra 1888:1192).

During Raja Bujang's rule, the Dutch began their attempts to enter Trumon. On the 25 November 1830 (5 years after the surrender of Bengkulu by the English to the Dutch), H. MacGillavry, the Dutch Resident in Padang, signed an agreement contract with Raja Bujang. This was the first official instance of Dutch intimidation of Trumon, which it wanted to free from the Acehnese rule.⁸³ This attempt was not effective as Raja Bujang, who started supporting the Paderi group, remained in power (Kielstra 1888:1193). However, the Dutch gained power in Trumon after Raja Bujang stood down (in 1832 or 1833). He was succeeded by his son Nyak Batak, titled Raja Muda (The Young King), who was still very young (about 10 years old) when he rose to the throne.

General Michiels, the military and civil Governor of Sumatra's

West Coast, continued the pioneering work of H. MacGillavry. He pressured King Amaris, Nyak Batak's uncle and chief guardian, to sign a new contract. However, the efforts of General Michiels went anything but smoothly. The Dutch eventually used a very effective strategy: they influenced the grandmother of Raja Muda, Kaatje Stolte, a mixed blood Indonesian who was pro-Dutch.⁸⁴ The Dutch finally succeeded in controlling Trumon. The new contract, handed by General I Michiels to Raja Muda, consisted of 6 Articles.⁸⁵ After signing the contract, Raja Muda received financial aid from the Dutch in excess of 2400 Gulden annually in compensation for Dutch control of trade activities that were formerly controlled by the King. As was reported by a colonel in control of the Dutch intelligence service, this contract increased the tension between Holland and Aceh as the influence of Aceh had already decreased along the length of the west coast of Sumatra.⁸⁶ Aceh felt that one of its regions had been taken by the Dutch. However, until the end of the Paderi War, Trumon did not stop giving arms to the Paderi group and to other groups who revolted against the Dutch, such as that led by Tuanku Nan Cerdik of Naras (Kielstra 1888:1193).

Shaikh Daud was probably already cast out of Trumon in the final years of Raja Bujang's reign. Arnold Snackey says that at the time he was thrown out of Trumon, Shaikh Daud was teaching the Young King as well as the young Shaikh Ahmad bin Jalaluddin, better known as Tuanku Shaikh Cangking, who then returned to his village to become a prestigious Shaikh of the Naqshbandiyyah Order of the Padang highlands in the 1860s (Snackey 1888: 12; Bruinessen 1995a:102). Shaikh Daud was suspected of being quite close to those at the center of power at the Trumon Palace. Raja Bujang saw to it that Shaikh Daud married a relative of his. One of the children from this marriage became a well-known *ulama* named Tuanku Shaikh Muhammad Adam (Snackey 1888:12).

It appears that Shaikh Daud still received much attention in the Trumon area. He became a credible teacher for the Princes, and married into the royal family. It is possible that there were religio-political motives behind this marriage based on the similarity of Raja Bujang's and Shaikh Daud's understanding of Islam.⁸⁷ (As I have mentioned above, Raja Bujang was one of the contributors of weapons to Tuanku Imam Bonjol (Kielstra 1888:1193)). Also, they probably shared the same opinion on Dutch colonialism. Hamka said that Tuanku Sunur (alias Shaikh Daud) was one of the coastal *ulama*

who resented the Dutch (as did most of the Paderi group of the *darek* area).⁸⁸

According to Dutch sources, the strong commitment of Trumon to helping the struggle of the Paderi group was more due to business reasons as Tuanku Imam Bonjol had an increasingly troublesome trade relationship with the ports to the south (Air Bangis, Sasak, Katiagan, Tiku, Pariaman, etc.), which were under Dutch control. This situation advantaged Trumon, which was still relatively "independent" (Dobbin 1992:198-9). Despite this, it is difficult to ignore religious motives behind this commitment. Also, those insistent on defending Acehness hegemony in Trumon also obviously fanned the flames of anti-Dutch sentiment. Aceh felt left out by the contract agreement signed between General Michiels and the inexperienced Raja Muda. Research undertaken by an envoy of the Sultan of Aceh, Qâdî Malik al-'Âdil, to Trumon not long after the agreement was signed found that it was evident that Trumon had no desire to leave the Sultanate of Aceh and that Trumon did not want to be ruled by the Dutch.⁸⁹

While Shaikh Daud was an effective orator, it appeared that he was less successful as a teacher. He appears to admit this in *SSn* when he writes: "I am lonely think that I am not so clever".⁹⁰ Snackey notes that over time, the number of students he had in Trumon decreased (it is not clear how willing people were to study at his prayer house while he was still in Sunur). It is possible that Shaikh Daud had already lost his enthusiasm due to his homesickness and his longing for his daughter. But perhaps his teaching also causes this, particularly if it is true that he taught the new Islamic school of law (Hanafi), which was not very popular in that community at that time.

It is quite clear to us that Shaikh Daud was one *ulama* from the coastal area of Minangkabau who opposed the Ulakan Shâfi'î and Shattâriyyah tradition from the outset of his time as an *ulama*. Because of this, he always experienced difficulties in his own village of Sunur (Rantau Pariaman). However, although he was always challenged by other *ulama* in his village, his reformist attitude did not change throughout his life. Moreover, his son, Shaikh Muhammad Adam, inherited his father's attitudes. In 1858, after his father's death, Shaikh Muhammad Adam returned to Sunur to continue the "struggle" of his father. After he arrived in Minangkabau, he joined several *ulama* from the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi Order of the *darek* area

to continue the modernist movement against the conservative group (Snackey 1888:14).

It is quite surprising considering the matrilineal system of Minangkabau that although Shaikh Muhammad Adam was not ethnically Minang (because his mother was from Aceh), he still wanted to go to Sunur, the village of his father. It is possible that on his deathbed, Shaikh Daud's last wish was that his son continued his struggle to change the religious pattern of the people of Sunur. Shaikh Daud was probably close to his son as he was to his daughter, Umi Salamah, as he expressed in *SSn*. As taught in the tenets of Islam, brothers and sisters, even those born of different mothers, have to be close to each other. This was probably an underlying motive for Shaikh Muhammad Adam's visit to his father's birthplace, that is, to visit his sister, Umi Salamah.

Whatever the attitude of his father, Shaikh Muhammad Adam was also closer to his companions in the *darek* area than the group of *ulama* from Ulakan. Before he returned to Sunur together with Shaikh Ahmad bin Jalaluddin (Tuanku Shaikh Cangking), a former student of his father, as well as *ulama* from Pasir, Silungkang, Bonjol, and other places in the *darek* area, he met Tuanku Shaikh Muhammad Tahir Barulak of Padang Ganting to (once again) "spread the Hanafi school of law in the *darek* area" (Snackey 1888:12). According to Bruinessen (1995a), the names mentioned by Snackey were a group of teachers and followers of the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi order of Padang.

The struggle of the parent was implemented by the son. Snackey states that Shaikh Muhammad Adam initially lived in Cangking but returned to Sunur after Shaikh Ahmad bin Jalaluddin died. Ultimately, Shaikh Muhammad Adam was successful in converting Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh who, together with his wife, Umi Salamah finally converted from Shâfi'î to Hanafî law (Snackey 1888:14). It is thought that Shaikh Muhammad Adam also wrote a poem outlining the community environment in Sunur. However, there is currently no evidence of or information regarding this poem.

Shaikh Daud is an early example of the fate of intellectuals who lived in Minangkabau: those who wanted to change the thought patterns of and develop the community were often forced to leave their villages because of their modernist ideas.⁹¹ If we believe that good literature is a product of the total comprehension of the author, I believe that both the "I" and the person referred to as a poor *dagang* (wanderer) in *SSn* are a representation of someone in the real world.

And it is not difficult to conclude that the “someone” who is being cajoled by the “I” lyrics in *SSn* is the author himself - Shaikh Daud.⁹² In the context of this paper, there is little value in debating modern theories of literature in defense of the authority of text as part of the reality of fiction while saying that the author is dead.

With his closeness to the royal family, the people of Trumon apparently did not abandon Shaikh Daud. However, the image that we get from *SSn* is that he felt poor. What was expressed in *SSn* was his longing for his village, a longing that could not be relieved by the luxury of other places. In Trumon, Shaikh Daud suffered in his old age. Approaching the end of his life, it appears that he suffered greatly because he missed his daughter and his village.

*Ayohai anak[n]da hendaklah syukur,
Masuk di mimpi masaku tidur,
Siang di Tarumun malam di Sunur,
Rangkaian hatiku rasakan hancur. (SSn: verse 64)*

Oh my daughter, you should give thanks,
For you appear in my dreams while asleep,
My days in Tarumun, my nights in Sunur,
The strings of my heart feel as if crushed

*Bangunlah ayahanda daripada tidur,
Duduk segala lalu terpekur,
Mendengarkan ombak berdebur-debur,
Tidak obahnya bagai di Sunur (SSn: verse 66).*

Your father awoke from sleep,
Sat for a while, then reflected,
I listened to the waves crashing,
And felt that I was in Sunur

*Tersentak ayah pada parak siang,
Orang pun sunyi anginnnya tenang,
Berdesir ombak di atas karang,
Rasa menyeru menghimbau pulang (SSn: verse 67).*

I was suddenly woken just before dawn,
My neighbors quiet, the wind still,
The waves hissed on top of the reef,
I felt they were shouting, urging me home

*Jikalau ayah menjadi bayan,
Terkembang sayap kedua tangan,
Terbanglah ayah menyisi awan,
Menjelang Sunur kampung halaman (SSn: verse 70).*

If your father became a parakeet,
 I'd spread the wings of my arms,
 I'd fly along the clouds,
 To Sunur, my childhood home

While it is surprising that Shaikh Daud was “close” to his daughter, Umi Salamah, his experience as a child perhaps influenced his views of family after his marriage. On the other hand, his attitude was possibly an expression of his reformist beliefs in regards to the *adat* of Minangkabau, which he considered to be too focused on the role of men as *mamak* in the matrilineal family scheme. This ignored his role as father and husband. What I want to say here is that with the increased influence of Islam in the lifestyle of the people of Minangkabau, several aspects of *adat* and the social system became unstable. Thus for example, the responsibility of village elders was biased towards the aristocracy and vice-versa, and fathers did not pay enough attention to their children, something that the modernist movement started to criticize along with the inheritance system. This criticism increased towards the end of the century.

It is estimated that Shaikh Daud died at between 60 or 70 years of age in around 1855 (Braginsky 1998a:23). Towards the end of his life, many people living on the coast of Minangkabau, including in Sunur, had read *SSn*. One indication of its popularity and wide audience is a copy of *SSn* [Leiden manuscript Cod.Or.12.161] noted as being copied in Solok (now Solok Regency, in West Sumatra Province) in December 1855. This information makes it possible for us to assume that Shaikh Daud wrote *SSn* in Trumon several years previously, probably earlier than 1853.⁹³ Its contents are wise and compassionate giving the impression that a wise older person who was satisfied with his time in this world, and whose soul and thoughts were more focused on the hereafter, wrote the poem.

It is very probable that some copies of *SSn* spread throughout Rantau Pariaman and the surrounding villages (including Sunur) – and further, also to the Padang highlands area. It was probably spread through coastal traders who traveled back and forth to the harbors on the west coast of Sumatra, as far as Bandar Sepuluh in the south and Susoh in the north. It may also have been spread by people from Minangkabau returning from their pilgrimage to Mecca via the harbors of Aceh. It was later known that many people read this poem,⁹⁴ and that they felt compassion for this *ulama* whom they then wished to invite back to Sunur. Snackey relays a story that spread in the

community that before Shaikh Daud's death, 6 ships from Sunur sailed to Trumon to pick Shaikh Daud up (Snackey 1888:13). It is thought that perhaps this envoy also carried a poem from his daughter, Umi Salamah.⁹⁵ The request of this lonely *ulama*, as expressed in the versus of the following piece of his poetry, was complied to by the people of his village:

*Siapa tuan menaruh hiba,
Mau melihat dagang yang papa,
Tuan di sini dagang di sana,
Di dalam surat bertemu mata (SSn: verse 23).*

Who of you who has pity for me,
And wants to see this wretch?
You are here, I am there,
We set eyes on each other in letters

*Wahai saudara kecil dan besar,
Suratku ini mintak didengar,
Air mata tuan kalau keluar,
Ganti meratap mayat terhantar (SSn: verse 76).*

Oh my brethren, young and old,
Ask to hear my letter!
If tears then come to your eyes,
Consider it mourning for a laid-out corpse

But Shaikh Daud, who was very ill, was already close to death by this time. The 6 ships that sailed to pick him up were not successful in taking him back to Sunur as the Wanderer died and was buried in Singkil just as they arrived there.⁹⁶

Conflicting *Madhhab* or the Spreading Ideas of the Paderi Group in Rantau Pariaman?

Looking at the campaign of religious "purification" carried out by Shaikh Daud in Sunur, it is difficult to ignore the possible links between this *ulama* and the Paderi movement in the *darek* area. In this article thus far, I have tried to argue and outline the possible influence that this modernist movement had on the writer, evident in *SMMd* and *SSn*. I wish to expand this argument.

The question that arises is: is it true that the debate between Shaikh Daud and Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh, which resulted in Shaikh Daud twice undertaking his *rantau*, was caused by differences in *madhhab* as is argued by Arnold Snackey? This writer states that

Shaikh Daud embraced Ḥanafî while Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh embraced the Shâfi'î *madhhab*, which of course dominated the area of Rantau Pariaman.⁹⁷ As Snackey wrote: "More of the Ḥanafî *madhhab* adherents do not like the [Minangkabau] custom and the Shâfi'î adherents; because of that the [Ḥanafî] *Madhhab* seeks ways to destroy the Shâfi'î *madhhab* [followers] and the [Minangkabau] custom." (Snackey 1888:10). But this statement by Snackey was questioned by Braginsky as Shaikh Daud in one of his works, namely Leiden manuscript Cod.Or.12.161 (which contains a copy of *SMMd*) (page 17) wrote that he also embraced *Madhhab* Shâfi'î (Braginsky, 1998a:24).

Of the four *madhhab* of Islam that originate from the Middle East - Mâlikî, Ḥanafî, Shâfi'î, and Ḥanbalî⁹⁸— the third is the one that really flourished in the Archipelago. This is a result of the appropriateness of the ideas of this particular school of law with the thinking and culture of the community of the Indonesian Archipelago. What forms the main correlation between the two is mysticism. The majority of Indonesians, being from rural communities where life was still very traditional, were clearly a good target for accepting the doctrine of *Martabat Tujuh* and embracing *madhhab* Shâfi'î. The ideas of this *madhhab*, the ideas of *Martabat Tujuh*, and the costume and habit of asceticism in the circle of "holy persons", well known throughout Indonesia and arising from pre-Islamic traditions, form a tradition of thoughts that are linked in an unbroken chain. In other words, the acceptability of Shâfi'î Islamic law throughout Indonesia was possible because the qualities of the new religion, Islam, did not cut off the pre-Islamic traditions. Further, the qualities of the Indonesian Islamic community have remained unique. Religious practices including such things as devotion at holy graves, ceremonial occasions in which special incense are burned, *mauludan* (the celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad with particular glutinous rice cakes), and the belief that *kyai* (religious leaders) are all-wise and are thus followed unquestioningly, have been shaped by the circumstances of history.

Socio-historical studies regarding religious phenomena in Indonesia show that with the exception of Shâfi'î, the other three *Madhhab* have never developed or had a big influence in Indonesia. Nahdatul Ulama (NU), one of the religious organizations supposedly established as part of the anti-modernist movement has, since its establishment in 1924, embraced *madhhab* Shâfi'î.⁹⁹ Muhammadiyah, a reli-

gious organization that dubs itself modernist, has rather contradicted this title by steadfastly ruling out the acceptance of any other *madhhab* besides Shâfi'î. This organization has a *Majlis Tarjih* (decision making assembly for Islamic Law) to preside over issues of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *ijtihad* (interpretation and judgment) in Islamic law in the life of the Islamic community.

In the context of Minangkabau, there is no evidence to suggest that new *madhhab* competed with the Shâfi'î theology, the Shâfi'î being well established with its center in Ulakan. The only new arrivals were new Sufi Orders such as Naqshbandiyyah. Because of this, Snackey notes that the debate between Shaikh Daud and Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh had as its backdrop the debate on Islamic schools between the two (Shaikh Daud being Ḥanafî and Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh being Shâfi'î). However, Snackey's argument is dubious.

Early research on Islam in Minangkabau is inclined to identify the "Religion of Cangking" (of the Ḥanafî school) in the *darek* area as a "contradiction" of the "Religion of Ulakan" (on the coast), which was Shâfi'î in orientation. However, some subsequent researchers have raised doubts about this due to a lack of evidence that the Ḥanafî school ever developed in Minangkabau. Verkerk Pistorius speculates that there occurred the "(new) doctrine of Abu Hanifah" in Minangkabau, developed by Shaikh Tuanku Muhammad Tahir Barulak (who died in the 1860s), but its existence is unclear and too brief. From the names that he mentions it appears that what he is referring to is the doctrine of the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi Order (Pistorius 1869:450-1). The problem is that it is illogical that the Ḥanafî doctrine would be received in the *darek* area, which was agricultural (as in Cangking and Koto Tuo). As we know, the Ḥanafî *Madhhab* is more likely to be established in urban communities whose economic basis is trade, and whose society is ethnically mixed and culturally cosmopolitan.¹⁰⁰

Christine Dobbin, who has studied Minangkabau in this period comprehensively, argues that the competition between Cangking and Ulakan is more bounds up in the issue of Sufi Orders: between Shattâriyyah and Naqshbandiyyah. He states that indeed the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi Order entered Minangkabau earlier than the Shattâriyyah Sufi Orders and was prominent in Limapuluh Kota and Tanah Datar. This Sufi Order was possibly brought to Minangkabau in the first half of the 17th Century by an intellectual from Pasai who

passed through Rantau Pariaman and then lived for a while in Agam and Limapuluh Kota. Naqshbandiyyah prayer houses, the biggest at the end of the 18th Century, were located in two wealthy rice growing rural areas, namely Taram in Limapuluh Kota and Cangking in Agam, as well as in the center of gold mining: Talawi in Tanah Datar (Dobbin 1992:146). However, the statements of Dobbin are very different to those of Martin van Bruinessen who argues that the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi Order entered Minangkabau for the first time in the second half of the 19th Century. According to him, students of Shaikh Ismai'l brought this Sufi Order to Minangkabau from Simabur in about the 1850s. This order then spread in the *darek* area with Cangking as its center, while at the same time, Ulakan remained a stronghold of the Shaṭṭāriyyah Sufi Order. This writer also states that the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi Order was apparently not present in Minangkabau before the 1850s (Bruinessen 1995a: 102).

Putting aside these two debatable pieces of research, it is clear that at the turn of the Century (from the 18th to the 19th Century) tension between the groups of followers of the "Religion of Cangking" and the "Religion of Ulakan" was increasingly high. It is possible that the cause of this conflict was not always as issue of differences between the Sufi Orders. I prefer to see the conflict in connection with the blooming of the Wahabiyyah movements in Arabia, which then quickly spread in the Archipelago through the "Jawah" *hajjs* returning home from Mecca. However, Dobbin has pointed out that economic changes also played a role in the social and religious changes Minangkabau at the start of the 19th Century. We should remember that with the increasing power of the Dutch on the west coast, the people of the *darek* area (with its center of authority in Cangking) unselfconsciously considered coastal people (with their center of authority in Ulakan) to be one and the same thing as new immigrants from the north. Moreover, Ulakan, one of the centers of authority of Islam on the coast, never once really showed strong resistance to the Dutch. Boelhouwer informs us that Tuanku Ulakan, whom he considers to be a rich but lazy man, was very cooperative and loyal to the Dutch.¹⁰¹ This certainly irritated the modernist group, such as Shaikh Daud, and many others, especially in the *darek* area, which regarded the Dutch as *kafir* (non-believers) whom they had to fight. However, this assumption is based on a verse in manuscript Cod.O.r.12.161, Leiden (p. 18v, lines 10-11) that I quoted here (bold added by writer):

*Ilmu yang salah banyak sekarang,
Sebab muftinya tiadalah terang,
Sumpah hakikat tiada sembahyang,
Menjadi kafir Holanda Padang*

Nowadays there is much incorrect knowledge,
Because the experts are not clear,
They oath and in truth do not perform prayer,
To become infidel like the Dutch in Padang

Probably the attitude of the Ulakan order, which wished for harmony and the continuation of religious activities at Ulakan, was not so worried about the Dutch.¹⁰²

Entering the second half of the 19th Century, the rivalry between Cangking and Ulakan reached a heightened level of tension. This was certainly because of the increased and unceasing criticism by the people of the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi Order towards the followers of the Shaṭṭāriyyah Order. One of the things that the followers of the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi Order did not like was the doctrine of *Martabat Tujub*. Moreover, hostility occurred in the *darek* area between followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah and residents of Taram and Talawi, villages that were oriented towards the Naqshbandiyyah and which became a dwelling place for intellectuals opposed to *Martabat*. This hostility grew until it reached the point where open fighting often occurred, but it is very possible that this was more caused by problems of respect and prestige than by issues of doctrinal disagreement (Dobbin 1992:148). This is interesting if we understand it in the framework of the inter-*nagari* competition in the traditional lifestyle of the Minangkabau community. According to several early reports, “stone wars” were a usual occurrence between two *nagari* that had different political systems (*Koto Piliang* and *Bodi Caniago*).¹⁰³ As noted by Schrieke, this “traditional dissension” was apparently inherent in Minangkabau culture in the past.¹⁰⁴

Aside from the debate between the Sufi Orders, it appears that the hostility between the two religious groups was also caused by the efforts of Cangking to release themselves from the authority and hegemony of Ulakan. Until Tuanku Nan Tuo’s generation, the hegemony of Ulakan remained strongly felt in the prayer houses of the *darek* area. As was spelt out clearly enough by a first-hand witness of the Paderi War, Fakih Shaghir, before the Paderi War broke out,

there was in fact no Sufi Order hostility between Rantau Pariaman (Ulakan) and the *darek* area (Cangking). Before the emergence of the Paderi movement, it was taboo for the circle of religious teachers / experts to question the religious authority of Ulakan. As was stated by William Marsden, thanks to the religious support that spread from the coast (Ulakan), the Pagaruyung Palace held religious supremacy and became the seat of power legitimacy for the surrounding area.¹⁰⁵ In his writings, Fakih Shaghbir never once mentioned the name of the Sufi Orders or the competition among schools of Islam between Cangking and Ulakan. He only writes that from Ulakan, Islamic religious knowledge spread to the entire area of Minangkabau starting in Paninjauan, then Mansiangan, then spreading to other areas. Tuanku nan Tuo of Ampat Angkat, who was a member of the pioneering *ulama* in the *darek* area and a senior teacher of the group of Paderi *ulama* (he was Fakih Shaghbir's teacher) also drew out Islamic religious sciences that arrived from Ulakan. Fakih Shaghbir mentions that Tuanku Nan Tuo embraced the *madhhab* "Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jama'ah", of course within the *Madhhab* Shâfi'î framework.¹⁰⁶

The level of hostility between Cangking and Ulakan heightened after the *ulama* of Tuanku Nan Tuo's generation started to produce students that were young and reformist. As was stated by Dobbin, along with this appeared a type of movement for the implementation of Islamic Law in the trading world (Dobbin 1992:150-1). During this time, the trading world was considered unstable, and the market was very close to the world of gambling and cock fighting. The *adat* leaders had already lost the power and thus were unable to end the problems that often occurred in the world of trade. At that time, the prayer house under the guidance of the *ulama* began to exhibit itself as an alternative for handling issues in the community.

The new role of the prayer house reached its peak when the Paderi movement emerged. Soon after, these hostilities became more open and were no longer hidden, and moreover, became more bloody. Along with this came a rise in the level of tension between Cangking and Ulakan. The causes were: the modernist group soon identified all those with a hint of conservatism and orthodoxy with Ulakan. Slowly but surely, the community became polarized with those remaining loyal to the old teachings (Shaṭṭâriyyah) on the one side and the reformist group on the other. Cangking and Ulakan increasingly took positions against each other and, not infrequently, clashed.¹⁰⁷ The radicalism that was embraced by the young imams of the *darek*

area – especially the leadership group of Paderi such as Tuanku Nan Renceh and his friends¹⁰⁸ – caused the bloody conflict in Minangkabau that is known as the Paderi War.

The reformist Wahabi group of the Arab world inspired the Paderi movement. The followers of the Wahabi had a very bad opinion of Sufi Orders in general. The group of reformist *hajj*s from the *darek* area wished to cleanse the Islamic religion of the *adat* practices of Minangkabau, and of course their desire met with strong challenges from the *adat* followers. Moreover, Mangaradja Onggang Parlindungan theorized that the three prominent people of the Paderi group, Haji Misikin, “Artillery Major” Haji Sumanik, and “Cavalry Colonel” Haji Piobang, were the messengers or collaborators of Ibnu Saud (the King of Saudi Arabia) sent to Sumatra (the Archipelago) to spread the word of the Wahabi movement of the Arab world in the framework of shaping Wahabi imperialism throughout the globe.¹⁰⁹ Since the start, Tuanku Nan Tuo (and finally joined by Fakhir Shaghbir) did not agree with the violent methods that were sought by the students of Tuanku Nan Renceh and his colleagues, which in the end of course became a dark patch in the history of Minangkabau.

Although the Ulakan was never wiped out, after the appearance of the Paderi movement, the attention of young people who wished to study religion started to appear more focused on the *darek* area. The new inner strength blown in by this movement was of course compatible with the reformist and revolutionary inclinations of the young people. Along with the ever-increasing influence of the Paderi group, the prestige of Ulakan apparently started to decrease. Fakhir Shaghbir said in his writings that the center for the teaching of *ṭarīqat* (Sufism) moved from Ulakan to Paninjauan. The increasingly wide socio-political affects of the Paderi movement had indirect consequences for the existence and hegemony of Ulakan. More and more young *ulama*, including some from the Rantau Pariaman area itself, chose the *darek* area (especially Cangking) as their place of study. While Ulakan began to be abandoned, it certainly remained a “*kiblat*” (direction of focus of religious observance) for particular regions. In fact, there were several areas in the *darek* area that were still oriented towards Ulakan while on the contrary there were several coastal areas that changed their orientation to Cangking.¹¹⁰

One among the *ulama* of Rantau Pariaman that studied in the *darek* area was Shaikh Muhammad Jamil Al-Chalidi (1850?-1929). He studied for three years with Shaikh Muhammad Thaib of Cangking

(possibly around the 1850s) and after this, spent a year travelling to Mecca where he studied Naqshbandiyyah Sufism with Shaikh Abû Bakr (Waluyo, 1997:50). After his return home to Pariaman, he became the senior *imam* of the Batu Mosque in Pariaman (now called the Air Pampan mosque).¹¹² This is an indication that echoes of the Paderi movement in the *darek* area spread through to Rantau Pariaman, influencing the thinking of several young *ulama* on the coast to oppose Ulakan. I presume that Shaikh Daud was one of the pioneers amongst this group.

Near the end of the first half of the 19th Century, the transport connection between the coast and the *darek* area was increasingly good. Many people from the coast went to the *darek* area to learn sciences. There were also coastal people who went to the hinterland to spread the Islamic religion. One of them was Tuanku Pariaman, an ancestor of Hamka's, who originated from Pauah, Pariaman. He arrived in the *darek* area in the early 19th Century to teach Islam. The center of his activities was the IV Koto, Agam (Koto Tuo, Koto Gadang, Balingka, and Guguk). Initially, Tuanku Pariaman only wanted to teach Islam. His outlook was closer to the understanding of Tuanku Nan Tuo of Koto Tuo. However, he then became involved in the Paderi group after Dutch interference went too far. For four years, Tuanku Pariaman was commander of the Paderi brigade in the Matur area, Lawang, and Andalas before surrendering to the Dutch in 1832 (Hamka 1967:36-45).

This is an overview of the socio-religious situation of Minangkabau at the time when Shaikh Daud was young, a time in which the first Islamic movement was occurring in this area. As I have stated, in the first decade of the 19th Century the Paderi movement received increasingly large numbers of followers, a time when Shaikh Daud was thought to be still of school age. The years when the young Daud was learning Islamic religious sciences corresponded with the spreading influence of the Paderi movement in Minangkabau. If the suspicion that the young Daud studied in Cangking is true (or in a prayer house in the *darek* area), there is a big possibility that at the time of his study he began to be influenced by this religious purification movement. He is perhaps one of those amongst the young who originated from the coast but became oriented towards Cangking, turning his back on Ulakan. As one of the sons of Rantau Pariaman, he was possibly obsessed with spreading the modernist ideas that were flowing throughout this *darek* area in his own village. And appar-

ently this is what he attempted when he returned to Sunur after completing his study. It is very possible that at the same time as he taught in the prayer house, Shaikh Daud tried to carry out religious “purification”. However, Sunur and the surrounding area of course were a short-term aim for Shaikh Daud. His long-term aim was to change the religious traditions of the people of Rantau Pariaman, and at the same time, break the hegemony of the “Religion of Ulakan”.

But Shaikh Daud did not attempt achieve this modernization using violent methods in Sunur (Rantau Pariaman). Apparently, he did not embrace radicalism a la Paderi in the *darek* area. Regarding this, I conclude that perhaps Shaikh Daud was conscious that he was in or very close to the center of the Shaṭṭāriyyah Sufi Order of Ulakan. He recognized that changing the religious processes of the people of Sunur and the surrounds through revolution was the same as committing suicide. This is because he possibly did not yet have many friends that shared his beliefs in Rantau Pariaman. If he carried out religious “purification” with force and violence, it would be like a goat bleating in a tiger infested forest. Rantau Pariaman, as a stronghold of the conservatives, was still deeply entwined in the doctrine of the Shaṭṭāriyyah. This is why Shaikh Daud chose to seek a more intellectual process, amongst others, through debates as we have already seen in his debates with Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh. Although he simply used debates, the results were no less devastating: Shaikh Daud felt pressured to leave his village, leave his prayer house, students and his beloved family.

Conclusion

It has been known for a long time that historical studies about religious conflict in Minangkabau have been too focused on the *darek* area. The level and nature of contact between the *darek* area and Rantau Pariaman in the era of the Paderi War remains to be explored. The life history of Shaikh Daud describes the attempts to penetrate and spread the ideas of religious “purification” that were ignited in the *darek* area to coastal areas of Minangkabau, these areas having cosmopolitan communities more open in attitude and somewhat syncretic in their religious practices. As far as we can gather from the image we have of the life of Shaikh Daud we can conclude that for the first half of the 19th Century the idea of religious “purification” by the Paderi group experienced difficulties in piercing the religious conservatism of the community of Rantau Pariaman. Moreover,

they were possibly totally unsuccessful. Although a small line-up of young *ulama* from this area started to pay attention (after studying in the *darek* area) and started to attack the authority of Ulakan, their strength was not enough to rock the authority of the center of the Shattâriyyah Sufi Order. Seeing the religious radicalism movement in the hinterland of Minangkabau and the resistance showed by the coastal area where the people had embraced Islam earlier (since the 17th Century), I am in agreement with Jeroen Peeters who mentions that religious reformism movements will be much more successful in areas that were only marginally influenced by the earlier steps of the Islamization process (such as *darek*).¹¹²

Based on what Hamka says of Shaikh Daud, I presume that this *ulama* should be included in one of two types of *ulama* groupings that had different responses to Dutch involvement in the religious conflict of Minangkabau. The first group was those who left Minangkabau to “run to the Sufi world”. “If we have a dark situation in this world, we run into our core self or soul. There is a wider world located within our soul. And others left for Singapore and the Pulau Pinang, continue their travels to Mecca, learn sciences more and more deeply.” (Hamka 1967:34). The second group consisted of those who held the sword and carried out an all out war with the Dutch, including Tuanku Nan Renceh, Tuanku Lintau, Tuanku Pasaman, Tuanku Imam Bonjol, Tuanku Tambusai, and many more. From the text of *SSn*, we may conclude that the soul of the writer Shaikh Daud perhaps was one with strong convictions but could not face the sight of blood.

The story that was revealed in *SSn* describes several sides of the conflict as well as the socio-cultural problems that appeared after the increased presence of the Islamic religion in the life of the Minangkabau people. The emotional closeness of Shaikh Daud to his daughter, Umi Salamah, demonstrates ideas about change while at the same time challenging the standard pattern which placed the father as an outsider and the mother’s brother as the authority of the extended household of a matrilineal family in Minangkabau. In the following years, this pattern of relationship became one particular focus for critics of Minangkabau *adat*.

To a certain extent, the personality of Shaikh Daud is evident in *SSn* while his reformist attitude is evident in *SMMd*. In *SMMd* Shaikh Daud’s reformist thinking about Islam can be identified. Apparently he is a religious leader who wants to equalize the life in this world

and the next. This is why in *SMMd* he appeals to the “Jawah mukim” (hajjis from the Archipelago) in Mecca and Medina to pursue knowledge. He reminds them to use their time in Mecca to studying as well as to demonstrate their devotion to Islam. In the poem he criticizes orthodox groups who pay much more attention to the hereafter. Shaikh Daud realized that knowledge is important to end the tradition of adherents blindly following Islam.

The content of *SSn*, unlike the content of classical Melayu writings more generally, does not tell heroic stories or relay details of the surroundings of those in power and the palace. The picture it paints is very melodramatic. I doubt that the suffering of the soul of the “I” lyrics (*dagang*; the wanderer) conveyed in the verses of this poem is purely fictitious. I presume in fact that the text of *SSn* is not far from the real life of the writer. In other word, the “I” referred to in the lyrics of *SSn* is the writer himself. Quite different to other *ulama* and the majority of Shaikh that are well known because they had many students and became heroes, Shaikh Daud apparently became famous because he was an outcast.

Endnotes

1. This article is an expanded version of the paper that was presented at *Musyawarah Nasional II* and *Symposium Internasional IV Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara* (Manassa), at Pekanbaru, 18th to 20th July 2000. I would like to say a special thank you to Henk Maier, Jan van der Putten and Edwin Wieringa for their comments and notes on earlier drafts of this paper, and to Julian Millie for his assistance in translating the text of *Syair Makah dan Madinah* and *Syair Sumur* quoted in this article into English.
2. Concerning the biography and works of Shaikh Daud Al-Fatani, see Shagir Abdullah (1990).
3. *Darek* is regarded as the original place of Minangkabau people, located in the hinterland of Minangkabau. Rantau is the broader area of *darek* created by the removal of people from the hinterland. The concept of rantau changes from time to time and is both a geographical location as well as the activity of leaving once place of origin (*merantau*: verb). Traditionally, Minangkabau had two Rantau areas: the western Rantau runs the length of the coast of Sumatra, and the eastern one runs along the big rivers that flow to the eastern sea of Sumatra (the Malaka Strait). It also includes some parts of the Malay Peninsula such as Kolang and Negri Sembilan. See Josselin de Jong (1980); Kato (1989, pp. 72-4). Nowadays, going to other countries such as the United States, Europe, or Australia, also means undertaking *rantau*. For the characteristics and sociological impacts of *merantau* among the Minangkabau community, see Naim (1979).
4. For details on the economic relationship between the *darek* area and Rantau Pariaman in the 19th century, see Dobbin (1992).
5. I have examined this poem for my Doctorate at Leiden University under the supervised of Prof. Dr. H.M.J. Maier. See Suryadi (2001a).
6. While several scholars say that Shaikh Daud only wrote two works (*Syair Makah dan Madinah* or *Syair Rukun Haji* and *Syair Sumur*), Braginsky, after comparing the marks of the poetry and formulaic diction of the religious poetry and songs from Sumatra (Riau, Palembang, Minangkabau, and Aceh), articulates that there is a big possibility that Shaikh Daud also contributed to the creation of *Syair Dagang* (The Poem of a Wanderer) and *Syair Perahu* (The Poem of the Boat). According to Braginsky, both “contain all the features of Minangkabaunization” and “typically Minangkabau rhymes”. While *Syair Dagang* is regarded as the work of Hamzah Fansuri, the author of this poem used the alias *Tama'ie*, who possibly is a Minangkabau. (This reminds me of names that are typical of Minangkabau such as *Tambaro* or *Tambiluak*). Many words in *Syair Dagang* and *Syair Perahu* are very typical of Minangkabau, which indicates that the writer is from Minangkabau. See Braginsky (1998a, pp. 21-6); Iskandar (1996, pp. 366-67, 444-52); compare with Doorenbos (1933, pp. 29-33).
7. See the notes of Schrieke about this poem in his writings, which have already been translated to Indonesian (1973, pp. 24). The original: “Bijdrage tot de Bibliografie van de Huidige godsdienstige beweging ter Sumatra's Westkust”, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (TBG)* 59 (1919-1921), pp. 249-325.
8. What follows is a little biographical data about the six reviews that were published in Singapore. In 1869 this poem, with the title *Syair Makah Madinah*, was published by Penerbit Tuan Shaikh Haji Muhammad Ali b. Haji Mustafa bala[d]

- Berbalingga (Purbalingga) Makam Cahaya, Lorong Masjid, Kampung Gelam, Singapore. In 1873, it was also published by Penerbit Tuan Haji Muhammad Nuh b. Haji Ismail ahl. al-Jawi bila[d] Juwana at Dusun Kajian, Singapore, under the title *Syair Makah Madinah*. In 1885, the Penerbit Ofis Cap Haji Sirat Pres(s), Singapore, also published it under the title *Syair Makah, Madinah, Jiddah, Arafat, dan Sekalian Tanah Arab, dan Menyatakan Peri Hal Ihwal Orang yang Pergi Haj dan Keelokan*. In 1886 this poem appears again with the title *Syair Makkah al-Musyarrafah, Madinah al-Munawwarat* by Penerbit Ibrahim, Kampung Gelam, Jalan North Bridge Road, # 420, Singapore. In 1888 Penerbit Tuan Haji Muhammad Taib, Singapore, published this poem with the title *Syair Negeri Makkah al-Musyarrafah dan Madinah al-Munawwarat* (with the explanation: *Syair Macam Baru peri menyatakan orang yang pergi haj dari negeri bawah angin sampai kepada negeri atas angin seperti Jiddah dan Makkah dan Madinah dan seperti lain-lainnya*), and in 1889 Penerbit Haji Muhammad Siddik, Singapore, published this poem under the title *Syair Negeri Makkah al-Musyarrafah dan Madinah al-Munawwarat* (with the additional explanation: *Syair macam baru peri menyatakan orang yang pergi haj dari negeri bawah angin sampai kepada negeri atas angin seperti Jiddah dan Makkah dan Madinah dan seperti lainnya*). See Proudfoot (1993, pp. 43-44).
9. The following manuscripts of *SMMd* are based on my catalogue traces: Part I in the bundle Cod.Or.3335 (pp. 1-57); Part I in the bundle Cod.Or.3336 (pp. 1-57); Part I in the bundle Cod.Or.3337 (pp. 1v-34v); Part IV in the bundle Cod.Or.3373 (pp. 66); Part III in the bundle Cod.Or. 8754 (ff. 8r-10r); Part I in the bundle Cod.Or.12.161 (pp. iv-25v). Also see Cod.Or.3338 entitled *Syair Makah al-Musyarrafah* that was written by Syaikh Ismail bin Abdullah al-Khalidi of Mecca around 1834-5. Possibly this review was an elaboration from the works of Shaikh Daud. All those referred to above are from the collected manuscripts from the University Library, Leiden. See Iskandar (1999, pp. 165-67, 177, 625). Besides this, there is also one manuscript entitled *Syair Makah* with code number MS 56 kept at Perpustakaan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, and one more in the shape of microfish that is also there under the code MS 012. See Samsudin and Raja Ariffin (1983, pp. 48,76). Also, the Pusat Manuskrip Melayu, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, has the microfiche *SMMd* under code Mkm 1342, that seems to be reproduced from a review of *SMMd* that is stored in Staatbibliotheek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, (very possibly) from the collection of Schoemann V.41 which according to the date of this manuscript (*kolofon*) was donated by Muhammad Yahya ibn Abdul Talab of Padang on 30 Jumadil Awal 1266H / 13 April 1850 M. See Pusat Manuskrip Melayu (1989, pp. 51); Ahmat (1992, pp. 100-01).
 10. Traveling outside the motherland by Minangkabau people, especially the men, is called *merantau*. The term refers to an extended cultural exchange, the concept of which originates from Minangkabau culture. *Merantau* is a voluntary migration, unlike the government policy of *transmigrasi* among the Javanese. While it is a complex and unique concept, it is almost like a long-term cultural exchange whereby people undertaking their *rantau* go to a different place and live, work, and become involved in a community other than their own. See Naim (1979); Kato (1989).
 11. The manuscripts of *SSn* are stored at the University Library, Leiden, as follows:

- 1) Part II in bundle Cod.Or.3335 is in three parts (pp. 57-64); 2) Part II in bundle Cod.Or.3336 (pp. 57-62); 3) Part II in bundle Cod.Or.3337 (pp. 34v-39v); 4) Part VIII in bundle Cod.Or.6077 (pp. 217r-222r); 5) The first section of Part A is in bundle Cod.Or.8754 (ff.3v-6v); 6) Part B in bundle Cod.Or.8754; 7) Part II in bundle Cod.Or. 12.161 (pp. 25v-29r). Besides this, there are 2 notes about this poem in manuscript form, namely: Notes of van der Tuuk, a collector of this poem, under Cod.Or.3374 (pp. 66), and; notes from P. Voorhoeve in Cod.Or.8447 [no. 117]. See Iskandar (1999, pp. 165-67, 176-77, 299-301, 543, 582-83); Juynboll (1899, pp. 36 [LV], 37 [LVII], 38 [LVIII] and LIX); Ronkel (1902, pp. 102 [no. 234D]); Wan Mamat (1985, pp. 62). For more detailed description about all the manuscripts, see Suryadi (2001a, pp. 6-11).
12. The seven printed versions of the *SSn* are the following: 1) Review edited by Arnold Snackey; in Roman script (Batavia: Albrecht & Co., 1888), begins with an analysis by Snackey about the historical background of the creation of this poem and its literary aspects. He talks about the beauty in this poem, the beauty of the end rhyme of every verse, but also the "little flaws" [note little] in certain versus. Snackey also describes the life history of its author, Shaikh Daud; 2) The review magazine *Çahabat-Baik* that was published in Batavia in 1891 (pp. 1-4); in Roman script. The title was not *Syair Sunur*, but *Sjair Dagang*, something which points to the people who produced this review (possibly the editor of this magazine) very influenced by the content of the poem, because in the text of this poem, the "I" lyrics use the word *dagang* (wanderer) and refer to himself as a poor man; 3) The review edited by Muhammad Amin Al-Tanggari in Jawi script, published in the month of Safar 1322H/April 1904 M. under the name *Insulinde* publisher, owned by Dja Endar Moeda, of Padang; 4) The review was published by a company owned by Datoek Soetan Maharadja, *Snelpersdrukkerij Orang Alam Minang Kabau*, of Padang (between 1920 and 1921), under the title of *Nazam Soenoer* (see the advertisement about this book which was run in the newspaper *Soenting Melajoe* in Padang, Friday, 28 January 1921). This review was written in Jawi script; 5) The review was published by *Volksdrukkerij Djatilaan* in Padang (the date of publishing is unclear, but possibly around the 1920s); the text was written in Jawi script; 6) The review published by *Drukkerij Limbago Minangkabau* in Payakumbuh; also has no publishing date, but possibly around 1927 or 1928. This review was written in Jawi script, and very similar to the *Volksdrukkerij Djatilaan's* edition; 6) The review published by *Penerbit Zam-zam* in Fort de Kock or Bukittinggi, also in Jawi script.; 7) The review which is incomplete was published in the newspaper *Singgalang* in Padang (1987). It is known that this was taken from the Snackey edition (1888) by Rusli Amran. See also Amran (1988, pp. 354-58—Lampiran IV). See also Ockeloen (1939/40, p. 498). For more detailed description about the printed reviews of *SSn*, see Suryadi (2001a, pp. 12-17).
 13. The Kecamatan (region) Nan Sabaris (is more or less 43 km to the north of Padang, 5 km to the south of Pariaman city) consists of 8 *nagari*, namely Kurai Taji, Sunur, Tapakis, Ulakan, Pauh Kamar, Padang Bintungan, Kapalo Koto, and Ketaping. See Pemda Daerah TK I Sumatera Barat (1975, pp. 9).
 14. Until 1913, Rantau Pariaman was classed as an *afdeling* at the *Residentie Padangsche Benedenlanden*. But after this, with the release of *Staatblad Nummer 321*, its status changed to become a *onderafdeling* under Afdeling Batipoe en Pariaman in

- Residentie Sumatra's Westkust*. Onderafdeling Pariaman consisted of 3 *distrik*, namely XII Koto, Pariaman, and Ulakan. See Stibbe, Wintgens, Uhlenbeck (1919, pp. 343-44).
15. The entire number of versus quoted from *SSn* in this paper refer to the Al-Tanggari edition (1904).
 16. See Pemda Daerah TK I Sumatera Barat (1978a, p. 7).
 17. See Pemda Daerah TK I Sumatera Barat (Ibid, pp. 18-21); Moussay (1995, pp. 1319-320).
 18. It conforms to the Minangkabau proverb: "Luhak [the political unity in the hinterland of Minangkabau: Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam, Luhak Limapuluh Kota] is governed by *penghulu*; *rantau* is governed by minor royalty". The kings governed *rantau* are representatives of the Minangkabau King reigned in Pagaruyung Palace. See Navis (1986, pp. 57-8); Dobbin (1992, p. 9).
 19. See Pemda Daerah TK I Sumatera Barat (1978a, pp. 9). For more about Nagari Kurai Taji, see Pemda Daerah TK I Sumatera Barat (1978b). See also Moussay (1995, pp. 1283).
 20. There are many Dutch reports about this area in this period, but not many concern the religious life and common *adat* of the residents. The majority are economic and military reports. J.C. Boelhouwer, a Dutch lieutenant who went for the first time to West Sumatra in March 1831, wrote an important piece about Rantau Pariaman and the surrounding in this period. Notes of his journey from Padang through the lowlands and coastal areas through to the north – amongst others, to Pakandangan, Ulakan, Kurai Taji, Ampalu, Sungai Sarik, Pariaman, Naras, Manggopoh, Tiku – from 1831 to 1834 published in 1841 in The Hague (see bibliografi). Unfortunately, this report is dry in regards to socio-cultural issues, and, as I have said, more like a military report. Over 2 years - 1833 and 1834 - Resident C.P.J. Elout of Padang appointed Boelhouwer as the civil and military commandant of Pariaman. See *Almanak Naamregister Nederlandsch-Indië* (1833, p. 70); (1834, p. 66).
 21. Historically, the rural communities in this area may have once felt culturally united, as is intrinsic in what *Pasambahan* says in a speech at a formal *adat* meeting in this area: "Surrounding Sunur-Kurai Taji, Pauh Kamar and Bintung Tinggi, the shoot is twisted in Ulakan". And Ulakan became a central point (symbolized as "the shoot") because of its hold on religious (Islamic) authority. In the oral tradition, for example in *Rabab Pariaman* (see Suryadi 1996), before telling a *kaba* (Minangkabau oral narrative), the storyteller always sings the following versus: "This story existed before Sunur and Kurai Taji, Toboh and Pakandangan, and Sintuk and Lubuk Alung existed".
 22. It is very possible that the Portuguese were the westerners that were known early on in Rantau Pariaman. I connected this with the term *Raja Badurai Putih*, meaning "The Commander" of the Portuguese warship, who in the storytellers view in the Rantau Pariaman area was a big man who screamed – of course the size of a western body is bigger than the average local resident. This was relayed in a *kaba* (oral narrative) in Rantau Pariaman entitled *Anggun nan Tongga Magek Jabang*. It is told that *Raja Badurai Putih* (called *Raja Biduari Safskti* in other versions) originated from Negeri Teluk Singalai Tabang Papan and attacked Pariaman and ordered 4 women (symbolising 4 kinds of natural products). However, in the end a renowned hero, Aggun Nan Tongga Magek Jabang from Tiku,

defeated him. The evil king has two brothers named *Raja Sipatokah* (symbolizing the Portuguese King) and *Raja Sianggarai* (symbolizing the British King). According to Hamka, this story contains an allegory of the Portuguese (Westerners) who had a harsh attitude towards the local residents of Pariaman, Tiku, and the surrounds. See Hamka (1982, pp. 130-33). The word *bifejdurai* is thought to be derived from *bizurai* or *wizurai* (from *viceroi* in Portuguese). See Wilkinson (1959, pp. 99,146,1284). About *kaba Anggun Nan Tongga Magek Jabang*, see Amba Mahkota (1962) and Nigel Phillips (1981, pp. 171-229). The illustrations in the oral literature of the community of Rantau Pariaman seems appropriate with the facts that we ascertain from the oldest writings about Rantau Pariaman which we get from the book *Summa Oriental of Tome Pires*, which includes an analysis, amongst others, about the west coast of Sumatra in the 16th Century. Tome Pires (1446? - 1524?) was a sailor who worked for the Portuguese kingdom in Asia in the early 16th Century. He, amongst others, notes the trade flows between India and several port cities like Pariaman, Tiku, and Barus, the length of the coast of west Sumatra. He said that 2 or 3 ships from Gujarat called on the entreport of Pariaman every year, bringing cloth for the local residents to barter with gold (in abundance) *gaharu* wood, camphor lime, silk, candles and honey. Pires also mentions that Pariaman "traded in horses (that were brought from the Barak lands) on a large scale with the Sundanese (West Java)". See Armando Cortesão [translator & editor] (1944, pp. 160-1). Diego Pacheco was the first Portuguese sailor to circumnavigate the Island of Sumatra in 1520. He visited a port that according to his testimony was very busy with gold traders, which was very possibly Tiku harbor. See Marsden (1881, p. 411). Previously, another Portuguese, Alvaro Talessio, already mentioned the name *Srimatra* for the Island of Sumatra. See Nahuijs (1826, p. 48).

23. Regarding Rantau Pariaman in the earlier period (16th and 17th Century) see for example de Leeuw (1926); Kathiritamby-Wells (1969, pp. 13-30); Dobbin (Op.Cit, pp. 69-112, 118-36); Drakard (1999, pp. 44-63).
24. According to *tambo* (Minangkabau historiography) description, Pariaman and Tiku in the north were named as areas connected to legendary times "before rantau had become rantau". This indicates that Pariaman was a first coastal dwelling place to be established on the central coast of west Sumatra and was followed by the establishment of other dwelling places. See Datoek Batuah Sango (1966, pp. 35-36). See St. Pamoencak (1935, p. 26)
25. See Bastin (1961, pp. 169-171).
26. See Episoden (1844, pp. 113-14).
27. See Kielstra (1887b, pp. 19).
28. The Paderi *ulama* under the militant leadership of Tuanku Nan Renceh made the new regulations, to be obeyed by the society (including the obligation for men to grow their beards long), based on Islam. As noted by a Dutch official, the obligations and the punishments of the Paderi were as follows: "A man, who shaved his beard, paid a fine of two *soekoes* [* one *soekoe* is equal to 0.50 Gulden]; the filing of teeth was a sanctioned by giving a *kerbau* [water buffalo]; for a woman who not having her knees covered by clothes, paid a fine of 2 *soekoes*; for a woman's face not being covered, paid a fine of 3 *soekoes*; for the shitting a child paid a fine of 2 *soekoes*; for selling or smoking tobacco, paid a fine 5 *soekoes*; for having a nails, the fingers would be cut of immediately; for borrowing of money,

- paid a fine of 5 shilling; for not attending a prayer-session for the first time, paid a fine of 5 *soekoes*, if this would be repeated, people would be punish to death)" See B.d. (1845 [1827], pp. 172). Tuanku Nan Renceh started his *jihad* against the Kaum Adat in a spectacular manner with the execution of one of his aunts because she used tobacco and ate betel vine (*sirib*), which was prohibited by the Paderi. See Dobbin (1992, p. 158).
29. Raffles (1991, pp. 345-50).
 30. See Episoden (1844, p. 116).
 31. See Episoden (1844, pp. 117-22).
 32. See *Almanak Naamregister Nederlandsch-Indië* (1821, pp. 56-7); (1822, p. 65); (1823, p. 68); (1824, p. 60).
 33. First entitled *Tuanku Seriaman*. In 1833 this title was changed to *Tuanku Seriaman Sidi Sutan*, and, starting in 1835 that title was further changed to *Orang Kaya Seriaman*. Perhaps this is the handed-down title from father to son or from mother's brother (*mamak*) to nephew (*kemenakan*). See *Almanak Naamregister Nederlandsch-Indië* (1826, p. 64); (1833, p. 70); (1835, p. 61). In 1844 the domination of Tuanku Seriaman family was ended, replaced by Tuanku Sarif Amal from another clan. In the second half of the 19th century, the Regent of Pariaman was Sutan Marah Haning. See Datuk Orang Kaya Besar (1965, p. 159).
 34. In the era of Michiels, Sumatra's West coast became a province and he was appointed as the first and longest standing civil and military governor of West Sumatra. He was regarded by Batavia as the most successful leader of West Sumatra. Michiels started his role as governor in 1838. In 1850 J. van Swieten replaced him. See *Almanak Naamregister Nederlandsch-Indië* (1838, p. 56); (1850, p. 76).
 35. J.C. Boelhouwer (1841, pp. 39, 42-3). Boelhouwer also mentions that the Dutch paid much attention to the rural area of Pakandangan, firstly because of its strategic location on the trade route between Pariaman and Padang Panjang in the Agam area (the *darek* area) and the route between Pariaman and Padang. And secondly, because the Dutch forcefully replaced the Raja Pakandangan with a person whom they considered they could work with. In anticipation of community protest, the Dutch placed sufficient force in Pakandangan. However, as reported by Boelhouwer, it was a blessing that the bad attitude evident in the community never exploded into open clashes. See Boelhouwer (Ibid, p. 43).
 36. From 1833 to 1835, Kadet Sersan Mayor C.T. Dalsum filled the military post at Tiku. See *Almanak Naamregister Nederlandsch-Indië* (1833, p. 70); (1834, p. 66); (1835, p. 61).
 37. In 1844 the Dutch recommended Tuanku Sarif Amal become the Regent of Rantau Pariaman, replacing Orang Kaya Seriaman. See *Almanak Naamregister Nederlandsch-Indië* (1844, p. 65).
 38. It can be read as *Iwasy*; which possibly means W. Ivatts, who was appointed as *waarnemend posthouder* (the interim civil administrator) of Pariaman at that time. See *Almanak Naamregister Nederlandsch-Indië* (1835, p. 61).
 39. Copies of this letter (2 pieces), in Jawi script, are stored at the University Library, Leiden under Cod.Or. 5554 (C). This letter is dated 18 November 1835.
 40. Interview with Labai Bakar (Koto Rajo, Sunur, 17 January 2000).
 41. See Djaja (1965, pp. 282-90); Hamka (1974, pp. 148-9).
 42. "The date of death of Boerhanoeddin is 15 Safar [1116 AH], which is 19/20 June

1704. On this day, from all parts of the country, from the hinterland [of Minangkabau] as well as from the [west] coastal area, countless numbers of traditional believers come to Oelakan. This journey was like a pilgrimage whereby a part of the journey, regardless of how short, had to be done by walking. According to popular belief, seven of these pious journeys are equal to one real *hajj*. Quoted from Ronkel (1914b, p. 284).
43. An Arab named Shaikh Abdullah Arif or Tuanku Air Sirah is believed as the first *ulama* to introduce Islam in Rantau Pariaman, in Tapakis (near Ulakan) to be exact. See Amin (1992, pp. 5-16).
 44. Ronkel (Op.Cit, p. 282); Hollander [ed.] (1857, p. 6); see also Mulyani (1997, p. 176). In addition, Shaikh Burhanuddin had two small prayer houses (*surau*). The first one is his old *surau* in Tanjung Medan, about three kilometers eastern Ulakan, and the second was his new *surau* in Ulakan. Both prayer house are still attended by students from all over West Sumatra, even from Riau Province, as I witnessed during my observation in Ulakan and Sunur from August to January 2000.
 45. Abdullah (1966, p. 1).
 46. Seemingly, the *ulama* with this title (*Ungku Kali*) was a follower of the Ulakan (Shattâriyyah) doctrine. As noted by van Ronkel, this title was bestowed on *ulama* in Pamansingan *surau* (he wrote: "Kamansingan") in Agam District in the hinterland of Minangkabau. See Ronkel (1914b, p. 189).
 47. This term appeared when the conflict between the Shattâriyyah and Naqshbandiyyah Sufi Orders became critical in Minangkabau in the second half of the 19th Century. This term mocks or ridicules the people of Shattâriyyah (embracers of "The religion of Ulakan"), which is still regarded as synonymous with conservative; while at the same time, the Naqshbandiyyah people (embracers of "The religion of Cangking") called themselves "the people who fast first". See Schrieke (1973, p. 26).
 48. Interview with Labai Bakar (Koto Rajo, Sunur, 16 January 2000).
 49. Another similarity between Ulakan and Lubuk Ipuh is in the issue of inheritance of the official post of *tuanku* (imam of the *surau*). As in Lubuk Ipuh, in Ulakan this position was inherited through to Shaikh Burhanuddin. Van Ronkel (1914b, pp. 282-83) notes that after Shaikh Burhanuddin died, he was replaced in the position by his son Tuanku Bakarando (named: Muhammad Saleh Air Angek), who joined in the Paderi War and was killed near Bonjol. Then the deceased's son, Tuanku Kali Nan Mudo, who was still alive but an old man when the First World War broke out, filled the position left by the deceased. See also Amran (1981, pp. 241-42).
 50. According to Azyumardi Azra, among the 4 Al-Sinkilî students, the best known are - Burhanuddin (Ulakan), Abdul Muhyi (Pamijahan, Tasikmalaya), 'Abd Al-Malik b. 'Abd Allâh (Tregganu), and Dawud Al-Jâwî Al-Fanşûrî b. Isma'îl b. Aghâ Mustafâ b. Aghâ 'Alî Al-Rûmî (very possibly of Turkish blood) - Burhanuddin is the most famous. See Azra (1994, pp. 208-11).
 51. Hamka (1974, p. 149).
 52. See Bruinessen (1995a, particularly Chapter X).
 53. As it is known, Al-Sinkilî resisted the understanding of *Wujudiyyah* (Oneness with God), which he considered too oriented towards the absoluteness of God and His Creation and certainly more focussed on practical mystecism. This un-

- derstanding was developed by Hamzah Fanşûrî and Shams al-Dîn al-Sama'rânî, but then challenged by Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî with his *Qâdirriyah* understanding. However, it seems that on several issues, Al-Sinkîlî also is not in agreement with al-Rânîrî, especially on the important issue of al-Rânîrî's understanding of blasphemy, which he considered too extreme against the followers of *Wujudiyyah* or *Wahdatul Wujud* (whom he called 'kafir' or unbelievers). As was implied in several of his works, amongst others, *Mir'at al-Tullâb*, al-Sinkîlî strongly emphasized aspects of human relation more so than *fikih* (Islamic jurisprudence) in devotion. For more on the thoughts of Al-Sinkîlî, see Azra (1994, pp. 198-208); Fathurahman (1999, especially Chapter III). For Al-Raniri's response to Al-Fansuri's understanding of *Wujudiyyah*, see Nieuwenhuijze (1948, pp. 337-411). See also Vakily (1997, pp. 113-35).
54. As noted by William Marsden, these kinds of utensils for food are apparently to be found in almost all ethnic groups in Sumatra (1811, p. 59).
 55. See Kartomi (1986, pp. 19-25); Sulaiman (1990); Suryadi, (1994, pp. 226-39).
 56. See Rinkes (1909, pp. 9-10). Apparently, this style of art, colored by Islam, still contained aspects of trance. As a pre-Islamic practice, it was quite developed in Minangkabau, for example, *Dikie Barzanji* (*Barzanji* Reading) and *Sarapalanam* [from Arabic: *Sharf al-Anâm*] (a *Maulid* text), which is usually performed in the month of *Maulud* in Minangkabau. For more, see Ronkel (1914c, pp. 328-29).
 57. *Salawat dulang* is an oral narrative performance with religious nuance. The performers (three groups of three performers) debate many things related to the existence of God, such as the origin of the soul, the live of human fetus in his/her mother's womb, etc. while accompanying music instrument viz. *dulang* trays. See Amir (1996, pp. 5-24); Kartomi (1986, pp. 25-6).
 58. The Biography of Haji Muhammad Saleh Datuk Orang Kaya Besar (1841-1922), in Jawi script, written in 1914, was thoroughly analyzed by Tsuyoshi Kato while describing the trade world in Rantau Pariaman in the 19th Century. See Kato (1986, pp. 77-115). Originally: "Rantau Pariaman: The World of Minangkabau Coastal Merchants in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 4, (August 1980, pp. 729-52).
 59. Boelhouwer (Op.Cit, pp. 131, 172).
 60. The position of *Luitenant de Chinezen* in Pariaman was newly established by the Dutch in 1844, in the Tuanku Sarif Amal era sat as *regent*. Initially, Oei Liong Tjo was the official, and the following year (1845) this position was held by Tjia Biau. He held this official position for 36 years before being replaced by Tjia The King on 4th October 1881. Three years later, on the 4th of April 1884, King was replaced by Lie Eng Pe. See *Almanak Naamregister Nederlandsch-Indië* (1844, p. 65); (1885, p. 180). Until the end of the third decade of this century, the relationship between the Chinese and the natives of Pariaman was still close. This was evident by the fact that the Chinese of the area paid there last respects and viewed the corpse of Shaikh Jamil Alchalidi, a prominent ulama of Pariaman, when he died in 1929 (Zakaria in Waluyo et al. 1997, p. 101). However, a tragedy eventuated in Pariaman in the lead up to the end of Dutch power in Indonesia. The Chinese of Pariaman were ousted and many were murdered for their pro-Dutch stance. Currently, Pariaman is the only city-based *kabupaten* in West Sumatra (possibly also in Indonesia) that does not have any Chinese residents.
 61. It is important to mention here that Muhammad Saleh, in his autobiography,

- informed that there were many whores working in Air Bangis port in northern Pariaman, used by the ship's crews who stopped in there. See Saleh (1965, p. 106). Compare this to Abdullah Munshi's testimony of the same picture in Kelantan in the east coast of Malay Peninsula, when he visited the port on 1838. See Ahmad [transliteration] (1960, p. 87).
62. See ML 455, National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta. The manuscript entitled: "*Riwayat Kota Pariaman*", written in Jawi script. The writer is Baginda Said Zakaria. The manuscript was written around the 1930s. Check: Behrend [ed.] (1998, p. 291). About the transliteration and translation of this manuscript into Indonesian language, see Waluyo et al. (1997, pp. 11-60).
 63. This explanation was taken from Musa (55 years old) in Kabun, Sunur (Interviewed on 30th August 2000, in Sunur). Musa is a 6th generation descendant of Shaikh Daud. There is an explanation that Umi Salamah, daughter of Shaikh Daud, lived in Jorong Kampung Kandang/Koto Gadis, Sunur. This means that Shaikh Daud and his first wife, Aisyah—before he married again in Trumon—were originally from the same village, namely from the rural Kampung Kandang/Koto Gadis, in Sunur. His first wife named Aisyah. (Interview with Ibu Fatimah in Kampung Kandang/Koto Gadis, Sunur, 14th January 1999, and Martani in the same place, 2 January 2000).
 64. Interview with Musa and Limbatu (Kabun, Sunur, 30th August 2000).
 65. The textual information in *SSn* is appropriate with the explanation by Musa. He says that Shaikh Daud had 2 siblings, both boys. Shaikh Daud was the oldest, and the two siblings were Peto Sirajo and Pakih Sudin (Interview in Sunur on the 30th August 2000).
 66. R.J. Chadwick, who examined some 400 Minangkabau *pantuns* (traditional poetry, consisting of four lines of two couplets for each verse; first couplet is called *sampiran* and the second one is called *isi*), states that melancholic attitude is typical of Minangkabau men. It is caused by their "unstable" position in their matriarchal society. According to the Minangkabau social system, a man does not have the right to own or inherit the land because the land is allocated for and owned by women. That is why a Minangkabau man prefers leaving his birthplace (*pergi merantau*). Chadwick uses the term "heroic biography" to illustrate the life of Minangkabau men, which is full of sorrow, as reflected in a verse of Minangkabau pantun: "The *karatau* and *madang* trees upstream /Have fruited and flowered not-yet/Goes - *merantau* the bachelor first-of-all/At home he is-of-use not-yet). See Chadwick (1986); Chadwick (1994, pp. 88-101).
 67. However, we must also take into account the special mark of the social system of Pariaman, which is not very similar to that of the hinterland. Tsuyoshi Kato (1986, p. 103) shows that the matrilineal system in the Pariaman area is less obeyed than in the hinterland area, especially in the trader class. However, it is not too clear how it is practiced in the community among other social classes. See also Kato (1977, pp. 221-22).
 68. Seemingly, it is the usual experience of Minangkabau sons who live while their mother's do not, as experienced by Muhammad Radjab, born in 1913 in Sumpur, a village in the coast of Lake Singkarak. He was close to his father and sometimes visited his 4 stepmothers, studied the Koran from his father in his *surau*, namely *Surau Atas* in Sumpur before being sent to a religious school. See Radjab (1999, Vol.I: *Anak Danai Singkarak*).

69. Dobbin (1992, pp. 148-52).
70. Snackey (1888, pp. 12-13); Braginsky (1998a, p. 23).
71. Quoted from Braginsky (Ibid, p. 23). This text was probably written by Shaikh Daud after he successfully wrote *SMMd* in Mecca and distributed in Sumatra. Now he felt better known than his opponent, Tuanku Shaikh Lubuk Ipuh. This quote is based on one of the stanzas in "lamentation of lover" and "lamentation of vagabond" which is held along with *Syair Perahu* in MS.168218 (SOAS University of London) from the C. Evans collection, which was supposedly copied in Padang between 1821 and 1826. Check: Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977, p. 167). Braginsky shows that the works of Shaikh Daud (*SSn* and *SMMd*) often exist side by side with *Syair Perahu* ("short" recension) in several manuscripts, and is also close to his poetic mark, something which has made this researcher suspect that Shaikh Daud also made a contribution in the writing of *Syair Perahu*, although maybe he did not write it. About this syair, see Braginsky (1975, pp. 407-26).
72. This reminds me of the theological debate in the art exhibition *Salawat Dulang* in Minangkabau. Two *tukang salawat* (singers) debate the issue of what exactly is the essence of spirit, of God, life after death, early human life and the shape of the embryo inside the mother womb, etc. See Amir (1996, pp. 57-61).
73. Measured in metric.
74. I took this quote from Braginsky (1998b, p. 177). *Ilmu Ma'ani* is the science of meanings, *Ilmu al-Badi'* is the science of poetic decorations, *ilmu Arud* is the science of rhythmic meter, and *ilmu Bayan* is the science of declaring meaning that is good (Braginsky, Ibid).
75. This understanding – which when it spread through the Archipelago since the end of 16th Century, was known as *Martabat Tujub* – argued that humans (creature - *makhluk*) can be one with God (*khalik* – The Creator).
76. Quoted from Said [ed.] of RUL F 30 (p. 31, lines 16 to 19 from above). Compare with Braginsky (1998a, p. 25); Braginsky (1998b, p. 479); also see Iskandar (1996, pp. 445-46).
77. See Johns (1961, p. 43); Al-Attas (1970, p. 73); Jahroni (1999, pp. 77-82).
78. RUL 891 F 30 (p. 32, lines 20 to 21 from above). Note: "Ketiga" is written as "keempat". Seemingly the copyist ordered them incorrectly here.
79. See Braginsky (1998b, p. 479).
80. This common discourse is perhaps not truly necessary. My reading about one of the manuscripts regarding the *adat* of marriage in Rantau Pariaman early last century shows that the father has enough power and was invited to discuss the marriage plans of his children, although the final decision of the children's suitor in the extended matrilineal family lies with the mother, especially his mother's brother. See Section II in the manuscript in Leiden Cod.Or.5828 is entitled "*Adat kawin di Priaman*," (pp. 18v-51v). For an explanation of this manuscript, check Ronkel (1921, pp. 264-5 [no. 675B]); Iskandar (1999, p. 224).
81. Before the era of the steam engine, and before Singapore was established as a port by Raffles in 1819, some Aceh ports were the final harbor for pilgrims leaving for Mecca from the Archipelago. The Minang who wished to undertake the pilgrimage disembarked from Pariaman and Tiku through the west coast of Sumatra and sailed to the harbors of Aceh. From Aceh, this group of pilgrims waited for trade ships going to India, from where they caught boats to Hadramaut

(Yaman), then to Jeddah. This journey could take 3 to 6 months and include much danger, such as plundering and storms at sea. Several ships owned by residents of Rantau Pariaman seemed to operate as agents for groups of pilgrims from Minangkabau, taking them to the harbors of Aceh. Certain notes in the biography of Haji Muhammad Saleh (1965, pp. 100, 131) inform us that around the 1850s one of his bosses, Sidi Badu, became such an agent in Pariaman. Sidi Badu had a good relationship with 2 returned pilgrims who lived in the hinterland region, namely Shaikh Cangking and Shaikh Labuh from Batusangkar. These two returned pilgrims brought together candidates for the pilgrimage and sent them to Sidi Badu who then shipped them on his big boat named *Dalipin* (*Dolphin?*) from Pariaman to Aceh. See Kato (1986, p. 90). About pilgrims from the Archipelago in the Dutch era, see Bruinessen (1995b, pp. 48-50). About the ups and downs of the pilgrimage journey to Mecca in the 19th Century, see Ahmad (Transl.) (1960, pp. 127, 54). See also Beaver *et al.*, (1944, p. 102). Matheson and Milner (1984) have edited five Malay texts that depict the perceptions of "Jawah" people about *haji* worship. William R. Roff (1982, pp. 143-60) examined the sanitation and security aspects of *hajjs* from South and Southeast Asia (including The Netherlands East-Indië) in the 19th Century. Early studies of Nusantara *hajjs* have been conducted by Eisenberger (1928) and Abdoel Patah (1935).

82. Following is the lineage of Raja (King) Bujang of Susoh in northern Trumon. His father was called Haji Lebai Dapha, who, with his relatives Lebai Kontee and Datu Siruyung and his followers moved from Susoh to Singkil in the 1770s, then spread his efforts to Trumon in 1787. This is the family that increased the prestige of Trumon and Singkil as important harbors on the west coast of Aceh. The family and descendants of Haji Lebai Dapha then became the holders of power in Trumon and Singkil, two pepper trading centers on the west coast of Sumatra that had been famous since the 17th century. This small kingdom traded independently of America, England, and other countries before the start of Dutch influence in 1830. See Kielstra (1888, p. 1191); Stibbe, Wintgens, Uhlenbeck, 1919, pp. 440-41; Lee (1995, pp. 67-9, 97-9, 125); Ismail (1985, pp. 5-6).
83. According to the Dutch version, (see for example: Hoffman 1873, p. 7), the local royalty of this area invited the Dutch in because they continually experienced breaches of their security from robbers and slave traders from Aceh who docked in Tapus and out of Barus. It is said that groups of Chinese sea traders often pirated on the high seas. Perhaps because they felt their power and authority threatened by this group of pirates (despite the fact that the royals of this area had a family relationship with them), the local rulers asked for military help from the Dutch in Padang. Check, amongst others: letters from leaders in this area (Barus, Singkel, Trumon) the Dutch Commander of Padang in the bundle of manuscripts at University Library, Leiden Cod. Or. 5554 (Parts A and C, e.g: C-V, C-VI, C-VII). Notes from this Dutchman perhaps contain the truth. Evidence shows that during Acehnese rule of the west coast of Sumatra in the 16th and 17th Centuries, the High Commander and troops of Aceh were also often not polite, like other colonizers, towards the community in the area of subjugation. However, officials of Aceh that were stationed in particular areas also supported the pirates that operated at sea. One of the letters in the bundle Cod.Or.5554 (Part A) entitled "*Conto surat yang dikirim kepada Teku Bujang di Tarumun sebab2 berbicara Perang Tanah Nias dengan Panglima Pukaya*" tells the

- story of dishonorable acts which were carried out by the Acehese Commander, called Panglima Pukaya, who was stationed at Pulau Nias. Panglima Pukaya, working together with the upper echelons of Acehese government, amongst others, with Teku Muhammad Said, robbed Chinese and Nias trading ships plundering the contents and escaping to Lahusa. The dishonorable acts of both representatives from Aceh resulted in war with the people of Nias in Gunung Sitoli. Raja Bujang, the ruler of Trumon (mentioned in that letter by Teku Bujang) was asked to solve this problem and report to the leaders of Aceh in Kutaraja and ask the Commander Pukaya to withdraw from Nias (This letter was dated 4 May 1823). However, the Dutch report regarding robbers on the west coast of Aceh correlates with Muhammad Saleh Datuk Orang Kaya Besar's experience when he sailed there to trade (the people from Rantau Pariaman called the area *Rantau XII*) around the 1860s. Saleh in his autobiography (1965, pp. 117-18) wrote that the Tapatuan and areas in the north was "the robber's nest". The ships sailed crossed the had to arm themselves (with *rudus* [a kind of big knife], guns, lance, and even cannons. Saleh said that the most dangerous area on Aceh's west coast were the Sama Dua and Ujung Lembing.
84. Briefly, the story of Kaatje Stolte is as follows: When Padang was settled by a famous robber from France, Le Môme, in 1793, Kaatje Stolte, a beautiful mixed blood Indonesian girl escaped with her boyfriend, a youth from Aceh, on a boat which fortunately docked at the port of Muara (other sources mention that they went to the hinterland area). Kaatje did not want to return to Padang, perhaps because their relationship was condemned by their parents or because of the catastrophic situation at that time. The lovesick couple finally married; Kaatje converted to Islam and they finally arrived in Trumon. In Padang the issue appeared that the young Indo girl had been abducted and sold into slavery. Not long after, they had a daughter in Trumon who it is said became a stunningly beautiful girl. The end of the story can be guessed: Raja Bujang, the ruler of Trumon, courted this beautiful girl. One of the children from the marriage is Nyak Batak. So, Nyak Batak who was then titled Raja Muda when he replaced his father to become ruler of Trumon was the grandchild of Kaatje Stolte. In the era of Raja Muda's rule, his grandmother played a role in the Palace of Trumon to help the Dutch involvement in this country. See Kielstra (1888, p. 1194); Amran (1988, pp. 80-82, 197). F.G. Hoffman says that Nyak Batak alias Raja Muda is "the descendant of a Christian women, child of a doctor that once worked for the VOC in Padang". See Hoffman (1873, p. 7).
 85. For clarification about the contents of those 6 passages, see Kielstra (1888, p. 1199).
 86. Hoffman (Op.Cit, p. 8).
 87. In the history of the local royalty in Sumatra, ulama from outside the area (often Arabs, but not infrequently also local Ulama from other regions) quickly become trusted people in the Royal palace and many of them married into the royal family. They were often titled *babib*, *Shaikh*, or *sayyid*. It is very interesting that they were usually trusted to become official letter carriers or negotiators or peace makers between two sides in conflicts, whether between local leaders or between local leaders and western colonial overlords. This is perhaps because the power of an *ulama* that is of course very honored by the community and the royal leaders of the coast of Sumatra, which generally embraced Islam.

Famous amongst others was Habib Abdurrahman during the Aceh War. The same role was also played by an Arab named "Schech Ahmed" in the early years of the Paderi War in West Sumatra. See Episoden (1844, p. 125).

88. Hamka (1967, pp. 33-4).
89. Said (1961, p. 267).
90. Al-Tanggari (Ed.) (1904, p. 2, lines 3 from above).
91. Another example is Shaikh Muhammad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi (1860-1916) who, with his red pen, always criticized the hereditary system of Minangkabau, which contradicted Islam. He swore never to return to his hometown of Kota Gedang, Bukittinggi, while the matrilineal system was still practiced by the people of Minangkabau. He finally died in Mecca, the land of his *rantau*. See Schrieke (1973, pp. 34-7); Hamka (1969, pp. 230-34). In the era that followed, this criticism appeared in the literary media. Early Indonesian novels were full of themes criticizing the *adat* of Minangkabau. Amongst others, see Ali (1994).
92. Apparently Snackey, after reading *SSn* more or less three decades after the death of the author, also expressed the view that the "I" lyrics in *SSn* refers to the writer himself. He writes: "As *syair* as beautiful as the *Syair Sunur* is not the work of the man in the street, but the work of a person who has himself experienced what he is writing about; for it is a *syair* of finding release or relieving inner burdens. It is a lesson for all those composing beautiful works, namely; in order that the works be beautiful it must be written to release emotions or give relief to the heart of its writer, or in other words, what must be put in writing is the sorrow or joy which was in reality felt by the author". Quoted from Snackey (1888, pp. 17-18). However, to what extent the "I" lyrics in one literary work – like *dagang* in *SSn* – is a self-representation of the author is still a topic of hot debate. However, the role of the "sub-conscious" in influencing authors as they write has for a long time received much interest and attention by theoreticians and literary scientists. Regarding literature and psychology, see amongst others Wellek and Warren (1989, pp. 90-108).
93. This phase is based on the date of the Leiden manuscripts Cod.Or.3336 a legacy of van der Tuuk who was interested in "Barus 1853". Apparently, the manuscripts *SSn* that originated from the legacy of van der Tuuk was compiled in Barus and the surrounding area (perhaps among these manuscripts there are some which originated from Trumon). These manuscripts together with other manuscripts were certainly compiled by van der Tuuk when he was working as a missionary in the Batak lands. In early 1851 he traveled to Padang and Sibolga. Then in early 1852, Van der Tuuk lived in Barus. Possibly, at the time he lived in this harbor city, he compiled many manuscripts including several copies of *SSn*. This means that *SSn* was already known in this area in 1853 or even several years earlier. In April 1857, Van der Tuuk returned from his travels to Padang, and not long after returned to Batavia. See Grijns (1996, pp. 355); and also Nieuwenhuys (1982).
94. There is evidence that demonstrates that *SSn* of course is one of the favorite poems read in the women's circle in Rantau Pariaman. Previously, before being secluded in the lead up to their marriage, teenage girls spent time reading classic novels. One of the *syair* that this group of girls liked to analyze was *SSn*. See the Leiden manuscript Cod.Or. 5828, Part II (p. 19v) entitled "*Mariage Adat in Priaman*" that describes the activities of these girls reading manuscripts, includ-

- ing *SSn*. It seems compatible with Snackey's information that states: "Regarded bringing a reward, more and more people read *Syair Sunur*". (Snackey 1888, p. 20).
95. Snackey (1888, p. 13). However, no evidence exists today which demonstrates that the poem sent by Umi Salamah to her father really existed. Umi Salamah died on 1876 (Snackey, *Ibid*, p. 14).
 96. Snackey (*Ibid*). Around 1862 or 1863 a terrible earthquake destroyed the west coast of Sumatra. It is presumed that its epicentrum was offshore of the west coast of Aceh. Big waves (tsunami) swept some islands and ports. Regarding the consequences of the earthquake, Muhammad Saleh in his autobiography (1965, pp.71) notes: "Not so long after I arrived in Pariaman, sailing from Singkil, I heard the news that the Singkil port was flooded by the tidal waves of an earthquake. Off the shore near Trumon there is a reef, or so I heard, namely *Jawi-Jawi*, fully planted with *nyiur* [coconut tree], but is now demolished without any trace. Not only was the Singkil port destroyed; the public cemetery there also was swept bare by the flood. That was the place—I remember—where Shaikh Daud was buried, a man from Sunur Pariaman who was well known for his book of poetry, *Nalam Sunur*. Many people fled to southern Singkil to a place called Ujung Bawang". (Author's bolding).
 97. "Among the Ḥanafī followers, a man who the most persevering criticizes Adat [custom] and the Shāfi'ī *Madhhab* in Sunur, probably earlier than 1838, is Tuanku Shaikh Daud, who then expected as the author of *Syair sunur*". Quoted from Snackey (*Ibid*, p. 10).
 98. For this brief paper, I will not describe the different principles of the 4 *madhhab* (Islamic schools of law). But for a general outline, I quote from R. Stephen Humphreys, one of a group of Orientalists that studied Islamic *madhhab* in the Middle East. Humphreys states, "However, it governed to some degree by the characteristic attitudes and approaches of the different schools of law which grew up in early Islamic times. (The word "school" translated *madhhab*, pl. *madhâhib*; its represents not a formal organization but a shared method and doctrine - a school of thought, so to speak). Among the four main schools of Sunni Islam, the Ḥanafī and Mâlikī *madhhabs* display the most realistic orientation, in that both of them drew the substance of their legal rulings from the established social traditions of the regions in which they grew up in the late 8th and early 9th centuries. The Hanafis, centered in Kufa and then Baghdad, reflect the complex, fluid society of lower Iraq, with its mixed agrarian and mercantile economy, its ethnic variety, and its cosmopolitan culture. In addition, the Hanafis' proximity to the caliphal court induced in them a certain defense to political and administrative imperatives. The Mâlikîs in contrast were formed by the pietism and the patriarchal, still quasi-tribal traditions of Medina, as reshaped by the Prophet and the early caliphs. The Shâfi'îs, in line with the rigorous temperament of their founder, seem primarily concerned to evolve a fully rationalized, internally consistent body of doctrine derived from the strict application of analogical reasoning to Qurân and Sunna. Finally, the Hanbalîs (originally a populist movement which arose in Baghdad in opposition to the Abbasid court) were the most moralistic, with the goal of recapturing the whole tone of life in the primitive Community of Medina". See Humphreys (1995, p. 211); and also Goldziher (1981, pp. 233-37).

99. Regarding the history of NU, internal aspects and the ideology of this religious organization and its relationship with the state, see among others, Bruinessen (1994) and Feillard (1999).
100. Humpreys (1995).
101. Boelhouwer (1841, pp. 140, 45).
102. The Dutch newly appointed a *posthouder* (civil administrator) in Ulakan in 1844. The first to fill this post was C. Willemsen, who was previously held the same post in Tiku. L. van Roode replaced him 4 years later. See *Alamanak Naamregister Nederlandsch-Indië* (1844, p. 65); (1845, p. 66); (1846, p. 76); (1847, p. 78).
103. See for example, Couperus (1855, pp. 21-2).
104. Schrieke (1973, pp. 22-3). See also Kroesen (1873, p. 86).
105. "Be this as it may, the country of Minangkabau is regarded as the supreme seat of civil and religious authority in this part of the East, and next to the voyage to Mecca, to have visited its metropolis, stamps a man learned, and confers the character of superior sanctity." Quoted from Marsden (1811, p. 343).
106. Hollander [ed.] (1857, pp. 110-11).
107. The conflict between Cangking and Ulakan increased in the 1870s in the era when Shaikh Ahmad Jalaluddin, who once studied under Shaikh Daud in Trumon, was the leader of Cangking. At this time, the competition between Cangking and Ulakan started to result in a split in the community of Minangkabau. One group were conservative group and embraced the "Religion of Ulakan" while the others followed the "Religion of Cangking" and sought religious "purification". This conflict became more ferocious at the end of the 19th Century. What happened after the 1860s is clearly not so relevant to this paper because it occurred a long time after the life of Shaikh Daud. See Bruinessen (1995a, pp. 102-03).
108. See Steijn Parvé (1885, pp. 249-78).
109. As we know, the historic polemics between Mangaradja Onggang Parlindungan and Hamka who said that what Onggang wrote surrounding the Paderi War, especially his statement that the leader of Paderi group are representative of King Ibnu Daud who wanted to establish the Arabic Empire of Asia under the Wahabi's Law, digressed considerably and were not supported by data received through scientific methods. For more, see Parlindungan (1964, especially Chapter II).
110. Some *nagari* in the *darek* area that were still oriented to Ulakan included Batuhampar, Payakumbuh, Kumango, Maninjau, Pariangan, and Malalo (Hamka 1984, p. 157).
111. Regarding biography of Shaikh Muhammad Jamil Alchalidi, see Baginda Said Zakaria: "*Riwayat Kota Pariaman*" (manuscript ML 455, Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta); check endnote #65.
112. Peeters (1997, p. 242)

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