

The Renewal of Islam in Minangkabau's Community from Paderi to Young Generation: A Perspective Study on History and Islamic Characteristics

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Abstract:

This paper discusses the renewal of Islam by Paderi in Minangkabau's community, west Sumatera, Indonesia. Seventy years after the Paderi movement stopped because young scholars known as the Youth Generation (YG) continued Dutch colonial pressure with original models and characteristics. To delve into this problem, a historical research method was required to test and analyze the vital records and relics of the yesteryear. This research is qualitative. The research and discussion found: first, the reform in Islam consisted of 2 indicators, namely (1) the returns of Islamic purity to the guidance of the Qur'an and Hadiths, and (2) modernization as a representation of the youth movement. Second, the violence by the Paderi was inappropriate if related to Minangkabau's cultures which were tolerant and familial. The first Islamization process in Minangkabau was also never penetrated by a power of politics such as war. Third, the conflict had triggered a vivacious and dynamic religious discourse. We could see this from many meetings and debates held both during the Paderi and during Youth Generation. Besides, various schools had appeared, publishing books and magazines from each generation to socialize and make a struggle for religious understanding.

Key Words: *Renewal of Islam, Paderi, Minangkabau's Community, Youth Generation.*

INTRODUCTION

Before the arrival of Islam, The Minangkabau people believed a South Indian version of Hindu-Buddhism brought to the region by Indian merchants in the third and fourth centuries. In Minangkabau society the development of Islam shows a different picture. Before Islam came to this region, Minangkabau society on original culture and Hindu-Buddhism. This belief belongs to animism, which might be the original Minangkabau religion (Hamka, 1986). It affected the Minangkabau's community, where polytheism and heresy issues had contaminated indigenous people and Islamic scholar or ulema groups in the daily practice of worship. Two major practices associated with polytheism and heresy issues were the use of amulets (magic) and cock-fight. Exacerbated by this condition, the heresy problem was also rampant, making the scholars' graves a sacred place that could make a vow and propose intention (Amrullah, 1982). Meanwhile, the traditional headman was busy fighting cocks with his children and nephews. He was supposed to protect his children and nephews, but he did otherwise. Although such a cock-fight activity was originally intended as a popular entertainment, it had turned into immoral actions in the public life (Azra, 1999a). Meanwhile, the religious figures such as scholars/ulemas studied the mysticism or the so-called *Tasauf* and *Tarekat*. Some of the community competed to follow religious figures to learn that subject. Two types of

mysticism existed. They were *Satariah* and *Naksabandiah*. Both schools of mysticism were proud of the majesty and holiness of each congregation. As a result, they became enmity and unbelievable with each other. The situation grew in the community and households. If a family had different schools of mysticism, Islam that was expected as a blessing would not be felt so any longer (Daya, 1990).

The traditional education institution was a place for studying, but especially for religious subjects, they received less interest. At least, this condition was caused by two fundamental factors, namely; first, disharmony between the religious figures and the modern existing education system by the Dutch. The educational institution by the Dutch was more modern than the educational system in mosques commonly known as *Surau*. (Azra, 1999b). This condition had continued until 1803, which was marked by the return of three pilgrims or *Haji* from Mecca known as Haji Sumanik, Haji Piobang, and Haji Miskin (Hamka, 1986). The three Hajis embraced the *Wahhabi* ideology that they adopted when they were in Mecca pioneered by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahab (1703-1787 AD), or known as "*Wahhabi*" (Nasution, 1975). We will agree with what the three Hajis do as the Wahhabi movement to fix all the circumstances in Minangkabau. This action received vehement protests from indigenous and adherents of *Tarekat*. Dutch troops assisted that. This case caused the civil war called "Paderi War" (Amran, 1981). The first phase of Islam reform movement in Minangkabau ended up with the defeat of *Wahhabi* (Parlindungan, 2007; Singleton Jr, Straits, & Straits, 1993).

The custom and ulema conflicts did not stop there even continued approximately seventy years later. At the beginning of the 20th century, the second Islamic reform movement in Minangkabau came back (Daya, 1990), which was marked by the birth of YG or youth generation developed by Muhammad Abdullah Ahmad (1878-1933), Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (1878-1949), Muhammad Jamil Jambek (1860-1947), and others. The second reform movement had run a good and organized social institution. Many activities were held such as lectures, recitals, the establishment of Islamic schools, public schools, and the publications of magazines (Stoddard, 1966). The related phenomena will be reported and presented attractively in this paper. This is useful as a source of the development of Islam, the depth, or the problems posed by the movement of Paderi thought. We also share the uniqueness in the varieties of Islamic ideologis and the reform movement in this paper.

This study uses a historical method. We carry out this method to test and analyze critically the records and relics. The steps in this study refer to the process of research. The historical study contains four stages as follows: a) *Heuristics*, which seeks and finds the sources related to the case understudied. We have visited the place for this stage, namely nine libraries, either local or international ones. They are the library of West Sumatera Muhammadiyah University (UMSB), the library of "Imam Bonjol" Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN), Public Library of West Sumatera, "Gunung Bungsu" Library in Batusangkar, IAIN Batusangkar library, Padang Panjang Public Library, "Diniyah Putri" Padang Panjang Library, Kulliyatul Muballighin Muhammadiyah Padang Panjang Library, and the Library of Malaya University, and other relevant sources from the Internet; b) *Criticism*, which conducts a study of historical sources, in both internal and external ways. c) *Interpretation*, which provides comments on the sources that have been collected during the study. These interpretation activities are carried out by making interpretations on the basis of facts, and the data got are compiled, interpreted, and linked to each other; d)

Historiography is the last step in this writing. At this step, we present it as the findings of the previous three stages by making arrangement in clear writing and correct language.

In addition, this study also uses a qualitative approach with a view of data got from spoken or written and observable behavior of the person or the subject itself (Moleong, 2006). Qualitative methods are part of the process of knowledge which can be regarded as a social product, and also a social process. The technique of data analysis uses an approach or an interactive model. In this analysis model, the three components of the analysis such as data reduction, data display, and conclusion or verification are conducted in an interactive forum with the data collection process. It is a continuous and repetitive process to form a cycle. Schematically, this interactive analysis process can be described as follows (see Figure 1):

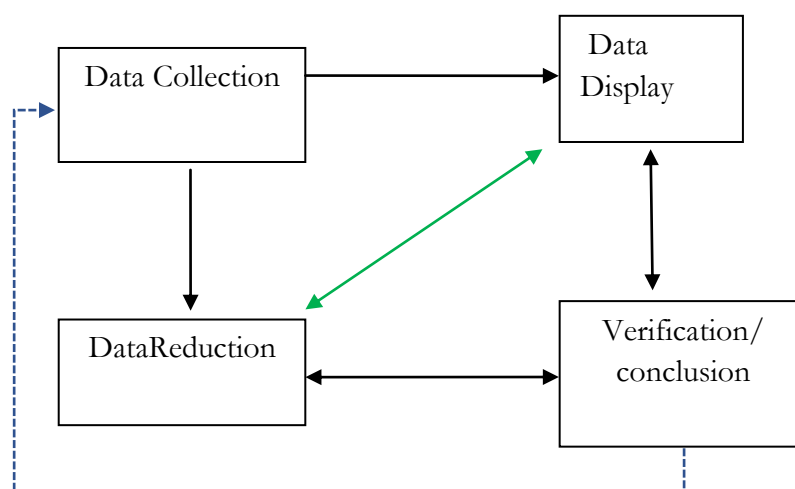


Figure 1 The Interactive Analysis Model by Miles and Huberman

DISCUSSION

The Paderi Movement in Minangkabau West Sumatra

The term Paderi comes from the word "Pedir", which is a city on the north coast of Aceh, a place for Haji candidates from Indonesia to go to the holy land of Mecca (Christinne Dobbin, 1992). In this Pedir, according to Van Ronkel's analysis quoted by Karel Steinbrink, there was the first sign of Islam in Aceh. Then, from this region, Islam spread to Minangkabau, the West Sumatera. Those who spread Islamic teachings were called Paderi (Steenbrink Karel, 1987). Hamka in his book "My father" also argued that the word "Paderi" is derived from the word "Paderi" referring to the scholars who studied Islam to Pedir, Aceh. There is to some extent found that Paderi is derived from the word "Father", which means "*Bapak*" (Amrullah, 1982). From another opinion, there is also who said that the term "Paderi" derives from the word "padre" (Portuguese) which also means "father".

We got Paderi from Raffles' report on November 15th, 1823. Raffles' report said that Paderi communities had to do their activities for ten years to face the sale and the use of opium in the Minangkabau's region. Minangkabau's people put the Paderi as "white people" or the virtuous. They were identical with a group of Ulemas together with their students who wore white clothes until heels and wore white turbans. They were different from indigenous groups, such as the village head and the members of customary people

referred to as black people because they wore black clothes, especially when carrying out religious ceremonies (Nain, 1988).

The Background of Paderi Movement appearance in Multiperspective *The Religious Thought*

The general opinion said that the appearance of Paderi in Minangkabau in the early 19th century was influenced by the *Wahhabi's* understanding (Gibb, 1947). That understanding was brought by three youthful Minangkabau figures who returned from a pilgrimage in Mecca in 1803. They were Haji Muhammad Arif, well known as Sumanik returning to Luhak Tanah Datar, Haji Abdurrahman or Piobang returning to Luhak Lima puluh Kota, and Haji Miskin Pandai Sikek returning to Luhak Agam (Hamka, 1986). They were inspired by Wahabi in destroying the practices of polytheism in Mecca (Murodi, 1999). The indigenous groups were the holders of governmental power in their respective areas (Martamin, 1984). However, the reform idea received a warm welcome from the local scholars, such as Tuanku Mensiangan and Tuanku Nan Renceh. Similarly, Angku Mudo (Tuanku Imam, who was known as Imam Bonjol) and Datuk Bandaharo in Padang Lawas. They were the religious teachers who had been teaching Islam for a long time. The next upheaval, religious thought, uttered the Paderi movement in the West Sumatera. In addition, when it was viewed from the history of religious movement such as Paderi, it was a very strict Islamic reaction toward the non-Muslim elements in the social life and law (Schrieke, 1955).

b. Sociological factors.

Sociologically, the Paderi movement was a religious revolution that did not have a satisfactory place if compared to the indigenous people in Minangkabau's community. This opinion was raised by B. J. O. Schrieke (Martamin, 1984). In addition, the socio-political condition of the aristocracies could not set the permanent rules and laws because the legal obedient to the powerful indigenous people's opinions determined the decision deliberation without involving the religious community. According to Schrieke, this sociological factor rejected that *Wahhabi* influenced the Paderi movement. There are three analyses provided to strengthen his opinion, namely: 1) The Paderi class did not oppose the worship of the sacred. 2) The Paderi class let the people who conducted the ceremony, celebrating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. 3) The Paderi movement was not started from the return of three pilgrims from Mecca (1803), but it had already taken place before it (Schrieke, 1955).

In this context, Schrieke found that the Paderi movement had been there before the three pilgrims returned home from Mecca as described and summarized by Dobbin as the early Islamic revival movement (Christine Dobbin, 1983). Schrieke analysis gave a signal that there were two shades of Paderi movement that were developed namely; first, the easy-going movement under the leadership of Tuanku Nan Tuo including Haji Miskin before he did the pilgrim in Mecca. Second, the extreme movement led by Haji Miskin and his friends after being influenced by *Wahhabi* ideology as a pilgrim. Based on the expert's review of the rise of the Paderi movement, we saw it from a sociological factor.

c. Economic Factors

The economic power was fully controlled by the Pagaruyung family in the outback of Minangkabau, such as escort them toward the gold trade in Lintau Buo, Sumpur Kudus, Saruaso and XX Koto along the plateau and hillside in the east of Tanah Datar. It was completed with coastal areas like Salido, Silhouette, Indrapura, and Ophir in Pasaman that

were out of the Pagaruyung king's supervision. Similarly, the progresses of pepper, cinnamon, coffee, gambier, and tobacco commodities were from the Agam and Lima Puluh Kota regions. Since the 18th century, they had managed the economic development and trade from the kingdom to free merchants who not only entered the transactions in the area but also took part in the export commodity outside the area and conducted the trade relations with Britain and VOC in Tiku and Pariaman (Christine Dobbin, 1983). Similarly, the merchants and the gold businessmen in Ophir, Pasaman, had established relationships for a long time to export the gold to Melaka. Even approximately until 1817, It had been an on-going process for 80 years (Christine Dobbin, 1983).

Another factor that became evidence that the economic factor influenced the Paderi movement was a shift of attention from the Dutch economy to Minangkabau after they suffered a setback in Aceh in the 18th century. The opening of Penang's free port in 1786, the trade relations between Minangkabau and the center of the international economy were opened smoothly through the Agam (Steenbrink Karel, 1987). The opportunity had been exploited by the Paderi group to implement the Islamic system as a security system of religion and economy, which finally made public sympathy to that group. It indicated the suitability of such systems on the development of that time compared to the traditional systems (Steenbrink Karel, 1987). The Paderi also protected the traders by applying the principles of Islamiah brotherhood.

The Young Generation Movement

We identified the youth movement as emerging in the early 20th century, which was around 70 years (Daya, 1990) after the Paderi movement in Minangkabau. After the capture of Tuanku Imam Bonjol, practically the Paderi movement in Minangkabau was a definitive end. However, the historical footprint of the Paderi remained a reference for the Minangkabau's Muslims, in carrying out the reform of religious life under the guidance of the Qur'an and Sunnah. As for the tumultuous conditions that occurred, they had interpreted the historical dimension as a recent episode or "initial stage" in the religious history reform movement in Minangkabau. We should suspect them of having inspired the following religious movements. However, the patterns present in the second period were new (different), compared to the way of purification and renewal of the first stages called hardliners.

Young Generation (YG) was known by various names, such as revivalism, reformists, modernists, and fundamentalists. Especially as fundamentalists, they only adhered to the holy Qur'an and authentic Hadiths. They tried to purify Islam from all elements that tarnish Islam. As modernists, they prioritized formulations returning to Islamic teachings rationally. The perfection and purity of Islam for them were an effort to speed up and direct all social and economic changes in a better direction for society and the advancement of Islamic world. According to Taufik Abdullah, this first began in Padang, against the coastal aristocrats, who were associated with the regents (Abdullah, 1988) by indigenous people, who wanted to renew traditions from the influence of Acehnese tradition. Datuk Sutan Maharaja pioneered it. Datuk Sutan Maharaja with his group who came from the Darek area tried to return the Minangkabau's tradition to its originality (Abdullah, 1988).

Schrieke stated that the Young Generation came from the Malay youth in Padang in 1905, led by Datuk Sutan Maharaja in fighting the nobility, who often oppressed the people. Young Generation upheld the customary dignity of Minangkabau, but they wanted

the position of women in line with modern European women. They wanted a relationship that was freer from what the tradition permitted. Here, Datuk Sutan Maharaja had an assumption that they allied with the Dutch as they would advance. Finally, in 1906, they commemorated the event of the Dutch for the first time in Padang. In this context, Schrieke regarded the struggle of the Padang Malay youth as against "tradition of Calong", which he compared with the struggle for democracy in Java against "Mojopahit indigenous people" (Schrieke, 1955).

In the mid-1910s, tradition-oriented movements faced more intense competition and challenges from Islamic reformers (modernists). Here who played a major role and took part in reform in their respective regions in Minangkabau were the students of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib. Among those who were famous were M. Jamil Djambek in Bukittinggi, Abdullah Ahmad in Padang and Padang Panjang, Abdul Karim Amrullah (Hajj Rasul) in Maninjau and Padang Panjang, and Thaib Umar in Batusangkar. They were the initial figures of the Youth. Thus, in particular, the term Young People in the Minangkabau area gained prominence since the beginning of the 20th century (Nasution, 1975) and was referred to groups of pioneers and followers of the Islamic reform movement of this century. They were called the Young Generation according to Hamka because they consisted of young scholars. The average of their ages was under 40 years old, while the scholars they faced were called the Old Generation. They were the elderly (40 or 50 years old) (Hamka, 1986).

However, people misunderstand by recognizing conservatism and orthodoxy in the Old Generation. For every aspect of the Young Generation, life is positioned as a modern and progressive character. This needs to be explained that in the socio-political aspect, the reality is in a reversed direction. We can explain this, that in the colonial period, the old people were very persistent and militant in fighting the Dutch. Dutch concern was enormous with all forms of activities of traditionalists, especially those who were the members of the *Tarekat (Naqsyabandiyah)*. While, the youth people were often preferred and associated as cooperative with the Netherlands (Van Bruinessen, 1992).

Its capable scientific base, in touch with the thoughts and spirit of renewal in the Middle East through al-Manar and Al-Imam magazines, had encouraged Young Ulemas, such as Djamil Djambek, Abdullah Ahmad, Abdul Karim Amrullah, and Thaib Umar, to develop an Islamic teaching reform. In this context, Young Generation activists saw Islam as acting beyond the boundaries of space, and therefore Islam was always modern. Their principle of worship is as exemplified by the Prophet, otherwise, it is forbidden. As for worldly problems, everything is permissible except for those which are prohibited.

The issue that became the target of criticism by the figures known as the Young Generation, as Burhanuddin Daya concluded, reflected in the Sumatra Thawalib movement, for example, things related to the issues of tradition, sharia, and *Tarekat* (Daya, 1990). These three aspects in the practices of Minangkabau's people, from their perspectives, were incompatible and contrary to the true practice of pure Islam. Those corrupted *aqidah* and many things that led to setbacks. Therefore, it could be imagined that this would cause severe reactions and challenges from the indigenous people and traditional scholars known as the Old Generation.

Another theme raised by the surface of Young Generation is the call for the opening of *ijtihad* and the condemnation of too pious attitude to the scholars of the schools (*madzhab*). According to them, the decline of the Muslim society was because the understanding of *taqlid* to all *ijtihad* of *mujtahids* who were divine law shackled Muslims

which could not change. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, fondly called Haji Rasul, was one of the Young *ulemas* who insisted that the door of *ijtihad* was never closed because *mujtahids* would remain until the day of judgment. It does not limit the vast gift of Allah to a certain time; therefor Allah will not limit His guidance to the previous scholars. However, it will be given to anyone who is looking for it until the day of judgment, or as long as the human mind is still there (Hamka, 1986). This statement got a reaction from the Old Generation, especially the reaction from Shaykh Muhammad Khatib Ali and his friends. Khatib Ali called the Young Generation scholars as to the most ignorant, less shy, thin in his faith, and lacking in religion. These Young Scholars claimed themselves to the degree of the absolute *mujtahids*, while the Old People's version, today everyone is *muqallid* (Sarwan, 2009).

Related to tradition issues, their criticisms are more oriented towards the problems in family-related law such as "*sumando tradition*" (Daya, 1990), where the husband comes and is in his wife's house only at night. The husband does not live there and is not a family member of his wife. The husband only meets his wife periodically, to deliver physical and spiritual supports, or just to let go of his longing to gather. Another problem is the customary inheritance system based on the matrilineal system. Shaykh Ahmad Khatib called the Minangkabau's traditional heritage as a tradition of ignorance incompatible with Islam and recommended and advocated for inheritance with Islamic teachings. His student, Abdullah Ahmad, also accepted Ahmad Khatib's thoughts, but not as hard as Ahmad Khatib. He stated that the customary law of Minang violated the normative law of Islamic inheritance. Inheritance must be divided according to the *farâ'id* law, both inheritance which is an inheritance or searches property.

The Paderi Movement and Young Generation's Perspective on Minangkabau History and Islamic Characteristic

Since the beginning of Paderi birth, in fact, the conflicts that had occurred were not only with traditional groups but also within the Paderi movement itself. For example, at the beginning of this movement, there was a dispute between Tuanku Nan Renceh's group and Tuanku Nan Tuo, who were both Paderi leaders and figures. Because of this contradiction, Paderi's leadership which had been lying in Tuanku Nan Tuo was transferred to Tuanku Mansiangan at the suggestion given by the Hajj Miskin. The submission of leadership was merely a symbol, that there were old scholars who protected the movement of young *ulemas* from hardliner groups. In fact, according to Dobbin, the leadership of the Paderi group lied in the hands of Tuanku Nan Renceh who was a Paderi figure full of charisma, authority, and courage (Christine Dobbin, 1983; Christinne Dobbin, 1992).

It must be realized that the opinions expressed by Tuanku Nan Tuo who represented soft-line Paderi scholars and actions taken by Tuanku Nan Renceh and their friends are in hard lines, each had their own truths and reasons in interpreting Islamic teachings that encouraged da'wah done in wisdom (See, QS: 16 verse 125). Wisdom is in the term of delivery, both in terms of content and ways, so it is interesting and easy to be accepted (El-Muhammady, 1992). The facts on the ground show that some indigenous people (including) still stand by their stance, carrying out factors religion forbids that, even they oppose the teachings of Islam. For example, in *Batu Taba*, local people damaged the Fakih Sangir mosque, valuable items inside the mosque were seized, religious books were torn apart and thrown away (Radjab, 1964). Likewise, in Agam, more or less a year the Paderi's teachings spread the customary leaders deliberately held a massive cock-fight event

on Bukit Batabuh, near the Puar River, on the slopes of Mount Merapi. The act was deliberately done so that the religious leaders, *ulema*, and the Paderi felt hurt and angry.

Tuanku Nan Tuo also tried to appeal to the traditional leaders to stop the acts. However, they did not obey the prohibition. This made some Tuanku Nan Tuo's students angry and then gathered weapons to destroy the cock-fight activity, so the attack ravaged that Bukit Batabuh Village. The Paderi won this battle. This incident had occurred long before the Paderi under the leadership of Tuanku Nan Renceh started his aggressive movement (Murodi, 1999). Islamic teachings purification had been a long time. The *Salafiyah* group started it. In the 12th century it was returned through the *Wahabi* movement, but with the stricter system and method. Specifically, it was related to the acts of violence committed by the leaders of fanatical Paderi. According to most historians, they were too overbearing and seemed excessive and cruel because some of them understood Islam narrowly. It must imitate the way of Arabian life and costume in the desert, in order to be a good Muslim (Amran, 1981). In fact, all scholars do not accept their violent behavior. As evidence, an older and influential scholar, Tuanku Nan Tuo in Ampek Angkek opposed them (Amran, 1981). According to him, when a faithful person in one area is only one, that area cannot be attacked. The important thing is to build a significant influence in every area. If they had affected a scholar in the area, then the scholar would be easy to extend his influence to all parts of the society.

The conditions showed that Minangkabau's people had a powerful hold based on the customary deliberation (Hamka, 1986). Based on Tuanku Nan Tuo's statement, Latif Sanusi said, three things could be understood. *First*, Tuanku Nan Tuo did not deny the fact that the spirit of purifying itself. The rejection was radicalism because in his view this condition led to instability and unrest in society. *Second*, it was more likely to establish cooperative relations between the scholars with the custom until implementing refining it running well. *Third*, refusal to take part in the activities of purification by violence was not because of the hatred of Paderi, but because of a sense of his love to the people and avoiding bloodshed, devastation, and destruction, and preventing the colonizer from taking advantages of the chaos (Hamka, 1986).

This difference of opinion had made Tuanku Nan Renceh and his followers abstained from Tuanku Nan Tuo, and even mocked his former teacher as "Old Monk" and gave the title to Sheikh Jalaluddin. He was a Tuanku Nan Tuo's loyal student as the "King of the Gentiles" (Hamka, 1986). Since the conflict between Tuanku Nan Renceh and Tuanku Nan Tuo groups, the leadership of Paderi which had been considered within the Tuanku Nan Tuo had transferred to the Tuanku Mensiangan as a consideration of Haji Miskin. Submission of this leadership was as a symbol that there was an old scholar who protected the young scholars. According to Dobbin, the leadership of the Paderi was in the Tuanku Nan Renceh who had a charismatic figure, authority, and obdurate (Christine Dobbin, 1983).

The opinions expressed by Tuanku Nan Tuo represented Paderi scholars in the easy-going, also the actions taken by Tuanku Nan Renceh and his friends, who were in the extreme side, respectively had the truth and their own reasons concerning the interpretation of the Islamic teachings that advocated the Islam rule carried out by wisdom. (See, Surah 16 verse 125). The wisdom in this part is the wisdom in the utterances, either in terms of contents or ways, so it was interesting and fun to receive. However, in certain circumstances, when there was the ability in particular things, it should be done by force if anyone tried to stop missionary efforts, especially unbelievers (El-Muhammady, 1992).

It was found that the traditional group still stood in their belief. So, the factors in religion prohibited that, and they even opposed the teachings. For example, in *Batu Taba*, the local communities damaged the Fakhir Sangir mosque (Radjab, 1964). Similarly, Islam was less a year to spread the teachings of Paderi. The chief of indigenous people deliberately organized cockfighting massively in Bukit Batabuh, near Sungai Puar, on the slopes of Mount Merapi. Scholars and Paderi's society felt hurt and angry. Tuanku Nan Tuo appealed to the indigenous ruler to stop the action. This condition made some Tuanku Nan Tuo's students angry. Then they collected the weapons for crushing and destroying the cockfighting activities so that Bukit Batabuh village was ravaged by a raid. Paderi won in this battle. This happened before the Paderi under the leadership of Tuanku Nan Renceh started his aggressive movement (Murodi, 1999).

To take revenge for the defeat which they experienced, the leaders and indigenous people planned to carry out attacks to the Paderi. However, these attacks could be defeated by the Paderi which was led by Fakhir Sangir (Murodi, 1999). The key target of the attacks made by the leaders and the custom was to kill Tuanku Nan Tuo. Although Tuanku Nan Tuo opposed radicalism by the hardliners Paderi, he agreed with the spirit of purification. He could save himself in the fight. His two sons were killed because they could not escape. Seeing this happened, Tuanku Nan Renceh gathered the Paderi to discuss the next steps and to develop the strategies in dealing with the indigenous people contrary to Paderi (Murodi, 1999). As an extension of polemic between the indigenous people and the Paderi, Tuanku Nan Renceh as a leader of The Eight Tiger group had a principle that the rules of the existing law in Islam should be implemented in areas that had been controlled by the Paderi, even need to bloodshed. The true Islam must be upheld. In Tuanku Nan Renceh's speech, he said: "We have seen too much evil by the people and asked Muslims to carry out the commands of Allah together. We will against strongly to anyone who violates the ban on religion, and we will not let any more people deviate from the Qur'an and Hadist of the Prophet". At the end of his speech, he said: whoever among you who try to violate the prohibitions will be put to death, and they will confiscate his property because that's the will of Allah, he only required to do that (Radjab, 1964). Tuanku Nan Renceh's statement was not just a phrase; even he had executed his mother's brother for his failure in implementing the teachings of the religion, which did not want to stop to eat beetle leave (Radjab, 1964).

As the realization of the announcement, Tuanku Nan Renceh prepared immediately the regulations: (1) Everyone must conduct obligatory prayers five times a day. (2) No smoking, chewing betel, smoking opium, drinking wine, fighting cocks, holding a game that is gambling. (3) They forbade men to wear silk and jewelry made of gold. (4) Men should lengthen the beard because the Prophet had a beard and wore white clothes as a sign of embracing a new ideology. They contrasted it to the traditional black dress. (5) They required women to cover their faces so men who walked in their yard would not see them. (6) They prohibited men and women for naked bathing. (7) Women did rarely to look to the sky or bow down, they had to look forward with a proper attitude (Radjab, 1964).

Accompanied by the spiritual advisor, Haji Miskin, military advisors of Haji Piobang, and the field leaders, Haji Sumanik and Tuanku Nan Renceh established The Tuanku Council more actively. It released the new regulations to be followed. Actions were intensified. They carried the conquest of areas out in succession. Since then, their movement emerged as a new political force. In every area that was occupied was set the

following: (1) It fined any person who shaved his beard double fifty cents. (2) It fined any person who cut his teeth a buffalo. (3) It fined any person whose knees were not closed double fifty cents. (4) It fined women who did not cover their faces triple fifty cents. (5) Women who were arguing among themselves, each of them was fined five times fifty cents. (6) Parents who beat his son were fined double fifty cents. (7) It fined people who lend money by interest five “*Kupang*”. (8) The people who left the prayer once were fined five times fifty cents, and if they left the prayer twice, so they got punishment immediately to death (Yunus, 1960).

They had controlled the areas for implementing the Islamic law directly and appointed a *Qadhi* to ensure the implementation of Islamic law and a leader to lead worships. In addition, they also commanded that every yard should be prepared a stone as a place to wash their foot before praying. While, Saidi Muning, familiarly called Tuanku Lintau, required all men to wear white dress, shave their heads, and had beard (Hamka, 1986). He had also punished to death for who had met three times to clasp the chicken lagan (Amran, 1981). In a brief period, approximately one year (1805-1806) the social conditions and the ways of religious practice especially in Agam changed to Paderi's request. The situation was still uncertain whether people had received with wholehearted awareness, or because of forcedness and fear of threats, and a wide range of punishment was prescribed throughout the Paderi. What some experts said about much violence the Paderi did was also true. According to Schrieke, Paderi had mastered the society and the state, but the society was still separated (Schrieke, 1955).

Based on the findings and the descriptions about the Paderi, the movement was born radicalism. Radicalism in this context was understood as a conservative movement and often used violence to teach their beliefs. While, Islam is a religion of peace, it teaches the attitude of making and seeking a sense of peace. Islam never justifies the use of violence in spreading the practices of religion and the concept of religion and politics. But it cannot be denied that in the course of its history, there were certain Islamic groups, such as the Paderi movement, which used violence to achieve political goals or maintaining the religious understanding rigidly. Therefore, the Paderi in global civilization is often called and known as the Islamic radicalism.

The term radicalism called the extremist groups for Paderi seemed more appropriate than fundamentalism because fundamentalism itself had an interpretable meaning (A'la, 2008). In the tradition of theological thought, fundamentalism was a movement to restore the entire behavior of Muslim's life to Al-Quran and Al-Hadith. Sometimes, the fundamentalist term was designated to a protect group (revivalist) of Islam, but sometimes it was also intended to refer to Islamic radicalism. Therefore, it was understandable why some Muslim scholars viewed that fundamentalism was the unfortunate term and led to misunderstandings (misleading) (Rakhmat, Nafis, Paramadina, & Jakarta, 1996). William Montgomery Watt stated that they derived the term of fundamentalism from the ancient English word which was associated with people who believed that Al-Kitab must be received and interpreted literally. James Barr said fundamentalists as groups: 1) emphasis on the infallibility of the Al-Kitab. Al-Kitab does not contain the mistakes, 2) Hating deeply the methods and consequences of modern theology, 3) assume that anyone who is involved with the modern theology movement is not a true Christian. Robert N. Bellah and William Liddle preferred to use the term of scripturalist to show the religious movement in literalists and conceptual patterns.

The authors of Islam also had a variation of views on Islam fundamentalism. Fazlurrahman was more likely to use the term of revivalism to point the religious movements as a phenomenon referring to the old teachings. In the Islamic world, the term of fundamentalism is still debated if the term is relevant when applied in Islam. If the conceptual transfer is done by using the characteristics in the western world as a Protestant, is it possible to fit this term in the Islamic world? There is still a dualism of views on this term when associated with Islam. Some refuse it, and some accept it. The figures that refuse this term include Riffat Hassan, Hossein Nasr, Rifyal Kaaba, and others. While the figures that accept this term include Nurkholis Majid, Abdurrahman Wahid, Fazlurrahman, and so forth (Syam, 2005).

Thus, the authors are more interested in using the term radicalism rather than fundamentalism because the understanding of fundamentalism can give other meanings that sometimes eliminate the intended meaning. We see that radicalism has a clearer purpose. It is such a movement that uses violence to achieve political targets supported by sentiment or emotion in religion. But, to comprehend the term for labeling radicalism to the extreme Islamic groups, the Paderi was also diverse as the right extreme, fundamentalist, militant, and so forth. Islam as a religion of peace does not justify the practice of violence. The terms fundamentalism and radicalism in Western perspective are often associated with extreme attitude, conservative, stagnation, anti-Western, and hard to hold the opinions even by physical violence. Using the term of radicalism or fundamentalism to the Muslims is not appropriate because radicalism does not happen in any Muslim area and cannot be blamed on Islam. Radicalism is a movement performed by individuals or groups who are disadvantaged by socio-political phenomena and social-historical.

Symptoms of violent practice by a group of Muslims, historically-sociologically, are more precisely referred to the socio-political symptoms the rather than a religious phenomenon despite raising the banner of religion. Since radicalism, fundamentalism, or militant movements are made associated with Islam, the Western media often ignore the development of violent practices committed by religious beliefs among non-Muslims or supported by the "left" ideology. A very obvious example is the action to shut up the western political elite to talk or to pretend actions when looking at the practice of violence by Jewish extremists or Israel soldiers on the Arabs of Palestine. What is done by the groups of violence, in fact, the same as the perpetrators of militant "Islamic radicalism did what", but the designation is addressed radicalism to the Islamic movement. In this perceptive, we could understand it that the Paderi movement in West Sumatera was a reform in the form of purification of Islam, a group of scholars did which we knew it as Paderi (Murodi, 1999). However, in implementing the purification, it was unavoidable from violence or radicalism. Paderi radicalism was a relationship with religious violence. Paderi Radicalism behavior was the behavior displayed by the people in this case the Paderi figures who wanted to break down the entire system and structure up to the roots. The regulation was a fundamental change that was done fast and well related to the structure and content.

Sociologically, the radicalism of Paderi occurred when the Minangkabau's people were in the anomie situation or the gap between the values and the experiences. The gap was triggered by modernity associated with the secularization of western colonization. At that moment, people could not cope with the gap because there was no power taken inside the gap. When the gap became more apparent, the values which were become the orientation could not handle various increasing social actions. So, the radicalism of Paderi

appeared in latent or manifested in a form. The latent pattern happened when Minangkabau's people did not have the strength to resist various gaps structurally.

However, honestly, the movements carried out by hardliner Paderi groups were also laden with meanings for the Minangkabau's people. Among these values are according to the title of this study. The most important factor is that, with the tragedy of the Paderi violence, on the one hand, it has led to positive things for the later development of Islam. The face of Islam developed in Minangkabau to this day, relatively spared from values. This will be a little different from Islam elsewhere in the archipelago. Likewise, with the Young Generation, their emergence has presented a dynamic intellectual atmosphere, which subsequently has inspired the birth of schools and the publication of books and various magazines from each of these groups that function as a medium for the struggle for their ideas.

CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, we can conclude several points: first, the reform in Islam consisted of 2 indicators, such as (1) the return of Islamic purity to the guidance of the Qur'an and Hadiths and (2) modernization as a representation of the young generation movement. Second, the violence by Paderi was inappropriate if related to Minangkabau's cultures which were tolerant and familial. The first Islamization process in Minangkabau was also never penetrated by a power of politics such as war. Third, the conflict had triggered a vivacious and dynamic religious discourse. We can see this from many meetings and debates held both during the Paderi and during the Young Generation. Besides, various schools had appeared, publishing books and magazines from each generation to socialize and make a struggle for religious understanding. The methods designed by the younger *ulemas* were clearer, relatively able to save, and avoided radical actions in the Minangkabau Islamic community up to today.

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